

The Rationalist in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : The Legacy of Social Policy in India



**Professor Aftab Anwar Shaikh
Dr. Mukhtar Shaikh
Dr. M. Shahid Jamal Ansari**

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The Rationalist in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The Legacy of Social Policy in India

Editors:

Professor Shaikh Aftab Anwar

(M. Com, MBA, Ph.D.),

Principal of Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune -411001(MS)

Dr. Mukhtar Shaikh

M.A. (Political Science) NET, SET, MBA, PhD

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science at Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune

Dr. M. Shahid Jamal Ansari

M.A. (Economics), NET, Ph.D

Assistant Professor and Head

Department of Economics at Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune

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Mumbai – 400 098.

Office Tel. : 022-2650 44 57

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Foreword

No other founding father of India, perhaps more than Dr. B.R Ambedkar can be more relevant to India in the present day. Rightly called the architect of the Constitution of India, that inspires this great nation state to march on the path of modernity along with other great nations. While the neighboring countries in the Indian sub-continent experienced issues of stability, India in spite of its diversities could keep itself united is due to this magnificent living document called the Constitution of India. Dr. B. R Ambedkar deconstructed the traditional social, political and economic phenomenon and integrated to weave the diverse aspirations of the people into a monolithic bloc to build this nation state.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar draws a new approach to examine exploitation, discrimination and disadvantage. Though the background essentially remains the Indian society, the conception of social justice theory could be universal to a large extent. With John Rawls' 'A Theory of Justice' and Amartya Sen's 'The Idea of Justice' are still at the theorization stage, Dr. Ambedkar's 'Egalitarian Justice' appears to be tested and successfully applied and tested in the realm of both sociological application and in the nation state.

The collection of papers in this volume, "**The Rationalist in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The Legacy of Social Policy in India**", essentially discusses the life and work of Dr. Ambedkar and its repercussions on the Indian state and society in the current context. The papers within these pages offer a multifaceted perspective on Dr. Ambedkar's

contributions. They delve into his intellectual prowess, exploring his thoughts on democracy, social justice, Industrial Development, Constitution, Education, Economics and the emancipation of marginalized communities. Readers will encounter discussions on his seminal role in the framing of the Indian Constitution, an extraordinary feat that laid solid foundation not only for India's democratic aspirations but for a more equal and just society.

As we embark on this intellectual journey, let us remember the words of Dr. Ambedkar: "Cultivation of mind should be the ultimate aim of human existence." May this edited volume contribute to the cultivation of minds and the collective pursuit of a more just and inclusive world.

Mrudul Nile

Professor

Preface

We are honored and grateful to present this remarkable volume, "**The Rationalist in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The Legacy of Social Policy in India.**" This edited book is a humble tribute to the enduring legacy of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, a visionary leader, lawyer, eminent economist and social reformer whose ideas and actions continue to affect India's social climate.

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, often lovingly referred as "Babasaheb," was a remarkable figure in the annals of modern history. His life and work reverberate with the echoes of struggle, resilience, and transformation. Born into a society deeply entrenched in caste-based discrimination, he rose above these adversities to become an iconic leader, scholar, and the architect of India's Constitution. As a social reformer, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a tireless crusader against the deeply entrenched caste system. He envisioned a society where every individual, regardless of their caste or creed, would enjoy equal rights and opportunities. This vision culminated in the drafting of the Indian Constitution, a monumental achievement that laid the foundation for a democratic and egalitarian India.

This anthology boasts contributions from scholars hailing from diverse strata of academic disciplines, reflecting the interdisciplinary nature of Dr. Ambedkar's legacy. These twenty seven chapters are not merely academic pursuits; they are windows into the mind of a visionary who envisioned a stronger, more equitable India. In this book, you will find discussions that resonate with contemporary issues and challenges, shedding light on his pioneering role in drafting the Indian Constitution to his advocacy for marginalized communities, from his economic vision to his unwavering commitment to social justice.

In these pages, you will encounter not just the man, but the ideas that have the power to ignite change, spark debates, and pave the path towards a more inclusive and just society. As we embark on this exploration of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's life and work, we find inspiration in his unwavering commitment to the cause of social justice and equality.

Acknowledgement

This edited book “**The Rationalist in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : The Legacy of Social Policy in India**”, is a collaborative effort that seeks to illuminate the life, ideas, and enduring legacy of a visionary, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who left an indelible mark on the pages of history. The chapters in this book represent a tapestry of perspectives, each a unique thread in the rich fabric of Dr. Ambedkar's life and work.

First and foremost, we extend our profound thanks to the esteemed contributors who have shared their invaluable insights and scholarly perspectives on various aspects of Dr. Ambedkar's life and works. Their expertise and dedication have enriched this book; shedding light on the insightful impact Dr. Ambedkar has had on Indian society and beyond. This collection of papers from diverse stratum of academic disciplines, specifically Political Science, Economics, Commerce, Sociology, Literature, Education, illuminates the various aspects associated with the subject.

At the outset we express our heartfelt thanks to our management Anjuman Khairul Islam, Mumbai who encouraged us to bring out this enriching book on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

We are grateful to Dr. Mrudul Nile, Professor of Political Science from University of Mumbai, for giving his consent to write foreword and his appreciation of contents gathered in this book. We are also thankful to our Vice Principal-Science Dr. Iqbal N. Shaikh, Vice Principal- Arts, Mr. Mohiuddin Khan and all our colleagues for their valuable support in this project.

Professor Aftab Anwar Shaikh

Dr. Mukhtar Shaikh

Dr. M. Shahid Jamal Ansari

About the Editors



Professor Dr. Shaikh Aftab Anwar is an educationist, researcher, social activist and a transformational leader. He has more than 30 years of teaching, research, consultancy, executive education and industry experience. He was nominated as Senate Member of Savitribai Phule Pune University by the Governor of Maharashtra. Recently he has been elected as Chairman of Board of Studies (Marketing) of the same University. He has served as BOS member, Faculty member, Examination Committee member of Savitribai Phule Pune University. Presently, Dr. Shaikh is working as Principal of Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune -411001(MS).

Dr. Shaikh is also Member of several Educational and Professional Bodies in India and abroad. He has been accorded with several prestigious awards including National Youth Award by the Ministry of HRD, Government of India, and Prof. G. B. Kulkarni Award for Best Teacher in Commerce by the University of Pune.

He is Ph.D. and M.Phil. Research Guide of Savitribai Phule Pune University, Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad and Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune. 33 students have completed Ph.D. and 16 students have completed M.Phil. under his guidance.

Dr. Shaikh has authored several books and published research papers and articles in refereed National and International Journals and presented papers in international conferences.

As a Social entrepreneur, Dr. Shaikh has established and run the organizations from scratch. He also offers advice to upcoming Educational Institutions and IT Education sector. He is a motivational speaker, Result-focused and effectual leader. He has extensively travelled to countries like China, Iran, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore Oman, UAE (Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Saudi Arabia), Fiji, Kingdom of Tonga, Sri Lanka and Nepal.



Dr. Mukhtar Shaikh is presently working as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune. He completed his graduation and post-graduation from Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad. He obtained his doctorate degree from Swami Ramanand Teerth Marathwada University, Nanded. He has more than 10 years of teaching experience in undergraduate and postgraduate courses. He is a recognized research guide of Savitribai Phule Pune University, Pune.

Dr. Mukhtar Shaikh is the author of five books: "Western Political Thought" (2022), "Principles of Political Science" (2022), "Universal Human Values" (2023), "International Administration" (2023), and "New Horizons of Social Sciences" (2023). Recently, two of his patents have been accepted and published by the Patent Office of India, one on "Analysis of gender diversity and team performance under time pressure in an organization" and the other on "Assessing the Impact of Emotional Intelligence Development Programs on Teaching and Learning Outcomes." He has over 25 research papers published in numerous national and international journals.



Dr. M. Shahid Jamal Ansari is working as an Assistant Professor and Head, Department of Economics at Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune. Before joining this college, Dr. Ansari taught at Daulatram College of Delhi University. He has teaching experience of more than ten years and he is a research guide recognized by Savitribai Phule Pune University. He did his Ph.D. from Aligarh Muslim University in the area of health and human development. He has authored many books and articles on his research area and on current issues.

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INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR'S VISION FOR A STRONG INDIA

Prof. Dr. Aftab Anwar Shaikh

Principal, AKIs Poona College of Arts, Science & Commerce, Camp, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, renowned as a social reformer, political leader, and economist, played a vital role in shaping India's industrialization and economic development. His vision for a strong and prosperous India comprised not only social and political reforms but also comprehensive strategies for economic growth. Dr. Ambedkar firmly believed that industrialization was crucial for India's progress and the upliftment of its people. He viewed industrialization as a means to generate employment, reduce poverty, and improve the standard of living for all citizens. His vision contained a balanced and inclusive industrialization process that would benefit marginalized communities and bridge the gap between social and economic disparities. Throughout his life, Dr. Ambedkar proposed various strategies to promote industrial development in India. He emphasized the role of the state and the public sector in driving industrialization and advocated for planned development and state intervention. He recognized the importance of infrastructure development, access to credit, technology transfer, and land reforms in fostering industrial growth. As he rightly observed, "*Industrialization is the key to economic prosperity and social upliftment. It not only provides employment opportunities but also contributes to technological advancement and a higher standard of living.*"¹

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb, was a multifaceted leader in Indian history. Beyond his role in drafting the Indian Constitution and his tireless efforts to eradicate caste-based discrimination, Dr. Ambedkar had a profound vision for industrialization as a driving force for India's economic development. Born in 1891, during British colonial rule, he recognized the deep-rooted socio-economic disparities and caste-based discrimination that plagued India. One of the most devastating consequences of colonial rule was the deindustrialization of India. Traditional Indian industries, renowned for their craftsmanship and innovation, were systematically dismantled. The British deliberately curtailed competition with British-made goods, resulting in the collapse of many artisanal and manufacturing industries. This not only led to mass unemployment but also disrupted the economic self-sufficiency that had been a hallmark of Indian society for centuries.

Dr. Ambedkar's vision went beyond industrialization alone. He understood that addressing socioeconomic inequalities was equally crucial. He proposed inclusive policies, social welfare measures, and affirmative action to ensure that the benefits of industrialization reached the marginalized sections of society. He believed in the power of education and skill development to mobilize human capital and drive economic growth. Additionally, he recognized the significance of international trade and economic cooperation in India's economic development. His vision for industrialization and economic development remains an inspiration and a guiding force for building a strong and prosperous India.

Formative Factors:-

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's vision for industrialization and economic development in India was shaped by various influences during his formative years. These influences played a significant role in shaping his thoughts and ideas on economic policies, industrial growth, and the overall development of the nation². Dr. Ambedkar's exposure to Western economic theories greatly influenced his thinking on industrialization and economic development. During his studies at Columbia University in the United States, he was exposed to prominent economists like John

Maynard Keynes and Harold Laski, whose ideas shaped his understanding of economic principles and policies. Dr. Ambedkar drew inspiration from these theories and incorporated them into his own vision for India's economic growth.

Dr. Ambedkar's education abroad, particularly his experiences in the United States and the United Kingdom, played a crucial role in shaping his views on industrialization and economic development. His exposure to the advanced industrial economies of these countries provided him with firsthand knowledge of the benefits of industrialization and the role of education in economic growth. These experiences influenced his belief in the importance of modern education and skill development for India's industrial progress³.

His own experiences of social inequality and discrimination as a member of the marginalized Dalit community played a significant role in shaping his vision for industrialization and economic development. These experiences fueled his determination to address socioeconomic disparities and uplift the marginalized sections of society through inclusive economic policies. His personal struggles and observations of the socioeconomically disadvantaged informed his commitment to creating a more equitable and just society through industrialization⁴.

Dr. Ambedkar's involvement in the nationalist movement against British colonial rule in India also influenced his thoughts on industrialization and economic development. He believed that economic self-reliance was crucial for the nation's independence and progress. He viewed industrialization as a means to enhance India's economic strength and break free from the exploitative economic policies imposed by the colonial rulers. His nationalist fervor and commitment to India's sovereignty shaped his vision for industrial growth⁵.

Significance of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Visionary Perspective

Dr. B R Ambedkar's visionary perspectives on industrialization and economic development hold immense significance in the context of India's historical struggles and its aspirations for a more equitable future. His ideas continue to resonate and guide policymakers, scholars, and activists in addressing the complex challenges of poverty, inequality, and social discrimination. Dr. Ambedkar's emphasis on industrialization was astute. Industrial growth can significantly reduce poverty, generate employment, and promote a more equitable distribution of wealth.⁶

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision was the central role of the state in promoting industrialization. He believed that the government should take an active role in planning and implementing industrial policies. As he noted, "State intervention is essential to promote industrialization. The government must provide the necessary infrastructure, financial incentives, and policy support to kickstart the industrialization process." India, during Dr. Ambedkar's time and even today, grapples with profound socio-economic disparities. Caste-based discrimination, poverty, and limited access to resources have marginalized millions. Dr. Ambedkar's vision emphasizes that industrialization can be a powerful tool to address these disparities by creating job opportunities, fostering economic empowerment, and promoting social equality. In a nation with diverse economic strata, his vision provides a path toward a more inclusive society where economic growth benefits all. Dr. Ambedkar advocated for a proactive role of the state in promoting industrialization. Ha-Joon Chang, a renowned economist, supports this perspective: Dr. Ambedkar's call for state-led industrialization aligns with historical examples of successful development. Government policies can play a pivotal role in fostering industrial growth, as seen in several Asian economies.⁷

His vision for industrialization was rooted in the belief that economic empowerment is the cornerstone of social and political empowerment. By advocating for economic self-sufficiency and equal participation in the workforce, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar sought to break the chains of caste-based discrimination and create a more just society where individuals from all backgrounds could thrive. He understood that merely addressing economic disparities without

dismantling social hierarchies would be insufficient. His emphasis on simultaneous progress in economic development, social equality, and political participation offers a comprehensive framework for a more balanced and sustainable development trajectory.

Despite remarkable economic growth, the nation faces persistent challenges related to poverty, discrimination, and unequal access to opportunities. His vision serves as a reminder that industrialization should not be an end in itself but a means to create a more equitable society. Policymakers can draw inspiration from his insights to design strategies that ensure the benefits of economic growth are shared by all sections of society. His vision advances the cause of social justice. He recognized that industrialization, by diminishing the importance of caste in the workforce and fostering social mixing, could reduce the stranglehold of the caste system. This aspect of his vision continues to inspire efforts to challenge deeply ingrained social hierarchies and promote inclusivity. Dr. Ambedkar firmly believed that economic and social empowerment would lead to increased political participation among marginalized communities. His vision has proven prescient, as political representation of Dalits and other disadvantaged groups has grown over the years. Today, his ideas continue to empower communities to assert their rights and interests through the democratic process.

His ideas on industrialization, equality, and social justice resonate beyond India's borders. They offer valuable insights for other nations grappling with similar challenges related to inequality and discrimination. His vision underscores the importance of addressing economic disparities alongside social and political inequities to achieve a more just and prosperous society. This aligns with the research of Alice H. Amsden: "Ambedkar recognized that industrialization, coupled with policies to address land reform and labor rights, could uplift marginalized communities and narrow the income gap."⁸

Indian Constitution and provision of Industrialization & Economic Development

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision for industrialization and economic development found its way into the Indian Constitution through various provisions that aimed to promote industrial growth, protect the rights of laborers, address agrarian inequalities, and ensure social justice. These provisions reflect Ambedkar's commitment to using constitutional means to shape India's economic landscape in a way that benefits all citizens. Here, we delve into some of the key ways in which Dr. Ambedkar's vision for industrialization is reflected in the Indian Constitution:

Dr. Ambedkar, as the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution, played a crucial role in the formulation of the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP). Article 39 of the DPSP underscores the importance of industrialization by directing the state to ensure that the ownership and control of material resources of the community are so distributed as to subserve the common good. It promotes the operation of economic systems that do not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the detriment of the common man. "The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing... that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good." (Article 39)

Dr. Ambedkar was a staunch advocate for the rights of laborers and workers. Several provisions in the Indian Constitution reflect his vision for the protection and welfare of labor. Article 43, for instance, calls upon the state to ensure that workers receive a living wage and have decent working conditions. "The State shall endeavor to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities..." (Article 43)

Dr. Ambedkar was a tireless advocate for the rights and upliftment of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution includes specific provisions, such as Article 46, which highlight the importance of promoting the economic and educational interests of these marginalized communities. Economic development, including industrialization, was seen as a means to this end. "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation." (Article 46)

Dr. Ambedkar's vision for land reforms to address agrarian inequalities is reflected in several provisions of the Constitution. While these provisions are not directly related to industrialization, they are an integral part of his broader economic vision. Land reforms aimed to redistribute land from landlords to landless peasants and were seen as a means to create a more equitable society. Various articles and state-specific land reform acts were formulated to address land-related issues and promote agricultural and industrial development.

Dr. Ambedkar was concerned about the concentration of economic power, which he believed could hinder industrialization and economic growth. The Constitution includes provisions aimed at preventing the concentration of wealth and means of production. For example, Article 31C allows the state to make special provisions for the advancement of any socially and economically backward class of citizens. "Notwithstanding anything contained in Article 13, no law giving effect to the policy of the State towards securing all or any of the principles laid down in Part IV shall be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by Article 14 or Article 19." (Article 31C)

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision for industrialization and economic development is woven into the fabric of the Indian Constitution. The Constitution reflects his commitment to using the law as a tool for promoting economic growth, protecting labor rights, addressing inequalities, and ensuring social justice. These provisions continue to guide India's economic policies and development efforts in alignment with Dr. Ambedkar's vision for a more equitable and prosperous nation.

Caste Eradication through Industrialization

Dr. Ambedkar argued that industrialization would significantly weaken the caste system. In an industrial setting, individuals would be valued for their skills, contributions, and work ethics rather than their caste background. The factories and industries, he believed, could serve as melting pots where people from diverse backgrounds worked together, fostering social equality and harmony.

Industrialization was seen as a catalyst for urbanization. As industries expanded, urban centers grew, providing better access to education and healthcare. Dr. Ambedkar recognized that education was essential for breaking the chains of poverty and discrimination. Urban areas offered more opportunities for education, ensuring that Dalit children could receive quality education and compete on equal footing with their peers.

In Dr. Ambedkar's vision, economic empowerment and social equality resulting from industrialization would also translate into political empowerment. With improved economic and social status, marginalized communities would be more politically active and influential, participating actively in the democratic process and advocating for their rights. Dr. Ambedkar's contributions to the Indian Constitution reflect his commitment to industrialization.

CONCLUSION

Since India's independence in 1947, the country has made significant strides in industrialization. It has become one of the world's fastest-growing major economies, with a diverse industrial

base. From manufacturing to technology, India's industries have evolved, contributing significantly to the country's GDP. However, despite these economic advancements, India continues to grapple with challenges such as poverty, inequality, and discrimination. Caste-based discrimination persists, impacting education, employment, and access to basic services. Millions still live in poverty, with limited access to opportunities. To address these challenges, India can draw inspiration from Dr. Ambedkar's vision for industrialization.

India must prioritize inclusive economic growth within its industrialization framework. This means ensuring that the benefits of economic progress reach marginalized communities. Policies should be designed to create jobs, reduce income inequality, and provide social safety nets. Affirmative action policies, like reservation systems, have played a significant role in providing equitable opportunities in employment and education. These policies must be sustained and expanded, promoting diversity and inclusion. Skill development programs are essential to equip individuals from marginalized backgrounds with the necessary skills to excel in an industrialized economy. Vocational training, education initiatives, and apprenticeship programs can bridge the skills gap. While urbanization offers numerous opportunities, it should be accompanied by policies that promote social integration. Efforts to reduce discrimination and foster community cohesion are vital. Ensuring adequate political representation for marginalized communities remains a crucial aspect of Dr. Ambedkar's vision. Fair representation in legislative bodies and local governance structures empowers these communities to advocate for their needs and rights effectively.

Dr. B R Ambedkar's vision of industrialization as a means to economic development and social justice remains profoundly relevant in contemporary India. His insights offer a roadmap for a stronger, more equitable India where economic growth is coupled with social justice. As India continues its journey of economic transformation, policymakers, scholars, and leaders can find inspiration in his holistic vision for a prosperous and inclusive nation.

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR & MINORITY RIGHTS

Dr. Prof. Satish Arjun Bhosale

Principal, Arham college of Arts and commerce, Pune

INTRODUCTION

“Positively, my Social Philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Let no one, however, say that I have borrowed my philosophy from the French Revolution. I have not. My philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teachings of my Master, the Buddha. In his philosophy, liberty and equality had a place; but he added that unlimited liberty destroyed equality, and absolute equality left no room for liberty. In His Philosophy, law had a place only as a safeguard against the breaches of liberty and equality; but He did not believe that law can be a guarantee for breaches of liberty or equality. He gave the highest place to fraternity as the only real safeguard against the denial of liberty or equality or fraternity which was another name for brotherhood or humanity, which was again another name for religion”. —Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Minority rights absolute, Ambedkar said “People must decide how society should be organised and Constitution should not take away this liberty”.

The text of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, *States and Minorities*, was submitted to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the All-India Scheduled Caste Federation on March 15, 1947. This was presented to the Fundamental Rights Committee of which he was a member. The memorandum has been drafted in the form of Articles of the Constitution, for, in the words of Ambedkar, it maintained point-wise discussion and precision. The articles have been extended to sections and parts for better understanding. Ambedkar has also prepared explanatory notes and other statistical information for the benefit of the Working Committee of The Scheduled Castes Federation.

The memorandum contains a total of 64 pages including the Preface to the text which is prepared by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar himself. My goal in this paper is to bring out the nature of the Draft Constitution about which the text is written, i.e., the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen, Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes, Minority Rights and State Socialism. In *States and Minorities*, Ambedkar argues whether one can hold the view of the scheduled castes being a minority. In the words of Ambedkar, "Anyone with a fresh and free mind, reading it as a general proposition, would be justified in saying that it is capable of double interpretation. I interpret it to mean that the Scheduled Castes are more than a minority and that any protection is given to the citizens and the minorities will not be adequate for the Scheduled Castes"

Fundamental Rights of Citizen

In *States and Minorities*, the Fundamental Rights of Citizens is recognized in Article II- Section I. The Fundamental Rights that are included in this article are borrowed from the constitutions of various countries. In the Draft Constitution, the Fundamental Rights that were prescribed by Dr. Ambedkar were justifiable in the court of law. Ambedkar observed ‘Equality of Opportunity’ as the most important amongst all the other rights. Fundamental Rights meant the establishment of equality and liberty to reform the social system of India. But they were full of inequalities, discriminations that conflict with our Fundamental Rights. As he saw it, if social and economic inequalities remained, Political democracy, too, would be in-ground. According to Dr. Ambedkar, full democracy is possible where there are relatively high levels of living and literacy and a fair amount of equal opportunity. ‘Gender Equality’ is another important aspect that Dr. Ambedkar held. For him, women of the community shall be subjected to progress only then, a whole community becomes progressive. He has reflected his major concern for women of society, not only Dalits but also elites, in areas concerning inheritance and divorce in his

proposed, 'The Hindu Code Bill' approaching gender equality. Ambedkar placed social and economic equality alongside political and civic equality in contrast to the use of these principles in the French and American declarations though equality and non-discrimination are clearly at the centre of his conceptual framework of human rights.

Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes

In the memorandum, *States, and Minorities*, Article II, Section IV guarantees the safeguard for the Scheduled Castes. The Right to Representation in the Legislature is conceded by the Poona Pact and focuses on these points:

1. **Quantum of Representation,**
2. **Weightage, and**
3. **System of Electorates. In Clause I, Quantum of Representation is allowed to the Scheduled Caste.**

Objective:

The method of electing the electorate is guaranteed in the Clauses (2) and (4) of the Poona Pact. In the opinion of Dr. Ambedkar, if the minority wants a joint electorate, the majority must abide by them and cannot refuse to grant them. Also, whether the electoral system should be the joint electorate or separate electorate must be left to the wishes of the minority. "If it is large enough to influence the majority it will choose joint electorates. If it is too small for the purpose, it will prefer separate electorates for fear of being submerged," says Dr. Ambedkar (19). In *A scheme of Political Safeguards for the Protection of the Depressed Classes in the Future Constitution of a Self-Governing India*, he tried to do in law what he dreamt of working in areas of society and politics. This document was an early draft that Ambedkar managed to put into the Constitution of post-1947 India. This memorandum gave the untouchables the right to access all public places. The document went on declaring social boycotts a criminal offense by prescribing measures on how the Untouchables would be protected from social boycotts. The memorandum demanded a system of positive discrimination within the electoral system as he doubted if the universal adult franchise alone could secure equal rights for Untouchables. In this memorandum, he also suggested being given a separate electorate so that there would be no obstacle, namely Hindu orthodoxy, to restrain them from developing a political constituency with the leadership of its own.

Minority Rights

The provisions for the minority rights have been guaranteed in Article II Section- III, Clauses 1,2,3, and 4 of the memorandum. Clause 1 of the text takes the American form of Executive as a model and adopts it to the Indian Constitution especially to the requirements of minorities. This form of an executive is far from getting objected on the ground that it is against the principle of responsible government. Regarding this Dr. Ambedkar is of view: "There is also nothing objectionable in the proposal that a person should not be qualified to become, a Minister merely because he is elected to the Legislature. The principle that a member of the Legislature before he is made a Minister should be chosen by his constituents was fully recognized by the British Constitution for over a hundred years. A member of Parliament who was appointed a Minister had to submit himself for election before taking up his appointment"

Importance of Minority Rights /overview

In Clause 2, there seems to be 'the best remedy against tyranny and oppression' by a majority against the minority which is an inquiry, publicity, and discussion. The Sapru Committee had also published a report which dealt with similar causes of resolving issues about minorities on December 1, 1945. A non-parting conference was appointed in November 1944 and the report was prepared by the committee, the first meeting of which was convened by Tej Bahadur Sapru,

a renowned lawyer. Clause 3 of the Minority Rights dealt with the social boycott. The Government of Bombay appointed a committee in 1928 to investigate the grievances of the depressed classes and the effects of the social boycott were extracted which is mentioned in the memorandum. The Committee came up with some grave issues that were in veil for long time—open violence against the Untouchables by the orthodox classes, the depressed classes did not possess any economic independence in most parts of the Presidency. Ambedkar mentions that: "Some cultivate the lands of the orthodox classes as their tenants at will. Others live on their earnings as farm laborers employed by the orthodox classes and the rest subsist on the food or grain given to them by the orthodox classes in lieu of service rendered to them as village servants" (18). Thus, he suggested that a social boycott be made nothing but a crime. The provisions relating to boycott are taken from the Burma Anti-Boycott Act, 1922. While Clause 4 guarantees the power of governments to spend money for any purposes connected with the Government of India including purposes beneficial to the minorities. This provision already existed in Section 150 of The Government of India Act, 1935.

State Socialism and Economic Democracy:

Dr. Ambedkar was influenced by Buddha and his teachings, thus he sought to ascribe a similar agenda and wanted to redefine India and her states. He wished State Socialism to be the basic structure of the Constitution. He was reserved with the doubts of how to establish state socialism. It was resolved by advocating a system of parliamentary democracy based on state socialism—state ownership and state management of key industries in the economy; state ownership of basic industries, state monopoly in the insurance sector; subsisting rights in the state industries; state ownership in agriculture, levying charges on the production of the firm; imposing penalties on those who violate the agricultural contract. As Dr. Ambedkar wished this scheme of state socialism would operate only for ten years starting from the very day when the Constitution would come into force. But, his program of state socialism was never adopted. Sardar Patel and J.B. Kripalani rejected his idea of socialism. Later, he approached Rajendra Prasad and Jawaharlal Nehru to include his idea for state socialism in the Fundamental Rights section of the constitution, being denied by both he was upset with Nehru's Objectives Resolution which he considered to be a retirement from the idea of state socialism. He felt that the Resolution failed to advocate the nationalization of land and it might not ensure social, political, and economic justice.

States and Minorities, is even relevant today as it gives the reader all the information regarding the minorities of the states; their status, how oppressed they were, how they were dominated by the orthodox Hindus, what steps were taken for, and against them, what safeguards were prepared for their protection. We get an idea about the current situation of the minority groups in India. The book also throws a question of whether the Scheduled Castes should be considered as a minority. We find that Dr. Ambedkar holds an excellent argument over this question of minority and provides us with a clear answer to the question. He talks about the 'United States of India' and the admission of states into the Union. According to him, every State which is a part of the Union on its own identity requires the capacity so that it can bear the burden of modern administration to maintain peace within its borders and to possess the resources necessary for the economic advancement of its people; or else the country will contain weaker states which would add to the burden of the Central Government. Thereafter, he gives remedies to avoid such a situation. Thus, in this book, we get various productive ideas to make up a puissant country.

Dr. Ambedkar's views on the representation of minorities are very elaborate and insightful on three aspects of minorities— the definition of minority, principles justifying minority representation, the electoral method for minority representation, and general safeguards against the communal legislative majority. Ambedkar observed in the mid-1940s the implication of

communal majority for the nation and nationalism. In this regard, ‘State and minorities’, Ambedkar said: “Unfortunately, for the minorities in India, Indian nationalism has developed a new doctrine which may be called the divine right of the majority to rule the minorities to the wishes of the majority. Any claim for the sharing of power by the minority is called communalism while the monopolizing of the whole power by the majority is called nationalism.”

Foot Notes

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR AND SOCIAL SECTOR

Dr. Ajinkya Sudhir Deshpande

Asst. Teacher, M.E.S'. Sou Vimalabai Garware Junior College, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, being born into the family of the so-called 'untouchables' in society, had to face caste discrimination and injustices of the caste system directly. He devoted his entire life to fighting against this caste-based discrimination and endorsing equality and social justice. It was his firm and unshakable belief that the caste system was the basis of social inequality in India. He saw it as a form of social hierarchy, where people were classified into different castes based on their birth, occupation, and social status. He believed that the caste system was a form of oppression that had to be eliminated to achieve social justice. He believed that education and economic empowerment were key to their upliftment. He initiated and successfully executed various movements to empower the Dalits, other marginalized communities and women. One of his most significant movements was 'Mahad Satyagraha' which is also called as 'The First battle of Dalit Liberation Movement', another important movement was 'Dalit Buddhist Movement', which intended to unshackle the Dalits from the clutches of the unjust Hindu caste system of that time by converting them to Buddhism. He was so inspired by the teachings of Buddha that he said,

"My social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words: liberty, equality and fraternity. Let no one; however, say that, I have borrowed my philosophy from the French Revolution. I have not. My philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teachings of my master, the Buddha." [Writings and speeches of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, [www. drambedkarwritings.gov.in](http://www.drambedkarwritings.gov.in)]

Having obtained multiple degrees from prestigious universities around the world, he himself was a highly educated person. Apparently, he believed that education was the key for social reformation. He was staunch promoter of education, particularly for the marginalized sections of society. Therefore, he set up various educational institutions, including the People's Education Society, to provide quality education to the underprivileged sections of society. It is because of him that today we see people from such sections achieving great heights irrespective of their castes and creeds and leading respectable lives.

Dr. Ambedkar was a great political leader and played a vital role in India's independence struggle too. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly and led the drafting of the Indian Constitution. He was also the country's first law minister and played significant role in structuring legal system of India. Being a strong advocate of the rule of law, he believed that the law should be used wisely as a tool to promote social Justice, harmony and equality. He believed that gender equality was necessary for the development and progress of society. Ultimately, his role was instrumental in drafting various laws, including the Hindu Code Bill, which aimed to abolish discriminatory laws against women in Hindu and abolish discriminatory practices against women.

"I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved." [Writings and speeches of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, [www. drambedkarwritings.gov.in](http://www.drambedkarwritings.gov.in)]

According to him education it was essential to break the cycle of poverty and discrimination that many women faced. He established educational institutions for women, such as the SNDT Women's University in Mumbai. Furthermore, he believed that women should have equal representation in politics and decision-making. He was a strong campaigner of women's suffrage and played a significant role in the inclusion of women's voting rights in the Indian

Constitution. He believed that women's participation in politics was necessary for promoting gender equality and social justice. Dr. Ambedkar was of the opinion that women should have equal property rights. He saw the absence of property rights as a form of discrimination against women and functioned towards giving women equal inheritance rights. Due to his visit to different nations and keen observations, he believed that there is an urgent need in marriage and divorce laws to provide women with greater rights and protections. He was a strong believer of women's right to divorce and believed that women should have the equal right to marry of their own accord and not be forced into marriages. Dr. Ambedkar's views and insights on feminine discourse were a reflection of his commitment to social justice and equality. He believed that women's empowerment was essential for building a fair, impartial and equitable society and worked towards achieving that goal through various initiatives and reforms. No doubt, the tree of this selfless act bore fruits and modern Indian woman stood on her own feet.

Dr. Ambedkar was also a promoter of economic reforms and firmly believed that economic equality was necessary for social justice. He encouraged land reforms, industrialization, and public ownership of key areas to reduce economic disparities and stimulate inclusive growth. Dr. Ambedkar's influence on Indian society has also had an international impact. He spoke at various international conferences and was a member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations. His views on social justice, human rights, and democracy continue to inspire people around the globe.

Annihilation of Caste: Dr. Ambedkar wrote comprehensively on the caste system and its impact on Indian society. His seminal work, 'Annihilation of Caste' was a scathing critique of the caste system and its defenders. He argued that the only way to achieve social justice was to completely eliminate the caste system and its practices. Dr. Ambedkar believed that human rights were essential for social justice. He was a strong advocate of democratic values, freedom of expression, and the rule of law. He believed that human rights were universal and that every individual should have equal access to them.

Dr. Ambedkar was a strong advocate of the reservation policy, which aimed to provide representation and opportunities to historically marginalized communities. He believed that reservation was necessary to correct historical injustices and promote social justice. Dr. Ambedkar believed that gender equality was very much necessary for social justice. He saw gender discrimination as a form of oppression that needed to be abolished completely. He believed that women's empowerment was necessary for building an inclusive and equitable society. His ideas continue to inspire people around the world and have had a transformative impact on India's social and political landscape.

In conclusion, Dr. Ambedkar's views on social justice and overall social sector were a product of his own familiarities of discrimination, injustice and oppression. He believed that social justice was essential to build an impartial, unbiased and equitable society and that it could only be accomplished by eradicating the caste system and promoting equality for all. In short, Dr. Ambedkar's contribution to Indian society is multi layered, multifaceted and far-reaching. His thoughts, philosophy and initiatives have had a transformative impact on Indian society, continue to inspire people around the world, and are an integral part of India's social and political discourse.

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RELEVANCE OF DR. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS IN MODERN INDIA

Dr. Himanshu Yadav

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, S. P. College,
University Of Allahabad

Dr Ambedkar played an important role in shaping the destiny of the nation. Born in a caste worn Indian society he had to suffer from oppression and discrimination being a brilliant scholar he fought a relentless struggle to make his countrymen free from the chains of the caste system and graded inequality His mission was to establish a just society in India on the basis of social democracy. We are yet to achieve it and herein lies the relevance of his ideology.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (14 April 1891-6 December 1956) is one of the brightest luminaries in the firmament of the Indian political history. It is known to all that he played a very active role in the framing of the Indian Constitution. But that does not clearly reveal the actual role that Dr. Ambedkar played in shaping the destiny of the nation. In fact, he was essentially a social reformer.

India, being a colony of British Empire, was suffering from social stagnation, economic decline, political subjugation, and cultural decadence at that time. The failure of Great Mutiny of 1857 had consolidated the hold of British imperialism in our country. But at the same time there occurred a rise in the forces of nationalism. A new spirit of intellectual quest was generated with the introduction of advanced Western rational thinking in India. Thus, India saw the efflorescence of the Renaissance during the 19th century.

The awakening of Indian spirit was manifested in the realm of philosophy, culture, and religion. Political consciousness came as its inevitable consequence. Various social reform movements such as, the *Brahmo samaj*, the *Arya Samaj*, the *Parthana samaj* etc. arose at that time. All these movements tried to give a humanistic and cosmopolitan interpretation of the ancient scriptures, such as the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Gita*, and the *Puranas*. They advocated against untouchability, for widow's remarriage, inter-marriage, inter-dining and also for woman's education. But they had a rocklike belief in the Vedas and thought that all problems of human life should be solved through the Vedic canons. The main objectives of these movements were to revive the past glory and greatness of the country on the basis of the Vedic idealism.

These social reform movements failed to attract Dr. Ambedkar's attention. In a country like India where society is highly fragmented and caste-worn, it was quite natural for a towering personality like Dr. Ambedkar to launch a relentless struggle against all forms of injustice social, economic, and political. Being himself a representative of the so called depressed classes, Ambedkar dedicated his whole life to the liberation of mankind from these artificial bondages created by the privileged classes of the society for their own benefits.

He rebelled against the pernicious evils of caste system and superstitions prevailing in the country and did not hesitate to carry on a relentless struggle against those social evils. He viewed social reform movements as a half-hearted attempt to abolish untouchability. He revealed the contradictions inherent in the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Puranas. He did not agree with the concept of infallibility of the Vedas. He wanted to uproot the Varna system which was based on graded inequality. He did not believe in the theories of theology, soul and rebirth. To him man was more important than God. He believed that religion is for man and man is not for religion. He wanted to solve the problems of life by applying critical reason. His ideology proved itself more relevant than the ideals of reformist movements in the 19 century. The relevance of his theory was felt at the time of framing the Constitution of India.

Bhimrao was born in a religious Mahar family at Mhow in central India on April 14, 1891. This family had a military service background and an unusual respect for education. Ambedkar, a great scholar, had acquired qualifications like the M.A., Ph.D., M.Sc. (Econ), D.Sc. (Econ) and Barrister-at-Law. Being an untouchable by birth, he had to acquire all of these educational degrees through his continuous struggle against entrenched oppression, discrimination, and caste prejudice.

Ambedkar, a great social reformer and upholder of human rights, had deep erudition and experience in the fields of law, economics, sociology, labour and politics which enabled him to make an impressive contribution in the field of literature. Ambedkar, a multidimensional personality, played a significant role in shaping modern India. Ramchandra Guha in his edited work, *Makers of modern India* writes: "The country's leading politicians were its leading political thinkers. This is especially true of the trinity of Mohandas K. Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and B.R Ambedkar. The first was the father of Indian nationalism who, between the 1920's and 1940's, forged a popular, countrywide movement against British colonial rule. The second was the architect of the modern Indian nation-state, serving as prime minister from the nation's birth in August 1947 until his death in May 1964. The third was the great leader of country's oppressed castes, who also oversaw, as the country's first law minister, the drafting of the Indian Constitution, which came into effect on 26 January 1950. But even as they fought and struggled, led and governed, Gandhi, Nehru and Ambedkar wrote at great length about the world they saw and shaped."

T.K. Tope, an Indian scholar once said: "Dr. Ambedkar's erudition and learning were no doubt great.....the generations to come may not remember the political achievements of Dr. Ambedkar, but they will remember his lofty achievements in the field of scholarship and learning. Ambedkar the political leader, Ambedkar the social revolutionary, Ambedkar the modern exponent of Buddhism, may be forgotten, but Ambedkar the scholar, will be immortal.

The Writings and Speeches of Ambedkar on the social problems and politics of India should be treated as a valuable addition to the literature. Often Ambedkar was misunderstood by the newspapers but his thinking was far ahead of his time. Even to-day, Ambedkar continues to attract attention because of the validity of his ideology. His ideology is pragmatic, rationalistic, and far-sighted. It aims to transform and reconstruct society, promises paradise for the oppressed and fraternity for all.

Ambedkar, the first educated proletariat fought a relentless struggle for the cause of untouchables and downtrodden. According to him, Shudras, the untouchables were a part of the Aryan society. He argued with reference to Hindu scriptures that the shudras were not a separate Varna but the part of the Kshatriya Varna. He believed that the caste system is the root cause of social injustice in India. According to him, "*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 this obdurate circumstance is merciless and it is in obedience to its force that some unfortunate groups find themselves closed out, with the result that new groups by a mechanical law are constantly being converted into castes in a wildering multiplicity.*"

He also observed that "the root of untouchability is the caste system, the root of the caste system is religion attached to varnashram, and the root of varnashram is the brahminical religion, and the root of brahminical religion is authorization of power." He was also of the opinion that the untouchability system is such a system where the untouchables suffer not only from unmitigated economic exploitation but also from uncontrolled economic exploitation. He thought that this problem was basically a socio- economic and political problem. That's why in the Constituent Assembly debates he opined: "On 26th January, 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have

inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principles of one man one vote, and one vote one value, in our social and economic life, we shall by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principles of one man one value How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If 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 else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy."

Decades passed but Ambedkar's thoughts and ideas are still relevant in India. His tireless struggle against casteism is still relevant in the caste wor society of India. The Indian census in many states maintains caste data and religion data. The recent incident of the suicide of Rohit Vemula of University of Hyderabad also exposed the dubious nature of an upper caste culture' that is being propagated in the guise of 'Indian culture'. Very recently a news was published in the newspaper with the caption " *Dalit man beaten to death*", describing "A 23 year old Dalit man, Jeetendra succumbing to injuries on Sunday, days after he was allegedly beaten up by some upper caste people for eating in front of them at a wedding reception in Uttarakhand's Tehri district. According to the police, Jeetendra was critically injured and died at a hospital in Dehradun". "This news reminds us of a very bitter experience faced by Bhim. As a 9 year old boy, he was once on his way to Goregaon from Satara along with his brother and sister's son and he had to go without water and food because of his low caste.. This harrowing experience left a deep rooted scar on the mind of the little boy.

He had undertaken the task of removing untouchability to establish equality in the society. He opined: "This is a struggle in order to raise ourselves; hence we are bound to undertake it, so as to remove the obstacles to our progress. We all know how at every turn, untouchability muddies and soils our whole existence." Recent incidents show that our society is yet to be free from this evil of untouchability. Herein lies the relevance of Ambedkar even today,

Ambedkar's dream was to establish an ideal society based on "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." According to him, an ideal society should be mobile. should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts. Not only that in an ideal society there should be many interests consciously communicated and shared. His dream) was to establish a united and integrated society and nation. He was of the view that "The downtrodden people should get accustomed to work in unison with others. The most vital need of the day is to create among the mass of the people a sense of common nationality..... the feeling that they are Indians first and Indians last." According to him, Nationalism in relation to a nation should be based on a strong feeling of social unity. And in relation to internationalism, it should be based on human brotherhood. The motto of his nationalism is "Live and let others live Here we can notice a similarity between the nationalism of Rabindranath Tagore and nationalism of Dr. B.R Ambedkar. This need for unity and integrity is still a crying need for India. We cannot but remember Ambedkar's thoughts even in the twenty first century because he is still relevant in the present political and social scenario of India.

Ambedkar believed in religion but according to him religion should be based on true rationality He believed that man himself is the creator of his own life with all virtues or evils. He said "*Man is the creator, reformer and also rebellious by nature. He exists, because he creates, reforms and rebels against what he wishes to uproot. Man does so with all sense of justice and utility.*" Influences of two big personalities- Lord Buddha and John Dewey over Ambedkar's life were great. He felt that equality was inherent in Buddhism. In Buddhist religion there are Brahmins, shudras, and others. But according to Buddha, though they have come from various countries or different castes, they are equal in Buddhist Sangha. Rivers flow separately in their own provinces, but when they meet the sea, they lose their identity. So, Buddhist Sangh is just like un ocean. All are equal in the Sangha. The aim of Buddha was to reconstitute an equitable

and harmonious society of 'Bahujana sukhaya by rearranging the socio-economic and political relations grounded on morality. Ambedkar believed that the central message of Buddha's life was to reconstruct the Brahminical philosophy and society in the light of scientific rationality. As a true follower of Buddha, he upheld the ideals of universal pity, sympathy for all human beings and goodwill for everybody. He quoted the following message of Buddha: "*As a mother at the risk of her life watches over her own child, her only child, so also let everyone cultivate a boundless loving mind towards all beings. And let him cultivate goodwill towards, the entire world, a boundless (loving) mind above and below and across, unobstructed, without hatred, without enmity. This way of living is the best in the world.*"

According to Ambedkar, the combination of love and wisdom is essential to save the world from all types of evils. His message that only the destruction of ignorance and dissemination of knowledge is the wise way to live and should be the first priority of India today. As Ambedkar's vision of a 'just society' based on love, wisdom, and righteousness still remains unattainable, the relevance of his views is being increasingly felt today. His quest for social justice is reflected in the philosophy, policy, and ideal of the Constitution of India.

The Hindu community set itself in the steel frame of graded inequality. Besides this, the striking feature of Indian society is the worship of superman. According to Ambedkar, the practice of hero worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship. He said that, "Hero-worship in the sense of expressing our unbounded admiration is one thing To obey the hero without thinking is a totally different kind of her-worship. There is nothing wrong in the former while the later is no doubt a most pernicious thing" "The former is only man's respect for anything noble and true; while the later is the villain's fealty to his lord and is a sign of debasement. The former does not take away one's intelligence to think and independence to act. The later makes one a perfect fool. The former involves no disaster to the state. The later is the source of positive danger to it." Ambedkar warned people not to be irrational and blind to hero-worship. But our society is not yet free from such evils and that make the ideology of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar more relevant in present India.

Ambedkar dedicated his whole life for the upliftment of the depressed class. In the Constitution of India, constitutional reservations were provided to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in services, legislatures, and educational institutions. But Ambedkar was not satisfied with it. Later on reservation policies were extended to OBCs. Review of the reservation policies after completion of ten years of adoption of the Constitution was essential to reduce the caste compartmentalization and conflicts The sixteenth Lok Sabha Speaker Sumitra Mahajan also advocated a "rethink" on caste based reservations in the country obviously because Ambedkar also supported it. In an event called Lokmanthan 2018 in Ranchi she said that Ambedkar advocated for reservations only for ten years. Thereafter efforts must be made for uplifting the communities [who have the benefit of reservation] as a whole. But it did not happen. Those present in parliament kept extending the reservations for 10 years. Once it was even extended for 20 years," She said that only extension of reservation is a 'shortcoming. It would not be able to change the society. A change about reservation should come in the mind of the people. Ambedkar also believed that real emancipation is possible only when there is a change of heart.

The long-cherished aspirations of Ambedkar for Indian democracy based on liberty, equality and fraternity is yet to be realized. We can observe that in our society laws are on the side of equality but the customs that people follow in their daily lives are on the side of inequality. It can be revealed from the dowry system, several forms of corruption, caste violence, gender violence etc. This is because of the incompatibility of ideologies in exercise in the country. We may have a look on the observation of D. Keer who viewed that the Indians today are governed by two different ideologies. One is their political ideal which set out in the preamble of the Constitution affirms a life of liberty, equality, and fraternity. But the social ideal embodied in

their religion eludes them. According to him, political democracy would not be a success if there is no social and economic democracy

Several decades had passed after independence but democratic ideals are yet to be achieved by the citizens of India. Poverty, illiteracy, powerlessness are the basic hindrances to make democracy effective and successful. Ambedkar desired to unite the socially and educationally Backward Classes on the basis of their common victimhood i.e., Scheduled Castes due to untouchability, Scheduled Tribes on the basis of isolation and the Other Backward Castes due to social and educational deprivation. But they are still under the influence of the ideology of exclusion, which shapes their destiny.

The canvas of Ambedkar's writings is vast. He wrote on issues like economic development and planning, socialism and democracy, nationalism and women empowerment, representation and formation of states, Panchayati Raj and political decentralization, caste discrimination and untouchability, etc.. the relevance of which are acutely felt even today.

According to him, sufferings of the people of this country are not only due to economic exploitation but also due to social exploitation and degradation. He believed that agriculture is and will remain India's primary concern. But agriculture and industry should develop side by side so that the pressure of population on the land can be relieved and can provide better opportunities. He advocated for India state socialism tempered by a democratic base coupled with state ownership of land and other means of production. In his book *States and Minorities* Ambedkar viewed that State Socialism means "Putting an obligation on the state to plan the economic life of the people on lines which would lead to the highest point of productivity without closing every avenue to private enterprise and also provide for the equitable distribution of wealth." His object was to establish state socialism not through dictatorship but through parliamentary democracy. He felt that political stability would not possible unless and until there is social democracy and economic equality.

The relevance of democratic socialism as advocated by Ambedkar is no less important at the present time. The fall of Soviet-type socialism has proved the importance of the democratization of society. Collective farming as advocated by Ambedkar should also be thoroughly reconsidered.

In order to emancipate the depressed class the main slogan of Dr. Ambedkar was "educate, agitate and organize". He clarified the objectives of Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha as follows: "To bring about the uplift of outcastes, it is first necessary to awaken them. A community can progress only if it has developed a consciousness. As someone has put it, when the poor are certainly handicapped by their poverty, the real obstacle in their path is their inertia and their indifference! To overcome this inertia and indifference, it is necessary they should become charged with resentment of the injustice of their own condition. Without it, they cannot get rid of the factors that obstruct their progress" To Ambedkar, education is an important tool to generate consciousness among the oppressed sections to fight back the oppression.

In conclusion, we may say that India is now in position which has been described by the Political Scientists as 'Democratic Deficit'. It is a situation where an elected government fails to fulfill the promises to the electorate. Today the term 'Democratic Revolution' is being used by many people but what Ambedkar wanted is Humanitarian Revolution. He opined, "All the same we must not forget the vast difference that separates a revolution from real social change." Revolution transfers political power from one party to another but India today needs a real social change. Herein lies the relevance and importance of Ambedkarism Ambedkar was optimistic to say, I am convinced that, given time and circumstances, nothing in the world will prevent this country from becoming one and with all our castes and creeds, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that we shall in some way be a united people." Here Dr. Ambedkar

emerges as an eloquent spokesman of national integrity at a time when many divisive forces are trying to destabilize the age old national integrity and communal harmony of our country.

So, to resolve the contradictions, the inequalities, prevalent in Indian society and to build up a New India, the ideology of Ambedkar is still relevant. He may be called the great prophet of enlightenment to make India free from all kind of darkness.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF

DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR

Dr. Dadarao Yashwant Ingle (Professor)

S.B.B Alias Appasaheb Jedhe College, 425, Shukrawar Peth, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the chairman of drafting committee of Indian constitution. The Constitution of India and the philosophy of the Enlightenment awakened Indians from their fanatical slumber. Indian reforms were four-pronged: religious, social, economic and political. They had a difference of opinion - then giants regarding priority. Along with social reforms, an all-out struggle for political freedom began and we finally succeeded in achieving the goal. In the pre-independence period, although social reforms were taking place gradually, economic reforms were completely neglected. We aimed for political democracy but economic democracy was completely neglected. The British rulers did very little to change the economic structure of the country. Due to this, the social and economic situation of the common people became worse.

Socio-Economic and Political Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's writings and interviews reveal his socio-economic and political views. His research writings on 'Administration and Finance of the East India Company', 'The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, The Problem of the Rupee', Testimony before Commissions Appointed on 'Indian Currency and Finance' are a guide. One thing to remember is that the first thesis was written in 1915 for a doctorate at Columbia University. The thesis on the problem of rupee submitted to London University in 1922 and the testimony before the commission in 1925. Dr. Babasaheb was 24 years old in 1915. He was 31 years old in 1922 and 34 years old in 1925. His erudition, teaching and analytical attitude of that age will be remarkable.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was an advocate of egalitarian and humanitarian principles. He was one of the Indians who restructured the Indian society. He emphasized the need for economic democracy along with social democracy. He was of the opinion that unless this is achieved there will be no peace and prosperity in India. He fought against the economic oppression of the backward class society. Even Mahatma Gandhi, who worked for the abolition of untouchability, once opined that "If Hinduism is to live, untouchability must die and if untouchability is to live, Hinduism must die." ¹Dr. Untouchability is a by-product of the caste system. Dr. Ambedkar himself understood and attacked the caste system.

Dr. Ambedkar refuted those who said caste system was a division of labor but he said that it was an institution that killed the efficiency of India. Caste is not only a division of labor but also a division of laborers. Civilized society undoubtedly requires division of labor. Caste system is a hierarchy. The caste system is a hierarchy that divides the laborers in a hierarchical manner on top of each other.²

Due to the caste system, individual capabilities are not developed and therefore economic development of the individual is not possible. No single industry or profession can last forever and therefore it has to change. He argued that the caste system hindered this change and thus created unemployment in India.³

He believed that if castes were abolished, social and economic disparities could be removed and thus the unity and integrity of the nation could be strengthened. This proves that he was a patriot who believed that the unity of the nation should be sustained by freedom and democracy. In 1930 he said "to say that this country is divided by castes and creeds and that it cannot be united

self-governing community unless adequate safeguards for protection of minorities are made a part of the Constitution, is a position to which there can be no objection. But the minorities must bear in mind that although we are today driven by sects and atomized by castes, our ideal is a united India. That being so, it follows that every minority in formulating the safeguards it needs, must take care that they would not be incompatible with the realization of that ideal."⁴

.Dr Ambedkar in one of his speeches in the Constituent Assembly mentioned the contradiction between the democracy enshrined in the Constitution and the inequality in our society. Unless these contradictions are removed, democracy in India will be like a palace built of dung, he said. The foundation will be holy, but it will be weak and shaky. He also said that trying to establish democracy or socialism in our country without attacking the caste system is a slap in the face. The caste system will not be destroyed by direct violent attacks, but a specific mental process will have to be implemented for it. Constructive economic democracy has to be implemented. And he argued that the caste system could be destroyed by properly implementing the political democratic process.

For the upliftment and progress of women Dr. Ambedkar's contribution is also unique. In the All India Depressed Classes Women Conference held at Nagpur on July 20, 1942, Dr. Ambedkar emphasized that the nation cannot progress without the progress of women.⁵ In the progress of women, Dr. Ambedkar's contribution is also important. As the first Law Minister of independent India, he introduced the Hindu Code Bill in Parliament on 5 February 1951. The bill introduced some important things like women's right to property, share of daughters in parental property, provisions on divorce and abolition of doctrine of religious law. Birthright. The husband insisted on the consent of the wife to adopt a son and was allowed to adopt a daughter. Unfortunately this bill was not passed due to strong opposition from some.⁶ So on 27 September 1951⁷ Dr. Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet.

He advocated state socialism. He introduced the concept of state socialism by arranging that all infrastructure industries like railways, insurance and the big industries should be owned by the government and small industries should be privately owned. Agriculture should be fully owned by the government and the entire capital should be provided by the government and agriculture farm should give to the laborers and to tenants farmers for cultivation. It was also a part of his state socialism that agriculture should be done cooperatively or intensively without fragmentation.⁸ He has been succeed to pass the bill for abolish Khoti system.

Dr. Ambedkar proposed two important measures for agrarian reform: (1) Nationalization of land holdings with compensation to landowners in the form of debentures equal to the value of land rights. (2) Collective farms which could only provide employment and income security to landless laborers.⁹ Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar became the first MLA to introduce a bill to abolish the slavery of tenant farmers.¹⁰

CONCLUSION

Political democracy, social democracy and economic democracy cannot be created in India unless the caste system is destroyed. The class struggle cannot stand because of the division of labour. Unemployment arises due to lack of opportunity to change industries. Advocating state socialism and nationalizing agriculture will transform agriculture into an industry along with many socio-economic and political issues such as issues of landless laborers, issues of Mahar Watana, stabilization of foreign exchange, cost-effective collection of land revenue, resolution of women's issues through the Hindu Code Bill. Babasaheb Ambedkar has commented and offered the Indian Constitution to the country on 26th January 1949 which solves all the above questions.

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Mr. Bagwan Ajas Mahimud

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Abeda Inamdar Senior College, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, widely regarded as the architect of the Indian Constitution, was not only a legal luminary and social reformer but also a champion of social justice. Born into a Dalit family in 1891, Ambedkar faced immense social discrimination and oppression throughout his life. However, his experiences and struggles shaped his commitment to achieving social justice for marginalized communities, particularly the Dalits. B.R. Ambedkar, a towering figure in the history of social justice, continues to inspire generations with his relentless pursuit of equality, dignity, and social transformation. Born into a society entrenched in the shackles of caste discrimination and untouchability, Ambedkar emerged as a beacon of hope for the marginalized communities of India. His life and work are a testament to the power of resilience, determination, and intellectual prowess in challenging the deep-rooted social injustices that have plagued humanity for centuries.

This chapter explores the remarkable journey of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, delving into his experiences, philosophy, and contributions to the realm of social justice. It examines the social context in which he grew up—a society divided by the oppressive caste system, where individuals were confined to rigid hierarchies and subjected to discrimination based on their birth. From an early age, Ambedkar faced the brunt of caste-based prejudices, enduring social exclusion, denial of opportunities, and systematic humiliation. However, instead of succumbing to these injustices, he transformed his personal struggles into a lifelong mission to challenge the status quo and uplift the marginalized.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's understanding of social justice was multifaceted, encompassing legal, political, social, and economic dimensions. He recognized that true social justice could only be achieved by addressing the systemic inequalities that perpetuated discrimination and ensuring the equal distribution of resources, opportunities, and privileges within society. His vision of social justice was grounded in the principles of equality, liberty, and dignity for all individuals, irrespective of their caste, creed, gender, or socio-economic background.

One of Ambedkar's seminal contributions to the pursuit of social justice was his relentless advocacy for the rights and empowerment of Dalits—the most oppressed and marginalized communities in India. He spearheaded numerous movements, including the Temple Entry Movement, which sought to challenge the exclusion of Dalits from sacred spaces. Ambedkar firmly believed that access to religious spaces was not only a matter of personal faith but also a fundamental aspect of social equality and justice.

Furthermore, Ambedkar's most enduring legacy lies in his instrumental role in drafting the Indian Constitution. As the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, he played a pivotal role in shaping the constitutional framework of independent India. The Constitution, with its emphasis on fundamental rights, social justice, and affirmative action, bears the imprint of Ambedkar's vision. It enshrines principles of equality, prohibits discrimination, and provides for reservations in education, employment, and political representation for historically marginalized communities, such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Dr. Ambedkar's vision of social justice extended beyond legal and political realms. He recognized that education was a powerful tool for empowerment and social upliftment. Ambedkar advocated for universal education and fought against educational discrimination,

believing that knowledge could break the chains of oppression and empower individuals to challenge social inequalities.

The impact of Ambedkar's work resonates far beyond the boundaries of India. His ideas and teachings have influenced social justice movements around the world. His emphasis on the intersectionality of caste, class, gender, and other forms of discrimination has paved the way for a more inclusive understanding of social justice. His commitment to the cause of social justice continues to inspire activists, scholars, and policymakers globally to address inequalities and fight for a more equitable society.

The concept of social justice:

The concept of social justice lies at the heart of efforts to create a fair and equitable society that upholds the rights, dignity, and well-being of all individuals. Rooted in principles of equality and fairness, social justice seeks to address systemic inequalities, discrimination, and oppression that perpetuate social, economic, and political disparities. This chapter explores the concept of social justice, its historical foundations, key dimensions, and the challenges in its realization.

Historical Foundations of Social Justice:

The roots of social justice can be traced back to ancient civilizations, where early philosophical and religious texts emphasized the importance of fairness, compassion, and equality. The concept gained prominence during the Enlightenment era, as thinkers such as John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau advocated for natural rights and the equality of all individuals. The Industrial Revolution and its accompanying socio-economic transformations further spurred discussions on the need for social justice, as disparities between the wealthy elite and the working class became glaringly apparent.

Dimensions of Social Justice:

Social justice encompasses various dimensions that aim to address different aspects of inequality and injustice. These dimensions include distributive justice, which focuses on fair distribution of resources and opportunities; retributive justice, which seeks to hold individuals and institutions accountable for their actions; and corrective justice, which aims to rectify historical injustices and inequalities. Moreover, social justice extends beyond material considerations to encompass cultural, political, and legal dimensions, recognizing the importance of representation, recognition, and equal protection under the law.

Principles and Approaches to Social Justice:

Several principles underpin the concept of social justice. These include equity, which ensures that individuals receive what they need to thrive, regardless of their starting point; equality, which advocates for equal treatment and opportunities; and solidarity, which emphasizes collective action and support for marginalized groups. Approaches to social justice vary, ranging from liberal perspectives that prioritize equal opportunities to radical approaches that challenge underlying power structures and advocate for significant systemic changes.

Challenges to Social Justice:

Achieving social justice is not without challenges. Inequalities rooted in factors such as race, gender, class, and ethnicity intersect to create complex systems of disadvantage. Discrimination, prejudice, and implicit biases continue to perpetuate inequality and hinder progress towards social justice. Additionally, political and economic interests often pose barriers to enacting transformative policies and redistributive measures. Addressing these challenges requires a comprehensive understanding of the interconnected nature of social injustices and a commitment to dismantling systemic barriers.

Social Justice Movements:

Throughout history, social justice has been a rallying point for movements seeking change and transformation. From the civil rights movement to the feminist movement, from the labor movement to the environmental justice movement, these grassroots efforts have challenged oppressive systems, advocated for marginalized communities, and pushed for policy reforms. Social media and digital platforms have also played a crucial role in mobilizing and amplifying the voices of those fighting for social justice.

International Perspectives on Social Justice:

The concept of social justice has gained global recognition, with international organizations and treaties advocating for its principles. The United Nations, through its Sustainable Development Goals, emphasizes the importance of social justice in achieving a more sustainable and equitable world. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights establishes the foundation for social justice by asserting the rights and freedoms to which all individuals are entitled. Social justice is a fundamental concept that seeks to address systemic inequalities and create a more equitable society. Rooted in principles of equality, fairness, and human rights, social justice encompasses various dimensions, including distributive, retributive, and corrective justice. However, achieving social justice is an ongoing and complex endeavor, as it requires confronting historical injustices, dismantling oppressive systems, and challenging deep-rooted biases and prejudices. It necessitates collective action, policy reforms, and a commitment to recognizing and uplifting the voices and experiences of marginalized communities.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's analysis of the Hindu social structure in relation to untouchability:

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar criticised the caste-based social structure because he desired to restructure society on the principles of equality and reason, believing that it was marked by graded disparities. Ambedkar said that the Hindu society as a whole was made up of four classes: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudhras. These classes eventually amalgamated into a caste and carried with them an uneven distribution of privileges and rewards. He was adamant that the caste system had to be abolished in order to create a society based on equality and fraternity, thus despite experiencing prejudice, he chose to devote his life in order to oppose the system.

Caste suggests a system in which rank and employment are passed down from father to son and are hereditary. All the conditions of a just social order were lost with the emergence of caste. Due to the caste and subcaste systems in place, people's rank and line of work were determined at birth. The person couldn't have made a decision because he wasn't a free human. Such a birth-based status-based framework caused Hindu society to become disorganised. The Shudras suffered the most because of their inferior status—that of slaves—and because they were compelled to dwell in filthy conditions on the edges of communities without access to basic amenities like wells and water. Their mere voice or shadow or touch was sufficient.

After several movements and struggles of Ambedkar to abolish the evil of untouchability, laws were incorporated in the Indian Constitution to commemorate the great oppression faced by the untouchables. Article 17 of the Indian Constitution abolished untouchability and declared it as a punishable act. According to this, no one can restrict the Dalit's or Harijans from entering temples, streets, buses, etc. the constitution also provides reservation to these class by virtue of article 15(4) and 29(2) read with article 341 of the Indian constitution.

Ambedkar was fully aware of the pattern and problems of Indian society. Hence Ambedkar's concept of social justice included:

- i. Unity and equality of all human beings
- ii. Equal worth of men and women

- iii. Respect for the weak and the lowly
- iv. Regard for human rights
- v. Benevolence, mutual love, sympathy, tolerance and charity towards fellow beings
- vi. Humane treatment in all cases
- vii. Dignity of all citizens
- viii. Abolition of caste distinctions
- ix. Education and property for all and
- x. Good will and gentleness.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was well aware of the deplorable state, poor position, and oppression of women in Indian society. He made an effort to advance both all women and Hindu women in particular. Ambedkar said that women were relegated to the job of childbearing and performing the tasks of a wife or mother, and that they were not considered anything more than instruments to carry the family's obligations. Since the division of employment does not advantage them, Indian women have become anonymous. Due to the gender discrimination, they experience, equal opportunity is still a pipe dream for them. They must deal with their helplessness, poverty, illiteracy, poor health, and inequity. Traditional viewpoints consider them to be inferior socially, intellectually, and physically, intellectually and socially inferior to men and subject them to male exploitation and unjustified division of labour. Such a society, where women, comprising half of the population, have a low status, came into being primarily due to the fact that women have no control over material and social resources. This is further compounded by lack of participation opportunities for women, in the decision-making process of the family.

It is generally accepted that B.R. Ambedkar neither applied social justice in the Indian context nor defined it in the same terms as Rawls or Miller did. However, his political theory and social doctrine frequently reference justice in his worldview and political actions, as well as in direct and explicit examples of justice and equality. The Indian constitution's preamble, which calls for complete and unequivocal justice in terms of social, economic, and political matters, reflects this.

In his final speech to the Constituent Assembly at the time of the adoption of the Indian Constitution, Ambedkar issues a warning that political democracy alone is insufficient for India. For India to remain a country, it must be converted into a social democracy. He opines that political democracy should comprise of social democracy as well. For him, social democracy means "... a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life." He further adds:

These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Ambedkar invokes the principle of social justice in various contexts. He primarily used it in the context of legal education, land ownership, political agency for depressed classes and religion.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's approach on Justice and Women

One of the rare social thinkers that this country has seen is Dr. B R Ambedkar and the world's greatest thinkers. The contributions they made were unforgettable. For centuries in our India, there were many issues of caste and gender discrimination. For India to thrive, the caste system has to be eradicated. Ambedkar said women can only thrive on all fronts. Ambedkar's view was that the caste system had to be eradicated. Women in India were also subjected to inequality and exploitation in terms of Child marriage, Devadasi system, Basavi system, Sati cohabitation,

dowry problem etc. Women were limited to having children at home and taking care of them. She had the label of "deprived of opportunity in society" despite all the qualifications of women. Ambedkar enacted special rights and acts for women in the Constitution. As a member of the Lok Sabha, as a law minister, he did many populist programs. From 1942 to 1946, Ambedkar served as a member of the British Viceroy's Cabinet as Labor Minister. He worked for the pro-workers within the limits. The most important ones are the establishment of job exchanges, reducing 14 Hrs. to 8 Hrs. establishments of labour welfare community, women's welfare fund, separate toilets for women workers, paid holidays, compulsory insurance scheme for workers, minimum wage, periodic pay revision, factories Enacted the Act, Conciliation, Divisions Act.

Let us not forget the fact that Ambedkar's contribution is behind many of the hardships, privileges, projects and programs that the country's 60% working class is experiencing today. Approximately half of the country's population was seen as second-class citizens. He hoped for equal opportunities on all fronts by preventing injustice to women and achieving equality. The Hindu Code of Parliament passed a bill in the Independent Parliament of India to address the injustice that Hindu women have in regard to their right to family property, divorce, alimony and adoption. The bill fell through without a needed majority. This caused Ambedkar to resign as his minister. There is no other politician who has resigned for women's equality in the last 72 years of Republican India except Ambedkar. Ambedkar's contribution lies behind many of the rights enjoyed by Hindu women today. Constitutional Rights and Women In Indian constitution, there are few articles exist that help the women of Indian society to improve their position and to compete with their male counterparts.

For example, Article 14 – All are equal in the eyes of law and equally protected by the law. It means equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex. Article 15(3) enables positive discrimination in favour of women. Article 16 mentions there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office without any discrimination on the basis of religion, caste, creed and sex. Article 24 prohibits the employment of children below the age of 14 years in factories, mines or in any other hazardous employment. Article 39 and 39(d). State Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work. As per article 41 the state shall guarantee within its economic limits to all the citizens, the right to work, to education and public assistance in certain cases. Article 42 the state makes provision for Human conditions of work and maternity relief. Under article 44, the state provides a uniform Civil Code to all the citizens throughout the territory of India. Article 46 – The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 47 – The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on. Article 51 (A) (C) – Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women. Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243 R (4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System.

Hindu society in ancient times:

The Varnas idea is fully supported by the legal system, which upholds the ancient Hindu civilization. Therefore, it rejected the idea that all human beings are created equal.

The most horrible aspect of these social injustices is that the victim cannot alter their work and that this man-made impairment will be passed down through the generations. Humans are humiliated and degraded by their occupations from birth until death. There is no opportunity to establish a new social structure that would guarantee equality for every member of the population. It increased the authority of the affluent while muting the voices of the despondent. The uncompromising aspect is that the favoured elite is just a tiny portion of the overall population.

Education

Dr. Ambedkar said that the answer to releasing the oppressed and despondent is knowledge. Because the marginalised group was able to accept that they were a victim of the rich group due to their lack of education. He also criticised the British for not placing enough focus on education for lower-class people. Therefore, the only way to teach kids about liberty, equality, and individual rights is through secular education. Because doing so will help marginalised people develop self-respect, it is first necessary for them to dispel the concept of inherent impurity, which was deeply ingrained in the minds of lower caste individuals. Eradication should begin with the fundamental understanding that all people deserve to be treated equally. By the education we can make other privileged people to analyze that caste system is a weapon against the humanity. But the focus of education is more on make the voiceless people to get their own voice against the exploitation.

Economic Development

Dr. Ambedkar fervently argued that while education is a tool for learning about social justice, only economic progress will give people the capacity to break free from the chains of the past. They will be able to start a new life with a new career thanks to conventional jobs that have severed their ties to caste and the local society. The rural communities are more agrarian and uneducated since they are not taught about social justice.

Political Strength

Dr. Ambedkar, as an eyeopener emphasis that the marginalized people must organize themselves as a political party to achieve the education with economic growth. Because it is the possible way to attain, protect and make new policies to create a just society without any hinderance.

Conversion

Dr. Ambedkar realized is not possible to remove casteism from Hinduism Because it formulated on the basics of Varnas, so he adopted Buddhism and asked his followers to do the same. Buddhism based on humanism and the spirit of equality. After the conversion he proclaimed that he got a new birth and he discarded the religion which preach inequalities among the human being and obstruct the society to get a social justice

Social Scientists' Analysis of Ambedkar's Views on Social Justice

Many social scientists, social activists and Ambedkarites have analysed and interpreted 'Ambedkarian social justice' or social justice from Ambedkar's perspective. In all these analyses the emphasis is on Ambedkar's approach to social justice and how it is best suited for removing social injustice in Indian society. A few examples are discussed below

Vivek Kumar points out that although Dr. Ambedkar did not propose anything concrete definition or theory of social justice in itself, could be his theory of social justice drawn from his writings and speeches. He believes that the following five main from the writings of Ambedkar, one can extract the principles by which justice can exist shared in society:

- 1) Establishing a society where an individual becomes the means of all social purposes,
- 2) Establishing a society based on equality, liberty and fraternity,
- 3) Establishing democracy – political, economic and social,
- 4) Establishing democracy through constitutional measures, and
- 5) Establishing democracy by breaking monopoly of upper strata on political power

Valerian Rodrigues believes that Ambedkar approaches social justice by invoking equal rights with a strong interventionist role for the State in favour of the disadvantaged Rodrigues extracts Ambedkar's premise for social justice on human equality in four arguments:

- 1) Equality is a value that sets standards for our ways of life, it thereby sustains a regime of rights,
- 2) While inequality ensures the survival of the fittest, equality ensures survival of the best, the fittest who survive might not be the best of the society,
- 3) A social body can bring out the best in men and women only when initial equality is extended to them and
- 4) People should be treated equally to avoid any unfair treatment

Kanta Kataria writes that "the true bases of social justice, according to Ambedkar, are rooted in the creed of Buddha. Buddha's teachings are very vast and form the corpus of social justice." She observes Ambedkar's understanding of the Buddhism facilitated him to lay equal emphasis on liberty, equality and fraternity. According to her, in addition to liberty and equality, '... fraternity is an important plank in Ambedkar's concept of social justice' (Kataria, 2015:211). She writes: Ambedkar's concept of social justice, that is, fraternity, liberty and equality must co-exist. Since this is the path tread by Buddha, it can be said that the true bases of Ambedkar's social justice are embedded in Buddhism (Kataria, 2015:212)

Relevance of Dr. Ambedkar's Concept of Social Justice in the Present Scenario

Dr. Ambedkar's efforts led to the adoption of laws in the Constitution that forbade the social ill of untouchability and promoted the empowerment of women. The credit for unifying and bringing all the oppressed caste people under the umbrella term of Schedule Caste should belong to him, just as he had made the oppressed people of India feel the strength of their existence. The only thing that allowed Scheduled Caste to triumph over the pain and suffering caused by the previous social structure was the privileges offered to them. The scheduled caste had opportunities in education and government service that prepared the path for them to join the Indian Civil Service, Parliament, and other professions that helped them advance intellectually, socially, and economically.

Decades have passed, Infrastructures have been developed, Many new Technologies were upgraded yet the mindset of People on the caste system remains the same. The uneducated privileged class people express their dominance on muscle power whereas the educated people show their power and authority on the deprived class which affects them physiologically. Therefore, the marginalized people are still a victim to the case system unable to move forward towards advancement. We need to go a long way to attain social justice in India and it is possible by implementing the ideas of Ambedkar.

CONCLUSION

The Indian Constitution, which is built on social justice and human dignity and rests on Ambedkar's ideas, provides equal rights to all. However, it has been noted that over time, Ambedkar's concepts of social justice were unable to be properly implemented. As a result, his view of justice will need to be spread through institutions via civil society. Ambedkar decided to abolish caste discrimination by creating the Constitution because he cared about how the weaker groups of Indian society would grow overall. In order to promote constitutional and legal means of defending the rights and dignity of the weakest sectors of society, Ambedkar's views of social justice are still pertinent in modern Indian society.

Social justice is a fundamental and important part of the Constitution, and it is believed to be a basic structure that cannot be reduced, changed, or eliminated in light of the doctrine of basic

structure put forth in the Kesavananda Bharati case. A contentious argument between attorneys, judges, and jurists on either side of the ideological spectrum is sparked by the idea of whether social justice is and should be a fundamental component. Ambedkar's rational social justice philosophy has been the greatest influence and inspiration for establishing an egalitarian social, economic, and political order in diverse societies like ours, especially in the direction of making social justice more accessible to Scheduled Castes in India. To establish an egalitarian social, economic and political order in the diverse societies like ours, Ambedkar's rational philosophy of social justice has been the greatest influence and inspiration which has cast major impact on the depressed classes or Scheduled Castes in India especially in the direction of making them cognizant of their rights, the way to live a respectful life and the class consciousness. The impact of Ambedkar's philosophy has been so high that, he has been worshiped every day along with Lord Buddha by the millions of people in India. Nobody, perhaps, in the world has achieved such 'godly reverence' amongst his contemporary fellow leaders.

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AMBEDKAR'S PERSPECTIVE ON PEOPLE-CENTERED DEVELOPMENT

Dr. Shilly John

Assistant Professor, Department of Economics,
Modern College of Arts, Science, and Commerce, Ganeshkhind, Pune

“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 too.” - B. R. Ambedkar

INTRODUCTION

Applied social development policies are increasing now-a-days. The concept of a more people-centered paradigm in the field of social development is required for the overall development of the nation. As per the UNDP report, people must be at the center of human development, both as beneficiaries and as drivers, as individuals and in groups. People must be empowered with the tools and knowledge to build their own communities, states, and nations. Some scientists argue that democracy is the mainstay of social development. Societal development includes what is called human development, social development, cultural development, as well as political/administrative and economic development. It means a nation can grow and develop if the development of the individuals/ people are taken care of. This is true for all kinds of societies.

India's history of civilization, learning, and knowledge is well-known globally. Post-independence, India consolidated democracy in a socially differentiated system and did well on the issue of human development. This was possible due to the many Indian social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Vinoba Bhave, Jyotiba Phule, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, and many more. They had their own vision for Indian society and accordingly played a significant role in uplifting people economically and socially. Each of these reformers had a significant contribution towards India's development that is being experienced by the people even today. This chapter elaborates on the contributions of Bharat Ratna Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (the architect of the Indian constitution), one of the great social reformers, toward people-centered development.

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar was a prominent Indian social reformer, jurist, and economist. He played a pivotal role as the Chairman of the drafting Committee in the framing of the Indian Constitution in 1949, which enshrined fundamental rights and protections for all citizens. His commitment to equality, social justice, and individual rights shaped the constitutional provisions safeguarding the rights of all citizens, including the marginalized. He championed affirmative action policies, known as reservations, to provide equal opportunities for historically marginalized communities. Social and educational upliftment was essential for the holistic development of individuals and society according to Dr. Ambedkar.

Ambedkar's vision of development was deeply rooted in the principles of social justice and equality. He believed in the idea of people-centered development, where the well-being of individuals and communities is placed at the forefront of policymaking and decision-making processes. Ambedkar emphasized that development should not be limited to mere economic growth but should also address social inequalities, discrimination, and exclusion. Ambedkar identified the caste system as one of the major obstacles to achieving people-centered development in India. He recognized that the rigid social hierarchy based on birth was a fundamental denial of human rights and an impediment to progress. To overcome this, he

advocated for the annihilation of the caste system and worked tirelessly to secure social and political rights for Dalits.

According to Dr. Ambedkar for economic and social development, education, public hygiene, community health, and residential facilities is given significant role as basic amenities. Ambedkar established the Finance Commission of India. He was against income tax for low-income groups. He contributed to Land Revenue Tax and excise duty policies to stabilize the economy. He played an important role in land reform and the state's economic development. According to him, labourers are divided due to the caste system that impeded economic progress. He emphasized a free economy with a stable Rupee which India adopted. He emphasized equal rights for women for economic development.

Babasaheb Ambedkar believed that social and individual efficiency requires us to develop the capacity of an individual to the point of competency to choose and make his own career. His emphasis on education was a crucial aspect of his vision for people-centered development. He recognized the transformative power of education in empowering individuals and breaking the cycle of discrimination and oppression. Ambedkar advocated for free and compulsory education for all, with a particular focus on marginalized communities. He believed that education not only equips individuals with knowledge and skills but also fosters a sense of dignity and self-respect.

Furthermore, Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the importance of economic empowerment as a means to achieve people-centered development. He recognized that economic independence was essential for the upliftment of marginalized communities. He advocated for land reforms, access to credit, and employment opportunities for all sections of society without any discrimination. His vision of people-centered development focussed on social justice, equality, education, and economic empowerment. These principles formed the core of his vision for a more equitable and inclusive society. His tireless efforts continue to inspire and shape social policies aimed at creating a more inclusive and equitable society in India.

Ambedkar addressed and contributed practically on all issues of national importance that arose during the early 1920s and mid-1950s. Ambedkar's contributions include his intellectual efforts in the articulation of political and economic framework for India in the form of the Indian Constitution reorganization of the States, reform of the Hindu social and religious order, social policy, labour policy, and a number of other issues but above all the social and political efforts for the upliftment of deprived classes.

Babasaheb Ambedkar's contributions and beliefs in each of these areas are discussed further.

Social Justice – *“I like the religion which teaches liberty, equality, and fraternity.”* - Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar fought against the oppressive caste system in India. He understood the causes behind the plight of the most oppressed and exploited, and hence believed in the annihilation of caste and advocated for the social and political rights of marginalized communities, particularly the Dalits. He played a crucial role in the framing of laws and policies that aimed to eliminate discrimination and ensure social justice. After establishing Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha in 1924, he came into the limelight as a spokesperson for the rights of untouchables and depressed classes. They were exhorted to stand up and fight for self-respect and self-elevation.

Following are some of the ways Ambedkar achieved this.

Challenging the Caste System:

Ambedkar recognized the deep-rooted oppression perpetuated by the caste system in India. He vehemently opposed the social hierarchy that relegated individuals to rigid caste-based roles and

denied them equal opportunities. Ambedkar advocated for the annihilation of the caste system and fought for the rights and dignity of Dalits, who were historically marginalized as "untouchables."

Dalit Empowerment:

Ambedkar dedicated his life to empowering Dalits and securing their social and political rights. He emphasized the need to eradicate untouchability and fought for the right of Dalits to access public spaces, temples, and water sources. Ambedkar believed that social justice could only be achieved by dismantling the barriers that excluded Dalits from mainstream society.

Advocacy for Equality:

Ambedkar firmly believed in the principle of equality for all individuals, regardless of their caste or social background. He fought for equal rights and protections under the law, advocating for the abolishment of discriminatory practices and laws that perpetuated social inequality. His efforts contributed significantly to the inclusion of provisions in the Indian Constitution that guarantee equality before the law and prohibit discrimination.

Legal Reforms:

Ambedkar's legal acumen played a crucial role in shaping social justice in India. As the principal architect of the Indian Constitution, he incorporated provisions that protected the rights of marginalized communities, including Dalits. He advocated for the reservation system, which allocates quotas for historically disadvantaged groups in educational institutions and government jobs to promote equal representation and opportunities.

Women's Rights:

Ambedkar recognized the intersectionality of social justice issues and advocated for the rights of women within the broader context of social reform. He campaigned against child marriage, advocated for gender equality, and played a key role in introducing the Hindu Code Bill, which sought to grant women equal rights in matters of inheritance, marriage, and divorce.

Emphasis on Education:

Ambedkar firmly believed that education was a catalyst for social transformation and empowerment. He emphasized the importance of education in breaking the cycle of social discrimination and uplifting marginalized communities. Ambedkar himself was a highly educated individual, earning multiple degrees and becoming a symbol of hope and inspiration for Dalits.

Human Rights and Social Reform Movements:

Ambedkar's advocacy for social justice extended beyond India. He actively engaged with international platforms and raised awareness about the rights of oppressed communities. He had observed that, since tribals are having more or less the same social status as Scheduled Castes, it is imperative to address their socio-economic and educational backwardness by creating necessary provisions in the constitution and legal legislations. His relentless efforts to promote social justice continue to inspire human rights movements and organizations globally.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's contributions to social justice were instrumental in challenging social inequalities and discrimination in India. His relentless pursuit of equality, legal reforms, and empowerment of marginalized communities left a lasting impact on India's social fabric. His legacy continues to inspire individuals and social justice movements around the world, reinforcing the importance of fighting for a more just and inclusive society.

Equality - *"Equality may be a fiction but nonetheless one must accept it as a governing principle."* - Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Dr. Ambedkar firmly believed in the principle of equality for all individuals, regardless of their caste, gender, or social background. He fought for equal rights, opportunities, and protections under the law. His relentless efforts led to the inclusion of provisions in the Indian Constitution that guarantee equality before the law and prohibit discrimination.

Struggle Against Caste Discrimination:

Ambedkar recognized the inherent inequality perpetuated by the caste system in India. He vehemently opposed the notion of caste-based hierarchy, where individuals were assigned social status at birth, resulting in deep-rooted discrimination and oppression. Ambedkar fought tirelessly to dismantle the caste system and ensure equal treatment and opportunities for all individuals, regardless of their caste.

Inclusion of Equality in the Constitution:

Ambedkar played a pivotal role in the drafting of the Indian Constitution. He ensured that the principles of equality were enshrined in its provisions. The Constitution guarantees equality before the law and prohibits discrimination based on caste, religion, race, gender, or place of birth. It also provides affirmative action measures, such as reservations, to uplift historically disadvantaged groups and promote equal representation.

Reservation:

Ambedkar advocated for the reservation system, which seeks to address historical inequalities by allocating quotas for socially and educationally disadvantaged groups in educational institutions, government jobs, and legislatures. He believed that affirmative action was necessary to provide equal opportunities and representation for marginalized communities and bridge the socio-economic gaps created by centuries of discrimination.

Advocacy for Human Rights:

Ambedkar's advocacy for equality extended beyond India's borders. He actively engaged with international platforms and raised awareness about the rights of oppressed communities. He emphasized the universality of human rights and fought against any form of discrimination or injustice, inspiring global movements for equality and social justice.

Ambedkar also made significant contributions to the cause of gender equality. To quote Dr. Ambedkar - **“I measure the progress of a community with the degree of progress women have achieved.”** Following points discuss Dr. Ambedkar's views and efforts toward gender equality:

Women's Rights: Dr. Ambedkar strongly believed in the equal rights and empowerment of women. He recognized that gender discrimination and the oppression of women were deeply entrenched in Indian society and called for urgent reforms to address these issues.

Personal Laws and Women's Rights: Dr. Ambedkar was a vocal critic of the discriminatory personal laws prevalent in India, particularly those related to marriage, divorce, and inheritance. He advocated for a uniform civil code that would ensure equal rights for women and protect them from social and legal inequalities.

Women's Education: Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the importance of education for women as a means to empower them and enable their active participation in society. He believed that education would help women challenge social norms and assert their rights, ultimately contributing to a more equal and progressive society.

Women's Political Representation: Dr. Ambedkar stressed the need for increased political representation of women. He believed that women's participation in politics was crucial for their voices to be heard and for gender-related issues to be addressed effectively.

Maternity Rights and Social Security: Dr. Ambedkar recognized the importance of maternity rights and social security measures for women. He advocated for maternity leave, protection against unfair dismissal during pregnancy, and access to affordable healthcare to ensure the well-being of women and their children.

Annihilation of Caste and Gender: Dr. Ambedkar linked the struggle against caste discrimination with the fight for gender equality. He argued that both caste and gender hierarchies were oppressive systems that needed to be dismantled to achieve true social justice and equality.

The Role of Women in Social Transformation: Dr. Ambedkar believed that women had a crucial role to play in the social transformation of India. He encouraged women to participate actively in social and political movements and to challenge the patriarchal norms that hindered their progress.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's contributions towards gender equality were not limited to his writings and speeches but also reflected in his efforts to ensure equal rights and opportunities for women through his work in the drafting of the Indian Constitution. The Constitution of India includes provisions that safeguard women's rights and promote gender equality, such as affirmative action measures and legal protections against discrimination.

Education - *“Learn to be clean and free from all vices. Educate your children. Slowly instil ambition in their mind. Assure them that they are going to be great people.”* - Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar recognized education as a powerful tool for empowerment and social transformation. He advocated for free and compulsory education for all, especially for marginalized communities. According to him, education would uplift individuals, instill confidence, and challenge the existing social order. He firmly believed that education was the key to breaking the cycle of discrimination and oppression faced by marginalized communities in India. Ambedkar himself was an exemplary scholar, earning multiple degrees and becoming one of the first Dalit individuals to obtain higher education. Ambedkar was a prolific student, earning doctorates in economics from both Columbia University and the London School of Economics, and gained a reputation as a scholar for his research in law, economics, and political science. His contributions for education are as follows:

Empowerment and Self-Respect:

Ambedkar believed that education empowered individuals by providing knowledge, skills, and opportunities for growth. He viewed education as a tool that instilled self-confidence, self-respect, and dignity among marginalized communities. Education was seen as a means to break free from the shackles of oppression and assert their rightful place in society.

Access and Equality:

Ambedkar emphasized equal access to education for all, irrespective of caste, gender, or social background. He fought against the prevalent practice of denying educational opportunities to Dalits and other marginalized groups. Ambedkar strongly advocated for free and compulsory education, recognizing that equal educational opportunities were essential to creating a just and equitable society.

Educational Reforms:

Ambedkar played a significant role in shaping educational reforms in India. As the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution, he ensured that education was included as a fundamental right. He believed that education should not be limited to bookish knowledge but should also aim at developing critical thinking, fostering creativity, and promoting social awareness.

Focus on Social Upliftment:

Ambedkar stressed the importance of education in promoting social upliftment and economic independence. He advocated for educational reforms that would provide opportunities for skill development, vocational training, and entrepreneurship. Ambedkar believed that education should equip individuals with the necessary tools to become self-reliant and contribute to the nation's progress.

Role of Education in Social Transformation:

Ambedkar saw education as a means to challenge regressive social norms and practices. He believed that education had the power to reshape attitudes, break down prejudices, and eradicate social inequalities. Ambedkar envisioned an educated society that would reject discrimination and work towards creating a more inclusive and egalitarian society.

Educational Institutions:

Ambedkar recognized the need for educational institutions that catered specifically to the needs of marginalized communities. He established the People's Education Society and various educational institutions to provide quality education to Dalits and other disadvantaged groups. These institutions aimed to empower students through education, enabling them to transform their lives and contribute positively to society.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's advocacy for education as a catalyst for social change continues to inspire individuals and educational institutions to this day. His relentless efforts to promote equal access to education, empower marginalized communities, and foster social transformation have had a profound impact on India's education system and the quest for a more inclusive and equitable society.

Economic Empowerment - *"We must stand on our own feet and fight as best as we can for our rights."* - Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar emphasized the importance of economic empowerment as a means to uplift marginalized communities. He advocated for land reforms, access to credit, and employment opportunities to alleviate poverty and create economic self-sufficiency. Ambedkar believed that economic independence was vital for individuals to break free from social and economic exploitation. According to him, *"industrialization and agricultural growth could enhance the Indian economy"*. He stressed investment in agriculture as the primary industry of India. His contributions and beliefs regarding economic empowerment are as follows:

Addressing Socioeconomic Disparities:

Ambedkar identified socioeconomic disparities as a significant obstacle to achieving social equality. He understood that marginalized communities, such as Dalits, faced severe economic disadvantages due to historical discrimination. Ambedkar focused on addressing these disparities by advocating for policies that provided opportunities for economic empowerment.

Land Reforms:

Ambedkar advocated for land reforms to address the issue of landlessness and to provide economic stability to marginalized communities. He believed that access to land would give individuals a means of livelihood, enhance their economic well-being, and break the cycle of poverty. Ambedkar emphasized the importance of redistributive land reforms to ensure equitable distribution of resources.

Access to Credit and Financial Inclusion:

Ambedkar recognized the significance of access to credit and financial services in empowering marginalized communities. He advocated for policies that would facilitate access to credit and promote financial inclusion for Dalits and other disadvantaged groups. Ambedkar believed that

access to capital and financial resources would enable individuals to start businesses, improve their economic conditions, and become self-reliant.

Employment Opportunities:

Ambedkar emphasized the importance of providing employment opportunities for marginalized communities. He advocated for policies that would promote equal employment opportunities, eradicate caste-based discrimination in workplaces, and ensure fair wages. Ambedkar believed that access to dignified and remunerative employment was crucial for economic empowerment and the upliftment of marginalized communities.

Entrepreneurship and Skill Development:

Ambedkar recognized the potential of entrepreneurship and skill development in fostering economic empowerment. He advocated for programs and policies that would encourage entrepreneurship among marginalized communities, provide training and support, and facilitate access to markets and resources. Ambedkar believed that entrepreneurship could create economic self-sufficiency and contribute to the overall development of individuals and communities.

Cooperative Movements:

Ambedkar emphasized the importance of cooperative movements as a means of economic empowerment. He encouraged marginalized communities to form cooperatives, enabling them to pool their resources, access markets, and collectively benefit from economic activities. Ambedkar saw cooperatives as a way to foster economic solidarity, promote self-help, and empower individuals through collective action.

Social Security and Welfare Measures:

Ambedkar advocated for social security and welfare measures to protect and support marginalized communities. He emphasized the need for social safety nets, including provisions for healthcare, education, and social assistance, to address the vulnerabilities faced by disadvantaged groups. Ambedkar believed that ensuring a minimum standard of living and social support would contribute to the economic well-being and empowerment of marginalized communities.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's advocacy for economic empowerment continues to inspire policies and initiatives aimed at reducing socioeconomic disparities and promoting inclusive economic growth. His efforts to address landlessness, promote access to credit and employment opportunities, encourage entrepreneurship, and advocate for social security measures have had a lasting impact on the pursuit of economic empowerment for marginalized communities in India.

CONCLUSION

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's work paved the way for various policy interventions aimed at promoting social justice, equality, education, and economic empowerment. The reservation system, for instance, provides affirmative action and reservations in educational institutions and government jobs for historically disadvantaged groups. It is a direct result of his efforts to uplift marginalized communities and provide them with equal opportunities. His ideas and actions continue to inspire social reform movements and policy initiatives that strive for a more just and equitable society, not only in India but also globally. His contributions are a testament to the enduring legacy of his vision for a society that prioritizes social justice, equality, education, and economic empowerment for all. Unlike most other leaders, for Ambedkar, it was important to introduce many inputs beyond technology to reach the social objective.

Ambedkar's lifelong struggle for equality has profoundly impacted India's social fabric. His contributions, including the inclusion of equality in the Indian Constitution and the advocacy for affirmative action and women's rights, have laid the foundation for a more inclusive society. His

legacy continues to inspire individuals and movements worldwide to strive for equality, justice, and equal opportunities for all. It is important to note that while Dr. Ambedkar's views on gender equality were progressive for his time, his ideas should be understood in the context of the early to mid-20th century. Contemporary discussions and advancements in gender equality have evolved since then, and further research and analysis have contributed to the understanding and promotion of gender rights and inclusivity.

Furthermore, Dr. Ambedkar highlighted the significance of empowering individuals and communities to actively participate in decision-making processes. He advocated for democratic principles, freedom of expression, and the protection of fundamental rights. According to him, people-centered development necessitates the involvement of all stakeholders, especially those who have historically been marginalized, in shaping policies and determining the direction of development initiatives.

To summarize, Dr. Ambedkar's viewpoint on people-centered development centered around social justice, equality, and the empowerment of marginalized communities. He believed that development should prioritize the well-being and dignity of all individuals, eradicate discrimination, bridge socio-economic disparities, and ensure the active participation of people in decision-making processes. By adopting these principles, societies can aspire to achieve inclusive and sustainable development for the betterment of all its members.

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Works by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

- 1) "Annihilation of Caste" One of Dr. Ambedkar's most influential works, was originally written as a speech in 1936. It critiques the caste system and advocates for its complete abolition to achieve social justice and equality.
- 2) "The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and Its Solution": In this book, Dr. Ambedkar discusses economic issues and proposes solutions to address poverty, economic inequality, and development challenges in India.
- 3) "The Buddha and His Dhamma": Dr. Ambedkar's last work, explores the teachings of Buddhism and their relevance to social justice, individual freedom, and people-centered development.
- 4) "Thoughts on Linguistic States": This work highlights the importance of language and cultural identity in fostering inclusivity and the development of marginalized communities.
- 5) "States and Minorities": Dr. Ambedkar examines the challenges faced by religious and ethnic minorities in India and argues for their protection and equal rights as a crucial aspect of people-centered development.

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: PIONEER OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMICS

Dr. M. Shahid Jamal Ansari

Assistant Professor & Head, Department of Economics,
Poona College of Arts, Science & Commerce, Pune

INTRODUCTION

"Ambedkar is my father in Economics His contribution in the field of economics is marvelous and will be remembered forever . . ."

-Professor Amartya Sen, Indian Nobel Laureate

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar was a great modern Economist in letter and spirit. He was a true revolutionary in his vision and practice. He was a great scholar and pioneer of various novel socio-economic policies and practices. He was revered as a great fighter and liberator of *dalits* and other weaker sections of the society. Dr. Ambedkar was a far-sighted revolutionary economist whose genius is observed in all his works written during his sojourn in college. His analytical approach and scientific temperament are reflected since his initial works at post graduation level. His works on Economics are original, unique and unmatched of his time. His works on Monetary Economics, Public Finance, Development Economics, Agriculture Economics, Labour Economics, Cooperative Farming, Land Reforms, Water Resource, Physical and Human Infrastructure, Human Capital are of par-excellence and a guiding pole for all times.

On the basis of Dr. Ambedkar's writings and speeches, he looks like a staunch propagator of balanced growth and his approach of development is inclusive and he lays emphasis on the participation of weaker and downtrodden sections of the society, particularly landless labourers and marginal farmers. He wants to ensure distributive justice in the process of economic development. He did not only prove his thesis but also made provisions in the Constitution of India under Article-47 that directs the state to raise the level of nutrition and the standard of living and to improve public health as among its primary duties.

He was a true economist and was far-ahead of his time. He was well aware about the problems faced by India under the exploitative regime of the Britishers. He raised all issues of exploitation and analysed empirically the data-base of about 65 years in his work *Administration and Finance in East India Company* (1915). He came on the same conclusion of plunder and exploitation of Indian wealth and resources by British administration as Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji concluded decades before in his work '*Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*' (1901). Babasaheb knew very well about the problems of 'British India' and perceived well the forthcoming issues of 'Independent India'.

He knew that British would leave a looted economy with abject poverty, mass unemployment, and deficiency in infrastructure facilities, unavailability of capital and other basic resources to go ahead on the path of sustainable economic development. In the light of this backward economic scenario, Babasaheb, pioneer of development economist, showed the path of balanced development. He has postulated a two-sector growth model very close to A.W. Lewis model of 'Unlimited Supply of Labour and Economic Development' for that Lewis was conferred the Nobel Prize in 1979. In this connection, he talks about new concept of 'disguised unemployment' in terms of 'idle labour/superfluous labour' and discusses in detail this form of unemployment and its effects on production and productivity in agriculture sector, overcrowded with surplus labour force. He writes, "It may well be that some portion of this labour corps is superfluous, though it has to be supported merely in obedience to social custom as is the case in India. But if our social custom compels a farmer to support some of his family members even when he cannot effectively make any use of them on his farm (Dr. B. R.

Ambedkar 1918)". He was the first economist who popularised this form of unemployment and suggested remedies on economic footings. He argued that there was a mass unemployment in India due to lack of capital to provide gainful jobs outside agriculture sector to the working age population. Further, he analysed 'two-sector model' of development i.e. Agriculture and Industry. He was in favour of rapid industrialisation so that surplus labour of agriculture sector working on just subsistence level of wage rate can be shifted to industry- the emerging sector of the economy. In his essay on *Small Holdings In India And Their Remedies* (1918), Dr. Ambedkar argued that "Industrialization of India is the soundest remedy for the agricultural problems of India. The cumulative effects of industrialization, namely, a lessening pressure and an increasing amount of capital and capital goods will forcibly create the economic necessity of enlarging the holding." This shifting of labour-force will have dual effects in the economy; firstly, it will reduce the burden on agriculture land, reduce unemployment and disguised unemployment that will increase production and productivity in that sector of the economy. People left in that sector will enjoy better living standards due to increase in their per capita income. Secondly, secondary sector will get cheaper workforce from primary sector for industrial production that will generate profits. This profit will be reinvested and will help in capital formation that is pre-requisite of industrialisation. Hence, the process of industrialisation will take place which will lead the economy on the later stages of development.

Babasaheb knew very well that this process of development was not so easy and simple. There were so many impediments in this development path like lack of initial capital, skilled and qualified workforce, deficiency in demand and shortages of supply of required inputs etc. For this, like other great development economists of his time, he was in favour of state intervention in economic matters. He was a staunch supporter of state participation in economic activities and assigned a special role to state for all round development of the economy. Here, Dr. Ambedkar is very close to Professor J.M. Keynes, a stalwart of his time who was in favour of state intervention in economic affair to get economy rid of 'great depression'. Later, after Independence, he made provisions under the Directive Principles of State Policy to enhance the living standard of people, ensuring that the state plays pivotal role in bringing about economic and social justice. In the modern era of mechanisation, a large volume of investment is required to break the vicious circle of poverty and at the same time various sectors need adequate amount of investment to generate adequate demand and supply. This type of investment is necessary to create an optimistic economic environment to attract public and private investment. But it is a well known fact that private players come in the later stage of development when adequate basic facilities and infrastructure i.e. Social Overhead Capital (SOC) are available in the economy as then only cost of production will be low and profit can be made in economic activities. Hence, first of all the state has to come forward and take a lead role in not only providing basic physical and human infrastructure but also to set-up some key-industries viz. cement industry, steel plants, electricity, and other energy sources, schools, colleges, vocational training centres, hospitals, cloths, medicines, etc.

In support of his thesis, Dr. Ambedkar was in favour of 'state-socialism' and he assigned duty to state to start 'state-owned industries' that will resolve many problems that cropped-up in the process of industrialisation in the newly liberated economy from the imperial rule. State can successfully address the issues of deficits in finance, deficiency in energy, lack of infrastructure and human capital and other basic inputs. In this way, the state will be a catalyst force in the process of industrialization and will be in position to provide jobs to its people. State can also take affirmative action in this connection to implement policy of upliftment of weaker sections of the society. Further, state should make provision of quality education, health and training to all sections of the society for their gainful employment. This will ensure supply of human resources and generate demand in the economy. The state should also generate physical infrastructure like roads, dams, bridges, electricity, banking services, transportation,

communications, hospitals, schools and other inputs to speed-up the process of industrialisation. Dr. Ambedkar specially asked state to provide insurance to all workers and other sections of the society. He was in favour of state-owned insurance service and it must be state business. This important and sensitive sector should not be given in private hand.

In this process of industrialisation, Dr. Ambedkar laid due emphasis on the revitalisation of agriculture sector. He analysed the problem of this primary sector that was facing the problems of division, sub-division and fragmentations of land, unskilled and uneducated workforce, lack of modern tools and technology, lack of quality seeds, fertilizers, shortage of water and lack of institutional finance, etc. For him industrialisation is the only solution to the problems of agriculture sector. He is very clear that development will take place when surplus labour will shift in industry rather than in city as numbers of cities are limited in India. There is a need of rapid industrialisation that will lead to urbanisation. Moreover, he proved that this “process of industrialisation will foster the enlargement of holdings and that it will be the most effective barrier against sub-division and fragmentation...Industrialization will not be a sufficient remedy for consolidation. That it will require *direct* remedies may be true. But it is also true that industrialization, though it may not bring about consolidation, will facilitate consolidation. ... That industrialization must precede consolidation (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar 1918)”. He suggested to give farming ‘a status of state industry’ and consolidated farming or co-operative farming methods must be adopted in Indian agriculture sector. In this way, industrialisation is precondition for growth in agriculture sector. In his two-sector model, he laid due emphasis on both the sectors and gave a balanced approach.

Babasaheb had made a blueprint to modernise this agriculture and for that consolidation of fragmented land in rural areas was a pre-requisite. ‘Ceiling Act’ and ‘*chakbandi*’ was suggested and many state governments implemented this in their respective states in India. After this, he had suggested group-farming or co-operative farming on consolidated land because this was the only way for implementing modern methods of agriculture at the village level. In this regard, he disagreed with the well-known economist of his time, Professor Jevons, whose criteria of ‘optimum size of land’ was ‘consumption’ but Babasaheb put ‘production’ as criteria and emphasised that “This is evident; for though production is for the purpose of consumption it is for the consumption only of those who help to produce. It follows, then, that if the relation between out-turn and investments is a true economic relation, we can only speak of a farm as economic, i.e., paying in the sense of production and not in the sense of consumption. Any definition, therefore, that leans on consumption mistakes the nature of an economic holding which is essentially an enterprise in production (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar 1918).” He suggested ‘co-operative farming’ that will resolve the problem of size of land holding, inputs, finance, water, seeds, fertilizers etc. Governments should support these farmers through these co-operative societies. Moreover, this cooperative farming will develop a sense of cooperation among farmers. He was in favour to give Minimum Support Price (MSP) to produce of farmers by state, decades before the Swaminathan Committee recommendations. This notion of MSP is very crucial to ensure supply of food and their prices. Availability of food at stable price is precondition of industrialisation.

In his balanced and inclusive approach of development, he suggested not only to give equal importance to both the agricultural as well as industrial sector but he was also in favour of participation of women with men in all sectors of economy. He wanted to ensure active contribution of women in economy because without making them economically empowered their upliftment would be meaningless. He was a firm believer of social justice and as a Labour member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council (from 1942 to 1946), he initiated to reduce factory work hours from 12 to 8 in the 7th session of Indian Labour Conference, 1942. Moreover, he

made provision of maternity leave for women. All these provisions have assisted in reducing inequality, poverty and have ensured all-round development of society.

Dr. Ambedkar, a development economist, devised the role of monetary and fiscal policy as tools in hands of government for economic development. His most famous manuscript '*The Problem of Rupee- Its Origin and Its Solution*' (1923) is a novel and original analytical work, wherein he disagreed with J. M. Keynes and said that for underdeveloped countries like India, 'gold standard' is suitable rather than 'gold exchange standard' because it increases inflation. In this book, he emphasised for stability of both exchange rate and prices. But due to wrong policy, situation of stagflation i.e. inflation and unemployment simultaneously were there in the Indian Economy during British rule because British government had overvalued the currency to achieve their motive of selling British produced goods and services in Indian market and earn surplus from it and send it back to England. Dr. Ambedkar was mainly concerned with more to price stability rather than exchange rate stability because price stability will benefit the poorer sections of the society while the exchange rate stability will benefit the trading community. He argued in favour of quantity theory of money to make currency stable as per the commodities it can buy. So that economy can be led smoothly on the path of development without facing the problems of inflation and unemployment. As per the need of the economy, quantity of money should be decided accordingly so that price and exchange rate may be stable.

Dr. Ambedkar's *The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India* (1925) is unique and the first most comprehensive work in the field of Federal Finance. His research guide at Columbia University, New York, Professor Edwin R.A. Seligman writes in Foreword that "The value of Mr. Ambedkar's contribution to this discussion lies in the objective recitation of the facts and the impartial analysis of this interesting development that has taken place in his native country. The lessons are applicable to other countries as well; nowhere, to my knowledge, has such a detailed study of the underlying principles been made." In this manuscript; origin, development and mechanism of provincial finance is discussed in first three parts and in final part; provincial finance under the Government of India Act of 1919 has been explained. His book on public finance *Administration and Finance in East India Company* (1915) also gives insights on taxation and expenditure policy during British rule in India. In his works, Dr. Ambedkar has made a detailed analytical study of all aspects of public finance viz. taxation, expenditure, public debt at all levels of governments- imperial, provincial and local etc. After Independence, he made constitutional provisions for provinces to run their development programs on their own without begging from the centre. But after 75 years of Independence, state (provincial) governments are facing shortages of funds to finance their development projects and revenue expenditure especially after adoption of GST regime. In his writings, it is clear that fiscal tools can be used for exploitation if they are in wrong hands ('drain of wealth' in British India), and if these tools are handled judiciously in a democratic welfare state, it will enhance living standard and welfare of the people. Dr. Ambedkar, a staunch advocate of political democracy, argued that state has to play active role to bring economic prosperity for the people. This philosophy of "welfare state" increased the burden on the state and to discharge duties, state has to tax and spend in such a way that economic development could take place and distributive justice should also be ensured. In this connection, taxation and expenditure will play a pivotal role. State should impose progressive taxation and do expenditure in such a way that will create capital for further production and employment generation as well as improve living conditions of the poor and marginalised section of the society. But unfortunately, a large section of the populations are deprived of basic facilities and have been living below the poverty line after seven decades of independence.

In this concluding part of the study, it can be inferred that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is a pioneer of Development Economics as he analysed the two-sector model of balanced growth strategy. In

this connection, he laid due importance to industrialisation along with consolidation of land and co-operative farming. In this process of industrialisation and development; monetary and fiscal tools, infrastructure, human resources are highlighted. Later, Development Economist, A.W. Lewis worked on two-sector model of development and was conferred the Nobel Prize. Another Nobel Laureate, Professor Amartya Sen who revered Babasaheb, and referred to him as his Father in Economics, worked on the path shown by him in eliminating poverty and enhancing human development. His approach to development is inclusive and he ensured economic and social justice by making constitutional provisions. Truly, he is worthy to be called a pioneer and visionary of 'Development Economist.'

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DR. AMBEDKAR'S CONTRIBUTION IN MAKING OF CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Dr. Nirlay R. Petkar

Assistant Professor, Department of English, Jawaharlal Nehru College
Wadi, Nagpur, (Maharashtra)

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Ambedkar was the greatest humanitarian and revolutionist. He was a great philosopher and one of great intellectuals of the world. He was a human rights pioneer who liberated one billion Bahujan's and women. He also revived Buddhism in the land of its origin and oblivion. The father of modern scientific, industrial, and urban India. He is also the Father of all Fathers due to his unparalleled fore vision and work in building the Indian Democratic Nation by planning and policy formulation. Annihilation of caste, individual, and free social order, reorganization of India, "New India" and "New Social Order," Prabuddha Bharat, and the New World Order. Democracy and Democratic World Order, world reconstruction, and an enlightened New World are some of the enlightenments that captivate humanity as a whole, not just Indians. His legacy continues to inspire both at home and abroad, with millions admiring. His life and mission, as well as the billions of dollars at stake, every year, Deeksha Bhoomi (Nagpur) and Chaitya Bhoomi (Mumbai) have over 1 million followers. So are Kranti Bhoomi (Mahad, Nashik) and Mahaparinirvan Bhoomi (New Delhi). Thousands of villages and cities across India, Europe, America, Africa, Australia, and Asia celebrate April 14th, and Columbia University, Simon Fraser University, Koyasan University, the London School of Economics, and others have begun to pay attention to this world philosopher and revolutionary, who not only awakens India's conscience but enlightens the entire humanity.

Bharat as a country was to frame a constitution for the 1st time in its civilization in pursuance with the Cabinet Mission Plan of May 16, 1946. Though the developments started with August offer of 1940, amidst world war 2nd. The elections to the CA completed by the end of July 1946 (except for the sikh seats in Punjab which completed in August 1946. The congress was anxious to take steps to convene the CA but the Muslim League was reluctant to join the CA for its demand of Pakistan, though it has nominated 5 members in the Interim Govt. None the less a decision was taken to summon the CA and invitations to all the members were send on 20th November and the 1st meeting of the CA was convened on 9th December 1949 at 11.00 AM. At Constituent Assembly Chamber in the Council House, New Delhi. Out of 296 members, 207 attended. Muslim League members boycotted the Assembly. Amidst uncertainty of Muslim League participating in the CA which got a little clear only in January 1947, with its stand not to participate. Accordingly on February 20, 1947 the British Prime Minister Atlee made a statement in House of Commons, clarifying as to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over in absence of a fully representative CA. In context of the functioning of CA it must be noted that from 9th December 1946 to 26th November 1949 the Constituent Assembly in its 11 sessions sat for 166 days and the Drafting Committee from 30th August 1947 to 26th November 1949 met for 141 days. The rest of the period barring this (166 +141= 10 months & 5 days) was consumed by work of various committees and suggestions solicited. Out of the 166 days the CA spend only 114 days for the consideration of the Draft Constitution, the rest for consideration of reports and legislative matters. The DC apart from dealing with total 2473 amendments moved in the CA considered reports of various committees, notes, references letters, opinions & suggestions from all. What a stupendous job in framing the lengthiest & best Constitution with 395 Articles and 8 Schedules if compared with the Constitutions of other countries.

The Indian Constitution is regarded as the bedrock of India's democratic, administrative system. There have been many ups and downs in the social, political, administrative, and other fields

since January 26th, 1950. By facing and solving our problems successfully, the country could maintain the constitutional system of all activities. Our constitution remained our guiding light. The future of India and the future of Indian citizens depend on our constitution. That is why, it is prime duty of every citizen to obtain sufficient information about their constitution, which is the supreme national sacred book for them. That is why, inspired by the supreme national reason, we are shouldering the social responsibility to publish this great sacred book. Basing our thinking on this, we have to consider the three essential factors with reference to our constitution.

- 1) The entry of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in the constituent Assembly.
- 2) The role of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in drafting the constitution.
- 3) Dr. Ambedkar's View on the Constitution.

Entry in the Constituent Assembly

The citizens of India frequently demanded the adoption of an Indian constitution. As a result of which the British Government had declared will be framed by the citizen of India. In the year 1946, the Cabinet Mission of British Government in its report declared the proposal for the full freedom, the framing of a constitution, and the formation of an interim government for India. At that time, the political atmosphere was very tense and complex. On the one hand, the United States and India made strong demands. As a result of which all over the country there was an atmosphere of violence, fear, and enmity. Political competition and religious bitterness were spread all over the country, due to which the atmosphere all over the country was very tense. The vastness of the country and communal turbulence all over the country made a direct election for the Constituent Assembly impossible. That is why the formation of a constituent assembly is impossible. That is why the formation of the Constituent Assembly was done indirectly. The New Independent India was destined for a new constitution, and the man who was destined to present the new constitution for the New Born India was also destined to carve out his unique position to emerge itself as an architect of constitution of a new India.

Dr. Ambedkar's role in Drafting the Constitution.

On 29th August 29, 1947, a committee of seven members was formed, of which: 1) Shri. A. Krishna Swamy Iyer 2) Shri. N. Gopalswamy Iyengar 3) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar 4) Shri. K.M. Munshi 5) Shri. Sayyad Muhammad Sadulla 6) Shri. B. L. Mitter and 7) Shri. D. P. Khetan were included. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was unanimously elected chairman of the constituent committee at the committee's first meeting. After some time, Shri N. Madhav Rao was adopted in place of Shri B.L. Mitter. After the demise of Shri D. B. Khetan, Shri Krishnam Acharya was adopted. To complete the constitution, two years, eleven months, and seventeen days were taken. Regarding the constituent assembly's seven members, Shri T. T. Krishnam Aachari stated that one had resigned from the House and was replaced. One died and was not replaced. One was away in America, and his place was not filled, and another person was engaged in state affairs and practically away from the Constituent Assembly. One or two people were unable to attend because they were unable to travel to Delhi due to illness. Due to which the burden of drafting the constitution fell on Dr. Ambedkar We must say thanks to Dr. Ambedkar because of his contribution in making the constitution of India.

Reactions of Dr. Rajendra Prasad

On November 26, 1949 the Constitution Assembly in the name of the people of India adopted the Constitution of India. On this day, the president of the constitution Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave his concluding speech and appreciate the work of Dr. Ambedkar specially. He said that Dr. Ambedkar was the only person who really worked hard for the constitution of India. Actually, the other members of the constitution Assembly, they were unable to contribute in the constitution of India but still Dr. Ambedkar single-handedly working for the making of the

constitution of India. In spite of his indifferent health, Dr. Ambedkar has still worked. Dr. Ambedkar was one of the great constitutional experts in the world and he was the only from India. Dr. Ambedkar really working hard in making of the constitution of India. He showed his greatness in the making of the constitution of India. Salute to Dr. Ambedkar for his great efforts in the making of the constitution of India.

The Noble Architect's Humility Regarding His Own Outstanding Architecture: The Constitution of Independent India

On November 25, 1949, the Chief Architect of the Constitution of New India rose to respond to the constitutional debate. He expressed his warm appreciation for the cooperation of Shri B. N. Rao and the secretarial staff. Over and above, I wish to give some importance to government's chief draftsman, Shri S.N. Mukerji. He always tried to simplify the complicated and complex information, especially the complex legal language, which required special knowledge and aptitude and in which he was an expert. In my opinion, there was no one to compete with him. If he had not have been, the drafting of the constitution which would have taken much more time.

Behavior of Political Parties:

How the Indian public and the political parties will behave in the future can be judged at present. To achieve their goal will they follow the constitutional way or adopt a revolutionary way? Up to whatever extend the constitution may be innocent but if the public and political parties will adopt an illegal or bloody revolutionary path then the Indian constitution in the construction of new India will be proved as failed. This is very clear fact. To forecast this no forecaster is required. The meaning is this that before saying anything for the success of Indian constitution we must mention about the local public and the political parties first. Now in future Adult Franchise system will be adopted. Then the meaning is this that those who oppose the Indian constitution they cannot win the election by 2/3 majority.

Relation of Center and State Government:

He wanted to speak in detail. In our constitution more importance given to center than state government. But actually, this is only for the welfare of India. This is only for the goodness of the country. This blame is exaggerated. What is the main object of the constitution is not being evaluated is the main cause of this blame. The main, the principles of establishing relation between states and center should be studied. The form of our constitution is Federal. In the Federal system, central and states, the state legislative the difference is not done by the center but directly by the Constitution. This provision is done in the constitution. In this matter both the state and center government's role are equal in the constitution. In other countries federal system, the Indian federal system center has been given more. In this system in India there is no trouble in the Constitution, violation of federal system, the center cannot do. In this contest the following directions should be kept in mind.

Hon'ble Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Unparalleled and Unmatched Contribution

Dr. Ambedkar was elected to the CA from Bengal (Jaisur and Kulna Constituencies) on July 19, 1946. On 16th Dec 1946 Dr. M.R. Jayakar moved an amendment on the Objectives Resolution moved on 13th by Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Jayakar objected the timing of the Objectives Resolution He wanted the Muslim League to join the task of laying down the fundamentals of the Constitution. Such a tense situation there that's why Dr. Rajendra Prasad invited Dr. Ambedkar to handle the situation. Dr. Ambedkar started his speech, after few minutes there were a total silence because of intellectual speech of Dr. Ambedkar. So forceful, dispassionately passionate, statesman-like, and so earnestly challenging his speech was that the whole of Assembly listened to it in rapt silence and left an indelible mark on the minds of all regarding Dr. Ambedkar's unquestioned Constitutional Expertise and Nationalism. Amidst partition of India and Dr. Ambedkar losing his membership of CA that became part of Pakistan CA, on 30th June 1947, Dr. Rajendra Prasad the president of CA directed B.G. Kher then PM of Bombay

province to ensure farmers' election immediately. It is significant to note here that Dr. Prasad did not want to lose the services of Dr. Ambedkar as a constitutional expert par excellence; as he had by then observed the latter's work rendered in 12 committees and sub-committees by that time. Dr. Ambedkar also presided over the joint meetings of Union Powers Committee and Union Constitution Committee on 2nd July 1947 that finalized the three lists- Union, State and Concurrent. He also chaired the meetings of Union Constitution Committee earlier, also on 11th June (and later on 24-8-1947).

Compelling Circumstances that led to Wisdom – Partition, Problems and Prudence?

Thereafter, Dr. Ambedkar was vested with the "maximal" work of framing the Constitution of India. He was elected unanimously as the Chairman of Drafting Committee on 30th August 1947 after being incorporated in the Nehru Cabinet on 3rd August and made as the 1st Law Minister of Independent India on 15th August 1947. The very date when the 77 members of Punjab Assembly including SCs voted for remaining with present Constituent Assembly of India on 23rd June, leading to the partition of Punjab a merger of eastern parts with India. National standard (Kolhapur) hinted that Dr. Ambedkar may be incorporated in the cabinet. However, the anxiety of Nehru if correct establishes the fact that there was no constitutional expert in Bharat in 1946, except Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Further, Nehru was well-advised by viceroy Lord Mountbatten in person on 29th July to choose a really "sound cabinet" of young, talented and keen members and to get rid of old friends and colleagues.

The decisions were made under the most difficult times the nation was facing due to partition and the fear of "multiple – partition" after lapse of paramountcy over Indian states under June 3rd plan and Act II, 1947 that gave a choice to over 500 Indian princely states to accede either to India or Pakistan. Not only was fear of "multiple-partition" or "Balkanization of India" but also aggravating problems of Federalism, Language, Citizenship, Safeguards of Minorities, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles, Nature of Democracy, Powers & Duties of Centre and Provinces (Legislative, Administrative and Financial), Unified Judiciary, CAG, Franchise and Electoral System, Linguistic Provinces etc. to be settled with prudence constitutionally. But India had no history of constitution being framed by its people and work upon it successfully. Whatever little experience it had, it came under the British regime since the Act of 1909, 1919 and in particular the GOI Act, 1935. Here to the greatest contribution to the framing of GOI Act, 1935 was from Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who opined on various Constitutional aspects, in all the three Round Table Conferences most of which were incorporated in the Act, 1935.

An Incredible Constitutional Expert with Immense Practical Experience.

In all the three Round Table Conferences Dr. Ambedkar opined on significant matters of constitutional importance and joint committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms. He also worked with the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms which was the main committee which consequentially led to the finalization of Government of India Act, 1935. In all, apart from being the chairman of Drafting Committee, he was nominated/ appointed on the various committees and sub-committees, which no other member of the CA was made. The Draft Constitution was the detail work of DC based on the Reports of committees, decisions and amendments accepted by CA, going by the CAD from 14th Nov. 1948 to 16th Nov. 1949 it is apparently evident that most of the amendments that were not accepted by the Chairman of DC were negated, and those accepted were adopted by the CA. So, in all Dr. B. R. Ambedkar worked on 20 committees and sub-committees out of roughly 23 constituted for the framing of Constitution (and also on the select committee on HCB during the period of framing of the Constitution of India). No other member of CA (so eminently as he was reposed with the "maximum" responsibility of framing of the Constitution) is a very significant point to be noted. This work went along with the legislative business that Dr. Ambedkar handled as the Law

Minister. Apart from this Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in a most scholarly and statesmanship way dealt with the debates in the CA citing of the principles and provisions of British, US, Canadian, French, Australian, Irish, Swiss, South African, German, Russian and other constitutions of the world. This historical and intellectual labor for the people of India and nation in making, continued ever since He entered the CA on 9th Dec 1946.

Considering the fact that The Constitution of India is not only the ‘lengthiest’ (only one or two constitutions come close to its 395 Articles and 8 Schedules) but the best considering the enormous complexities of caste, culture, communalism and partition of India thereupon. No framers of the constitution were able to draft such a marvelous constitution which not only came (true) to the ‘test of times’ but has been referred to as an example by many countries of the world while drafting their constitutions.

Further Dr. Ambedkar was the lone personality of India who worked in all the 3 Round Table Conferences and also the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms from 1930-34 along with Lothian Committee of Franchise, 1931. In Jan 1919 itself He submitted a written statement before the South Borough Committee and did pre-eminent role in the finalization of its report of March 1930 which resulted in a number of safeguards for DC’s (including Tribes and Criminal Tribes) He also represented to Mudimman Committee, Starte Committee, Lothian Committee. No legal personality of India of those days neither Alladi Krishna Ayyar, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Gopala swamy Ayyar, M. R. Jayakar, J. M. Nehru, K. M. Munshi, B. Mitter, C. P. Rangaswami Iyer, P.P. Das, Bhulbhai Desai and others matched His constitutional scholar Manship and experience in legal and legislative field, is a historical fact which no sane person can ignore. Even before the role as a Chairman of DC, Dr. Ambedkar had pioneered important legislations and policies from 1942-46 when He was a Labour Member in Viceroy’s Executive Council. Such was the enormous legislative and executive experience of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: unmatched by any other legal and political personality even up to 1939.

The Only Unique Constitution in World

The Constitution of India is not only the longest but the best due to some distinct features which all together cannot be found in any single Constitution of the world. They are

- 1) Principles of Equality +Liberty+ Fraternity+ Justice as enshrined in the Preamble.
- 2) Individual as unit and not otherwise.
- 3) Fundamental Rights with reasonable restrictions, and remedies to approach the Supreme Court.
- 4) Recognition of Human Rights with ‘dignity of individual’ enshrined in the Preamble.
- 5) Union of India- One United India along with a flexible Federation.
- 6) Uniformity in Federation to maintain ‘Unity of the Country.’ (By single judiciary: uniformity in fundamental laws – civil & criminal. All India Services and Taxation).
- 7) Welfare State as enshrined in Directive Principles of State Policy (PART IV).
- 8) Reservations (Article 16(4), 335), special protections (V&VI Scheduled) and special provisions (Article 330- 342, PART XVI) recognized as rights & safeguards to abolish caste & ethnic discrimination.
- 9) One single integrated judiciary (by High Courts & Supreme Court, along with subordinate courts); Independent CAG (Article 148-151).
- 10) Supremacy of the Constitution exercised through the sovereign parliament of “We the People” with a procedure of Amendment of the Constitution (Article 368, Part xx).

Only the modern constitutions framed after 1980's recognizing the Human Rights and in particular 2nd & 3rd generation FRs, and features like Ombudsman, Judicial Commission and international laws have evolved in constitutional principles and provisions that are to be incorporated in our constitution. Here to the 'dignity of individual' exclusively incorporated by DC in the preamble with provisions under Article 51C & 253 for ratification of international law are the original pieces which were made ever before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 10th Dec 1948 by UN. Moreover, the modern constitutions under the 'rule of Human Rights' are adopting the 3rd generation social, economic, cultural rights as FRs of the people and community rights of minorities, women and indigenous people as originally envisaged by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in His States and Minorities, well before HRs covenants and conventions.

Overwhelming 'Acknowledgements' and 'Gratitude's' continue to be Bestowed upon 'Father of Indian Constitution' – Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, even today -

All the above historical truth automatically establishes the 'Unparallel & Unmatched' contribution of Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in framing the constitution of India. Without disregard to all other members of CA who in particular contributed their best in framing the constitution with knowledge, integrity, hard work, vision and action for India's future; however unquestionably the fact remains that among all these tall for small personalities Dr. Ambedkar was visible like the "Mount Everest" This is further substantiated by two evidences.

First, the Drafting Committee comprised of 7 members as under:

- 1) Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman
- 2) N. Gopalswami Alangar, Member.
- 3) Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Member.
- 4) Kanhaiyalal Maniklal Munshi, Member.
- 5) Mohammad Sadulla, Member.
- 6) D.P. Khaitan (who dies and on 5-2-1948 T. T. Krishnamachari was nominated), member.
- 7) B.L. Mitter (replaced by Madhava Rao on 8-12- 1947), Member.

None other than T.T. Krishnamachari, a member of DC on 5th November 1948 stated on record in the CA that; out of 7 members I resigned and replaced. One died, I was away in America, I engaged in state affairs, 2 were away from Delhi for health reasons. That is, out of 7 members 5 had little or no contribution in the work of DC. Krishnamachari goes a length ahead and candidly accepts. In this way all the other members of constitution Assembly were unable to contribute in making of the constitution of India but still Dr. Ambedkar single-handedly drafting the constitution of India. There was a reference that, the meeting of DC attended by its members of 141 days will make the absence of its members most conspicuous. It is pertinent to note that the 'full records' of meetings and correspondences of the various committees along with correspondences of that CA are (not) yet published.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad the President of CA on 26th Nov.1949 wholeheartedly acknowledged Dr. Ambedkar in the following words:

Rajendra Prasad said that, I observed all the proceedings of the constitution Assembly and now; realized that, Dr. Ambedkar was the only person, who really work hard in making the constitution of India. Though, there were other member of the constitution committee, but they were unable to contrite their intellect in the making of the constitution of India. So, I feel that, Dr. Ambedkar single-handedly take the responsibility on the shoulders of him and contribute his intellect in making of the constitution of India. I feel proud on Dr. Ambedkar for his great contribution to the constitution of India. Dr. Ambedkar has contributed His constitutional

expertise to as many as 12 committees and sub-committees which significantly included Advisory Committee, Union Constitution Committee, Flag Committee and important sub-committees on FRs, minority rights, citizenship, electoral college of President of India, upper house, linguistic provinces Article 15(3) & 16(4), June 3rd plan etc. In the absence of Nehru, Dr. Ambedkar was called upon to preside over the joint meetings of Union Powers Committee and Union Constitution Committee on 2nd July that finalized 3 lists. Similarly, He chaired the Union Constitution Committee on 11th June & 24th August 1947.

It is very important to note here that out of the 90 odd members of CA (list as under) who spoke on the resolution (from 17th to 25th Nov. 1949) moved by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to adopt the constitution, most of them bestowed heartfelt applause to the ‘ toil & genius’ of the chairman of DC, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, and the other members of DC, for drafting the COL.

Secondly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s contribution was acknowledged by Columbia University on 6th June 1952 by conferring upon him the honorary degree of LLD The University hailed Dr. Ambedkar was the great contributor in making of the constitution of India. He was one of the great humanists of all time. He was a great reformer as well as intellectual of his own time. He was a great thinker and a great philosopher too. He was one of the great constitutional experts of his own time. No one equal with Dr. Ambedkar in India. In his obituary speech the PM, Jawaharlal Nehru also acknowledged Dr. Ambedkar’s prominent role played in the making of our constitution. In Lok Sabha on 6th Dec 1956 Nehru said that, Dr. Ambedkar Within a decade of the framing of the Constitution various eminent personalities started paying tribute & outlining their expert opinions on Dr. B, R. Ambedkar’s contribution was unparalleled and unmatched regarding about the making of the constitution of India. M.V. Pylee (MA, D.Lit, LL.M, Harvard), a renowned Constitutional expert who has the rare distinction of editing 2 volumes of world constitutions to his esteemed credit and authored over 20 books & 200 research papers in his Constitutional Government in India .” proclaimed that, Dr. Ambedkar single-handedly wrote the constitution of India. Dr. Ambedkar is not only the Principal Architect of The Constitution of India but also the “Father of Indian Constitution”, “Father of Constitutional India.” The Father of first Democratic Constitution of ten thousand years of Indian civilization. But for Him we could not have such a wonderful constitution of ‘We the People.’

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**DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR'S PIVOTAL CONTRIBUTION IN THE FORMATION OF THE
INDIAN CONSTITUTION**

Dr. Mukhtar Shaikh

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science,
Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Camp, Pune

INTRODUCTION

“We must note that our political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life.” – Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's statement illuminates his profound understanding of the multifaceted nature of democracy in post-independence India. He emphasizes that political democracy alone is insufficient and underscores the critical need for social democracy, which is founded on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Ambedkar's notion of liberty extends beyond mere political freedoms to include individual rights and identity expression. His vision of equality encompasses not only legal parity but also socio-economic equity, particularly in dismantling the caste system. Additionally, he stresses the importance of fraternity, emphasizing unity and mutual respect among diverse communities. Ambedkar asserts that the success of political democracy hinges on addressing deep-rooted social injustices, making his statement a timeless reminder of the holistic transformation required for a just and inclusive society.

Dr Bhimrao Ambedkar has been an outstanding contribution by drafting the Constitution of India and he become a champion of human rights. Dr Ambedkar was born on 14th April, 1891 in Mhow (now in Madhya Pradesh). After graduating from Elphinstone College, Bombay in 1912, he joined Columbia University, USA where he was awarded Ph.D. Later he joined the London School of Economics & obtained a degree of D.Sc. (Economics) & was called to the Bar from Gray's Inn. On the 14th October, 1956, Babasaheb Ambedkar embraced Buddhism. It required the highest statecraft, statesmanship, scholarship, and intellectual acumen endowed with a flood of knowledge of the history of nations in the given context, and the working of Constitutions in the democratic, totalitarian, dictatorship and other forms of governments. Owing to his seminal role in the framing of the Indian Constitution, Dr B. R. Ambedkar is popularly known all over India as the chief architect of the Indian Constitution.

Times of London wrote, “In the social and political life during the last period of the British Empire in India, Dr Ambedkar’s name occupied a prime position. His face reflected his courage and resoluteness, and his intellect had no parallel in the world, he was not too proud. We never did a better thing than having Dr Ambedkar on the Drafting Committee and selecting him as its chairman.”

Recognizing the exceptional contribution of Babasaheb Ambedkar in drafting of the Constitution, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked: “Dr Ambedkar had played a most important part in the framing of India’s Constitution. No one took greater trouble and care over Constitution-making than Dr Ambedkar.” He carved a unique and impregnable pride of place and honor in the history of the free Indian nation. So long as the Indian Constitution survives, the name of Babasaheb Ambedkar will remain immortal. He lives forever in the hearts of every downtrodden. The first President of India, Dr Rajendra Prasad, praised for the services rendered by Dr Ambedkar in the constituting the Indian Constitution: “I have carefully watched the day-to-day activities from the presidential seat. Therefore, I appreciate more than others with how much dedication and vitality this task has been carried out by the Drafting Committee and by its chairman Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar in particular. We never

did a better thing than having Dr Ambedkar on the Drafting Committee and selecting him as its chairman.

In the constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar played a very significant role with a lofty responsibility of drafting the Constitution. He examined the functioning of a democratic government on the basis of stability and responsibility. However, the Draft Constitution he recommended that the parliamentary of executive must have more responsibility to stability. As regards the character of the Constitution, it was Federal in form and Unitary in Spirit". It established a dual polity with the Union at the Centre and the States at the periphery, each endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution.

CRUCIAL ROLE IN CONSTITUTION MAKING

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a champion of fundamental rights, he said:

"I came into the constitution assembly with a greater aspiration than to safeguard the interest of the scheduled castes. I had not the remotest idea that I would be called upon to undertake more responsible function. I was, therefore, surprised when the assembly elected to me the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its chairman". The Part III of the Indian Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights to the citizens against the state. Some of the fundamental rights contained in Articles 15(2), 17, 23, and 24 are also enforceable against individuals as they are very significant rights relating to the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth etc. The text prepared by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar provided constitutional guarantees and protections for a wide range of civil liberties for individual citizens, including freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability and outlawing all forms of discrimination. Dr. Ambedkar argued for extensive economic and social rights for women.

Dr. Ambedkar was rather more instrumental in incorporating Article 17 which provides for the 'Abolition of Untouchability' whereby "Untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of "Untouchability" shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law. Based on this article, the Civil rights Protection Act 1965 and the Prevention of Atrocities (Scheduled castes Scheduled tribes) Act 1989 was enacted by the Parliament for the protection of Dalit rights. Even though, caste based discrimination and violence still remains a fact of life in Today's India, there has been considerable progress for the historically disadvantaged sections of society. There were numerous political parties have emerged on the strength of voters from the oppressed sections, and the benefits of education and economic development have also been gradually reaching these sections. The attainment of genuine social equality is of course a gradual process and may be several generations away, but it was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who set us on this path with a written constitution based on the philosophy considering its 'people' as the centre. It is not surprising that the invocation of his life and contributions continues to be a major factor in political mobilization, even today. He took all care to enshrine the progressive ideas and ideals of the National Congress into the Constitution. It is perhaps under his spell-binding impact that government of India introduced the bill in Lok Sabha prohibiting manual scavenging, with the provision to rehabilitate those engaged in such inhuman employment and impose stringent measures to stop such practices, quite recently.

His role was equally crucial in introducing other fundamental rights whereby Constitution provides for equal justice, freedom and dignity to all Indian citizens irrespective of caste, creed or religion. It is in this context that New York Times wrote, *"The whole world acknowledges him as the leader of untouchables. But few realized his permanent impact on the constitutional*

set up of India". The text prepared by Ambedkar provided constitutional guarantees and protections for a wide range of civil liberties for individual citizens, including freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability and the outlawing of all forms of discrimination. Though he made an outstanding contribution in framing the Constitution of India, his efforts in enacting the Article 32 in the Constitution which guarantees a citizen the fundamental right to move the Supreme Court directly for enforcement of his or her fundamental rights was a noteworthy one. The rationale was to secure speedy and inexpensive justice to orders or writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, certioraris etc. or any other appropriate remedy, as the case may be, for the enforcement of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Dr Ambedkar regarded this provision as "the very soul of the Constitution and the very heart of it."

CONSTITUTION: A DYNAMIC DOCUMENT

The Constitution is a dynamic document it should grow with the growth of the nation and should suit the changing needs and circumstance. So Dr. Ambedkar urged the necessity of amendment. "The Draft Constitution has eliminated the elaborate and difficult procedures such as a decision by a convention or a referendum. The power of amendment lies with the legislatures, Central and Provincial ..." Dr. Ambedkar was doubtful on the Constitutional mortality of the legislatures. So he wanted to incorporate the forms of administration in the Constitution.

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

According to B. R. Ambedkar "The Parliamentary system differs from a non- parliamentary system in as much as the former is more responsible than the latter, but they also differ as to the time and agency for assessment of their responsibility. The Draft Constitution in recommending the Parliamentary system of executive has preferred more responsibility to more stability". He was a strong advocate of the parliamentary form of government right from the inception of the Government of India Act of 1935. He firmly believed that the parliamentary system of government alone can usher in an egalitarian society through the application of the principles of social democracy.

Dr Ambedkar's social democracy comprised politicians, political parties with high standards of political morality, honesty and integrity and strong and highly responsible Opposition party or parties committed to the cause of the downtrodden and depressed classes. The Preamble of the Indian Constitution (drafted by Dr. Ambedkar) echoes the principles of parliamentary democracy ensuring to "secure to all its citizens—Justice, Social, Economic and Political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, Equality of status and of opportunity and to promote among them all—Fraternity...." Hence, Dr Ambedkar was a strong advocate of the federal structure of the Union and States based on the principles of a strong Centre and independent States. Dr Ambedkar also did great service to the nation by proposing the institution of a unified judicial system and common All India Services with a view to strengthen national unity and integrity.

PROTECTIVE DISCRIMINATION/RESERVATION FOR THE PEOPLE

The real contribution of Dr. Ambedkar is reflected in the protective discrimination scheme or the reservation policy of the government envisaged under some provisions of Part III and many of Part IV dealing with the constitutional mandate to ameliorate the condition of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the other backward classes. Provisions like Articles 15(4), 16 (4) and Article 30 dealing with the protection of minorities are some of the notable examples 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 substantial and significant contribution of Dr. Ambedkar for the development of untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar made it his mission to uplift the untouchables and other downtrodden masses from the unequal position of inferiority to that of

equal position of parity in socio-economic status with high caste Hindus. For achieving this goal the reservation policy or the scheme of protective discrimination was advocated and implemented by him for ten years (from the date of enforcement of Constitution) at least to ameliorate the conditions of the down-trodden sections of Hindu society.

CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY

Dr. Ambedkar's concept of sovereignty and suzerainty and of the Indian States, i.e., integration of the native Indian Princely States which gave the shape to the map of India as it is today, has indeed been prophetic. So also were his explicitly and outspoken views on what he called the biggest blunder of Partition of India. Dr. Ambedkar forewarned his countrymen of the consequences of partition. His questioning of the rationale of the two nation theory which gave birth to Pakistan was born of deep interest in and compassion for his compatriots' esp., the Scheduled castes settled for centuries within the territorial jurisdiction of the new nation of Pakistan. He believed in the absolute sovereignty of the Indian people, asserting that ultimate authority should rest with the citizens of India, free from any external control. While acknowledging the necessity of cooperation with other nations, he vehemently rejected the concept of suzerainty, which implied a form of control or dominance by a foreign power. Dr. Ambedkar's unwavering commitment to the complete sovereignty of India as a republic was a fundamental principle that influenced the drafting of the Indian Constitution, ensuring that the nation would stand as a sovereign and independent entity on the global stage.

STATE SOCIALISM

Dr. Ambedkar advocated his economic doctrine of "state socialism" in the draft Constitution. He proposed state ownership of agriculture with a collectivized method of cultivation and a modified form of state socialism in the field of industry. But due to strong opposition in the Constitution Assembly, he could not incorporate his scheme of state socialism under the fundamental rights as a part of the Constitution. The core of Dr. Ambedkar's political thinking is contained in his statements like— 'rights are protected not by law but by the social and moral conscience of society;' and a democratic form of government presupposes a democratic form of society. Social conscience is the only safeguard of all rights, fundamental or non-fundamental. For Babasaheb Ambedkar, Democracy is essentially a form of society, a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, and in the terms of associated life between the people who form a society.

Babasaheb Ambedkar knew that mere adoption of a democratic system of government in the Constitution would not be sufficient. Equality in society, equality before law and administration, constitutional morality, lack of tyranny of the majority and developing public conscience are conditions for the success of democracy in India. The foremost condition for democracy, in Dr. Ambedkar's opinion, is equality in society as equality is the foundation stone where the notions of liberty and fraternity develop. Dr. Ambedkar also recognized the fact that the lofty ideals expressed in the Constitution would remain as they were, given the nature of contradictions inherent in society. To deny equality in social and economic life would be putting political democracy in peril. If the contradictions are not removed, those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which Constituent Assembly has laboriously built up.

The observations made by Dr. Ambedkar on November, 25, 1949 are prophetic and relevant considering the present political situation in our country. However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. The Constitution can provide only the organs of state such as legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The factors on which the workings of these organs

of state depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and policies.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC JUSTICE FOR THE PEOPLE

The concept of socio-economic justice, as envisioned by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is very well reflected in the Directive principles of state policy. Part IV of the constitution, which is entitled as directive principles of state policy, includes the right to adequate means of livelihood, right against economic exploitation, right of both sexes to equal pay for equal work, right to work, right to leisure and rest and right to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and like. This part also contains some principles of economic and social justice and certain ideals which the state should strive to attain. Article 38, for instance, directs the state to bring about a social order where justice- social, political and economic shall be uniform to all the institution of national life. Article 39, directs creation of conditions where there will be no 'concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment' and to see that the 'ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as the best to sub-serve the common good.'

CENTRE WAS MADE STRONG

In the Draft Constitution Dr. Ambedkar offered more powers to the Centre and made it strong. Some members of the constituent assembly criticised him on the ground that since Dr. Ambedkar postulated – the rights and values of each individual and the development of each province and each–village, it was contradictory of his part to make the Centre strong. Justifying the provisions for a strong Central authority Dr. Ambedkar said that he made the centre strong not only to 'save minorities from the misrule of majority' but also "*for it is only the centre which can work for a common end and for the general interests of the country as a whole.*"

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a staunch advocate for the principle of equality of opportunity. He believed that in order to achieve a just and inclusive society, every individual, regardless of their caste, creed, or social background, should have an equal chance to access education, employment, and social privileges. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's vision was rooted in his tireless efforts to eradicate the caste system's discriminatory practices, ensuring that merit and capability were the sole criteria for advancement. His contributions in framing policies to promote reservation for historically marginalized communities in India's educational institutions and government jobs exemplify his commitment to creating a more equitable and meritocratic society.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was, par excellence, a spokesman of the ignored humanity—the workers, small peasants and landless labourers. He expressed the sorrows of the untouchables and tried sincerely to channel the activities of the depressed classes. In mobilizing them, he created a sense of self-respect and pride in them. He dedicated his life to the cause of removal of untouchability and completely identified himself with the socially segregated section of the Indian society. He launched a life-long crusade for liberating them from their centuries-old enslavement and ostracism. It is this crusade which "*lifted him up high from a mere ghetto boy to a legend in his own lifetime*". He was born an untouchable and therefore he had an intense yearning to see that the untouchables are better placed in social, political and economic fields. He was for a total reorganisation and reconstruction of the Hindu society on two main principles—equality and absence of casteism.

Dr. Ambedkar entertained a dream that political democracy can also be translated into social democracy. He tried to restructure a totally dilapidated structure. Ambedkar's thinking arose out of his acute dissatisfaction with the anomalous treatment meted out to the people of his

community. His mind was preoccupied with the social amelioration, political enlightenment, economic well-being and spiritual awakening of the downtrodden. He had a deep faith in fundamental human rights, in the equal rights of man and woman, in the dignity of the individual, in the promotion of better standards of life and, above all, in peace and security in all spheres of human life. He was a champion of a revolution to be brought about by the dynamics of public opinion through a change in the laws of the land. He was not a Utopian, but a realist. He saw a vast difference between a revolution and real social change. For him, the transfer of power must be accompanied by such distribution of power that the result would be a real social change in the relative strength of forces operating in society.

He was entirely committed to the annihilation of the caste system. According to him, caste system is not merely a division of labour but a division of labourers. It is a hierarchy in which the division of labourers is graded one above other. This division of labour is based on neither natural aptitude nor choice of the individual concerned. It is, therefore, harmful inasmuch as it involves the subordination of man's natural powers and inclinations to the exigencies of social rules. Dr. Ambedkar reiterated: "*The caste system prevents common activity and by preventing it, it has prevented the Hindus from becoming a society with unified life and a consciousness of its own being.*"

Hence, the Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's great vision enjoined the abolition of casteism in every shape and form, since he was opposed to all divisive forces and aimed at strengthen the impulse of national integration. The greatly cherished ideals of "fraternity and equality were the cement with which he wanted to bind together a totally cohesive nation". His long-range response was a direct attack against the root cause i.e. the caste system. Baba Sahib was indeed a friend, philosopher and a guide to the people belonged to low strata of society. All these people have seen a ray of hope through the eyes of Babasaheb Ambedkar. It was a great expectation which has paved the way to lighten the path of the down-trodden people of India.

WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

He has a strong belief in equality, and a strong support for women's rights, and has enabled women to be educated, has the right to vote, gets married, and become independent. He understood the importance of maternity benefits in mainstream India in the 1920s and fought hard for them. He promoted social equality and fraternity. He fought vigorously for women's rights and made tireless efforts to achieve them all.

Gender Equality: He recognized gender inequality in Indian society and raised his voice to include them in modern society. Dr. Ambedkar has given women the same status as men by enacting many provisions in the Indian Constitution to enhance and empower women.

Women's Education: For him, the lack of education for women was the biggest problem in Indian society. He blamed Brahmanism for the misery of Indian women. After independence, women were freed from traditional customs. Higher education was implemented when the Constitution stipulated the right to education. Article 45 of the Constitution of India describes compulsory education for children.

Hindu Code Bill: Dr. Ambedkar's deep concern about the status of women in society was clearly reflected in the Hindu Code Bill. It shows a chapter on gender equality and justice, along with an escape from ancient orthodox law. The bill was intended to give women absolute rights to all property.

Maternity Bill: His discussion of maternity benefits and birth criticality was highly relevant to recognizing the dignity of women. He enthusiastically supported the maternity method.

CONCLUSION

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's contribution to the making of the Indian Constitution was nothing short of monumental and is often hailed as the architect of modern India's democratic framework. His role in shaping the Constitution was multifaceted and transformative in several ways.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar championed the cause of social justice within the Constitution. His vision was deeply rooted in the principles of equality and the eradication of the caste system. He played a pivotal role in ensuring the inclusion of provisions like reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in educational institutions and government jobs, thus laying the foundation for affirmative action in India. Babasaheb Ambedkar also had a keen understanding of the importance of fundamental rights and individual liberties. He worked tirelessly to guarantee civil liberties and freedoms for all citizens, ensuring that the Constitution would protect the rights of every Indian, regardless of their background.

Furthermore, his legal acumen and commitment to a just and equitable legal system were evident in his contributions to the Constitution's fundamental rights and directive principles. His insistence on an independent judiciary and safeguards against discrimination demonstrated his foresight in safeguarding the rule of law. Dr. Ambedkar's approach to constitutionalism was characterized by a commitment to social democracy and the idea that political democracy could not thrive without addressing deep-seated social inequalities. His tireless efforts, leadership, and scholarship during the Constituent Assembly debates continue to inspire and guide India's democratic principles, making him a towering figure in the nation's constitutional history.

His message to the people was: "You must have firm belief in sacredness of your mission. Noble is your aim and sublime and glorious is your mission. Blessed are those who are awakened to their duty to those among whom they are born". In fact he played a pivotal role in the making of the Indian Constitution and chiefly responsible for drafting of the Constitution of India. Hence, the contribution of Babasaheb Ambedkar is unforgettable for the people of India. The people of India have received the liberty through the Ballot Box. Indeed, the whole credit goes to the Babsaheb Ambedkar for his outstanding contribution work for the country like India. Dr Ambedkar's legacy will have to be retrieved and extended by activists committed to the social and cultural renaissance he had envisioned; and not by the political purveyors of an exhausted rhetoric who claim to speak in his name. His title to this dignity rests upon the social purposes he served and in the way he served them.

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THE VISION OF DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR ON THE USAGE OF WATER

Amardeep Gurme¹ and Dr. Korpakwad Eknath²

¹Research Scholar, Dept. of Economics, Shivanji Mahavidyalaya, Udgir

²Head, Department, of Economics, Maharashtra UdaygirinMahavidyalaya, Udgir

INTRODUCTION

The geography was split based on caste. The so-called untouchables were compelled to reside outside the traditional boundaries of established settlements. They were denied entrance to the so-called hallowed areas. To put it another way, the land was split along caste lines. Still, the land is split along caste lines, and the untouchables have no land in terms of ownership. This has not altered significantly. The untouchables were forbidden access to water, the source of life. In short, the good, or, to use economic terminology, the public goods, were withheld to the untouchables. The untouchables were forbidden access to water, the source of life. In short, the good, or, to use economic terminology, the public goods, were withheld to the untouchables. No caste of people creates land, water, air, woods, or such other public commodities. They are given to humans, but the denial of rights to use them by a few and not by others creates a significant schism in society. That is why, rather than being abstract or philosophizing about "deeper" aspects of life, Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement was founded in land, water, and other public commodities. In this chapter we are discussing the viewpoints and the role of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on the usage of water resource in detail. The descriptive method has been used by the researcher for the present study.

It's a scorcher of a day, possibly the hottest of the month. While faraway rural territories writhe and die of hunger and anguish, the urban environment also burns in the scorching heat. In the month of April 14th, and we're in the midst of a terrible summer. Today's roadways are extremely congested, with giant pandals outfitted with massive audio speakers blasting harsh, nonsensical music. Young generation yell slogans and dance in a massive celebration, almost oblivious to the burning heat and traffic. The date April 14th known as Dr. Ambedkar Day. The birth of one of the most unique and divisive figures in Indian history and politics. Few could have borne so many identities with such vigor and efficacy as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Messiah of the lower castes, Father of the Indian Constitution, acclaimed economist, and fierce politician. His numerous identities have been the topic of intense debate across the country, but one identity and function he has been loved and despised for remains entirely disregarded, nearly forgotten - that relating to India's water resources and policy.

Water Resource and Management:

As a researcher I must say that I was completely unaware of this element of his accomplishments before entering the profession of research. It wasn't until I started researching Indian water management and policies that I discovered the history, which is inextricably linked to Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar as modern India's first 'waterman' would not strike a chord with modern Indian society, but the man's contribution is nothing short of monumental. Dr. Ambedkar is from the region that is now Maharashtra, the state that has been affected the hardest by drought in summer of 2016. It is a state of contrasts, with the most dams and farmer suicides, a regulatory authority for water but no strict measurement rules for water supply, a pioneer and role model in water laws and policies, but a biased politician-bureaucrat-rich farmer/industrialist nexus that results in about three quarters of the state's irrigation water going to a single crop - sugarcane - alone.

I'm curious how Dr. Ambedkar would react to this awful condition of affairs. Even before India gained independence, Dr. Ambedkar concentrated on the country's water resources as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, holding the portfolios of Labour, Irrigation, and Power from

1942 to 1945. ⁽¹⁾ Water resources, in his opinion, were already a national entity; their transboundary nature bound the country. He boldly compared them to railways, asserting that they, too, "flow from province to province," and decried how the then-existing constitution had classed them separately, "with the result that railways are always treated as Central, but waterways are treated as Provincial." Because to him, Union List item no. 56 states, "Regulation and development of inter-state rivers and river valleys to the extent that such regulation and development under Union control is declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in the public interest." ⁽²⁾

"Another change made by Dr. Ambedkar after Independence illustrates his appreciation of the national (and sensitive) nature of water resources: "Adjudication of disputes concerning waters of interstate rivers or river valleys." ⁽³⁾ To some, discussing disputes and rivalries amongst the states of a newly constituted nation that rose together against their imperial masters may appear dismal, even cynical. Dr. Ambedkar's pragmatic insight, however, could not be more right. The battle between people, towns, regions, and states for maximal water access has frequently led in disputes and confrontations, whether between peninsular states over the Kaveri, Godavari, or Krishna rivers, or between Punjab and Haryana over the Sutlej-Yamuna Link Canal.

Three Ways:

Dr. Ambedkar approached water in three ways. A) national/regional identity, b) multipurpose resource development, and c) a tool for improving the country's social and economic situations. Water, in his opinion, could not - and should not - be compartmentalized; it was a complex, multidimensional resource that could best be maintained and used if all of its qualities and uses were treated in a unified, integrated manner. It was this idea, the idea of integration, that was the underlying current of his views and policies on water resources, and with which he laid the groundwork for the country's water resource development. Unlike other experts at the time, he saw extra water as a benefit. When discussing the rivers of Odisha, he stated that man suffered "more from a lack of water than from an abundance of it." He actively pushed a new perspective: that excess water was not always a problem; that it could be conserved and used for the good of society.

Excess water was kept not just to reduce flood damage, but also for generating hydroelectricity, irrigating farms and fields, soil conservation, home water supply, navigation, and even post-war employment. The Damodar Valley Scheme (DVS) was the first such concept to be materialised in Independent India, and the Damodar Valley Corporation (DVC) was the first step towards its realisation.

He urged Bengal, Bihar, and the Central Provinces to work together to develop the Damodar Valley, ideally along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in the United States, which he saw as a desirable model. The three provinces were hesitant and unwilling to collaborate. Dr. Ambedkar, on the other hand, was successful in gathering all of them around the table to debate the issue. He contended that the project "should not only address the flood problem, but also provide for irrigation, electricity, and navigation. "There has not been enough recognition that our water resource development policy must be versatile in order to embrace all possible uses of water." ⁽⁴⁾ Furthermore, he envisioned the initiative as a post war employment project that would help people find work when the employment and economic growth surges produced by conflict had faded. Dr. Ambedkar's three -pronged approach was evident in the Sone River and Hirakud projects as well, but what was as remarkable was his ability to bring uncooperative groups together to discuss concerns and find answers. Here was a man who not only formulated comprehensive and far-reaching water policies, but also turned them into reality via the strength of his convictions and exceptional negotiation skills.

Viewpoints:

He was both a thinker and an action taker. If Dr. Ambedkar's ideas and approach may be defined as visionary, his techniques can only be described as holistic and rigorous. He emphasized thorough, multidisciplinary, integrated, and inter-state/inter-regional planning. He placed unusual emphasis on the project's technical and economic sustainability, as well as the equitable distribution of its advantages in the valley and surrounding areas. He emphasized a critical and much overlooked aspect: resettlement and rehabilitation of project-affected populations.

He underlined an important (and often disregarded) aspect: resettlement and rehabilitation of project-affected populations. He established the Central Waterways Irrigation and Navigation Commission (CWINC) shortly after independence, which later became the Central Water Commission (CWC). He underlined the importance of establishing multi-sectoral and inter-state River Development Authorities in order to fully utilize the country's water resources. And what do we see today? At the most fundamental level, there is less planning in it. The CWC is superseded by the States in determining the character of the country's water resource management. Today, both comprehensive river basin planning and successful implementation are lacking. The plans for the Godavari and Krishna rivers have failed and do not cross state limits.

The tribunals that divided the waters of these rivers between Maharashtra and its neighbors have not ventured into interstate cooperation conservation and development of these rivers. River basin agencies (RBAs) that properly address both the multidisciplinary and inter-state aspects of water resources are desperately needed. Dr. Ambedkar would have been disappointed at present. Dr. Ambedkar would have been even more worried in these times, because he would have noted the disregard of aspects such as climate change adaptation, preserving and improving environmental flows, conserving ecosystems, and increasing sanitation.

It is disheartening to see a water-rich country like India, blessed with a visionary like him, now grapple with water quality-quantity wastage issues, a lack of proper planning, droughts caused by its own policies and actions, and a complete disregard for the preciousness and value of water resources among the majority of the Population. After all, it took an event like the Indian Premier League (IPL), however tiny in compared to sugarcane and the sugar sector, to make a big percentage of Maharashtra's populace aware of the severity of water scarcity and drought in their own backyard. What has to be recognized, comprehended, and instilled are the thoughts and approaches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, one of the most celebrated and beloved public personalities in Maharashtra, if not the country, when it comes to water.

CONCLUSION

We have firmly and entirely identified him with caste politics, reservations, Dalits, and the empowerment of the lower castes, forgetting that many of his initiatives were for the upliftment of all of India, transcending caste and religion. The man is no longer alive, but his concepts have been saved, luckily, in his work and writings, but the collective memory and conscience of the public, as well as politicians, have been wiped clean. We are doing our country a disservice by doing so, and we are moving us even closer to an impending, severe water crisis, the signs and repercussions of which can reach unimaginable proportions. Posters of Dr. Ambedkar can be found all throughout town. Massive, towering posters brimming with admiration and praise. It is a massive celebration of the messiah, the Bharatratna, the deity, yet the vast majority of us are absolutely oblivious of his thoughts, traits, and accomplishments. What is the significance of this zeal, this festivity? Our taps run dry as we dance, give speeches, worship, and politicize Dr. Ambedkar around the country, and our cities and villages become parched. What are we commemorating? What are our top priorities? I'm sure that from somewhere Dr. Ambedkar is wondering the same thing.

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DR BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR- A VISIONARY FEMINIST

Dr. Ashwini Surendra Daware

Assistant Professor in English, AKI's Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune

INTRODUCTION

"We shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persuaded side by side with female education." – Dr. B.R. Ambedkar¹

Empowerment refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social or economic strength of individuals and communities. Empowerment and autonomy of women and the improvement of their political, social, economic and health status is both a highly important end in itself and necessary for the achievement of sustainable human development. The role played by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, as Chairperson of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution, has left an imprint on the social tapestry of the country after independence, and shaped the socio-political fabric of India today. It would have been a different India in a probability, a much more inequitable and unjust one without him. Dr. Ambedkar 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.

Meaning of Feminism

'Feminism' is a wide range of political movements, ideologies and social movements that share a common goal to define, establish, and achieve political, economic, personal and social equality of sexes. The underline premise of feminism is to seek women's equality and justice in every sphere of life and create opportunities for women to have the same access to the resources that are otherwise freely available to men.

Dr. Ambedkar – As a feminist

It is easy to imagine why people identified Dr Ambedkar as Baba, a father figure rather than as a political personality. He discussed several problems of Indian women and sought for their solutions in Bombay Legislative Council, in the Viceroy's Assembly as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and also in the Parliament as the first Law Minister of Independent India.

The Hindu Code Bill

The Hindu Code Bill revolutionized the Hindu domestic sphere by offering women the right to marry by choice and across caste boundaries, give them the right to divorce, and the right to inherit property. The Bill became the law in a piecemeal, diluted avatar, in the form of the Hindu Marriage Act, Hindu Succession Act etc. He resigned when the Bill was stalled by the upper caste orthodoxy. His influence also led to the passage of various other pro-women acts like The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 and The Dowry Prohibition Act of 1961, legally entitling women to equal wages and criminalizing dowry, respectively.²

Apart from reforming property rights, he also introduced two ground-breaking clauses — namely, the restitution of conjugal rights, and judicial separation. These allowed women the personal choice and freedom to file for legal divorce.

The bill was divided into four independent acts:

- a. the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, which gave women the right to divorce, and maintenance in some cases
- b. the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, which gave them the legal right to inherit family property

- c. the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956, which allowed women to legally adopt a child
- d. The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 which allowed a woman to be the natural guardian of her child.

The Bill, however, could not be introduced in its original structure. Dr. Ambedkar's ideas, however, did influence the enactment of a number of subsequent pro-women Acts, such as The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956, Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, The Maternity Benefit Act, 1961, The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976, the Family Courts Act, 1984, the Sati Prevention Act, 1987, The National Commission for Women Act, 1990, Protection of Human Rights Act, 1993, Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005, among others.

His concern was not limited to Hindu women only. He observed that even the Muslim women were also not getting their due which was provided to them under the Islamic Shariah as they were influenced by the Indian environment. He also criticized the denial of rights to Muslim women for divorce. He lamented the sad plight of the Indian Muslim women and said: "No Muslim girl has the courage to repudiate her marriage, although it may be open to her on the ground that she was a child and that it was brought about by persons other than her parents. No Muslim wife will think it proper to have a clause entered into her marriage, contract reserving her right to divorce. In that even her fate is, 'once married always married' she cannot escape the marriage-tie however irksome it may be. While she cannot repudiate her marriage, the husband can always do it without having to show any cause."³

As an Activist of Women's Rights

Dr Ambedkar felt women, once they become agents of their own fate, will dismantle the caste patriarchy. He wrote extensively on women's oppression and set up newspapers like 'Mook Nayak' and 'Bahishkrit Bharat' with sections that exclusively covered women-centric issues. He pushed for family planning measures for women, and ensured the enactment of universal adult franchise, thereby legalising voting rights for women and several other minorities and marginalised people. His contribution to women's emancipation is reflected in his criticism of texts like Manusmriti.

Dr Ambedkar's Idea of Equality

He incorporated the values of liberty, equality and fraternity in the Indian Constitution. Based on the belief that any scheme of franchise and constituency that fails to bring about representation of opinions as well representation of persons falls short of creating a popular government, he submitted the Constitution with a warning. He said in his speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on 25th November 1949, "Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy." By social he means a way of life, which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as principal of life.

Constitutional Provisions

The Constitution of India contains various provisions, which provide for equal rights and opportunities for both men and women. The salient features are:-

- Article 14 guarantees that the State shall not deny equality before the law and equal protection of the laws;
- Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the ground of sex;
- Article 15 (3) empowers the State to make positive discrimination in favour of women and children;
- Article 16 provides for Equality of Opportunity in matters of public employment;

- Article 23 prohibits trafficking in human beings and forced labour;
- Article 39 (a) and (d) enjoins the State to provide equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work;
- Article 42 enjoins upon the State to make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief;
- Article 51A(e) imposes a Fundamental Duty on every citizen to renounce the practices derogatory to the dignity of women;
- Article 243D (3) provides that not less than 1/3rd of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat to be reserved for women, and such seats to be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Panchayat;
- Article 243T(3) provides that not less than 1/3rd of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women and such seats may be allotted by rotation to different constituencies in a Municipality;
- Article 243T(4) provides reservation of offices of Chairperson in Municipalities for SC, ST, women in such manner as the legislature of a State, may by law provide;

In pursuance of the above Constitutional provisions, various legislative enactments have been framed to protect, safeguard and promote the interests of women. Many of these legislative enactments have been in the sphere of labour laws to ameliorate the working conditions of women labour. Dr. Ambedkar realized this at his time and included in the process of social reforms. The vision of Dr. Ambedkar about women is explicitly depicted in Indian Constitution. Equality of sexes is strongly backed by the Constitution through articles 14, 15 and 16. The principle of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian Constitution in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principles. He laid down the foundation of social justice and there can be no social justice without gender equality. In his paper on 'Castes in India: their Mechanism, Genesis and Development', Dr. Ambedkar described how women were treated cruelly by the way of sati, enforced widowhood and girl marriages just to maintain strict endogamy in a caste. The social evils regarding women in Hindu religion as well as in Muslim society were highlighted by him. As a researcher, Dr. Ambedkar extensively studied the position of women in both the religion (and also in the other religions) and thrown light on denial of rights to her and ultimately the status of individual. Dr. Ambedkar sought that Buddhism awards women, status equal to men and considered women capable of attaining spirituality. By adopting Buddhism, Dr. Ambedkar expelled injustice for underprivileged segments including women and accepting the dignified equal status.

Education for Women

Dr Ambedkar's views "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."⁴ Education is the only means by which societies grow out of oppression to democratic participation and involvement. It is a powerful tool for empowerment of individual. Dr Ambedkar identified two purposes of knowledge: first, to acquire it for betterment of others and secondly to use it for one's own betterment. He has also argued against professional learning (The British Educational System) 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 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. Dr 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.

Dr Ambedkar considered education as an important tool for the emancipation of women. They were not allowed to take education with lower castes. It is evident from his speeches that he had great concern for women empowerment. Addressing the Second All-India Depressed Classes Women's Conference held on 20 July 1942 at Nagpur, he said, "I measure the progress of community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. I shall tell you a few things which I think you should bear in mind. Learn to be clean; keep free from all vices. Give education to your children. Instill ambition in them. Inculcate on their minds that they are destined to be great. Remove from them all inferiority complexes."⁵

In this way, Dr Ambedkar stressed on education for the progress of women and our country. He wants women to realize that they owe a great responsibility for educating their children in right way. But at the same time, he advised them: send your children to schools. To him, education is the most important factor for moulding the life of all men, women and children. Dr Ambedkar observes "Education is as necessary for females as it is for males. If you know how to read and write, there would be much progress. As you are, so your children will be mould their lives in virtuous way, for sons should be such as would make a mark in this world."⁶ He wanted to liberate women from their suffering and economic dependency. In order to give economic rights and freedom to women, Ambedkar demanded educational rights, equality and right to property for women. To educate women, he asked co-education for women with men. Through education, he believed, that women would think independently which will lead to their intellectual and mental development.

Women's Voting Rights in India

He wanted women to have greater participation in all walks of life, especially in the political arena. To empower that, as a legislator under the British regime, he was one of the first people to root for the rights of working women. To that effect, he wrote extensively on women's oppression and set up newspapers like '*Mook Nayak*' and '*Bahishkrit Bharat*' with sections that exclusively covered women-centric issues. Moreover, as British India's first Indian Law Minister, Ambedkar pushed for Family Planning measures for women, and ensured the enactment of universal adult franchise, thereby legalising voting rights (earlier reserved only for the privileged) for women and several other minorities and marginalised people. To him, sexual discrimination should be root out from the society and everybody should get equal opportunity in the society.

Dr Ambedkar's views on Marriage and Remarriage

Dr. Ambedkar was strongly against the Manu views about marriage and remarriage. Because Manu said that, 'for the first marriage of the twice born classes, a women of the same class is recommended but for such as are impelled by inclination to marry again, women in the direct order of the classes are to be preferred'. A Shudra woman only must be the wife of Shudra; Vaisya of a Vaisya, Kshatriya of a Kshatriya, Brahmani of a Brahman'. Manu allowed men to marry with women below the class not above the class.

Dr Ambedkar found emancipation in Buddhist values, which promotes equality, self-respect and education. He believed that Buddha treated women with respect and love and never tried to degrade them like Manu did. Women like Vishaka, Amrapali of Visali, Gautami and Rani Mallika were approached in Buddha's philosophy.

The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 provides the equal grounds for divorce to both husband and wife. The grounds are like adultery, desertion, cruelty, insanity, leprosy, venereal diseases, conversion or renunciation of world etc. The Desertion under the Hindu Marriage Act falls under the following categories;

- a) Actual desertion,
- b) Constructive desertion,
- c) Willful neglect.

Dr Ambedkar's Maternity Bill

Dr Ambedkar had argued on Maternity Benefit Bill that, 'It is in the interest of the nation that the mother ought to get a certain amount of rest during the pre-natal period and also subsequently, and the principle of the bill is based entirely on that principle.'

Further Dr Ambedkar said that, I am prepared to admit this fact because of the conservation of the people's welfare, is primary concern of the government.⁷

Article 42 of the Indian Constitution directs the State to ensure the just and humane conditions of work and of maternity benefit. In order to meet the objectives as set out in this provision the Government of India has enacted the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961. The Central Government has increased the maternity benefit period from four months to six months by amending the law.

The amendments to maternity benefit Act were done by the government in order to increase the period of maternity benefit to the female workers.

- 1) It increased the maternity benefit from 12 weeks to 26 weeks for two surviving children.
- 2) 12 weeks for more than two children.
- 3) 12 weeks maternity benefit to a commissioning mother and adopting mother.
- 4) Mandatory provision of Creche in respect of establishment having 50 or more employees.

Today's Present Context

Most people are literate but not educated. Education by means of access to knowledge and learning played pivotal role in the social reforms. Stagnation in process of social reforms and imposing so called divine status of ancient women on today's women thereby influencing her development and upliftment. Shattered with the reforms and liberation of women in the era of globalization and modernization, the Indian mindset has not accepted the equality at par with men and hence forcing women to revert their development. Education system, employment opportunities, tremendous population, inflation and non-availability of resources to strive are the barriers for development among people. The societal framework meant to make women subordinate or subjugated need to be dismantled. Active participation of women from all the strata could make it possible. The more ridiculous male attitude is that girl's education meant only for her marriage. Today's women are trapped in the circle of insecurity, male domination, lack of awareness about her rights and no decision-making powers. Much is talked about women empowerment today but it is more economic, political and health related. The issue of social empowerment of women needs to be raised higher and given utmost importance then only it could complete phenomena. Women empowerment has five components: women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives; both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction and social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally. Dr. Ambedkar strongly believed that women empowerment can be achieved by welfare of women. The activities of empowering women worldwide should follow the vision of Dr. Ambedkar.

CONCLUSION

Ambedkar paved the way for Indian women to legally vote, divorce, and own property. He was indeed a feminist. The role of women in every walk of life is predominant in the society. Though the goal of women empowerment is yet to be achieved, Dr. Ambedkar's idea about the rights and development of women are still valid in the present scenario – not only in India, but in global context too. Dr. Ambedkar's three-word formula – 'educate, agitate and organize' is a powerful tool of social change even today.

He desired a society based on liberty, fraternity and equality for all. Feminism at its core advocates for full social, economic, and political equality for women. According to him, the society must be based on reason, and not on atrocious traditions of caste system. He found education, intercaste marriage and interdine as methods, which may eliminate caste and patriarchy, maintained through endogamy. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar called the nation to give equal rights to women in every field. If the women are empowered the nation will be in progress.

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DR BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR'S THOUGHTS ON WOMEN EMPOWERMENT

Sonali Badhe-Kadam

Research Scholar in Economics, Prof. Ramkrishna More College, Akurdi
Savitribai Phule Pune University

INTRODUCTION

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is a well-known personality of India in the whole world. He is the chief architect of the Indian constitution. He was a profound scholar, a great freedom fighter, philosopher, political thinker, an economist, revivalist of Buddhism, savior of suppressed classes and a daring leader. He is one of the Indian social reformers who really thought about the Hindu social order and status of women in Hindu society. He was born on 14th April 1891. He completed his graduation from Elphinstone College, Bombay in 1892. He joined Columbia University, USA for his Ph.D. Later he joined the London School of Economics where he obtained the degree of D.Sc. (Economics). He returned to India in 1923. He founded 'Bahishkrit Hitkarini sabha' with the objective of spreading education and improving economic and social conditions of the depressed segment of the society.

The meaning of empowerment can be stated as it is transformation from the stage of forced powerlessness to the one of power. The term women empowerment has various aspects. It encompasses gender equality, financial freedom, gender mainstreaming, leadership and networking. It means that the woman has the capacity to regulate her day today life in social, political and economic terms. The concept women empowerment encompasses following components:

- 1) Sense of self worth
- 2) Right to have and determine choices
- 3) Right to have access to opportunities and resources
- 4) Right to have power to control their own lives
- 5) Ability to influence the direction and social change to create a more just in social and economic order

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's thoughts on women empowerment-

"I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved"- Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the need for inclusion of women's rights in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. He drafted Hindu code bill and suggested the basic improvements and amendments in the assembly. It paved the way for a legal system that would improve the condition of women in social, legal and personal matters. When the bill was not passed in parliament, he resigned for the same reason. At the All India Depressed Classes Women's Conference held at Nagpur on 20th July 1940 Dr. Ambedkar gave a speech. He spoke, "I am a great believer in women's organization. I know what they can do to improve the condition of the society if they are convinced. They should educate their children and instill high ambition in them. The children's mind should be inculcated with the ideas that they are designated to be great. The sense of inferiority complex should be eliminated from their mind and heart" He always condemned traditions which make life of a woman harder and always honored women for their work and hardships. He evoked women in the following words. "Never wear such clothes which will degrade our personality and character. Avoid wearing the jewelry on your body everywhere. It is not fair to make a hole in your nose and wear nath". He always

condemned all the bad traditions, habits and ways of life which made life difficult and complex. In his famous book-‘Pakistan and partition of India’ he expressed his views about Muslim women and their religious traditions, about wearing veils, their marriages and so on. Muslim women were suppressed under various religious traditions. Towards all the women, irrespective of their religion, casts and class, Babasaheb had a humanitarianism approach. He frequently raised his voice against all sorts of injustice towards women. He believed that women can show the right direction to her family. He kept on insisting that a woman should get good education, health facilities, rights of property and equal treatment in the society. He considered women as human beings whose rights need to be protected by law.

Dr. Ambedkar’s contribution towards women empowerment:

Maternity benefit act for women

DR. Ambedkar played a major role in passing the Maternity Benefit Act. In this regard he said, "I believe that it is in the interests of the nation that the mother ought to get a certain amount of rest during the prenatal period and also subsequently. Dr. Babasaheb framed many laws for Women Labours in India:

1. Mines Maternity Benefit Act,
2. Women Labour welfare fund,
3. Women and Child, Labour Protection Act,
4. Maternity Benefit for women Labour,
5. Restoration of Ban on Employment of Women on Underground Work in Coal Mines,
6. Equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex

Constitutional Provisions-

The Constitution of India was a charter of equal rights for women. Dr. Ambedkar did an adequate inclusion of women’s rights in the constitution of India. Being a chairman of the drafting committee, Dr. Ambedkar thoroughly thought about the wellbeing and dignity of the deprived segments of the society. He incorporated the goals of Liberty, Equality and justice for the Indian democracy to achieve. It ensured equality to the women also. Now they could enjoy all freedom and protection and opportunities along with men as equal citizens. The constitutional provisions empowered women by giving them the strength and support of legal rights. It can be discussed as follows-

Article 14 - equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.

Article 15- prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex

Article 15(3)-enables affirmative discrimination in favor of women

Article 39-equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.

Article 42 - human conditions of work and maternity relief.

Article 46- the state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker sections of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 47- the state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.

Article 51(A) (C)-fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to dignity of women

Article 243D (3), 243T (3) and 243R(4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System

The Hindu Code Bill-

The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955: The Hindu Marriage Act amended in 1976 made the following provisions for women

1. The legitimization of illegitimate children (sec.16)
2. Punishment-bigamy (sec.260)
3. Custody of children (sec.26)
4. Marriageable age of females was raised to 18 years.
5. Provision for alimony (sec.25)

The act abolishes the difference between a maiden and a widow.

The Hindu Succession act, 1956: This act contains the following provisions for women.

1. A widow has a right to adopt a son or a daughter which was not there in Hindu Law
2. This act provided an opportunity to be independent and dispose of her property by her will as she desires and wishes.
3. A uniform scheme of succession of a Hindu female was made in this law in sec 15.
4. (who dies or intestate after the commencement of the law)

The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956: Under this law following provisions are made.

1. The mother is empowered to change the guardian, appointed by the father. She may appoint a new guardian by her will.
2. The father's right to appoint a guardian for the minor by will during the lifetime of the minor's mother is prohibited under this Act.

The Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956: This act has following provisions.

1. The Act permits a wife to adopt a child on her own right even during her husband's lifetime. Before enactment of this law a woman has no such right.
2. The law grants the right to a spinster or a widow to adopt a child.
3. This act accepts adoption of a male or a female child without any difference. Under uncodified Law a daughter could not be adopted.
4. Under this law it is essential to consult a wife while adopting a child or while giving a child for adoption. Under old Hindu Law a wife was not needed to consult in both the cases.
5. Section 11 lays down that, a father should adopt a daughter at least 21 years younger to him.

Women and current scenario –

Dr. Ambedkar was a great visionary. He framed the laws which empowered women, but still women are suffering from many issues in the society. There exists a wide gender disparity in our society. Women are not given equal opportunities. They are discriminated against in the families, workplace and in society in general. The census figure reveals that India has a very poor sex ratio. Despite the legal equality which is provided by our constitution, women in India are still being exploited. They are still deprived of their rights. The legal provisions consider all men and women equal but the traditional approach about women is still seen most of the time in

Indian society. Despite the rights given in the constitution they need social education, awareness, government efforts, cultural changes, gender equality for women empowerment.

CONCLUSION

The gender inequality forces women towards destitution and keeps them deprived from their basic rights. From Dr. Ambedkar's point of view women are 'gateway' of the caste system. He insisted on state intervention for protection of women's rights and dignity. The Constitution of India promises liberty, justice and dignity to all individuals. Our constitution gives rights to the women to stand for her rights, equality and dignity. Dr. Ambedkar's dream of a society which is based on gender equality is not fulfilled yet. To achieve this, women should be provided with equal opportunities of independent income and employment.

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR'S MULTIFACETED CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN SOCIETY: EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND DALITS

Dr. Gulab Pathan

Head, Department of Sociology, Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Camp, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a prominent figure in India's history, is widely recognized as the architect of the Indian Constitution. However, his legacy extends far beyond his role in drafting the Constitution. He was a multifaceted personality who contributed significantly to various aspects of Indian society, including his efforts to empower women and uplift Dalits. This research delves into Dr. Ambedkar's diverse roles as a freedom fighter, political leader, philosopher, economist, and social reformer, with a focus on his advocacy for women's rights and the eradication of caste-based discrimination. Beyond his monumental role in shaping the legal framework of India, Dr. Ambedkar exhibited an unwavering dedication to challenging societal norms that perpetuated gender disparities. This research aims to illuminate the various facets of Dr. Ambedkar's approach towards gender equality and provide an in-depth analysis of his impact on women's rights in India.

Dr. Ambedkar's vision encompassed various aspects of social reform, ranging from political leadership and social justice advocacy to philosophical insights and economic expertise. In this context, his efforts towards the empowerment of women and the liberation of Dalits stand as shining examples of his commitment to building a more equitable and just society. This exploration delves into the multifarious roles Dr. Ambedkar assumed and his enduring impact on reshaping the societal landscape of India through his dedicated work for the advancement of women and marginalized communities.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Remarkable Contributions to Indian Society:

1. **Dr. Ambedkar's Vision for Gender Equality:** Beyond his constitutional endeavors, Dr. Ambedkar championed a comprehensive vision of gender equality that extended beyond token political representation. His perspective encompassed economic empowerment, access to education, social welfare, and the eradication of deeply entrenched patriarchal norms. Drawing inspiration from Western philosophies, he translated his visionary ideas into pragmatic policies aimed at dismantling the oppressive structures of Hindu society.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's quest for gender equality stands as a testament to his profound commitment to social justice and reform. His multifaceted contributions encompass advocacy, scholarship, and policy-making, aimed at dismantling patriarchal norms and advancing women's rights. This research underscores the significance of Dr. Ambedkar's role in shaping India's pursuit of gender equality, highlighting the relevance of his insights in contemporary discussions on women's empowerment and social transformation.

2. **Critique of Caste-based Gender Inequities:** Dr. Ambedkar's prolific writings, including "Women and Counter Revolution" and "The Riddle of Women," critically examined the construction of gender relations within the Hindu Brahminical order. He challenged the relegation of women to subordinate roles, perpetuated by texts like Manusmriti and the orthodox interpretation of Hindu religion. Dr. Ambedkar contrasted these norms with Buddhist values that advocated for gender equality, education, and autonomy for women.
3. **Inclusion of Women in the Ambedkarite Movement:** Dr. Ambedkar's social justice movement actively engaged women as agents of change. Figures such as Venubai Bhatkar and Renubai Shambharakar participated in satyagrahas and established women's associations to disseminate education and awareness among marginalized women. These initiatives

empowered women to articulate their demands assertively, challenging oppressive norms and advocating for their rights.

4. **Dr. Ambedkar's Vision for Women's Empowerment:** Dr. Ambedkar's vision for women's empowerment extended beyond mere political representation. He emphasized the need for comprehensive economic and social rights for women. He believed in providing women with access to education, well-being, and socio-cultural rights. Dr. Ambedkar's deep understanding of Western philosophies contributed to his visionary thinking, allowing him to translate his ideas into policies that aimed to emancipate women from the oppressive structures of Hindu society.
5. **Critique of Hindu Social Order and Gender Relations:** Dr. Ambedkar's writings, such as "Women and Counter Revolution" and "The Riddle of Women," analyzed the construction of gender relations by the Hindu Brahminical order. He critiqued the oppressive norms that relegated women to passive and submissive roles, perpetuating a stereotype that hindered their progress. His analysis attributed this inequality to texts like Manusmriti and Hindu religion. He contrasted this with Buddhism, which he saw as promoting equality and education for women.
6. **Women's Participation in Ambedkar's Movement:** Dr. Ambedkar's movement for social justice actively involved women. Women like Venubai Bhatkar and Renubai Shambharkar participated in satyagrahas and formed women's associations to spread education and awareness among untouchable women. The movement provided a platform for women to voice their demands assertively, challenging oppressive norms and advocating for their rights.
7. **Ambedkar's Contribution to the Constitution:** As the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr. Ambedkar integrated women's rights into the Indian Constitution. He introduced provisions like Article 15(3), Article 51(A) (c), and Article 16, which aimed to ensure equality and protection for women in various spheres. His focus on social democracy laid the foundation for a harmonious development of individuals in society, emphasizing liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Challenges and Ongoing Struggles:

Dr. Ambedkar's efforts, challenges persist in achieving gender equality and eradicating caste-based discrimination. The prevalence of issues like domestic violence, female foeticide, and sexual harassment underscores the need for continuous advocacy and legislative measures. While significant progress has been made, ongoing societal changes are necessary to fully realize Dr. Ambedkar's vision of a just and equal society.

CONCLUSION

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's contributions to Indian society go beyond being the father of the Indian Constitution. His advocacy for women's rights and the eradication of caste-based discrimination exemplifies his commitment to social justice and equality. His insights, policies, and efforts continue to inspire contemporary discussions on feminism, caste, and social reform in India. As India progresses, it is essential to reflect on Dr. Ambedkar's teachings and work to ensure a more inclusive and just society for all.

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN CONSTITUTION – MAKING

Dr. Hemlata Namdev Kavare

Assistant Professor in Economics, Sir Parashurambhau College, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, often known as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar (14 April 1891 – 6 December 1956), was an Indian jurist, economist, politician, writer, and social reformer. He inspired the Dalit Buddhist Movement and battled against societal discrimination against Dalit's as well as for women's and labour rights. He was the first law minister of independent India, the primary author of the Indian Constitution, and a founding father of contemporary India. Dr. Ambedkar graduated from the Elphinstone High School in 1908. In 1912, he graduated from Bombay University with a degree in political science and economics. He was a bright student who breezed through all his tests. Sahyaji Rao III, the ruler of Gaekwad, was so impressed with Dr. Ambedkar that he awarded him a scholarship of 25 rupees per month. Ambedkar spent all that money to further his education outside of India. He applied for a master's degree in Economics at Columbia University in New York.

He was accepted to that university, finished his master's degree in 1915, and then presented his thesis on "Ancient Indian Commerce" at that time. He began work on his new thesis, "The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and Solution," in 1916, at which point he applied to and was accepted into the London School of Economics. He also received assistance from Governor Lord Sydenham for this thesis. He was hired as a political science lecturer at Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, but he ultimately travelled to England to further his education. He earned a doctorate from the University of Columbia in the same year that he finished his economics Ph.D. Dr. Ambedkar was instrumental in the establishment of the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) in 1935. He was the first to advocate the division of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar for better governance in 1955. He also intended to make Sanskrit the official language of the Indian union, and he ran in the 'Lok Sabha' election twice but lost both times. His autobiography, 'Waiting for a Visa,' is used as a textbook at Columbia University. He was opposed to the premise of employment and constituency reservation and opposed the system altogether. He was the first Indian to receive a Ph.D. outside of India. Ambedkar was the one who fought for a reduction in working hours in India.

He founded India's finance committee. The nation advanced economically and socially as a result of his policies. 'The Hindu Code Bill' was suggested to him in 1951, which he refused and withdrew from the Cabinet. He ran for the Lok Sabha seat but was defeated. He was later elevated to the Rajya Sabha and served as a member till his death in 1955.

B.R. Ambedkar was a social reformer and activist who dedicated his entire life to the advancement of India's Dalits and other socially deprived strata. Ambedkar battled tirelessly for the abolition of caste inequality, which had spread like a plague in Indian society. Dr. Ambedkar was a Dalit who faced caste discrimination and inequity since he was born into a socially inferior family. He then finished college and earned a doctorate in economics from London University. He entered politics solely with the intention of fighting for the rights of the oppressed classes and against societal inequity. He continued after India gained independence.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar served as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. Dr. Ambedkar oversaw presenting the draught constitution, answering numerous concerns about it, and making necessary adjustments based on the recommendations of the Constituent Assembly. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is known as the Father of the Indian Constitution because of his contributions to the creation of the Indian Constitution.

The Constitution-Making Process

The Constituent Assembly formally began its mission of drafting the Indian Constitution on December 13, 1946. Jawaharlal Nehru introduced the Objectives Resolution, which sought to establish India as an Independent Sovereign Republic and to write a constitution to regulate its destiny. The Resolution set general principles to govern the Constituent Assembly's work. The Resolution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 22, 1947.

Following the first session of the Constituent Assembly, several committees were formed to investigate and report on various areas of the Constitution. The Advisory Committee for Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Tribal and Excluded Areas (which included the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights and the Sub-Committee on Minority Rights), Union Powers Committee, Union Constitution Committee, and Provincial Constitution Committee were among them. Between April and August 1947, these committees gave their reports to the Constituent Assembly. Meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly debated the general concepts indicated in the recommendations as the committees delivered their results. These discussions came to an end on August 30, 1947.

Constitutional Advisor's proposed constitution

B.N. Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly, created a Draught Constitution based on the recommendations of several committees and deliberations in the Constituent Assembly stated in earlier stages. By October 1947, the Draught Constitution was finished and handed to the Drafting Committee.

First Draught of the Constitution

The Drafting Committee began scrutinising the Draught Constitution submitted by the Constitutional Advisor, as well as other notes, reports, and memos, on October 27, 1947. On 21 February 1948, the committee delivered its final Draught Constitution to the President of the Constituent Assembly after making amendments.

The Draught Constitution was published and widely disseminated when it was submitted to the President of the Constituent Assembly. Many comments, critiques, and ideas were received and reviewed by a Special Committee comprised of members of the Union Constitution Committee, Provincial Constitution Committee, Union Powers Committee, and the Drafting Committee. The Drafting Committee considered these suggestions and attended meetings on March 23, 24, 27, 1948. The Committee reprinted and resubmitted the version of the Draught Constitution that had been submitted on February 21st, 1948, along with a set of revisions appended to sections that it sought to amend on October 26th, 1948.

Discussions about the Draught Constitution

B.R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee, submitted the Draught Constitution to the Constituent Assembly on November 4, 1948. The Assembly was now able to debate the Draught Constitution.

The Draught Constitution is being read for the second time.

During the second reading of the Draught Constitution, the Constituent Assembly debated each Article of the Draught Constitution clause by clause. During this period, which lasted until October 17, 1949, the Constituent Assembly held the most crucial and protracted debates. During this stage, Assembly members routinely submitted amendments to the Draught Constitution, attempting to change or repeal individual articles or provisions. However, most modifications were eventually rejected.

Revision of the Constitutional Draught

The Drafting Committee continued to update the Draught Constitution in accordance with choices made by the Constituent Assembly once the discussions surrounding it were over. This

required work that included adding or deleting clauses, renumbering articles, and making minor linguistic adjustments. On November 3, 1949, the President of the Constituent Assembly received the amended Draught Constitution. On November 14, 1949, it was subsequently introduced in the Assembly.

Constitutional Drafting Third Reading

Only a few noteworthy disputes took place during the third reading of the Draught Constitution, and the most of the speeches focused on general observations about the document. While some members voiced their delight with the Constitution's final draught, others voiced their reservations.

Adoption and Enactment of India's Constitution

The third reading of the Constitution concluded on November 26, 1949, with the Constituent Assembly voting in favour of the motion made by Ambedkar in the previous stage. The final version of the Constitution was signed by Assembly members on January 24, 1950, and it went into force on January 26, 1950.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Drafting of the Constitution

On August 29, 1947, the Constituent Assembly created a "Drafting Committee" of seven members, including Dr. Ambedkar, to prepare a draught of the Constitution of independent India. It is said that when the drafting of the Indian Constitution began, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel considered inviting and advising Sir Guor Jennings, an internationally known constitutional scholar at the time. When approached for advice on the matter, Gandhiji is said to have told them why they should seek advice from foreign experts when they had the right within India to an outstanding legal and constitutional expert in Dr. Ambedkar who should be entrusted with the role that they so desperately need, as he so richly and rightly deserved.

The Round Table Conference

In the development of the Indian Constitution, the Round Table Conference marked a turning point. When Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was asked- to speak about constitutional issues, he made demands and expressed the hope that the "Swaraj" constitution would provide the people of India the democratic power they needed to address their grievances.

"I am afraid it is not sufficiently realised that in the current temper of the country, no Constitution will be workable which is not acceptable to the majority of the people," he said during the opening session of the Round Table Conference. The moment when you could select and India would accept is long gone, never to return. If you want it to be worked, make the permission of the people, not an accident of logic.

Paul Bancroft The Constituent Assembly's Function

Dr. Ambedkar had a huge impact on the constituent assembly and was given the important task of crafting the Constitution. He looked at how a democratic government functions in terms of stability and accountability.

However, he advocated in the Draught Constitution that the parliamentary branch and the executive branch share greater responsibility for stability. The Constitution was federal in form and unitary in spirit, according to its character. It created a dual polity with the Union at the centre and the States at the edges, each endowed with sovereign powers to be used in the domains that the Constitution had specifically designated for them.

In his view of federalism, the State was a federation in good times but a unitary government in times of crisis. Dr. Ambedkar strengthened the Centre by granting it additional authority in the Draught Constitution. Some members of the constituent assembly criticised him, claiming that since Dr. Ambedkar advocated for the rights and values of every person as well as the advancement of every region and hamlet, strengthening the Centre would conflict with such

beliefs. Dr. Ambedkar defended the provisions for a strong central government by stating that he did so "for the sole purpose of saving minorities from the misrule of majority" as well as "because it is only the centre which can work for a common end and for the general interests of the country as a whole."

Opportunity Equality

The "Fundamental Rights" specified in the Draught Constitution were justifiable in a court of law. Dr. Ambedkar considered "Equality of Opportunity" to be the most significant of all rights. In terms of constitutional remedies, he describes Article 32 as the Constitution's very spirit and heart. Fundamental rights, according to him, would imply the establishment of equality and liberty in order to repair our social structure, which is riddled with disparities, discrimination, and other factors that contradict our fundamental rights.

Directive Elements of Public Policy

The state's constructive responsibilities to its citizens were laid out in the Directive Principles of State Policy. The purpose of the Directives was to uphold the social and economic democracy that was guaranteed by the provisions of a written Constitution's fundamental rights. According to Dr. Ambedkar, "Directive Principles" is merely another name for instruments that provide guidance to the legislative and executive branches of government on how to perform their respective powers.

The Constitution Is a Living Document

The Constitution is a living document that should adapt to changing circumstances and grow together with the country. Therefore, Dr. Ambedkar pushed for the need for change. "The Draught Constitution has done away with the complex and challenging processes, including a convention vote or a referendum. The Central and Provincial Legislatures have the authority to make amendments. Dr. Ambedkar had his doubts about the legislators' constitutional viability. He therefore sought to have the Constitution include the means of government.

Sovereignty and Suzerainty Concepts

Dr. Ambedkar's vision of sovereignty and suzerainty, as well as the Indian States, i.e., the integration of the native Indian Princely States that gave shape to India as it is now, was indeed prophetic. So were his forthright and vocal opinions on what he called India's greatest blunder, Partition. Dr. Ambedkar warned his compatriots about the dangers of partition. His scepticism of the logic of the two-nation idea that gave rise to Pakistan arose from a genuine interest in and sympathy for his compatriots, particularly the Scheduled castes who had lived for centuries inside the territorial jurisdiction of the new concept of Pakistan.

Integrated Nationality

Dr. Ambedkar recommended single citizenship, a single judiciary, and consistency in fundamental laws in the draught constitution in order to unite the Indian society, which was separated not only along caste and class lines but also by regions, religions, languages, traditions, and cultures. Therefore, a powerful Centre was essential to uphold administrative discipline and territorial integrity. However, in the Draught Constitution, he proposed that Hindi in the 'nagiri' script be recognised as the National Language of India. When it was finally determined that India should be divided into India and Pakistan, Dr. Ambedkar demanded the division of Punjab and Bengal, as well as the addition of territories to India. Ambedkar, a pragmatic at heart, believed that in the absence of economic and social justice, political freedom would not result in social cohesion or national integration. He pushed for the eradication of privileges based on caste or status and fought zealously for individual liberty and dignity. At the same time, he was equally vociferous in his support for national unity.

(1) Ensuring that the Indian constitution is practical, adaptable, and strong enough to keep the nation together in both peace and conflict.

(2) Offering specific protections to groups of people who are socially and educationally disadvantaged, such as minorities.

(3) Including the "one man, one vote" and "one man, one value" principles. As a result, the Indian Constitution recognised one person and one village as a single entity.

(4) Including exclusions and limitations to the FRs while supporting the president of India's use of preventive detention and emergency powers.

(5) Ensuring that all citizens have equal protection under the law, eliminating untouchability and forced labour, and achieving the ideal of "one man, one value, and one man, one vote"

CONCLUSION

It is important to remember Dr. Ambedkar's influence on Indian democracy. He provided our nation the structure of a fully sovereign, democratic, and republican system based on adult franchise while serving as head of the Constitutional Committee. As a pioneer of social justice, Baba Saheb Ambedkar's name would be immortalised in gold letters in Indian history. This is an undeniable reality. He was not only the father of the Constitution and the man of maturity; he was also the architect of social justice and the uplift of the oppressed. He was one of the select few sons in India's history who may be credited with giving the country's freedom struggle.

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

Dr. Ahmad Shamshad

Assistant Professor and Head, Department of Political Science
Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Camp, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Various philosophers, political scientists and writers have given numerous definitions of democracy. A relentless champion of human rights and staunch believer in democracy, Dr Ambedkar says: "Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organisation." Dr Ambedkar firmly believed that political democracy cannot succeed without social and economic democracy. In his talk given on the Voice of America he argued that: "Democracy could not be equated with either republic or parliamentary form of government. The roots of democracy lay not in the form of government, parliamentary or otherwise. A democracy is a model of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between the people who form the society." Dr Ambedkar laid much emphasis on the term moral and said: "The Declaration of Independence does not assert that all men are equal; it proclaims that they are created equal." He further argued: "For the successful working of democracy there must not be glaring inequalities in the society. There must not be an oppressed class. There must not be a suppressed class." In case of inequalities "State intervention is a must". Right to treatment as an equal must precede the right to equal treatment as a state policy. Equality of opportunity is a misleading term. There should be opportunity for equality.

Ambedkar's views on Democracy

Ambedkar believes political democracy is not an end in itself, but the most powerful means to achieve the social and economic ideals in society. State socialism within the framework of parliamentary democracy can defeat dictatorship. Fundamental rights without economic security are of no use to the have-nots. "Social and economic democracy are tissue and the fibre of a political democracy." Ambedkar viewed democracy as an instrument of bringing about change peacefully. Democracy does not merely mean rule by the majority or government by the representatives of the people. This is a formalistic and limited notion of democracy. We would understand the meaning of democracy in a better fashion if we view it as a way of realizing drastic changes in the social and economic spheres of society. Ambedkar's idea of democracy is much more than just a scheme of government. He emphasises the need for bringing about an all-round democracy. A scheme of government does not exist in vacuum; it operates within the society. Its usefulness depends upon its relationship with the other spheres of society. Elections, parties and parliaments are, after all, formal institutions of democracy. They cannot be effective in an undemocratic atmosphere. Political democracy means the principle of 'one man one vote' which indicates political equality. But if oppression and injustice exist, the spirit of political democracy would be missing. Democratic government, therefore, should be an extension of a democratic society. In the Indian society, for instance, so long as caste barriers and caste-based inequalities exist, real democracy cannot operate. In this sense, democracy means a spirit of fraternity and equality and not merely a political arrangement. Success of democracy in India can be ensured only by establishing a truly democratic society.

Along with the social foundations of democracy, Ambedkar takes into consideration the economic aspects also. It is true that he was greatly influenced by liberal thought. Still, he appreciated the limitations of liberalism. Parliamentary democracy, in which he had great faith, was also critically examined by him. He argued that parliamentary democracy was based on liberalism. It ignored economic inequalities and never concentrated upon the problems of the downtrodden. Besides, the general tendency of the western type of parliamentary democracies

has been to ignore the issues of social and economic equality. In other words, parliamentary democracy emphasised only liberty whereas true democracy implies both liberty and equality. This analysis becomes very important in the Indian context. Indian society was demanding freedom from the British. But Ambedkar was afraid that freedom of the nation would not ensure real freedom for all the people. Social and economic inequalities have dehumanized the Indian society. Establishing democracy in such a society would be nothing short of a revolution. This would be a revolution in the social structure and attitudes of the people. In the place of hereditary inequality, the principles of brotherhood and equality must be established. Therefore, Ambedkar supported the idea of all-round democracy.

For Ambedkar, like Dewey, democracy is not just a governmental form and citizenship not merely the relationship between the citizen and state. What he advances is a horizontal understanding of citizenship which values the relationship between individuals across different groups. This has roots in the republican tradition of political thought which emphasises civic virtue and participation in furthering the common good. While liberalism is predisposed towards individual autonomy and non-interference by the state, republicanism construes liberty as the absence of any form of domination, be it from the state, social groups or individuals.

The Constitution, which Ambedkar helmed in drafting, recognises that the source of domination need not be state power but can also be private power. While fundamental rights are principally exercised against the state, the Constitution also guarantees certain rights horizontally applicable across private persons. Article 15(2) prohibits any restriction on access to public places like shops, wells and roads on the ground of religion, caste, sex, etc. Article 17 abolishes untouchability, Article 23 prohibits human trafficking and forced labour and Article 24 prohibits child labour. While the spheres of social life they cover are limited, their inclusion shows the Constitution recognises the significance of annihilating domination and discrimination from our social life world.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar & Democratic Socialism

In the period of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, two varieties of socialism were prominent. One was Marxist Socialism and another was Democratic Socialism. Ambedkar studied various aspects of Marxism and favoured some Marxist principles. He generally subscribed to the material view of history and agreed to the need for a total change for bringing about equality. He also accepted the idea of public ownership of property. However, he did not become a Marxist. The other important variety of socialism was Democratic Socialism. Ambedkar's firm belief in democracy attracted him to this ideology. He felt that socialism must function within a democratic framework. Democracy and socialism need not be opposed to each other. Thus, in 1947, Ambedkar propounded the idea of 'State socialism'. Even earlier, when he established the Independent Labour Party in 1937, he had adopted a broadly socialist programme. The name of the party itself indicates that it was to be a party of all depressed classes. Its programme included state management of important industries and bringing about a just economic system. The party wanted to ensure minimum standard of living for agricultural and industrial workers. What was the basis of Ambedkar's ideology? He was deeply influenced by the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. These are the guiding principles in all his writings. He visualized a new society based on these principles. He was aware that liberty alone would not be sufficient. Liberty and equality must exist simultaneously. This alone will ensure that the quality of moral and material life of all individuals will improve. Economic disparity and social injustice are negations of liberty. Therefore, as we have seen earlier, political democracy without social democracy and economic justice is meaningless. But equality and liberty will be realized only when there is a strong sense of unity among members of the society. People must first realize that they have common interests, a common future. In a society divided by caste and class barriers, people of one caste or class will be suspicious of people of other castes or classes. A

society can have a common goal only when its members share the sorrows and joys of their fellow beings. This sense of brotherhood - a feeling that we belong to the same social fabric - must emerge in the society. Fraternity, thus, becomes a necessary condition for equality and liberty. Ambedkar made it clear that the ideal society of his conception would be a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity.

In 1947, Ambedkar suggested that the Constitution of India should incorporate the principle of State Socialism. State socialism means that the state would implement a socialist programme by controlling the industrial and agricultural sectors. There are two major aspects of Ambedkar's State socialism. (a) Key industries and basic industries will be owned by the state. There will be no private ownership of such industries. This will help in rapid industrialization and at the same time, benefits of industrialization will be distributed among all the sections of the society by the state. Insurance will also be entirely under state control; (b) Agriculture will be treated as a state industry. This means that the state will initiate collective farming. Farmers will be allowed to enjoy part of the agricultural produce and the state will get some share in the form of levy. Food grains procured by way of levy will be used for distribution at fair prices. In other words, the state will actively control both the industry and the agriculture. This will ensure equitable distribution of wealth and protect the needy and the poor. Rapid industrial progress and welfare of all the sections of the society will be the responsibility of the state. However, the democratic institutions such as the parliament will also remain intact.

In the parliamentary form of government, the same party may not remain in power permanently. Different parties with different programmes may come to power. Therefore, Ambedkar suggested that the programme of State Socialism should be made an unalterable part of the constitution', so that any party which comes to power will have to implement that programme. This idea of State Socialism shows that Ambedkar was aware of the problems of poverty and economic inequality. He laid great emphasis on industrialization. He believed that India needed rapid industrial growth. This will help to ease out the burden on agriculture. But merely of wealth, the menace of capitalism had to be avoided. This was possible only if the state functioned as a major partner in the field of industry. Ambedkar believed that the state operating through government will be a neutral agency looking after the interests of the entire community.

Therefore, he attached much importance to the role of the government. Government, according to him, has to perform the role of a welfare agency. It has to ensure rapid progress and just distribution of the fruits of that progress. The role of the government was not restricted to industry only. It was expected to be active in the area of banking and insurance. Moreover, the government must also control the agriculture. By owning major industries and controlling agriculture, the government will curb economic injustice. In other words, changes of a revolutionary nature are to be brought about through the efforts of the government. Therefore, he emphasises that mere liberty cannot be an adequate goal. Liberty is meaningful when accompanied by equality. We want a democratic government which will uphold the idea of equality also. The western ideas of liberal democracy and parliamentary form of government do not ensure equality, so Ambedkar turned to democratic socialism.

Equality, Liberty and Fraternity

Dr. Ambedkar was a great social liberal. His vision was to produce a new social order based on the principles of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. Thus, the idea of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity was the crux of his activities. Although he talked of equality before law and considered it as a major contribution of British rule in India, he was not satisfied with this notion and advanced stronger notions such as equality of consideration, equality of respect and equality of dignity. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar reminded people of the grand universal law that liberty was never received as a gift; it has to be fought for. Self-elevation is not achieved by the blessing of others but only by one's own struggle and deed. Justice is the value of treating

everybody equal without any privilege or prejudice. It ensures equal opportunities for everyone and gives everybody his due.

He argued that freedom, equality and fraternity are essential conditions for good life and a regime of discrete rights need to be constructed on them as the foundation. He understood rights not merely within the narrow confines of liberal individualism but as individual and group-rights. He defended both types of rights in the Constituent Assembly debates. Further, he argued for both civil and political rights and social and economic rights. He did not see them in opposition but as reinforcing one and other. If there is a conflict between them, they have to be negotiated through civic and political forums. He also subscribed to the rights of minorities and cultural groups to maintain their distinctive beliefs and identities while at the same time affording them proper conditions to take their rightful place in public affairs. He defended preferential treatment accorded to disadvantaged communities not only for reasons of equality but also on grounds of egalitarian social structures, and for the pursuit of a sane and good society.

Dr. Ambedkar regarded the principle of justice as a compendious which included most of the principle of what has become the foundation of a moral order. In fact, Justice has always evoked ideas of equality of proportion, of 'compensation'. If all men are equal, then they are of the same essence and their common essence entitles them to the same fundamental rights and equal liberty. Equality to him was not merely theoretical; it had to be achieved first by recognizing the existing inequalities. Thus, the unequal communities are to be brought to the level of equality, by adopting the principle of inequality and giving favoured treatment to those who are below the level. He wanted a society based on 'liberty, Equality and Fraternity'. His Western education and libertarian thought helped him to evolve as a visionary. In addition to this, his political and philosophical ideas were inspired from the teachings of the Buddha, Kabir and Mahatma Phule whom he considered as his 'Gurus', revered teachers. He made it clear that the words, liberty, equality, fraternity have not been borrowed from the French Revolution but from the teaching of his master, the Buddha.

Dr. Ambedkar has view that justice is the foundation of moral order and justice is related with equality. Justice is to be secured through Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Equity signifies equality. Rules and regulations, right and righteousness are concerned with equality in value. In a nutshell, justice is simply another name for liberty, equality and fraternity as far as Ambedkar was concerned.⁴ In Ambedkar's philosophy, liberty and equality had a place, but he added that unlimited liberty destroyed equality and absolute equality left no room for liberty. In his philosophy, law had a place only as a safeguard against the breaches of liberty or equality. He gave the highest place to fraternity as the only real safeguards against the denial of liberty or equality. For Ambedkar, justice could be understood in relation to liberty, equality and fraternity which he recognizes as a way of life.

He emphasised on the need for liberty of movement, liberty of speech and liberty of action and political liberty to choose his government for securing "unalienable rights such as life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Political liberty is really a deduction from the principle of human personality and equality." Liberty and equality exist together. One without the other is absurd. Commenting on failure of democracy in some countries, he said: "Parliamentary democracy developed a passion for liberty. It failed to realise the significance of equality and did not even endeavour to strike a balance between liberty and equality, with the result that liberty swallowed equality and has made democracy a name and a farce."

Liberty has a significant role to play in shaping human personality. It is grounded in freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, and with it, man becomes and grows rich when he expresses himself in various ways. It gives opportunities for development of human personality

and even shapes one's destiny. To restrain absolute liberty, equality comes in picture. It knits men to men, groups to groups, and brings them in mutual ties, cooperation and social sympathy. Equality depends upon, acknowledges and gives effect to the consciousness of mutual obligations and mutual reorganization of right that binds the members of a society together. Equality recognizes equal basic rights of people. It may be said that equality is the original notion, and respect for human personality is reflection of it. So where equality is denied, everything else may be taken to be denied. Fraternity is the in-depth feeling to provide an atmosphere wherein people could enjoy the values of liberty and equality. "Fraternity, to Ambedkar, is the name for the disposition of an individual to treat men as object of reverence and love and desire to be in unity with his fellow beings". Dr Ambedkar believed that in democracy revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed. Social unity can be achieved by coercive methods. For true democracy to flower and flourish, social union is must. For that he suggested safeguards for the minority. In democracy, minority does not become the victim of the tyranny of the majority. He suggested certain safeguards for the protection of the minority. "The State should guarantee to its citizens the liberty of conscience and the free exercise of his religion including the right to profess, to preach and to convert within limits compatible with public order and morality." In Ambedkar's social and political scheme of things, though liberty, equality and fraternity have prominent place, yet to him, it is not unlimited liberty, because it destroys the true sense of equality; and similarly, it is not absolute equality, because it leaves no room for liberty. Only the proper relation between liberty and equality can help both the individual and the society. Ambedkar has emphasized the need that liberty should provide grounds for equality; and equality, too, should protect liberty; both tough to be textured together for the wellbeing of the weaker sections of society. In brief, the three words: liberty, equality and fraternity form a trinity in his social thought, and it is an ethical standard to measure the conduct of human beings living in society. Dr. Ambedkar saw freedom, equality and fraternity as essential conditions for a good life and argued that they should be understood and pursued as one entity. It was only on their foundation that comprehensive regime of rights could be built. While different moral and religious pursuits might be reasonable, the premises of liberty and equality suggest that they are unavoidable. Fraternity was particularly a value Ambedkar drew on in this speech as well as in his other writings. Fraternity, according to him, is the principle which "gives unity and solidarity to social life", without which "liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things". This "sense of common brotherhood of all Indians" was something he felt India desperately lacked. India was not "yet a nation in the social and psychological sense", especially because of the presence of castes which "bring about separation in social life". Ambedkar hence dubs castes "anti-national".

Concluding Observations

Ambedkar was one of the pioneers of social justice in India. It was Ambedkar who provided new dimensions to the concept of justice. We regard him as the 'Champion of Social justice.' He was himself a victim of social injustice, faced its difficulties; and he not tolerated the injustice, but boldly fought against them. Ambedkar had a liberal concept of justice. Like Gandhi, for Ambedkar, justice is simply another name of liberty, equality and fraternity.' In this sense, the core value of Ambedkar concept of justice is human equality, equal distribution of the welfare materials and discrimination less society. Thus, the spirit of social justice, according to Ambedkar, gives a significant place to mutual sympathy and respect. whose memory will ever guide the nation on the path of justice, liberty and equality. If we are to judge the concept of equality and democracy from the standpoint of Ambedkar, we should not be merely looking at whether electoral procedures are fair, or whether electoral outcomes are reasonable or even whether the state is meeting the needs of citizens. What is also important is to examine whether we inhabit a society which is democratic in spirit, respects fellow humans and promotes

fraternity between different social groups. When members of particular castes and communities are lynched for what they eat, 73 years after the Constitution's adoption and when people are labelled anti-nationals, the constitutional vision of fraternity seems elusive. Hence, bridging the gap between political democracy and social democracy remains one of the biggest challenges for the Indian republic. At the time of adoption of the Constitution, Dr Ambedkar warned: "On 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequalities. In politics we will be recognising the principles of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one vote. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If 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 else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of our political democracy." In conclusion, it can be said that this research gives closer and analytical insight into the thoughts of Ambedkar on equality and freedom and provides an answer to the question of whether we achieve religious tolerance, human equality and freedom, true democracy in the society, justice and peace in the light of political philosophy of Ambedkar.

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A STUDY OF DR BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR'S SUSTAINABLE THOUGHTS ON ECONOMICS

Dr. Surendra. J. Daware

Maharashtra Education Society's, Garware College of Commerce, Karve Road, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was born in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in the Central Provinces (now in Madhya Pradesh). He was the 14th and last child of Ramji Maloji Sakpal and Bhimabai. His family was of Marathi background from the town of Ambavade (Mandangad taluka) in Ratnagiri district of modern-day Maharashtra. They belonged to the Mahar caste that were treated as untouchables and subjected to socio-economic discrimination. By 1912, he obtained his degree in Economics and Political Science from Bombay University and abroad and prepared to take up employment with the Baroda Division.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar tried to challenge the dominant social processes that sanctioned untouchability. He was inspired by his vision through constitutional path "liberty, equality and fraternity" and acting and implementing in accordance with his advice to educate, agitate, organize." He was the most educated economist of the country. During his study of economics, he wrote dissertations and research papers on subjects like the problem of Indian Rupee, its origin and solutions, gold standards and gold exchange standards and many more.

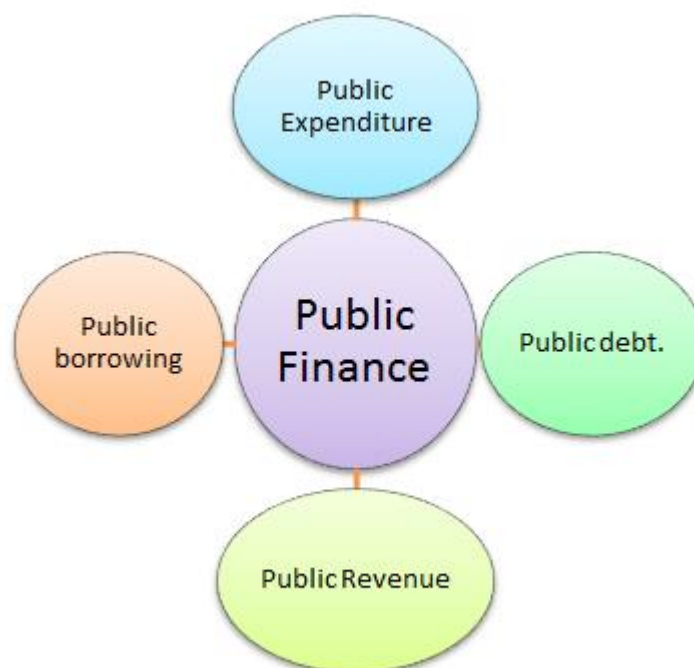
Analysis:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar contributed to uplift the deprived masses from the status of animals to human rights. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote following books of Economics:

- i] Administration and Finance of the East India Company
- ii] The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India

The first two books have a detailed study of public finance. Public finance has studied four major components such as:

- a] Public Expenditure,
- b] Public Revenue,
- c] Public borrowing,
- d] Public debt



Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had focused on the British East India Company government functioning in the form of budget or expenditure and revenue during 1833 through 1921. Provincial finance was according to the method of supply to the provincial governments adopted by the Government of India. Developments of Provincial Finance was explained by as

- a) Budget by Assignment
- b) Budget by Assigned revenue
- c) Budget by shared revenue.
- d) The problem of the Rupee: its origin and its solution.

The third book is immensely helpful to study about Monetary Economics as well as International Economics. Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar examined the evolution of the Indian currency as a medium exchange covering period, 1800 to 1893 and discussed the problem of the choice of an appropriate currency system for India in the early 1920s.

‘The Problem of the Rupee’ was first published in 1923. He had gone into that most neglected period of Indian currency extending from 1800 to 1893. Indian currency is the way in which the gold standard came to be transformed into a gold exchange standard. This difference proceeds from the fundamental fact, which seems to be quite overlooked by Professor Keynes, that nothing will stabilise the rupee unless we stabilise its general purchasing power. That the exchange standard does not do. It is said that the best way to stabilise the rupee is to provide for effective convertibility into gold. But, Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar thinks a far better way would be to have an inconvertible rupee with a fixed limit of issue. He ventured to say that the Indian currency, based on gold as legal tender with a rupee currency fixed in issue, will conform to the principles embodied in the English currency system. He found that the Indian currency underwent that transformation because the Government carried out Fowler Committee recommendations. The plan for the adoption of which Dr Ambedkar pleads, namely that all further enlargement of the rupee issue should be permanently prohibited, and that the mints should be open at a fixed price to importers or other sellers of gold, so that in course of time

India would have, in addition to the fixed stock of rupees, a currency of meltable and exportable gold coins, follows European precedents not because Indians dislike gold but because Europeans like it so well that they cannot bear to part with any of it.

On the whole, it seems fairly certain that the demand of Europe and European-colonised lands for gold will be less rather than greater than before the war and that it will increase very slowly or not at all. Thus, on the whole, there is a reason to fear a fall in the value of gold and a rise of general prices rather than the contrary.

In the absence of a common currency, this resource operation was considerably hampered. The commonly entertained view of the Act seems to be that it replaced a gold standard by a silver standard.

1. 1 TABLE - TRADE AND CURRENCY

Years	Merchandise.		Treasure. Net Imports of		Total Coinage of		Excess (+) or Defect (-) of Coinage on Net Imports of		Annual Production (in £, 00,000 omitted) of	
	Imports. £	Exports. £	Silver. £	Gold. £	Silver. £	Gold. £	Silver. £	Gold. £	Gold.	Silver.
1850-51	11,558,789	18,164,150	2,117,225	1,153,294	3,557,906	123,717	+1,440,681	-1,029,577	8,9	7,8
1851-52	12,240,490	19,879,406	2,865,357	1,267,613	5,170,014	62,553	+2,304,657	-1,205,060	13,5	8,0
1852-53	10,070,863	20,464,633	3,605,024	1,172,301	5,902,648	Nil	+2,297,624	-1,172,301	36,6	8,1
1853-54	11,122,659	19,295,139	2,305,744	1,061,443	5,888,217	145,679	+3,582,473	-915,764	31,1	8,1
1854-55	12,742,671	18,927,222	29,600	731,490	1,890,055	2,676	+1,860,455	-728,814	25,5	8,1
1855-56	13,943,494	23,038,259	8,194,375	2,506,245	7,322,871	167,863	+871,504	-2,338,382	27,0	8,1
1856-57	14,194,587	25,338,451	11,073,247	2,091,214	11,220,014	128,302	+146,767	-1,962,912	29,5	8,2
1857-58	15,277,629	27,456,036	12,218,948	2,783,073	12,655,308	43,783	+436,360	-2,739,290	26,7	8,1
1858-59	21,728,579	29,862,871	7,728,342	4,426,453	6,641,548	132,273	-1,086,794	-4,294,180	24,9	8,1
1859-60	24,265,140	27,960,203	11,147,563	4,284,234	10,753,068	64,307	-394,495	-4,219,927	25,0	8,2

It so happened that after 1850, though the total production of the precious metals had increased that of silver had not kept in pace with the needs of the world, a greater part of which was then on a silver basis, so that as a result of her currency law India found herself in an embarrassing position of an expanding trade with a contracting currency, as is shown in the Table 1.1. There is a detailed study of trade and currency problem and explained the reason behind unfavourable balance of trade and criticized on the British committees not diagnosed and remedies were improper.

So long as gold was undervalued, it would not circulate at all. But once it became overvalued owing to changes in the market ratio, the rupee would go out of circulation and shopkeepers and traders would remain possessed of a coin which would be of no use in liquidating large transactions. He argued that "all nations must pass through a transition stage of a double standard before they arrive at a single standard."¹ It has an important bearing on the cardinal question of the quantity of currency necessary for the transactions of the community. Two ways may be said to be open by which this quantity can be regulated. One way is to close the Mint

and to leave it to the discretion of the Government to manipulate the currency to suit the needs.

On the whole, the desire of the Indian Legislature was to make the Indian currency safer, rather than economical, and such it undoubtedly was. Stability of value is one of the prime requisites of a good currency system. But if we judge the Indian currency from this point of view, we find that there existed such variations in its value that it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the system was a failure.

Silver and Gold Exchange Problem:

The first is that the supposed enormous increase in the relative production of silver was an assumption which had no foundation in reality. The second conclusion which these facts were claimed to sustain was that the value of silver in terms of gold did not move in sympathy with its supply relative to that of gold. According to theory, the value of silver should have been rising because the relative volume of its production had been diminishing. On the other hand, a closer examination of the figures of relative values and relative productions, instead of showing any close correlation between them, pointed to the contrary. Instead of supply and value being inverse in proportion, it showed that as its supply was falling there was also a fall in its value.

Whenever different commodities are thus applicable to the same purposes their conditions of demand and exchange are not independent. Their mutual ratio of exchange cannot vary much for it will be closely defined by the ratio of their utilities. We must, in fact, as gold at 18 carats and gold at 20 carats are hardly considered as two but rather as one commodity, of which twenty parts of one are equivalent to eighteen of the other. The case of the two forms of money is unique. They are substitutes, but have no natural ratio of substitution, dependent on consumers' preferences.

Depreciation of Silver:

It is well known that at any one time prices of certain commodities will be rising, while the general price level is falling. Prices had fallen in England, but wages had not fallen to the same extent. Prices had risen in India, but wages had not risen to the same extent. (Inflation and dearness allowance issues concerned.) He concluded that the falling exchange could not have disturbed established trade relations or displaced the commodities that entered into international trade.² The utmost that could be attributed to its incidence in economic incentive. But in so far as it supplied a motive force or took away the incentive, it did so by bringing about changes in the social distribution of wealth. In the case of England, where prices were falling, it was the employer who suffered; in the case of India, where prices were rising, it was the wage-earner who suffered. In both cases there was an injustice done to a part of the community and an easy case for the reform of currency was made out. The need for a currency reform was recognized in England; but in India many people seemed averse to it. The fall of exchange, in so far as it was a gain, registered a loss to a large section of the Indian people with fixed incomes who suffered from the instability of the silver standard equally with the Government and its European officers.

Towards Gold Standard:

- (1) The value of gold being unchanged, the value of silver had fallen;
- (2) The value of silver being unchanged, the value of gold had risen;
- (3) The value of gold had risen, and the value of silver had fallen;
- (4) The value of both metals had risen, but the value of gold more than that of silver;
- (5) The value of both metals had fallen, but the value of silver is more than that of gold. All that is necessary is that the rate, being once fixed, shall remain for the future unchanged.

From a Gold Standard to a Gold Exchange Standard:

For once it seemed that the problem of a depreciating rupee was satisfactorily solved. The anxieties and difficulties that extended over a long period of a quarter of a century could not but have been fully compensated by the adoption of a remedy. The following appear to be the prominent features of the Indian system:

- (1) The gold sovereign is full legal tender.
- (2) The silver rupee is also full legal tender.
- (3) The Government undertakes to give rupees for sovereigns, but does not undertake to give sovereigns for rupees, i.e. the rupee is an inconvertible currency unlimited in issue.

It needs no acute power of penetration to see that, so interpreted, the existing currency system in India is the opposite of the system outlined by the Government in 1898 and passed by the Fowler Committee. Under the original scheme of the Government of India, the issue of rupees was to be limited and that of gold unlimited. Under the existing system the issue of gold has become limited while that of rupee has become unlimited.

Stability of the Exchange Standard:

With the facts laid before the Committee, it is difficult to understand how anyone with a mere smattering of the knowledge of price movements could have concluded that because silver had appreciated the rupee.³ On the other hand, what had happened was that the rupee had depreciated in terms of general commodities, including gold and silver. Indeed, the appreciation of silver was a depreciation of the rupee. The Committee confused the rupee with the silver, and thus failed to distinguish the problem of retaining the rupee in circulation and raising its exchange value in terms of gold. The latter solution was applicable only if the rupee had appreciated. But as it was silver that had appreciated in terms of the rupee, the only feasible solution was to have proposed the reduction of the fineness of the rupee but what is more than probable is that the Committee did not think that the general purchasing power of the rupee was a factor of any moment in the consideration of the matter it was asked to report upon.⁴

Which of the two views is correct? Is it the low purchasing power of the rupee which is responsible for its fall, or is it due to an adverse balance of trade? Now, it must at once be pointed out that an adverse balance of trade, as an explanation of the fall of exchange, is something new in Indian official literature. A fall of exchange was a common occurrence between 1873 and 1893, but no official ever offered the adverse balance of trade as an explanation what causes an adverse balance of trade? For this there is no official explanation. To them if prices in general fall it may not be due to scarcity of money; on the other hand, it may be due to an increase in the volume of commodities. Again, if prices in general rise they prefer to ascribe it to a decrease in the volume of commodities rather than to an increase in the quantity of money. It is possible to take this position, as some economists choose to do, but to imagine that the quantity theory of money is thereby overthrown is a mistake.

Evolution and Operationalisation of Banking and Currency in India:

Free banking system, in which every bank was at liberty to issue its notes. It is true that notes of the Presidency banks enjoyed a status slightly superior to that enjoyed by the notes of other banks in that they were received by the Government to some extent in payment of revenue. The reasons for such control are to be found in the peculiar relationship that subsisted between the Government and the Presidency banks which amalgamated the three Presidency Banks into the Imperial Bank of India. Banks other than Presidency Banks have been entirely immune from any legislative control whatsoever, except in so far as they are made amenable to the provisions of the Indian Companies Act. The control of these banks is one of the important problems of Banking Legislation in India.

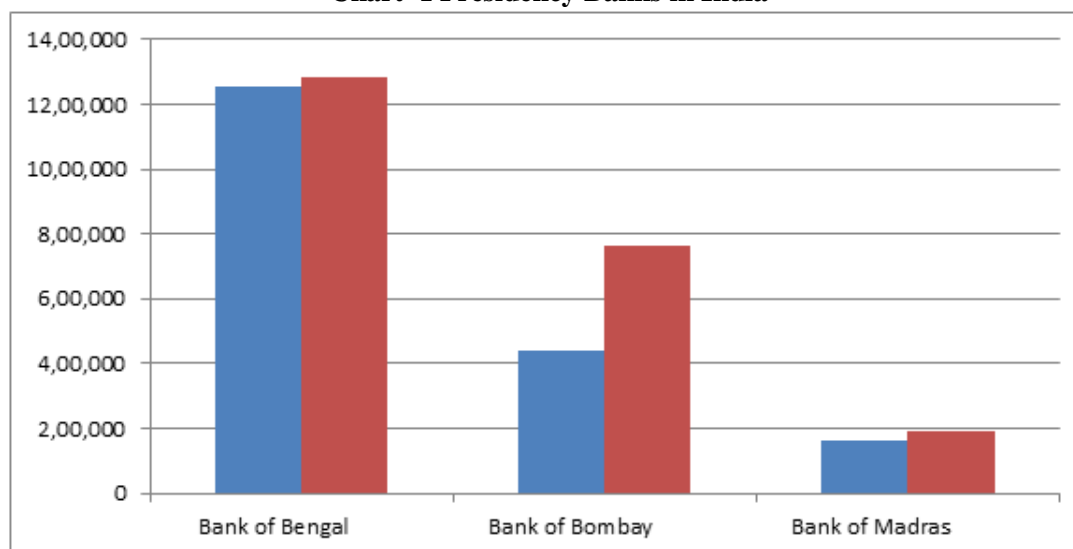
It should however, be noted that in 1860 the circulation of notes of the three Presidency Banks was larger than their current accounts, as is evident from the following:

Table 1.2: Presidency Banks in India

Name of the Bank	Accounts current	Notes in circulation
Bank of Bengal	£ 1,254,875	£ 1,283,946
Bank of Bombay	438,459	765,234
Bank of Madras	161,959	192,291

(Bankers' Magazine, April, 1893, p. 547)

Chart- I Presidency Banks in India



But if private interest was not allowed to play the same part in determining the quantity of paper currency as was the case with regard to metallic currency, neither was any discretion left to the Government Department in the regulation of the paper currency. The Department of Paper Currency had no more discretion in the matter of paper currency than the Mint Master had in the matter of metallic currency.

Dr. Ambedkar knows about the role of Banks in India and their performance on maintaining rupees value of money and circulation of money. Dr. Ambedkar has shown in his study the scenario of Indian Banking and financial structure and their impact on internal as well as external economy.

The population is mostly illiterate and even where it otherwise could not have availed itself of the cheque system because Indian banks refuse to conduct their business in any other medium but English. Owing to the absence of a cheque system the possibilities for the withdrawal of cash are great and the reserve was required to be large in consequence thereof. The Chamberlain Commission of 1913 recommended loans rather than the abolition of the Independent Treasury system. It proved the necessity of co-operation between the Presidency banks and the Government and also the need of a large and powerful Banking Institution. This was accomplished by the amalgamation of the Presidency Banks into an Imperial Bank of India (Act XLVI I of 1920), with the inauguration of which the Independent Treasury system is again in the process of abolition.

Perspectives on Economic Development:

Many of these ideas directly influenced the objectives and strategy of the Post-war:

- i] Economic planning
- ii] Water Policy
- iii] Power Policy.

These ideas of Dr. Ambedkar includes emphasis on capital investment in agriculture and priorities to industrializations with more active and positive role for the state in planned development or its economic planning and public sector with definite place for the poor. And the socially oppressed, depressed, surpressed sections in the planned economic development of the country and the need of social policy for down trodden.

CONCLUSION

His contribution in Economics immensely helps to understand regarding Indian Economy, International Economics and International trade such as adverse balance of trade, evolution and operatlization of banking and financial system in India. Currency problem with stability of value of rupee in terms of silver and gold or foreign exchange is concerned. Exchange rate determination with detail understands appreciation and depreciation of silver as well as gold in terms of rupee and sterling currency. His argument was that the depreciation would encourage exports from India, and discourage imports and the unfavorable balance of trade thus brought about would induce a flow of silver to India, tending to raise its price. He was also of opinion that increased demand for silver would also arise from outside India. He argued that the reduction of demand caused by the demonetization of silver by some countries would be more than compensated for by the adoption of silver by other countries then on a paper basis for their impending resumption's of specie payment.

He had referred several economics books and reports to know the insights of economic knowledge to explore to make his own opinion and rational and to understand the government role, system loop fool, Indian thinkers as well as foreign economist and various committees set up for resolutions of exchange rate. His findings of exchange rate problem of Indian economy are up to the mark and recognized by his guide, Professor Cannan.

He knows in detail Macroeconomics variables for instance, quantity theory of money by Fisher approach in that value of money and prices level or inflation, dearness allowance not considered, determination exchange rate as well as wage-earners. His books are more knowledgeable to every section of the society for perennial times to know the Government Public Finance and Finance Commission, their role in understanding defective exchange system for the development of the nation.

Many people are not aware of his indepth knowledge about Economics historically initiated by him for the welfare of people and ultimately for the betterment of nation as a whole.

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY

Prof. Sonali Anil Gholap

Arham College of Arts and Commerce, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is considered to be the chief architect of our 'grundnorm' i.e. the Constitution. He was not only a political leader and social reformer but also a scholar and thinker. He wrote various scholarly works and his ideas and notions have inspired generations and will continue to do so. He is known to be the greatest saviour of the suppressed community. His efforts in uplifting the oppressed section of the society have been innumerable. He played a significant role in laying the foundation of democracy in India. He considered that democracy was not new to the Indian system but various ancient governing bodies adhered to democratic principles. His notion of democracy was not a westernised one, rather his reflections on the theory of democracy were firmly located in the Indian context. Equality and fraternity were considered to be at the heart of democracy. For him, democracy was a form of associated living. Democracy is not only limited to a government by the representative of the people but it has many more facets to it. It encompasses within its sphere social, economic as well as political democracy. Social democracy aims at removing the caste barriers created in our society. Caste system not only fractures national unity but also makes democracy impossible. Democracy is to be achieved not only in fact but in form also.

POPULAR MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

Though 'democracy' is a very popular term but the concept is one of a complex nature. The genesis of democracy in the world is a form of government in which a substantial proportion of citizenry directly or indirectly participates in ruling the state. The origin of the concept and practice can be traced to the ancient Greek city states in the fifth century BCE.

The term 'democracy' itself is derived from the Greek words *demos* and *kratos* meaning 'the people' and 'power or rule' respectively. Thus, the meaning of the term comes out to be 'the rule of the people'. It is a form of a government in which the people rule themselves either directly or indirectly or through their elected representatives. In a democracy, the sovereignty rests with the people in general. But this popular meaning of democracy is a restrictive one and imbibes within its sphere only the concept of political democracy.

Dr. Ambedkar and the Future of Indian parliamentary system of government prevailing in the Buddhist Sanghas where secret ballot system prevailed. There was no discussion without a motion being moved in the session. He opined that there was such intellectual freedom in ancient India as was nowhere else to be found. The idea of democracy he put forth was much broader than the generally perceived idea of democracy which his contemporaries had. His notion of democracy was not limited to only political democracy but he also covered the social and economic dimensions within it. He forcefully argued that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy. This notion was also influenced by the societal conditions which were prevailing in our country at that time. The definition of democracy given by his predecessors or contemporaries could not satisfy him. Another feature of Dr. Ambedkar's conception of democracy is that it was aimed at achieving social transformation and human progress. Conservative notions of democracy did not satisfy him. In one of his most inspirational 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"

1. To achieve this, it was essential to link political democracy with economic and social democracy. Indeed, Dr. Ambedkar's vision of democracy was intertwined with the ideal of socialism.

2. The neglect of economic Democracy, available a democracy was, in his view, one of the chief causes of "the failure of democracy in Western Europe". As he put it: "Social and economic democracy are the tissues and the fibre of a political democracy. The tougher the tissue and the fibre, the greater the strength of the body. Democracy is another name for equality. Parliamentary democracy developed a passion for liberty. It never made a nodding acquaintance with equality. It failed to realize the significance of equality and did not even endeavour to strike a balance between liberty and equality, with the result that liberty swallowed equality and has made democracy a name and a farce." He further added that democracy could not be equated either with Republic or Parliamentary Government. The roots of democracy lay not in the form of Government, parliamentary or otherwise. According to him, "Democracy is a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in terms of associated life between the people who form the society."

3. Dr. Ambedkar further said: "Democracy is more than a political machine. It is even more than a social system. It is an attitude of mind or a philosophy of life. Equality and liberty are no doubt the deepest concern of democracy. But the equality and liberty are not sustained by the law of the state. I

4. D.R. Jativa, Political philosophy of B.R. Ambedkar is the fellow feeling that sustains the democracy. What the French Revolutionists called fraternity. The word fraternity is not an adequate expression. The proper term is what the Buddha called, Maitree. Without fraternity, liberty would destroy equality and equality would destroy liberty. If in democracy liberty does not destroy equality and equality does not destroy liberty, it is because at the basis of both there is fraternity. Fraternity is, therefore, the root of democracy". His vision of democracy was not limited to the western notion. He enlarged his theory of democracy keeping in mind the Indian conditions.

He laid emphasis on equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. Our society had the deep-rooted malaise of caste-based discrimination. This caste-based discrimination also bred economic discrimination because the oppressed communities were denied equal opportunities in terms of education and employment. Babasaheb abhorred such form of discrimination and vehemently fought against such practices. The caste-structure perpetuates an anti-social spirit in the minds of the privileged classes. The recognition of the class structure and income structure of society as sacrosanct was undemocratic and unrealistic. It hindered the formation of rational human relationships. Hence, he denounced the sanctity of the class structure of society as he considered that it poses a positive danger to democracy. He said that to preserve social democracy contradictions.

5. Contradiction here means the inequality we have in social and economic life. As per him, castes are anti-national and antisocial because it creates jealousy and differences between castes which can further lead to the destruction of unity and solidarity of the country. He viewed these 'contradictions' as a threat to the unity and integrity of the nation and this is very much true. He laid much stress on the point that to maintain Indian independence and social democracy we must establish equality and fraternity in all spheres of life.

ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF DEMOCRACY

Babasaheb explicitly stated the conditions which are very much necessary for the successful working of a democracy. They can be stated in brief as under: 1. Equality- For the success of democracy the first and foremost essential element is equality. He states that there must not be glaring inequalities in the society. He was of the opinion that equality should prevail in the

Indian society and there should be no discrimination under the pretext of caste, culture, religion and norms in the society. There should not be an 'oppressed class'. This concept of equality before the law and the equal protection of the laws finds a mention in Article 14 of our Constitution.

1. Political thought of The entire Indian society was divided in caste system which was based on negation of human values. He vehemently opposed the caste system and fought against the practice of untouchability. He explained the evil effects of caste system as follows, "Caste has killed public spirit. Caste has destroyed the sense of public charity. Caste has made public opinion impossible." Thus, according to him casteism was at the root of undemocratic system and it posed a hurdle in the success of democracy. He said that where equality is denied everything else may be taken to be denied.

2. Existence of an opposition - - The second important condition for the effective functioning of democracy is the existence of a strong opposition to the ruling majority. He laid emphasis on a strong opposition and not one which is meek and submissive. An opposition should have the ability of raising its voice against the unjustified policies of the ruling majority. He opined that there should be a political majority and a political minority rather than a communal majority and a communal minority. In a monarchical form of government, there was no veto power in the hands of people but in democracy there is veto power in hands of people. To avoid dictatorship, it is necessary in a democracy to have two party system, one the ruling and other, the opposition, to have a counter check on ruling party.

3. Equality in law and administration – In ancient India, people were treated according to their castes, even the profession which they could Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Legal Science and Innovation carry on was also determined on the basis of the caste in which they took birth. There was no uniform civil code in law in Vedic culture. He vehemently opposed this caste system. There must be not only equality before law, but there must be equality of treatment in administration. The personnel in administration need to be most sincere and efficient. The officers in the higher echelons should not interfere whenever necessary action is taken by the administration against any culprit. The members of the ruling party should not interfere if any action is taken against any offender, even when the offender is related to a high functionary of the State. In other words, the personnel in administration should be permanent, incorrupt and efficient so that everybody can get true justice.

4. Constitutional morality – In Babasaheb's words, "A Constitution which contains legal provisions, is only skeleton. The flesh of the skeleton is to be found in what we call constitutional morality." Constitution is important for success of democracy but more important was constitutional morality in polity and society. Each and every rule of public life cannot be provided in the Constitution. The Constitution, however provide a mere skeleton or some basic principles and not every details. The details in the legal skeleton could be filled in by healthy principles or conventions which are always based on justice and which evolve in the course of history. This concept of constitutional morality is oft cited in judgments of the Supreme Court and it is as relevant today. We being a country governed by the rule of law, every law and every executive action needs to conform with our 'supreme text', societal morality cannot guide the actions of the state. It is the constitutional morality which guides the State as well as the courts.

5. No tyranny of the majority – In a democracy, it is not expected from the majority to impose its tyranny over the minority. There will always be a majority and a minority but there should not be a tussle between them and this is a prerequisite for healthy functioning of democracy. The obligation is on the majority party that they should try to see that such an atmosphere which propagates an unconstitutional spirit should not develop in the Parliament and even outside the Parliament.

6. Moral order of the society – Democracy requires the existence of a moral order in the society. Politics should not be devoid of ethics. Moreover, ethics are important in every sphere of life as well as in every profession. If every person gets ethically right then it can lead to elimination of all forms of discrimination. **7. Public conscience** - According to him public conscience means “conscience which becomes agitated at every wrong, no matter who is the sufferer, and it means that everybody whether he suffers that particular wrong or not, is prepared to join him in order to get him relieved.” It is the obligation of the privileged to come to the aid of the underprivileged and help them wage a fight against the oppressive practice

Babasaheb’s thoughts on democracy were ahead of his times and were adequately suited to the Indian conditions. In 1950, Constitution and pledged to constitute India into a sovereign, socialistic, secular and democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. Whether we have been successful in achieving these ideals in letter and spirit would be a trying thing to answer but it can be said with certainty that there are still certain inherent evils plaguing the Indian polity.

A. So, it can be safely said that the thoughts of Babasaheb Ambedkar for the success of democracy are most significant and relevant to the Indian society in the present scenario. He opposed the evils of the caste system and wanted its complete elimination from the Indian society. However, even today the deprived sections are not aware of their entitlements and are discriminated against in the society.

B. The benefits meant for them either does not reach them or reach unto them when its too late. His expectation was that the administration should rise above the aspects of caste, creed, class and religion. The Constitution does guarantee various rights but many a times these are not respected and just remains on paper. Though, in present times there are conscientious citizens of our country who raise their voices against such oppression and discrimination and knock the doors of courts to seek redressal of these regressive activities. The idea of ‘associated living’ is still missing from the Indian society. Many people give more importance to their own religion, caste and class and look down upon others. It is painful to see that even the educated youth of our society give more importance to caste and class considerations.

C. The divisions in the society on the basis of caste and religion has divided the society into parallel, self-contained communities that do not allow for conversation and negotiation necessary for a healthy democracy. He stood firmly for a strong opposition but in today’s times on various debatable issues we see that the opposition does not raise its voice and only those matters are raised or agitated which are seen as politically beneficial. It is very necessary for a healthy democracy that the policies of the ruling government are adequately debated and for this there needs to be a fearless, independent and a strong opposition. Democracy pleads for the removal of a hereditary ruler or a monarch. Time has come that this notion is also adopted by political parties. There are many political parties where family lineage is given more importance than merit and only the family members remain at the helm of the affairs of these political parties.

D. The political parties need to get rid of this hereditary system of ruling. It is high time that the political parties of our country adopt the concept of inter party democracy in letter and spirit. Tyranny of majority is antithetical to democracy. This majority here can refer to various things; it can be the political party in majority, or the majority religion or the ideology of the majority of the people in the area. It is very essential for a healthy democracy that there is free flow of ideas and people voicing ideas opposing the majority should not be unnecessarily punished and prosecuted. The heinous acts of lynching which are being witnessed in recent times pose a serious threat to our democratic credentials.

CONCLUSION

Today, the future of Indian democracy depends on the revival of Dr. Ambedkar's creative conception of democracy. This vision needs to be enlarged and updated in the light of recent situations. There is a need to take Babasaheb's intellectual legacy seriously. Though his vision of socialism and economic democracy is still a distant goal but our governments are working on this front. Our democracy has faced many challenges, the journey has not been smooth so far. But, we as a democratic nation have survived the worst of the situations. A variety of social movements flourish in our country and the representation of women in local bodies is gradually improving. We have made certain strides in enhancing the quality of our democracy. Even today there are various challenges, but till we are guided by the ideals and principles of our Founding Fathers, we as a nation can survive and our democracy can flourish like no other in the world. Proper implementation and observance of constitutional principles in true spirit can be the only solution to various challenges.

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DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR: PIONEERING SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUALITY

Vivek Aware

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science

Vivekanand Arts Sardar Dalipsingh Commerce and Science College, Aurangabad

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is a globally renowned Indian scholar who is well known for his significant contribution to humanity. It is quite challenging to define him with a single ideal or principle as he has a multifaceted personality. He had expertise not only in the social sphere but in politics, economy, and philosophy also. Dr. Ambedkar's profound insights on educational, social, financial, and international relations and many more topics highlighted his multi-dimensional personality. His thoughts inspired movements for humanity in the entire world. The relevance of his thoughts can be found in every sphere of modern society. Although, Dr. Ambedkar primarily focused on addressing issues within Indian society, the principles and ideals laid by him inspired the global society as well. Those ideals are followed and appreciated worldwide. He has been worshiped for the ideals of universal equality and human rights. His work molded by personal struggle and unwavering commitment which reshaped the social fabric of India. He brought about a social revolution in India. And his contribution inspired the movement for equality and humanity worldwide also. His desire and unforgettable contribution to humanity makes him a great personality of time.

He was born in 1891 into a society characterized by inequality and injustice. He faced the harsh realities of social discriminations and untouchability. It was a worst inhuman practice in Indian society. The word 'Untouchables,' as a term, used to describe those deemed outside the caste hierarchy. The practice of 'Untouchability' denied human rights to a particular section of the society. It further became a ground of discrimination. This discrimination impacted him deeply and ignited his determination to eradicate this inhuman custom. He decided to fight against this social decease in his early life. But it was not an easy struggle at the time when society was filled with such kind of an oppressive mindsets which were dominant. The idea of social justice of Dr. Ambedkar has a solid foundation in his struggle for the existence of the oppressed. His concept of social justice is multifaceted and profound and aims to build a society free from oppressive caste discrimination. He tirelessly worked throughout his life for the rights of the oppressed. His contribution, in building a new Indian society based on humane principles, was significant and pivotal. He played a significant role in crafting the Constitution of India, which safeguards the rights of every citizen regardless of their caste and religion. He is honored as the "Architect of the Indian Constitution." This chapter explores the life, ideas, and the legacy of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the realm of social justice.

The concept of Social Justice

Social justice is a multidimensional and constantly evolving concept. It seeks the fair distribution of national resources and opportunities among all sections of society. It opposes discrimination based on race, gender, caste, religion, and social status and aims to achieve equity and justice for all.

The concept of social justice emphasizes equity over equality. Equality means treating all equally regardless of their natural differences. It seeks equal opportunity for all but ignores the capability of groups or communities because of which these groups cannot benefit from equal opportunities. Equal opportunity is beneficial for those only who are physically, mentally, socially, and economically equal. There are groups or communities who are deprived of education and denied their existence in society for a long time of period, how can such groups avail benefits of equal opportunity in equal circumstances? On the other hand, the concept of

equity ensures that such groups or communities should receive the same level of opportunity as others. Furthermore, it provides various levels of support to each group as per their unique circumstances. To reduce inequality, it promotes policies and initiatives to redistribute resources and wealth from those with more to those with less. It aims to target systematic and structural inequalities that contribute to wealth and income gaps.

Social justice is deeply associated with the principle of fairness. It seeks fair treatment for all. It aims to eradicate discrimination among individuals. Discrimination based on rather than earned qualities is expected here to be eliminated. Such standards of discrimination are beyond one's control, like caste, race, religion, and disability. Social justice ensures here that individuals should not be deprived of their opportunities just because of these parameters which are not earned but conferred. Social justice seeks inclusion and active participation of all individuals of society, especially those who are historically underrepresented. The protection of fundamental human rights is at the core of it. It seeks to maintain the right to life, liberty, and security of every individual. It encourages responsibility for human rights violations and injustice.

Overall, the concept of social justice seeks compensation for the problems of those who have suffered for a long time. Thus, bringing all the individuals of society to the same level and eliminating the disparities and providing equal opportunities for all, including the disadvantaged, is the aim of this concept. In the context of India, the concept of social justice is more relevant. Socio-economic disparity has existed in Indian society for a long time. Caste system in India was the basis of this disparity. A picture of the contemporary Indian society and the caste system is as follow.

Caste System and Discrimination in India

Caste system, often referred as 'Jati' in India, has been practiced since thousands of years. It is a feature of Indian society. It categorizes people into specific groups. These groups are determined by birth. According to Sociologists it is a locked group. That means, an individual can get its membership by birth only and it cannot be changed throughout his or her life. Marriages are not allowed outside the castes and food is also not shared across the castes. Individuals are forced to live and interact within caste groups. Hence, it is called a closed group. The classification and status within society of these castes is based on the 'Varna system.' In Hindu society it is believed that the 'Varnas' were created by Lord Brahma, the creator of the Universe. There are four Varnas placed hierarchically from greater to lower.

- **Brahmins:** It is the highest caste in this 'Varna' system. It is associated with priests, scholars, and other religious persons. As it is placed above all the 'Varna's,' it is entitled to superior rights in society. All the religious and scholarly activities are allowed to this 'Varna' only.
- **Kshatriyas:** It is the second highest caste in the 'Varna' system. Kshatriyas are the ruling and warrior class and responsible for protecting and governing society.
- **Vaishyas:** It is a merchant and artisan class of society. It is engaged in trade, business, and agriculture.
- **Shudras:** It is the lowest caste in this system. It is associated with providing labor services to the above three 'Varna.'

Caste (Jati) System:

Castes in India are based on the Varna's. Within each Varna, there are various subgroups called 'Jati's.' As per the Varna, 'Jati's' are associated with categorical occupations. 'Jati's' are more numerous and have a crucial role in society. As mentioned earlier the 'Jati' system is unique feature of Indian society. It influences the social, economic, and political structure in India. For many years, it was the base of discrimination and inequality in society. Even today despite legal

restrictions, few parts of the country are still found to be practicing this system. The features of caste system are as follow:

1. Occupational Restrictions:

The caste system comes with occupational restrictions. Each caste is prescribed with a specific occupation which is prohibited to practice for the rest of other castes. The Brahmins, an upper caste was allowed to perform religious and intellectual functions. Non-Brahmin castes were not allowed to do religious rituals. The distribution of work based on castes is one of the features of the caste system. This system of caste-based occupations was rigid and locked. There was an absence of occupational freedom.

2. Social Segregations:

Not only occupations were divided but people were also divided in this caste system. Peoples of the same castes used to live together. There were separate arrangements or colonies for each caste in society. Marriages were allowed inside the caste only; inter-caste marriages were forbidden. Social boundaries were marked to segregate peoples. There was a clear division between the upper-castes and the lower-castes. This kind of segregation among castes was observed during festivals and other social gatherings.

3. Untouchability:

The practice of ‘Untouchability’ was one of the heinous traditions of the caste system in India. ‘Untouchables’ means a community which was avoided to be touched by the upper castes. For many centuries, the practice of ‘Untouchability’ was prevailed in the caste system. ‘Untouchables’ was a group of castes at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. They were often referred to as ‘Dalits.’ ‘Dalits’ were deprived of their rights in society. They faced sever social discriminations. They were not allowed to enter public places like temples, schools, and other places and they were also restricted from drawing water from common lakes, wells, and rivers. ‘Untouchables’ were denied basic human dignity and respect.

4. Restrictions on Education and Resources:

Education was available for the upper castes only. Individuals of the lower castes had limited access to education. But ‘Dalits’ or ‘Untouchables’ were completely deprived of access to education. Due to the lack of access to education and resources hindered socio-economic progress of the lower castes. These restrictions were the main cause of inequality among castes in society. The caste system was responsible for the injustice and social and economic inequality in India.

5. Injustice and Atrocities:

In the past many parts of the country had a local legal system that favored the upper castes. It was difficult for individuals of lower castes to seek justice and protection from violence. Discrimination against the lower castes often resulted in violence and atrocities. Lower castes were treated like aliens and often deprived of their basic human rights. They were treated inferior in society and were subjected to inhuman treatment.

Thus, the caste system became a major basis of inequality. It is for this reason that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar termed the caste system as a major obstacle to social justice. He believed that social justice can be achieved by abolishing the caste system. And according to this concept, he fought for the establishment of social justice in his life. His work contribution and concept of social justice can be seen as follows.

Dr. Ambedkar’s role in bringing social equality and his thoughts on social justice

Dr. Ambedkar's role in eradicating social inequality and establishment of social justice in India is particularly important. His thoughts and actions were critical of India's deep-rooted caste

system and were instrumental in building a society based on justice. Overall, his contribution to social equality and the concept of social justice can be seen in the following way.

Dr. Ambedkar himself was born into a Dalit community that was earlier known as untouchables. He had experienced this wicked practice in society since his childhood. Despite having education and knowledge he was neglected only because of lower caste. He realized that if people like us are in this condition even after getting education, then the condition of the society members who are trapped in the roots will be dire. This realization inspired him, and he spent his life for the salvation of the untouchables. He realized that the origin of inequality in society lies in the caste system, and he severely criticized this caste system in his essay 'Annihilation of Castes'. Social inequality and injustice are rooted in this caste system. If this system persists, it will be a great challenge for the upliftment of the oppressed and the creation of a just society. In his essay, he called for the complete abolition of this caste system for the purpose of establishing social equality. He realized that a political voice was necessary for the rights of Dalits. They fought for their rights at the political level as the agony of this community will not end until it joins the political process. His important contribution is his contribution to Indian Constitution. His role was important and equally decisive in the formation of the Indian Constitution. He shaped the Indian constitution and through this constitution a new social revolution took place in India. The provisions in the Indian Constitution eliminated the basis of injustice in society and paved the way for liberty, equality and justice. Fundamental rights in the Indian Constitution prove to be especially important in this regard. These fundamental rights gave equal rights to all sections of India, including the underprivileged communities.

Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the need for equal treatment for all individuals before the law. He believed that social justice can only be achieved when laws and institutions treat individuals equally without discrimination based on caste, religion, or gender. The provision of equality before law in the Indian Constitution was included keeping this purpose in mind. Provision of reservation in educational institutions and government jobs for historically disadvantaged groups like Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was based on affirmative action policy. He emphasized the importance of affirmative action policies to address generational injustices and prioritize opportunities for social and economic mobility. Further, he believed that political representation is an effective tool of ensuring social justice. He demanded separate constituencies for Dalits but later, agreed to reserve seats provisions as per the agreement with Mahatma Gandhi (Poona Pact). This ensured the entry of the disadvantaged community at the political level. He admits that not only political but also educational performance is equally important for upbringing social justice. He also emphasized the need to spread education among marginalized communities for economic and social empowerment and the importance of education as a means of emancipation. Women also have rights, and they should be empowered to bring social justice. He emphasized removing caste and gender discrimination and providing equal opportunities to all. The role of Dr. Ambedkar was significant in achieving social equality and justice in India. He worked diligently to challenge the caste system, for political representation of disadvantaged, and to promote education and equal rights. His ideals and principles had a lasting impact on India's social and political landscape. His legacy continues to inspire social justice movements and is also a beacon of hope for marginalized communities seeking empowerment and equality today, not just in India but across the globe.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's ideas of social justice represent a powerful and enduring legacy in the quest for justice and an inclusive society. His contribution to eradicating the caste system which was the root cause of inequality in Indian society, and for the rights of marginalized communities has left an indelible mark on the social and political landscape of India. Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice included legal reform, political representation, affirmative

action, education, and spiritual transformation through religious transformation. His vigorous efforts and pioneering vision can be seen today inspiring social justice movements not only in India but worldwide.

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CHAMPIONING SOCIAL JUSTICE: UNPACKING THE LEGACY OF

DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR

Dr. Prasad V. Kulkarni

Deputy Registrar, S. P. Pune University, Pune

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar is popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, who as the greatest humanitarian and social reformer, has relentlessly struggled for the honour, dignity and freedom of the oppressed and downtrodden of our society. Babasaheb Ambedkar always advocated for a society that must be based on the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Dr. Ambedkar's life was dedicated to the pursuit of social justice and the upliftment of the oppressed classes. Babasaheb Ambedkar through his writings emphasized creating a free social order in which an individual is an end in itself and in which the main aim of the society is growth and development of the individual. The individual is not subservient to society and if he subordinates himself that too is for his betterment and only to that extent which is necessary.

Babasaheb Ambedkar in his writings quoted Prof. Jacques Maritain to explain that merely the Physical existence of a man in society is not enough rather he holds himself in hand by his intelligence and will. A man is a person who is independent in society and not servile, no matter how poor or crushed he may be. He must have his dignity and rights.

Dr. Ambedkar advocated for equal rights and opportunities for all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed, or gender. The Constitution reflects this commitment through provisions such as Article 15, which prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. Dr. Ambedkar was a strong proponent of affirmative action to address historical injustices. The Constitution incorporates reservation policies (Article 16, 46) to ensure representation and opportunities for historically marginalized communities in education and employment. Dr. Ambedkar's fight against untouchability found expression in the Constitution's abolition of untouchability (Article 17), declaring it a punishable offense. Dr. Ambedkar played a significant role in formulating the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy, ensuring individual freedoms and outlining principles for a just society.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research paper tries to identify and analyses, what is the enduring significance of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision for social justice in shaping India's societal framework, and how has it influenced contemporary discourse on equity and human rights?. The main research objective is to explore the socio-economic and political conditions in pre-independence India that necessitated Dr. Ambedkar's advocacy for social justice and investigate key events and movements led by Dr. Ambedkar aimed at addressing historical injustices. Second Objective is, to research into the intellectual influences that shaped Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy on social justice and study Dr. Ambedkar's critique of the caste system, untouchability, and his vision for the annihilation of caste. Another objective is to analyses the specific provisions within the Indian Constitution drafted by Dr. Ambedkar that embody principles of social justice and assess the effectiveness and challenges in implementing Ambedkar's vision through constitutional means. By addressing these objectives, this research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision for social justice and its lasting impact on India's societal framework, as well as its implications for the global discourse on equity and human rights.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In pre-independence India, the socio-economic and political landscape was deeply entrenched in a hierarchical caste system, perpetuating widespread discrimination and inequality. The caste system, rooted in religious and cultural traditions, divided society into distinct groups, each assigned specific roles and statuses. The four-fold varna system (Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras) and numerous sub-castes collectively created a rigid social hierarchy. Caste-based discrimination extended beyond the stratification of society into practices of untouchability, particularly affecting those deemed "untouchables" or Dalits. This discriminatory practice imposed severe social and economic restrictions, limiting access to education, employment, and public spaces for these marginalized communities.

Economic opportunities were disproportionately distributed among caste groups, with certain castes monopolizing wealth and resources. The intersection of caste and economic status created a system where social mobility was severely restricted, and economic disparities were perpetuated across generations. The caste system influenced political structures, leading to the marginalization of certain communities in governance and decision-making processes. Political participation was often confined to specific castes, further entrenching power imbalances and limiting representation. While pre-independence India witnessed early social reform movements challenging caste-based discrimination, these efforts faced significant resistance. The entrenched nature of the caste system posed formidable obstacles to meaningful change, and progress was incremental.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar opined that Indian society required measures, comprehensive development and harmonious growth. He believed in the creation of an egalitarian society by eliminating social inequalities prevailing in Indian society. He always advocated and showed concern for millions of neglected and marginalized sections of the society including SCs, STs, Women and the Labour class. He struggled for their development, human rights and democratic values. He fought throughout his life for bringing social justice to them

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a tireless advocate for social justice and the rights of marginalized communities, spearheaded several key events and movements in his quest to address deeply entrenched social injustices in India.

1. Mahad Satyagraha (1927): In response to the prevailing practice of untouchability and the denial of access to public water sources for Dalits, Dr. Ambedkar led the Mahad Satyagraha in 1927. This movement aimed at asserting the right of untouchables to use water from the Chavdar Tank in Mahad, Maharashtra. The event marked a symbolic struggle against social segregation and initiated discussions around the rights of the Dalit community.

2. Temple Entry Movement: Dr. Ambedkar actively advocated for the right of Dalits to enter Hindu temples, challenging the age-old practice of caste-based exclusion from religious spaces. His efforts, both through legal means and mass movements, sought to break down discriminatory barriers and establish the principle of equal access to places of worship for all.

3. Poona Pact (1932): During the Round Table Conferences, Dr. Ambedkar negotiated with Mahatma Gandhi to secure political representation for Dalits. The Poona Pact of 1932 resulted in the reservation of seats for the Depressed Classes (Scheduled Castes) in provincial legislatures, ensuring political participation and representation for these marginalized communities.

4. Annihilation of Caste (1936): Dr. Ambedkar's seminal work, "Annihilation of Caste," was initially written as a speech for a conference that he was ultimately disallowed to attend. In this powerful critique, Dr. Ambedkar called for the destruction of the caste system, urging

individuals to transcend the barriers of caste identity and embrace the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

5. Conversion to Buddhism (1956): In a significant move to challenge the social and religious discrimination inherent in Hinduism, Ambedkar, along with a large number of his followers, converted to Buddhism in 1956. This mass conversion aimed at providing a new spiritual and social identity to Dalits, free from the shackles of the caste system.

These key events and movements led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar represent a multifaceted approach to addressing social injustices. From challenging discriminatory practices on the ground to negotiating for political rights and advocating for a broader cultural and religious transformation, Ambedkar's efforts were instrumental in shaping a more inclusive and just society in post-independence India.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's intellectual journey and the philosophical underpinnings of his vision for social justice were deeply rooted in a critical examination of historical, social, and political ideologies. Several key influences shaped his thinking, contributing to the formulation of a comprehensive and transformative vision aimed at dismantling the caste-based inequalities ingrained in Indian society. Dr. Ambedkar drew inspiration from the Enlightenment thinkers, particularly thinkers like John Stuart Mill and Thomas Paine. The ideas of individual liberty, equality, and the pursuit of happiness resonated with Ambedkar's vision for breaking free from the oppressive structures of caste hierarchy. The Enlightenment ideals provided a philosophical basis for his advocacy of fundamental rights and freedoms for all individuals. Dr. Ambedkar's exposure to Western political thought, especially liberalism and democratic principles, significantly influenced his ideas. He envisioned a democratic society that transcended caste divisions, where all citizens enjoyed equal political rights and participated in the governance of the nation. Ambedkar saw democracy as a tool for social empowerment and a means to secure justice for marginalized communities.

Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism was not merely a religious transformation but a profound philosophical shift. Buddhism, with its emphasis on non-violence, equality, and rejection of caste distinctions, became a guiding force in his quest for social justice. By embracing Buddhism, Ambedkar sought to provide a spiritual foundation that aligned with his vision of a casteless and egalitarian society. Dr. Ambedkar engaged with social contract theories, particularly the works of thinkers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke. The idea of a social contract informed his understanding of the relationship between the individual and the state. Ambedkar argued that the state had a moral duty to ensure social justice and protect the rights of all citizens, transcending caste-based prejudices.

Dr. Ambedkar critically engaged with the works of anti-caste thinkers within the Indian context, such as Jyotirao Phule and Periyar E.V. Ramasamy. These reformers challenged the oppressive nature of the caste system and influenced Ambedkar's commitment to annihilation of caste. Their writings and activism provided intellectual foundations for Ambedkar's own endeavors to dismantle caste-based discrimination. In essence, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's intellectual influences were diverse and eclectic, blending Western philosophical traditions with indigenous anti-caste movements. His vision for social justice was a synthesis of these influences, emphasizing the principles of equality, justice, and individual freedoms. Through a nuanced understanding of these intellectual currents, Dr. Ambedkar laid the groundwork for a transformative social and political agenda aimed at creating an inclusive and just society in post-independence India.

Dr. Ambedkar's Concept of Social Justice:

Social justice is a foundational principle that underpins the moral and ethical fabric of societies worldwide. It encompasses the fair distribution of resources, opportunities, and privileges within a community, ensuring that every individual enjoys equal rights and is treated with dignity and respect. The concept recognizes and addresses historical and systemic inequalities, aiming to create a society where everyone, regardless of their background, has the chance to thrive and participate fully.

In the pursuit of social justice, the focus extends beyond individual rights to encompass broader issues of economic, political, and cultural equity. It acknowledges the existence of various social identities such as race, gender, class, and caste, and seeks to rectify disparities arising from historical prejudices and discriminatory practices. The importance of social justice in fostering an equitable society cannot be overstated. A society grounded in social justice promotes inclusivity, diversity, and a sense of shared responsibility. By dismantling barriers to equal opportunity, social justice contributes to the overall well-being and cohesion of communities, fostering an environment where every member can contribute meaningfully and participate in the social, economic, and political life of the nation.

1) Equality:

Social justice strives for equal rights and opportunities for all individuals, irrespective of their background. This involves dismantling discriminatory practices and policies that perpetuate inequality.

2) Fair Distribution:

The concept advocates for a fair distribution of resources, wealth, and privileges to ensure that no group or individual is systematically disadvantaged.

3) Inclusion:

Social justice emphasizes the importance of inclusive practices that embrace diversity and provide platforms for marginalized voices to be heard and valued.

4) Human Rights:

At its core, social justice is closely aligned with the protection and promotion of fundamental human rights. It seeks to eliminate any form of discrimination that infringes upon these rights.

5) Empowerment:

Social justice aims to empower marginalized communities by providing them with the tools, education, and opportunities needed to break free from cycles of poverty and oppression.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Views on Social Justice and Democracy

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision for social justice was intricately tied to his views on democracy, individual rights, and the role of the state in fostering an equitable society. His perspectives, shaped by a deep understanding of political philosophy and his experiences with social injustice, provided a foundation for the principles enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

1. Democracy as an Instrument of Social Transformation: Dr. Ambedkar viewed democracy not merely as a political system but as a potent instrument for social transformation. He recognized the potential of democracy to challenge entrenched hierarchies and empower marginalized communities. For Ambedkar, genuine democracy went beyond the mere act of voting; it required the dismantling of social inequalities and the establishment of an inclusive society.

2. Individual Rights and Liberties: Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the paramount importance of individual rights and liberties in a democratic society. He believed that the protection of individual freedoms was essential for the well-being of citizens and the overall progress of the

nation. Ambedkar's commitment to the idea of justice included safeguarding the rights of individuals, regardless of their caste, creed, or background.

3. Social Justice through Constitutional Means: As the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, Ambedkar played a crucial role in embedding principles of social justice within the legal framework. He recognized that formal equality alone would not suffice in addressing historical injustices. The Constitution, according to Ambedkar, needed to provide affirmative action and reservation policies to uplift marginalized communities, ensuring their participation in education, employment, and governance.

4. Role of the State in Uplifting Marginalized Communities: Dr. Ambedkar envisioned an active role for the state in the pursuit of social justice. He argued that the state had a moral responsibility to correct historical wrongs and uplift marginalized communities. Through reservations and other affirmative measures, Ambedkar sought to ensure that the state actively worked to bridge the socio-economic gaps and provide equal opportunities for all.

5. Education as a Tool for Empowerment: Dr. Ambedkar placed a strong emphasis on education as a means of empowerment. He believed that education was key to breaking the shackles of caste-based discrimination and fostering a more enlightened and egalitarian society. Dr. Ambedkar's advocacy for education as a tool for social transformation is evident in his efforts to promote educational opportunities for the marginalized.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's views on democracy, individual rights, and the role of the state in ensuring social justice were integral to his broader vision for a just and equitable society. Through his intellectual contributions and legislative work, Ambedkar laid the groundwork for a constitutional framework that aimed at realizing the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity in post-independence India. His legacy continues to influence discussions on democracy, rights, and social justice in contemporary India.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Role in the Constitutional Framework to Ensure Social Justice

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's role in drafting the Indian Constitution was pivotal, marking a transformative chapter in the history of independent India. As the chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambedkar played a central role in shaping the constitutional framework, infusing it with principles that aimed at addressing historical injustices and ensuring social justice.

1. Architect of the Constitution: Dr. Ambedkar's appointment as the chairman of the Drafting Committee was a testament to his legal acumen, intellectual prowess, and commitment to social justice. His leadership was instrumental in guiding the committee through the complex task of drafting a constitution that reflected the aspirations of a diverse and newly independent nation.

2. Fundamental Rights: Dr. Ambedkar championed the inclusion of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution, ensuring that every citizen had the right to equality, freedom, and protection against discrimination. These rights were envisioned as safeguards to protect individuals from any form of social injustice and arbitrary state action.

3. Abolition of Untouchability: Dr. Ambedkar was unwavering in his commitment to eradicating untouchability, a pervasive practice that relegated certain communities to the margins of society. The Constitution, under his guidance, explicitly addressed this issue, declaring the abolition of untouchability as a fundamental right (Article 17) and making it a punishable offense.

4. Reservation Policies: One of Dr. Ambedkar's most impactful contributions to social justice was the incorporation of reservation policies in the Constitution. Articles 15 and 16 outlined provisions for reservation in education and public employment for Scheduled Castes and

Scheduled Tribes, ensuring their representation in various spheres and addressing historical disadvantages.

5. Directive Principles of State Policy: Dr. Ambedkar recognized that achieving social justice required more than just individual rights; it necessitated state intervention. The Directive Principles of State Policy, outlined in Part IV of the Constitution, provided guidelines for the state to work towards a more just and equitable society, promoting social and economic welfare.

6. Special Provisions for Backward Classes: Dr. Ambedkar's vision for social justice extended to providing special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes. Articles 46 and 335 reflected his commitment to ensuring that the state took affirmative action to uplift these communities, promoting their educational and economic well-being.

Contemporary Perspective - Social Injustice at all levels

The pursuit of social justice remains a dynamic and evolving challenge both in India and across the globe. Despite significant progress, persistent inequalities, discrimination, and structural barriers continue to fuel ongoing struggles for social justice. These struggles manifest in various forms and are driven by diverse social, economic, and political contexts. In India, the legacy of the caste system persists as a significant source of social injustice. Dalits and other marginalized communities continue to face discrimination, economic disparities, and social exclusion. Ongoing movements, influenced by the teachings of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, strive to address these issues, advocating for the effective implementation of reservation policies, the annihilation of caste, and the empowerment of marginalized communities.

Gender-based discrimination and violence against women are critical global issues. Ongoing movements worldwide, such as the #MeToo movement, fight against gender-based violence, workplace discrimination, and unequal representation. The struggle for women's rights intersects with other social justice movements, emphasizing the need for an inclusive and intersectional approach. The fight against racial injustice is a global phenomenon, with movements like Black Lives Matter gaining prominence. Issues of systemic racism, police brutality, and unequal opportunities continue to spark protests and advocacy for racial equality. The struggle transcends national borders, connecting disparate communities in a shared quest for justice. The Movements advocating for the rights of the LGBTQ+ community have made significant strides globally. The fight for equal rights, protection against discrimination, and the recognition of diverse sexual orientations and gender identities are ongoing struggles that intersect with broader social justice movements. Social justice movements address economic disparities and the impacts of poverty on marginalized communities. Globally, activists and organizations work towards fair wages, labor rights, and policies that alleviate poverty and bridge the wealth gap. The call for economic justice is integral to broader social justice initiatives.

Environmental justice movements emphasize the equitable distribution of environmental benefits and burdens. Advocates address how marginalized communities often bear the brunt of environmental degradation, pollution, and climate change. The call for environmental justice aligns with broader social justice principles. Indigenous communities globally continue to face challenges to their rights, land, and cultural preservation. Movements advocate for the recognition of indigenous rights, autonomy, and the protection of traditional lands, challenging historical injustices. The ongoing struggles for social justice are interconnected, reflecting the diverse challenges faced by marginalized communities. These movements emphasize the need for systemic change, policy reforms, and a collective commitment to creating societies that uphold the principles of equality, dignity, and human rights. The discussions and actions surrounding social justice issues are critical in shaping a more inclusive and equitable future, both in India and around the world.

FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

The research endeavors to delve into the life, vision, and impact of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, focusing on his contributions to social justice and the shaping of the Indian Constitution. Through a comprehensive examination of Ambedkar's intellectual influences, critique of the caste system and advocacy for democracy and individual rights, key findings and insights emerge:

1. The research unveils the socio-economic and political conditions in pre-independence India marked by caste-based discrimination and inequality. Dr. Ambedkar's early life experiences, coupled with these harsh realities, became catalysts for his lifelong commitment to addressing social injustices.
2. Dr. Ambedkar's intellectual influences, including Enlightenment thinkers, liberalism, Buddhism, and anti-caste philosophers, shaped his multifaceted vision for social justice. The synthesis of Western and indigenous philosophies informed his critique of the caste system and laid the groundwork for a transformative agenda.
3. Dr. Ambedkar's critique of the caste system, untouchability, and his fervent advocacy for the annihilation of caste resonate as central themes. These insights provide a lens through which the contemporary relevance of his ideas can be understood, influencing ongoing social and political movements for justice and equality.
4. Dr. Ambedkar's pivotal role in drafting the Indian Constitution and his incorporation of social justice principles stand out as foundational achievements. Reservation policies, abolition of untouchability, and the emphasis on individual rights showcase his commitment to translating ideals into actionable constitutional provisions.
5. The research underscores the enduring impact of Dr. Ambedkar's vision on contemporary social and political movements. Movements for Dalit empowerment, reservation policies, gender equality, LGBTQ+ rights, and environmental justice draw inspiration from his principles, highlighting the expansive and intersectional nature of social justice struggles.
6. Dr. Ambedkar's vision extends beyond national borders, resonating with global movements against racial injustice, gender inequality, and human rights violations. The principles of justice, equality, and empowerment espoused by Dr. Ambedkar find echoes in diverse struggles for a more inclusive and equitable world.

This research illuminates the profound contributions of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to the discourse on social justice, democracy, and human rights. His intellectual legacy, enshrined in the Indian Constitution, continues to shape contemporary movements, offering valuable insights for ongoing efforts to build a more just and equitable society.

CONCLUSION

The enduring relevance of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's vision for social justice stands as a testament to the timeless wisdom embedded in his principles. As we reflect upon his legacy, it becomes evident that Ambedkar's insights into dismantling the caste system, championing individual rights, and advocating for the marginalized resonate across the ages. His constitutional framework, crafted with meticulous attention to social justice, continues to guide contemporary movements, urging societies to confront deep-rooted inequalities. The ongoing struggles for equality, representation, and dignity draw inspiration from Ambedkar's visionary ideals, illustrating the profound impact of his vision on shaping a more just and inclusive world. As we navigate the complexities of the present, Ambedkar's enduring legacy remains a beacon, reminding us that the pursuit of social justice is an ongoing journey that requires collective commitment, introspection, and a steadfast dedication to the principles of equality and human rights.

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डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचे सामाजिक कार्य व दूरदृष्टी

प्रा. डॉ. इकबाल खान गफार खान

(राज्यशास्त्र विभाग प्रमुख)

श्री रेणुकादेवी कला, वाणिज्य व विज्ञान महाविद्यालय, माहूर ता. माहूर जि. नांदेड

प्रस्तावना :

ब्रिटिश अमलाखालील सामाजिक विषमतेचे जीवन जवळून आणि सूक्ष्म अवलोकन करून त्याला समतेचा आधार देण्याच्या दृष्टीने ज्यांनी अहोरात्र कष्ट उपासले, सामाजिक विषमते विरुद्ध बंड पुकारले. व समतेच्या ध्वजाखालील शूद्रातीशुद्राना संघटित केलेल्या तीन प्रमुख सुधारक म्हणजे महात्मा फुले, छत्रपती शाहू महाराज व डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर होय. महात्मा फुले व छत्रपती शाहू महाराजांचे कार्य डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी समर्थपणे पुढे नेले. स्वतंत्र भारताच्या राज्यघटनेचे शिल्पकार डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी समता आणि बंधुता या तत्वावर आधारित नसलेली समाज व्यवस्थेला विरोध करून अस्पर्शीता गुन्हा ठरवून राज्यघटनेत कायद्याने संरक्षण दिले. आंबेडकरांनी आपल्या जीवनात राजकारणापेक्षा समाजकारणाला महत्त्व दिले.

महू येथे रामजी व भिमाबाई च्या पोटी 14 एप्रिल १८९१ ला डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचा जन्म झाला वडिलांनी लष्करी सेवेतून निवृत्ती झाल्यानंतर रत्नागिरी जिल्ह्यातील दापोली येथे वास्तव्याला आले. बाबासाहेबांचे शिक्षणाचा आरंभ दापोली येथील शाळेतूनच झाला. व नंतर सातान्यात आले 1907 मध्ये मॅट्रिकची परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण झाले. मुंबईचे एलिफिस्टन कॉलेज मधून पदवीचे शिक्षण पूर्ण केले. व 1913 मध्ये बडोदा संस्थान मध्ये नोकरी करू लागले. पुढे त्यांना बडोद्याच्या नरेश यांनी शिष्यवृत्ती देऊन १९१५ ला अमेरिकेतील कोलंबिया विद्यापीठात शिक्षण घेण्यासाठी पाठविले. या विद्यापीठात त्यांनी एम. ए. पीएचडी ची पदी पूर्ण केली व शिष्यवृत्ती चा कालावधी संपल्यावर ते भारतात परतले व आपले राहिलेले शिक्षण पूर्ण करण्यासाठी त्यांनी 1920 ला इंग्लंडला गेले आणि एम एस सी डी एस सी आणि बॅरिस्टर अशा तीन पदव्या संपादन करून भारतात परतले.

1924 मध्ये डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी "बहिष्कृत हितकारणी सभेची" स्थापना केली. पुढे त्यांनी 1927 ला महाडच्या सत्याग्रहाची घोषणा करून अस्पृश्यांच्या हक्कांची स्थापना करण्यासाठी त्यांनी संघर्षाची रणसिंग फुकले. राजकीय व आर्थिक सुधारणापेक्षा सामाजिक सुधारणा महत्त्वाची असते, असे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे विचार होते. अस्पृश्य समाजात सुधारणा झाल्याशिवाय भारतीय स्वातंत्र्याला खरा अर्थ लाभणार नाही, असे त्यांचे विचार होते. आधुनिक भारतीय विचारांच्या जडणघडणीत डॉ. आंबेडकरांचा मोठा वाटा आहे. त्यांच्या चिंतनातील विचार हे स्वभवतालच्या सामाजिक, राजकीय वास्तव्यातून निर्माण झाले. सर्वसामान्य बद्दल डॉ. आंबेडकरांना प्रचंड आस्था व विश्वास होता. लोकशाही केवळ शासन व्यवस्था नसून, ती एक जीवन पद्धती आहे. त्यांनी आपल्या जीवनात राजकारणापेक्षा समाजकारणाला महत्त्व दिले.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हे सामाजिक क्षेत्रातील प्रचंड मोठे नाव आहे. त्यांनी सामाजिक परिवर्तनासाठी आणि सामाजिक समता प्रस्थापित करण्यासाठी जोरदार संघर्ष केला. भारताचे एक सर्वात मोठे समाज सुधारक म्हणून डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना ओळखले जाते. त्यांनी अनेक सामाजिक कार्य केले आणि सामाजिक कृप्रा नष्ट करण्याचे कार्य केले आहेत. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे सामाजिक कार्य अतुलनीय आहे. सामाजिक दृष्ट्या मागास असलेल्या वर्गासाठी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी आंबेडकर हे

एखाद्या देवापेक्षा कमी नव्हते. अस्पृश्यता, हिंदूधर्म जातीव्यवस्था समाज परिवर्तनाचे मार्ग यासंबंधी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे विचार महत्त्वपूर्ण आहेत.

उद्दिष्टे :

कोणत्याही विषयाचा अभ्यास करत असताना त्याची काही उद्दिष्टे निश्चित करणे आवश्यक असते म्हणून प्रस्तुत शोधनिबंधासाठी खालील प्रमाणे उद्दिष्टे निश्चित करण्यात आली आहेत.

१. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या सामाजिक विचारांची पार्श्वभूमी अभ्यासणे.
२. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचा सामाजिक कार्याचा अभ्यास करणे.
३. सध्या स्थितीतील सामाजिक परिस्थितीचा अभ्यास करणे.

संशोधन पद्धती :

संशोधन लेखनासाठी खालील प्रमाणे संशोधन पद्धती निश्चित करण्यात आली आहे.

प्रस्तुत शोध निबंधासाठी दुय्यम स्रोतांचा अवलंबन करण्यात आला असून, यामध्ये विषयी संबंधित प्रकाशित लेखन, विविध संदर्भ ग्रंथ, मासिके, इंटरनेट इत्यादींचा वापर करण्यात आला.

जातीसंस्थे संबंधी विचार :

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या मते, जाती अहंकार हे भारतीय समाजाच्या सर्वांगीण अद्यपथनाचे मूलभूत कारण असून सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनासाठी जातीय अहंकाराच्या राक्षस गाडावा लागेल. जातीभेद ही संस्था व्यक्तिमत्त्वाच्या विकासाला पूर्ण अडथळा करणारी असल्यामुळे ती नष्ट झाली. पाहिजे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी वेद, उपनिषेध, गीता, मनुस्मृती इत्यादी ग्रंथाचा विरोध केला. जातीव्यवस्थेमुळे हिंदू समाजाचे विघटन झाले आहे. आणि नैतिक अवनीती सुद्धा झालेली आहे. तसेच जातीव्यवस्था ही पूर्वकर्माशी व पूनर्जन्माशी जोडली गेल्यामुळे ती अशास्त्रीय आहे. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी जातीभेद निर्मूलनासाठी अत्यंत मूलगामी विचारांची मांडणी केलेली आहे. हिंदू धर्मातील सामाजिक विषमतेमुळे जातीय संस्था आणि या विषमतेमुळे अस्पर्शिता निर्माण झाली. म्हणून जाती व्यवस्थेचे समोर उच्चाटन झाल्याशिवाय अस्पर्शिता संपुष्टात येणार नाही असे, डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे मत होते. 'भारतातील जाती व्यवस्था' व 'जाती व्यवस्थेचा विध्वंस' ही जाती व्यवस्थेसंबंधी दोन पुस्तके डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी लिहिली आहेत.

जात आणि धर्म यांनी एकमेकापासून अलग करू शकत नाही. त्यांच्या धार्मिक व सांस्कृतिक जीवनात कुळ, जाती, वर्ण यांना आगळे स्थान आहे. माणसाची सामाजिक अस्मिता ही त्याच्या जातीशी निगडित आहे. जाती व्यवस्था हे श्रम विभाजनाच्या तत्त्वानुसार निर्माण झाली नाही, तर जन्म वरून रूढ झालेली माणसांची विभागणी आहे. अस्पृश्यता नष्ट करणे जातीभेदाला तीलांजली देणे आणि दलितांच्या सर्वांगीण प्रगतीचा मार्ग खुला करणे याचे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी जोरदार समर्थन केले.

धर्मविषयक विचार :

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या मते, मानवी जीवनात धर्म एक आवश्यक बाब आहे. व्यक्ती व समाजाला धर्माची नितांत गरज आहे. धर्म हे माणसा माणसाच्या विकासाची व उन्नतीचे एक महत्त्वाचे साधन आहे. धर्मांमुळेच माणसाला शांतता व समाधान मिळते डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर म्हणाले की, धर्म हा बुद्धिनिष्ठा व नैतिकता यांच्याशी विसंगत विसंगत नसावा. स्वातंत्र्य, समता, बंधुता व ज्ञान हीच जीवनाची मूलतत्वे आणि धर्म यामध्ये सुसंगती असावी. तसेच डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी हिंदू धर्माचे चिकित्सक परीक्षण

केले. हिंदू धर्मातून स्वातंत्र्य, समता, बंधुत्वाचा अविष्कार होत नाही. असे आंबेडकरांना जाणवले. जातीय व्यवस्था हा हिंदू धर्माचा अत्यंत महत्त्वाचा दोष आहे. जाती व्यवस्थेमुळे धर्मात परिवर्तन घडवून येणे अशक्य आहे. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी हिंदू धर्माचा त्याग करून बौद्ध धर्माच्या स्वीकार केला आहे.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना समता, स्वातंत्र्य, बंधुत्व, सामाजिक न्याय या मूल्यावर आधारित समाज व्यवस्था निर्माण करावयाची होती. डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी ठिकठिकाणी सार्वजनिक गणेशोत्सवात जाऊन गणेश पूजनाचा हक्क बजावण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. तसेच मंदिर प्रवेशाचा प्रयत्न केला. परंतु त्यांच्या या प्रयत्नाकडे हिंदू सहानुभूतीने पाहण्यास तयार नव्हते. नाशिकच्या काळाराम मंदिरात मंदिर सत्याग्रहाचाही त्यांना विपरीत अनुभव आलेला होता. परिणामी त्यांनी 1935 ला येवले या ठिकाणी धर्मांतराची घोषणा केली. धर्मांतराची घोषणा केल्यामुळे वेगवेगळ्या धर्मातील मंडळी बाबासाहेबांना आपल्या धर्माचा स्वीकार करावा म्हणून त्यांच्याकडे येऊ लागले. परंतु डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी सखोल अभ्यासांती पुढे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी हिंदू धर्माचा त्याग करून बौद्ध धर्माचा स्वीकार केला आहे.

भारतात सर्व धर्मांना समान स्थान असावे. धर्माधपणा कोणीही करता कामा नये. जीवनात धर्म असला पाहिजे. पण धर्म राष्ट्रवादाच्या आड येता कामा नये. असे बाबासाहेबांचे मत होते. हिंदू धर्मात प्रचंड विषमता आहे. त्यामुळे हिंदू राष्ट्रवादात या विषमतेला स्थान मिळेल म्हणून बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी धर्मनिरपेक्ष राष्ट्रवादाचा पुरस्कार केला. भारतात राहणाऱ्या सर्व धर्मांच्या नागरिकांना समान हक्क असले पाहिजे. सरकारचा म्हणून कोणताही अधिकृत धर्म असू नये. नागरिकात धर्माच्या आधारे भेदभाव करू नये. धर्म ही व्यक्तीची खाजगी बाब आहे. शासन धर्मनिरपेक्ष असले पाहिजे.

अस्पृश्यते संबंधी विचार :

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या एकंदर कार्यात सामाजिक सुधारणांना विशेषता दलित उद्धाराच्या चळवळीला विशेष महत्त्व आहे. ते स्वतः एका अस्पृश्य कुटुंबात जन्मल्याने त्यांना अस्पृश्यतेचे अनेक वाईट अनुभव आले होते. म्हणून त्यांनी अस्पृश्यता नष्ट करणे आणि अस्पृश्यांचा सर्वांगीण विकास करणे हे आपल्या जीवनाचे पहिले ध्येय ठेवले होते. तसेच हिंदू धर्मातील अस्पृश्य विषयी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी लढा दिला. अस्पृश्य वर्गाला वर्ग व्यवस्थेतून मुक्त करून त्याला समता, बंधुता, स्वातंत्र्य व न्याय यांच्या मोकळ्या वातावरणात आणले पाहिजे. जातीव्यवस्था, अस्पृशीत भावनेमुळे समाज विघातक बनतो व संकुचित भावना वाढली जाते. यामुळे विकासात अनेक अडथळे निर्माण होतात. मानवाला माणुसकी या नात्याने बघितले जात नाही अस्पृश्यता ही मानवनिर्मित आहे. असे ते मानतात "हू वेअर दि शुद्राज" या पुस्तकात त्यांनी अशी मांडणी केली आहे की, प्राचीन काळी दोन टोळ्यात युद्ध झाले. या युद्धात जी थोडी पराभूत झाली, ती टोळी विजय टोळीला शरण जाऊन आश्रय मागत असे. पराभूत टोळीला गावाबाहेर आश्रय दिला जात असे. पुढे जाऊन ह्या गावाबाहेरच्या टोळ्या गावाबाहेरच राहिल्या व गावातल्यानी त्यांना अस्पृश्य ठरविले.

जाती व्यवस्था अमानुष आहे. दलितांच्या प्रगतीला मारक आहे. उच्चवर्णीय हे शोषण व दलित शोषित असा भेदभाव निर्माण झाला. एका जातीतून दुसऱ्या जातीत जाता येत नाही. जातीमुळे समाज कायमचा फाटलेला राहतो. म्हणून जातिव्यवस्थेचे समुळ उच्चाटन झाले पाहिजे. असे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे मत होते. प्रथम चार जातीतून चारहजार जाती पोट जाती झाल्या. जाती व्यवस्था संपुष्टात आणण्यासाठी डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी संघर्ष पुकारला महाडच्या चवदार पाण्याच्या तळ्यात पाणी भरण्याचे सत्याग्रह, नाशिकच्या काळाराम मंदिरात प्रवेश असे कार्यक्रम डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी आखले. थोडक्यात असे म्हणता

येईल की, जातीभेदामुळे विषमता वाढली राष्ट्रीय एक्य व बंधुभाव धोक्यात येतो म्हणून जाती निर्मूलन केले पाहिजे.

स्त्री-पुरुष समानते संबंधी विचार :

स्त्री-पुरुष समान असावे असे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे आग्रही मत होते. स्त्री-पुरुष समानता प्रस्थापित होण्यासाठी स्त्री शिक्षणाचा मार्ग त्यांनी सांगितला स्त्रियांना कुटुंबात व समाजात उत्तम वागणूक आणि समान दर्जा मिळाला पाहिजे. स्त्री शिक्षणामुळे कुटुंब पुढे जाते. स्त्री ही एक व्यक्ती आहे आणि व्यक्ती स्वतंत्र तिला असायला हवे हा विचार व्यक्त करताना डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर असे म्हणतात की, लग्नानंतर पत्नी ही पुरुषाची समान अधिकारी असलेली ग्रहणी असली पाहिजे. ती नवऱ्याची गुलाम असता कामा नये. स्त्री-पुरुषाला समानता असावी. तसेच स्त्रियांसाठी भारतीय राज्यघटनेत विशेष तरतुदी करून महिलांच्या सक्षमीकरणाचे अधिकार राज्यांना देण्यात आले. यावरून आजच्या स्त्रियांची प्रगती पाहता बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचा स्त्री-पुरुष समानतेविषयी दृष्टिकोन किती व्यापक होता. हे दिसून येते.

समाजाच्या प्रारंभ पासूनच पुरुष वर्गाने आपल्या शारीरिक सामर्थ्याच्या बळावर शतकानुशतके स्त्रियावर वर्चस्व गाजवले आहे. म्हणून स्त्रियांना या परंपरागत गुलामगिरीतून मुक्त करण्यासाठी शिक्षण व नोकरीची समान संधी आणि राजकारणात ही संधी उपलब्ध करून देण्यासाठी भारतीय राज्यघटनेतील मूलभूत हक्कातील समानतेच्या हक्कात समान संधीची तरतूद करण्यात आली आहे. तसेच डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी गोलमेज परिषद देत स्त्रियांना मतदानाचा अधिकार असला पाहिजे, अशी भूमिका घेतली होती. स्वतंत्र प्राप्तीनंतर आपल्या देशात पुरुषांच्या बरोबरीने महिलांना सुद्धा मतदानाचा हक्क देण्यात आला.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या विचाराचे विश्लेषण केल्यास ते बरोबर खरोखरच महामानव होते. याची खात्री पटते. ते केवळ राजकीय, सामाजिक, आर्थिक विचारवंतच नव्हते, तर ते बुद्धीप्रामाण्यवादी व निष्ठावंत आणि तळमळीचे कार्यकर्ते होते कोणालाही शक्य झाले नाही अशी सामाजिक क्रांती त्यांनी त्यांच्या विचाराने घडून आणली.

शिक्षणासंबंधी :

शिक्षणाकडे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर क्रांतीचे साधन म्हणून पहात असत.शिका, संघटित व्हा, संघर्ष करा या त्रिसूत्रामधील शिक्षण ही त्यांच्या दृष्टीने पहिली पायरी होती. शिक्षण हे वाघिणीचे दूध आहे. हे डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी पुरते ओळखले होते. म्हणूनच विद्या मिळविण्यासाठी त्यांनी अपार कष्ट घेतले. त्यासाठी त्यांनी ज्ञानाच्या अग्रीयज्ञ आयुष्यभर चालू ठेवला इंग्लंड, अमेरिकेमध्ये जाऊन जगप्रसिद्ध पदव्या मिळविल्या. आपल्या समाजासाठीच नव्हे तर राष्ट्राच्या उभारणीसाठी त्यांनी अनेक ग्रंथ लिहिले. व सनातनी विचारावर प्रहार करून समाजप्रगतीच्या मार्गावर आणला. आपल्या समाजाच्या शिक्षणासाठी 1945 मध्ये पीपल्स एज्युकेशन सोसायटीची स्थापना केली. मुंबई व औरंगाबाद येथे महाविद्यालय सुरू केले. या महाविद्यालयातून कला, वाणिज्य व विज्ञान यासारख्या विद्याशाखा सुरू केल्या. याचाच परिणाम म्हणून गत अर्ध शतकापासून हजारो दलितांचे नवे तर स्वर्ण विद्यार्थी ज्ञान संपादन करून येथून बाहेर पडून सन्मानाने जीवन जगत आहेत. शिक्षण हाच अस्पृश्यांच्या उन्नतीचा पाया आहे अस्पृश्यांची गुलामी शिक्षणानेच नष्ट होईल तसेच विकासही याच मार्गाने होईल. अस्पृश्यांच्या सर्व सामाजिक दुखण्यावर शिक्षण हे एकमेव औषध आहे असे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी प्रतिपादन केले. यासंदर्भात थोडक्यात असे म्हणता येईल की, लोकांना साक्षर करणे, निरक्षरता समुळ नष्ट करणे. यात प्रांतसरकारच्या जबाबदाऱ्यांची जाणीव डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी करून दिली.

सारांश :

दलित समाजाचे हित रक्षण हे बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे ध्येय होते. त्यासाठी त्यांनी कधीही तडजोड केली नाही. व सैलपणा दाखविला नाही. स्वतंत्र प्राप्तीनंतर मात्र काँग्रेस, गांधी व नेहरू यांच्याशी असलेले पूर्वग्रह विसरून डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी विविध जबाबदाऱ्या स्वीकारल्या. व राष्ट्र बांधणीच्या कार्यात पंडित नेहरूंना सहकार्य केले. जातीपेक्षा राष्ट्र श्रेष्ठ हे बाबासाहेबांच्या वागणुकीतून दिसून आले. घटना समितीत मोलाचे काम केले समता, स्वातंत्र्य, बंधुता, एकता, व्यक्तीची प्रतिष्ठा मान्य करणारे राज्यघटना तयार केले. त्यांनी राष्ट्रीय नेतृत्वाला पूर्ण सहकार्य केले. राष्ट्रीय नेते व दलित समाज यांच्यातील अंतर कमी करण्यास बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी सेतूचे काम केले.

सामाजिक दृष्ट्या मागासलेल्या वर्गासाठी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हे एखाद्या देवा पेक्षा कमी नव्हते, अस्पृश्यता, हिंदू धर्म, जातीव्यवस्था, स्त्री पुरुष समानता, धर्मनिरपेक्षता, समाज परिवर्तनाचा मार्ग, शिक्षण विषयक विचार, संसदीय लोकशाही संबंधी विचार, राष्ट्रवादी संबंधी विचार इत्यादी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे विचार व कार्य महत्त्वपूर्ण आहेत.

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लोकशाहीतील स्थित्यंतरे : भारतीय लोकशाही दृढीकरणात

डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या विचाराची आवश्यकता

डॉ. सत्यपाल हरिभाऊ कांबळे

सहायक प्राध्यापक, राज्यशास्त्र विभाग, डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर मराठवाडा विद्यापीठ,
औरंगाबाद

प्रस्तावना

भारतीय स्वातंत्र्यानंतर व १९५० मध्ये संविधानाच्या अंमलबजावणीने संसदीय लोकशाही प्रक्रीयेच्या प्रयोगाला सुरुवात झाली. भारतीय लोकशाही संविधानाने अंगिकारलेल्या तत्त्वातून आरंभ झाली. पाश्चात्य लोकशाही तत्त्वज्ञान व भारतीय तत्त्वज्ञानाची योग्य सांगड येथे घातलेली आहे. मुळात भारतीय लोकशाहीचा पाया हा संविधान सभा व मसुदा समितीतील चर्चेत दिसून येतो. यात डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांची भूमिका महत्त्वपूर्ण आहे. जगभरात लोकशाहीतील स्थित्यंतरे घडली आहेत ? डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचा लोकशाही विषयक दृष्टीकोन काय होता? त्यांना भारतासाठी कोणते लोकशाही शासन हवे होते? लोकशाहीच्या यशासाठी काय अभिप्रेत होते? भारतीय लोकशाही इतरांपासून कशी भिन्न आहे? या प्रश्नांची उकल करण्यासाठी प्रस्तुत लेखाचे प्रयोजन आहे.

लोकशाही हा सध्या जगभरात प्रचलित असलेला एक लोकप्रिय शासन प्रकार आहे. लोकशाही शासनाचा विविध अंगाने विचार केला जातो उदाहणदाखल सांगावयाचे म्हणजे सायमन चॅम्बर्स यांनी तर्कवादी लोकशाही, फिलिप पेटिट यांनी संघर्षपूर्ण लोकशाही, जॉन ड्रायझेक यांनी चर्चात्मक लोकशाही तर आयरिश मॅरियन यंग यांनी संवादात्मक लोकशाही असे लोकशाहीचे विश्लेषण केले आहे. एवढेच नाही लोकशाही संदर्भाने विकसित व विकसनशील देशातील लोकशाहीच्या पैलूवर देखील अभ्यासक चर्चा करताना दिसतात. आधुनिक काळात लोकशाहीनी विविधरूपे धारण केली आहेत. लोकशाही शासनाचा 'सुवर्णमध्य' म्हणजे स्वतंत्र, समता, बंधुता व न्याय आदी लोकशाही मुल्यासाहित "एक व्यक्ती,एका मत व एक मूल्य" या सूत्रा नुसार शासनाची सर्व सत्ता जनतेच्या हाती एकवटते कारण जनता सार्वभौम असते. जनता मतदानाच्या माध्यमातून शासनावर नियंत्रण ठेवते व शासन जनतेला जबाबदार असते या सिद्धांतावर लोकशाही प्रक्रिया गतिमान होते. प्रत्येक देश, समाज,परिस्थिती तसेच अनेक घटकानुसार लोकशाही शासनाचा अर्थ बदलत जातो. ब्रिटन,अमेरिका, स्विझरलँड,भारत या देशामध्ये लोकशाही शासन व्यवस्था असली तरी प्रत्येक देशातील कार्यपद्धती वेगवेगळी आहे या वरून दिसून येते कि , लोकशाहीची सर्वमान्य एक परिभाषा करता येत नाही. त्या त्या देशातील सामाजिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक ,राजकीय आदि परिस्थितीवर ठरत असते. संबंधित देशातील सुधारणा व महापुरुषांच्या कार्यातून लोकशाही विचारला पाठबळ मिळत असते.

लोकशाही लोकांच्या सामाजिक जीवनाची गरज , विचारसरणी, आचारण व एक जीवन मार्ग म्हणून पुढे आला आहे. समाज ,सभ्यता आणि संस्कृती संदर्भाने लोकशाही अर्थपूर्ण ठरते. असे म्हटले जाते की ,समाज व संस्कृतीचे वळण जर लोकशाहीमार्गाने जात नसेल, तर राज्यघटनेचा अंगिकार करून देखील अशा देशात लोकशाही रुजणे व तिची जोपासना करणे कठीण जाते. तर ज्या देशात प्रदीर्घ काळ लोकशाही मार्गाने शासन कारभार होत आला असेल तर, त्या देशातील संस्कृतीक बदल देखील लोकशाही मार्गाने होतात. या आधारावर असे म्हटले जाते कि, विकसित देशातील लोकशाही समाज आणि

संस्कृतीमध्ये परस्पर संबंध दिसून येतो, तर विकसनशील देशातील लोकशाही हि केवळ संविधानीक तरतुदीमुळे लागू झाली असून ती पूर्णपणे सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक जीवनात उतरलेली नाही उलटपक्षी विविध प्रकारचे मत-मतांतरे यामुळे अशा देशात संविधान आणि राजकीय व्यवस्था यांच्या व्यवहारात विसंगती दिसून येते असा युक्तीवाद पुढे आलेला आहे.

१८ व १९ व्या शतकांत राजाच्या ईश्वरदत्त अधिकारांविरुद्ध संघर्ष सुरु झाला हा संघर्ष, जनतेच्या नैसर्गिक व सार्वभौम नागरिक अधिकाराची मागणी करणारा होता. प्रथम महायुद्धात बहुतांश राजेशाही देशांचा पराभव झाला व लोकशाही देशांना यश मिळाले. यामुळे अनेक पाश्चात्य देशांत राजेशाहीचे समूळ उच्चाटन झाले आणि जर्मनी, तुर्कस्तान, रशिया आदि ठिकाणी लोकसत्ताक वा साम्यवादी राज्यपद्धती अंगिकारली. पुढे विसाव्या शतकात आफ्रिका, आशिया खंडातील वासाहतिक देश स्वतंत्र झाले. वसाहतवादविरोधी चळवळीतून तेथील लोकशाही प्रेरणांना बळ मिळाले. या नवस्वतंत्र देशांनी वसाहीतीतून मुक्त झाल्यानंतर संविधानामध्ये लोकशाही आणि प्रजासत्ताक तत्वाच समावेश केला परंतु प्रत्यक्षात लोकशाही पूरक वातावरण नसल्यामुळे बहुसंख्य देशांत लष्करी राजवटी किंवा सर्वकष किंवा साम्यवादी शासन पद्धती निर्माण झाल्या. जेथे लोकशाही शासन स्थिर झाले अशा देशात कमालीची विषमता, जात, धर्म, संप्रदाय, लिंगभेद आदि विविधता, राष्ट्रीय ऐक्याचे प्रश्न, आर्थिक विवंचना, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजकीय, सांस्कृतिक अस्थैर्य इ. कारणांमुळे विकसनशील देशातील लोकशाही सामाजिक सभ्यता व जीवन पद्धती निर्माण करण्यात मागे पडली आणि केवळ लोकशाहीचा चौकटीचा सांगाडा शिलक राहिला; संस्कृती मात्र लोकशाही विरोधी निर्माण झाली व अनेक अर्थाने लोकशाहीमार्गच मोडीत निघताना दिसतो आहे.

लोकशाहीच्या वाटचालीत प्रमुख स्थित्यंतर आणि तीन टप्पे

आज पर्यंतच्या लोकशाहीच्या वाटचालीत प्रमुख तीन टप्पे (Waves of Democracy) पहावयास मिळतात. सैमुअल पी हंटिंगटन यांनी लोकशाहीतील स्थित्यंतराला या तीन टप्प्यात विभागले आहे. जगाच्या इतिहासात अशी तीन स्थित्यंतरे घडली आहेत. एक- १८२८ ते १९२६ या काळात जवळपास ३० देशांनी लोकशाही संस्था स्थापन केल्या. दुसरा टप्पा - १९४३ ते १९६२ या काळाचा आहे. दरम्यान साम्राज्यवादी व वसाहतवादी विरोधी लढ्यातून तिसऱ्या देशातील लोकशाही शासन व्यवस्था व संविधान निर्माण झाले. तिसरा टप्पा १९७४ च्या पोर्तुगीज क्रांतीपासून सुरु झाला तो आजपर्यंत. पहिल्या दोन्ही टप्प्यांचा अंत लोकशाही यंत्रणेत बिघाड होण्यात झालेला आहे. हा शेवट १९२२ ते १९४२ व १९६९ ते १९७५ या काळात लोकशाही शासनव्यवस्था कोलमडण्यात झालेला दिसतो.

१९७० च्या मध्यावधीच्या तिसरा टप्पा दक्षिण युरोपमध्ये सुरु होतो. आणि दक्षिण अमेरिकेत १९७० च्या शेवटी व १९८० च्या अगोदर विस्तारतो, पुढे पूर्व आशिया, आग्नेय आशिया आणि दक्षिण आशियामध्ये १९८० च्या शेवटी पोहोचतो. दरम्यानच्या काळात पौरात्य युरोप आणि पूर्वीचा सोव्हिएत रशिया यामध्ये स्थित्यंतरे घडून आली. त्यानंतर हा तिसरा टप्पा १९९० च्या सुरुवातीला मध्य अमेरिका आणि आफ्रिकेत पोहोचला. १९४४ मध्ये ३९ देशांमध्ये असलेली लोकशाही हळूहळू १९८८ मध्ये ११७ देशांपर्यंत पोहोचली. या काळात एक तृतीयांशपेक्षाही अधिक वसाहती स्वतंत्र झाल्या आणि लोकशाही शासन व्यवस्थेचे प्रमाण २४ टक्क्यांहून थेट ६० टक्क्यांपर्यंत पोहोचले.

१९९० मध्ये आलेल्या जागतिकीकरणाच्या लाटेत आंतरराष्ट्रीय संबंध आणि व्यवस्थांमध्ये अमुलाग्र बदल झाला. हंटिंगटन म्हणतात अद्यापी विरोधी लाट दिसत नाही. पण लोकशाहीतील प्रासंगिक बिघाडामुळे ही तिसरा टप्पा निर्माण होण्याची पाच कारणे देतात.

अधिकारवादी राजवटीतील अधिमान्यतेचे पेचप्रसंग.

1. १९६० मधील विकासाचे उच्च प्रमाण
2. कॅथलिक चर्चच्या तत्त्व व व्यवहारातील बदल
3. अमेरिका व यूरोपीय महासंघाच्या धोरणांमधील बदल
4. काही कार्यवाहीचे परिणाम

ही प्रमुख कारणे आहेत. हंटिंगटन यांच्या मते जे देश लोकशाहीच्या स्थित्यंतरातून जात आहेत, त्यापैकी ९०% देश जागतिक दरडोई उत्पन्नाच्या मध्यावस्थेत आहेत. याशिवाय हंटिंगटन यांनी आधुनिकीकरणाच्या सिद्धांतातील नवीन मुल्ये, शिक्षण, व्यापाराचे उदारीकरण, मध्यमवर्गाचे विस्तारीकरण या बाबी आर्थिक विकास व लोकशाही परिणाम यांतील दुवा म्हटला जातो. या टप्प्यात विकसनशील देशा करिता अनेक आव्हाने निर्माण झाली आहेत. आणि एकंदरीत "राजकीय क्षय " होत आहे अशी भूमिका हंटिंगटन यांनी नोंदवली आहे. या सर्व टप्पे व भारतीय लोकशाहीचा विचार करता डॉ. आंबेडकराना अभिप्रेत असलेली लोकशाहीतील समता निर्माण होऊ शकली नाही म्हणून भारतीय लोकशाही या स्थित्यंतरात मागे पडलेली दिसते डॉ. आंबेडकरानी लोकशाही विकासाचा मूलमंत्र दिला असून भारतीय लोकशाही सक्षम केरल यात शंका नाही. म्हणून डॉ. आंबेडकरांचा लोकशाही विचार काय आहे ती चर्चा करणे आवश्यक आहे.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या मते लोकशाही म्हणजे काय ?

डॉ. आंबेडकरानी लोकशाहीचे महत्व सांगताना सामाजिक लोकशाहीवर भर दिला आहे. सामाजिक लोकशाही एक जीवन मार्ग आहे, जो स्वातंत्र्य, समता आणि बंधुता या त्रीसुत्रातून न्याय निर्माण होतो. या तत्वांना एकमेका पासून दूर ठेवता येत नाही याच्या संयोगातूनच करी लोकशाही निर्माण होते हा लोकशाहीचा पाया आहे. लोकशाहीचा मूळ उद्देशच समाजातील विषमता नाहीसी करून. समता निर्माण करणे आहे. समतेपासून स्वातंत्र्य वेगळे करता येत नाही. समतेशिवाय स्वातंत्र्य म्हणजे काही लोकांचे बहुसंख्य लोकांवर प्रभुत्व निर्माण करणे होय; स्वातंत्र्याशिवाय समता ही वैयक्तिक कर्तृत्वाला मारक ठरेल. बंधुत्वाशिवाय स्वातंत्र्य आणि समता स्वभाविकरीत्या अस्तित्वात राहणार नाहीत याची सांगड लोकशाही व्यवस्थेमध्ये घातली जाते. सामाजिक समतेच्या आधारावरच आर्थिक समता निर्माण होईल असा आंबेडकरांचा विश्वास होता. सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक जीवनात रक्ताचा एका हि थेंब न सांडता झालेला बदल म्हणजे लोकशाही अशी समतेवर आधारित परिभाषा केली आहे हि भारतीय परीपेक्ष्यातून केलीली आहे. सामाजिक, आर्थिक व राजकीय जीवनात होणारे बदल हे संविधानाच्या चौकटीत, संविधानात्मक प्रक्रिया व पध्दतीने व्हावी, असा त्यांचा आग्रह होता. परिणामी लोकशाही अधिक प्रगल्भ होईल असे त्यांचे ठाम मत होते.

आंबेडकरांच्या मते, राज्यशास्त्राच्या लेखकानी, तत्त्वज्ञानी आणि समाजशास्त्रज्ञ अशासारख्या पुष्कळशा लोकांनी लोकशाहीची व्याख्या केली आहे. माझ्या मुद्याचे स्पष्टीकरण व्हावे या उद्देशाने मी फक्त दोनच व्याख्यांचे आपणासमोर विवेचन करणार आहे आपणापैकी किती लोक वाल्टर बेजहॉट यानी ब्रिटिश संविधानावर लिहिलेल्या प्रसिद्ध ग्रंथाशी परिचित आहेत याची मला कल्पना नाही. परंतु तो ग्रंथ म्हणजे लोकशाहीचा सत्य आराखडा सांगण्याचा पहिलाच आधुनिक प्रयत्न आहे. वाल्टर बेजहॉट याचा उपरोक्त राथ जर आपण पाहिला असेल तर त्याने चर्चेतून चालणारे शासन' अशी लोकशाहीची व्याख्या केली जाते.

अब्राहम लिंकनचे दक्षिणेकडील राज्याच्या विजयानंतर गेटीसबर्ग येथे केलेल्या प्रसिद्ध भाषणात त्याने लोकशाहीची अशी व्याख्या केली आहे की, 'लोकांचे लोकांनी व लोकांच्यासाठी घालविलेले शासन म्हणजे

लोकशाही ठीक आहे लोकशाही म्हणजे काय याची लोकांना जाणीव करून देण्यासाठी दुसऱ्या पुष्कळशा व्याख्यांची यामध्ये भर घालता येईल मी स्वतः व्यक्तीगत लोकशाहीची एका वेगळ्या मार्गांनी व्याख्या करतो आणि मला असे वाटते की, ती पुष्कळशी सत्य आहे. लोकशाहीची माझी व्याख्या अशी आहे की, रक्तपाताशिवाय लोकांच्या आर्थिक आणि सामाजिक जीवनात क्रांतीकारी बदल घडवून आणणाऱ्या शासन व्यवस्थेच्या प्रकारास आणि पद्धतीस लोकशाही म्हणतात.

लोकशाही जर ती चालविणाऱ्या लोकांना, लोकांच्या सामाजिक व आर्थिक जीवनात मूलभूत बदल घडवून आणण्यासाठी सहाय्यभूत होत असेल आणि लोक हा बदल रक्तपाताचा आश्रय न घेता स्वीकारण्यास तयार असतील तर त्या ठिकाणी लोकशाही आहे असे मी मानतो. लोकशाहीची ही खरी कसोटी आहे. कदाचित ही कठोर कसोटी असेल परंतु ज्यावेळेस तुम्ही एखाद्या वस्तुच्या गुणवत्तेचे मूल्यांकन करता त्यावेळेस तुम्ही ती कठोर कसोटीस लावता. अशाप्रकारे कोणत्याही परिस्थितीत आजच्या माझ्या व्याख्यानाच्या संदर्भात मी लोकशाहीची व्याख्या प्रस्तावित करीत आहे. आणि मग अशी ही लोकशाही कशी यशस्वी होईल हाच माझ्या भाषणाचा मुख्य विषय आहे. दुर्दैवाने ज्यांनी लोकशाही बिधी लिहीले आहे त्यांनी या विषयावर कोणतीही आग्रही मते मांडलेली नाहीत या आग्रही मतावरून लोकशाही यशस्वी करण्याच्या पूर्ववर्ती शर्तीची त्यांच्या अभिप्रायाप्रमाणे एक निश्चित कल्पना आली असती. यासाठी एखाद्याला इतिहास वाचावा लागेल आणि इतिहासाच्या या वाचनाचा परिणाम म्हणून जगातील वेगवेगळ्या भागात ज्या ठिकाणी लोकशाही राबविली जात आहे.

१५ नोव्हेंबर १९४८ रोजी संविधानसभेत केलेल्या भाषणात राज्यघटनेची दोन ध्येय मांडली आहेत. १) राजकीय २) आर्थिक लोकशाही प्रस्थापित करणे. भारतातील जात, जातीयता, अस्पृश्यता, गुलामगिरी, निरक्षरता, अंधश्रद्धा इत्यादी अनिष्ट बंधनातून जनतेला मुक्त करणे लोकशाहीत अभिप्रेत आहे. असे आंबेडकरांचे मत होते. यासाठी हिसांचाराचा मार्ग अवलंबू नये. २५ नोव्हेंबर १९४९ घटना समिती कार्याचा समारोप करतांना डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हणाले की, आपल्याला सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक उद्दिष्टांच्या पुर्ततेसाठी आपण संविधानिक मार्गाचीच कास धरली पाहिजे. क्रांतीचा रक्तरंजीत मार्ग आपण दुर सारला पाहिजे. पाश्चात्य तत्वज्ञ व राजकीय विचारवंत जे.एस. मील यांच्या मताचे समर्थन करताना म्हणाले की, लोकांनी आपले स्वातंत्र्य कितीही मोठा माणूस असला तरी त्यांच्या चरणी अर्पण करू नये " कारण व्यक्तिपूजा (विभूतीपूजा) अधोगतीकडे नेते. राजकीय लोकशाहीचे सामाजिक लोकशाहीत रूपांतर झाले पाहिजे आणि सामाजिक लोकशाही स्वातंत्र्य, समता, बंधुभाव, इत्यादी मुल्यांवर आधारलेली असावी. स्वातंत्र्य व समतेत समतोल राखला गेला पाहिजे. नाहीतर स्वातंत्र्य समतेला गिळकृत करेल. कारण भारतातील जात, धर्म, अल्पसंख्याक इ. आधारावर समाजाचे विभाजन झालेले आहे. .

डॉ. आंबेडकर : लोकशाहीचा प्रकार व हेतू नेहमीच बदलत असतो

२२ डिसे. १९५२ रोजी पुणे येथे 'लोकशाही कशी यशस्वी होईल'? या भाषणात म्हणाले कि, विषयाला प्रत्यक्ष सुरूवात करण्याच्या अगोदर मी ज्याला विषयाची मांडणी म्हणतो त्याला पूरक असे काही प्राथमिक विचार मी आपणासमोर प्रथम सांगणार आहे. मला प्रस्तुत करावयाचा पहिला प्राथमिक विचार असा आहे की. लोकशाहीचे प्रकार नेहमीच बदलत आले आहेत. आपण लोकशाही संदर्भाने विचार मांडतो परंतु लोकशाही नेहमीच सारखी नसते. ग्रीक लोक अथेनिअन लोकशाही संबंधाने बोलले, परंतु प्रत्येकाला कल्पना आहे की अथेनिअन(अथेन्स) लोकशाही ही आधुनिक लोकशाहीपासून इतकी भिन्न आहे की जितके लोणी खडकापासून भिन्न असते. अथेनिअन लोकशाहीमध्ये अशा लोकांचा अंतर्भाव होता की ज्याच्यामध्ये ५० टक्के लोक गुलाम होते, फक्त ५० टक्केच लोक स्वतंत्र होते जे ५० टक्के लोक गुलाम होते

त्यांना शासनात कोणतीही जागा नव्हती. यामुळेच आपली लोकशाही अथेनिअन लोकशाहीपासून निश्चितच भिन्न आहे. डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हणतात एकाच देशामध्ये लोकशाही नेहमीच सारखी नसते आपण इंग्लंडचा इतिहास पाहू शकतो. कोणीही असे म्हणू शकत नाही की, सन १६८८ मधील इंग्लिश क्रांतीच्या अगोदरची ब्रिटीश लोकशाही, त्या क्रांतीनंतरच्या लोकशाही सारखीच होती तसेच, असे सुद्धा कोणी म्हणू शकत नाही की, पहिला सुधारणा कायदा पास झाला त्या काळातील म्हणजे सन १६८८ व १८३२ या दरम्यानच्या काळात अस्तित्वात असलेली लोकशाही लोकशाहीच्या यशस्वी कामकाजाच्या पूर्वावर्ती शर्ती असलेला लोकशाही कायदा पास (सन १८३२) झाल्यानंतर लोकशाहीचे स्वरूप सारखेच होते. कारण लोकशाहीचे स्वरूप सारखेच बदलत असतात.

लोकशाहीच्या स्वरुपा बरोबरच लोकशाहीच्या हेतुमध्ये देखील वेळो वेळी बदल होत जातो. प्राचीन ब्रिटीश मधील लोकशाही विचारात घेतले तर हा प्रश्न पडतो कि त्या लोकशाहीचा हेतू काय होता? राजाला पायबंद घालणे, तसेच आपण ज्याला कायद्याच्या भाषेत परमाधिकार म्हणतो त्या अधिकारांच्या अमलबजावणीपासून राजाला परावृत्त करणे हाच लोकशाहीचा हेतू होता. राजाची मजल त्यावेळी असे सांगण्यापर्यंत गेली होती की, "कायदा करणारी एक संस्था म्हणून जरी संसद अस्तित्वात असली तरी मी एक राजा म्हणून मला कायदा करण्याचा परमाधिकार आहे आणि माझाच कायदा सर्वश्रेष्ठ आहे" राजाच्या या स्वयंसत्ता पद्धतीमुळेच लोकशाही अस्तित्वात येऊ शकली. सध्या लोकशाहीचा हेतू काय आहे? राजाच्या स्वयंसत्ताकपद्धतीला अधिक प्रतिबंध करणे हा विद्यमान लोकशाहीचा हेतू नसून जनसामान्यांचे कल्याण करणे हाच लोकशाहीचा हेतू लक्षणीय बदल आहे. यामुळेच डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हणतात कि म्हणून माझ्या विषयाला मी जे शीर्षक दिले आहे ते "विद्यमान लोकशाहीच्या यशस्वी कामकाजाच्या पूर्वावर्ती शर्ती " हा शब्द प्रयोग मी जाणीवपूर्वक केला आहे.

डॉ. आंबेडकर : समाजामध्ये टोकाची विषमता असू नये

लोकशाहीच्या यशस्वी कामकाजाची पहिली अट म्हणजे समाजामध्ये असणारी भयंकर विषमता, पिळलेला, दडपलेला वर्ग असता कामा नये. ज्याला सर्व विशेषाधिकार आहेत व जो केवळ ओझ्याचा बैल आहे असे समाजामध्ये वर्ग असू नये. अशा समाज व्यवस्थेत व विषमतेत रक्तरंजित क्रांतीची बीजे रुजलेली असतात. डॉ. आंबेडकर लिंकनचा संदर्भ देऊन म्हणतात कि, भाषणात लिंकनने असे म्हटले होते की, "ढासळलेले घर उभे राहणे शक्य नाही याचा नेमका अर्थ लोकांना समजलेला नाही दक्षिणेकडील व उत्तरेकडील राज्यांच्या संघर्षाच्या संदर्भात खचितच त्याने हे उद्गार काढलेले आहेत. तो म्हणाला. तुम्ही दक्षिणेकडील राज्यातील उत्तरेच्या राज्यातील आम्ही जर विभागलेले असू तर परकीय आक्रमणाच्या वेळेस आपणास संघटितपणे उभे राहता येणार नाही ढासळलेले घर उभे राहू शकत नाही हे उद्गार त्याने ज्यावेळेस काढले त्यावेळेस त्याला अगोदर सांगितलेल्या अर्थानेच हे सांगावयाचे होते. डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हणतात कि त्याची संज्ञा किंवा त्याचे वाक्य यापेक्षा जास्त खोलवर अर्थगर्भित आहे आणि त्याचा अर्थ माझ्या रामजुतीप्रमाणे असा आहे की, वर्गावर्गात खोलवर रुजलेली फाटाफूट हा लोकशाहीच्या यशातील सर्वात मोठा अडथळा आहे. कारण लोकशाहीत नेमके काय घडते? लोकशाहीत दबलेले, पिळलेले आणि मानवी हक्कांपासून वंचित असलेले जे ओझ्याचे बैल आहेत अशा सर्वांना विशेषाधिकारी लोकांच्या सारखाच मतदानाचा अधिकार असतो. विशेषाधिकारी लोक ज्यांना विशेषाधिकार नसतात अशा लोकापेक्षा संख्येने कमी असतात. लोकशाहीत बहुसंख्याकांचा कायदा हाच निर्णायक मानला जातो. अल्पसंख्याक विशेषाधिकारी लोकांनी जर त्यांच्या खास हक्काचा स्वेच्छेने व राजीखुषीने त्याग केला नाही तर विशेषाधिकारी लोक व सर्वसामान्य जनता यांच्यात निर्माण होणाऱ्या दरीने लोकशाहीचा नाश होईल व

यातूनच काहीतरी फारच वेगळे निर्माण होईल. असे मत डॉ. आंबेडकर नोंदवतात. इतिहासातून असे दिसून येईल कि सामाजिक विषमता हे लोकशाहीच्या नाशाला कारणीभूत आहे यात शंका नाही.

डॉ. आंबेडकर : विरोधी पक्षाचे अस्तित्व

लोकशाहीच्या यशासाठी विरोधी पक्षाचे अस्तित्व असणे अत्यंत गरजेचे आहे. डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हणतात "पक्ष पद्धतीला दोष देणारे लोक मी केवळ याच देशामध्ये पाहिलेले नाहीत तर इंग्लंड सारख्या देशात देखील मी असे पुष्कळसे लोक पाहिले आहेत. इंग्लंडमधील पक्ष पद्धतीवर हॅन्सार्ड सोसायटीने प्रसिद्ध केलेले एक छोटेसे पुस्तक मी येथे येण्यापूर्वी नुकताच वाचत होतो. या पुस्तकात या पद्धती चांगली आहे काय व ती सहन करता येण्यासाठी आहे काय या प्रश्नाला एक संपूर्ण प्रकरण वाहिलेले आहे. या प्रश्नावर बरीच मतभिन्नता आहे. मला सध्या असे वाटते की, पक्ष पद्धतीच्या विरुद्ध असणारे सर्व आणि या संदर्भात जे विरोधी पक्षाच्या विरोधी आहेत अशा सर्वांना लोकशाही संकल्पना पूर्णपणे समजलेली नाही. मग लोकशाही म्हणजे तरी काय? मी लोकशाही व्याख्या करीत नाही तर, मी लोकशाहीच्या कार्यासंबंधी प्रश्न निर्माण करीत आहे. मला असे वाटते की, लोकशाही म्हणजे नकार आहे. आनुवंशिक अधिकार किंवा स्वयंसत्ताक अधिकार यांचा प्रतिशोधक म्हणजे लोकशाही ज्यांची देशावर सत्ता आहे त्यांच्या अधिकारावर कोठेतरी केव्हातरी नकाराधिकार वापरणे म्हणजे लोकशाही. स्वयंसत्ताक राज्यव्यवस्थेत नकाराधिकार नसतो राजाची एकवेळ नियुक्ती झाल्यानंतर आनुवंशिक किंवा देवी अधिकार म्हणूनच तो राज्य करतो. त्याला प्रत्येक पाच वर्षांनी जनतेसमोर जाऊन खालील प्रश्न विचारण्याची गरज पडत नाही,"

पुढे म्हणतात "मी गेल्या पाच वर्षांत चांगले काम केले आहे. असे आपणास वाटते काय ? आणि असे जर वाटत असेल तर तुम्ही माझी पुन्हा नियुक्ती कराल काय ? राजाच्या सत्तेला आव्हान करणारा नकाराधिकार कोणाहीजवळ नसतो. परंतु लोकशाहीत जे सत्तेवर असतात त्यांना प्रत्येक पाच वर्षांनी जनतेसमोर जाऊन जनतेला असे विचारावे लागते की, जनतेच्या मताप्रमाणे त्यांच्या हिताची काळजी घेण्यासाठी त्याचे संरक्षण करण्यासाठी व त्यांच्या नियत जीवनात बदल घडविण्यासाठी सत्ता व अधिकार संपादण्यास ते लायक आहेत काय ? यालाच मी नकाराधिकार म्हणतो सत्ताधान्यांनी पाच वर्षांच्या शेवटी जनतेपर्यंत जावे व मधल्या काळात सत्ताधान्यांना जाब विचारणारे कोणी नसावे या पंचवार्षिक नकाराधिकाराने लोकशाहीचे समाधान होत नाही. लोकसत्तेच्या पाच वर्षांच्या दीर्घकालीन नकाराधिकाराशीच केवळ शासनाची बांधिलकी नसते तर तात्काळ नकाराधिकाराची लोकशाहीला फार आवश्यकता असते जे शासनाला तेथेच आणि त्यानंतर तात्काळ आव्हान करू शकतील अशा लोकांची संसदेत फार आवश्यकता असते. लोकशाही म्हणजे राज्य करण्याचा कोणाचाही अखण्ड अधिकार नाही. राज्य करण्याचा हा अधिकार लोकांच्या मान्यतेशी संबंधित असतो व त्याला संसदेत आव्हान करता येते यामुळे विरोधी पक्ष ही संकल्पना किती महत्त्वाची आहे याची आपणास जाणीव होईल." सत्ताधान्यांनी त्यांच्या पक्षाला न मानणाऱ्या लोकांसाठी केलेल्या प्रत्येक कृतीचे समर्थन करणे यालाच विरोधी पक्ष म्हणतात.

दुर्दैवाने आपल्या देशातील सर्व वृत्तपत्रे, कोणत्यातरी एका कारणासाठी किंवा अन्य काही कारणासाठी माझ्या मताप्रमाणे जाहिरातीपासून उत्पन्न उपटण्याचे साधन आहे आहे. अशा वृत्तपत्रांनी शासनाला विरोधी पक्षापेक्षा जास्त प्रसिद्धी दिली कारण त्यांना विरोधी पक्षाकडून जाहिरातीचे उत्पन्न मिळत नाही. शासनाकडून त्यांना उत्पन्न मिळते आणि मग साहजिकच सत्ताधारी पक्षाच्या सदस्यांनी केलेल्या भाषणाच्या वृत्तांताने दैनिक भरले जातात व विरोधी पक्षाच्या सदस्यांच्या भाषणाचे वृत्तांत कोठेतरी शेवटच्या पानावर शेवटच्या स्तंभात दिले जातात. विरोधी पक्ष ही लोकशाहीची पूर्वावत अट आहे. परंतु आपणास कल्पना असेल की, इंग्लंडमध्ये विरोधी पक्षाला केवळ मान्यताच नाही तर विरोधी पक्षाच्या नेत्याला विरोधी पक्ष

चालविण्यासाठी शासनाकडून पगार दिला जातो त्याला सचिव असतो. त्याला लेखनिकांचा व कार्यवृद्ध देण्यात येतो. ज्या ठिकाणी बसून तो त्याचे काम करू शकेल अशी हाऊस ऑफ कॉमन्समध्ये त्याला एक खोली देण्यात येते. याच धर्तीवर कॅनडामध्ये विरोधी पक्षाच्या नेत्याला तेथील पंतप्रधानासारखा पगार मिळतो. कारण या दोन्ही देशातील लोकशाहीची अशी धारणा आहे की शासन जर चुकीच्या मार्गाने जात असेल तर ते दाखविण्यासाठी कोणाची तरी निश्चितच आवश्यकता असते आणि हे काम तात्काळ व सातत्याने करावे लागते. म्हणूनच विरोधी पक्ष नेत्यावर निधी खर्च करण्यास त्यांना काही वाटत नाही. आणि विरोधी पक्षाची भूमिका निश्चितच महत्त्वाची असते. लोकशाहीत सत्ताधारी पक्षा इतका निरपेक्ष विरोधी पक्ष महत्त्वाचा आहे.

डॉ. आंबेडकर : कायद्यासमोर सर्वांना सारखी समानता

डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या मते लोकशाहीच्या यशस्वीतेसाठी तिसरी अट म्हणजे कायद्यासमोर सर्वांना सारखी समानता असावी. प्रशासनात समानतेची वागणूक ही बाब फार महत्त्वाची आहे. सत्ताधारी पक्षाने त्या पक्षाच्या सदस्यांच्या फायद्यासाठी प्रशासन राबवल्याची प्रकरणे आपणापैकी पुष्कळशा लोकांना माहित आहेत. अशा प्रकारची उदाहरणे मला स्वतः ला वस्तुतः खूप आठवतात आपण अशी कल्पना करा की परवाना घेतल्याशिवाय कोणालाही एखाद्या विशिष्ट पदार्थाचा व्यापार करता येणार नाही असा कायदा आहे. या पद्धतीच्या कायद्याबाबत वादविवाद होऊ शकत नाही. कारण तो सार्वत्रिक आहे. या एका विशिष्ट कायद्यामध्ये भेदाभेद होऊ शकत नाही. येथे परवानगीसाठी कोणाचाही भेदभाव करता येणार नाही. जर समानता नसेल तर सर्वत्र अन्याय, अत्याचार अनागोंदी माजेल जी लोकशाहीसाठी योग्य बाब नसेल.

डॉ. आंबेडकर : सांविधानिक नैतिकता

सांविधानिक नैतिकता लोकशाहीसाठी आवश्यक अट आहे. डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या म्हणतात "आपल्या संविधानाबद्दल पुष्कळसे लोक अतिउत्साही दिसतात. खरोखरच या गोष्टीची मला भीती वाटते. परंतु मी तसा नाही. ज्यांना भारतीय संविधान नष्ट करून त्याचा नवीन मसुदा करावासा वाटतो अशा लोकांमध्ये सामील होण्यास माझी खरोखरच तयारी आहे. परंतु आपण हे विसरतो की आपले संविधान म्हणजे दुसरेतिसरे काही नसून वैध तरतुदींचा समावेश असलेला तो केवळ सांगाडा आहे. या सांगाड्याचे मास, आपण ज्याला सांविधानिक नैतिकता म्हणतो त्यामध्ये आढळते. यालाच इंग्लंडमध्ये संविधानाचे संकेत असे म्हणतात. आणि लोकांनी या खेळाच्या नियमांचे पालन केलेच पाहिजे. या संदर्भात या क्षणाला मला आठवणारी एक दोन उदाहरणे मी आपणास सांगणार आहे. आपणास हे आठवतच असेल की ज्यावेळी अमेरिकेतील १३ वसाहतींनी बंड पुकारले त्यावेळी वॉशिंग्टन त्यांचा नेता होता. त्यावेळच्या अमेरिकन जीवनात केवळ नेता म्हणून वॉशिंग्टनचा उल्लेख करणे म्हणजे त्याच्या दर्जाचे खरोखरच अवमूल्यन करण्यासारखे होय. कारण अमेरिकन लोकांसाठी वॉशिंग्टन हा प्रत्यक्ष परमेश्वरच होता. तुम्ही जर त्याचा जीवन इतिहास वाचला तर तुम्हाला असे आढळून येईल की तेथील संविधान तयार झाल्यानंतर त्याला अमेरिकेचा पहिला राष्ट्रपती म्हणून निवडण्यात आले. त्याची मुदत संपल्यानंतर काय घडले? दुसऱ्यावेळी निवडणूक लढविण्यास त्याने नकार दिला. माझ्या मनामध्ये याबद्दल तिळमात्र शंका नाही की वॉशिंग्टन जर लागोपाठ दहावेळा राष्ट्रपती पदासाठी उभा राहिला. असता तर तो प्रतिस्पर्धीशिवाय बिनविरोध निवडला गेला असता. परंतु दुसऱ्या वेळी तो खाली उतरला. ज्यावेळेस त्याला " असे का म्हणून विचारण्यात आले त्यावेळी त्याने असे सांगितले की, " माझ्या मित्रांनो, ज्या हेतूने आपण आपले संविधान तयार केले त्याचा तुम्हाला विसर पडलेला दिसतो. आपणाला आनुवंशिक राज्यसत्ता नको आहे. तसेच आपणाला आनुवंशिक राजा किंवा हुकूमशहा नको आहे. यासाठी आपण हे संविधान तयार केले आहे.

इंग्लिश राजाच्या राज्यनिष्ठेचा त्याग व अट्टे करून जर तुम्ही या देशात आला असाल आणि वर्षानुवर्षे व सातत्याने तुम्ही माझी पूजा करू लागलात तर तुमच्या तत्त्वप्रणालीचे काय होणार? इंग्लिश राजाच्या ठिकाणी जर तुम्ही मला बसवले तर इंग्लिश राजाच्या अधिकाराविरुद्ध तुम्ही न्याय्य बंड पुकारले असे तुम्हाला म्हणता येईल काय? जरी माझ्यावरील तुमची निष्ठा व श्रद्धा मी दुसऱ्यांदा उभे राहावे याचा पुरस्कार करण्यासाठी तुम्हाला भाग पाडत असेल, तरी सुद्धा माझ्या सारख्याने, म्हणजे ज्याने आनुवंशिक अधिकार आपणाकडे नसावेत या तत्त्वाची प्रतिज्ञा केली, त्याने तुमच्या भावनांना बळी पडणे निश्चितच चांगले नाही. शेवटी फक्त दुसऱ्यांदाच त्याला निवडणुकीस उभे करण्यामध्ये येथील लोकांना यश मिळाले आणि तो उभा देखील राहिला परंतु त्याला तिसऱ्यांदा उभे करण्यासाठी ज्यावेळेस लोक त्याच्याकडे गेले त्यावेळेस मात्र त्याने लोकांना झिडकारले." तसेच डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी ८ वा विंडसोर एडवर्डचे उदाहरण दिले आहे.

डॉ. आंबेडकर दुसरे उदाहरण प्रा. लास्की यांचे देतात त्यावरून सांविधानिक नैतिकता बोध होतो. प्रा. लास्की, लेबर पार्टीने असा काही पवित्रा घ्यावा याविरुद्ध हेरॉल्ड' मध्ये लेखमाला लिहित होते. ते म्हणत होते, " आपल्या संकेताप्रमाणे राजाने पंतप्रधानांचा सल्ला स्वीकारलाच पाहिजे. ही बाब आपण नेहमी मान्य केली आहे आणि जर राजाने पंतप्रधानांचा सल्ला मानला नाही तर पंतप्रधानांनी त्याला काढून टाकले पाहिजे. हा आपला संकेत असल्यामुळे राजाचा अधिकार वाढेल अशा या प्रश्नावर बाल्डविनचा पराभव करणे ही गोष्ट आपल्या दृष्टीने चूकीची आहे. " लेबर पार्टीने त्यांचा हा सल्ला मानला आणि त्याप्रकारचे त्यांनी काही केले नाही. ते म्हणाले. " त्यांनी खेळाचे नियम पाळले पाहिजेत. " तुम्ही जर इंग्लंडचा इतिहास वाचलात तर तुम्हाला अशाप्रकारची अनेक उदाहरणे सापडतील की सत्तेवर असणाऱ्या किंवा विरोधात असणाऱ्या विरोधकांना तात्पुरती सत्ता प्राप्त होईल अशा मुद्यावर पकडून इजा करण्याचे अनेक मोह पक्ष प्रमुखांच्या समोर होते. परंतु अशा मोहास बळी पडण्यास त्यांनी नकार दिला. कारण अशा गोष्टीमुळे त्यांच्या संविधानास व लोकशाहीस नुकसान पोहचेल याची त्यांना जाणीव होती. त्यामुळे कोणत्याही देशातील लोकशाही हि तेथील सांविधानिक नैतिकतेवर अवलंबून असेल.

डॉ. आंबेडकर : बहुमतवाल्यांनी अल्पमतवाल्यांवर जुलूम करता कामा नये.

लोकशाहीच्या नावावर बहुमतवाल्यांनी अल्पमतवाल्यांवर जुलूम करता कामा नये. बहुमतवाले जरी सत्तेवर असले तरी अल्पमतवाल्यांना स्वतःबद्दल सुरक्षितता वाटली पाहिजे. अल्पमतवाल्यांची मुस्कटदाबी केली जाते किंवा त्यांना डावपेचाने मार दिला जातोय अशी अल्पमतवाल्यांची भावना होता कामा नये. या गोष्टीचा हाऊस ऑफ कॉमन्समध्ये फारच मान राखला जातो. सन १९३१ साली ज्यावेळेस रॅम्से मॅक्डोनाल्ड यांनी लेबर पार्टीचा राजीनामा दिला व राष्ट्रीय सरकार स्थापन केले त्यावेळच्या इंग्लंडमधील सार्वत्रिक निवडणुकांचे निकाल अनेक लोकांना माहित असतील. ज्यावेळेस निवडणुका होणार होत्या त्यावेळेस लेबर पार्टीचे १५० च्या आसपास सदस्य होते. परंतु निवडणुकानंतर लेबर पार्टीला फक्त ५० जागा मिळाल्या व पंतप्रधान बाल्डविन यांच्या पक्षाला ६५० जागा मिळाल्या. डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हणतात, मी त्यावेळेस इंग्लंडमध्ये होतो. कॉन्झरव्हेटिव्ह पक्षाच्या या बेफाट बहुमताखाली काम करणाऱ्या लेबर पार्टीच्या अल्पमतात असलेल्या ५० सदस्यांनी त्याचा भाषण स्वातंत्र्याचा विरोध करण्याचा आणि कोणत्याही प्रकारचा प्रस्ताव मांडण्याचा अधिकार नाकारला जातोय अशाप्रकारची तक्रार केल्याची एखादीसुद्धा घटना माझ्या ऐकिवात नाही. त्याची आपणास देखील कल्पना असेलच आपण आपल्या संसदेचे उदाहरण घ्या. आपले विरोधी पक्ष सदस्य सातत्याने जे निदाव्यंजक प्रस्ताव व स्थगन प्रस्ताव आणतात त्याचे मी काही समर्थन करीत नाही. संसदेत अशाप्रकारे नेहमी स्थगन प्रस्ताव मांडून काम करणे ही बाब काही सुखकारक नाही. खरे म्हणजे, ही गोष्ट आपल्या निदर्शनास आली असेलच की इंग्लंड सारख्या देशात

संसदेत निंदाव्यंजक किंवा स्थगन प्रस्ताव चर्चेसाठी क्वचितच स्वीकारले जातात. या गोष्टीचे मला खरोखरच आश्चर्य वाटले. इंग्लिश संसदीय चर्चा वृत्तांच्या माझ्या वाचनात सभापतींनी स्थगन प्रस्ताव अस्वीकृत केल्याचे मला क्वचितच आढळले आहे. मात्र अर्थातच तो शासनाचा आदेश असावा लागेल. मी ज्यावेळेस मुंबई विधान सभेचा सभासद होतो. त्यावेळी श्रीयुत मोरारजी. श्रीयुत मुन्शी आणि श्रीयुत खेर व इतर काही आमची मित्रमंडळी सत्तेवर होती. त्यांनी त्यावेळी चर्चेसाठी एकसुद्धा स्थगन प्रस्ताव स्वीकृत केला नव्हता. त्यावेळी आमचे मित्र श्री. मावळणकर सभापती होते. त्यांनी एक तर असे स्थगन प्रस्ताव नियमबाह्य ठरवून सत्ताध्यांना मदत केली किंवा त्यांनीच मान्य केल्याप्रमाणे, मंत्रीमहोदयांचा विरोध आहे असे सांगितले. अशा प्रस्तावांना मंत्रीमहोदयांनी विरोध केला म्हणजे काय होते याची आपणास कल्पना आहेच. ज्यावेळी मंत्रीमहोदय विरोध करतात त्यावेळी ज्या सदस्याने स्थगन प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत केला असेल त्या सदस्याला ३० किंवा ४० सदस्यांचा पाठिंबा असल्याचे दाखवावे लागते किंवा जी काही संख्या ठरलेली असेल ती. ज्या अल्पमतवाल्या लहान पक्षाचे सभागृहातील प्रतिनिधीत्व फक्त ४, ५ किंवा ६ सदस्याइतकेच मर्यादित असेल अशा अल्पमतवाल्या पक्षाने मांडलेल्या स्थगन प्रस्तावास सत्ताधारी पक्षाने जर नेहमीच विरोध केला तर अल्पमतात असलेल्या सदस्यांना त्यांची गन्हाणी मांडण्यास संधी मिळणार नाही. याचा परिणाम असा होतो की, अल्पमतातील लोकांमध्ये बेकायदेशीर क्रांतिची वृत्ती बळावते. यासाठी हे आवश्यक आहे की, लोकशाहीप्रमाणे ज्यावेळेस कामकाज चाललेले असते आणि ज्या बहुमतातील लोकांवर ती अवलंबून असते त्यावेळेस बहुमतातील लोकांनी जुलमी पद्धतीने वागता कामा नये.

डॉ. आंबेडकर पुढे म्हणतात कि, "मी आणखी एका मुद्याचा उल्लेख करून माझे भाषण संपविणार आहे. माझ्या मताप्रमाणे समाजातील नैतिक अधिष्ठान कार्यशील ठेवणे लोकशाहीला अत्यावश्यक असते. दुर्दैवाने आपल्या राज्यशास्त्रज्ञांनी लोकशाहीच्या या पैलूचा विचारच केला नाही. नीतिशास्त्र हे राजकारणापासून काहीतरी वेगळे आहे. आपण राजकारण शिकू शकतो आणि आपण नीतिशास्त्रासंबंधी काहीही जाणत नसलो तरी चालेल कारण राजकारण जणू काही नीतिशास्त्राशिवाय काम करू शकते" माझ्या मताप्रमाणे हे एक थक्क करून सोडणारे विधान आहे. शेवटी लोकशाहीत नेमके काय घडते ? 'मुक्त शासन' असे लोकशाही संबंधाने बोलले जाते आणि 'मुक्त शासन' म्हणजे आपण काय समजतो ? मुक्त शासन म्हणजे समाज जीवनाच्या भव्य दृष्टिकोनातून लोकांना कायद्याच्या हस्तक्षेपाशिवाय प्रगतीसाठी मोकळे सोडणे होय किंवा जर कायदाच करावयाचा असेल तर कायदा करणाऱ्याला अशी खात्री पाहिजे की, कायदा यशस्वी होण्यासाठी समाजामध्ये पुरेसे नैतिक अधिष्ठान आहे. लोकशाहीच्या या पैलूचा ज्याने उल्लेख केला आहे असा माझ्या मताप्रमाणे लास्की हाच एक माणूस आहे. त्याच्या एका पुस्तकात त्याने असे अत्यंत ठामपणे सांगितले आहे की 'लोकशाहीत, नैतिक सुस्थिती नेहमीच ग्राह्य मानावी लागते. ' जर नैतिक सुस्थिती नसेल तर लोकशाहीचे आज आपल्या देशात ज्याप्रमाणे होताहेत त्याप्रमाणे तुकडे तुकडे होतील."

डॉ. आंबेडकर : लोकशाहीला 'लोकनिष्ठेची फार आवश्यकता असते

लोकशाहीला 'लोकनिष्ठेची फार आवश्यकता असते. सर्वच देशामध्ये अन्याय असतो याबद्दल शंका नाही. परंतु त्याची तीव्रता सर्व ठिकाणी सारखीच नसते. काही देशामध्ये अन्यायाची तीव्रता फारच कमी असते आणि दुसऱ्या काही ठिकाणी लोक अक्षरशः अन्यायाच्या ओझ्याखाली लोक चिरडले आहेत. या संदर्भात एखाद्याला इंग्लंडमधील ज्यूंचे उदाहरण देता येईल. ख्रिश्चनांनी जे अन्याय केले त्यामध्ये ज्यू लोकांना त्यांच्यापासून सर्वात जास्त अन्याय सहन करावा लागला. जे घडले ते मात्र असे की, हा अन्याय दूर करण्यासाठी केवळ ज्यू लोकांनाच संघर्ष करावा लागला. या अन्यायाचे कारणसुद्धा असामान्य होते. आणि ते कारण असे होते की जुन्या ख्रिश्चन कायद्याप्रमाणे मुलांना वडिलांच्या संपत्तीचा वारसा हक्क मिळत नसे.

त्याला दुसरे तिसरे काही कारण नसून केवळ ते ख्रिश्चन नव्हते व ज्यू होते हे त्याचे कारण. तेथील राजा राज्यांचा अवशिष्ट मृत्यूपत्राने झालेला वारस होत असल्यामुळे दिवंगत ज्यूची संपत्ती तो स्वीकारीत असे. राजाला या गोष्टी अर्थातच प्रिय होत्या. राजा आनंदी होता. ज्यावेळेस दिवंगत ज्यूची मुले वडिलाच्या संपत्तीचा वाटा मिळावा म्हणून निवेदन घेऊन राजाकडे जात असत त्यावेळेस राजा त्यांना थोडीशी संपत्ती देत असे व राहिलेली बहुतेक स्वतःकडे ठेवित असे. परंतु मी आपणाला अगोदर सांगितल्याप्रमाणे कोणत्याही इंग्रज माणसाने ज्यूंना मदत केली नाही. अशा परिस्थितीत ज्यूंनी त्याचा संघर्ष चालू ठेवला. ज्याला 'लोकनिष्ठा' म्हणतात त्याच्या अभावाचा हा परिणाम आहे. लोकनिष्ठा म्हणजे सर्व अन्यायाच्या विरोधात आंदोलनासाठी उभी राहाणारी कर्तव्यनिष्ठा आहे. कोणावर अन्याय होतोय ही गोष्ट गौण आहे. याचाच अर्थ असा आहे की, प्रत्येकाने मग तो त्या विशिष्ट अन्यायाखाली भरडलेला असो अगर नसो अन्यायाखाली भरडल्या जाणाऱ्या माणसाच्या मुक्तीसाठी मदत करण्याची तयारी केली पाहिजे. विद्यमान काळातील उदाहरण म्हणून साऊथ आफ्रिकेचा आपण विचार करावा तेथे अन्यायाखाली भरडली जाणारी जनता अर्थातच भारतीय आहे खरे आहे ना ? तेथील गोऱ्या लोकांवर अन्याय होत नाही परंतु असे असूनदेखील एक गोरा माणूस म्हणजे रेव्हंड स्कॉट हा अन्याय दूर करण्यासाठी प्रयत्नांची पराकाष्ठा करीत आहे. नुकतेच मी असे वाचत होतो की तेथील गोऱ्या वंशातील तरुण मुले मुली साऊथ आफ्रिकेतील भारतीय लोकांच्या मुक्ती आंदोलनात सहभागी होत आहेत. यालाच लोकनिष्ठा म्हणतात आपणाला धक्का बसावा यासाठी मी हे सांगत नाही परंतु काही वेळा मला असे वाटते की, आपण खरोखरच फार विसराळू आहोत. आपण साऊथ आफ्रिकेतील अन्यायासंबंधी बोलत आहोत मी स्वतःशीच काही वेळेला या गोष्टीचे आश्चर्य करतो की, विलीनीकरण व अन्य गोष्टीच्या विरोधात बोलणाऱ्या आपणासारख्या लोकांकडे प्रत्येक खेड्यात साऊथ आफ्रिका नाही काय ? आपल्या प्रत्येक खेड्यात साऊथ आफ्रिका आहे. आणि असे असून देखील एखादा सवर्ण जातीतील माणूस वर्गीकृत वर्गाची समस्या घेऊन लढताना मला क्वचितच दिसतो. येथे असे का घडते ? कारण येथे लोकनिष्ठा नाही. मी आणि बहुमतवाल्यांचा माझा देश याच एका विश्वांमध्ये मी गुरफटलेला आहे. जर अशा पद्धतीच्या गोष्टी घडल्या तर अन्यायाखाली चिरडल्या जाणाऱ्या अल्पसंख्याकांना अन्यायाचे निवारण करण्याच्या हेतूसाठी इतरा पासून मदत मिळणार नाही. यामुळे लोकशाही धोक्यात येईल

डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हणतात ब्रिटिश निघून गेले आहेत लोकशाहीला पोषक असे संविधान मिळालेले आहे आणि अर्थातच आपणास यापेक्षा जास्त काय हवे आहे ? यापेक्षा जास्त काही न करता आपला कार्यभाग संपलेला आहे असे समजून आपण आता विश्रांती घेतली पाहिजे, संविधान तयार झालेले असल्यामुळे आपला कार्यभाग संपलेला आहे अशा प्रकारच्या शिष्टपणाच्या भावनेविरुद्ध मला आपणास ताकीद देणे भाग आहे. कर्तव्य संपलेले नाही, त्याला आता कुठे सुरूवात झाली आहे. तुम्हाला याचे स्मरण ठेवावे लागेल की, लोकशाहीचे रोपटे सर्वच ठिकाणी वाढत नाही. ते अमेरिकेत वाढले. ते इंग्लंडमध्ये वाढले काही प्रमाणात ते फ्रान्समध्ये वाढले, खरोखरच इतर ठिकाणी काय घडले हे पाहाण्यासाठी या उदाहरणातून आपणास काही प्रमाणात धैर्य प्राप्त होईल तसेच आपणापैकी काही लोकांना हे स्मरण असेल की. पहिल्या महायुद्धाचा परिणाम म्हणून आणि ऑस्ट्रिया-हंगेरिया साम्राज्याचे विभाजन म्हणून विल्सनने स्वयंनिर्णयाच्या आधारावर ऑस्ट्रियापासून स्वतंत्र असे वेगवेगळे छोटे देश निर्माण केले. त्याची सुरुवात लोकशाही संविधानाने व लोकशाही शासनाने झाली आणि त्यांच्या संविधानात मूलभूत अधिकारांचा समावेश देखील होता. हे मूलभूत अधिकार व्हर्सायच्या शांतता तहाने त्याच्यावर बंधनकारक केले होते. माझ्या मित्रानो त्या लोकशाहीचे काय झाले हे आपणास ठाऊक आहे काय ? लोकशाहीचा अंश तरी त्या ठिकाणी पाहावयास मिळतो काय ? त्या सर्व संपलेल्या आहेत. त्या सर्व नष्ट झालेल्या आहेत. काही दुसरी विद्यमान उदाहरणे

विचारात घ्या. सिरियामध्ये लोकशाही शासन होते. फारच थोड्या वर्षांनंतर तेथे लष्कराची क्रांती झाली सिरियाचा प्रमुख कमांडर येथील राजा झाला व लोकशाही लोप पावली दुसरे उदाहरण घ्या. इजिप्तमध्ये काय घडले ? तेथे सुद्धा सन १९२२ पासून सतत ३० वर्षे लोकशाही शासन व्यवस्था होती. परंतु एकाच रात्रीत फरुकला राज्यसत्ता सोडावी लागली व नजीब इजिप्तचा हुकूमशहा झाला त्याने लगेच तेथील संविधान नष्ट केले. ही सर्व उदाहरणे आपल्या डोळ्यांसमोर आहेत आणि म्हणून मला असे वाटते की, आपल्या भवितव्यासंबंधी आपण फारच सावध आणि फारच समजुतदार राहिले पाहिजे. आपली लोकशाही सुरक्षित ठेवण्यासाठी आपल्या मार्गातील काही दगडधोंडे व शिळा दूर करण्याच्या कामी आपण काही ठाम कार्यक्रम घेणार आहोत किंवा नाही याचा आपणास गंभीरपणे विचार करावा लागेल. मी आपणासमोर मांडलेल्या काही विचारामुळे आपणामध्ये जर काही जागृती निर्माण झाली असेल व या समस्यांबाबत आपण गाफील राहून चालणार नाही असे आपणास वाटत असेल तर माझे कर्तव्य मी पार पाडले आहे असे मला वाटते. अशी भूमिका आंबेडकरांनी मांडली आहे.

डॉ. आंबेडकर : लोकशाहीचे प्रामुख दोन शत्रु

३ एप्रिल १९५५ रोजी मुंबई येथे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर भाषणात म्हणाले, लोकशाहीचे प्रामुख्याने दोन शत्रु आहेत १) हुकूमशाही आणि २) माणसा-माणसात भेद मानणारी नीती किंवा संस्कृती. अमेरिकन स्वातंत्र्यासंबंधी म्हणाले की, हुकूमशाहीमुळे निर्माण झालेली शक्ती किंवा सामाजिक संघटना कायम टिकू शकत नाही. कारण हुकूमशाहीची प्रेरणा ही मुळातच अबाधित स्वरूपाची नाही. ती प्रेरणा काढून घेतली की, ती संघटना गडगडते आणि म्हणूनच कम्युनिझमची राजवट ही अबाधित नाही. त्याप्रमाणे माणसा-माणसात भेद करणारी नीती, सामाजिक, आर्थिक भेद बुद्धीभेद करणारी संस्कृती ह्या दोन्हीही लोकशाही स्वरूपाला घातक आहेत.

सारांश :

जगभरातील आजतागायत लोकशाहीतील स्थित्यंतरे विचारात घेता विकसित देशातील लोकशाहीचा दिवसेंदिवस विकास होत गेला आहे परंतु विकसनशील देशातील लोकशाही फार काळ तग धरू शकल्या नाहीत. वाढत्या आर्थिक व व्यापारी स्पर्धेत येथील सामाजिक, धार्मिक, राजकीय, सांस्कृतिक वातावरण लोकशाही मुल्यांप्रती फारसे पोषक राहिले नाही आणि अनेक देशात लोकशाही टिकू शकली नाही व तेथे इतर शासन प्रकार रूढ झाले भारत मात्र यास अपवाद आहे आज तागायत पर्यंत येथे लोकशाही टिकली कारण येथील संविधानिक संस्थानी लोकशाहीला पाठबळ दिले आहे. परंतु मागील काही दशकापासून संविधानिक मूल्य आणि समाज व्यवस्था या मध्ये विसंगती होती व ती आज मोठ्या प्रमाणात वाढताना दिसते. कोणत्याही देशात संविधानिक मूल्य जेवढे प्रगल्भ होतील तेवढी लोकशाही प्रगल्भ होईल परंतु भारतात सध्या सुरु असलेले विभाजनवादी राजकारण, जात, धर्म, संप्रदाय, प्रदेश आदि संकुचित अस्मिताचे संघर्ष लोकशाही खीळ खीळी करणारी आहेत. लोकशाहीतील स्थित्यंतरे विचारात घेता डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी दिलेला लोकशाहीचा मूलमंत्र हाच भारतातील लोकशाही वाचवू शकेल म्हणून डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या लोकशाही विचाराची आवश्यकता काळाची गरज बनली आहे.

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डॉ.सुरेखा रोंगटे

अर्थशास्त्र विभाग प्रमुख, फर्ग्युसन महाविद्यालय पुणे

भारतरत्न डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी आपल्या कोट्यावधी अनुयायांच्या उन्नतीसाठी आर्थिक स्वातंत्र्याचे महत्त्व सांगणारी पायाभरणी केली आहे. त्यांच्या अनेक भाषणांतून भारताच्या तळागाळातील वर्गाचे प्रश्न व त्यावरील उपायांच्या अंमलबजावणीचा विचार व्यक्त होतांना दिसून येतो . बाबासाहेब कष्टकऱ्यांचे, कामगारांचे ,मोलमजुरी करणाऱ्या समाजाचे नेते होते. तसेच भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्थेचा इतर देशांशी होणाऱ्या तुलनेतील मूलभूत फरक त्यांनी दाखवून दिला आहे . आर्थिक उन्नतीसाठी सर्वात आवश्यक बाब म्हणजे समान संधी होय. व ती सर्वांना मिळाली पाहिजे या विषयी ते सतत आग्रही होते. त्यांनी अर्थव्यवस्था,समाजव्यवस्था इ . चा सर्वांगीन विकास म्हणजेच संतुलीत आर्थिक विकासाची मांडणी केली होती. त्यांनी प्रथमिक क्षेत्र म्हणून कृषी विषयक महत्वाचे आर्थिक विचारही तितक्याच महत्त्वपूर्ण बाजूने मांडले आहेत .

भारतीय शेती :

शेतकरी आर्थिक समृद्ध झाला तर शेतमजूर आणि शेतीशी निगडीत सर्वच घटकाला या आर्थिक सक्षमतेचा फायदा होईल . हे बदल सामाजिक परिवर्तनाला पोषक ठरतील . डॉ. बाबासाहेब यांनी मांडलेल्या संकल्पनातून कमाल जमीनधारण कायदा,सावकारी व खोती पद्धतींना प्रतीबंध,सामूहिक शेती प्रणालीवर आधारित शेती महामंडळ जलव्यवस्थापण इ योजना व कायदे यात बाबासाहेबांच्या विचारांचा प्रभाव दिसून येतो.

१९१८ मध्ये आंबेडकरांनी लहान धारण क्षेत्र व त्यावरील उपाय यावर लिखाण केले. त्यांनी शेतीविषयक अनेक प्रश्न व उपाय याविषयी चर्चा केलेली दिसून येते. त्यांनी शेतीचे एकूण चार प्रश्न सांगितले आहेत- १. काय पिकवावे?, २. शेतीसाठी लागणाऱ्या साधनांचे उत्पादन कसे करावे?,३. साधारण क्षेत्र किती असावे?, ४. शेतीच्या गटाचे क्षेत्र किती असावे? याबरोबरच त्यांनी वाढत्या लोकसंख्येबरोबर जमिनीचे होणारे तुकडीकरण व इतर समस्या आणि त्यावरील उपायदेखील सुचविले आहेत. त्या उपायांमध्ये पुढील काही बाबी मांडल्या आहेत .

शेतीचा आर्थिक उपक्रम म्हणून वापर केल्यास ते मोठे धारण क्षेत्र आहेत की लहान हा विचार महत्वाचा नसून किंवा मोठे धारणक्षेत्र किफायतशीर व लहानधारण क्षेत्र अकिफायतशीर हा युक्तीवाद चुकीचा असल्याचे सांगितले आहे. कार्यक्षम मशागत करण्यासाठी आवश्यक असलेली इतर सामग्री आणि धारणक्षेत्र यांचा योग्य मेळ घातल्यास किफायतशीर धारणक्षेत्र मिळू शकते. उत्पादन काढताना भारताची लहानधारण क्षेत्र ही समस्या नसून शेतात वापरल्या जाणाऱ्या घटकांचा विशेषतः भांडवल व इतर साधन-सामग्रीचा तुटवडा ही खरी समस्या असल्याचे स्पष्ट केले आहे. तसेच भांडवल कमतरतेचे कारण स्पष्ट करताना ते सांगतात, उत्पादन अधिक न झाल्याने बचत कमी होते परिणामी गुंतवणूक कमी होऊन भांडवल तुटवडा निर्माण होतो

भांडवल गुंतवणूक :

डॉक्टर आंबेडकरांनी व्यवसायाच्या दृष्टीने शेतीला प्रमुख महत्त्व दिले आहे. शेती विकासासाठी वित्तीय गरज फार महत्वाची असल्याने शासनाने वित्तीय बँक अंतर्गत शेतकऱ्यांना कृषी कर्जाची हमी देणे, कारण

राष्ट्राच्या संपत्तीत वाढ करण्यासाठी शेतीचा विकास झाला पाहिजे. व त्यासाठी शेतकऱ्यांना आर्थिक पाठबळाची व भांडवल गुंतवणुकीसाठी कर्जाची फार मोठी गरज असते. ग्रामीण भागाच्या विकासासाठी शेतीचा विकास जसा महत्वाचा आहे. तशाच प्रकारे शेतीवर आधारित उद्योगांचा विकासही महत्वाचा आहे. वास्तविक शेतमालक आणि जमीनदार यांची परिस्थिती सुधारली आहे. शेतमजूर मात्र गरीबच राहिले आहेत. डॉक्टर आंबेडकर म्हणतात "जोपर्यंत जमीन कसणाऱ्या व घाम गाळणाऱ्या शेतमजुरांच्या मालकीच्या जमिनी होत नाहीत, तोपर्यंत शेतीची प्रगती होणे अवघड आहे.

जमीन धारण क्षेत्र-

डॉक्टर आंबेडकरांचे असेही मत होते की, भारतीय शेतीचे प्रश्न सोडवण्यासाठी औद्योगिकीकरण हा एक प्रभावी उपाय आहे. जमिनीपासून मिळणाऱ्या उत्पादनावर जमीन महसूल आकारणी हा अन्याय आहे. काही विशिष्ट रकमेपेक्षा कमी उत्पन्न असणाऱ्या लोकांना महसूल माफी असावी असे विचार मांडले. शेती हा त्याचा प्रमुख आधार असल्याने उत्पादन वाढीसाठी यंत्रसामग्री वापरणे गरजेचे आहे. त्याचबरोबर विस्तृत शेती, सहकार शेती आणि सामुदायिक शेती करण्याच्या विचारांवर त्यांनी भर दिला. पडीक जमीन लागवडीखाली आणल्याने भूमिहीनांचे प्रश्न सुटू शकतील. धारण क्षेत्र लहान असण्याचे प्रमाण देशात लहान आकारमानाच्या समस्येवर उपाय म्हणून आंबेडकरांनी सहकार शेती करण्याचा उपाय सुचविला होता. आंबेडकरांची मुंबई कौन्सिलच्या सदस्यपदी निवड झाल्यावर २४ फेब्रुवारी १९२७ रोजी विधिमंडळातील पहिले भाषण त्यांनी शेतकऱ्यांच्या प्रश्नावर केले होते. शेती हा शासकीय उद्योग असावा, असे मत त्यांनी मांडले आहे. त्या काळात खोत पद्धतीचा वापर देखील मोठ्याप्रमाणात होत असे. जमीन कसण्याचा या खोती पद्धतीमध्ये अनेक प्रकारे शेतकऱ्यांवर जुलूम करीत होते. अनेक वेळा खोत शेतकऱ्यांच्या जमिनी बळकावत असतात. ही खोती पद्धत पूर्णतः नष्ट केली पाहिजे. असे आंबेडकरांचे मत असून जमीन करणाऱ्यांना कुळांचे, वहिवाट त्यांचे हक्क मिळावेत, यासाठी त्यांनी मुंबई विधिमंडळात १७ सप्टेंबर १९३७ मध्ये खोती पद्धती रद्द करण्यासंबंधीचे विधेयक मांडले. आणि खोती निर्मूलन अधिनियम १५ मे १९५० पासून लागू करण्यात आला.

वेठबिगार -

'भारतीय समाजावरील एक कलंक' अशा शब्दात वेठबिगारीचे वर्णन केले जाते. भारतात ही परंपरा अगदी जुन्या काळापासून आहे. ग्रामीण जनतेच्या दारिद्र्यामुळे ही पद्धती वर्षानुवर्ष सुरू राहिली. आधीच असलेल्या दारिद्र्यामुळे एकदा कर्जाच्या दुष्टचक्रात अडकल्याने केवळ गुलाम म्हणून जगणे त्यांच्या नशिबी येते. असाच श्रमिक वर्ग फार हलाखीचे जीवन जगत असतो.

भारताच्या ग्रामीण भागातील जे कृषीमजूर वेठबिगारी काम करतात, त्या वेठबिगारीच्या कामाचा मोबदला त्यांना फार कमी मिळतो. त्यामुळे स्वतःच्या गरजा भागविण्यासाठी मोठ्या व्याजदराने कर्ज काढतात. कर्जाचे व्याजदर अवास्तव असते. या वर्गात दारिद्र्यात वाढ होऊन आर्थिक विषमता वाढत जाते. कर्ज घेताना गहाण ठेवण्यास त्यांच्याकडे कोणतीही संपत्ती नसल्यामुळे फक्त एकच साधन असते, ते म्हणजे शारीरिक श्रम होय. भारतातील शेती क्षेत्र हे कोरडवाहू असल्यामुळे सर्वसामान्य शेतमजुरांना पूर्ण वर्षभर काम मिळत नाही. जे काम मिळते ते थोड्या कालावधीसाठी कमी मोबदल्याचे प्रमाण असते. पिढ्यान् पिढ्या वेठबिगारीत काम करत राहण्याशिवाय पर्याय उरत नाही. अशा पद्धतीची वेठबिगारी नष्ट करण्यासाठी आंबेडकरांनी शेतमजुरांनी संघटित होणे गरजेचे असल्याचे मत मांडले. त्यांच्या मते शेतमजूर म्हणजे जवळजवळ गुलामच आहेत.

भारतातील निरनिराळ्या विभागातील शेतमजुरांची स्थिती भिन्न आहे. जवळ जवळ सर्वच शेतमजुरांची स्थिती औद्योगिक कामगारांच्या परिस्थितीपेक्षा बऱ्याच कमी प्रतीची आहे. एवढेच नव्हे तर त्यांचे जीवनमान /राहणीमान अत्यंत कमीप्रतीचे आहे. भारतातील शेतमजूर हजारो खेड्यात विखुरलेले आहेत. व ते असंघटित आहेत.

जलव्यवस्थापन:

जलव्यवस्थापन करत असताना त्यास आर्थिक व्यवस्थापनाची जोड दिल्यास काय परिवर्तन होऊ शकते याची मांडणी डॉक्टर बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी स्वातंत्र्यपूर्व काळात केली होती. स्वातंत्र्यपूर्व काळापासूनच भारतातील जल व्यवस्थापनाबाबत विचार मंथन सुरू होते. जलव्यवस्थापन म्हणजे अशी कार्यप्रणाली की , ज्यामध्ये पाण्याचे नियोजन ,त्याचे न्याय्य वितरण आणि जलसंसाधनाचा सुयोग्य वापर अभिप्रेत असतो . ज्या अंतर्गत जलसंवर्धन सांडपाणी ,दुषित पाण्याचे शुद्धीकरण पुरापासून संरक्षण इत्यादी बाबींचा समावेश होतो.त्यांची ही भूमिका राज्यघटना निर्मितीमध्ये दिसते , तीच भूमिका जल धोरण आखतानाही दिसते.या देशाचे पहिले पाटबंधारा मंत्री व पहिले ऊर्जा मंत्री म्हणून त्यांनी देशासाठी आवश्यक असणारी धोरणे ठरविली . भारतातील जल विषयक धोरण ठरविण्यात डॉक्टर बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचे खूप मोठे योगदान आहे. त्यांना १९३५ च्या कायदानुसार श्रम विभागाने सिंचन आणि वीज विकासाकरिता तीन गोष्टींची योजना आखली त्यात १.एकापेक्षा दोन राज्यात वाहणाऱ्या नद्यांचे नियंत्रण व व्यवस्थापन करणे २.राज्यांमधील नद्यांवर पाणी व जलविद्युत ऊर्जा संपत्ती निश्चित करणे.३.शासकीय व तांत्रिक विकास कार्यासाठी राष्ट्रीय सिंचन धोरण काय असावे या गोष्टीचा समावेश करण्यात आला होता. आंबेडकरांनी जलस्रोतांचा उत्कृष्ट वापर करण्यासंबंधी दामोदर खोरे विकास प्रकल्पाची मांडणी ३ जानेवारी १९४५ मध्ये कोलकत्ता येथील आपल्या भाषणात मांडली. जलस्रोतांचा उत्कृष्ट वापर करण्यासंबंधी त्यांनी सुचविले, विशेष म्हणजे पाणी हा प्रांतिक विषय असू शकत नाही.त्यांच्या मते आपल्या जलमार्ग धोरणाचा उद्देश केवळ पाठबंधारे हा आहे. रेल्वे आणि जलमार्गांमध्ये काही फरक नाही यांची फारशी दखल आपण घेतलेली नाही. रेल्वेला जशा प्रांतीय सीमा नाहीत तसेच जलमार्गांना देखील असू शकणार नाहीत . परंतु आपण घटनेमध्ये रेल्वे आणि जलमार्ग यामध्ये फरक केला आहे. रेल्वेला केंद्रीय तर जलमार्गांना आपण प्रांतीय बनवले आहे. डॉ आंबेडकर यांच्या या भूमिकेमुळे ५ एप्रिल १९४५ रोजी जलमार्ग, जलसिंचन, नौकानयन आयोग स्थापन करण्यात आला .त्याचबरोबर अशा विकास कार्यामुळे विस्थापित झालेल्या ग्रामीण जनतेला योग्य मोबदला देऊन कामे करणे हे देखील त्यांनी महत्वपूर्ण असल्याचे म्हटले आहे. प्रकल्पांचा फायदा खोऱ्यातील आणि परिसरातील सर्व व्यक्तींना अगदी शेवटच्या घटकापर्यंत पोहोचला पाहिजे.प्रकल्पामुळे येऊ घातलेल्या संपन्नते मध्ये सर्वांना सहभागी होता आले पाहिजे. असे मत डॉक्टर बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी मांडले आहे.

पाण्यासंबंधी घटनात्मक तरतुदी :

डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी राज्यघटनेचा आराखडा तयार करताना पाणी हा विषय केंद्र शासनाच्या अखत्यारीत असावा अशी भूमिका मांडली भारताच्या राज्यघटनेत ही तरतूद कलम २६२ मध्ये समाविष्ट करण्यात आली आहे . याच तरतुदी अंतर्गत आंतरराज्याचा जलविवाद कायदा नदीखोरे प्राधिकरण कायदा १९५६ पारित करण्यात आला.

दामोदर खोरे योजना-बंगाल सरकारने १९४५ मध्ये नेमलेल्या दामोदर नदी पूर चौकशी समितीच्या बैठकीत डॉ. आंबेडकर यांनी दामोदर नदी खोरे योजने मुळे होणारे फायदे पुढील प्रमाणेमांडले-

१. समारे ४७ लाख एकर फीड पाण्याचा नियंत्रित सीठा.

२. सुमारे ७ लाख ६० एकर जमिनीच्या सतत सिंचनासाठी पुरेसे पाणी.
३. सुमारे ३ लाख किलोवॉट वीज.
४. सुमारे ५० लाख लोकांना प्रत्यक्ष फायदा.

याशिवाय जलमार्गे दळणवळणासाठी देखिल या प्रकल्पाचा फायदा होईल. तसेच मध्य प्रदेशात उगम पावणारी, उत्तर प्रदेशातून वाहत पुढे गंगेला मिळणाऱ्या सोना नदीवर बहुउद्देशीय प्रकल्प सुरू करण्यासाठी आंबेडकर आग्रही होते. १० मार्च १९४५ रोजी दिल्ली येथे आंतरप्रांतीय परिषदेत या प्रकल्पासाठी त्यांनी मार्गदर्शन केले होते. पाण्याच्या नियोजना बरोबरच दळणवळणात जल मार्गाचा कसा परिणामकारक उपयोग करता येईल याबाबतही त्यांनी आपले विचार मांडले आहेत. ओरीसा नद्यांचा विकासासाठी योजना ओरीसातील नद्यांना नेहमी येणाऱ्या पुरामुळे ओरीसातील जनजीवन विस्कळीत होवून मोठे आर्थिक नुकसान होते. ते टाळण्यासाठी पाटबंधारे, दळणवळण आणि स्वस्त वीज व्यवस्था करणे यासाठी बहुउद्देशीय योजनेची गरज असल्याचे आंबेडकरांनी ओळखले होते. यातूनच महानदीवर हिराकूड नदीवर प्रकल्प आस्तित्वात आला. या प्रकल्पा विषयी ४ नोव्हेंबर १९४५ रोजी बैठक घेतली व त्यात मांडलेले मुद्दे म्हणजे - ओरीसा नद्यांचे सर्वेक्षण होणे आवश्यक मानून जेणेकरून बहुउद्देशीय योजना तयार करता येतील ज्यात पूरनियंत्रण, सांडपाणी, माती संवर्धन, वीज विकास इ. समावेश होता.

डॉ. आंबेडकरांची कर तत्व :

आंबेडकरांनी सार्वजनिक आय-व्यय केंद्र राज्य संबंध याबाबत मांडलेल्या विचारसरणीत तीन भाग येतात. ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवादाचा आय-व्यय, घटकराज्ये आय-व्यय आणि स्थानिक आय-व्यय. व्यापाराच्या निमित्ताने आलेल्या ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनीने भारतीय जनतेची प्रचंड पिळवणूक केली. नंतर ६९६ लाख पौंड कर्जाचा बोजा भारतावर टाकला गेला. त्या मानाने भारतीय जनतेसाठी अत्यंत नगण्य रक्कम खर्च केल्याचे डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी दाखवून दिले. त्यांच्या 'The evaluation provincial finance in India' या प्रबंधात १८३३ ते १९२१ या काळात ब्रिटिश केंद्रशासन व त्यावेळची घटक राज्य यांच्यातील आर्थिक संबंध कसे विकसित होत गेले. यासंबंधी विचार व्यक्त केले. त्यांनी मांडलेल्या कर विषयक तत्वांमध्ये ब्रिटिशांनी शेतजमिनीवर भरमसाठ कर आकारल्याने या क्षेत्रावर प्रतिकूल परिणाम व अन्याय झाल्याचे स्पष्ट केले. कर देण्याची क्षमता विचारात घेऊन कर आकारणी करावी, म्हणजे ठराविक उत्पन्न मर्यादे पर्यंत कर आकारले जाऊ नयेत. करांमुळे राहणीमानाच्या पातळीवर प्रतिकूल परिणाम होऊ नये. कर आकारणीपद्धत प्रगतशील असावी. आणि विक्री करावर राज्य शासनाचा अधिकार असावा. कारण घटक राज्यांच्या तिजोरीत या करांमध्ये भरीव वाढ होईल. परिणामी सार्वजनिक खर्चाची गरज पूर्ण होण्यास मदत होईल. ब्रिटिशांनी शेतजमिनीवर भरमसाठ कर आकारल्यामुळे कृषी क्षेत्रावर प्रतिकूल परिणाम झाला. ही कार्यपद्धती अन्याय कारक असून त्यामध्ये बदल करण्यात यावा असे आंबेडकरांचे मत होते. तसेच कर आकारण्याची पद्धत प्रगतशील असावी. कारण प्रगतशील करांमुळे करांचा भार श्रीमंतांवर जास्त व गरिबांवर कमी कमी पडेल. अशा प्रकारचे कर विषयक तत्वे डॉक्टर आंबेडकर यांनी स्पष्ट केली आहेत.

डॉक्टर बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी जे आर्थिक विचार मांडले ते थोडक्यात पुढीलप्रमाणे

१. नियोजनबद्ध अर्थव्यवस्था त्यांना अभिप्रेत होती
२. देशात मिश्र अर्थव्यवस्था असावी
३. शासनाचा अर्थव्यवस्थे मध्ये परिणामकारक हस्तक्षेप असणे आवश्यक आहे

४. मुख्य उद्योगधंदे राज्याच्या मालिकेचे असावेत आणि ते राज्य शासना द्वारे स्थापन केलेल्या मंडळाद्वारे चालविले पाहिजेत. म्हणजेच राष्ट्रीय हिताच्या दृष्टीने आती महत्वाचे आणि आधारभूत उद्योग तसेच देश संरक्षणाचे उद्योग आणि सेवा सरकारी मालकीचेच असावेत त्याच बरोबर खाजगी क्षेत्रालाही योग्य तो वाव द्यावा असे विचार आंबेडकरांचे होते.
५. विमा उद्योगांचे राष्ट्रीयीकरण करावे.
६. कृषी व्यवसायाचे राष्ट्रीयीकरण करावे
७. शेतीचे सामुदायिकीकरण करावे. यांत्रिकीकरण करून सहकारी पद्धतीने शेती करावी.
८. शेतीतील अतिरिक्त मनुष्यबळ कमी करण्यासाठी औद्योगिकीकरण जास्तीत जास्त करावे.
९. वर्ग जाती स्त्रीदास्य मुक्ती अर्थव्यवस्थेचा पुरस्कार डॉक्टर बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी केला आहे.

संदर्भ

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डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर आणि भारतीय संविधान

प्रा. मनोहर नारायण मोरे

सहाय्यक प्राध्यापक, नूतन विद्या प्रसारक मंडळाचे, कला, वाणिज्य व विज्ञान महाविद्यालय, लासलगांव

प्रस्तावना :-

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांना भारतीय घटनेचे शिल्पकार म्हणतात . डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना शिल्पकार का म्हणतात तर संविधान सभेच्या दरम्यान झालेल्या सर्वासभा मध्ये तसेच मसुदा समितीचे अध्यक्ष म्हणून डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांची भूमिका खूप महत्त्वाची होती डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी संविधान सभेच्या प्रत्येक बैठकीत उपस्थितीत झालेल्या प्रश्नांना तसेच प्रसंगांना त्यांनी योग्य तसेच समर्पक उत्तरे देऊन सर्वसमावेश व सर्वांना मान्य होईल अशा पध्दतीने संविधान सभेचे संचालन केले. त्यामुळे त्यांना भारतीय घटनेचे शिल्पकार संबोधले जाते.

नेहरुजींची आत्मकथा लिहिणारे लेखक माइकल ब्रेचर ने डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांविषयी लिहिले की , डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी संविधानाची निर्मिती एखाद्या फिल्ड जनरल सारखे वर्णन त्यांनी केले . डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर मसुदा समितीचे अध्यक्ष होते . डॉ. भिमराव आंबेडकर एक जीवणीचे लेखक क्रिस्तोफ जाफ्रलो असे म्हणतात कि, या मसुदा समितीचे मुख्य काम म्हणजे वेगवेगळ्या समित्यांकडून आलेल्या सुचना व अनुच्छेदाचा आधारावर संविधान मधील पाठ तयार करण्यावर होता प्रोफेसर ओम्बेट जेष्ट समाजशास्त्र अभ्यासक संविधानाचे प्रारूप तयार करतांना अनेक विवादित मुद्यांवर नेहमी मोठयाप्रमाणात चर्चा होत असे या चर्चा मध्ये डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर एक दिशा दर्शकासारखे मार्गदर्शन करीत असत . तसेच सर्वसमावेश विचार विनिमय करीत सर्व सहमती तयार करीत असते.

भारतीय संविधान तयार करण्यासाठी 2 वर्ष 11 महिने 18 दिवस एवढा कालावधी यासाठी लागला होता, डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर एक बहुआयामी व्यक्तीमतहोते. भारतीय संविधानाचे महत्व म्हणजे जात,लिंग, भाषा, धर्म यावर आधारित कोणताही भेदभाव करता येत नाही अशी समानता असणारे भारतीय संविधान आहे. तसेच समानता,स्वतंत्र्य आणि बंधुता या तत्त्वाचे शिकवण देणारे भारतीय संविधान आहे भारतीय संविधान सामाजिक धोरणाची पूर्ण शिकवण देणारे एक संविधान आहे.

माहिती :-

भारताच्या संविधान सभेची प्रथम बैठक सोमवार दि. 9 डिसेंबर 1946 रोजी, अकरा वाजता संविधान सभागृह नवी दिल्ली येथे भरली होती. त्या बैठकीत डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी बंगालमधून निर्वाचित सदस्य म्हणून स्वाक्षरी केली होती . संविधान सभेने 10 डिसेंबर 1946 रोजी अध्यक्षांच्या निर्वाचनासंबंधी नियम पारित केले त्या नियमानुसार संविधान सभेचे 11 डिसेंबर 1946 रोजी डॉ. राजेंद्रप्रसाद यांना संविधानसभेचे स्थायी अध्यक्ष म्हणून निर्वाचित केले. सभागृहात डॉ.एम.आर.जयकर यांनी प्रस्ताव मांडला गेला त्यावेळेसच आक्षेप घेतला. अशा तणावपूर्ण वातावरणात अध्यक्ष डॉ राजेंद्र प्रसाद यांनी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना आपले मत व्यक्त करण्यासाठी आमंत्रित केले,तेव्हा आंबेडकरांचे भाषण ऐकण्यासाठी सर्व सभागृह उत्सुक होते. डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी असे मत मांडले की या देशात सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक न्यायाच्या प्रस्थापनेसाठी शेती आणि उद्योगाचे राष्ट्रीयकरण केले जाईल असे स्पष्टपणे या प्रस्तावात नमूद केलेले असेल भावी शासन या देशात सामाजिक,आर्थिक आणि राजकीय न्यायाची स्थापना करू इच्छते परंतु या देशातील अर्थ व्यवस्था ही समाजवादी अर्थव्यवस्था असणार नाही तसेच डॉ.आंबेडकरांनी सभागृहात संविधाच्या संदर्भात चर्चेत भाग घेतांना असे मत मांडले की, भारताच्या फाळणी करिता मुस्लीम लीगने

आंदोलन उभारले असे म्हणताना मला कोणताही संकोच वाटत नाही. असे असेल तरीही एक दिवस असा येईल की, त्यांना प्रकाशाचे दर्शन होईल त्यांना याची जाणीव होईल आणि ते असा विचार करतील की एकात्म भारत हा त्यांच्या करिताही अधिक योग्य आहे.

भारतीय लोकशाहीचे संरक्षण करतांना भारतीयानी राजकीय लोकशाहीचे त्यांनी सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक लोकशाहीत रुपांतर केले पाहिजे. राजकीय लोकशाही ही जर सामाजिक लोकशाहीवर अधिष्ठीत केली नाही केली नाही तर ती टिकूच शकणार नाही. कारण सामाजिक लोकशाही स्वातंत्र्य,समता आणि बंधुभाव ही जीवनाची तत्वे म्हणून ओळखले जाते. स्वातंत्र्य,समता आणि बंधुभाव ही एक अखंड आणि अभंग अशी त्रिसूत्री आहे. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी संविधानाची निर्मिती केली, तेव्हा 26 जानेवारी 1950 रोजी असे मत व्यक्त केले की आम्हाला राजकीय समता लाभेल पण सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक जीवनात असमानता राहिल. जर ही विसंगती आपण शक्यतो लवकर नष्ट करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला नाही तर ज्यांना विषमतेची आच लागलेली आहे ते लोक घटना समितीने इतक्या परिश्रमाने बांधलेला हा सामाजिक लोकशाहीचा मनोरा उध्वस्त करुन टाकल्यावाचून राहणार नाही शेवटी त्यांना भारतीयाना असे आवहन केले आहे की ज्या जातिभेदामुळे सामाजिक जीवनात अंतर पडले आहेत आणि जाति-जातीत शत्रूत्व निर्माण झाले त्या जातिभेदाचा त्याग करुन भारतीयानी सामाजिक आणि भावनिक अर्थाने एक राष्ट्र बनावे.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी संविधान सभेमध्ये असे मत व्यक्त केले की, काँग्रेस आणि मुस्लीम लीग यांच्यातील विवाद सोडविण्याचा आणखी एक प्रयास होणे अगत्याचे आहे. कारण प्रश्न अत्यंत महत्वाचा आहे. हा प्रश्न एका पक्षाची प्रतिष्ठा किंवा दुस-या पक्षाची प्रतिष्ठा या आधारावर सोडविला जाऊ शकत नाही या संदर्भात डॉ. आंबेडकरांना खात्री होती की राष्ट्राचे भवितव्य निर्धारित करतांना लोकांची प्रतिष्ठा नेत्यांची प्रतिष्ठा पक्षाची प्रतिष्ठा या बाबींना कोणतेही मूल्य नसते. देशाच्या भवितव्याचा विचार हा सर्वतोपरी असावा या सर्वांनी एकत्र येऊन काम करावे. हे देशाच्या हिताचे राहू शकते. डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी सतत देशाच्या अखंडतेचा व सर्वांनी एकत्र राहण्याचा विचार संविधान समितीत प्रत्येक मुद्यांचे विश्लेषणकरतांना सांगितले होते.

डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी संविधान सभेमध्ये भाषण करतांना, बर्कचा संदर्भ देऊन आपले विचार व्यक्त केले होते. "सत्ता देणे, सोपे आहे पण सुज्ञपणा देणे महाकठीण कर्म आहे" आपण आपल्या आचरणाने हे सिद्ध करू या की जर या संविधान सभेने स्वतः कडे सार्वभौम अधिकार घेतले असतील तर ही सभा त्या अधिकाराचा वापर सुज्ञपणे करू इच्छीते आपल्या देशातील सर्व समाजघटकांना आपल्यासोबत आणण्याचा हा एकमात्र मार्ग होय,याशिवाय आपणास एकात्मतेकडे येणारा अन्य कोणताही मार्ग नाही.

भारतीय संविधानामध्ये एकूण भाग बावीस असून त्यामध्ये संघराज्य व त्यांचे राज्यक्षेत्र, नागरिकत्व, मूलभूत हक्क, राज्यधोरणांची निर्देशक तत्वे, कार्यकारी यंत्रणा राष्ट्रपती व उपराष्ट्रपती यांची निवड, मंत्रिपरिषद राज्ये, कार्यकारी यंत्रणा, राज्यपाल संघराज्यक्षेत्रे, नगरपालिका अनुसूचित क्षेत्रे व जनजाति क्षेत्रे, संघराज्य आणि राज्य या मधील संबंध, वित्तव्यवस्था, मालमत्ता संविदा आणि दावे, भारताच्या राज्यक्षेत्रातील व्यापार वाणिज्य आणि व्यवहारसंबंध संघराज्य आणि राज्ये यांच्या नियंत्रणाखाली असलेल्या सेवा, निवडणूका, विवक्षित वर्ग संबंधी विशेष तरतुदी, राजभाषा आणीबाणी संबंधी तरतुदी, राष्ट्रपती, राज्यपाल व राज प्रमुख यांना संरक्षण संकीर्ण, संविधानाची सुधारणा अस्थायी संक्रमणी व विशेष तरतुदी संक्षिप्त नाव प्रारंभ प्राधिकृत हिंदी पाठ व निरसने विविध अनुसूच्या अशा विविध व संपूर्ण देशाच्या विचार करुन संविधानाची निर्मिती करण्यात आली आहे. भारताच्या संविधानामध्ये उद्देशिका अनुच्छेद 1 ते 395 आणि 12 अनुसूचीसहित संपूर्ण संविधान तयार करण्यात आले आहे. या संपूर्ण प्रक्रियेत डॉ. बाबासाहेब

आंबेडकरांची भूमिका अत्यंत महत्त्वाची होती कारण प्रत्येक प्रस्तावावर त्यांनी सर्व समावेश मत बनविण्याचा प्रयत्न केला व तो यशस्वी झाला यातून संविधानाची निर्मिती झाली आहे.

सार

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी म्हटले होते की, " राज्य घटना कितीही चांगली वा वाईट असली तरी शेवटी ती चांगली की वाईट हे ठरणे हे जे राज्यकर्ते तिचा वापर कसा करतील त्यांच्यावर अवलंबून राहिल असा धोक्याचा इशाराही त्यांनी देऊन ठेवला आहे."

संदर्भ :-

- 1) माझी आत्मकथा - डॉ बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर
- 2) भारतीय स्वातंत्र्य मिळविण्यात डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचा सहभाग - लेखक म.वा.दहिवले
- 3) भारताचे संविधान - मिलींद प्रकाशन वर्धा,
- 4) विविध प्रकारच्या web side, YouTube वरील माहिती.

भारतरत्न डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचे आर्थिक विचार

डॉ. महेश दिलीप औटी

सहाय्यक प्राध्यापक, विभागप्रमुख (कॉमर्स) व उपप्राचार्य, श्री. भाऊसाहेब वर्तक आर्ट्स,
कॉमर्स अँड सायन्स महाविद्यालय, बोरीवली (पश्चिम), मुंबई

प्रास्ताविक

भारतरत्न डॉ. भीमराव रामजी तथा बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हे उच्चविद्याविभूषित व बहुआयामी असण्याबरोबरच महामानव, युगप्रवर्तक, प्रज्ञासूर्य, भारतीय राज्यघटनेचे शिल्पकार, शिक्षणतज्ज्ञ, कायदेतज्ज्ञ, अर्थतज्ज्ञ, राजनीतिज्ञ, विचारवंत व कर्ते समाजसुधारक म्हणून सुपरिचित आहेत. त्यांचा जन्म १४ एप्रिल १८९१ रोजी मध्यप्रदेशातील महु या गावी झाला. त्यांचे वडील लष्करामध्ये सुभेदार या पदावर कार्यरत होते. त्यांच्या आईचे नाव भीमाई होते^१. त्यांनी मोठ्या परिश्रमाने व चिकाटीने एम. ए., पीएच. डी., बॅरिस्टर, एल. एल. डी. व डी. लिट. या पदव्या प्राप्त केल्या होत्या. स्वतंत्र भारताचे ते पहिले कायदा मंत्री होते. देशाची राज्यघटना निर्मितीसाठी गठीत केलेल्या मसुदा समितीचे ते अध्यक्ष. म्हणून घटना निर्मितीमध्ये त्यांनी महत्वपूर्ण कामगिरी केलेली आहे. त्यांनी अर्थकारण, समाजकारण, राजकारण, शिक्षण, कायदा व जलव्यवस्थापन या विविध विषयांवर अभ्यासपूर्ण विचार व्यक्त केलेले आहेत. त्यांचे आर्थिक विचार हे अत्यंत प्रगल्भ व सर्वसमावेशक असून बदलत्या आर्थिक पर्यावरणामध्ये समर्पक व दिशादर्शक आहेत.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचे आर्थिक विचार:

अर्थतज्ज्ञ म्हणून डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी व्यक्त केलेले ठळक आर्थिक विचार खालीलप्रमाणे; -

१) चलन नियंत्रण व आर्थिक विकास:

देशाच्या आर्थिक व सामाजिक विकासासाठी डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी शिक्षण, सार्वजनिक स्वच्छता व आरोग्य या घटकांच्या विकासावर लक्ष केंद्रीत केले. देशाचा आर्थिक विकास जलद गतीने साधण्यासाठी औद्योगिकीकरण व शहरीकरण यांना प्राधान्य दिले. शेतीच्या विकासाबरोबर उद्योगधंद्यांचाही विकास देशाच्या सर्वांगीण प्रगतीसाठी गरजेचा आहे, अशी त्यांची भूमिका होती. शेती आणि उद्योग हातात हात घालून गेल्यास आर्थिक विकासाची प्रक्रिया गतिमान होईल, हेच यातून दिसून येते.

त्यांनी 'द प्रॉब्लेम ऑफ रुपी, इट्स ओरिजिन अँड सोलुशन' या विषयावर ग्रंथ लेखन करून त्यामध्ये भारतातील ब्रिटिशकालीन चलनाच्या उत्क्रांतीचा आढावा घेतला. आपल्या अर्थव्यवस्थेवरील पुस्तके व संशोधन अभ्यासातून त्यांनी देशातील चलनावर व बँक व्यवसायावर नियंत्रण ठेवणारी मध्यवर्ती बँक स्थापण्याची शिफारस केली. १ एप्रिल १९३५ रोजी स्थापन झालेली रिझर्व्ह बँक ऑफ इंडिया ही त्यांच्या आर्थिक दूरदर्शित्वाची फलनिष्पत्ती म्हणावी लागेल. भ्रष्टाचार व काळा पैसा यावर नियंत्रण ठेवण्यासाठी दर १० वर्षांतून एकदा विमुद्रीकरण करण्यात यावे, असा विचार त्यांनी मांडलेला आहे. १९२३ मध्ये मुक्त अर्थव्यवस्था, उदारीकरण, खाजगीकरण व जागतिकीकरणाची संकल्पना मांडली पण त्याचबरोबर मूलभूत उद्योग, जमीन व विमा क्षेत्र हे राज्याच्या मालकीचे असावेत, असाही विचार मांडलेला आहे^३.

२) शेतीविषयक विचार:

त्यांच्या मते, शेती हा भारतातील एक महान राष्ट्रीय उद्योग आहे. सर्व प्राथमिक व्यवसायात शेतीचे महत्व अनन्यसाधारण असून शेतजमिनीचे झालेले तुकडे आणि तिच्यावरील वाढत्या लोकसंख्येचा भार ही

शेतकऱ्यांच्या दयनीय अवस्थेची कारणे आहेत. शेतजमिनीचा लहान आकार, भारतीय शेतीचे विभाजन व वेगवेगळ्या ठिकाणी विखुरलेली असल्याने शेतीची उत्पादकता घटलेली आहे. शेतजमिनीची उत्पादकता वाढविण्यासाठी जमिनीचे एकत्रीकरण व जमिनीचा आकार वाढवून किफायतशीर करण्याची गरज त्यांनी व्यक्त केली. जमिनीवर भांडवल व इतर उत्पादन घटकात वाढ करणे जरूरीचे आहे^{1 & 2}.

त्यांच्या मते, लागवडीखाली नसलेली जमीन भूमिहीन लोकांना कोणताही भेदभाव न करता शेती करण्यासाठी देण्यात यावी. ती जमीन शासकीय नियमानुसार सामुदायिक पध्दतीने कसली पाहिजे आणि या जमिनीवरील कर अदा केल्यानंतर उर्वरित उत्पन्न शेती करणाऱ्यांमध्ये वाटप केले जावे. अशाप्रकारे सामुदायिक शेतीची संकल्पना मांडून त्यायोगे उत्पादकता व कार्यक्षमता वाढीसाठी व आर्थिक विकासास चालना दिलेली आहे². भारतासारख्या विकसनशील देशातील सर्वाधिक ग्रामीण भाग (खेडी) आणि त्यातील शेतीवर चरितार्थासाठी अवलंबून असलेली बहुसंख्य जवळपास ६५ ते ७० टक्के लोकसंख्या विचारात घेवून शेतीच्या विकासास आणि त्यायोगे ग्रामीण विकासास देशातील सुदृढ अर्थव्यवस्थेसाठी त्यांनी दिलेले प्राधान्य आजच्या काळातही योग्य व महत्वपूर्ण वाटते.

भारतातील शेतमजुरांची अवस्था दयनीय आहे. त्यांना मजुरी कमी आणि काम अधिक करावे लागते. शेतमजुरांना कामाचे तास व मजुरी ठरविण्याचा अधिकार नव्हता तसेच शेतमजुरांचे संघटन नसल्याने मोठ्या जमीनदार व बड्या शेतकऱ्यांकडून त्यांची पिळवणूक होत असे. यातून शेतमजुरांची मुक्तता व्हावी यासाठी भूमिहीनांना जमिनी देवून त्यांच्या वसाहती निर्माण करण्यात येतील, लोकहिताची कामे हाती घेतली जातील तसेच खेड्यातील आरोग्यासाठी आणि घरांसाठी योजना सुरु करू आणि खेड्यांना आधुनिक स्वरूप देण्यात येईल. खेड्यांना सभागृहे, वाचनालये आणि फिरती बोलपटगृहे उपलब्ध करून देण्याची सोय करण्यात येईल, असे त्यांनी ऑगस्ट १९३६ मध्ये स्थापन केलेल्या मजुर पक्षाच्या जाहीरनाम्यात म्हटले होते¹. यावरून त्यांनी शेतीविकासाबरोबर ग्रामीण विकासावरही भर दिल्याचे दिसून येते.

३) उद्योग व कामगार विषयक सुधारणा:

देशाच्या आर्थिक विकासासाठी शेतीच्या विकासाबरोबर औद्योगिकीकरणही आवश्यक आहे. उद्योगातील कामगार हिताचे संरक्षण व्हावे, यासाठी त्यांनी मुलभूत उद्योग हे शासनाच्या मालकीचे व नियंत्रणाखाली असावेत, असा विचार मांडला. जलद औद्योगिकीकरणासाठी भांडवलशाही व खाजगी क्षेत्रास त्यांनी विरोध दर्शविला कारण त्यामुळे संपत्तीच्या वाटपामध्ये विषमता वाढू शकते. उद्योगधंद्यांच्या विकासातील कामगारांचे योगदान लक्षात घेवून कामगारांच्या कल्याणासाठी अनेक तरतुदी व सुधारणा करण्यामध्ये त्यांनी पुढाकार घेतला. उदा. महागाई भत्ता, पगारी सुट्टी, आठवड्यातून सुट्टी, कामाच्या तासांतील कपात (१२ वरून ८), रोजगार विनिमय केंद्र, आरोग्य व सामाजिक सुरक्षा विमा, कामगार कल्याण निधी, कामगारांचा व्यवस्थापनातील सहभाग, महिला कामगार कल्याण निधी, महिलांसाठी समान काम - समान वेतन, प्रसुती लाभ इ³. त्यांच्या प्रयत्नांमुळे कामगारांना व महिलांना उद्योगांमध्ये प्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त झाली. महिला सबलीकरणास गती मिळून स्त्री - पुरुष समानता अस्तित्वात येण्यास मदत झाली.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या आर्थिक विचारांचा अभ्यास केल्यानंतर आढळलेली ठळक निरीक्षणे खालीलप्रमाणे -

१) डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी शेती व उद्योग या दोन्ही क्षेत्रांच्या संतुलित विकासास महत्व दिलेले आहे. शेती हा अर्थव्यवस्थेचा कणा असून शेतीस एक प्रमुख राष्ट्रीय उद्योग मानले आहे.

- २) शेतजमिनीचे विभाजन, विखुरलेले स्वरूप व त्यावरील अतिरिक्त लोकसंख्येचा भार ही शेतमजुरांच्या दयनीय अवस्थेची कारणे सांगितली आहेत. त्यांनी सामुदायिक शेतीची संकल्पना मांडली आहे.
 - ३) मुक्त अर्थव्यवस्था, खाजगीकरण, उदारीकरण व जागतिकीकरणाची संकल्पना मांडण्याबरोबरच मुलभूत उद्योग राज्याच्या मालकीचे असावेत, असेही मत व्यक्त केले. यातून त्यांना कामगार व ग्राहकांचे व्यापक हित जपले जावे आणि त्यांचे शोषण होवू नये, असे अभिप्रेत आहे.
 - ४) कारखाना कायद्यात आवश्यक बदल करून कामगार कल्याण विषयक अनेक सुधारणा केल्या. त्यांच्या कामगार विषयक सुधारणांमध्ये मानवतावादी व कल्याणकारी दृष्टिकोन दिसून येतो.
 - ५) महिला सबलीकरण व स्त्री - पुरुष समानतेतून महिलांना प्रतिष्ठेची वागणूक मिळावी, यासाठी महिला कर्मचाऱ्यांसाठी आवश्यक सुधारणा केल्या. जसे - प्रसुती लाभ, समान काम - समान वेतन, महिला कामगार कल्याण निधी इ.
 - ६) देशातील चलनावर नियंत्रण ठेवण्यासाठी मध्यवर्ती बँक स्थापनेच्या केलेल्या शिफारशीनुसार रिझर्व्ह बँक ऑफ इंडिया अस्तित्वात आली.
 - ७) उद्योग, शेतमजुर व कामगारांच्या हिताचे संरक्षणासाठी ऑगस्ट १९३६ मध्ये स्वतंत्र मजूर पक्षाची स्थापना केली.
 - ८) नदीजोड प्रकल्पाची संकल्पना सर्वप्रथम मांडली आणि दामोदर नदी, भाक्रा - नांगल व सोन नदीवरील धरण बांधण्यामध्ये मोलाची भूमिका बजावली. अशाप्रकारे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हे जलनीतिचे शिल्पकार म्हणूनही ओळखले जातात.
- डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचे आर्थिक विचार हे दुरदर्शी, आजच्या बदलत्या व गतिमान परिस्थितीमध्ये समर्पक, महत्त्वपूर्ण व उपयुक्त आहेत.

संदर्भ:

- १) रवींद्र गोळे (जुलै २०१६), 'प्रेरणादीप', विवेकानंद केंद्र, पुणे पृष्ठ क्र. ११३, ११५ व १२४
- २) एन. एस. बोरसे, 'डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे आर्थिक विचार', Research Journey on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Different Dimensions to Social Change', Swatidhan Publications, Nashik ISSN: २३४८-७१४३ पृष्ठ क्र. २६८ व २६९
-) R Nageswari, 2019. "Economic Visions of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar," Shanlax International Journal of Economics, Shanlax Journals, vol. 7(4), pages 29-35, September.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे शिक्षण विषयक विचार

प्रा. गणेश बाळासाहेब मोरे

कला,विज्ञान आणि वाणिज्य महाविद्यालय,इंदापूर, ता. इंदापूर, जिल्हा पुणे

प्रास्ताविक :

भारताने ब्रिटिश ब्रिटिश प्रभावाच्या पार्श्वभूमीतून लोकशाही शासन व्यवस्था स्वीकारली होती. लोकशाही देशांमध्ये समाज जीवनामध्ये परिवर्तन,बदल घडवायचा असेल तर शिक्षणाशिवाय हे साध्य होऊ शकत नाही हे डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर जाणून होते. बाबासाहेबांना उच्च शिक्षणाद्वारे स्वातंत्र्य,समता,बंधुता ही लोकशाही मूल्ये स्वीकारलेला स्वाभिमानी आधुनिक समाज निर्माण करायचा होता. शिक्षणाचा उपयोग त्यांनी देशाच्या सर्व समाजातील लोकांच्या प्रगतीसाठी केला. भारतामध्ये अस्तित्वात असलेल्या प्रचलित शिक्षण पद्धतीमध्ये समाजातील सर्व जाती धर्मातील लोकांना शिक्षणाची संधी उपलब्ध करून दिली जात नव्हती. त्या विरोधात डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी बड पुकारले व समाज घटकांना शिक्षणाची संधी उपलब्ध व्हावी अस्पृश्य,दिन-दुबळे यांना अज्ञान आणि दारिद्र्याच्या चिखलातून बाहेर काढण्यासाठी आयुष्य खर्च केले. प्राथमिक शिक्षण,उच्च शिक्षण,स्त्रीशिक्षण आणि भारतीय राज्यघटनेतील शैक्षणिक तरतुदी या संदर्भात डॉ.आंबेडकरांनी मांडलेल्या विचारांचा आढावा प्रस्तुत शोधनिबंधाच्या माध्यमातून घेणार आहोत.

प्राथमिक शिक्षण विषयक विचार :

प्राथमिक शिक्षण हे पायाभूत शिक्षण आहे व राष्ट्रीयदृष्ट्या प्राथमिक शिक्षणाचा प्रसार करणे अत्यंत आवश्यक आहे. कारण प्राथमिक शिक्षण हे देशाच्या सर्वांगीण विकासाचा पाया आहे त्यामुळे लोकांच्या इच्छेनुसार(खुशीनुसार) प्राथमिक शिक्षण न देता प्राथमिक शिक्षण सक्तीचे करणे आवश्यक आहे. अशी भूमिका डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी मांडली. भारतातील अंधश्रद्धा,रुढी,परंपरा,अज्ञान,दारिद्र्य यापासून तळागाळातील बहुजन समाजाला करावयाचे असेल तर प्राथमिक शिक्षण हे अत्यंत गरजेचे आहे. केवळ बाराखड्या शिकणे म्हणजे शिक्षण नव्हे तर मुलांची मने सुसंस्कृत करणारे दर्जेदार शिक्षण शाळांनी दिले पाहिजे. इतका प्रगल्भ विचार त्या कालखंडामध्ये खंडामध्ये डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी मांडलेला होता. 1927 मध्ये प्राथमिक शिक्षणाची प्रगती फार मंद होती या संदर्भात संताप व्यक्त करताना बाबासाहेब म्हणाले होते की, ज्या वेगाने प्राथमिक शिक्षणाची प्रगती होत आहे त्याच वेगाने होत राहिली तर शिक्षणाच्या कक्षेत आणण्यासाठी मुलांना चाळीस वर्षे तर मुलींना तीनशे वर्षे लागतील. प्राथमिक शिक्षण हे सर्व शिक्षणाचा पाया असल्याने त्याकडे अधिक लक्ष द्यावे असे त्यांचे मत होते. आपल्या देशातील लोकांना शिक्षणाचे महत्त्व कळत नाही,म्हणून कायद्यान्वये सक्तीचे मोफत शिक्षण दिले जावे अशी अपेक्षा व्यक्त केली होती. आज स्वातंत्र्यानंतर खूप प्रदीर्घ कालखंडानंतर भारत सरकारला या विचाराचे महत्त्व पटले व स्वातंत्र्यानंतर 62 वर्षांनी भारतामध्ये राईट टू एज्युकेशन 2009 हा कायदा तत्कालीन सरकारच्या माध्यमातून केला गेला. या कायद्यान्वये सहा ते 14 वयोगटातील मुलांना मोफत व सक्तीचे शिक्षण दिले जात आहे. याचे मूळ डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या विचारात दिसून येते आज जगातील 135 देशांनी हा अधिकार बहाल केला आहे.

उच्च शिक्षण विषयक विचार :

शिका, संघटित व्हा आणि संघर्ष करा हा मंत्र बाबासाहेबांनी बहुजनांना दिला. खऱ्या अर्थाने भारताचा सामाजिक,आर्थिक विकास करावयाचा असेल तर समाजातील सर्व घटकांना उच्च शिक्षणाची संधी उपलब्ध करून देणे आवश्यक आहे असे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे मत होते उच्च शिक्षणाशिवाय

लोकांची प्रगती होऊ शकत नाही. शिक्षणातून व्यक्तीला आपल्या प्रगतीच्या विकासाच्या वाटा सापडतात हे स्व अनुभवातून डॉ. आंबेडकरांना लक्षात आले होते. उच्च शिक्षणाच्या प्रसारासाठी त्यांनी ऑटोकाट प्रयत्न केले याच प्रयत्नाचा भाग म्हणजे सर्वसामान्यांच्या शिक्षणासाठी त्यांनी 1945 मध्ये पीपल्स एज्युकेशन सोसायटीची स्थापना केली व या संस्थेच्या वतीने मुंबईत सिद्धार्थ महाविद्यालय सुरू केले. मराठवाडा हा तत्कालीन हैदराबाद संस्थानात येत होता. या ठिकाणी फक्त हैदराबाद मध्येच उच्च शिक्षणाची सुविधा होती ही उणीव भरून काढण्यासाठी 1950 मध्ये औरंगाबाद येथे मिलिंद महाविद्यालयाची स्थापना केली. तसेच 1956 मध्ये मुंबईत सिद्धार्थ विधीमहाविद्यालय सुरू केले शिक्षणाने ज्ञान संपादन केल्याने माणूस किती उच्च दर्जापर्यंत जाऊ शकतो याचे मूर्तिमंत उदाहरण म्हणजे डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हेच होते.ज्ञानदानाचे कार्य करणारे प्राध्यापक कसे असावेत याबाबतही डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी विचार व्यक्त केले आहेत. प्राध्यापक हा शिक्षण प्रक्रियेतील महत्त्वपूर्ण घटक असल्याने शिक्षकांनी अद्ययावत असावे तरच उत्तम नागरिक घडू शकतात. प्राध्यापकांनी अध्ययन, अध्यापनाच्या कार्याला इतके वाहून घ्यावे की आपल्या घराकडे बघायला त्यांना जास्त वेळ मिळाला नाही पाहिजे.

स्त्री शिक्षण विषयक विचार :

समाज परिवर्तनाची प्रक्रिया शिक्षणाशिवाय पूर्ण होणार नाही व स्त्रिया मुली या समाजातील महत्त्वपूर्ण घटक असल्याने डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी मुलांबरोबरच मुलींच्या शिक्षणाचा आग्रह धरला. 1927 ला महाड येथे मनुस्मृती हा ग्रंथ जाळला. त्यावेळी स्त्रियांना उद्देशून, मुलींना शिक्षण द्या, ज्ञान विद्या या गोष्टी स्त्रियांनाही आवश्यक आहेत. मुली शिकल्या तरच भावी पिढी चांगली निर्माण होईल हे जाणून आंबेडकरांनी विविध परिषदा घेऊन स्त्रियांना शिक्षणाचे महत्त्व पटवून दिले डॉ. आंबेडकर हे विद्यार्थी दशेपासूनच स्त्री स्वातंत्र्याचे पुरस्कर्ते होते. हे कोलंबिया विद्यापीठात शिक्षण घेत असताना सुभेदार शिवनाक जमेदार यांना 1913 रोजी पाठवलेल्या पत्रातून स्त्री शिक्षणाबद्दलचा उदात्त दृष्टिकोन स्पष्ट होतो. समाजाचा विकास हा स्त्रियांच्या विकासावर अवलंबून असल्याने,स्त्रियांनी साक्षर झाले पाहिजे तसेच स्त्री साक्षर झाली तरच तिच्यावर होणाऱ्या अन्याय,अत्याचारापासून मुक्त होण्यास ती सज्ज होईल. आज भारतामध्ये सर्वच आघाड्यांवर महिला या पुरुषांच्या बरोबरीने दिसून येण्याचे रहस्य डॉ.आंबेडकरांच्या विचार सूत्रात दडलेले दिसून येते.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी केलेल्या भारतीय संविधानातील शैक्षणिक तरतुदी :

डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी शैक्षणिक प्रबोधन,जागृती,शिक्षण संस्थांची स्थापना तर केलीच परंतु संविधान निर्मिती करत असताना शिक्षणासंदर्भात महत्त्वपूर्ण तरतुदी सर्व समाज घटकांना शिक्षण उपलब्ध व्हावे यासाठी केलेले आहेत.

* **कलम 21 अ** - सहा ते 14 वर्षे वयोगटातील बालकांना मोफत आणि सक्तीचे शिक्षण उपलब्ध करून देण्याची तरतूद करण्यात आली आहे.

* **कलम 28,1** - नुसार राज्याच्या पैशातून चालवल्या जाणाऱ्या कोणत्याही शैक्षणिक संस्थेत कोण तेही धार्मिक शिक्षण दिले जाणार नाही.

* **कलम 29,2** - राज्याच्या खर्चातून चालवल्या जाणाऱ्या किंवा सरकारी निधीतून चालणाऱ्या शैक्षणिक संस्थेत कोणत्याही नागरिकास केवळ धर्म वंश जात भाषा या किंवा यापैकी कोणत्याही कारणावरून प्रवेश नाकारला जाणार नाही

- * **कलम 30,1** - धर्म किंवा भाषा या निकषा नुसार अल्पसंख्यांक असलेल्या सर्व वर्गांना आपल्या पसंतीच्या शैक्षणिक संस्था स्थापन करण्याचा व प्रशासन चालवण्याचा अधिकार आहे
- * **कलम 30, 2** - धर्मावर किंवा भाषेवर आधारलेल्या एखाद्या अल्पसंख्यांक वर्गाच्या व्यवस्थे खाली एखादी शिक्षण संस्था आहे म्हणून तिला मदत करताना राज्याला भेदभाव करता येणार नाही
- * **कलम 41** - आपली आर्थिक क्षमता व सर्वसामान्य विकास लक्षात घेऊन सरकार पुढील गोष्टींची परिणामकारक तरतूद करील सर्व नागरिकांना कामाचा शिक्षणाचा अधिकार आणि बेकारी वार्ताक्य आजार अपंगता यांनी पीडित अशा लोकांना आणि ज्यांचा अपराध नसताना निष्कारण हालाखीचे जीवन जगावे लागते अशा लोकांना सरकारी मदतीचा अधिकार मिळवून देणे
- * **कलम 45** - ही राज्यघटना अमलात आल्यानंतर दहा वर्षांच्या आत सरकार 14 वर्षाखालील मुला मुलींना मोफत व सक्तीचे शिक्षण देण्याची योजना अमलात आणण्याचा प्रयत्न करील
- * **कलम 46** - समाजातील दुर्बल घटक आणि विशेषता अनुसूचित जाती व जमाती यांच्या शिक्षणाची आणि त्यांच्या आर्थिक हित संबंधाची राज्य विशेष काळजी घेईल
- * **कलम 51** - पालकांनी आपल्या सहा ते 14 वयोगटातील सर्व पाल्यांना शिक्षणाची संधी उपलब्ध करून देणे
- * **कलम 350** - भाषिक अल्पसंख्यांक असलेल्या मुलांना शिक्षणाच्या प्राथमिक स्तरावर मातृभाषेतून शिक्षणासाठी पुरेशा सुविधा उपलब्ध करून देण्याचे प्रयत्न राज्याने करावेत.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांच्या शैक्षणिक कार्ये अभ्यासल्यानंतर आपणास असे दिसून येते की, त्यांच्या शैक्षणिक कार्याच्या माध्यमातून समाजामध्ये सामाजिक परिवर्तन घडवण्यामध्ये महत्व पूर्ण योगदान आहे. त्यांनी केलेल्या शैक्षणिक कार्यामुळेच आज भारतीय समाज व्यवस्थेतील जातीची बंधने शिथिल झालेली दिसून येतात. त्यांनी केवळ दलितानांच्या उद्धाराकडे याकडे लक्ष न देता सर्व समाजाच्या कल्याण अर्थ कार्य केले. अशा महामानवाच्या शैक्षणिक विचारांची आजही भारताला अंगीकार करण्याची आवश्यकता आहे.

संदर्भसूची :

1. धनंजय कीर, डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर, पॉप्युलर प्रकाशन, मुंबई.
2. गाठाळ एस. डॉ.आंबेडकर चळवळीचा इतिहास, कैलास प्रकाशन, औरंगाबाद.
3. डॉ.भा.ल.भोळे, भारतीय राजकीय विचारवंत, पिंपळापुरे प्रकाशन, नागपूर.
4. डॉ.बी.बी.पाटील, भारतीय शासन आणि राजकारण, फडके प्रकाशन, कोल्हापूर.
5. डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर लेखन आणि भाषणे, चरित्र साधने प्रकाशन समिती, महाराष्ट्र शासन, मुंबई. खंड 18 भाग 1
6. डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर लेखन आणि भाषणे चरित्र साधने प्रकाशन समिती, महाराष्ट्र शासन मुंबई खंड 18 भाग 2
7. महाराष्ट्र शासन, लोकराज्य, महामानव आपले आदर्श प्रेरणा, एप्रिल 2015

वर्तमान वैश्विक परिदृश्य में डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर के शिक्षा दर्शन की प्रासंगिकता

डॉ शैलजा आनंद श्रीवास्तव

विजिटिंग फैकल्टी, एसडिग्री कॉलेज.एम. पी., इलाहाबाद विश्वविद्यालय इलाहाबाद

शिक्षा ही एक ऐसा माध्यम है जो व्यक्ति को श्रेष्ठ एवं चरित्रवान बनाती है। शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आधुनिक भारत के प्रमुख शिक्षाविदों में ज्योतिबा फुले, सावित्रीबाई फुले, महात्मा गांधी, स्वामी विवेकानंद, रविंद्र नाथ टैगोर आदि ने अपना विशेष योगदान दिया परंतु पारंपरिक शिक्षा व्यवस्था के स्थान पर लोकतांत्रिक मूल्यों पर आधारित शिक्षा के प्रति अपना विशिष्ट योगदान देने में डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर का नाम अग्रणी है।

जीवन परिचय

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर का जन्म मध्यप्रदेश के इंदौर शहर में स्थित महु में 14 अप्रैल 1891 में हुआ था। दलित होने के कारण उनका बचपन बहुत ही मुश्किलों में बीता। उन्हें सामाजिक बहिष्कार, भेदभाव और अपमान का सामना करना पड़ता था। विद्यालय में शिक्षकों द्वारा भी उनके साथ भेदभाव किया जाता था। परंतु वे इन सब से विचलित नहीं हुए। उन्होंने अपनी दृढ़ इच्छाशक्ति बनाए रखा एवं इसके सहारे अपना संपूर्ण जीवन बिताया। उनका बचपन बहुत ही संघर्षपूर्ण एवं कठिनाइयों में व्यतीत हुआ। अपमानजनक स्थितियों का सामना करते हुए उन्होंने धैर्य एवं वीरता से अपनी स्कूली शिक्षा पूरी की एवं इसके बाद कॉलेज की पढ़ाई की। डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर ने छुआछूत के विरुद्ध काफी संघर्ष किया। वह निम्न जाति के लोगों को छुआछूत की प्रथा से मुक्ति दिलाना चाहते थे एवं उन्हें समाज में बराबर का दर्जा दिलाना चाहते थे। उन्होंने 1920 के दशक में मुंबई में अपने भाषण में यह साफजहां मेरे " साफ कहा कि-व्यक्तिगत हित और देश हित में टकराव होगा वहां पर मैं देश के हित को प्राथमिकता दूंगा परंतु जहां दलित जातियों के हित और देश के हित में टकराव होगा वहां में दलित जातियों को प्राथमिकता दूंगा। " अतः वे एक मसीहा के रूप में दलित वर्ग के लिए सामने आए एवं अपने अंतिम क्षणों तक दलितों को सम्मान दिलाने के लिए प्रयत्नशील रहे। डॉ अंबेडकर बीसवीं सदी के सबसे ज्यादा पढ़े लिखे एवं उच्च शिक्षित राजनेता थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि शिक्षा एक बाघिन का दूध है और जो कोई भी इसे पीएगा वह " साथ अच्छे लेखक भी थे। -बाबा साहब एक समाज सुधारक होने के साथ "बाघ की तरह गुर्राएगा जरूर। उन्होने कई पुस्तकें लिखी जैसे भारत में जातियां और उनका मशीनीकरण -, मूलनायक, भारत का राष्ट्रीय अंश, बहिष्कृत भारत, जनता, जाति विच्छेद, संघ बनाम स्वतंत्रता, महाराष्ट्र भाषाई प्रांत, ब्रिटिश भारत में साम्राज्यवादी वित्त का विकेंद्रीकरण आदि।

उन्होंने अपने लेखन से राष्ट्रीय एवं अंतर्राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर शिक्षा विषयक विचार स्पष्ट रूप से अभिव्यक्त किए। उनके यह विचार उनके भाषणों, पुस्तकों, लेखों, संपादकीय आदि में परिलक्षित होते हैं। डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर के अनुसार शिक्षा मानव मुक्ति का आधार है। उनका शिक्षा दर्शन संतकबीर, बुकर टी वाशिंगटन एवं जॉन डीवी से अत्यंत प्रभावित है। उन्होंने शिक्षा को एक सामाजिक क्रांति के रूप में माना तथा स्वयं स्वीकार किया कि मेरे वे सभी विचार जिनका संबंध सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनों से है " जीवन के विभिन्न अनुभवों एवं जीवन में "उनके वैचारिक निर्माण में जॉन डीवी की केंद्रीय भूमिका है। घटित घटनाओं ने उनके शैक्षिक विचारों को अत्यंत प्रभावित किया।

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर बीसवीं शताब्दी के महान विचारकों में से एक है। उनके शिक्षा संबंधी विचार बहुत व्यापक है। उसमें स्त्री एवं अल्पसंख्यकों की शिक्षा, अस्पृश्य वर्ग की शिक्षा भी शामिल है। उन्होंने अपने शिक्षा दर्शन में धर्म एवं राजनीति को भी विशेष स्थान दिया है। अंबेडकर जी ने अपने शैक्षिक विचारों को

केवल प्राथमिक शिक्षा तक ही सीमित नहीं रखा बल्कि उन्होंने उच्च शिक्षा के विषय में भी अपने स्पष्ट शैक्षिक विचार दिए उनके शिक्षा दर्शन में शिक्षा का अर्थ, शिक्षण संस्थान, शिक्षक, शिक्षार्थी, पाठ्यक्रम, शिक्षण विधियां, स्त्री शिक्षा आदि महत्वपूर्ण घटक हैं।

डॉ अंबेडकर विश्व के प्रतिष्ठित विश्वविद्यालयों से शिक्षा प्राप्त एक स्वयं शिक्षक थे। उनके अनुसार शिक्षा से "ज्ञान का द्वार खुलता है एवं व्यक्ति के विचारों का विस्तार होता है। शिक्षा केवल जीवन निर्वाह का साधन नहीं अपितु सामाजिक परिवर्तन का सशक्त माध्यम है। जिस प्रकार पेट भरने के लिए मनुष्य को अन्न की आवश्यकता होती है उसी प्रकार ज्ञानार्जन के लिए शिक्षा आवश्यक है।"

डॉ अंबेडकर के शिक्षा दर्शन का आधार मानवता है जिसमें मानवीय गरिमा एवं स्वाभिमान का महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। उनका मानना था कि मानव कल्याण एवं सामाजिक अस्तित्व के लिए शिक्षा अत्यंत आवश्यक है। उन्होंने शिक्षा को सामाजिक परिवर्तन का आधार बताया और कहा कि शिक्षा वह है जो "व्यक्ति को निडर बनाए, एकता का पाठ पढ़ाए, लोगों को अधिकारों के प्रति सचेत कर संघर्ष की सीख दे एवं स्वतंत्रता के लिए लड़ना सिखाए। उनके अनुसार सभी को निशुल्क एवं अनिवार्य शिक्षा उपलब्ध कराना राज्य का कर्तव्य है। उन्होंने निर्धन एवं वंचित समाज की प्रगति के लिए शिक्षित बनो", संगठित रहो एवं संघर्ष करो" का मूल मंत्र दिया। अतः उनका शिक्षा दर्शन आज भी उतना ही प्रासंगिक है जितना उनके जीवन काल में था।

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर के अनुसार शिक्षा के द्वारा ही मानवीय मूल्यों का विकास होना संभव है। किसी भी राष्ट्र के विकास एवं आधुनिकीकरण में शिक्षा की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। उनका शिक्षा दर्शन आज भी शिक्षा प्रणाली का आदर्श माना जाता है। यह उनके विचारों का ही प्रभाव है कि आज संविधान में अनुच्छेद 21 A जोड़ा गया एवं निशुल्क एवं अनिवार्य शिक्षा का प्रावधान किया गया। यह उनके शिक्षा दर्शन की प्रासंगिकता को वर्तमान परिप्रेक्ष्य में प्रमाणित करता है।

शिक्षा का अर्थ

विभिन्न शिक्षा शास्त्रियों ने शिक्षा की संकल्पना को अलग अलग तरह से परिभाषित किया है। किसी ने उसे-या कोई उसे शरीर और आत्मा को पूर्णता प्रदान करने वाली "सा विद्या या विमुक्तये" बताता है, किसी ने उसे ज्ञान का तीसरा चक्षु कहा है, तो कोई आंतरिक शक्तियों को बाहर प्रकट करने वाली कहा। परंतु बाबा साहब ने इन सबसे अलग शिक्षा को सामाजिक समरसता एवं मानवीय गुणों का विकास करने वाली बताया। उन्होंने शिक्षा के अर्थ को स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा कि श्रेष्ठ शिक्षा वही है जो न केवल मनुष्य को साक्षर करे अपितु उसका मानसिक विकास कर उसके आत्माभिमान व विवेक को भी जागृत करे। "समाज में शिक्षा ही समानता ला सकती है। जब मनुष्य शिक्षित हो जाता " -उन्होंने अपने शब्दों में कहा सोच की शक्ति पैदा हो ज -है तब उसमें विवेक आती है। जिससे उसमें अच्छे बुरे का ज्ञान और निर्णय लेने की क्षमता आ जाती है। शिक्षित व्यक्ति ही एकता के सूत्र में बंध कर संगठन का निर्माण कर सकते हैं। "संगठन क्षमता व लोकतांत्रिक भावना का विकास करने वाले विषयों को पाठ्यक्रम में उन्होंने महत्वपूर्ण स्थान दिया। वे शिक्षण का माध्यम मातृभाषा करने के पक्ष में थे तथा वे चाहते थे कि शिक्षण की लोकतांत्रिक विधि का विकास हो जिसमें सभी विद्यार्थी अध्ययन में रुचि लें एवं अपने व्यक्तित्व का विकास करें। डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर विद्यालय को समाज का लघु रूप मानते थे। अतः उन्होंने विद्यालय में सामूहिक शिक्षा पद्धति पर विशेष बल दिया। उनका मानना था कि विद्यालय में स्वतंत्रता, समानता और भ्रातृत्व का वातावरण होना चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा कि शिक्षा का उद्देश्य मनुष्य को आत्म उन्नति व आत्मानुभूति व नैतिक विकास होना चाहिए। उनके अनुसार शिक्षक-शिक्षार्थी संबंध आत्मीयता पूर्ण तथा

मित्रता पूर्ण होने चाहिए। उनका मानना था कि शिक्षक को शिक्षार्थियों की समस्याओं का यथासंभव समाधान कर उनकी सहायता करनी चाहिए। बाबासाहेब कहते हैं कि दलितों व स्त्रियों की शिक्षा के बिना " देश के विकास की बात करना दिन में सपने देखने जैसा है। इसीलिए उन्होंने स्त्री शिक्षा पर बल दिया। "

डॉ अंबेडकर शिक्षा को नए विचार उत्पन्न करने का साधन एवं पुराने में सुधार का साधन मानते हैं। उनके अनुसार उसे सामान्य प्रकार की तैयारशुदा व्यवसायिक धारणाओं तक अपने को सीमित नहीं रखना है एक औसतन मॉडल तक नहीं पहुंचना है जो किसी के उपयुक्त ना हो, क्योंकि वह लगभग प्रत्येक के उपयुक्त है किंतु उसे मापने का कार्य करना है अपनी योजना को अविरल नया बनाना है अपने मन को निरंतर पुनर्जीवित रखना है और प्रत्येक नयी समस्या का एक नए समायोजनशील प्रयास के साथ सामना करना है उसे धारणाओं से वस्तुओं की ओर नहीं जाना चाहिए मानो उनमें से प्रत्येक अनेक समवर्ती सा मान्यताओं का मात्र एक पृथक बिंदु है दिलचस्प अमूर्त विचारों का एक आदर्श केंद्र है इसके विपरीत उसे वस्तुओं से धारणाओं की ओर जाना चाहिए निरंतर नए विचार उत्पन्न करने करते रहना और पुराने को निरंतर सुधारते रहना चाहिए। अतः उपरोक्त तथ्यों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि उन्होंने " शिक्षा संबंधी जो भी आयाम सुझाए वह सामाजिक संरचना का प्रगति के पथ पर ले जाने के लिए एक सार्थक कदम था।

शिक्षा के उद्देश्य

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर के अनुसार शिक्षा के व्यापक उद्देश्य है। जिसमें उन्होंने कहा कि शिक्षा का उद्देश्य बौद्धिक विकास होना चाहिए। अतः उन्होंने पुस्तकीय ज्ञान की उपेक्षा कर स्वतंत्र चिंतन पर विशेष बल दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि केवल तथ्यों व सिद्धांतों को मस्तिष्क में ठूस देना ही शिक्षा का उद्देश्य नहीं होना चाहिए बल्कि तथ्यों व सिद्धांतों के मूल्यांकन करने की बौद्धिक क्षमता उत्पन्न करना होना चाहिए। उनके अनुसार शिक्षा का उद्देश्य चरित्र निर्माण भी होना चाहिए। उनका मानना था कि समाज के विकास के लिए उसके सदस्यों का चरित्रवान होना आवश्यक है। वह वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण के विकास को भी शिक्षा का उद्देश्य मानते हैं जिससे विद्यार्थी अपनी समस्याओं का समाधान अनुसंधान पूर्ण ढंग से कर सकें तथा इसके साथ ही तथ्य विचारों की तह तक जाकर उनका विश्लेषण कर सकें और साथ ही तथ्य दे सकें। वे कहते हैं कि सामाजिक समानता व लोकतांत्रिक भावना का विकास करना भी शिक्षा का उद्देश्य होना चाहिए तभी हम आदर्श समाज की स्थापना कर सकते हैं। वे शिक्षा के द्वारा नैतिक मूल्यों के विकास के पक्ष में भी थे। उनका मानना था कि नैतिक मूल्य ही मनुष्य में मैत्री भाव उत्पन्न कर सकते हैं। उन्होंने नैतिक मूल्यों के अंतर्गत स्वतंत्रता, समता व भातृत्व भाव के विकास पर भी बल दिया। वह व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व निर्माण का कार्य करना भी शिक्षा का उद्देश्य मानते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि शिक्षा का उद्देश्य " व्यक्ति को जीवित अवस्था में ही उसके पापों से मुक्ति दिला दिला होना चाहिए ना की मृत्यु के बाद परलोक में।"

डॉ अंबेडकर ने शिक्षा को मानव कल्याण का साधन माना है एवं इसके कुछ मुख्य उद्देश्य का निर्धारण किया है उनके अनुसार शिक्षा का प्राथमिक उद्देश्य मानव व्यवहार में सकारात्मक परिवर्तन करना है एवं चारित्रिक विकास करना है उनका मानना था कि चरित्रहीन एवं विनय रहित मनुष्य शिक्षित होते हुए भी पशु से भी भयावह है डॉ. अंबेडकर ने शिक्षा का दूसरा उद्देश्य मानसिक एवं बौद्धिक विकास करना बताया उनका कहना था कि शिक्षा से मानव में विवेक शक्ति उत्पन्न हो जाती है एवं शिक्षा के माध्यम से ही सही गलत की समझ एवं निर्णय लेने की क्षमता विकसित हो जाती है उन्होंने 12 फरवरी 1938 को नव

युवकों की एक सभा में कहा था कि शिक्षा एक दो धारी तलवार की तरह है जो व्यक्ति चरित्रहीन व विनय "रहित है वह शिक्षित होते हुए भी एक पशु से भी भयावह है।

डॉ. अंबेडकर ने शारीरिक विकास पर भी बल दिया है एवं उनका मानना था कि शरीर के संतुलित विकास से ही व्यक्ति के सृजनात्मक शक्तियों का विकास हो सकता है। उनके अनुसार शिक्षा का उद्देश्य मानव मस्तिष्क का विस्तार कर उसे संकीर्णताओं से मुक्त करना होना चाहिए। वह चाहते थे कि शिक्षा द्वारा राष्ट्रीय एकता एवं राष्ट्रप्रेम की भावना जागृत होनी चाहिए।

शिक्षक

डॉ अंबेडकर शिक्षक को बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण स्थान देते हैं क्योंकि वह स्वयं एक शिक्षक थे अतः उन्होंने यह महसूस किया कि शिक्षक व्यक्तिवादी विचार से युक्त ना होकर विस्तृत व्यापक दृष्टिकोण का स्वामी होना चाहिए समाज के रूढ़ियों को तोड़ने वाला व समाज को सम्यक दिशा देने वाला यथार्थवादी होना चाहिए।

शिक्षार्थी

डॉ. अंबेडकर का मानना था कि शिक्षार्थी अपने आप में सामंजस्य का गुण विकसित करें। वे उचित व्यवहार, उत्तम चरित्र, मानवता, समानता, धर्म के प्रति जागरूक दृष्टिकोण के पक्षधर थे।

शिक्षक शिक्षार्थी संबंध-

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर शिक्षक को राष्ट्र का सारथी मानते थे। इसीलिए उन्होंने शिक्षक को ज्ञान पिपासु, बुद्धि से होशियार एवं विषय का मर्मज्ञ होने पर बल दिया उन्होंने कहा कि शिक्षा का उद्देश्य मनुष्य का "आत्मिक उन्नयन करना है और यह तभी संभव है जब कि शिक्षक योग्य होशिक्षक का "। उन्होंने कहा कि "आचरण भेदभाव पूर्ण नहीं होना चाहिए उसे उदार हृदय का होना चाहिए न कि संकीर्ण मानसिकता "वाला।

शिक्षण विधि

डॉ अंबेडकर अपने समय में प्रचलित शिक्षण विधि से संतुष्ट नहीं थे। वे ऐसी शिक्षण विधियों के पक्ष में थे जो व्यक्ति को स्वतंत्र चिंतन की दिशा में सहायता कर सके, करके सीखना, अनुभव द्वारा सीखना, प्रश्न उत्तर द्वारा सीखना, वादविवाद द्वारा सीखना-, तर्क द्वारा सीखना इन विधियों को आवश्यक समझते थे। उनका मानना था कि शिक्षण विधियां समतावादी दृष्टिकोण से संयुक्त व प्रेरक शक्ति से युक्त होना चाहिए। अपने व्यावहारिक जीवन में उन्होंने व्याख्यान विधि का प्रयोग किया। बाबासाहेब शिक्षण को क्रियात्मक व राजीव बनाना चाहते थे। अतः वे वाद विवाद विधि के समर्थक प्रतीत होते हैं। बालक की रूचि व संवेगों पर आधारित शिक्षण विधि के भी पक्ष में थे। उन्होंने समाजशास्त्र जैसे विषयों के शिक्षण हेतु तुलनात्मक विधि का पक्ष लिया एवं समस्याओं का समाधान अनुसंधानात्मक तरीके से करने तथा तथ्यों व विचारों की तह में जाकर उसका विश्लेषण करने एवं उसे तार्किक कसौटी पर कसने पर बल देते थे। अतः यह प्रतीत होता है कि वह खोज उपागम, वैज्ञानिक विधि, समस्या समाधान विधि के पक्षधर लगते हैं।

पाठ्यक्रम

डॉ अंबेडकर ने किसी निश्चित पाठ्यक्रम की योजना नहीं दी थी बल्कि शिक्षा को जीवन का अभिन्न अंग मानकर सामाजिक समता एवं लोकतांत्रिक भावना का विकास करने वाले विषयों को पाठ्यक्रम में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान दिया। उनका मानना था कि पाठ्यक्रम निर्माण में शिक्षकों को पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता मिलनी चाहिए। वे पारंपरिक जड़ मूलक पाठ्यक्रम के घोर विरोधी थे। उन्होंने कहा कि पाठ्यक्रम समाज की आवश्यकता को ध्यान में रखते हुए पाठ्यक्रम में समय समय पर बदलाव करना चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा कि-

विश्वविद्यालयों को पाठ्यक्रम की विस्तृत रूपरेखा बनानी चाहिए और शिक्षकों को उस रूपरेखा पर " अतः ऐसा प्रतीत होता है कि वे दर्शनशास्त्र "अपना चिंतन पूर्ण व्याख्यान देने की स्वतंत्रता होनी चाहिए। एवं तर्कशास्त्र को पाठ्यक्रम में जगह देने के पक्ष में भी थे।

डॉ अंबेडकर ऐसे पाठ्यक्रम विकास के पक्ष में थे जो मानवीय मूल्यों के अनुरूप हो, समय अनुकूल हो एवं समता वादी दृष्टिकोण से युक्त हो। उनका कहना था कि विज्ञान, गणित, सामाजिक विषय, नीति शास्त्र एवं साहित्य जैसे विषयों को पाठ्यक्रम में शामिल होना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही साथ व्यायाम, खेलकूद एवं स्वरोजगार को भी इसमें पर्याप्त स्थान मिलना चाहिए। वे लोकतांत्रिक पाठ्यक्रम के पक्ष में भी थे। उन्होंने वैज्ञानिक एवम् तकनीकी शिक्षा पर भी विशेष बल दिया और कहा कि शिक्षा मातृभाषा में ही होनी चाहिए। वे भारतीय समाज में साधारण जनशिक्षा के पक्ष में थे।

डॉ अंबेडकर ने शिक्षा के व्यवसायीकरण की बात भी की और कहा कि यह एक ऐसी चीज है जो सबको मिलनी चाहिए। समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों में शिक्षा के तुलनात्मक विकास में व्याप्त असमानता से वे काफी चिंतित थे। अतः उन्होंने आर्थिक एवम् सामाजिक दृष्टि से पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए सहानुभूति पूर्ण व्यवहार की मांग की।

डॉ अंबेडकर ने विश्व विद्यालय शिक्षा से संबंधित भी अपने विचार प्रस्तुत किए एवम् कहा कि कोई भी " विश्वविद्यालय अनुसंधान को प्रोत्साहन देनेमें या उच्च शिक्षा को प्रोत्साहन देने में सफल नहीं हो सकता, यदि वह परीक्षा प्रणाली को ही सब कुछ या अंतिम लक्ष्य मानकर चले।"

डॉ अंबेडकर ने विद्यालय को समाज का लघु रूप माना एवम् सामूहिक शिक्षा पद्धति पर विशेष रूप से बल दिया। वे शिक्षा के माध्यम से समाज में व्याप्त कुप्रथाओं एवम् बुराइयों का अंत करना चाहते थे। उनका कहना था कि विद्यालय सामाजिक परिवर्तन एवम् पुनर्निर्माण का महत्वपूर्ण केंद्र होता है। उनका मानना था कि विद्यालय का वातावरण एवम् योग्य शिक्षक छात्र जीवन को प्रभावित करते हैं। अपने शिक्षा दर्शन में उन्होंने शिक्षक को राष्ट्र निर्माता कहा है।

स्त्री शिक्षा

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर का मानना था कि भारत के पतन और अवनति का मुख्य कारण स्त्रियों की अशिक्षा है। साक्षरता में हम काफी पिछड़े हुए हैं। यही कारण है कि जो देश कभी विश्व गुरु कहलाता था आज उसकी दयनीय दशा है। बाबा साहब कहते हैं कि दलितों व स्त्रियों की शिक्षा के बिना देश के " विकास की बात करना दिन में सपने देखने जैसा है। इसीलिए उन्होंने स्त्री शिक्षा पर बल दिया और कहा कि स्त्रियों को भी स्वतंत्रता और समानता का अधिकार दिया जाना चाहिए। स्त्रियों को पुरुषों के समान शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिए ताकि वे देश के विकास में पुरुषों के साथ कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर अपना योगदान दे सकें।"

वे कहते हैं कि आज की कन्याएँ ही कल समाज में विभिन्न भूमिकाएं जैसे सास", बहू, माता आदि निभाएंगी। अतः यदि वे शिक्षित व सुसंस्कृत होंगी तो समाज का विकास होता ही जाएगा क्योंकि स्त्रियाँ ही घर बनाने व बिगाड़ने वाली है। यदि घर की नारी शिक्षित व सुसंस्कारित है तो उस घर के बच्चे भी उन्नति के पथ पर होंगे और यदि संपूर्ण देश की नारियाँ शिक्षित होंगी तो देश भी विकास के पथ पर होगा और देश एक बार पुनः अपनी खोई विश्व : गुरु की प्रतिष्ठा को प्राप्त कर सकेगा।"

डॉ अंबेडकर के शिक्षा दर्शन की वर्तमान में प्रासंगिकता

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर ने शिक्षा के महत्व को बताते हुए शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अपना महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया। उन्होंने समाज में शैक्षिक जागरूकता फैलाई एवं लोगों को शिक्षा के प्रति जागरूक किया। उन्होंने कई शैक्षिक संस्थाओं की स्थापना की एवं कई कॉलेज के निर्माण कराए। निचली जातियों के लोगों को समाज में सम्मानजनक स्थिति दिलाने के लिए उन्होंने अपना विशेष योगदान दिया। उनके बच्चों को स्कूल भेजने के लिए उन्हें प्रोत्साहित किया। अछूतों और महिलाओं के साथ साथ सभी भारतीयों की शिक्षा के लिए प्रयास करते रहे एवं वंचित तथा दलित समुदाय की शिक्षा के लिए उन्होंने पीपुल्स एजुकेशन सोसाइटी की स्थापना भी की।

डॉ भीमराव अंबेडकर के अनुसार शिक्षा के द्वारा ही मानवीय मूल्यों का विकास होना संभव है। किसी भी राष्ट्र के विकास एवं आधुनिकीकरण में शिक्षा की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। उनका शिक्षा दर्शन आज भी शिक्षा प्रणाली का आदर्श माना जाता है। यह उनके विचारों का ही प्रभाव है कि आज संविधान में अनुच्छेद 21A जोड़ा गया एवं निशुल्क एवं अनिवार्य शिक्षा का प्रावधान किया गया। यह उनके शिक्षा दर्शन की प्रासंगिकता को वर्तमान परिपेक्ष में प्रमाणित करता है। डॉ अंबेडकर आर्थिक विकास के लिए औद्योगिकरण को महत्वपूर्ण मानते थे जो आज के समय में भी प्रासंगिक है। डॉ अंबेडकर ने देश के निर्धन एवं दलित समाज को की प्रगति के लिए शिक्षा की बात की थी। इससे यह पता चलता है कि वह गतिशील समाज के लिए शिक्षा को कितना महत्व देते थे। उन्होंने इस समाज के लिए शिक्षित करो", संगठित करो और संघर्ष करोका नारा दिया अतः उन्होंने शिक्षा को प्राथमिकता दी है। वे केवल प्राथमिक शिक्षा में ही " नहीं बल्कि उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए भी अनेक कष्ट सहे और अपने लक्ष्य पर अडिग रहे। उन्हें अपने पाठशाला के दिनों में जाति भेद को लेकर जो दिक्कतें उठानी पड़ी यह सभी जानते हैं। अतः उन्होंने जातिपाति के आधार पर संविधान में इन नियमों का अंत करने का प्रयास किया और कहा कि अस्पृश्यता एक दंडनीय अपराध है। सभी मनुष्य ईश्वर की देन है और सभी को अपने कार्य पूर्णतकरने : चाहिए और ठीक प्रकार से कार्य करने के आधार पर शिक्षा पर अधिक जोर देते हुए उन्होंने यह कार्य किया।

अपने शिक्षा दर्शन में उन्होंने शिक्षा के जो उद्देश्य बताए, विभिन्न शिक्षण विधियों का प्रयोग, शिक्षक, शिक्षार्थियों के गुण, पाठ्यक्रम, विद्यालय का वातावरण आदि की जो चर्चा की है वह आज के समय में अत्यंत प्रासंगिक है। डॉ अंबेडकर ने शिक्षा के माध्यम से राष्ट्रीय एकता एवं राष्ट्रप्रेम की भावना की बात की जिसकी वर्तमान में अति प्रासंगिकता है। इसके साथ ही साथ उनके धार्मिक विचार, राजनीतिक विचार एवं आर्थिक विचार की भी वर्तमान में अति प्रासंगिकता है। अतः उपरोक्त तथ्यों के आधार पर यह कहा जा सकता है कि बाबासाहेब ने शिक्षा संबंधी जो आयाम सुझाए वह निश्चित ही सामाजिक संरचनाओं को प्रगति के पथ पर ले जाने के लिए एक सार्थक कदम था। वह शिक्षा को देश तथा समाज के उत्थान व विकास का साधन तो मानते ही थे साथ ही साथ सामाजिक स्वतंत्रता, समता एवं भाईचारे की भावना के विकास का ऐतिहासिक मार्ग भी मानते थे। उनका कहना था कि शिक्षा के बिना मनुष्य न शांति पा सकता है और न मनुष्यता। जिस प्रकार वृक्ष को सजीव रखने के लिए पानी की जरूरत है, जिस प्रकार मनुष्य को अपने शरीर के अस्तित्व को बनाए रखने के लिए भोजन की आवश्यकता है, ठीक उसी प्रकार सामाजिक अस्तित्व और संरचना के लिए शिक्षा की जरूरत है। अतः मनुष्य को स्वयं शिक्षित रहते हुए दूसरों को शिक्षित करते रहना चाहिए।

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ABOUT THE EDITORS



Professor Shaikh Aftab Anwar

(M. Com, MBA, Ph.D.),

Principal of Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune -411001(MS)



Dr. Mukhtar Shaikh

M.A. (Political Science) NET, SET, MBA, PhD

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science at Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune



Dr. M. Shahid Jamal Ansari

M.A. (Economics), NET, Ph.D

Assistant Professor and Head

Department of Economics at Poona College of Arts, Science and Commerce, Pune



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