



Dharampeth Education Society's

**R.S. Mundle Dharampeth
Arts & Commerce College, Nagpur**

International Multi-Disciplinary
Research Journal

Pradnya SANKET

Dr. Ambedkar's
Contribution To
Nation Building

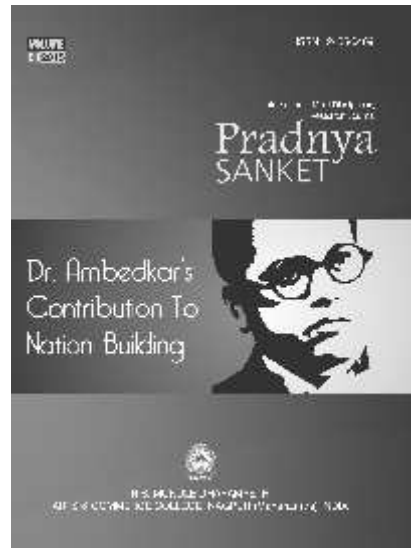


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FOREWORD

Warm Greetings.

As we gloriously march past the five and a half decades of our Institute's academic quest, this multi-disciplinary avant-garde college volume earmarks another milestone profiling our pedagogic pursuits. The fountain of inspiration for this venture is the altruistic visionary zeal of Dr. Ravindra Joshi, the Academician - President of our parent body Dharampeth Education Society, who steadfastly never fails to be a trailblazer. Along with imparting value education, it has been our mission to inculcate in our curriculum ennobling traits of patriotism, pride in our national heritage, honouring our national heroes and the holistic embracement of all humane intellectual, cultural, socio-political movements that shaped our present day ethos.

We, at Dharampeth Arts & Commerce College, strive to uphold the academic spirit of the campus by opening up avenues for research. As one of the RTM Nagpur University's approved Research Centres, we pride in providing conducive academic ambience for the efflorescence of scholastic ventures. Taking a cue from Dr. Ravindra Joshi's address in one of the staff meetings suggesting an annual academic publication thematically paying tributes to those visionaries who shaped our great nation, we envisioned "Pradnya Sanket".

It was on a celebratory note that the ideation of a peer-reviewed journal on the Pride of the Nation, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was received by the academia. Our exemplary screening committee had a challenging task to glean from the heartening and erudite responses elicited. The ensuing pages showcase some of the till now unexplored facets of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's persona and spotlights the abundantly enriching panorama of his intellectual prowess.

This volume is envisioned as our humble tribute to one of the phenomenally endowed sons of Mother India. May the halo of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar gather more glory and continue to inspire generations!

Jai Hind!

Dr. Sandhya Nair

Principal

*R. S. Mundle Dharampeth Arts & Commerce College
Nagpur*



शुभेच्छा...!

आज आपल्या भारतात स्वातंत्र्य प्राप्तीनंतर जनमानसात परिवर्तन झालेले आपण अनुभवतो आहोत. निकोप जीवन मूल्यांकडे तरुण पिढी वळली आहे. भारतरत्न डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या विचारांना स्वीकृती व मान्यता प्राप्त होत आहे.

परमपूज्य डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी सन १९२४ ते १९५६ या काळात जे राजकारण केले त्याचे अधिष्ठान “भारत एक सामर्थ्यशाली राष्ट्र म्हणून जगात सन्मानाने उभे रहावे” हेच होते. या अनुकूल वातावरणात शिक्षण क्षेत्रातील प्राध्यापक बंधु - भगिनींनी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या विचारांचा सखोल अभ्यास करुन युवा पिढीला भारताच्या उत्थानासाठी मार्गदर्शनपर लेखन करावे हा उपक्रम अभिनंदनीय आहे.

हे प्रेरक साहित्य युवक - युवतींनी मनापासून ग्रहण करावे या हेतुने प्रस्तावित मासिक निर्मितीच्या प्रयत्नात सक्रिय सर्व बंधु - भगिनींना हार्दिक शुभेच्छा!!!

डॉ. रवीन्द्र शंकर जोशी

अध्यक्ष

धरमपेठ शिक्षण संस्था, नागपूर



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Inspirations for Babasaheb Ambedkar

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Sydney, Australia

Life of Dr. Ambedkar is a proof that the so called backward community or Dalits are second to none in intelligence, patriotism and social reforms; what they lack is enough opportunities to prove themselves. Many Dalit scholars and social reformers before Ambedkar had laid foundation to such a legacy. Lahuji Raghoji Salve (1794 -1881), Mahatma Jotiba Phule (1827 -1890), Sri Narayana Guru (1855 -1928) and Ayyankali (1863 -1941) are examples of this class and they by their dedicated service had awakened the masses for the reforms of Ambedkar to take place. Lahuji Salve or more popularly known as Lahuji Vastad of Pune was a Mang Dalit revolutionary who inspired many by his military trainings and patriotism. He was the mentor for freedom fighters Vasudev Balvant Phadke and Lokmanya Tilak and social reformer Mahatma Jotiba Phule. Let us now consider the pioneers of Dalit movement in modern Bharat.

Pioneers of Dalit Movement in Modern Bharat

Ayya Vaikundar (1809 - 1851) and Ayyavu Swamikal (1814-1909) may be considered the pioneer Social Reformers belonging to low castes in the history of modern Bharat. Both of them are from Tamilnadu - Kerala borders. They brought about great changes in their times and influenced people from all sections of the society.

Ayya Vaikundar (1809 - 1851)

Ayya Vaikundar (1809 - 1851) was a Social Reformer belonging to low caste Nadar Community of Kanyakumari and Tiru Anantapuram Samsthanam. Kanyakumari which is the southern tip of Bharat would have become entirely a Christian district but not for the religious awakening by **Ayya Vaikundar, the first well-known social reformer in India**, in the early part of 19th century.

The cities of Kanyakumari and Nagarkoil were Hindu centres, but mass conversion was conducted by large number of Portuguese priests and missionaries in the regions of Tirunelveli, Nagercoil, Kanyakumari and Travancore. A set of villages in the community of Shanars (now elevated to Nadars) were converted to Christianity, and the temples were converted into religious schools. The first conversion took place in 1784. Despite stiff resistance from landlords in the region, mass conversions continued until the 19th century.

Ayya Vaikundar according to an old Tamil scripture Akilam, was an Avatar of Lord Narayana. He critiqued the caste discrimination and religious hierarchy and fought against the practice of untouchability. He campaigned against witchcraft, sorcery, evil spirits and other esoteric magical practices. Vaikundar encouraged the people to come together around a well to take a ritual bath, irrespective of caste differences. He encouraged them to dine together in his presence. **'Uplift of the lowly is Dharmam'** was a constant refrain in his teachings. Underscoring the importance of self-respect and social dignity, he said, **'if one lives with dignity and self-respect, the kali would destroy itself'**. His exhortation **'ONE CASTE, ONE RELIGION, ONE CLAN, ONE WORLD, ONE GOD'** is world famous.

The Ayya Vaikunda Avataram - Incarnation of Vaikundar is a festival celebrated by his devotees on 3rd March the date on which the Ayyavazhi followers believe that Ayya Vaikundar arose from the sea at Thiruchendur. The Ayya Vaikunda Avataram is a restricted holiday for the entire state of Tamil Nadu and is a local holiday for the districts of Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli and Tuticorin districts. The Great Masi Procession from Nagercoil to Swamithope on the Avathar day is one **among the largest religious processions** in Tamil Nadu.

Thaikkattu Ayyavu Swamikal (1814-1909)

Thaikkattu Ayyavu Swamikal (1814-1909) (Tamilnadu & Kerala) was a Pariah (Dalit) by caste and was the first to break customs related to caste in Kerala when caste restrictions and untouchability were at its extreme. He was the Spiritual Guru of many illustrious religious, social, political and cultural leaders of Kerala like Chattampi Swami, Narayana Guru, Ayyankali, Swathi Tirunal Maharaja and Raja Ravi Varma. He also had several Muslim and Christian devotees in Kerala and Tamilnadu.

Ayyavu Swamikal was born in 1814 in Nakalapuram in Tamil Nadu. His father and grandfather were scholars and experts in yoga and spiritual sciences. He travelled with 2 siddha yogis to Burma, Singapore, Penang and Africa. Subbarayan mastered English Siddha medicine and alchemy during his wanderings with the Siddhas. He went to Trivandrum during the period of Swathi Tirunal Maharaja. The king invited him to the palace and also learned many things from him. Thaicaadu Devi Temple was constructed at a site where Goddess gave darshan to him. He was appointed as the Manager of Travancore Residency in Thaikkattu in 1873. Here he was addressed with respect as Superintend Ayyavu and later as Ayyavu Swamikal. Ayyavu Swamikal visited Vaikunda Swami of Nagercoil. Ayyavu used to deliver lectures on Bhakthi, Yoga and Vedanta. Ayyavu Swami attained Samadhi on 20 July 1909. A Shivalinga was installed over the Samadhi site of Ayyavu Swami in Thaikkattu in 1943. This is now known as Thaikkattu Siva Temple. Ayyavu wrote several books on Bhakthi, Jnana and Yoga in Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam. A few were later published by his disciples.

Ayyavu Swamikal was instrumental in shaping the personalities of many spiritual, cultural and social leaders of erstwhile Travancore in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ayyavu demonstrated by his own life how realization of the Supreme Self is possible even for ordinary people through practising Siva Raja Yoga. The greatness of what he taught is that realization is possible even while leading family life and carrying out one's worldly duties.

Chattampi Swami (1853-1924), Narayana Guru (1854-1928) who contributed much for the modernization of Kerala were his disciples. Ayyavu Swami had several thousand devotees. He also had over fifty disciples consisting of people from diverse fields and castes extending from palace to huts, Nambuthiries, Nairs, Ezhavas, Nadars, Princesses, administrators, doctors, engineers, Muslims, Christians, Hindus and the like. His disciples included Spiritual Masters and Reformers like Chattampi Swami, Narayana Guru, Swayamprakasa Yogini Amma (Kulathoor), Kollathamma; Muslim religious leaders like Makkadi Labba, Thakkala Peermuhammad; and Christian Petta Fernandez; Social and Political Leaders like Ayyankali (1863-1941); Kings and Administrators like Swathi Tirunal Maharaja, Mc Grehara (British official), Surya Narayana Iyyer, Muthukumara Swami Pillai, Vailur Rayasam Madhavan Pillai and Periya Perumal Pillai, Sundaram Iyyenkar; Artists and men of Letters like Raja Ravi Varma (Painting), Kerala Varma Koithampuran, and A.R. Rajaraja Varma (Literature), Padmanbhan Vaidyan (Musician).

Ayyavu Swamikal was a good astrologer and had also the Siddhi to predict future events. His predictions that the younger Maharani's son will become the last Maharaja, that North India will get separated, Ayyankali will be nominated to a participative administrative body to help the downtrodden, the day of his Samadhi etc. became true. Ayyankali was nominated to Sri Moolam Assembly and was honored by the Rulers and later his statue was unveiled by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. Maharaja Chithira Tirunal was also the last King of Travancore as he predicted. Swami also attained Samadhi on the date, he predicted. India got separated into India and Pakistan about fifty years after his prediction.

Philosophy of Ayyavu Swamikal : Ayyavu Swamikal was an adept in 'Siva Raja Yoga', an ancient technique practiced by Tamil Saiva Yogis. He was one of the great teachers of Sivaraja Yoga in modern times. He belonged to the line of Tamil Siddhas consisting of Agasthyar, Bogar, Tirumular, Tirujnana Sambhandhar, Manikka vachakar etc. His disciples Chattampi Swami, Narayana Guru, Swayam Prakasini Amma, and others continued that line of awakening.

He taught his disciples the principles of Advaita, and the practice of one God, one religion and one caste. He proclaimed that 'Intha Ulakathile Ore Oru Matham, Ore Oru Jathy, Ore Oru Kadavul Than'. (One caste, one religion and one god in this world). This teaching influenced Chattampi Swami and Narayana Guru. Guru translated this doctrine into

Malayalam- 'Oru Jathy, Oru Matham, Oru Daivam Manushyanu' which got a magical charm and helped to remove caste difference from the minds of the people of Kerala. The movements initiated by Ayyavu Swami and his disciples are more based on Humanism, Rationalism and Democracy based on universal love rather than the European model of Renaissance or Reformation.

Illustrious Disciples of Ayyavu Swamikal -

Chattampi Swamikal, Sree Narayana Guru, Ayyankali, Maharaja Swathi Tirunal, Raja Ravi Verma

Let us tread the path shown by these leaders and by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to create a society of Samajik Samarasata or Social Harmony - a society that practices liberty, equality and fraternity. For achieving this let us remember Babasaheb's advice "Educate, Agitate and Organise. Have self-confidence".

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- <http://www.oocities.org/guruforum/Thycaud-Ayya-Swamikal.htm>



The Bakhtin Concept of the 'Unfinalizable Self' and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar - A Critique in Post Modernism

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It has been perceived as part of the esoteric vision that every age has its conducive streaks of origin, peak period, dissipation and final merging into the next emanating era. Though within the span of a thus formulated gyre of cyclic civilizations, many innovations, movements, uprisings, wars etc. contribute to the cultural texture of a particular era, the paradigms that facilitated the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century has been phenomenal. This interposed timeline in human civilization under the purview of this paper ushered in the now clichéd 'modernism'. The very many revolutionary and evolutionary intellectual and social ideations that these decades witnessed culminated in umpteen progressive as well as regressive mass and individual movements. Translating this maelstrom of ideas and mankind's march of time into paradigms have always fascinated the intelligentsia and the academia. The intellectual movements that buffeted these times were unparalleled in human history and it is all the more stimulating to reconstruct and deconstruct some of these intellectual episteme that subtly influenced and ushered in Modernism. Among these scripters of Modernism the stature of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is titanic and the ensuing discourse is a review of the Ambedkarism episteme from the Post Modernist prism.

Bharatratna Dr. Ambedkar's ideations are not just well conceived, articulated with a view for acculturation, but zealously debated opening vistas for a pedagogic quest behind this colossal reception-aesthetics. Though most of his a posteriori postulates can fit into the later coined, post colonial umbrella term 'subaltern', undoubtedly Dr. Ambedkar was one of stalwarts of Indian Modernism inspiring efflorescence of one of the finest evolutionary movements in human history. Saluting our freedom struggle dialogs of our very many freedom fighters led by the Father of the Nation 'Bapuji', ushering in an era of political and social freedom, the parallel and more subtle movement that churned the Indian consciousness was Babasaheb's Dalit movement. It indeed was effectively and undoubtedly more humane, more challenging and more emancipatory since it addressed freedom from the age-old mind-rust.

A *post-modernist* perspective of Dr. Ambedkar's ideations can be more illuminating and exploratory through the discerning literary perspectives Mikhail Bakhtin advocates.



Russian Semiotician scholar Bakhtin, was the intellectual contemporary of Bhimrao Ambedkar, trailing him by a negligible margin of four years being born on 17 November 1895 and outliving him by nearly two decades. This critique is an insight into the intellectual moorings of these two original thinker-activists who by birth and upbringing were strikingly non-parallel but for their engagement with the marginalized and the deprived. An appraisal of Dr. Ambedkar's ideations and its unprecedented humanitarian impact reviewed from the Bakhtian concepts will open fresh corridors to gauge the dynamics behind the tremendously impactful discourses of this trailblazer of the masses.

Anticipating Reader-Response theories Bakhtin views that no utterance is in isolation and every utterance has universal connotations. A dialogue or an authentic communication is not just with a target group but exhaustive and it is never self-contained. Every utterance, every pronouncement however inconsequential is realized when it is received or in retrospect. Every utterance is uniquely addressed to every receiver, since every utterance affects each one from one's own ethno - cultural space. These are the multiple voices-polyphonic-not just restricted to the author's voice but eliciting co-texts and plurality of consciousnesses. The charisma Dr.Ambedkar's aura attributes considerably to this Bakhtin concept.

From the ambits of the Russian Formalism, Mikhail Bakhtin propounded certain concepts that can help researchers to explore co-texts to contextualize 'Ambedkarism' -a term now made popular by Dr. Gail Omvedt. One of key Bakhtin precepts that lends scope for a fresh appraisal of Ambedkarian charisma is Polyphony. The commendable positive connect that Dr.Ambedkar could elicit from the masses can best be explained from the Bakhtian episteme 'Heteroglossia'. For Bakhtin meanings can never be found in isolation, every speech/writing has to be interpreted in their spatial and temporal context. While interpreting the dynamics of communication he defines heteroglossia as "another's speech in another's language, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way." (Bakhtin) In contrast to 'monoglossia' which is authoritative, author-centric, closed and hierarchically superior demanding unconditional allegiance of the receivers/ listeners/ readers heteroglossia discourses are dialogic, open to interpretation, accommodates hybrid voices, promotes multiple discourses and is a-authoritarian. The power of Ambedkarism lies in its dialogic traits as opposed to monologic discourses.

Dialogic writing and speech always engage in continuous dynamic dialogues with other texts, authors, ideations and ideologies. At any given point of time a dialogic text unlike its monologic counterpart, is in communication with multiple texts, nothing is spoken in vacuum. This substantiates that every discourse/text of Dr. Ambedkar is constantly and perennially in dialogic mode, it will continue to vibrantly exist in response to ideas that have been expressed before and will anticipate ideas that will mushroom in response. Thus the effectiveness of Dr. Ambedkar's discourses is characterized by this heteroglossia trait that

facilitates polyphonic voices in the very same texts/discourses. There are no neutral words; every uttered word when contextualized speaks with hybrid intentions and meanings. As a post-modern critique, Bakhtin's Heteroglossia lends kaleidoscopic, multiple and hybrid analyses of Dr. Ambedkar's dialogisms.

Dr. Ambedkar's oeuvre is a celebration of what Bakhtin defines as dialogic imagination. Dr. Ambedkar's dialogism embodies the spirit of inclusive participation that inspiringly mesmerizes the receivers almost to reverence. This sterling quality of his language use is the externalization of Dr. Ambedkar's dialogic imagination. Akin to Martin Buber's rising above 'Dialectics' his espousals define the subtleties of what Bakhtin envisages as monologic and dialogic imagination.

"A person employing monologue seeks to command, coerce, manipulate, conquer, dazzle, deceive, or exploit. Other persons are viewed as "things" to be exploited solely for the communicator's self-serving purpose: they are not taken seriously as persons. Choices are narrowed and consequences are obscured. Focus is on the communicator's message, not on the audience's real needs. The core values, goals, and policies espoused by the communicator are impervious to influence exerted by receivers. Audience feedback is used only to further the communicator's purpose. An honest response from a receiver is not wanted or is precluded. Monological communicators persistently strive to impose their truth or program on others; they have the superior attitude that they must coerce people to yield to what they believe others ought to know. A dialogic view of public relations differs from a technician approach by being more humanistic, communication-centered, relationship-focused, and ethical. This perspective focuses on communicative relationships rather than on technical skills. Traditional approaches to public relations relegate publics to a secondary role, making them an instrument for meeting organizational policy or marketing needs; whereas, dialogue elevates publics to the status of communication equal with the organization." (In Theory Bakhtin)

Dr. Ambedkar's authentic dialogic communication is an open-ended dialogue involving the entire social milieu- impacting the present, dynamically readjusting the past and orienting the future. At all these pan-spanned dialogic communication, polyphonic voices are at work. Polyphony, a term borrowed from music delegates the multiple voices at work at every reception point. The aesthetics of reception affirms that Ambedkarism is a dialogic process involving polyphony and not dialectic. A dialectic process aims at resolving, merging or at reaching a putative solution overriding other paradigms. Dr. Ambedkar's polyphonic dialogism is not a compromise. It is re-accentuation of subdued and marginalised voices in an attempt to subvert dominant monologic paradigms.

Polyphony entails a vibrant cobweb of relationships between self and others. No voice of the self can exist in isolation. Every authentic utterance is inescapably intertwined with

others. Dr. Ambedkar's polyphony is a legacy for mankind, his polyphony is eternally eclectic and dynamic. His polyphony is 'unfinalizable', and it is this unfinalizability of the self that create true polyphony.

The Post-Modern halo of Dr. Ambedkar as the 'unfinalizable self' not just alludes to polyphony, but to the infinitely potential insignia of his persona.

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Reservations and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

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According to Dr. Ambedkar reservations are constitutional protection, guarantees and safeguards for the minorities against the discrimination by the communal majority. The source of sovereignty of the State lies in the sovereignty of the people. A democratic State therefore guarantees the fundamental rights of its citizens. His objective is to make India The United States of India. We must be Indian first and Indian last. His personal constitution for India **is States and Minorities (1947)**. He thinks that political democracy is impossible without social democracy. Republic as Rule of Law can not survive without providing equal protection of law for the minorities to allay the fears of majority which is communal in India. He suggests two amendments to the constitution. The first is to make the Qualified States of free and equal and the second is to make plural constituencies with cumulative voting. This will strengthen democracy and sovereignty as guarantee of Unity and Integration of India. His approach to reservations is national and constitutional.

Therefore, he rightly reminds to friends of democracy and freedom the words of John Adams:

We may appeal to every page of history we have hitherto turned over, for proof irrefragable that the people when they have been unchecked, have been as unjust, tyrannical, brutal, barbarous, and cruel as any king or Senate possessed of uncontrollable power : the majority has eternally and without one exception usurped over the rights of the minority. (Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables, 1943)

States and Minorities (1947)

An attempt is made here to bring out the salient features of **States and Minorities (1947)** briefly as under:

I. Fundamental Rights of Citizens:

Dr. Ambedkar provides 21 fundamental rights to the citizens of The United States of India which guarantee right to life, liberty, equality, property, individual dignity and justice to all the people without any discrimination on the grounds of Caste, Religion, Gender, Race etc.

II. Remedies Against Invasion of Fundamental Rights :

Ambedkar suggests that The United States of India shall provide the following remedies:

1. Judicial protection against Executive Tyranny :

The Supreme Court shall have power of Superintendence and to issue prerogative writs on the application of an aggrieved party.

2. Protection against Unequal Treatment :

The authority of the legislature and the executive of the Union and the States shall not be competent to pass a law or issue an order, rule or regulation violating the fundamental rights of the subjects.

3. Protection against Discrimination :

Discrimination against citizens by Government officers and private employers on grounds of race, creed or social status shall be an offence.

4. The Constitutional Law shall provide for State Socialism in key industries, insurance and agriculture.

How the Agricultural Industry shall be organized and the collective forms managed, are described in detail with their duties and procedures.

III. Provisions for the Protection of Minorities :

1. The Constitution shall provide protection against communal executive :

- a) That the executive of Union and State shall be Non-parliamentary in the sense that it shall not be removable till the term is over.
- b) Members of the executive shall have the right to participate in the proceedings of the house.
- c) The representatives in the Cabinet shall be elected by the minority members in the legislative by a single transferable vote.
- d) The Prime Minister shall be elected by the whole House by single transferable vote.
- e) The representatives of majority community shall be elected in the cabinet by the whole House by single transferable vote.
- f) A member of the cabinet may resign his post on censure motion or otherwise but shall not be impeached by the House on the ground of corruption or treason.

2. Protection against social and official tyranny :

- a) That the superintendent of minority affairs shall be appointed.
- b) That his status shall be of the Auditor General appointed under section 166 of the Govt. of India Act 1935 and removable in the manner like a Supreme Court Judge.

- c) The Superintendent shall prepare an annual report on the treatment of minorities by the public and Governments-Union and State of any transgression of safeguards or any miscarriage of justice due to communal bias by Governments or their officers.
- d) The Annual report shall be tabled in the Legislatures of the Union and the States for discussion of the report.

3. Protection against social boycott:

The Social Boycott, either promoting or threatening a Social Boycott shall be deemed to be a cognizable offence.

4. Power of Government to spend money for any purpose connected with the Govt. of India including purposes beneficial to the minorities and to make grants for any purposes shall not be abridged or taken away.

IV. Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes

The Constitution provides Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes in the following forms:

1. Guarantees

The Constitution shall guarantee to the Scheduled Castes:

- a. Right to Representation in the Legislature;
- b. Right to Representation in the Executive;
- c. Right to Representation in the Services.

The quantum of representation of Scheduled Castes shall be minimum in proportion to their population in the Union Legislature, State Legislature and Local Bodies. Provided that no other minority is allowed to claim more representation than what is due to it on the basis of its population. The principle of Weightage shall be applied to make the reasonable balance between the communal majority and the minorities in inverse proportion to their social, economic and educational status. The Method of Election proposed by Poona Pact shall be abolished and there shall be separate electorates to the Scheduled Castes and minorities. There shall be adult franchise with Cumulative Voting.

In proportion to the population of the Scheduled Castes, there shall be representation in the executive and the services. The Concessions and the method of filling up the vacancies shall be as per the Government of India Resolutions 1942, 1945 and 1946.

2. Special Responsibilities

The United States of India shall make provisions for Higher Education and New Settlements and State Governments shall make adequate provision in the budget for the Scheduled Castes. The constitution shall provide for New Settlements for the Scheduled Castes. The Settlement Commission for this purpose shall be formed under the Union Government.

3. Sanction for Safeguards and Amendments of Safeguards

The Constitution shall provide that :

- a. The United States of India undertakes to give the safeguards for the Scheduled Castes a place in the Constitution and make them a part of the Constitutional Law of India.
- b. The provisions for the Scheduled Castes shall not be altered, amended or abridged unless by following a due procedure that requires the consent of the members of the Scheduled Castes in the House by two-thirds majority immediately before and after the elections.

4. Protection of Scheduled Castes in the Indian States:

The Constitution shall make provision for admission into the Union to any state subject to the condition:

“All provisions relating to the Scheduled Castes contained in section IV of Article II of the constitution of the United States of India shall be extended to the Scheduled Castes in Indian States and shall be a condition precedent for its admission into the Union (1947).”

v. **The Scheduled Castes as Minority :**

1. The Scheduled Castes, as defined in the Govt. of India Scheduled Castes order, 1936, issued under the Govt. of India Act, 1935, shall be deemed to be a Minority.
2. A caste which is a Scheduled Caste in one State shall be treated as Scheduled Caste in all States of the Union.

Principles for true and accountable Representation:

Dr. Ambedkar proposes in his article Communal Deadlock and a Way to Solve it (1945) principles for true and accountable Representation to break the communal deadlock:

1. Majority rule is untenable in theory and unjustifiable in practice. A majority community may be conceded a relative majority of representation but it can never claim an absolute majority.
2. The relative majority of representation given to a majority community in the Legislature should not be so large as to enable the majority to establish its rule with the help of the smallest minorities (Communal Deadlock and a Way to Solve it, 1945).

His purpose is to enable a minority to select the candidates to the Legislature who will be real and not nominal representatives of the minority.

However, in Thoughts on Linguistic States (1955) he provides a remedy by suggesting two safeguards for the Minorities. His first safeguard is not to have too large a state. And his second safeguard is some provision for representation of Minorities in the legislature.

Principles for the Creation of Linguistic States (1955) :

Ambedkar states in his Thoughts on Linguistic States 1955 that a mixed state must be abolished and every state must be unilingual based on the principle one state one language. The consolidation of the North and the balkanization of the South is against the fundamental rights of the citizens as well as against democracy and sovereignty of the Indian Republic. The units of India must be free and equal and should have equal size of population, revenue and the representation. The Loksabha and the Rajya sabha should also have equal representation. To protect the Minorities from the tyranny of the communal majority, every State should be small, viable and efficient administrative unit. The official language of the Union and the States must be Hindi and English should be second official language to supplement Hindi. Regional languages should never be the official languages of the States. The underlying principle is that all units of the State must be free and equal.

However, Ambedkar revises his scheme of Representation in Thoughts on Linguistic States (1955) as:

Separate electorates or reservation of seats must not be restored to. It would be enough to have plural member constituencies (of two or three) with cumulative voting in place of single-member constituency embodied in the present constitution. This will allay the fears which the minorities have about the linguistic states (1955).

To sum up, Ambedkar considers Reservations as principle of equal protection of law under Rule of Law of the Indian Republic which shall be the United States of India. He boldly declares that his personal constitution for India shall be States and Minorities (1947) however, in Thoughts on Linguistic States (1955) he is flexible and skillful enough to revise his plan in the context of the present constitution suggesting two amendments to it: first, States must be small, free and equal with Hindi as official language of both States as well as of Union. Second, plural member constituencies with cumulative voting. Thus he is a strong advocate of social democracy without which political democracy is impossible. All the units of the State from top to bottom must be free and equal to establish a strong Nation imbued with a fellow feeling of oneness and social fraternity. He combines parliamentary democracy and State Socialism in all the key and basic industries including insurance and agriculture industry to provide citizens freedom from fear and freedom for want and to provide to State freedom from internal disorder and external aggression.

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Ambedkar is Ambedkar Champion of Human Rights

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Ambedkar is Ambedkar only, There are no substitutes for Ambedkar, Ambedkar's political philosophy is incomparable. He is a realistic political philosopher relevant in contemporary Indian society and politics. He is a motivating force not only Dalits and downtrodden, but also for the entire Indian People who believe in justice, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar can be termed as the omnipotent organizational leader of modern India. In the era of globalization with the information revolution and presence of Dalit Diaspora, Ambedkar is revered all over the world and truly he has become a Global icon. Today Ambedkar is accepted not only as a Dalit leader and Architect of Constitution but also as a 'nation builder', a human rights champion and 'Global Icon'. This article is a humble effort to understand and analyze how Ambedkar conceptualized the principles of social justice. However, before we analyze his ideas of social justice let us look at the concept of social justice as propounded by the different social scientists. Based on the principles enshrined in the scientific definition of Social justice we will evolve a 'purposive' definition of social justice with principles as envisaged by Ambedkar.

There are two fundamental types of human nature-creative and possessive. Creative humans use human intellect for creative endeavors which enrich human thought. Jyotirao Fule, Periyar and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar all belong to the great class of Creative humans, with knowledge as wealth, they contributed tremendously to human heritage and posterity. Possessive people, as on the other hand do not believe in the use of human intellect for creative purpose. The category of Gautam, Christ, Guru Nanak, Kabir, Ravidas, Tukarama, Kṛtībā were called as Humanists. Ambedkar was one of the most remarkable leaders who played a major role in Indian politics, especially for the upliftment of the downtrodden.

Understanding Social Justice

Justice is to be considered as "*giving to each what he or she is due to receive*." The problem is knowing what is "due". Functionally, "justice" is a set of universal principles which guide people in judging what is right and what is wrong, no matter what culture and society they live in. Justice is one of the four "cardinal virtues" of classical moral philosophy, along with

courage, temperance (self-control) and prudence (efficiency). (Faith, hope and charity are considered to be the three "religious" virtues.) Virtues or "good habits" help individuals to develop fully their potentials, thus enabling them to serve their own self-interests as well as work in harmony with others for their common good. The ultimate purpose of all the virtues is to elevate the dignity and sovereignty of the human being. Social justice encompasses economic justice. Social justice is the virtue which guides us in creating those organized human interactions we call institutions. In turn, social institutions, when properly organized, provide us with access to what is good for the person, both individually and in our associations with others. Social justice also imposes on each of us a personal responsibility to work with others to design and continually perfect our institutions as tools for personal and social development.

The concept of social justice is based on a variety of factors, like political orientation, religious background, and social philosophy. Social justice is concerned with equal justice, not just in the courts, but in all aspects of society. This concept demands that people have equal rights and opportunities; everyone, from the poorest person on the margins of society to the wealthiest deserve an even playing field. Equal rights can be defined as equal access to things that make it possible for people in any social sector to be successful. Therefore, leftist philosophy would support things like anti-discrimination laws and equal opportunity programs, that help provide equality for all. Social justice, sometimes called civil justice, is a concept largely based on various social contract theories. The concept is not limited to upholding human rights; but concerning more equitable distributions of wealth and resources. "Social justice" refers to the overall fairness of a society in its divisions of rewards and burdens. It stands for the principle that all persons are entitled to "basic human needs", regardless of "superficial differences such as economic disparity, class, gender, race, ethnicity, citizenship, religion, age, sexual orientation, disability, or health". This includes the eradication of poverty and illiteracy, the establishment of sound environmental policy, and equality of opportunity for healthy personal and social development.

Plato defined social justice as, "the principle of a society consisting of different types of men...who have combined the impulse of their need for one another and their concentration on their combination in one society and their concentration on their separate functions, have made a whole which is perfect because it is the product of image of the whole of the human mind" In modern times the term social justice was first used in 1840 by a Sicilian priest, Luigi Taparelli d' Azeglio. However, Antonio Rasmini Serbasti gave the term prominence in his work, *La constitutione Civile Secodo La Giurtizia Sociale* in the year 1848. (1)

The notion of Social Justice, is thought to mean the promotion of equality through comprehensive government action. In practice this intervention has not often produced

equitable results, resulting in favoritism towards classes of people, restrictions of personal liberty and excessive regulatory burdens. Many critics regard the guarantee of equal outcomes implicit in many social justice movements antithetical to the notion of equal opportunity, as it frequently requires special, favored treatment to arbitrary classes of people. Actual justice, they argue, holds all persons to the same standards and does not penalize success nor reward failure, but holds all persons to the same standards regardless of their race, ethnic origin, financial condition, religion or beliefs.

When we analyse Ambedkar's social philosophy and his views about the concept of Social Justice it is clear that Dr. Ambedkar in America, studied the western liberal thought and the humanitarian philosophy expounded by great thinkers such as Prof. John Dewey, who was also his teacher, John Stuart Mill, Edmund Burke, and Prof. Harold Laski to name a few. The impact of these original thinkers on Dr. Ambedkar's mind is evident from the frequent quotations one comes across in his writings and speeches. Whereas the West gave Ambedkar his 'weapon', the Indian masters gave him his soul force. Social Philosophy of Dr Ambedkar can be studied in three words: Liberty, equality, and fraternity. He said, I have borrowed my philosophy from the French Revolution.I have derived them from the teachings of my master, the Buddha.” (2)

Dr. Ambedkar believed that if he succeeded in his struggle – ***struggle for a just social order*** – it will prove a blessing for all Indians, not merely any group or community. He wanted the dominating section of our people to adopt a strong position against the hierarchical social order. Regrettably, not many have taken a position. “My ideal would be a society based on *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*. An ideal society (a) should be mobile, (b) should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to other parts, (c) there should be many interests consciously communicated and shared. (d) There should be varied and free points of contact with other modes of association. In other words, there must be social endomosis.” (3)

Karl Marx has scientifically analyzed this conflict by applying the principles of dialectical materialism to the sphere of social phenomenon and described it as the historical materialism. Slavery, apartheid, gender bias and caste system are the abominable creations of possessive people for the exploitation of creative people. These are evils created by man for the exploitation of man. Those, who have raised their voices against these evils and given a relentless fight against the prevailing social order of their times in order to free the creative peoples from the shackles imposed on them have become immortal personalities in the human history. (4)

Ambedkar & Reform in Hindu social order

The Hindu society has demonstrated both its willingness and capacity to reform itself by rediscovering its own foundational principles as well as by learning from other constituents

of humanity. This is due to the efforts of many modern-day saints and social reformers such as Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule and his wife Savitribai Phule, Narayana Guru and of course, Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. In this context, Balasaheb Deoras, the third **Sarsanghchalak** of the RSS, once said that , 'If *untouchability* is not a sin, then nothing in the world is a sin.

Hinduism is the repository of the most exalted teachings about human evolution and realisation of God. The freedom of thought and expression that it provides in all intellectual, theological and philosophical matters is unmatched. So much so that even Charvaka, who denied the existence of God, was respected as a **rishi** (seer), The **Bhagavad Gita** states emphatically that a man's greatness is determined by his karma and not by his birth. Due to many historical factors the Hindu society acquired certain negative, regressive and thoroughly indefensible features, which it has still not fully got rid of. The concept of 'untouchables' is the most debilitating among these drawbacks.

Dr. Ambedkar had rightly said that political freedom is incomplete without social and economic freedom. We must stand towards eradicating the evil of unsociability, untouchability and caste discrimination in our society. The mission for social equality and social justice is still incomplete. Indeed, Hindu society should be based on equality and free from exploitation . we should recognize that the struggle for achieving this noble goal requires sustained and multi-pronged efforts.

Dr. Ambedkar's quest for social justice can be visualized in the philosophy, policy and ideals of the constitution of India. The substance of justice, liberty, equality and benefitting human dignity of individual are made more elaborate in the constitution for social revolution and the reconstruction of a classless society. The fundamental rights as a whole foster the social reconstruction by generating equality, prohibiting discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, abolishing untouchability and making its practice in any form is an offence punishable by law, and banning of trafficking of human beings and forced labour, which furnished a solid basis for social inequalities and injustices. (5)

Dr. Ambedkar gave the central slogan of his life: “*Educate, Agitate and Organise*”. This electrifying message truly captures the spirit of the Marxian concept of praxis, of “action, reflection, action”. In the Indian context, education assumes a crucial role because the vast majority of untouchable masses are illiterate. Further, it is not just literacy that he calls for, but education; and not education alone, but agitation and organization too. (6)

Ambedkar & Educational uplift of depressed classes

There are some points which reflect Ambedkar's views about education. In 1928, the Government of Bombay constituted a committee to enquire into the educational, socio-economic conditions of the depressed classes to recommend measures for their uplift.

Dr. Ambedkar was a prominent member of the committee. Dr. Ambdekar recommended following points for the upliftment of depressed classes -

1. Give up the idea that parents give 'janma' to the child and not destiny(karma). They can mould the destiny of their children by providing them education.
2. Knowledge is the foundation of man's life.
3. Education is as necessary for females as it is for males.
4. If one's education is detrimental to the welfare of the poor, the educated man is a curse to the society.
5. Character is more important than education. (7)

Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy of education, aims at creation of liberating consciousness, which is not just formal education, but the conscientious process of education, agitation and organization, put together. However, there is much confusion about the order of the slogan "Education, Agitation and Organise". "Apparently, the confusion has arisen due to the imperfection in translation. When agitation is translated as "**sanghrash**", the question arises as to how **sangharsh** is possible without 'organsation', and thus 'organise' is sought to be put before 'agitate'. But the word 'agitate' not only means 'sangharsh', but also the agitation of the mind and then awareness, which should proceed organization. But 'organise' is also something mistook for 'unite'. These words have different connotations. Organisation is based on a 'consciousness of kind', but unity is possible with a 'consciousness' of a different 'kind' for a limited objective. Further, when Babasaheb give a call 'agitate', it should be seen in the light of his formulation of the 'pathetic contentment' of the Indian mind and the need to have a 'divine discontentment'. So there should not be any confusion. The central slogan, then, is very clear-"Educate, Agitate and Organise". (8)

Significance of Buddhism in Ambedkar's life

Dr. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism because the Buddhist dharma is based on scientific reasoning, it seeks to achieve human freedom, equality, liberty and fraternity. According to him Buddha taught, "social freedom, intellectual freedom, and political freedom. He taught equality, equality not between man and man only but between man and woman. His concern was to give salvation to man in his life on earth, and not to promise it to him in heaven after he is dead." (9)

In spite of all the atrocities that he had gone through, Ambedkar was not against religion. He considered religion as essential for the proper development of mankind.

After a comparative study of different religions, he concluded that Buddhism was the best religion from this point of view. In his article "Buddha and the Future of his Religion" published in 1950 in the Mahabodhi Society Journal, Ambedkar has summarized his views on religion and on Buddhism in the following manner:

1. The society must have either the sanction of law or the sanction of morality to hold it together. Without either, the society is sure to go into pieces.
2. Religion, if it is to survive, it must be in consonance with reason, which is another name for science.
3. It is not enough for religion to consist of moral code, but its moral code must recognize the fundamental tenets of liberty, equality and fraternity.
4. Religion must not sanctify or make a virtue out of poverty. (10)

Buddha's religion was based on proper reflection and reason. He asked his disciples not to follow him blindly, but accept him only after testing his words with reason. Ambedkar felt that modern civilization needed such a rational religion. He wished to have the religion in the sense of morality, which remains the governing principle in every society. It must be scientific. As a social code of morality it must recognize the fundamental tenets of liberty, equality and fraternity. The most important aspect is that it has to enrich the lives of people mentally and materially. At the age of sixteen Ambedkar was fascinated by the book called Buddha Charita in Marathi. He realized that Buddhism was the greatest of all the religions in the world as it was not merely a religion but a great social doctrine.

Ambedkar embraced Buddhism on October 14, 1956 at Nagpur along with many of his followers. After his initiation into Buddhism he gave the following message to his fellow Buddhists: Having embraced Buddhism, the responsibility of following it sincerely rests on you. Try to elevate the nobility of this religion by your own behavior. Try to spread the message of Buddha and liberate the people not only of your own country but also of the world. He said:

For a man it is his birthright to lead an honorable life. To achieve this aim, we must do our utmost. We are prepared to make the greatest sacrifice for achieving this. We are struggling for human dignity.

Ambedkar's views on social justice

Although, Ambedkar has not propound any specific definition or theory of "Social Justice" per se. Yet, on the basis of his writings and speeches we can easily discuss that Ambedkar has mentioned multiple principles for the establishment of an open and just social order in general and Indian society in particular. Therefore with the help of these elements we can carve out a theory of social justice, what can then be referred as Ambedkar's theory of Social Justice. We can extract five basic principles, from writings and speeches of Ambedkar, through which justice can be dispensed in the society. These are :

1. Establishing a society where individual becomes the means of all social purposes.
2. Establishment of society based on equality, liberty and fraternity.
3. Establishing democracy- political, economic and social.

4. Establishing democracy through constitutional measures.
5. Establishing democracy by breaking monopoly of upper strata on political power.

Going by the principles of Ambedkar's theory of social justice, Ambedkar was of the opinion that Social Justice can be dispensed in a free social order in which an individual is end in itself.

Arguing a case for open social order Ambedkar emphasized that generally there are two fundamental and essentials of a free social order. "The first is that the individual is an end himself and that the aim and object of society is the growth of the individual and the development of his personality. Society is not above the individual.

It is with this aim he had rejected village as a unit of governance and adopted the individual as its unit. He vehemently criticized the part played by village communities in the history and congratulated the Drafting committee for accepting individual as the unit of governance.

A man's power is dependent upon 1) physical heredity 2) social inheritance or endowment in the form of parental care, education, accumulation of scientific knowledge, everything which enables him to be more efficient than the savage and finally 3) on his own efforts. In all these three aspects men are undoubtedly unequal. But the question is, shall we treat them as unequal because they are unequal? From the stand point of the individualistic view it may be just to treat men unequally so far their efforts are unequal. It may be desirable to give as much incentives as possible to the full development of every one's powers. But what would happen if men were treated unequally as they are, in the first two respects, it is obvious that those individuals also in whose favor there is birth, education, family name, and inherited wealth would be selected in the race but selection under such circumstances would not be a selection of the able. It would be the selection of the privileged. The reason therefore, which forces that in the third respect we should treat men equally. The doctrine of equality is glaringly fallacious but taking all in all it is the only way a statesman can proceed in politics which is a severely practicable affair and which demands a severely practical test"

After India's political independence for dispensing social justice in the wake of emerging democracy in a hierarchically arranged society, Ambedkar discussed the operationalization of principles of equality, liberty, and fraternity, which were considered to be cardinal principles of any democracy. He argued, "*We must... not...be content with mere political democracy. We must make sure our political democracy a social democracy as well*" Ambedkar went on to define social democracy as well.

It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles are not to be treated as separate items of trinity" Another significant contribution of Ambedkar in the process of establishment of social democracy is his

explanation of nature of three cardinal principles of democracy i.e. liberty, equality, and fraternity. He opined, "They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality, equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity.

Finally Dr. Ambedkar cautioned the Indians how to eradicate the conditions of persisting inequality and emerging equality with the dispensation of social justice. In his own words, "On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social economic life we will have inequality. In Politics we will be recognizing the principle 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 live this life of contradiction? How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. The second thing we are wanting is recognition of the principle of fraternity. What does fraternity mean? Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of Indians being one people. It is the principle, which gives unity and solidarity to social life. It is difficult thing to achieve".

Although initially Dr. Ambedkar was skeptical of delivery of justice through government machinery but later on he preferred the same by having the share of Dalits in it. Going by the then existing Hindu social order expressing his anguish on the failure of delivery of justice Ambedkar had opined "It might have been brought that the principle of equal justice would strike a death blow to the established order. As a matter of fact, far from suffering any damage the established order has continued to operate in spite of it.

Ambedkar had cautioned people that, "*If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, ... we must do to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of **civil disobedience, non-cooperation** and **satyagraha**.*

When there was no alternative for constitutional method for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned, the better for us"

He was also for the freedom of the individual as well. Furthermore, even for the healthy future of the emerging Indian democracy he wanted to strengthen social and economic equality along with political one. According to Ambedkar one of the ways to deliver social justice to the individual was by breaking the monopoly of the upper strata. Ambedkar in this regard opined, "...there can be no gainsaying that political power in this country has too

long been the monopoly of a few. This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment; it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. This urge of self-realization in the down-trodden classes must not be allowed into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would be a day of disaster. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life.

Conclusions

An attempt has been made to discuss the themes of social justice and in this light; it also discusses Ambedkar's theory of social justice. Accordingly social justice has been defined in the paper as a principle that lays down the foundation of a society based on equality, liberty and fraternity. Although Plato and Rawls have not defined social justice in these specific terms, yet these aforesaid principles can be inferred from their writings on social justice. Once this proposition about social justice is accepted it was easy to infer from Ambedkar's writings and speeches published posthumously, that equality, liberty, and fraternity are the basic principles of his theory as well.

He had argued that, without equality liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of life. Moreover, Dr. Ambedkar had envisaged that social justice could be brought when political democracy is extended in social and economic fields as well. This has to be done through constitutional means and by breaking the monopoly of the erstwhile political and social elites. That is why he wanted that the Dalits and other marginalized sections of the society should join the administration. Ambedkar was aware of the existing corruption and biases in the Indian administration and judiciary. For him incorporation of aspiration of the marginalized categories in the rules and policy is not enough for dispensing social justice but incorporation of the individuals is also a must condition for dispensing justice. Hence Ambedkar's theory of social justice becomes akin to Plato and John Rawls's theory of social justice. Further, with the help of Beteille's analysis of distributive justice which includes distribution of benefits equally to every member of society, equality before law, equal protection of laws and equality of opportunity reflect upon the other elements of Ambedkar's theory of social justice. In this context we can observe that Ambedkar had already enshrined these values in the Constitution of India. The value of equality in the preamble of the Indian Constitution is not only a slogan. Rather it has been substantiated with equality of opportunity (Article 16) and equality of condition that is reservation (Articles 330, 332, 335 and 46). This was done specifically because he might have thought that in a hierarchical society, like India, equality of opportunity may in turn produce inequality and subordination. Today we need to

popularize one slogan vigorously in times to come '**Sab jaati mahaan, Sab jaati samaan**' (All castes are great and all castes are equal).”

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Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : An Epitome of Social Justice

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Introduction

Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was born as the fourteenth child of Mahar parents, Ramji and Bhimabai, on 14 April 1891 at Mhow, in present-day State of Madhya Pradesh. The Mahars are considered to be low-caste and treated as untouchables (Dalit) by the higher caste Hindus. These communities are mainly found in the State of Maharashtra.

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar had a bitter taste of discriminatory treatment due to his low caste at an early age. He and his brother had to carry gunny bags to sit on inside the classroom because they were not allowed to sit on classroom benches. They were denied drinking water facilities and excluded from common games/sports and mixing with higher caste children. Even teachers would not check their notebooks for fear of "pollution." All these ill-treatments sowed the seeds of discontentment about the Hindu social system in the life of Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar and decided to launch large number movements for social justice for the marginalized class of our Indian society.

The present paper will highlight the social movements launched by Ambedkar in order to provide social justice to dalit (Scheduled castes) in India. An attempt is made to understand the meaning of social justice. Democracy is the pre-condition of social justice. Justice, Liberty, equality and fraternity are the pillars of democracy. Though democracy is western concept but still it is essential for providing justice to Indian people. Hence, before I discuss the concept of social justice, I will explain the concepts of democracy and equality. The present paper will also study the two important movements launched by Babasaheb Ambedkar for social justice for marginalized sections of Indian society.

Dr. Ambedkar did not find any reason to accept Divine Law as the sustainer of social justice in human society. He did not believe in any kind of theological view of justice as preached by Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism and other religious leaders. He stood for the secular and moral aspects of social justice. Before I discuss the concept of democracy as viewed by Dr. Ambedkar, it will be important to understand Dr. Ambedkar's view of social justice.

Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice means a mode of life to give every man his right place in society. Its precepts may be: to live honourably, to give respect to all, to injure no one, and to give every man his due without any artificial discrimination in mind and unnatural classification in society. The other precepts of social justice are: the supremacy of constitutional rule, equality before law, grant of fundamental rights, performance of duties, adherence to social and legal obligations, and finally a staunch faith in the values of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and dignity of human personality. The concept of social justice, in Dr. Ambedkar's view, is a problem not merely of distributing the material abundance among the people but basically a mode of life based on mutual respect and regard, a feeling of fellow-ship as equal members of a society. Hence, the measure of social justice is not material progress, but the proliferation of human values among the people.

Dr. Ambedkar : Harbinger of Social Justice

Dr. Ambedkar launched numerous social movements and took the cause of the dalits. He roused the dalit consciousness to fight for the eradication of dalit discrimination, to claim equality of treatment, status and opportunity, to equally enjoy all right-civil, political, social and economic respect for dignity of all persons. Today, he is considered to be a crusader for human rights of dalits in India.[1] Dr. Ambedkar, a great social revolutionary leader and supporter of Human Rights, dedicated his life to the cause of the downtrodden of India. While elaborating the concept of social justice one can accept that Dr. Ambedkar had a very liberal concept of justice in the sense of its being grounded in human values. "Justice", for Dr. Ambedkar, "is simply another name for liberty, equality and fraternity." [2] This forms the corner-stone of Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice. It upholds the dignity of human personality. As the chief architect of India's Constitution, he got it shaped clearly on the values of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and dignity of man. These ideals of social justice denote brotherly relations of a citizen with every other citizen in our society; it abhors caste barriers between man and man; and demands respect for all citizens from everyone.

Democracy : A pre-condition for Social Justice

Dr Ambedkar is remembered as the messiah of social justice and considered as an indefatigable defender of Human Rights. He fought for the equal rights of dalit in India. He himself experienced the pangs of social injustice, faced difficulties and fought against them. How dalits could get their social justice? Dalits can get their social justice only in a democratic system of government. Dr. Ambedkar viewed that Democracy is the pre-condition for social justice. In democratic system of government, people can experience liberty, equality and fraternity. How democratic government can be established? Among other principles of democracy, Justice is one of them. The concept of social justice upholds the dignity of human personality. As the chairman of drafting committee of Indian Constitution, he got it shaped clearly on the values of justice, liberty, fraternity and dignity of

all human being. These ideals of social justice denote brotherly relations of a citizen with every citizen in our society; it abhors caste barriers between man and man; and demands respect for all citizens from everyone. As Article [1] Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948 states that, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights..." The spirit of social justice gives a very important place to mutual sympathy and respect. [3] Dr. Ambedkar feels that equality is the binding affairs of the people. At the same time he feels that fraternity is the in-depth feeling to provide an atmosphere wherein people could enjoy the values of liberty and equality. According to Dr. Ambedkar, Fraternity is a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians, all Indians being one people. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life. [4] Dr. Ambedkar stressed that all three principles cannot be divorced from each other. At the same time all go side by side. One supplements and completes the other in process of social justice.

Democracy vis-a-vis Social Equality

Article 5 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948 states that, "No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." He realized that entire Indian social structure had become hollow and fragile because of exploitation and inequality. He wanted to remove inequality from our India society. Dr Ambedkar got an opportunity to raise the issue of social democracy in the Constituent Assembly. He was made chairman of the drafting committee along with six other members, namely Sir Krishnaswami Ayyangar, N. Gopalswami Ayyangar, K. M. Munshi, Saiyed Mohammed Sadulla, Sir B. L. Mittar and D. P. Khaitan. (After first meeting Sir B. L. Mittar ceased to be a member and in his place N. Madhava Rao was nominated). He warned the Constituent Assembly saying, "We must remove graded inequality earliest possible moment or else who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which the Constituent Assembly has to labouriously built up." [5] No doubt he was the supporter of democracy. For him, democracy was a well devised engine to achieve the end, that is, the welfare of the people at large. In a way democracy ultimately will promote human rights. Abraham Lincoln says: "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy." 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 said, "**Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organization.**" With this social organization social justice of all can be protected.

While elaborating the concept of democracy he said that people should not be contented with mere political democracy but they should make the political democracy a social and economic democracy. He added that political democracy will not last unless and until it has base on social democracy which will recognize liberty, equality and fraternity as the

principles of life. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over many. Equality, without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things.

Dr. Ambedkar was of the firm belief that supreme power in democracy always vested with the people collectively. It must not go in the hands of one particular caste. Dr. Ambedkar said, "By democracy, we certainly mean one man, one vote: we also mean that every government shall be on the anvil both in the daily affairs and also at the end of certain period when the voters and the electorate will be given an opportunity to assess the work done by the government. He wanted that the work of particular government would be evaluated periodically. He wanted that government should be accountable to voters. The reason, why we have established in the Constitution a political democracy is because we do not want to install by any means whatsoever a perpetual dictatorship of any particular body of people. Though we have established political democracy, it is also the desire that we should lay down as our ideal economic democracy." As article 25 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, says that, "Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions: to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives."

According to Dr. Ambedkar, democracy was not mere form of government but a form of social organization which will look after its community. He wanted to establish the principle of one man-one vote and one vote-one value not only in the political life but also in social and economic life. Though India got political freedom and established political democracy, but Dr. Ambedkar observed that, Indians must not be contented with mere political democracy. He said that, "We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. 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 fraternity as the principles of life. 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." [6] He also emphasized that successful working of democracy required the functioning of a moral order of society. Democracy demands brotherhood. Article 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights of December 1948 states that, "...They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." In democracy there will not be any scope of oppressors and exploiters. There must not be any suppressed classes in society. Dr. Ambedkar denounced the sanctity of class structure of society. He viewed equality of opportunity as the most important right for every Indians. Dr. Ambedkar felt that freedom itself is not end in itself. It was only means to achieve end. *What is the end of freedom? The end of free India is to feed the starving people, to clothe the*

starving masses, to give every citizen fullest opportunity to develop himself/herself according to his/her capacity.

Dr. Ambedkar : An Epitome of Social Justice

Dr. Ambedkar was a social and political revolutionary leader and a crusader for dalits of India. He was a very forceful fighter for the human liberation in various ways and on different levels. He was an epitome of social justice and launched number of protest movements against caste system. He provided new dimensions to the concepts of justice. He wanted a society where all will be treated equal in our Indian society. He himself experienced the pangs of social injustice and that compelled him to ponder over the nature and contents of social justice. He believed that equality and justice go side by side. Without equality, one cannot think of justice.

This forms the corner-stone of Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice. It upholds the dignity of human personality. As the chief architect of India's Constitution, he got it shaped clearly on the values of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and dignity of man in the Chapter III of Indian Constitution. The idea of social justice denotes brotherly relations of a citizen with every other citizen in our society; it abhors caste barriers between man and man; and demands respect for all citizens from everyone. The spirit of social justice here gives a significant place to mutual sympathy and respect and opportunities for employment, education and public offices. Dr. Ambedkar said that the principles like liberty equality and fraternity cannot be divorced from each other. One supplements and completes the other in the process of social justice. One cannot think of Justice with these three principles of democracy.

The main objective of Dr. Ambedkar's view of social justice was to remove man-made inequalities of all shades through law, morality and public conscience. How can it be done? He thought that this cannot be achieved with the help of dialogue but with the help of satyagraha/agitation. But these agitations would be totally based on non-violence.

Dr. Ambedkar and Social Movement

Dr. Ambedkar led serious and successful movement against the practice of untouchability and thereby he is remembered as the messiah of Dalits. There have been many movements that Babasaheb Ambedkar launched in order to have dignity of all human being. Among them, two movements are very important for our study. This paper will study only two movements. His first movement was the agitation for establishing the rights of the dalits i.e. for drinking water from public sources, and the second movement was agitation for establishing the rights of the dalits for Temple-entry. In this part of study, an effort is made, first, to study the tank agitation launched by Babasaheb to quench the thirst of Dalits. Secondly, attempt would be made to study second agitation for temple-entry for Dalits.

Chowdar Tank Agitation

Chowdar Tank agitation was for establishing the rights of the dalits i.e. to have access to drinking water from public tank. Why this agitation was called as Chowdar Tank because the movement started at this place in village Mahad of Ratnagiri of Maharashtra state. In the year 1926, the Mahad municipality passed a resolution giving public access to untouchables to Mahad tank. But the untouchables could not use this tank for years together. Though, the Mahad municipality had given them the legal rights, but in reality, Dalits never drank water from Chowdar Tank and the resolution of the municipality remained only on paper.[7]

It was felt that there might have been a protest movement by upper caste. A mega dalit conference was organized on 19th and 20th March of 1927 in village Mahad. Around ten thousand Dalits from Maharashtra and Gujarat attended this conference. In this conference, it was decided that all Dalits should march peacefully to Chowdar Tank and drink water from Chowdar tank and thereby, establish the right of the Dalits to draw water from this public tank. Babasaheb Ambedkar took the lead of this march and many Dalits followed him. Around ten thousand Dalit followed Dr. Ambedkar and reached to the site decided in the meeting.

The procession stopped at Chowdar Tank and Dr. Ambedkar bent down to take water in his two hands and drank water. It was a scene, which could never be forgotten by the Dalits who witnessed it. Following Dr. Ambedkar, a large number of Dalits drank water from the Chowdar Tank. In this way, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was successful in establishing the right of Dalits to drink water from the public tank. Dr. Ambedkar had established that it was better to get rights operative in practice, rather than remain satisfied by merely getting such rights merely on paper.

Another important movement that Babasaheb Ambedkar launched was regarding getting the right for the Dalits to have access to Hindu temple entry. Dr. Ambedkar had started this movement in Nashik district. In those days, Dalits were prohibited from entering the Hindu temples. In this agitation, the trustees of the very famous temple viz. the Kalaram Mandir located at Nasik were announced that, if the trustees do not open the temple for entry of Dalits, then the Dalits would have no other option but to start an agitation in a form of satyagraha. In March 1930, about 15000 Dalit satyagrahi gathered at Nasik and they started the satyagrah for temple entry. Satyagrha started on 2nd March 1930. All satyagrahis arranged themselves in four rows and started a long march towards Kalaram Mandir. When rally reached the temple, the doors of the temple were closed, and then this rally went to the river Godavari and at the Godavari Ghat, the rally turned into a public meeting. At this place, all decided that non-violent Satyagrah for temple-entry should continue till the doors of the temple are opened for the dalits. On March 3rd, around 150

satyagrahis, including men and women divided themselves into four equal groups and sat at four doors of the temple. Besides that thousands of other satyagrahis were sitting there for their turn to come. But the gates of the temple were kept tightly closed and strong wood planks were fixed at the entry point. The government had deployed strong police force at the temple gates. They all feared that if the gates were opened the dalits would rush into the temple and get the entry, which they had desired. Satyagrahi continued their dharna, but gate of temple was not opened. Few Satyagrahi continued sitting at the gate for almost for a month.

On April 9, 1930 a Rathayatra (procession with the idol of God) was taken out and it moved into the city and brought back to the temple. It was necessary to celebrate this auspicious day, which was traditionally done every year. Therefore, talks were arranged between the caste Hindus and the dalits and a consensus was arrived at under which it was decided that strong men from both the sides should be allowed to pull the chariot. However, when the actual time for pulling the chariot came, according to the secret plan of the caste Hindus formulated secretly before the talks, the caste Hindus suddenly started running away with the chariot even before the dalits could even touch the chariot. But a bhandari youth, named Kadrekar, who was strong and bold, broke the police cordon and ran after the chariot. Encouraged by this, the dalits started throwing stones at the caste Hindus. They all ran and reached the chariot. As a result great fight between the caste Hindus and the dalits took place in the whole of the Nasik city. [8]

Conclusion

We celebrated the golden jubilee of our free India. But we have to ask ourselves whether we have been able to fulfill the dream of Dr. Ambedkar. Have we been able to create a casteless society in 64 years of Independence? It is time to evaluate the functioning of our Indian democracy. We still find inequality in our society. Reservation continues because we have still inequality. The fruit of independence has not reached to masses. Dalits are still being attacked. There a big gulf between the rich and poor. We are not been able to provide the necessary goods to masses. People die out of starvation. Districts like Kalahandi, Koraput in Orissa are the glaring example of starvation- death in India. Most of tribes in Orissa state are struggling for food. No doubt we have been producing enough food, but they are dumped in the go-down and go spoil by itself. States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Tamil Nadu and Orissa are the hub for bonded labour and child labour. We have world class educational institutions. But we do not have 100 % literacy. Have we received democracy as conceived by Dr. Ambedkar? Are equality, liberty and justice given to all? We have to mull and ponder and evaluate on the functioning of Indian democracy and ask ourselves whether we have been able to provide justice. India has achieved independence and adopted democratic system of government. But we ask ourselves; "have our rights have been provided by democratic system of government". Is the democracy which we have

established protect the rights of Dalits? As Gutto[9] writes, "the pursuit of the right to development and socio-economic rights is strongly associated with the social democracy vision of poverty eradication and the equitable distribution of ownership, control, and the benefits of wealth." Democracy is interrelated with rights to equality and non-discrimination, especially for marginalized groups especially Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Dr. Ambedkar's dream of democracy is a means to attain social justice and human rights. It is never late; let us strive to fulfill the dream of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on the concept of democracy which will certainly help in providing social justice to dalits in particular and masses in general.

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Dr. Ambedkar's views on National Security and Indian Foreign Policy

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Introduction

The status and development of state in the world order is based upon the political and economic system as well as its foreign policy pattern. The foreign policy of every state depends upon some prerequisites and national security is the key aspect of foreign policy. India adopted its non-aligned foreign policy in the post independent world scenario. This policy was based upon the ideals of first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

There were lots of critiques of Nehruvian foreign policy. Dr. Ambedkar was one of them who criticized Nehru's foreign policy and raised some basic questions on it. He developed his ideas about India's foreign policy on the ground of realistic approach rather than utopian and idealistic one.

The second issue which was dealt by Dr. Ambedkar is national security. Traditionally the term 'national security' refers to protection of state sovereignty, external threat and defence system. But in modern world it should be linked with human welfare and national power. So Dr. Ambedkarian views on national security are made up of socio-economic-politico development of common people.

Ambedkar's views on foreign policy : Dr. Ambedkar was not at all involved in making the foreign policy of independent India. He was really worried about the ideas on which Indian foreign policy was drafted. He wrote that the foreign policy of the country has given him "cause, not merely for dissatisfaction but for actual anxiety and even worry"; *"On 15th of August 1947 when we began our life as an independent country, the world was our friend. Today, after four years, all our friends have deserted us.... How dangerous it has been to us, this policy of doing the impossible and of being too good"*.

Indo-Pak relation : About the relations with Pakistan, he expressed deep dissatisfaction. There are two grounds which have disturbed India's relations with Pakistan i.e. Kashmir and condition of our people in East Bengal. He felt that we should be more deeply concerned with East Bengal.... than with Kashmir. His view has always been that the right solution is to part Kashmir.... or divide it into three parts; the ceasefire zone, the Valley and the Jammu- Ladhak region and have a plebiscite only in the Valley. His views on Kashmir

and East Bengal were significantly different from the mainstream approaches on the subject. His solutions to the question of Pakistan were based on either reaching an agreement or resorting to arbitration. While the arbitration route between India and Pakistan was not tried in his lifetime, the Indus-water treaty incorporated mediation and arbitration as dispute resolution mechanisms.

Criticism of Nehru's foreign policy : “Ambedkar was the first important Indian official who has openly attacked Nehru for being too friendly to China and not friendly enough to the US”. (The Times, 1951) He said: “*The government's foreign policy failed to make India stronger. Why should not India get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council? Why has the prime minister not tried for it?*” (Speech at a gathering of students of Lucknow University on November 8, 1951)

Support for the group of democratic states : India must choose between parliamentary democracy and the Communist way of dictatorship and come to a final conclusion. He repeatedly expressed the desirability of a league of democracies in Asia and beyond. He said: “Do you want parliamentary government? If you want it, then you must be friendly with those who have parliamentary government. He envisioned a league of democracies and believed that the democracies of the world had to reach out to each other in view of the spread of communism towards which he held a deep ideological antipathy. He recognised the impact of the emergence of Asia after long years of colonialism and imperialism and wanted India to align itself with the 'free nations'. He recognised the ideological and political convulsions in the Asian continent and called on the government to align with the free nations who believe in freedom.

Ambedkar felt that close Indo-US relations premised on a natural affinity of democracies, would lead to foreign assistance to India in various fields, thus alleviating the national burden. He challenged the government to move away from non-alignment and come to a final decision of either aligning with democratic governments such as US or making friends with communist governments and joining Russia and China.

Realistic approach of foreign policy : Ambedkar also believed in real politics and concrete action linked to national interest. He criticised Nehru's foreign policy and opined that “The key note of our foreign policy is to solve the problems of other countries and not to solve the problems of our own country”. He called for a more robust approach to the Goa question, listing out annexation, purchase or lease as possible policy options. He felt that a small police action by the government would enable obtaining possession of Goa and criticised Nehru for only shouting against the Portuguese and doing nothing.

On China he disagreed with the Tibet policy and the enunciation of Panchsheel. He said: “If Mao had any faith in the Panchsheel, he certainly would treat the Buddhist in his own country in a very different way. There is no room for Panchsheel in politics”.

What clearly emerges is that Ambedkar was a realist and had a pragmatic approach. He preferred to achieve the possible rather than wait to realise the ideal. His fundamental approach was premised on fashioning foreign policy for solving the country's problems in various areas rather than focusing on global and regional problems involving other nations and powers. He felt that foreign policy must enhance the country's strategic and developmental options and make India stronger. This was a dramatically opposite view on foreign policy as compared to Nehruvian non-alignment. He envisioned a strong India that took its place in the global order based on developing its economic strength and leveraging its political alliances with other democracies.

His belief in the balance of power is evident when he castigates the government for not trying to obtain a permanent seat in the Security Council. (Parvathaneni Harish, 2009)

In this Post-cold war unipolar world order Ambedkarian views on Indian foreign policy is very important and India should accept these policies for real politic world affairs.

The principal objective of India's foreign policy has been the establishment of friendly relations, co-operation in economic, socio-cultural and other areas, building common security consensus among neighbours and prevention of interference from extra regional powers. Yet the quality of her relationship varies in a background of highly complex and variable bilateral relationships. A country's foreign policy changes according to the needs of the changing world -situation and the country's own requirements. This applies equally to India's foreign policy.

The Indian state in its foreign policy will have to pay more attention than ever before to how it will intervene in the developing institutions of this global neo-liberal regime. However Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar advocated ideas/policies for India's foreign policy with broad dimensions but government of India did not adopt his policies which are relevant to global neo-liberal regime and contemporary problems of India's national security. Following are suggestions by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for India's foreign policy:

- a) **Geographical factor** : Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had highlighted that “one must not forget that in the foreign policy of a country the geographical factor is one of the important factors. Each country foreign policy must vary with its geographical location in relation to the factor with which it is dealing” (Parliament Debate! 954, PP.469-83)
- b) **Co-existence** : Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar considered the adoption of the principle of co-existence which is not quite proper for India, especially in view of our close geographical proximity to the communist countries. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar explains co-existence, “*can communism and free democracy work together? Can they live together then? The theory, at any rate, seems to me utterly absurd; for communism is like a forest fire, it goes on burning and consuming it like a forest fire, it*

goes on consuming anything and everything that comes in its way". (Govt. Maharashtra 1997, P.878)

- c) **SEATO** : Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar explained his views on the strategic positions of the country. Ambedkar stated that India had been completely encircled on one side by Pakistan and on the other by the Muslim countries. The barrier between Egypt and England had been removed by the handing over of the Suez Canal. "There might be very little difficulty in the Muslim countries joining with Pakistan and forming a block. On this side by allowing the Chinese to take possession of Lhasa, the Prime Minister had practically helped the Chinese to bring China close to the Indian border" Ambedkar complained. (Bharill Chandra, 1977, P.111). Ambedkar's political forecast about aggression on Indian came to be true. He had said that if India was not exposed to aggression right then, it would definitely be exposed to aggression in the future.
- d) **Panchsheel** : Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar totally disagreed with the Tibet treaty and the principles of PANCHSHEEL by the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He said that, "I am somewhat surprised that the Prime Minister should take this Panchsheel seriously, the Panchsheel, as you sir know it well, is the essential part of the Buddhist religion and if Mr. Mao had any faith in the Panchsheel he certainly would treat the Buddhist in his own country in a very different way. There is no room for Panchsheel in politics and secondly, not in the politics of communist country". The communist countries have well-known principles on which they always act on. That is that morality is always in a flux. *There is no morality. Today's morality is not tomorrow's morality you can keep your word in accordance with the morality of today and you can break your word with equal justification tomorrow because tomorrow's morality will be different.* (Moon Vasant, 1997, P.882).
- e) **Kashmir** : The state of Jammu and Kashmir comprised province, the small state of Poonch, the Gilgit agency in North West, including Hunza and Nagar, and Ladakh and Balistan town of Kashmir, comprising the above constituent units, covered an area of 83, 25,859 miles. The area of the state and its longitude and latitude vary, though in a minor way in old records and documents. It was inhabited by Buddhists, Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs. It was predominantly a Muslim inhabitant area (Nath Birbal, 1998, P.9). Kashmir has an ancient history which shows that Kashmir came under the rule of Ashoka the great who founded the city of Srinagar the discovery of Buddhist relics and edicts has led historians to conclude that Ashoka was the original founder of Srinagar. As per the Indian Independence act, the state of Jammu and Kashmir had acceded to India voluntarily because of ideological convergence between the freedom fighters of India and those of Jammu and Kashmir. Top Pakistani leaders tried to do their best to woo the people of Kashmir but, represented by eminent leadership, they decided to link their destiny with India. We have fought a

war in 1947 because Pakistan aggressed and wanted to grab Kashmir by force. However their efforts were frustrated. But, before we could clear the aggressor from the entire territory of Jammu and Kashmir a cease-fire had come in and about 1/3rd of the territory or so remained in the hands of Pakistan. (Rao Krishna K.V., 1996, P.194). Concurrently, when, we took up the issue with United Nations, after protracted discussion, two resolutions were passed which were accepted by both sides. And these envisaged to vacate the aggression after fulfilling this precondition, India was to reduce her forces and after that was achieved, a plebiscite was to be held under the auspices of the United Nations. However, since Pakistan did not vacate aggression till this day and has built up forces main-fold, compared with what she had on 1st January 1949 at the time of the cease fire, the other two steps could not be implemented i.e. India reducing her forces and a plebiscite under the auspicious of the United Nations. But despite that, Pakistan keeps harping on the issue of self-determination or plebiscite.

Although the UN resolutions were not implemented, India took steps to hold elections to a constituent assembly. Then the assembly drew up a constitution and based on the rest of country. The state of Jammu and Kashmir is the only state, which has a constitution of its own, and this was derived from a special dispensation made in the National constitution under Article 370. Pakistan did not reconcile to this situation and therefore, aggressed twice more in 1965 and 1971, and again on both these occasions, her efforts were totally frustrated by India and the people of the state. At the end of each of these wars, we had agreements. Now once Pakistan got back her territories and provinces, she forgot all about these agreements from 1971 till date. Pakistan started proxy war with India in May 1998. India and Pakistan became Nuclear weapons state. In February 1999 Lahore declaration was signed by the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan (Akbar M. K., 1999, P.61). After few months Kargill happened. Kargill did not happen overnight. It was a result of Pakistan's increasing audacity over the years which largely flowed from India's unwillingness to take the bull by its horns and give a befitting military response (Rajeev Sharma, 1999, P.15).

However Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had his own vision regarding Kashmir problem. When he gave statement for his resignation he had explained various issues which related to security matters. He did not agree with India's foreign policy and the stand taken by government of India regarding Kashmir issues. He said, "Our quarrel with Pakistan is a part of our foreign policy about which I feel deeply dissatisfied. There are two grounds which have disturbed our relations with *Pakistan- one is Kashmir and the other is the condition of our people in East Bengal. From all the newspapers, I felt that we should be more deeply concerned with East Bengal where the condition of our people seems intolerable than with Kashmir.* Notwithstanding this we have been staking our all on the Kashmir issue. Even then I feel that we have been fighting on an unreal issue. The issue on which we are fighting

most of the time is who is in the right and who is in the wrong. The real issue to my mind is not who is in right but what is right. Taking that to be the main question, my view has always been that the right solution is to partition Kashmir. Give the Hindu and Buddhist part to India and the Muslim part to Pakistan as we did in the case of India. We are really not concerned with the Muslim part of Kashmir. It is a matter between the Muslims of Kashmir and Pakistan. They may decide the issue as they like or if you like dividing it into three parts, the cease fire zone, the valley and the Jammu-Ladakh region and have a plebiscite only in the valley. What I am afraid of is that in the proposed plebiscite, *which is to be an overall plebiscite, the Hindus and Buddhists of Kashmir are likely to be dragged into Pakistan against their wishes and we may have to face the same problems as we are facing today in East Bengal.* (Govt. of Maharastra. 1995.P.1332-22) After evaluation of India's foreign policy we can learn what the drawbacks in the foreign policy are and how government of India adopted foreign policy and what policies were suggested by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar but adopted by government. Followings are India's National Security Consequences:

- 1) India's foreign policy has been facing continuous adverse criticism, because without well-defined geographical factor and national interest, India was humiliated by China in 1962. Today China claims 90,000 sq. kms. of territory in India's eastern sector in Arunachal Pradesh. In addition it is in occupation of 38,000 sq. kms. of territory in Ladakh including Aksai chin 1000 sq. kms of Pok west of Karakoram pass given by Pakistan 30 Sq. kms. Wong Dong in Arunachal Pradesh and 40 Sq. kms. of Barahati grazing grounds in Uttar Pradesh (Madhok V.K. 1998.P.11)
- 2) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar expressed his views on the Chinese possession of Tibet. He accused the government of helping the Chinese to bring their border down to the Indian border, because government allowed the Chinese to take possession of Lhasa. Due to this mistake Chinese took occupation of Tibet in 1950 which removed the buffer state between the two giants. Nuclear tests by India in 1998 made China declare India as bigger potential threat than Pakistan.
- 3) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said, "If you want parliamentary government, *you must be friendly with the countries which are trying to defend this form of rule against attack*". We maintained distance from U.S.A. since independence. But today due to changes in **geo-economic position, geostrategies** and **geopolitics** we are trying to maintain good relations with U.S.A.
- 4) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wanted to protect his country and make her prepared for war. He argued that there is no place for 'Panchsheel' in international politics. Only national interest remains. Due to lack of vision India's defence expenditure was only 2% of GNP from 1947 to 1962. 4) Due to the Kashmir problem, we had three wars with Pakistan and arm race has increased in South Asia.

- 5) Due to Kashmir problem thousands of jawans and officers were killed in Kashmir
- 6) Due to Kashmir problem today Kashmir people are demanding greater autonomy although Jammu and Kashmir already has sufficient autonomy.
- 7) Due to Kashmir problem Pakistan considers that Kashmir is the unfinished business of partition and is the core dispute between the countries.
- 8) Due to Kashmir problem, the burden on Indian economy has increased.
- 9) South Asia has become nuclear flashpoint. Recently some sections of society were demanding trifurcations of Jammu and Kashmir where as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had given solution on Jammu and Kashmir by partition of Jammu and Kashmir. But unfortunately Government of India did not adopt Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's policies related to security matter. Some of the leaders consider him only the leader of depressed class and chief architect of Indian constitution although he was a great strategic thinker. He propounded prudent policies for external security and foreign relations but government of India did not adopt his policies. Since independence we should have given a thought and analyzed the suggested policies of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and adopted his policies for overall development, unity and security of India. 3 Policies for the regional integration are: India is land of much diversity; its population has crossed almost one billion, People speak different languages; each has its distinctive script and literary traditions and is spoken in dozens of dialects. In addition seven major religions are practiced. Each has several sects. Besides this there are several tribal belief systems. The majority of the Indian population is Hindu (82%) but the population following the other faiths are large enough to be politically and culturally significant. Geographically, the country consists of three natural regions: the north, the Deccan and the south, demarcated by a major river that flows from west to east across the peninsula. Within each of this region, history and geography have combined to create smaller linguistically, and politically defined domains with district identities. Over time, these identities have crystallized as boundaries of language and dialect, distinctive patterns of behaviour, dress, craft, folklore, and traditions in literature, music and architecture often traceable to the first century after Christ. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had suggested policy for **regional integration**. He had vision as how to integrate such vast **diverse population**. He suggested smaller states for administrative purpose and official language of every province shall be the same as the official language of the central government. He argued that the main advantages of the scheme of linguistic provinces would make democracy work better than it would in mix provinces. A linguistic province produces what democracy needs, namely social homogeneity. Now the homogeneity of people depends in their having belief in a common origin, in the possession of a common language and literature, in their pride in a common historic tradition,

community of social customs etc. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's statement on the formation of linguistic states came as a critique of the report of the state's Reorganization Commission. What the commission has created, according to him, is not a mere disparity between the states by keeping U.P. and Bihar as they are but adding to them a new bigger Madhya Pradesh with Rajasthan. It creates a new political problem of the consolidated Hindi speaking North versus the Balkanized south. Considering the vast cultural differences between the two sectors and the apprehensions of dominance of the north articulated by the leaders of India's of the south, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar predicts the threats to India's unity and security. He observes that the commission should have followed the principle of One State One Language and not One language One State but unfortunately government of India did not adopt his suggested policies. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar favors formation of uni-lingual states as against multilingual states for the very sound reasons that the former fosters the fellow feeling which is the foundation of a stable and democratic state, while the latter with its enforced juxtaposition of two different linguistic groups leads to faction fights for leadership and discrimination in administration factors which are incompatible with democracy. His support for uni-lingual states is however qualified by the condition *that its official language shall be Hindi and until India becomes fit for this purpose, English shall continue*. He foresees the danger of a *unilingual state developing into an independent nationality if its regional language is raised to the status of official language*. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's remedy is equal representation of the state in the central legislature irrespective of their area and population. In smaller state the proportion of majority to minority which in India is not political but communal and unchangeable decreases and the danger of the majority practicing tyranny over the minority is also minimized. The Indian state has successfully managed cultural diversity over a 50 year period in which the country's population crossed one billion. Many group identities were strengthened through electoral process, Political awareness increased with economic development. Today some sections of society argued the larger Indian states need to be divided into smaller, more culturally homogeneous units, which will be more responsive to popular needs to provide better administration. India represents a plural society in which a variety of ethnic linguistic and religious groups co-exist in terms of varying co-operation and competition. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, while moving the draft constitution in the constituent assembly said that the form of constitution was federal. His concept of federalism meant that the state was a federation in peacetime, but unitary in emergency. He remarked that the constitution establishes a dual policy with the union at the Centre and the states at the periphery. Each endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the fields assigned to them by the constitution. (Rao Shiva, 1968, P.422) Consequences: Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested various policies

for regional integration but government of India did not adopt his suggested policies therefore following are consequences, which are directly related to contemporary problems of India's national security.

- a. **Misuse of Article 356** : Impositions of president rule by the Centre Government on state government is to pressurize the state government. Some political parties have political interest for using Article 356. From 1950 to 2002 near about 100 times the central government has used Article 356 for the political interest. To some extent there were such situations to use article 356 but when we critically analyzed the presidential rule imposed on the state we could find out that there was a political interest to use article 356 in a particular state. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested article 356 is a “a dead letter”, (Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. IX, P.177) he said: “ if at all they are brought into operation, I hope the president who is endowed with those powers will take proper precautions before actually suspending the administration of the provinces. I hope the first thing he will do would be to issue a mere warning to a province that has erred, that things were not happening in the way in which they were intended to happen in the constitution. If that warning fails, the second thing for him to do will be order an election allowing the people of the province to settle matters by themselves. ***It is only when these two remedies fail that he would resort to this article***” (CAD, Vol. IX, P.177). The purpose of article 356, thus expounded so clearly in the constituent assembly by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar must be surely in mind before exercising such power. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was always of the view that the president as a constitutional head acts on the advice of the council of ministers. Even so, he retains the right to warn against abuse of power and the duty to prevent it if he can. From 1950 to 2002 there were mass dissolution of State Assemblies following the Lok Sabha election in 1977 and 1980. In 13 cases the State Ministries were dismissed even though they commanded the majority in the assembly. The Supreme Court had invalidated the dismissal of the Bommai Ministry on April 21, 1989 when the Chief Minister, claiming majority support from the assembly was ready to face the assembly. Today each state fears the Centre and does not have any guarantee about their stability. According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Article 356 Ambedkar is a provision for regional integration and unity of India. Whenever an emergency situation occurred the President acts and uses Article 356 as the last measure. But it is an unfortunate thing that our political leaders use Article 356 for political purpose.
- b. **Regional Disparity** : Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's thoughts on linguistic states certainly help us to understand the cause behind the growing regional aspiration in various states and among the leaders from the south. Dr. Babasaheb

Ambedkar rightly pointed out that reorganization commission would create a new political problem of the consolidated Hindi speaking North versus the balkanized south. Further he prefers small states which will meet the efficient administration and special needs of the different area. It will also satisfy their sentiments. Today India is facing serious internal challenges to national security. Emergence of regional parties at the Central government is a good sign for national integration but at the same time it would create problems for development. Due to regional disparity in industrial and agricultural field regional political party also takes regional biased view for development. For example Cauvery water dispute, Maharashtra-Karnataka Border dispute, Economic and Technology disparity among states, Language differences, North vs. South etc. It is right to adopt the suggested policies of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. However, the experience of the constitution in the last five decades has consequently led some political parties and leaders to agitate and re-agitate to consider and reconsider the existing constitutional scheme in the area of Centre state relation. Recently various demands came from regional parties like National conference from Kashmir and Akali Dal (Badal) President for declaring India a commonwealth of autonomous states with full right to the constituent units to pursue and promote their regional, ethnic, and religious identities. (Times of India, December 1991) The threat of late Chief Minister of Orissa Mr. Biju Patnaik that he would not hesitate to follow the suit of Assam and Punjab, if the state financial autonomy is not going to be re-considered (Indian express, January 11, 1992) and the statement of Ms. Jayalalitha, the former Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, over the Cauvery water dispute, that unless the Central government discharges its responsibility in the best interest of federation, the fabric of the constitution and unity of our nation could be destroyed (Times of India, August 6, 1992) clearly shows that emerging febrile symptoms that are being developed on the fabric of the Indian constitution beyond doubt. *Hence, it is right time to ask ourselves where we have gone wrong. Is it with the constitution? Answer to this question may be given in the context of some important issues like imposition of President's rule in the state, demand for more fiscal autonomy, and regional disparities discussed in from time to time.* Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested strong Centre and autonomous state form unity integrity and security of the nation state, his policies may help us to steer through the present contemporary problems of India's national security and guide us for the regional integration.

National Security : Ambedkarian perspective

Every state is trying to be a powerful nation in this 21st century world order. In this globalised world, undeveloped state wants to become a developing status and developing state



wants to be a developed nation. India is one of developing nation and since Independence has continuously tried for getting power status in the world. In 1974 India took first nuclear test and after Pokharan II in 1998 India has declared itself a nuclear weapons state. It is also planned to be an economic power and adopted mixed economy where public as well as privet sector played their role for economic development of the country.

In the era of globalisation private sector is playing a dominant role and occupying the commanding heights towards an increasingly market oriented one. This has radically changed circumstances and called for a review of our definition of national security. Earlier security was defined in terms of threats to our sovereignty and territorial integrity and defence in terms of our capabilities to counter them. (K. Subramanyam, 2000: P.1221) In the post-cold war paradigm of comprehensive and inclusive security, the threat agenda is now perceived to increasingly encompasses removal of economic disparity gap, development of common values, democratic functioning of state apparatus for protection of human rights, socio-political and economic justice to achieve the objective of coherent society for effective functioning of a viable state. And that would be primary referent object for national security. Presently India is a nation where every individual cannot enjoy economic fruits; there is a big gap between rich and poor. Every citizen of this country has a political right but on economic and social ground there is disparity.

The national security discourse is focused on limited terms, i.e. internal security, external security, foreign policy and military power. The articulation of social security needs have been left to the socially concerned, whose voice is not heard in the security arena. (Koithara Varghese, 1999: P.22) In modern world the concept of national security is linked with the status, rights of every individual and should be located in the interest of human welfare and national power.

Current debate on the national security largely revolves around India's defence expenditures, nuclear proliferation military capability, but in reality fundamental security of the nation is for the nations prosperity and sustainability, that lies in a social development, food security, nutrition security, health security, and basic education security. Present day national security problems, especially for developing countries like India are a result of issues of cross border terrorism, Trans-border solidarity, lower gross domestic products, Un-balanced market economy, social disparities, communalism, violation of human rights etc. which were traditionally kept out of national security discourse. Traditional concept of national security is considered synonymous with national defence but changes took place in international security environment. We should adopt broad concept of national security i.e. "The preservation of the core values critical to the nation state from external and internal threats". National security in a wider sense encompasses the economic, Industrial and Technological progress, the cohesiveness of the socio-cultural structures, the resilience and stability of the political system and the efficacy of diplomacy. (Khare Vijay S.,2008)

For the development of every country there should be proper Horizontal and Vertical integration among peoples. Horizontal integration is based on :- Territorial democracy, Balance of centre state relations, management of natural resources based on the principle that nation state is a cohesive unit and curbing parochial tendency of localised politics. (i.e. Mineral resources, water resources, power resources) Vertical integration is based on :- (1) Management of redistribution of goods and services to all sections of the society (centralised modern facilities, allocation of central funds etc.) (2) Eradication of caste, creed, discrimination based on religion and faith for the purpose of developing India into a cohesive society.

In the post-cold war era the paradigm shift in the dimension of national security gives more importance to non-military aspect rather than military aspect. The economic security and economic capability of a country will determine the ability of the country to overcome the economic threats posed by the international community. The contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in respect of building India into a strong country i.e. politically, economically, socially is seminal.

A study of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's security related policies would provide an alternative policy option for our national security. The concept of national security is a multi-dimensional concept. It encompasses socio-political, Military, economic and cultural dimensions. In the multi-polar world, the national security is not merely a military related matter alone; it is also related to socio-economic development of the nation state as a whole which derives power to contain external threats. If a nation state is well developed and if it remains coherent then it can play important role in international power politics.

Conclusion

Dr. Ambedkar's views on foreign policy as well as national security are shadowed because of his famous thoughts on constitution, law and social justice. But he thought in depth on the matter of foreign policy. He criticised Pt. Nehru's foreign policy of non-alignment and advocated support to any of the powers for fulfilment of Indian national interest. He further advocated for the formation of the group of democratic states. Ambedkar was realist about foreign policy matter and presented his views on Kashmir issue, Indo-Pak relations, Panchsheel and so on so far. He opposed the idealistic approach and advocated realistic one.

Dr. Ambedkar is also known for his different views about national security. Traditionally national security concerns with nation's security, border related issues, sovereignty etc. But Dr. Ambedkar linked national security with common man's life. He described that without fulfilling common man's day to day problems we can't even think and expect their role in national security. He believes in freeing man from all worries.

In present national and international scenario Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts are shown to be practical. India faces most of the national security threats and common people have

nothing to do about this matter because he is busy with his own problems. In the post-cold war globalization period Indian foreign policy is shifting from idealist to realist track. But Dr. Ambedkar expressed these views long time ago when the foreign policy was on idealist track. And he believed on realist act rather than utopian thoughts. It is a proper time to act according to changing national interest and thinking about ourselves and not for others.

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Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Pillar of Women Empowerment

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Introduction

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was internationally known as a crusader against caste system, a vigilant fighter for human rights and a deep thinker. He was the first Indian social reformer who rooted out the barrier in the path of advancement of Indian society. To serve this goal he laid down the foundation of social justice, based on principles of liberty, equality and fraternity in the Indian Constitution through various articles for the Hindu's specially backward communities and for under privileged classes. Dr. Ambedkar was not only the Architect of Indian Constitution but also a freedom fighter, legal luminary, journalist, educationalist, philosopher, political leader, economist, prolific writer and a social reformer.

Women in India: Today women in India enjoy a unique status of equality with man as per constitutional rights. And now women today are holding high position of authority in all the fields including education, higher education, engineering, medical, army, air force, navy, police, administration, politics and foreign services, industry and trade, but few were able to establish their potentialities. The empowerment of women in urban areas and metro cities cannot be the indicator of growth in the country. In India today also women are discriminated and marginalized at every level of society whether it is a social participation, political and economic participation or access to education.

During the past Vedic and Epic ages, women had faced many difficulties, many times she was treated as a slave or humiliated. Ambedkar saw women as the victims of oppression of the caste based rigid hierarchical social system. From early 20th century due to the rise of "National Movement" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we saw other social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Rai, Ishwarchandra Vidya Sagar, Jyotiba Fule, Ranade who laid stress on women education, prevention of child marriage, removal of polygamy etc. much before the establishment of schools for women in India. It was Dr. Ambedkar who pointed out the direct relationship between caste and gender and observed gender could not be seen in isolation from caste.



Dr. Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He raised his voice against Hindu Social Order and Social System, through renowned journals like 'Mook Nayak' in 1920 and 'Bahiskrit Bharat' in 1927. Almost through all its issues and speeches he put due stress on gender equality, need of women's education and exposed the problems of depressed class women. He criticized the Hindu Ideal of duties under the Varna Vyavastha which has developed only as a means of exploitation and oppression. He attacked Manusmriti as a major cause which legitimized the denial of freedom, self respect, right to education, right to property etc. to women by attributing a very lofty ideal to them.

Dr. Ambedkar stated we shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if female education is persuaded side by side with male education'(Mathew, 1991:74). Dr. Ambedkar's perception on women question emphasizing their right to education, equal treatment with men, right to property and involvement in political process resembles the global feminist demands. He very well knew that education holds the key to economic upliftment and economic upliftment to social mobility. His first Academic paper "Caste in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development presented in seminar was acclaimed by anthropologist Alexander Golden Weiser in May, 1916. This began with showing concern for women upliftment. Further he identified the higher caste system as the main reason for subsequent degradation of women in India in the post Manu Period in India till date.

Women's Association and Satyagraha: Dr. Ambedkar believed in the strength of women and their role in the process of social reform. Women started participating in satyagraha and also launched women association for untouchable women and spread education and awareness among them about social evils imposed by the customs and practices. The Historic Mahad Satyagraha witnessed participation of three hundred women along with their male counterparts. Even class Hindus also participated in the Satyagraha. His first agitation was to open a Water Tank (Chavdar Talao, Mahad) for public which was reserved for upper caste people only.

Addressing another meeting of about 3000 women he said "I measure the progress which women had achieved. Let every girl who marries stand by her husband, claim to be her husband's friend and equal and refuse to be his slave. I am sure if you follow this, you will bring honour and glory to yourself".

In 1928 a women's association was founded in Bombay with Ramabai, Ambedkar's wife as its president. In Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagraha (1930) at Nasik five hundred women participated and many of them arrested with men and ill treated in Jail. During 1920-30, Emergence of Dalit women leaders such as Shantabai Shinde, Sulochana Dongre, Radhabai Kamble is worth mentioning.

At the All India Depressed Classes Women's Conference which was held at Nagpur on 20th July 1940, 25,000 women attended the conference. Dr. Ambedkar was highly pleased with awakening and activities of women. Dr. Ambedkar spoke that there could not be any progress without women. He spoke *"I am great believer in women's organization and movements. If they are truly taken into confidence they may change the present picture of society which is very miserable."* He further said that, they should educate their children and instill high ambition in them.

Dr. Ambedkar made some remarkable speeches in the Round Table Conference. He placed the view point of depressed classes and pleaded for dominion states. His speeches created a good impression upon British public. He served on number of important subcommittees and prepared schemes of political safeguards for the protection of depressed classes in the future constitution of self governing India. Dr. Ambedkar also advocated the immediate introduction of adult franchise. He strongly advocated for family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1942 being a Labour Minister of Executive Council of Governor General and introduced Maternity Benefit Bill.

Ambedkar's Idea of Equality: He incorporated the values of liberty, equality and fraternity in the Indian Constitution. He said in his speech delivered in the Constituent Assembly on 25th November 1949, "Political democracy could not last unless there lies at the base of it, social democracy". By social democracy he means a way of life, which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as principles of life. He further said on 26th January 1950, "We are going to enter into the life of contradictions. *In politics we have equality and in social & economic life we have inequality.* In politics we will be recognizing the principles of one man and one vote and one value. 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 which this Assembly has so far laboriously built up."

In Ambedkar's vision of India all citizens would be equal before law, they have equal civic rights, equal access to all institutions, convenience and amenities maintained by or for the public. They have equal opportunities to settle or reside in any part of India, to hold any public office or exercise any trade or calling, here all key and basic industries would be owned by state. He pleaded for special privileges and safeguards for Dalit as a schedule caste. In short he demanded equality.

Measures taken by Dr. Ambedkar to protect women from discrimination : Dr. Ambedkar worked throughout his life for the betterment of women. On becoming the Chairman of Constitution Drafting Committee and first Law Minister of Independent India discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, sex, creed, place of birth was codified as illegal act under the Statute Book. Indian constitution provides for Equality before law (Art. 14). Other

provisions like the State shall not discriminate any citizen on the grounds of religion, caste, sex, place of birth or any of the (Art. 15), equal opportunities to all citizens in the matter relating to employment or appointment under the State (Art. 16) equal pay for equal work for both men and women [Art. 39(d)], right to work, to education and public assistances in certain cases (Art. 41), Provision of just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief (Art. 42), Provision of Uniform Civil Code to all citizens throughout the Indian Territory (Art. 44) are a few examples. Dr. Ambedkar by his scholarly arguments in framing and debating Indian Constitution got to put his seal on equality for women by getting them right of vote to equalize their position.

In accordance to the above constitutional provisions, various legislative enactments have been framed to safeguard and promote the interest of women. Many of these legislative enactments concern with the labour laws to ameliorate the working conditions of women labour.

The Hindu Code Bill: With tremendous foresight and erudite scholarship, Dr. Ambedkar not only piloted an outstanding draft through the constituent Assembly but also utilitarianed the philosophy of wisdom behind various provisions. This is the most formidable legislative measure of modern India sought among other reform to put an end to a variety of marriage system in India and legalise only monogamous marriages. This code also sought to confer on women the right of property and adoption which had been denied by Manu. It put them and women on an equal footing in all legal matters. "Dr. Ambedkar said "I would like to draw attention of the house to one important fact. The great political philosopher Burke who wrote his great book against French Revolution and said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair and all I am asking this house is *"If you want to maintain the Hindu System, Hindu culture and Hindu society do not hesitate to repair, where repair is necessary.* This Bill asks for nothing more than to repair those parts of Hindu system which have become dilapidated".

Dr. Ambedkar raised new battle cry by finally submitting modified and revised Hindu Code bill to Constituent Assembly in October 1948, which was under consideration since 1941. This gave a great shock to the reactionary opponents.

However few elite persons supported it. But S. P. Mokerjee said that the "Hindu Code Bill shatters the magnificent structure of Hindu culture". There was an opposition from Hindu Mahasabha leader N. C. Chatterjee as well. The tactics of long speeches to delay the passage of bill were resorted to by members who opposed the Bill. All the objections raised against the Bill, during debates were replied scholarly by the law Minister. But the Hindu Code Bill was never taken up. The Hindu Code Bill was let down in the tragic manner. In the words of Dr. Ambedkar *"It was killed and buried, unwept and unsung after four clauses were*

passed.” Even Nehru did not honor his word of full support for passage of Bill. The four clauses of Bill, which were adopted by the house on 25th September, 1951 strengthened the position of women in the society. The four clauses passed were incorporated in the Hindu Code Bill. These are –

- i) The Hindu Marriage Act 1955.
- ii) The Hindu Succession Act 1956
- iii) The Hindu Minority and guardianship Act 1956.
- iv) The Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956.

The first Union Law Minister was disappointed due to non passage of Hindu Code Bill as was conceived by him and which was promised support by Pt. Nehru. So, Dr. Ambedkar created a history in sacrificing his cabinet Law Ministry for the just cause of women by resigning on September 27th 1951 as a matter of protest. This came to be known as one of the supreme sacrifices for women's liberation in the world History.

Conclusion

It is found that though advances are being made in the field of science and technology worldwide, literacy rate has been risen, yet the old societal norms seen to govern the day. Large number of population lives in poverty deprivation and want. Casteism too sadly remains a phenomenon, which we are yet to wipe out from our society and country. The cases of violence against women are on rise. Today in India every hour one woman is losing her life due to the evil of dowry system. Shattered with the reforms and liberation of women in the era of modernization and globalization, the Indian mind set still has not accepted the equality at par with men and hence forcing to revert their development under the sheer influence of modern technology and adopting modern life style does not mean improvement in individual and society.

The situation today is that no one ensures women secure environment where she can breathe freely, move out of her house fearlessly. Immorality exists today like an iceberg, how is woman expected to get herself educated and contribute in the progress of society. Dr. Ambedkar always emphasized on society based moral values. Education is incomplete without moral values. Imbibing moral values through education and sensitivity being a human is a need today for the good of society. Then only Dr. Ambedkar's dream of liberated India will come true, when there is equality, justice, peace and harmony towards all the women irrespective of their religion, caste and class. Dr. Ambedkar had this particular Humanitarian view. Dr. Ambedkar's vision of the India of his dreams is where the social system and economy would permit the full development of human potential (man & woman) and ensure dignified existence for all our citizens.

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Dr. Ambedkar's Message for the Educated Unemployed Youth

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Contemporary India is generally heralded as a country of the young people. But on the flip side it stands the danger of becoming a country of unemployed youth. This impending danger entails that education system as well as all the stake holders of education are required to take serious measures. Youth today is exposed to multiple voices and they are fed on the redundant discourses over and over. As a corollary the Indian youth of today are required to respond to an appropriate call, an apt, positive guiding voice that can ensure both individual empowerment as well as the welfare of the country as a whole and do not allow the communities to drift away from one other. One of the most relevantly heralding voices even today is that of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. His message has immense potential to keep the youth on the right track which eventually will effect the overall growth and development of the Nation.

A parallel thought process is reflected by the scholar Hitesh Shankar in his 'Vish Piya Amrut Diya' by observing that listening and heeding the proper voice is important as voices that divide minds of the people and fuel hatred in communities can easily bring the entire country down and it is country as a whole that ends up paying the price for it directly or indirectly. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar presupposes the same vision in his pronouncement that country must be placed above the community.

Former President of India Dr. Abdul Kalam (endearingly abbreviated as APJ) has also placed the country above all religions and individuals and has exhorted countrymen to take proper steps in tune with the times. Eradication of poverty is listed as the prime concern by APJ and according to him it ought to be our relentless objective in the contemporary context.

India today stands on the golden threshold of the global market economy. If we educate and train our youth the right way and make them employable at the global economy of today we will be able to eradicate poverty to a large extent. However, it is a glaring fact that majority of the youth today are far from becoming a resource or a catalyst of positive change in the country in the present global context as they are inadequately skilled.

It is in this context that the visionary concepts of Dr. Ambedkar become pertinent. His clarion call 'Educate, Organize and Struggle' has inspired many a soul to scale academic

heights and mould the destinies of others too. But the general trend has been to concentrate their energies on receiving formal degrees from the institutions. Government also supports the youth primarily by way of scholarships and freeships. However, it is important for today to understand that education merely for gaining degrees is not enough. It certainly does not fit into the visionary world envisaged for the youth by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. While addressing the students of Siddharth College, Babasaheb said that *education should enhance mind, vision, thinking and problem - solving skills of the students. And they should utilize their powers and skills to form an opinion and resolve the issues faced by the Nation (Bhagayya).*

The concept of employment has undergone a change. The meaning of employment is not just about getting a job or pursuing a profession but it is also sustaining it over lifetime-'an aspiration of every employee of the knowledge society' (Tin 2006; Misra& Mishra, 2011). As already viewed by Outin (1990) individual qualities are one of the important attributes of the employability construct. A study based on nontechnical competency areas revealed that educators do not address nontechnical areas such as problem solving, stress management, professional characteristics, communications skills and human relations principles in the curriculum (Luft and Schoen 1986). Researchers have adequately shown that personal attributes are one of the most important competencies required to survive in the corporate world.

Today there is a looming precarious issue of the educated unemployed youth before us. Along with all the other stake holders of the education system, the youth of today also needs to come forward with a sense of responsibility and ownership in learning and make serious efforts to acquire employability skills. Education with the goal of garnering of degrees is of no use and can not mould the youth of Dr. Ambedkar's dream. Along with acquiring degrees, students are required to empower themselves and acquire new skills that are relevant and useful. They need to take vocational and skill- based training where ever it is available. To facilitate this there is a need that Government also funds for the vocational training programme and not just the regular degree programmes.

One of the major problems in running a real quality skill- development course programme is monetary constraints. In spite of the seed money support from UGC and other nodal agencies, a great deal of money is required to conduct these programmes. My own experience as a Coordinator of Skill-based courses is that since the fees of these programmes is not covered by the scholarships or other financial aids available, students as well as parents pay little heed to such programmes even if they are easily available. So the infrastructure developed through well-meaning Government, Management and Institutional funds, sadly enough, do not translate into desired reality.

Even if the available resources are utilized it is impossible to conduct such skill development programmes without some fee levied on the students. Some economically

disadvantaged students particularly from the disadvantaged community find it difficult to surmount this financial difficulty and hence they decide to continue with their regular degree course least bothering about the add-on skill development programmes thinking that they will do them at a later stage after they have obtained the degrees.

Becoming employable is the need of the hour. The aim of youth in order to solve the current problems of the nation should be to either become employable or be an entrepreneur. Merely learning vocational's skills, learning English or any of the important foreign language is not enough to make one employable. Acquiring employability skills is also essential so that youth can successfully maintain and sustain their jobs in the corporate world. According to Babasaheb, *without piety ('Sheel'), self-discipline and confidence, a student is ill-equipped to meet professional standards and challenges*. Routine formal degree education along with the vocational degree education will not be enough to cultivate these values in our students. Our youth will acquire these values only if they enhance themselves with employability skills and entrepreneurial skills. By employability skills it is meant the skills that enhance the chances of not just getting a job but also sustaining it through *imbibing the sterling qualities of 'Sheel' (piety or modesty), Self-Discipline and Confidence*.

Youth are required to empower themselves in such a manner that it would be easy for them become entrepreneurs at any given point of time. In addition to the salaried jobs they should also seek opportunities to enter the corporate world as entrepreneurs in tune with the motto of Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce (DICCI) and Industries which spurs the youth to become 'Job Givers Not job Seekers'(DICCI, 2005).The tremendous response, appreciation and the support received by DICCI even by the government tells us that it is most opportune time for the disadvantaged youth to plunge into such venture. Even DICCI is also required to initiate, increase and enhance youth employability and entrepreneurship development programmes.

Dr. Babasaheb faced tremendous adversity in his determined march towards self-empowerment. He empowered himself as per the demands of the situation. It was his erudition and scholarly enablement that created the conducive aura for Dr. Ambedkar to break the shackles of a rusted social pattern to emerge as the savior of the marginalized. His powerful exhortation ought to be heard even in the present context that - all the other voices howsoever strong that do not encourage us to become skilled and empowered must be ignored.

We do hear righteous indignation in Dr. Babasaheb's voice. But his real strength comes from the fact that whenever he faced injustice he rose against it, fought for justice but he never became utterly and entirely disdainful towards everyone. He always held those who were good and did good to him in high esteem and never forgot them. *'जिन्होंने अच्छा किया आंबेडकर उनकी अच्छाई नहीं भूले'* (Shankar, 2015)Following Babasaheb's footprints, one of the

ways for the youth of today is to express their piety by holding those who have done them good in respect and esteem and march ahead in lives with complete focus on their goals of lives.

Conclusion

The multiple voices imposed on the marginalized youth are likely to carry them away and dissipate their energies. Youth should not get swayed by the articulated out-of-context and irrelevant voices and messages howsoever strong they may be. Distracting voices do not allow youth to concentrate their thinking on their intended directions and hence they are required to hold right view and right resolve as APJ has said so that there is discernment in their conduct (Kalam & Tiwari, 2013). When we empower ourselves and enhance our employability skills we do not only capacitate ourselves to become entrepreneurs but we also acquire skills that sustain ourselves in the chosen professions. It is only then that the youth of our nation can realize the true ideal of living a dignified life as enshrined in the golden triangle of article 14, 19 and 21 of the constitution.

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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Thoughts on Linguistic States

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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar believed in 'One State, One Language.' He has given examples to show that this has been a universal feature in almost all States, in all countries. The old Austrian Empire and the old Turkish empires were blown up because they were multilingual States. He feared that India would also meet the same fate if it remained a conger of mixed states.

Dr. Ambedkar advocated that a unilingual state is stable and is thus a strong foundation of a democratic state. Faction fights for leadership and discrimination in administration are factors which are always present in a mixed State and are incompatible with democracy. There exists a fellow feeling among the people of a unilingual State and it over-rides all differences arising out of economic conflicts or social gradations. The rule of 'one state, one language' he felt was the only solvent to racial and cultural conflicts. A bilingual or multilingual state would be in a fear of being engaged in a civil war rather than in carrying on with administration. In trying to seek linguistic States Dr. Ambedkar thought that India was treading on a tried and tested road.

A linguistic State never the less has its own disadvantages too. A linguistic State with its official language being the regional language may develop into an independent State. He cautioned that the road between independent State and independent nation is very narrow. If this happened then this India would not be a modern India but medieval India with independent kingdoms indulging in rivalry and warfare. So there was an inherent danger in creating a linguistic State and an equal danger of not creating a linguistic State. The first danger could be avoided by a wise statesman but the danger of a mixed State were greater and beyond the control of event an eminent statesman. Dr. Ambedkar wisely recommended in the Constitution that the regional language will not be the official language of any State. Hindi will be the official language and till it became fit for the purpose English will be the official language. He had a firm opinion and believed in the inexorable law that one language united people and two would divide. Culture is conserved by language and if Indian wished to develop their common culture then they should accept Hindi as their national language. This would be a part and parcel of a linguistic State. He

reiterated that an Indian can be hundred percent Maharashtrai, a hundred percent Tamil, a hundred percent Gujarathi but he will not be an Indian until this suggestion of a common language is accepted. Then India would cease to be India and it would be a collection of different nationalities engaged in wars and rivalries. Ambedkar was glad that India and Pakistan separated because he felt that only partition could make the Hindus not only independent but free. It would have been a Government of one country with two nations and the Muslims would have been the ruling race.

Linguistic State

The States Reorganization Commission took the view that creation of one State for people speaking one and the same language. This meant that there would be a lot of disparity between the Northern and Southern States. The United States also had such disparities. Ambedkar mentioned that Mr. Panikkar had brought to the notice the provision in the Constitution of the United States which took care of this mischief. Though every State has varying population and resources, each gets equal representation in the Senate. He also mentioned the examples of Soviet Union and old Germany. There is another safeguard in the Constitution of the United States against the disparity. In the Indian Constitution the two Houses are not co-equal in authority but in the Constitution of the USA both the houses are co-equal in authority. This made a great difference to the disparity in the population.

When the Commission created linguistic States there was seen a great disparity between the States leaving UP and Bihar as they were and by adding a bigger Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. This created a new problem of North versus the South. The North comprised of Hindi speaking and the South of Non-Hindi speaking people. The size of the Hindi speaking population would be 48 % of the total population of India. This meant that the Commission's efforts would result into consolidation of the North and balkanisation of the South. The South would never tolerate the dominance of the North. When the Draft Constitution of India was being prepared, there was a lot of opposition to Hindi being adopted as the national language. Hindi was then adopted as the national language as it received just one more vote; 77 against 78 for Hindi. Mr. Panikkar pointed out the imbalance caused by federal principal of equality of units would create resentment and a feeling of distrust in all States outside Uttar Pradesh not only in the South but in Punjab, Bengal and elsewhere. The North would have dominance in all-India matters. The North would remain consolidated and the South will disintegrate, this will increase the hatred between the North and the South. The dominance of the North will have disproportionate influence on the politics of the country; there will be a danger to the unity of the country. He also pointed out that there was a vast difference between the North and the South. The North is conservative whereas the South is progressive. The North is superstitious, the South is rational and the South is educationally forward, whereas the North is educationally backward. The culture of the South is modern but the culture of the North is ancient.

Mr. Rajagopalachari in an interview with Dr. Ambedkar who at that time was the law Minister and in charge of drafting the Constitution, suggested to him that "One federation for the whole of India with equal representation for all areas will not work. In such a federation the Prime Minister and the President of India will always be from the Hindi speaking area." He advised that there should be two federations, one of the North and the other of the South and a Confederation of the North and the South with three subjects for the Confederation to legislate upon and equal representation for both the federations.

Division of the North

Dr. Ambedkar felt that in designing a linguistic State the Commission had unintentionally created the consolidation of the North and balkanization of the South. He felt that this situation must be rectified. He supported and proposed the division of the States of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar into smaller states.

Division of Uttar Pradesh

Uttar Pradesh should be divided into three States. Each State having a population of approximately two crores would result into effective administration of the State.

The three States would have as their capitals, 1.Meerut 2.Cawnpore and 3.Allahabad. They were situated in the centre of these States.

Division of Bihar

Bihar should be divided into States, each having a population of over one and a half crores. This size was not small for one Government to administer. The two States of Bihar could have as their capitals 1. Patna and 2.Ranchi. These were also situated in the centre of the two States.

Division of Madhya Pradesh

Madhya Pradesh should be divided into Northern Madhya Pradesh and Southern Madhya Pradesh.

The State of Northern Madhya Pradesh should consist of the following areas

1. The whole of Vindhya Pradesh
2. The whole State of Bhopal

The State of Southern Madhya Pradesh will consist of

1. The whole State of Indore and
2. The 14 districts of Mahakosal

The population thus of the Indore State will be around two crores and that of Vindhya Pradesh would be around 1.30 crores.

Dr. Ambedkar thus showed that one language, one State could never be categorical imperative. He emphasized that one State, one language should be the rule and therefore people forming one language can divide themselves into many States.

The solution to the problem of Maharashtra was suggested by him thus :

Maharashtra was another subject of controversy. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to do away with Bombay as a mixed State. He proposed that Maharashtra be divided into four States

1. Maharashtra City State (Bombay). 2. Western Maharashtra 3. Central Maharashtra and 4. Eastern Maharashtra.

Maharashtra City State - The City of Bombay plus such area of Maharashtra as would enable it to be a good and strong City State.

Western Maharashtra -1 Thana 2. Kolaba 3. Ratnagiri. 4. Poona 5. North Satara 6. South satara 7. Kolhapur and 8.the Marathi-speaking territories given over to Karnataka

Central Maharashtra - 1.Dang 2. East Khandesh 3. West Khandesh 4. Nasik 5. Ahmednagar 6. Aurangabad 7. Nanded, 8 Parbhani 9. Beed 10) Usmanabad 11 Sholapur City and the Marathi speaking area of Sholapur District and 12. The Marathi-speaking territories given over Telengana

Eastern Maharashtra - 1. Buldhana 2. Yeotmal 3. Akola 4. Amraoti 5. Wardha 6. Chanda 7. Nagpur 8.Bhandara and 9. The Marathi-speaking territories given to Hindi States

Dr. Ambedkar wanted to completely abandon the idea of a mixed State. He emphasized that every State must be unilingual, One State, One language. He stressed that into how many States a people speaking one language should be cut up, should depend upon the requirements of efficient administration, the needs of the different areas, the sentiments of the different areas and the proportion between the majority and minority. **Dr. Ambedkar wanted the States to be small** as he felt that as the area of the State increases the proportion of the minority to the majority decreases and the position of the minority becomes precarious and the opportunities for the majority to practice tyranny over the minority becomes greater. He suggested that the Constitution must be amended and provisions must be made for a system on plural member constituencies (two or three) with cumulative voting so that the minorities will be given protection and the tyranny of the majority will be prevented.

Present Scenario

We have seen that what Dr. Ambedkar had predicted is seen coming true. People have realized the importance of smaller states for effective and good governance and administration. In India recently new states - Jharkhand, Uttarkhand and Chhatisgarh have been carved out of the old bigger States. The basis for creating the new states is socio-

political and not linguistic. The formation of Chhattisgarh is rooted in caste distinctiveness, with upper peasant Brahmins and Kurmis leading the movement for a separate state. The formation of Uttaranchal, carved from Uttar Pradesh, fulfills long-voiced demands by the people of the Kumaon and Garhwal hills of northwestern U.P. for a separate state based on cultural, social (caste), and economic distinctiveness. The hill districts are heavily Brahmin, with comparatively few of the "backward castes" that dominate the most of Uttar Pradesh. The formation of Jharkhand, constituting the 18 districts of southern Bihar, is the fulfillment of a fifty-year struggle for creation of a heavily tribal state. All these new States have seen tremendous improvement in the lives of the residents there and have also experienced economic growth and massive jump in their per capita income.

New States have a higher Growth rate

Significantly, all three states beat their mother states in industrial growth. While Chhattisgarh is an exception of sorts, the new states also achieved greater progress in terms of social indicators compared to the mother states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh & Madhya Pradesh.

The period after 2000, was a good period for the newly formed states. Uttarakhand did particularly well, stepping up its average growth rate to 12.3% since 2004-05 which is way better than the figure for Uttar Pradesh at 6.8%. Chhattisgarh also outstripped Madhya Pradesh over the same period by 1 percentage point. Jharkhand, however, has failed to match Bihar's performance since 2000.

Uttarakhand

Ever since Uttarakhand was carved out of Uttar Pradesh in November 2000, the new state has raced ahead. Overall, people are better off. There are more jobs, education and health facilities. Industry has streamed in and the growth rate has been healthy. More than 90% of the state is mountainous and forests cover 64% of the topography. Successive governments realized the need for connectivity and set about building roads and putting far-flung villages on the roadmap.

Chhattisgarh

As it turned 10 last year, Chhattisgarh posted the highest economic growth rate among all Indian states at 11.57%, surpassing Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, and even parent state Madhya Pradesh. This was the cause of much jubilation in a state that started with a nearly Rs 540 crore fiscal deficit but within 10 years, turned it into a fiscal surplus of nearly Rs 890 crore.

Part of this can be attributed to better management - also visible in improvements in literacy and health - but most of it is an outcome of the blistering pace of growth in mining and mineral-based industry, primarily steel and power.



The output of coal has more than doubled in 10 years from 50 million metric tonnes to 110 million metric tonnes, while iron ore output rose from 18 million metric tonnes to 32 million metric tonnes. The state earned Rs 1,350 crore rupees as annual mineral royalty in 2010-11 and an even larger amount from taxes on mineral processing.

Agriculture The Growth Driver

Bihar's growth was mostly powered by a steady agricultural growth rate of 8.1% over 2004-09, while the corresponding figure for Jharkhand was 1.4%. This could be one of the reasons behind Jharkhand lagging Bihar post 2000.

Agriculture in Chhattisgarh grew at 2.8%, which was way better than Madhya Pradesh at 0.8%. The gap between Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand was, however, mostly thanks to industrial growth. Agricultural growth in Uttarakhand was 1.5%, lower than figures for Uttar Pradesh at 2.7%.

Better Industrial Growth

If we look at the average industrial growth rates of the states over 2004-2009, we see that the newly formed states have outstripped their mother states.

The industrial sector in Chhattisgarh grew at 13% over the 5-year period while the growth rate was only 6.7% for Madhya Pradesh. The growth rate of industries in Uttarakhand was 11.8% while the figure for Uttar Pradesh was only 6.5%. The figures for Jharkhand and Bihar are 11.5% and 5.8% respectively.

Better Per-Capita Income

The new states have managed to increase its citizen's incomes much faster than their mother states. Bihar and Jharkhand have doubled the per-person income over the last decade.

Madhya Pradesh also doubled its citizen's income but Chhattisgarh did better with a figure of 2.5. The stand out was Uttarakhand, which tripled the per-capita income while Uttar Pradesh failed to even double it.

New States Reduce Poverty Better

Over 2004-09, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand have done a better job in reduction of poverty than their mother states reducing the poverty rates by 14.7% and 6.2% respectively while Uttar Pradesh and Bihar could manage figures of 0.9% and 3.2% respectively. Chhattisgarh did badly reducing its poverty rate by 0.7% where the corresponding figure for Madhya Pradesh was 11.9%.

The formation of the new states has aroused concern that there will be an intensification of demands for the creation of additional states in other parts of the country. Telangana in Andhra Pradesh and Vidarbha in Maharashtra have already staked their claims.

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Relevance of Dr. Ambedkar Views in Present Indian Democracy

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After the six decades of successful saga of Indian democracy in the South Asian region, it is necessary to rethink about democratic structure of Indian society. Whether it fulfills the needs of weaker section of the society? Can common man participate freely in Indian democracy? Can democratic structure eradicate poverty, illiteracy of Indian society? Can Indian democracy motivate and encourage common man to participate in polity? Can present democratic system meet the expectations of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar? Some hypothetical statements arise about the above problems. People may agree or disagree that Indian government has succeeded in eradicating the poverty and illiteracy ratio in Indian society. Due to emerging multiparty political system in India, all sections of the society have been getting representations in Indian politics. All these questions and hypothetical statements compel us to analyze the recent conditions of Indian democracy and Dr. Ambedkar's views on democracy.

Democracy is a milestone of political structure in modern world. It is the only means that gives opportunities and representation to all the sections of the society without discrimination of caste, creed, and gender. So it is natural for our constitution makers to accept it. But there were some obstacles which were focused by Dr. Ambedkar which will be dealt in later part of the paper. Actually the term democracy was firstly used by Aristotle. He used it in a negative sense, he said that in democracy, the rule is in hands of illiterate people. But in modern world it is used as welfare system for all these people. With reference to Indian political system, Dr. Ambedkar said that poverty, illiteracy and casteism are key obstacles in the success path of Indian democratic system. Efforts should be made to wipe out these obstacles to see success of democracy in India. In case of poverty in India nearly 21.8% population is considered as to be living below poverty line. The ratio also differs from state to state and rural to urban areas. In Indian politics, this poor class is looked after as a vulnerable and exploitable class by political leaders for their selfish benefits. The marginalised class also considers the election process as means of monetary gain. In this reference, the question arises as to why Babasaheb gave much importance to empowerment of the poor as the first step of successful Indian democracy. According to Dr. Ambedkar "*Democracy is more than a government. It is a form of the organization of*

society. There are two essential conditions which characterize a democratically constituted society : (1) Absence of stratification of society in to classes; (2) A Social habit on the part of individuals and group which are ready for continuous readjustment or recognition of reciprocity of interest. If we look at present Indian political structure, it is influenced by social stratification. These stratifications of every state definitely affects the results in general elections. Some provisions have been made for the up-liftment of weaker sections of the society which have failed to eradicate the social stratification. Now it is used to build new organization and acquire the political mileage. This has definitely negated the thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar.

Illiteracy is another key problem for establishing true democracy in India which was also focused by Dr. Ambedkar. India has the largest population of illiterate adults at 287 million, amounting to 37 per cent of the global total; according to a United Nations report which highlights the huge disparities existing in education level of the country's rich and poor. The 2013/14 "Education for All Global Monitoring Report" claimed that India's literacy rate raised from 48 per cent in 1991 to 63 per cent in 2006, the latest year it has available data for. But, simultaneous population growth cancelled the gains so there was no change in the number of illiterate adults. Illiteracy definitely affects more of rural sector rather than urban. 75% people in India live in rural areas and their level of education is not in accordance to the prerequisite condition for successful democracy. Literacy and Education are reasonably good indicators of development in society. Modernisation, Industrialization and Communication are based on the standard of Educational System. Education system in India is not bad but dropout rates of poor class is noticeable. That's another important factor which adversely affects Indian democracy.

Democracy is a multi-faceted word. According to Professor Bryce "*Democracy is that form of government in which the ruling power of state is vested not in particular class or classes but in the members of the community as a whole*". As for Marxists point of view they believe classless society where the actual democracy existed. Bourgeois democracy is a class democracy. It is the need of capitalists to rule over economically backward class. Dr. Ambedkar has chosen middle way between the above two thoughts. He said that "*Democracy is more than a social system. It is an attitude of mind, a philosophy of life.*" "The bureaucratic form of government in India is replaced by a government which will be the government of the people and for the people." On behalf of depressed class he emphatically said "No share of political power can come to us so long as the British government remains as it is. It is only in a Swarajya Constitution that we cannot bring slavery on to our people." In the above view he looks upon democracy in positive sense. He also thought that it is a good weapon to eliminate subjugation of backward class of Indian society. That's the main reason he empathetically focuses on social and economic democracy. Some provisions have been made in the constitution like reservations for SC,

ST communities, abolition of untouchability, abolition of titles etc. But what is seen in present politics is that no common man is going to participate or represent it and the benefits of the system go to the already privileged. Now a day's socially and economically backward person is not able to get representation in local self government election. In that condition the need of Dr. Ambedkar's views is more relevant to establish true democratic system in India. One man one vote is not establishing social democracy, according to him; there is need that everyone should be given equal respect and must be treated equally. Secondly, society should be free from all rigid conventions and traditions. Although nature makes some discrimination, it is not a hindrance in the development of democracy. All these conditions are required for successful democracy which has not been still established in India.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, *'Human rights is another important path in the way of successful Indian Parliamentary democracy'*. Every person should have rights which have to be given to him by constitution and power of any state should not be transferred to any private institution. All human beings should avail equal rights without discrimination. If this happens positively, then it will help democratic system. Constitution has conferred certain rights to every human being, but the manner of using those rights for one's safety or benefit depends on the person. If these rights are not exercised in an unbiased way, the real benefits of democracy may not reach the needy. This has happened in the present Indian democratic system because those who are not strong socially and economically, they are suffering from many disadvantages like exploitation and discrimination in many ways.

Dr. Ambedkar looked at parliamentary democracy positively. He thought that it is the only way which creates national morality, feeling of co-operation, self discipline and dedication towards nation. Without bloody revolution it can change social & economic face in society. For this there are two things to be considered, one good opposition party and a strong opposition media. They can only control unwarranted actions of government and enforce it to take proper action which will be helpful for the welfare of people. Now in Indian politics, existence of opposition party has drastically come down to negligible numbers. Usually the ruling party does not give proper respect to the opposition party, if it is in minority. What Babasaheb Ambedkar's thought about good opposition and role of ruling party are constantly over ruled in Indian present politics. Actually since 1969 those who have been in ruling power always down graded the role of opposition party which was not expected by Dr. Ambedkar in his views. Whatever contradictory issues come forward, it will be expected to be solved through mutual consent of the Houses. Dr. Ambedkar also expected the same, but in Indian politics we see much chaos and misbehaviour by MP's in House which diminish the importance of supreme house in Indian political structure.

Regarding the relation between ruling class and common man, Dr. Ambedkar thought that there was always good understanding between people and ruling class which promote

and inculcate values of democratic system in society and nation. Suppression and injustice with minorities would not meet the conduct of free and fair election process in India. As far as Parliamentary democratic system, he said that there is no good alternative to it, and the only other alternative to be expected is revolution, communism or riots. In constituent assembly about support of parliamentary system, he said that right to vote for everyone is initial process which establishes political equality and this equality supports to create social and economic equality.

If we look Dr. Ambedkar's views and present Indian parliamentary politics, there is a need of some reforms which meet expectations of Dr. Ambedkar.

- 1) Promotion of ***national spirit*** is a very important factor which can dilute parochial nature of the society.
- 2) Elected representatives should submit their daily or monthly activities to the people through internet.
- 3) Every activity which is proposed to be done under government or by representatives, allocation of funds, should be published for knowledge of the people and report of the beneficiaries, details of executing authority should be published.
- 4) Representatives or their *relatives assets should not increase above 5% after playing role as nodal agents of govt. scheme.*
- 5) Every expenditure done in election process should be spent by election commission not by political party itself.
- 6) If any individual or any firm or any organisation wants to donate fund, it should be donated to either election commission or any government authority and that authority should display where that amount is going to be transferred.
- 7) If some limitation on economic condition is imposed by election commission, it may establish economic democracy and participation of weaker section in actual government process.
- 8) Written form of every legislature should be in the public domain open for scrutiny by the people.
- 9) Some reasonable restrictions on media is needed because false statement or any statements or any paid news from media corrupts motive of democratic system.
- 10) The legislators should maintain dignity of Parliament. Any obstruction or misbehaviour of MP's in house should be restricted. Debate, law making and protection of public interest are the main objects of legislature, hence, these duties must be done by legislature.

These are some suggestions which will fulfil expectations of Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar had devoted his whole life for the benefit of socially and economically weaker sections. Following lines captures the essence of Dr. Ambedkar's vision.

“लोकहितं मम करणीयं”

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- 5) (Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings & Speeches. Vol. IV, pp. 28)



डॉ. भीमराव (बाबासाहब) आम्बेडकर का शैक्षिक अवदान

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30 अगस्त 2006 को नई दिल्ली के हिन्दी भवन में 'समरसता के सूत्र' ग्रंथ का लोकार्पण कार्यक्रम हुआ। इस अवसर पर सुप्रसिद्ध मराठी कवि, दलित पेंथर के संस्थापक अध्यक्ष, पद्मश्री श्री नामदेव ढसाल, जिनके लिए प्रख्यात नोबल पुरस्कार विजेता श्री वी. एस. नायपाल ने अपनी पुस्तक 'ए मिलियन म्यूटिनीज नाउ' में एक पूरा अध्याय समर्पित किया है, उन्होंने अपने भावपूर्ण उद्बोधन में कहा था-

“मैं डॉ. आम्बेडकर को धन्यवाद देता हूँ जिन्होंने हमारा दर्जा जानवर से उठाकर इंसान के समान किया। डॉ. आम्बेडकर न होते तो हम आज भी जानवर जैसे ही रहते। यद्यपि बौद्ध लोग पुनर्जन्म में विश्वास नहीं करते, हिन्दू धर्म करता है, तथापि इस विश्वास के अनुसार यदि बाबासाहब पुनःजन्म लेते हैं तो हमारे जैसे कितने ही लोग अपनी चमड़ी की जूतियाँ बनाकर उनके पैरों में डाल देंगे क्योंकि डॉ. आम्बेडकर के कारण हम आज सम्मानजनक अवस्था में हैं।”

भारत के इतिहास में भगवान के अतिरिक्त किसी भी अन्य नायक की तुलना में बाबासाहब की सर्वाधिक मूर्तियाँ आज देश में हैं। प्रतिवर्ष 6 दिसम्बर को बाबासाहब की पुण्यतिथि के अवसर पर मुम्बई की 'चैत्यभूमि' के परिसर में स्थित समाधी पर श्रद्धा सुमन समर्पित करने के लिए लाखों लोग स्वस्फूर्त एकत्रित होते हैं, जबकि दिल्ली में यमुना किनारे बने नेताओं के समाधि स्थलों पर सरकार प्रायोजित कार्यक्रम ही होते हैं। 'हिस्टरी टी. वी. 18' और सीएनएन - आईबीएन द्वारा अगस्त 2012 में किये गए, ई-सर्वेक्षण में गांधी जी के बाद महानतम भारतीय के लिए सर्वाधिक मत प्राप्त करने वाले डॉ. आम्बेडकर हैं। इस परिदृश्य के कारणों का उल्लेख ही श्री नामदेव ढसाल ने किया है।

बाबासाहब के प्रति इतनी श्रद्धा उनके दलितोत्थान के लिए जीवन समर्पण के कारण बनी। मार्च 1924 को बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभा के कार्यकर्ताओं की बैठक में उन्होंने इस समर्पण के संकल्प की घोषणा की थी -

“दलित वर्ग के चहुमुखी विकास को सुनिश्चित करने के लिए मैं निष्ठापूर्वक अत्यन्त कठोर परिश्रम करूंगा। इसी कार्य के लिए मैंने इतना ज्ञान अर्जित किया है। मैं निश्चित रूप से अपनी प्रज्ञा-शक्ति का उपयोग अपने परिवार या अपनी जाति तक सीमित करने वाला नहीं हूँ। मैं इसे सम्पूर्ण दलित वर्ग



के लाभ के लिए उनके सामाजिक आन्दोलन की स्थापना एवं संघर्ष के लिए अर्पित कर दूंगा।”

बाबासाहब ने जब यह भीष्म प्रतिज्ञा की तब दलित समाज की राजनैतिक-सामाजिक-शैक्षिक अवस्था अत्यन्त दयनीय थी। बाबासाहब का विचार था कि समता व बंधुता के बिना स्वतंत्रता का कोई मूल्य नहीं है। समता व बंधुता के बिना स्वतंत्रता का कोई मूल्य नहीं है। समता व बंधुता बिना समाज सुधार के साकार नहीं हो सकती। प्रांतीय स्वायत्तता के सम्बन्ध में स्वराज पार्टी की मांग पर बाबासाहब कहते हैं -

“स्वराज्य पार्टी के मान्य सदस्यों की मांग है कि हमें प्रांतीय स्वायत्तता मिले। यह मांग स्वागत योग्य है। परन्तु मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब तीन चौथाई जनता अज्ञान के अंधेरे कुएँ में पड़ी हो और अपने अधिकारों एवं दायित्वों से परिचित न हो, तो स्वायत्तता की कैसे आशा की जा सकती है? अगर हम प्रांतीय स्वायत्तता चाहते हैं तो हमें दो बातें सुनिश्चित करनी पड़ेंगी - एक, जो जातियाँ शिक्षा की दृष्टि से पिछड़ी हुई हैं, उनके लिए प्रत्येक तरीके की आधुनिकतम शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए सब मार्ग खुले हों, जिससे वे नागरिकता के अधिकारों एवं दायित्वों को समझ सकें। दूसरे, उन जातियों के लिए सारे मार्ग खुले रखने के लिए जिससे वे आधुनिकतम शिक्षा प्राप्त कर सकें, वर्तमान स्थितियों में यह आवश्यक बन जाता है कि उन्हें विशेष प्रतिनिधित्व दिया जाए।”

सामाजिक सुधार हुए बिना उच्च विद्या विभूषित को भी सम्मान प्राप्त नहीं हो सकता। बाबासाहब के पास श्लाघनीय शैक्षिक योग्यताएँ थीं किंतु उनको किन अस्पृश्यता के आघातों का साक्षी बनना पड़ा यह हम जानते हैं। संघीय ढांचा समिती की 23 वीं बैठक में डॉ. आम्बेडकर के प्रश्न पर पं. मदनमोहन मालवीय का उत्तर था -

“..... जहाँ तक दलित वर्ग का प्रश्न है, यह प्रश्न खासतौर से शिक्षा का प्रश्न है और मैंने यह कहा था और जिसे मैं अब भी कहता हूँ, काँग्रेस भी यही कहती है कि सार्वजनिक रूप से प्राथमिक शिक्षा होनी चाहिए। हम चाहते हैं कि उन्हें प्रारम्भिक शिक्षा मिले, प्राथमिक शिक्षा मिले, उन्हें माध्यमिक शिक्षा मिले, उन्हें ऊँची से ऊँची शिक्षा मिले। मुझे एक विश्वविद्यालय - काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति होने का गौरव प्राप्त है और वहाँ दलित वर्ग के विद्यार्थी को वही स्थान दिया जाता है, जो किसी और वर्ग के विद्यार्थी को दिया जाता है। वहाँ कोई भेद नहीं है। और जिन्हें शिक्षा प्राप्त होती है, वे अपनी प्रतिभा का अच्छा प्रदर्शन करते हैं। मैं कहूँगा कि मेरे मित्र डॉ. आम्बेडकर ने इसे सिद्ध भी कर दिया है। डॉ. आम्बेडकर - 'मैं समाज में आज भी अस्पृश्य' हूँ, हालांकि पढ़ा लिखा हूँ। मेरी शिक्षा मुझे इससे बाहर नहीं निकाल सकी।

इस प्रकार बाबासाहब की दृष्टि में दलित समाज शिक्षा एवं सामाजिक परिवर्तन अन्योन्याश्रित तथा साथ-साथ चलने वाली प्रक्रियाएं हैं। बाबासाहब कहते हैं -

“केवल शिकायतें करते रहना पर्याप्त नहीं है, हमें उन लोगों की क्षमता विकसित करने के लिए सचेत प्रयत्न करने होंगे यदि गुणों में समानता होगी तो समय के साथ जाति आधारित पक्षपात तथा

अस्पृश्यता विलुप्त हो जाएगी।”

“मेरे शिक्षित भाईयों, यदि आप यह चाहते हैं कि भावी पीढ़ियाँ आपका आदर के साथ स्मरण करें, यदि तुम अपनी वर्तमान अवस्था से अपने बेटों-पोतों को उन्नत अवस्था में देखना चाहते हो तो कृपया आगे आओ। इस अवस्था में सुधार के लिए अपने सर्वोत्तम प्रयास करना हमारा परम कर्तव्य है।”

शिक्षा के साथ स्वावलम्बन तथा सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा के लिए आग्रहीपन आवश्यक है। इसकी ओर संकेत करते हुए डॉ. बाबासाहब बेलगांव जिले के दलितों की सभा में कहते हैं -

“क्योंकि आपने अमुक अस्पृश्य जाति में जन्म लिया है, भले ही आप उच्च शिक्षित हों, बुद्धिमान और सक्षम हों, आपका महत्व स्वीकार नहीं होगा। अतः हमें अपने अधिकारों की स्थापना के लिए उग्र तरीके अपनाने होंगे। दूसरा तरीका है सत्ता (अधिकार शक्ति) हस्तगत करना।”

इसी विचार-प्रेरणा का परिणाम था 9 मार्च 1924 को ‘बहिष्कृत हितकारिणी सभा’ की स्थापना की गई। इसका ध्येय वाक्य था - ‘शिक्षित बनो, संगठित रहो, संघर्ष करो’ (Educate, Organise and Agitate) इस संस्था के घोषित उद्देश्य थे -

- छात्रावास खोलकर शिक्षा का प्रसार।
- सामाजिक केन्द्र, अध्ययन मण्डल, पुस्तकालय खोलकर सभ्यता का प्रसार।
- औद्योगिक तथा कृषि प्रशिक्षण विद्यालय खोलकर आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार।
- दलित वर्ग की मांगों को प्रस्तुत करना।

1928 में इसका विलय ‘दलित वर्ग शिक्षा समिति’ में किया गया। बाद में ‘जनशिक्षा समिति’ के अन्तर्गत सिद्धार्थ कॉलेज, मुम्बई तथा मिलिन्द कॉलेज, औरंगाबाद प्रारम्भ किये गये। समिति का ध्येय वाक्य था ‘प्रज्ञा करुणा’ तथा उद्देश्य रखा - ‘बहुजन हिताय-बहुजन सुखाय’।

विद्यालयी शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में विचार व्यक्त करते हुए मुम्बई प्रान्तीय विधान परिषद में शिक्षा पर व्यय के सम्बन्ध में अत्यन्त सटीक व्यंगात्मक टिप्पणी के अन्तर्गत बाबासाहब कहते हैं कि शराब पर प्रतिव्यक्ति राजस्व कर के बराबर तो शिक्षा पर प्रति व्यक्ति खर्च करें! आज भी यह टिप्पणी सार्थक लगती है। शिक्षा पर व्यय के 2012-13 के आंकड़े बताते हैं कि कुल बजट का यह 4.29 प्रतिशत ही था। दलित समाज को दी जाने वाली छात्रवृत्ति के सम्बन्ध में आप कहते हैं - “छात्रवृत्ति देने का तरीका जन-धन का अपव्यय है। इसके स्थान पर दलित वर्ग के विद्यार्थियों के लिए छात्रावास विकास पर जनता का धन खर्च करना चाहिए।” छात्रवृत्ति के उजागर होते छोटे बाबासाहब की भविष्य-दृष्टि के प्रमाण हैं। साथ ही छात्रावास के पीछे दृष्टिकोण सम्भवतया यह था कि दलित परिवारों में अध्ययन के वातावरण के लिए पर्याप्त सुविधाएं सम्भव नहीं थी तथा विभिन्न दलित जातियों में विद्यमान परस्पर आंतरिक अस्पृश्यता को भी इस विधि से समाप्त कर समस्त वातावरण

की सृष्टि को जाना सम्भव था। दलित छात्रों एवं अभिभावकों को जागरूक करने तथा शिक्षा संस्थानों में उनका प्रवेश सुनिश्चित करने के लिए बाबासाहब ने एक निगरानी तंत्र स्थापित करने का भी सुझाव दिया।

‘स्वतंत्र मजदूर दल’ के घोषणा पत्र के शैक्षिक मुद्दों में उस समय दो बातें बाबासाहब ने रखी थी, उनमें से एक लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति का प्रयत्न स्वतंत्र भारत में अभी भी चल रहा है, दूसरे पर तो अभी विचार करे से भी कतराते हैं –

1. दल निःशुल्क एवं अनिवार्य प्राथमिक शिक्षा की योजना को लागू करेगा।
2. सभी लोगों को साक्षर बनाने के लिए दल द्वारा प्रौढ शिक्षा (Adult Education) का कार्यक्रम हाथ में लिया जाएगा।

शिक्षा को सर्वव्यापी व सर्वस्पर्शी होना चाहिए। इस सम्बन्ध में बाबासाहब कहते हैं – “इस (मुम्बई) प्रेसिडेंसी में विभिन्न वर्गों में शिक्षा के तुलनात्मक विकास में बहुत असमानता पायी जाती है। विभिन्न जातियों की तुलनात्मक प्रगति में बहुत सारी असमानता है।”

स्थानीय निकायों को शिक्षा का कार्य सौंपना बाबासाहब की दृष्टि में उचित नहीं, शिक्षा के लिए अलग नियामक तंत्र होना चाहिए – “मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि इस परिषद ने शिक्षा को स्थानीय निकायों को सौंप कर जनता में शिक्षा के प्रसार को वास्तव में अनिश्चित काल तक स्थगित कर दिया है और यह बहुत बड़ी गलती है।”

आज खुला विद्यालय से विश्वविद्यालय तक कार्यरत है। ‘ओपन स्कूल’ की ओर भारत में प्रथम संकेत बाबासाहब ने किया ऐसा लगता है – “इसका औचित्य मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि एक उम्मीदवार जो परीक्षा में बैठता है, उससे यह अपेक्षा रखी जाए कि वह सभी विषयों में एक ही प्रयास में उत्तीर्ण हो जाए। यह मामला उन विद्यार्थियों के लिए कोई महत्व नहीं रखता, जिनके माता पिता काफी समृद्ध हैं, जिनके पास समय है.... सवाल यह है कि उन लड़कों का क्या होगा, जिनके गरीबी से त्रस्त माता-पिता को जरूरत है कि दो जून की रोटी का जुगाड़ करने के लिए वे दिन में कुछ काम करें।” इसी कथन में संध्याकालीन कक्षाओं की संकल्पना का बीज भी है।

उच्च शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में भी बाबासाहब के सुझाव आज भी प्रासंगिक हैं। स्वतंत्र मजदूर दल के घोषणा पत्र में शैक्षिक मुद्दों के अंतर्गत उच्च शिक्षा से सम्बन्धित दृष्टि पत्र –

तकनीकी शिक्षा पर विशेष जोर दिया जाएगा।

शैक्षिक रूप से पिछड़े समुदायों के योग्य व्यक्तियों को भारत तथा विदेशों में उच्च शिक्षा की सुविधा देने के लिए राज्य कोष से सहायता का प्रयत्न करेंगे।

विश्वविद्यालय परीक्षा आयोजित करने वाले केन्द्र बनें न रह जाएं अतः एक बिंदु जोड़ा गया ‘प्रांत में

विश्वविद्यालयी शिक्षा की मान्यता के लिए क्षेत्रीय विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना का कानून बनाएंगे तथा इन्हें अध्यापन करने वाले विश्वविद्यालय बनायेंगे। दल का यह मानना है कि परीक्षा की आफत – जिसने विद्यार्थी समुदाय की मेहनत तथा प्रज्ञा को उजाड़ दिया है – को समाप्त करने का यह एकमात्र उपाय है।

1942 में गवर्नर जनरल को दिया गया एक गुप्त प्रतिवेदन “अनुसूचित जातियों की शिकायतें” शीर्षक से था। इस समय बाबासाहब वाइसराय की कार्यकारी परिषद के सदस्य थे। इस प्रतिवेदन में एक महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा ‘शिक्षा ऋण’ की संकल्पना से जुड़ा है।

“अनुसूचित जातियों के लिए विश्वविद्यालयों में पृथक से अनुदान की व्यवस्था केन्द्र सरकार करे। अनुदान की अपेक्षा शिक्षा-ऋण के लिए भी वे सहर्ष तैयार होंगे। नौकरी लगने के बाद वे इसे चुका देंगे या कम वेतनमान पर काम करने को तैयार हो जाएंगे।

आज हम कौशल विकास (Skill development) की बात कर रहे हैं। बाबासाहब कहते हैं – “आर्थिक अवस्था में सुधार हेतु अनुसूचित जातियों के लिए साहित्यिक शिक्षा की तुलना में तकनीकी शिक्षा अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। किंतु तकनीकी शिक्षा महंगी है। अतः अनुसूचित जातियों की पहुँच से बाहर है।” अतः बाबासाहब सुझाव देते हैं कि राजकीय मुद्रणालयों तथा रेल्वे कारखानों में अनुसूचित जाति के युवकों को प्रशिक्षु रखें ताकि ये कुशल श्रमिक बन सकें एवं नौकरी प्राप्त कर सकें।

बॉम्बे लेजिस्लेटिव कौंसिल में 12 मार्च 1927 को शिक्षा पर अनुदान मांगो पर बोलते हुए अन्य मुद्दों के साथ शिक्षा के व्यावसायीकरण पर भी चिंता प्रकट की, जो आज के परिवेश में हो रहे शिक्षा के बाजारीकरण के संदर्भ में आसानी से समझ में आती है- “.... महोदय, मेरा निवेदन है कि यह तो शिक्षा का व्यावसायीकरण है। शिक्षा तो एक ऐसी चीज है जो सबको मिलनी चाहिए। शिक्षा विभाग ऐसा नहीं है, जो इस आधार पर चलाया जाए कि जितना वह खर्च करता है, उतना विद्यार्थियों से वसूला जाए। शिक्षा को सभी सम्भव उपायों से व्यापक रूप हेतु सस्ता बनाया जाना चाहिए।”

आज शिक्षा से लेकर चिकित्सा तक ‘विडियो कॉन्फ्रेंसिंग की चर्चा है। ‘स्मार्ट-क्लास’ तथा दूरदर्शन, इंटरनेट पर विशेषज्ञों के पाठ-व्याख्यान उपलब्ध हैं। उस काल में भी डॉ. बाबासाहब स्थानिक मानव संसाधन की विशेषज्ञता के अधिकतम सदुपयोग की योजना प्रस्तुत करते हुए कहते हैं – “महोदय, यदि इन (मुम्बई शहर के तत्कालीन) चार महाविद्यालयों और उनके 12 प्रोफेसर्स को लेकर ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाए जिससे व्याख्यान पद्धतिका समूहीकरण किया जा सके और महाविद्यालय में तथा विभिन्न महाविद्यालयों के विद्यार्थियों को किसी भी महाविद्यालय में व्याख्यान सुनने और उपस्थित रहने की अनुमति मिल सके, तो व्याख्यान देने वाले प्रोफेसर्स को कुछ और विशेष काम (शोधादि) के लिए आसानी से समय मिल सकेगा।”

उच्च शिक्षा और अनुसंधान दोनों को महत्व देने की दृष्टि से डॉ. बाबासाहब ने विश्व विद्यालय को महाविद्यालयों के नियमन की शक्तियाँ देने तथा ‘संचटक कॉलेज’ की संकल्पना प्रस्तुत की –

“यदि इस विधेयक का उद्देश्य उच्च शिक्षा और अनुसंधान को प्रोत्साहन देना है, तो सबसे उत्तम उपाय यह है कि महाविद्यालयों को विश्वविद्यालय से अलग न किया जाए?बल्कि कुछ ऐसा संयोजन किया जाए जिससे विश्वविद्यालय और महाविद्यालय समानता के आधार पर साझीदार हों ... विश्वविद्यालय को महाविद्यालय पर नियंत्रण रखने की ज्यादा शक्ति देकर शिक्षण को स्थानीय बना दें और ऐसे महाविद्यालय जो भौगोलिक दृष्टि से एक जगह स्थित हों वे संघटक कॉलेज कहे जाएँ। (इससे) हम शिक्षा और अनुसंधान की समस्या को हल कर सकेंगे। ”

परीक्षा पद्धति को जटिल बनाने को डॉ. बाबासाहब ने उचित नहीं माना। वर्तमान परीक्षा पद्धति रहने की क्षमता का परीक्षण करती है-यह ‘साक्षरता’ का मापन है ‘शिक्षा’ की नहीं। बाबासाहब कहते हैं- “उनका (कुछ शिक्षा शास्त्रियों का) विश्वास है कि परीक्षा के स्तर को ऊँचा करना शिक्षा के स्तर को ऊँचा करने के समतुल्य है। मैं आदर पूर्वक उनसे असहमत हूँ। परीक्षा शिक्षा से बिल्कुल भिन्न है। ”

जिस परीक्षा प्रणाली की ओर बाबासाहब ने संकेत किया है, उसका दुष्परिणाम आज दृष्टिगोचर होता है। विद्यार्थी पाठ्यपुस्तकें या संदर्भ पुस्तकें नहीं पढ़ते। ‘पास-बुक’ और ‘वन वीक सिरीज’ से महाविद्यालय की परीक्षाएँ उत्तीर्ण करते हुए तथा ‘कट-पेस्ट’ पद्धति से शोध पूर्ण करते दिखायी देते हैं।

इस आलेख की शब्द सीमा में बाबासाहब के शिक्षा संबंधी मन्तव्य का संक्षिप्त उल्लेख आता है। यह निश्चित है कि अपने प्रण के अनुसार बाबासाहब के सभी वक्तव्य दलितोत्थान के ऐकमेव लक्ष्य को ध्यान में रखकर दिये हुए लगते हैं किंतु समग्रता से विचार करने पर ध्यान में आता है कि बाबासाहब के विचार सर्वकालिन एवं सार्वभौमिक महत्व के हैं। ‘**सबकी शिक्षा और सबको शिक्षा**’ यह प्रत्येक देश का ध्येय वाक्य हो सकता है, और यदि ऐसा है तो प्रत्येक काल में शिक्षा से वंचित समुदाय को चिन्हित कर उनकी शिक्षा के लिए प्रयत्न की योजनाएँ बनानी ही पड़ेंगी। दुसरी बात, सबको अपनी रुचि, प्रकृति के अनुसार कौनसी शिक्षा ग्रहण करनी है, इसका अवसर भी उपलब्ध होना चाहिए। जब शिक्षा का व्यावसायीकरण होता है तो आर्थिक रूप से समर्थ को इच्छित शिक्षा प्राप्त करने का अवसर सुलभ होता है, ऐसी अवस्था में प्रतिभा सम्पन्न किंतु आर्थिक रूप से विपन्न को भी कैसे अवसर मिले इसका संतुलन करना ही शासन का दायित्व है।

अतः बाबासाहब ने अपने जीवन काल में शिक्षा सम्बन्ध में जो कहा, उसमें किसी जाति या समुदाय का उल्लेख प्रसंगवश या तुलनात्मक स्थिति का दिग्दर्शन कराने के लिए ही है। डॉ. बाबासाहब के शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अवदान पर और विस्तृत अध्ययन की प्रेरणा प्राप्त हो, इतना ही इस आलेख का उद्देश्य है।



डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर - लोकोत्तर नेता

सौ. मेधा नांदेडकर

धरमपेट शिक्षण संस्था, नागपूर
सहसचिव

प्रस्तावना

वर्तमान सामाजिक स्थिती में समाजसुधाकर का मुखवटा धारण कर जो समाजकार्य कर रहे हैं, वे या तो सुप्त राजकीय महत्वाकांक्षा रखते हैं या फिर किये हुए छोटेसे काम का भी बड़ा ढिंडोरा पीटना चाहते हैं। सचमुच में परिवर्तन लाने की इच्छाशक्ती से डटकर ध्येयमार्ग पर चलनेवाले कार्यकर्ता की संख्या कम है। लेकिन ऐसे मुठ्ठीभर ही क्यों न हो, कार्यकर्ताओं के लिए भारतरत्न डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर का चरित्र एवं कार्य अत्यंत प्रेरणादायी तथा मार्गदर्शक है।

मुंबई में आयोजित एक बधाई समारोह में १९३३ में धन्यवाद भाषण देते समय उन्होंने जो कहा था वह मननीय है आपके मेरे प्रति मानपत्र के लिए धन्यवाद। यह मानपत्र मेरे कार्य और गुणों की श्रेष्ठतम बातों से परिपूर्ण है। इसका अर्थ यह है की आप अपने जैसे सामान्य व्यक्ति का दैवीकरण कर रहे हैं। यह नायक पूजा यदि शुरू में ही समाप्त नहीं की गई तो आपका विनाश कर डालेगी। किसी व्यक्ति को देवता का दर्जा देकर आप अपनी सुरक्षा और हल की जिम्मेदारी एक व्यक्ति के हाथ सौंप देते हैं। परिणामस्वरूप आप निर्भरता की आदत पालकर अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रति तटस्थ हो जाते हैं। यदि आप ऐसी सोच का शिकार हो जाते हैं तो आपका भाग्य राष्ट्रीय धारा में बह रहें लकड़ी के टुकड़े से बढकर और कुछ नहीं होता। आपके संघर्ष का परिणाम शून्य होकर रह जाएगा।

स्वयं को मिलनेवाले इतने बड़े सन्मान से दुसरा कोई नेता शायद गर्व से फुला न समाता, लेकिन डॉ. बाबासाहेब ने अपने लोगों को उन्हें देवतास्वरूप ना बनाने के लिए सावधान किया।

कर्तृत्व से निखरा जीवन -

ऐसे एक जागरूक लोकनेता एवं राष्ट्र उत्थान में अपना मौलिक योगदान देनेवाले डॉ. बाबासाहेब का जीवन किसी रोमहर्षक चित्रपट के संघर्षपूर्ण नायक की व्यक्तिरेखा से कम नहीं। अस्पृश्य जाती में जन्म जिसे पिने के लिए पानी मिलने के लिए भी झगडना पडता है, वह अपने कर्तृत्व से देश का कानूनमंत्री और राज्यघटनाकार बनता है, यह निश्चित ही एक असामान्य प्रवास है। इस प्रवास में उपेक्षा है, अपमान है, तिरस्कार, मत्सर, व्देष और करुणा भी है। साथ है। आनंद, समाधान, सत्कार और गौरव के भी असंख्य क्षण हैं। उनके जीवन का प्रारंभ उपेक्षा से हुआ और अंतःसमय कार्यपुर्ती से कारण कृतार्थता से हुआ।



अस्पृश्योद्धार के कार्य का उनका सिद्धांत केवल भूतदया पर आधारित नहीं था वरन् मानव अधिकार के तत्त्वानुसार था। मंदिर प्रवेश का आंदोलन जो उन्होंने चलाया वह अस्पृश्यों को मोक्ष मिलने हेतु नहीं परंतु मानव अधिकार की प्रतिष्ठापना के लिए था। इसके बारे में अपनी भूमिका स्पष्ट करते हुए उन्होंने समाजबांधवों की देवपूजा, कर्मकांड और धर्मभीरुता पर आघात करते हुए उन्हें बुद्धीवाद एवं जागरूता से जीवन बिताने की सलाह दी। परिश्रम, दीर्घोद्योग और महत्वाकांक्षा के आधार पर यशस्वी होने का संदेश दिया। २९ अप्रैल १९४७ को भारत की घटना समिती ने यह घोषणा करना की अस्पृश्यता की कुरीती बंद हुई और अब उसका कानूनी अस्तित्व नहीं है। डॉ. बाबासाहेब के जीवनउद्देश्य पूर्ती का यह एक महत्वपूर्ण पड़ाव था।

बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि

बौद्ध धर्म का स्विकार यह डॉ. आंबेडकरजी के लिए एक वस्त्र का त्याग कर दुसरा वस्त्र परिधान करना इतना मात्र नहीं था। धर्म परिवर्तनव्दारा, दलित बांधवों के मन में बसी हीनता नष्ट होना और उन्हें समाज में सम्मान से रहने के लिए मिलना और मानवता का हक मिलना यह सब बाते उसमे अंतर्भूत थी।

योगः कर्मसु कौशलम्

उपरनिर्दिष्ट कार्यसूची के अलावा भी भारतरत्न डॉ. बाबासाहेब ने अनेक कार्य किये। यह करने के लिये उन्होंने अनेक गुण आत्मसात किये और आचरण में लाए। कार्यकर्ता को सर्वस्पर्शी कार्य करने के लिए इसका अभ्यास और मनन करना चाहिये। उदाहरण के लिए - समाज में सभी को अच्छी शिक्षा प्राप्त होने का अवसर मिले इस हेतु उन्होंने मुंबई और औरंगाबाद में शैक्षणिक संस्था की स्थापना की। श्रममंत्री के नाते खेतमजदूर और कामगारों का न्यूनतम वेतन निर्धारित करने का तथा जमीनदारी पद्धत समाप्त करने के लिए भरसक प्रयास किये। मुकनायक, बहिष्कृत भारत तथा जनता इन वृत्तपत्र / पाक्षिक में उन्होंने लिखे हुए संपादकीय अग्रलेख के माध्यम से हजारों ने प्रेरणा ली। उनका लेखन सामाजिक दायित्व, दुरदृष्टीता और उत्कृष्ट भाषाशैली का प्रत्यय दिलाते हैं। डॉ. बाबासाहेब की विद्वता अजोड थी। उन्होंने न केवल यहाँ के विद्यापीठ से पदवीयाँ प्राप्त की वरन् अमेरिका और इंग्लैंड में भी उनके प्रबंधों को मान्यता मिली। वर्तमान में इंटरडिसिप्लिनरी पढाई को विशेष महत्व है, जो उन्होंने अपनी युवावस्था में ही कर ली थी। विविध विषयोंपर अभ्यास और चिंतन के बाद विपुल ग्रंथलेखन किया। संसद में विरोध दलव्दारा उठाये गये प्रश्नों को समर्पक उत्तर देकर, घटनात्मक मार्ग से उन्हें निरुत्तर करना बाबासाहेब को बड़ा सरल था।

ऐसे डॉ. आंबेडकर जिनके विचारों के अवलोकन मात्र से समाजोपयोगी कार्य करने की प्रेरणा जागृत होती है, उन्हें शत शत नमन।

आधार

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विज्ञानवादी सोच के भारतीय प्रणेता - डॉ. आंबेडकर

डॉ. सुभाष तोष्णीवाल एवं डॉ. निलिमा द्ववणे

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ज्ञान की प्राप्ति अथवा किसी समस्या के समाधान के लिए संबंधित घटनाओं एवं परिस्थितियों का वास्तविक तथा ठीक-ठीक अध्ययन एवं अवलोकन परम आवश्यक होता है। विज्ञान की सर्वाधिक प्रचलित परिभाषा 'क्रम बद्ध ज्ञान' के रूप में दी जाती है। वास्तव में सभी प्रकार के अध्ययन का उद्देश्य ज्ञान प्राप्त करना अथवा किसी घटना के पीछे छिपी हुई वास्तविकता का पता लगाना होता है। अतः एव 'क्रमबद्ध' विशेषण ही ऐसा होता है जो विज्ञान को 'ज्ञान' की अन्य शाखाओं से भिन्न करता है। विज्ञान, विधि का सहगामी है, विषय का नहीं। बर्नार्ड के मतानुसार "विज्ञान की परिभाषा उसमें होने वाली छः प्रमुख क्रियाओं के रूप में की जा सकती है। ये क्रियाएँ परीक्षा, सत्यापन, परिभाषा करना, वर्गीकरण, संगठन करना तथा परिमार्जन है। जिसमें पूर्वानुमान तथा व्यावहारिक उपयोग भी सम्मिलित है।' वर्गीकरण के लिए विषय का समुचित एवं आन्तरिक ज्ञान आवश्यक है। सामाजिक घटना के कार्य तथा कारण का अन्योन्याश्रित संबंध होता है। अतएव इस बात का पता लगाना है कि कौन कार्य है और कौन उसका कारण, अत्यंत कठिन होता है। इसलिए मैकाश्वर मानकर चलते हैं कि - सामाजिक घटनाएँ सदैव ही अन्योन्याश्रित होती हैं। जब तक हम इस तथ्य को स्वीकार नहीं करते तब तक हम गलत प्रश्न करते रहेंगे और गलत उत्तर पाते रहेंगे। सामाजिक तथ्य भौतिक तथ्यों के समान स्थिर नहीं रहते हैं। वे गतिशील होते हैं। यद्यपि मनुष्य समाज में बड़ा परिवर्तन हुआ है तथा मनुष्य समाज में प्रतिक्षण विकासशील है, परन्तु उसका यह विकास कोई आकस्मिक अथवा नियमहीन घटना नहीं है। मनुष्यों में उपरी परिवर्तन तो होता है, परन्तु उसकी मौलिक प्रवृत्तियाँ मो अभी वही हैं। अतएव परिवर्तन केवल उनके उपयोग में ही हैं, स्वभाव में नहीं। सामाजिक अनुसंधान विभिन्न सामाजिक घटनाओं को संचालित करनेवाले तथ्यों की खोज करता है। अनुसंधान ने अब तक सिद्ध कर दिया है कि भौतिक घटनाओं की भांति ही सामाजिक घटनायें भी निश्चित, सुदृढ़ नियमों द्वारा संचालित होती हैं तथा उन नियमों का पता लगा लेने पर हम उनका पहले ही से अनुमान लगा सकते हैं। इसका उपचार संबंधी महत्व भी है। उसके द्वारा सामाजिक विघटन को रोका जा सकती है। सामाजिक अनुसंधान विभिन्न तत्वों के बीच संबंधों की खोज करता है। वैषयिकता वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान के लिए आवश्यक है। इसके अभाव में एक ही घटना का वर्णन भिन्न-भिन्न लोग भिन्न-भिन्न प्रकार से करेंगे, तथा वास्तविकता का पता लगाना कठिन होगा। वैषयिकता की आवश्यकता सत्यापन के लिए भी पड़ती है।



जब कभी हम विज्ञान की चर्चा करते हैं, तो यह मानकर चलते हैं कि विज्ञान का किसी न किसी सिद्धांत के साथ ताल्लुक अवश्य है। क्लासिकल युग के बाद जो नया युग आया, वह प्रबोध युग कहलाता है। प्रबोध युग में नयी चेतना आयी। प्रबोध युग के विचारक नये प्रकार के थे। उनके लिए तर्क या विवेक विशेष महत्व रखते हैं। इस युग के बौद्धिकों का केन्द्रीय लक्ष्य सत्य की खोज करना था। वे सत्य और तर्क के आधार पर मिथल, परम्पराओं और अंध विश्वासों को मटियामेट करना चाहते थे। इस युग के विचारकों का उद्देश्य नैतिक शास्त्र का धर्मनिरपेक्ष बनाना था। बुनियादी बात तो यह है कि प्रबोध काल के विचारकों का तर्क और विज्ञान में गहरा विश्वास था और इस विश्वास ने ही उन्हें मानवतावादी, आशावादी तथा विश्वस्त बना दिया था।

यह सत्य है कि सामाजिक यथार्थता का सरोकार व्यक्ति और समाज से होता है। जब से समाजशास्त्रीय सिद्धान्तों का निर्माण होने लगा है, व्यक्ति और समाज की यह दुविधा समाज विज्ञानों को बराबर सालती रही है। सिद्धान्त चाहे समाजशास्त्र के हो, राजनीतिशास्त्र, सामाजिक मानवशास्त्र के हो, सभी का उद्देश्य समाज की यथार्थता को जानना रहा है। वास्तविकता यह है कि सामाजिक विचारों की यात्रा बहुत लम्बी रही है। अपने सूक्ष्म रूप में सामाजिक सिद्धान्तों का उद्गम लोक कथाओं से हुआ है। यहाँ से चला सामाजिक सिद्धान्त का कारवाँ आज विज्ञान की परिधि में बँधकर किसी भी विज्ञान के सिद्धान्त की तरह निखर कर सामने आया है।

1960 में हेबरमास ने ज्ञान व्यवस्था और विज्ञान की विवेचना के प्रोजेक्ट को विश्लेषण के लिए उठाया। इस विश्लेषण का उद्देश्य विवेचनात्मक सिद्धान्त के लिए एक रूपरेखा तैयार करना था। उनका अंतिम उद्देश्य यह स्थापित करना था कि विज्ञान ज्ञान का एक प्रकार है जिसका उद्देश्य मनुष्य के अस्तित्व से संबंधित एक खास प्रकार के हितों को पूरा करना है। हेबरमास विज्ञान और उससे होनेवाले ज्ञान को बराबरी की भूमिका देते हैं। यदि आम आदमी पर कोई भी दमन व जुल्म होते हैं, तो उसके पीछे ज्ञान व संचार की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण है। विज्ञान तो वस्तुतः एक विचारधारा है। इसी के माध्यम से ज्ञान मिलता है।² आज भारतीय समाज अनेकानेक समस्याओं से ग्रस्त है। आज के जीवन की भयावह त्रासदी हमारे समग्र उन्नति को निगलती जा रही है। इस संदर्भ में महात्मा गांधी और डॉ. आंबेडकर के स्वतंत्रता पूर्व और स्वतंत्रता-उपरान्त के प्रयत्न विशेष रूपसे महत्वपूर्ण सिद्ध हुए हैं। और आज भी हमारे समाज को उनकी आवश्यकता है।

यथार्थतः इन दोनों महात्माओं ने राज्य बदलने की अपेक्षा समाज बदलने की दिशा में अधिक चिन्तन किया था और तदनु रूप कार्यान्विति के प्रयास भी लिए थे। स्वतंत्रता के बाद हमारा समग्र सोच राज्य से समाज बदलने पर केन्द्रित हो गया। समाज से राज्य बदलने के प्रयास गौण पड़ते गए और अन्ततोगत्वा समाज की पृष्ठभूमि संदर्भ-च्युत होने लगी। राजनीतिक प्रभाववाद ने धर्म, समाज, अर्थ, संस्कृति आदि जीवनामृतों को सोख लिया और राज्यवाद की संस्कारहीनता उनपर हावी हो गई आज राज्य और सत्ता सर्वोपरि है, व्यक्ति और समाज गौण है। स्वतंत्रता के बाद आवश्यकता तो एक

समुन्नत और सुखी समाज बनाने की थी लेकिन वैसा नहीं हो सका। जमिनदारी, सामन्तवादी और भूपतियों के चंगुल से निकालकर उस प्रजा को नव पूँजीपतियों, नवराजनयिकों और आंतकवादियों के हाथ सौंप दिया। इस भयावह षडयंत्र ने समाज में साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव, धार्मिक उदारवृत्ति, चारित्रिक उदारता तथा मानवीय सहिष्णुता आदि प्रवृत्तियों का मार्ग अवरूद्ध कर दिया और समाज को विषैला तथा पुख्यता जातीय आधार प्रदान किया, जिसके खिलाफ देश के महानतम कर्णधारों ने अनवरत संघर्ष किया था। डॉ. आंबेडकर उनमें से एक थे।

डॉ. राजेन्द्र मोहन भटनागर अपने 'डॉ. आंबेडकर चिन्तन और विचार' कृति में लिखते हैं - “यह कहना भ्रामक सत्य है कि डॉ. आंबेडकर दलितों, अनुसूचित जाति एवं जनजाति के नेता थे और उसमें थी अनुसूचित जाति के विशेष रूप से। वे संपूर्ण मानवजाति के नेता थे और मानवतावादी समाज-संरचना में उन्होंने अपना गतिमान सहयोग प्रदान किया था। उनका अनेक धर्मों में से बौद्ध धर्म का चयन और उस धर्म का अनुयायी बनना निस्संदेह उनके वैचारिक पुनर्जागरण का द्योतक है।

डॉ. आंबेडकर ने अपने संघर्ष को ठोस वैचारिक आधार दिया था और इसी ठोस आधार पर अपने समय के अत्यंत लोकप्रिय संत गांधीजी से आमने-सामने बैठकर बात करने का सविनय आग्रह किया था। वे आंबेडकर ही थे जो प्रत्येक निर्णय तक पहुँचने से पहले और उसके बाद बराबर संवाद के लिए तैयार रहते थे। डॉ. आंबेडकर एक ऐसे विचारवादी महान् इंसान थे जो सदा लोकतांत्रिक पद्धति की प्रकृति को समझकर कार्य करते रहे। गोलमेज कान्फ्रेंस में दिए गए उनके वक्तव्य इस बात का प्रमाण है। चिन्तन के स्वतंत्र क्षेत्र के विकास की सुविधा उन्होंने जैसी बौद्ध धर्म में अनुभव की थी, वैसी उन्हें अन्य धर्मों में नहीं मिली। जो नास्तिकता अहिंसा पर समर्पित हो, उसे भगवान के अवलम्ब की क्या आवश्यकता है? इस दृष्टि से उनकी अहिंसा गांधी और जैनियों की अहिंसा से भिन्न थी। अहिंसा धर्म में आस्था रखनेवाला नास्तिक कैसे हो सकता है। और यदि इस पर भी वह नास्तिक है तो उनके सामने आस्था कहाँ टिक सकेगी? नास्तिकता-आस्तिकता का प्रतिलोम नहीं है, बल्कि ये दो रास्ते हैं जो आगे चलकर ऐसे एक हो जाते हैं कि फिर उन दोनों को अलग नहीं किया जा सकता। डॉ. आंबेडकर ऐसे ही नास्तिकता के मार्ग से आगे बढ़कर उस सीमा को लांघ चुके थे, जिससे दो अलग इयत्ताओं की पहचान संभव हो सके। यही तो उनके विज्ञानपरक चिन्तन का प्रभाव है जो सर्वधर्म के लिए अग्राहशा नहीं है।³ डॉ. भटनागर लिखते हैं- मेरी चेष्टा यही रही है कि तथ्यों के अन्तर्मन में उत्तर तत्वपरक नजरिये से जीवन- जगत की अतलस्पर्शी गहराइयों का मंथन किया जाए और समस्याओं का समाधान उस दृष्टिसे किया जाए जो दृष्टि डॉ. आंबेडकर ने पाई थी। दर असल डॉ. आंबेडकर ने सोचने की प्रक्रिया की जबर्दस्त और महत्वपूर्ण स्थापना की थी।

लोकतंत्र, समाज और डॉ. आंबेडकर

लोकतंत्र एक व्यापक, गहन और गंभीर शब्द है, जिसको अनेक मनीषियों ने नानाविध तरीकों से परिभाषित करने की भरसक चेष्टा की है परंतु, जिसे अभितक किसी एक परिभाषा में बांधा नहीं जा

सका है। लोकतंत्र एक प्रकार की ऐसी अन्तश्चेतना है जो व्यक्तिपरक होते हुए भी समाजोन्मुख रहती है और व्यक्ति में समाष्टि की सृजन-प्रक्रिया से संबद्ध रहती है। सामूहिक जिजीविषा की समतामूलक चेष्टा ही लोकतांत्रिक प्रणाली की संचेतना है। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने लोकतंत्र के इस व्यापक और गहन अर्थ-प्रकाश को अपने चिंतन और अपने कार्यों से व्यक्त होने दिया था। वे लोकतंत्र को राज्य की सीमाओं से बाहर लाकर समग्र सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक आदि समरसतामूलक समतावादी चेष्टाओं में प्रतिफलित होते देखना चाहते थे। वे केवल राजनीति को लोकतांत्रिक प्रक्रिया में ढालने के पक्ष में नहीं थे क्योंकि उससे लोकतांत्रिकता प्रतिबंधित होकर रह जाएगी और मानव समाज का समूचा विकास संभव नहीं हो पायेगा। डॉ. आंबेडकर राज्य की अपेक्षा समाज को अधिक महत्व देते थे। वे मानते थे कि समाज लोकतांत्रिक होने पर राज्य स्वतः लोकतांत्रिक हो जाएगा। परंतु राज्य के लोकतांत्रिक होने समाज भी लोकतांत्रिक हो जाएगा, यह वे आवश्यक नहीं मानते थे। लोकतंत्र चेतना का व्यवहार है। चेतना का संस्कार समूहमूलक है। इस को ध्यान में रखते हुए डॉ. आंबेडकर राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता से अधिक धर्म, अर्थ, समाज आदि की स्वतंत्रता पर बल देते थे।

डॉ. आंबेडकर चाहते थे कि मात्र देश को स्वतंत्र कराने से काम नहीं चलेगा अपितु वह एक श्रेष्ठ राष्ट्र भी बने, जिसमें प्रत्येक नागरिक को धार्मिक, सामाजिक और राजनीतिक - समानता मिले। मानव-मानव सब समान हैं। उनमें किसी प्रकार के भेदभाव के व्यवहार का चलन अमानवीय है और अनैतिक है। जिस समाज में और धर्म में छुआछूत, असमानता, विषमता और शोषण-चक्र विद्यमान है, वह न समाज है और न धर्म। आदर्श समाज वही है जो स्वतंत्रता, समानता और मातृत्व पर आधारित हो। वस्तुतः वही लोकतंत्र भी है। डॉ. आंबेडकर का चिंतन और उसकी कार्यान्विति में लोकतांत्रिक संचेतना की गहराई और विस्तार था।

डॉ. आंबेडकर और नारी

डॉ. आंबेडकर नारी जाति की उन्नति में बहुत विश्वास करते थे। समाज की उन्नति को नारी की उन्नति से तौलते थे। वे स्त्री व पुरुष दोनों को समान मानते थे और चाहते थे कि स्त्रियों को हिन्दू समाज में बराबर का अधिकार मिले। उनकी मान्यता थी कि नारी जाति को यथोचित सम्मान दिए बिना हिन्दू समाज का शिव संभव नहीं है। हिन्दू समाज और उसके उन्नयन का सारा दारोमदार महिलाओं की उन्नति व उचित स्थान पर निर्भर है। डॉ. आंबेडकर बराबर एक बात दोहराते रहे थे कि आज का समय एकता, संगठित और सचेत रहने का है। जरा-सी लापरवाही खतरनाक सिद्ध हो सकती है। लोकतांत्रिक समाज में समीचीन निर्णय लेने का सद्विवेक, परस्परता के प्रति उत्सुकता और समतामूलक दृष्टिकोण होना निहायत जरूरी है। वे तर्काधृत जीवन-दर्शन के पक्षपाती थे और उसी के आधार पर वे नये समाज की स्थापना करना चाहते थे।

धर्म और डॉ. आंबेडकर

धर्म ही जीवन है और जीवन ही धर्म है। कभी-कभी देखते ही देखते धर्म शैतान बन जाता है। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने हिन्दू धर्म से यह सब जाना था। उन्होंने यह भी जाना था कि धर्म भी साम्राज्यवादी है और अधिनायकवादी भी। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने हिन्दू धर्म को जड़ से पकड़ा। वे वेदों में गए, उन्होंने मनुस्मृति का गहराई से अध्ययन किया और हिन्दू धर्म के ईश्वरावतार श्रीराम तथा श्रीकृष्ण को भी उन्होंने समझने में पूरी शक्ति लगा दी और उनकी *‘रिडल्स इन हिन्दूइज्म’* के द्वारा जोरदार समीक्षा भी कर दी। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने जो कुछ लिखा, वह सोदाहरण लिखा था। मनमर्दत नहीं। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने हिन्दूधर्म के सामने उन प्रश्नों को खड़ा किया था, जिनके कारण वे और उन जैसे अन्य अछूत अपमानित, उपेक्षित, शोषित और आतंकित थे। डॉ. आंबेडकर उन लोगों की पोल खोल रहे थे जो धर्म की आड़ में अत्याचार, अन्याय और उपेक्षा कर रहे थे। यदि डॉ. आंबेडकर की हिन्दूधर्म के प्रति जिज्ञासा और उससे अपेक्षाओं का अध्ययन-अनुशीलन करे तो यह सहज ही खुलासा हो जाता है कि वे उन लाखों हिन्दुओं में से एक थे जो हिन्दू धर्म की अस्मिता और उसकी अंदरूनी गहराइयों को गंभीरता से समझते थे। उन्होंने तो हिन्दू धर्म को विशुद्ध करने का सुप्रायास किया था। धर्म मनुष्य के मन और उसकी आत्मा की जिज्ञासा के समाधान का मार्ग है। धर्म तो सहज है जीवन की तरह। वह टेढ़ा-मेढ़ा नहीं है। वह प्रहारों से घायल नहीं होता। वह तो प्रहार करनेवाले से पूछता है कि उसके कहीं चोट तो नहीं लगी। *यथार्थतः डॉ. आंबेडकर का चिंतनाधार विज्ञानवादी था। वे हर सिद्धान्त को तर्क की तराजू से तौलते और गहन विचार करते थे।*

डॉ. आंबेडकर ने धर्म को परिभाषित करने की दिशा में जो प्रयत्न किए उनसे जो बिन्दू उभर कर सामने आए हे उन्हें डॉ. राजेन्द्रकुमार भटनागर ने इस प्रकार से रखने का प्रयास किया है- धर्म मानव की अन्तरात्मा की मुक्ति का व्यक्तिगत प्रकरण है। धर्म नीतियों के आधार पर मानव के पारस्परिक सौहार्द और सदाचार को कायम रखता है। धर्म मन और आत्मा की शुद्धि व पहचान का मार्ग है। धर्म की निंव सदाचार और शुद्ध आचरण पर रखी होनी चाहिए। धर्म ग्रंथों से नहीं, व्यवहार से मुखरित होता है। धर्म भेदभाव नहीं मानता। धर्म करुणा, प्रेम, और त्याग का दूसरा नाम है। धर्म घृणा को प्रेम से जीतता है और वह बिना शासक हुए लोगों के दिलों पर राज करता है। धर्म विचलित मन को शान्ति प्रदान करने का अमृत व्यवहार है। जो धर्म में है, वह प्रेम में है और सबके साथ समान है। धर्म असहाय, गूंगो और अपाहिजों का सहायक है। वह उनकी अमिट शक्ति है।

डॉ. आंबेडकर की दृढ़ मान्यता थी कि समाज को एकता कायम रखने के लिए कानून या सदाचार (नैतिकता) का अवलंब लेना पड़ेगा। इन दोनों के अभाव में न धर्म टिक सकता है और न समाज। वस्तुतः धर्म मनुष्य के लिए है, न कि मनुष्य धर्म के लिए। वे धर्म को सामाजिक थातियों में से एक मानते थे। समृद्ध धर्म वह हो जिसमें आध्यात्मिक संबोध और अन्तर्दृष्टि हो। धर्म का आधार विज्ञान होना चाहिए। वह स्वतंत्रता, समानता तथा भातृभाव से परिपूर्ण हो। उसमें मात्र धार्मिक आदेश तथा

निषेध न हो। उसमें जन्मजात पुराहितवाद को कोई स्थान न हो। धर्म का रास्ता न्याय का रास्ता है, सदाचार का रास्ता है। सद्व्यवहार और सर्वमंगल का रास्ता है। धर्म वह रास्ता है जो मानव को मानव से जोड़ता है और उनके जीवन में अरूणोदय और प्रेमोदय की गद्गदानुभूतियों का उद्रेक करता है। धर्म दुसरो के प्रति समर्पण का दूसरा नाम है। धर्म आत्मा की पुकार है, मस्तिष्क की खोज है। धर्म सर्वोन्मुखी और कभी क्षय न होनेवाला अनन्त ज्ञान है।

डॉ. आंबेडकर की धर्म-अभिरूचि दर्शन को आधार बनाकर चलती थी। डॉ. आंबेडकर महान बुद्धिवादी, महान प्रज्ञावादी और महान विज्ञानवादी थे। उनके मतानुसार मनुष्य को उस धर्म को अपनाना चाहिए जो मानव समाज को मानवता, सत्यता और अहिंसा के रास्ते पर ले जाता हो और जिसमें भेदभाव न हो। डॉ. आंबेडकर बौद्ध धर्म को भारतीय सभ्यता से उपजा मानते थे। विज्ञान की परख पर बौद्ध धर्म खरा बैठता है क्योंकि वह समानता, न्याय और प्रज्ञा पर आधारित है। तदन्तर्गत भातृत्व-भाव, मानव-प्रेम और अपनत्व है। न इसमें कर्मकांड और पाखंडवाद है और न कोई भ्रमजाल। इसमें सर्वोपरि मानव है और मानव समाज है। इसमें कोई स्वर्ग का प्रलोभन है और न ही नरका भय। वास्तव में धर्म गतिशील, तर्कसंगत और सर्वग्राही है। मनुष्य के पुनर्निर्माण के लिए धर्म का होना जरूरी है। डॉ. आंबेडकर धर्म के साथ अधर्म को चलने नहीं देना चाहते थे। धर्म शाश्वत है, प्राकृतिक है, सहज और अकृत्रिम है। जीवन और समाज की सक्रियता वे धर्म से मानते थे। धर्म उनकी जीवनास्था से जुड़ा था। जाति-प्रथा और छुआछूत दुराचारात्मक एक ऐसी घृणित प्रथा है- जिसका किसी समाज में होना सारी मानवता का अपमान है। सम्मान से जीने का अधिकार प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को है।

जाति के प्रति विचार

जाति-प्रथा और छुआछूत दुराचारात्मक एक ऐसी घृणित प्रथा है जिसका किसी समाज में होना सारी मानवता का अपमान है। डॉ. आंबेडकर अनुभव करते थे कि जाति के कारण ही समाज-सुधारक हतोत्साहित हुए हैं। जाति-प्रथा को वे हिन्दू धर्म के पतन का प्रमुख कारण मानते थे। डॉ. आंबेडकर एक बृहद परिप्रेक्ष्य में भारत तथा अछुतों की समस्याओं पर विचार करते हुए समाजवाद के लक्ष्य में जातिवाद का सबसे बड़ा अवरोध अनुभव कर रहे थे; क्योंकि जातिवाद के रहते हुए समाजवाद निष्क्रिय रहेगा।

जातिवाद के रहते हुए गाँव का विकास भी समाजवादी सिद्धान्तों के अनुकूल नहीं होगा। डॉ. साहब के मतानुसार जाति से व्यवसाय का कोई संबंध नहीं है। जाति से हिन्दू समाज का हितचिंतन संकुचित हुआ है और वे परस्पर विरोधियों की तरह जी रहे हैं। जातिवाद के कारण एक जाति का व्यक्ति, चाहते हुए भी, दूसरे व्यवसाय को नहीं अपना सका है। जातिवाद भारत की बारम्बार पराजय का मूल कारण है। इससे सामाजिक विकास के साथ-साथ राष्ट्रीय विकास में भी व्यवधान आया है और

आर्थिक स्थिति भी पंगु हुई है। एक जाति में भी अनेक उप-जातियाँ हैं और उनमें भी परस्पर तालमेल नहीं है। वे परस्पर लड़ती हैं। उनमें शादी-विवाह नहीं होते हैं। जातिवाद ने व्यक्ति और समाज दोनों की स्वतंत्रता, समता तथा भाईचारे की भावना को कुचल दिया है। उसने शत्रुता का बीजारोपण किया है। जातिवाद से भारत की अखंडता को सदैव खतरे उठाने पड़े हैं और देश की अस्मिता को खतरों का सामना करना पड़ा है। उनका कहना था कि भारत में सामाजिक और धार्मिक क्षेत्र में कमाल पाशा या मुसोलिनी जैसे अधिनायकवादी नायकों की जरूरत है। जातिवाद के रहते हुए यह संभव नहीं है कि यह देश सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्षेत्र में लोकतंत्र की आबोहवा का लाभ उठा सके। भारत के लोकतंत्र में बुद्धिमत्ता समाप्त होती गई है। सामाजिक असमानता और आर्थिक विषमता का फैलाव लोकतंत्र पर प्रश्नचिन्ह लगा देता है। जातिवाद मिटाने के लिए सहभोज व्यर्थ है क्योंकि यह तो बाहशा प्रदर्शन मात्र है। जबतक रक्त संबंध स्थापित नहीं होता है तब तक अपनत्व पैदा नहीं होगा और जबतक अपनत्व का प्रभामंडल नहीं बनता तबतक अलगाव और परायेपन की भावना का अस्तित्व कायम रहेगा। जातिवाद एक आस्था है और रक्तसंबंध एक मनोभाव। मनोभाव बदलेगा तो जातिवाद की समाप्ति संभव होगी।

हिन्दू धर्म है और जाति सामाजिक व्यवस्था। जाति-व्यवस्था ने न केवल सामाजिक धरातल को छिन्न-छिन्न किया है अपितु उनके आर्थिक व राजनीतिक ढाँचे को भी तोड़-मरोड़ डाला है। जाति का धर्म से कोई संबंध नहीं है, न जाति धर्म का विषय है। फिर भी धर्म से जाति की व्यवस्था का संचालन हो रहा है और मानवता के विरुद्ध अमानुषिक कार्य संपन्न हो रहे हैं। जातिवाद उन पवित्र शास्त्रों की देन है जिन्हें हिन्दू धर्म में ईश्वरकृत माना जाता है। आश्चर्य इस बात का है, दो प्रतिशत लोगों ने भी उन शास्त्रों का अध्ययन नहीं किया है। फिर भी वे उन शास्त्रों के प्रति ईश्वरीय श्रद्धा प्रकट करते नहीं अघाते। शास्त्रों और वेदों का अध्ययन करना एक अलग बात है परन्तु उन्हें बिना पढ़े व जाने ईश्वरीय मान लेना। बिल्कुल मूर्खतापूर्ण बात है। वे ईश्वरीय नहीं हैं, मानवकृत हैं। जातिवाद की नींव को इसलिए ईश्वरीय भी माना गया है। ईश्वर के विरुद्ध खड़े होने का किसी में साहस नहीं है अतः जातिवाद यथास्थिति में बना हुआ है। आज तो जातिवाद को भारतीय लोकतंत्र ने ऐसा पुख्ता कर दिया है कि अब कोई भी उसका बाल बाँका नहीं कर सकते। अब जाति की राजनीति ही देश की राजनीति बनने की कगार में है।

राजनीतिक सोच

राजतंत्र, सामन्तवाद, ठाकुरवाद प्रभृति से भारत देश ग्रस्त था। भारत ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद का एक अंग था। ब्रिटिश सरकार अपने देश इंग्लैंड में तो लोकतंत्रवादी थी और भारत में साम्राज्यवादी नीतिचक्र का अक्षरशः पालन करने वाली सरकार थी। वहाँ रानी भी थी और लोकतंत्र भी था। भारत में मात्र रानी थी और राजतंत्र था निरंकुश राजतंत्र। राजतंत्र लोकतंत्र को निगल जाता है। लेकिन इंग्लैंड में ऐसा नहीं था। वहाँ राजतंत्र का प्रतिक रानी थी और लोकतंत्र का प्रतिक प्रधानमंत्री,

राजनीतिक दल और हाउस ऑफ कॉमन के सदस्य। डॉ. आंबेडकर के खड़े होते-होते देश की राजनीति में बहुत कुछ नवीनता आ चुकी थी। इस देश के पढ़े-लिखे लोगों में स्वतंत्रता की भावना संवाद का रूप ले चुकी थी। डॉ. आंबेडकर को एकसाथ समाजवाद, जातिवादरहित समाज और सर्वहितकारी वाला धर्म चाहते थे। वे एक समतावादी राजनेता थे जो जीवन को चहुँ और से समुन्नत बनाना चाहते थे। उनकी राजनीति मानवतावादी आधार लिए थी। वे राज्य की नीति को जीवन की नीति से संबद्ध कर एक नवीन पथोन्मुखी बनाना चाहते थे। उनकी राजनीति मानव नीति थी। डॉ. आंबेडकर सृजनात्मक राजनीतिज्ञ थे। वे राजनीति में भावुकता, श्रद्धा, भक्ति आदि को स्थान नहीं देते थे। वे तर्कवादी थे, बुद्धि को प्रधानता देते थे और नियम के महत्व को सर्वोपरि मानते थे। उन्होंने कहा था कि यह बात सबकी समझ में आनी चाहिए कि सामाजिक एवं मनोवैज्ञानिक रूप से अभी तक हम लोग एक राष्ट्र नहीं हैं। वास्तव में डॉ. साहब बहुत स्पष्ट, सचेत तथा जागरूक राजनीतिज्ञ थे। वे एक-एक शब्द का प्रयोग बहुत सोचकर सटोक करते थे। चुनाव की राजनीति और संसद की राजनीति में जमीन-आसमान का अंतर होता है। मत की राजनीति एक प्रकांड पंडित, निष्पक्ष, स्वतंत्रता प्रेमी, निच्छल आत्मा और अनाविल हृदयवाला नहीं कर सकता। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने कहा था कि “देश में भ्रष्टाचार, रिश्वत तथा परिवार पोषण की कुरीतियों का दौर है। इस पर पं. नेहरू ने कहा था कि भारत से कहीं अधिक भ्रष्टाचार दूसरे देशों में है। देश का प्रधानमंत्री भ्रष्टाचार की तुलना कर सन्तोष पा रहा था। फिर भ्रष्टाचार को प्रोत्साहन क्यों नहीं मिलता।” डॉ. आंबेडकर बढ़ते हुए भ्रष्टाचार के प्रति बहुत चिंतित थे। वे मानते थे कि भ्रष्टाचार संसदीय लोकतांत्रिक व्यवस्था के लिए हानिकारक है। भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ेगा तो लोकतंत्र घट जाएगा। वे नहीं चाहते थे कि- लोकतंत्र मात्र शब्द बनकर रह जाए। उनका राजनीति लक्ष्य था पददलितों को राजनीतिक अधिकार दिलवाना। राजनीतिक, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक संतुलन बनाते हुए इन क्षेत्रों में लोकानुभूति को लोकतंत्र का आधार देना। मजदूर मोर्चे का जाति-धर्म निरपेक्ष संगठन करना। राजनीतिक शक्ति से जनशक्ति का आभास देना। उनकी राजनीतिक मंशा मानव को समाज में प्रतिष्ठित करने की थी। वे मानवतावादी-राजनीतिज्ञ थे। वे सत्ता की निरंकुशता के विरुद्ध थे। डॉ. आंबेडकर को इसीलिए राजनेता की अपेक्षा राजनीतिज्ञ माना गया। वे भारतीय राजनीति को संकीर्णता, परंपरावाद तथा अर्थवाद से मुक्त कराने के पक्ष में थे। भाषावाद को वे साम्प्रदायिकता का प्रतिरूप मानते थे। डॉ. भटनागर के शब्दों में कहा जाय तो, “आज भी जब उनकी (डॉ. आंबेडकर) बातें याद आती हैं तो लगता है कि वह अकेला कितना महान् राष्ट्रनेता था, कितना बड़ा राष्ट्रभक्त और कितना बड़ा इन्सान। काश! उनकी बात पर तब ध्यान दिया जाता तो देश की ऐसी दुरावस्था नहीं होती, जैसी आज है। डॉ. आंबेडकर ऐसे भविष्यद्रष्टा राजनीतिज्ञ थे कि जिनकी बातें आज भी कारगर सिद्ध हो रही हैं। उनके द्वारा लिये गए निर्णय, चाहे उस समय किन्हीं कारणों से प्रभाव में नहीं आ सके परंतु आज भी उनकी जरूरत का एहसास करा रहे हैं। डॉ. आंबेडकर जितनी अच्छी तरह लोकतंत्र को समझते थे, शायद ही कोई दूसरा भारतीय राजनेता समझता हो।⁶ अशिक्षित देश में लोकतंत्र का अर्थ

अंदरूनी अधिनायकवाद है। राजनीति वस्तुतः देश की आवश्यकतानुसार अनुरूप बनाई नीति की लकीर पर चलनी चाहिए। उनकी राजनीति एक श्रेष्ठ प्रोफेसर की राजनीति थी। डॉ. आंबेडकर ब्रिटिश संसदीय लोकतंत्र के पक्षधर थे। उन्होंने अपनी पार्टी का चरित्र मानवीय सिद्धान्तों पर उभारा था।

जिस अर्थ में कबीर संत थे, उसी अर्थ में राजनीतिक तथा सामाजिक क्षेत्र में वे कबीर थे। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने यह स्पष्ट किया था कि आज तो हम सब प्रत्येक क्षेत्र (सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनीतिक) में विभाजित हैं परन्तु वह समय दूर नहीं है जबकि संपूर्ण अखंडता की अभिव्यक्ति की अनुभूति सबको सताएगी। उन्होंने चेतावनी देते हुए कहा था कि विश्व में नायक या व्यक्तिपूजा पतन और अन्त में अधिनायकवाद की ओर ले जानेवाली प्रमाणित हुई है अतः व्यक्ति पूजा से बचो, वह लोकतंत्र की शत्रु है। सामाजिक लोकतंत्र ही लोकतंत्र की रीढ़ की हड्डी है। उन्होंने संविधान में सब व्यवस्थाएँ की थी जिनसे एक राष्ट्र, एक कौम, एक समाज, एक सभ्यता और एक संस्कृति का उदय होता है और पृथक्तावाद, अतिस्थानीयवाद, जातिवाद, अलगाववाद तथा अति व्यक्तिवाद का अवसान होता है। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में अनेकानेक स्थायी उपलब्धिपरक कार्य किए थे और अनेक नवीन क्षेत्रों का उद्घाटित किया था। उनकी राजनीति में 'जन' केन्द्र में था और समाज उनके चहुँ और, उनकी राजनीति समाज से उठती थी और अर्थ-दिशाओं को तलाश करती हुई राजनीति की पकड़ को अपेक्षाकृत पहले से सही दिशा की ओर मोड़ती थी। डॉ. आंबेडकर कर्म में आस्था रखते थे। वे राजनीति में जीवन-नीति को केन्द्र में रखते थे। जीवन-नीति में राजनीति निर्देशित हो, यही उनकी मंशा थी। उनका समग्र राजनीतिक जीवन-चिंतन व्यापक और गहन है। उसकी आज भी जरूरत है और अनागत में भी यथावत बनी रहेगी। कारण उन्होंने मानव को केन्द्र में रखकर राजनीतिक सोच का विस्तार किया था। पूँजीवाद, सामन्तवाद, अधिनायकवाद, स्थानीयवाद आदि के वे विरुद्ध थे।

आर्थिक सोच

डॉ. आंबेडकर ने दर्शनशास्त्र, मानवविज्ञान, राजनीतिशास्त्र, अर्थशास्त्र आदि विषयों का गहन अध्ययन किया था और प्राचीन भारतीय व्यापार पर लघुशोध प्रबंध लिखा। बाद में भारत का राष्ट्रीय लाभांश शोधग्रंथ प्रस्तुत किया था। यही ग्रंथ '**ब्रिटिश भारत में राज्यीय पूँजी का विकास**' के नाम से छपा था। उनके अर्थशास्त्र के गहन ज्ञान के कारण ब्रिटिश प्रोफेसरों ने डॉक्टर ऑफ साइन्स की तैयारी करने हेतु प्रोत्साहन दिया था। डॉ. आंबेडकर एक व्यावहारिक अर्थवेत्ता थे। उन्होंने लोकतंत्र के विकास के लिए अर्थतंत्र की अनिवार्यता पर प्रकाश डाला था। उनका मानना था कि आर्थिक पराधीनता राजनीतिक स्वाधीनता को सोख जाती है। उनके सामने सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक स्वतंत्रता का प्रश्न था। उनकी दृष्टि में तात्कालिक अर्थव्यवस्था लुटेरों की व्यवस्था थी। आंबेडकर की दृष्टि में गांधीजी की 'ट्रस्टीशिप का सिद्धांत' एक मूर्खतापूर्ण बात थी। यह एक कल्पनामात्र है।

आपके विचार में प्राचीन उद्योगों को चालू कराना तथा नवीन उद्योगों की स्थापना ताकि सबको काम मिल सके। उद्योग पर सरकार का स्वामित्व हो। मजदूरों को औद्योगिक कर्मचारियों जैसी सुविधाएँ प्राप्त हो। आवश्यक अवकाश घोषित करना। सवेतन अवकाश की व्यवस्था आदि। वे सामूहिक खेती के पक्षधर थे। डॉ. आंबेडकर ने सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समस्याओं को अनुसंधान पैनी नजरिये से जाँचा-परखा और सोदाहरण उसका विश्लेषण कर विश्व के सामने अर्थक्रांति की दिशा में अपना योगदान दिया। वे अतिवादी वैज्ञानिकतवाद के पक्षधर नहीं थे। उनकी सोच थी कि आर्थिक समस्याओं के समाधान में अतिवादी विचार निरर्थक है। उनका मानना था कि समाजवाद आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक शोषण के विरुद्ध एक क्रांतिकारी उपाय है। आपके मतानुसार लोकतंत्र में अर्थतंत्र की भूमिका अपेक्षाकृत अन्य तंत्रों से भिन्न है। इसमें संपूर्ण अर्थ लोक की संपत्ति होता है। वे राष्ट्रीयकरण के पक्ष में थे। *राष्ट्रीयकरण का अर्थ है, किसी वस्तु का सरकारीकरण।*

संक्षेप में हम कह सकते हैं कि -

- डॉ. आंबेडकर एक व्यावहारिक दार्शनिक थे।
- वे शब्दब्रह्म थे।
- वे अपने समय के सबसे विवादग्रस्त प्रकांड पंडित, अनुपम राजनेता, धर्मसुधारक और अर्थशास्त्री थे।
- उनके लिए मानव जीवन का महत्व सर्वोपरि था। डॉ. आंबेडकर का सत्य ईश्वर नहीं था परन्तु जीवन अवश्य था।
- वे जीवन-जगत के व्यवहार को समता की तराजू से तौलते थे और स्वतंत्रतासे परखते थे।
- वे ब्राह्मणवाद को हिन्दू धर्म को पतनोन्मुखी करने का कारण मानते थे।
- वे धर्म को तर्क के आधार पर मानने पर जोर देते थे। आपके विचार में धर्म स्वतंत्र है, वह पुस्तकों में कैद नहीं है। वह पुस्तकों के बाहर है। वह जीवन में है, जगत में है। वह असमानता से दूर है, पाखण्ड को वह अपने नजदीक नहीं फटकने देता।
- डॉ. आंबेडकर विज्ञानवादी चिंतक थे। वे ज्ञान की सत्यता अथवा असत्यता को इस बात पर मानते थे कि वह कार्यसिद्धि में कहाँ तक उपयोगी है।
- उनका चिंतन-मनन मौलिक था। उनके चिंतन का आधार मानव-जीवन का समग्र उन्नयन था। मानवतावाद था।
- वे सुप्रसिद्ध मनीषी थे और राजनीति के क्षेत्र में भविष्य-वक्ता भी।
- उनकी दृष्टि में प्रजातंत्र एक प्रकार का संगठन है, सरकार नहीं। यथार्थतः लोकतंत्र और शासक वर्ग परस्पर एक नहीं, विरोधी है।
- उनका चिंतन सत्ताभिमुख न होकर जनोन्मुख था। मनोवैज्ञानिक रूप से उनकी चेतना का आधार जन-मानसिकता था।
- डॉ. आंबेडकर केन्द्र तथा प्रान्तों की भाषा हिन्दी रखना चाहते थे। वे अंग्रेजी भाषा को अंग्रेजों की सरकार के साथ विदा करना चाहते थे।

- डॉ. आंबेडकर के सामने महात्माओं का व्यक्तित्व फीका पड़ता था। निर्मलता और सज्जनता उनके जीवन का केन्द्र था।
- डॉ. आंबेडकर धर्म को अनिवार्य मानते हैं और धन को महत्व देते हुए मालिक और श्रमिक के संबंध को शोषक-शोषितविहिन देखना चाहते थे।
- डॉ. आंबेडकर निडर, स्पष्टवक्ता, सिद्धांतवादी, दृढ़ विचारशील, प्रखर बुद्धि, मेधावी, मनीषी और सेवाव्रती थे।
- वे सामाजिक तिर्थयात्री थे। उनकी निष्ठा अपने देश और उसकी माटी के प्रति अटूट थी और गहरी थी।
- राजनीति का आधार बुद्धितत्व है, हृदयतत्व नहीं। राजनीति में भावुकता से काम लेने पर उसकी भारी किंमत चुकानी पड़ सकती है। राजनीति न साहित्य है, न दर्शन। वह तो राष्ट्र की संचालक तथा नियामक शक्ति है।
- अशिक्षित जनता से लोकतंत्र की समुचित सहभागिता निभाने की आशा करना गलत था। लोकतंत्र पढ़ी-लिखी व समझदार जनता का व्यवस्था तंत्र है।
- लोकतंत्र जब उपर से आता है तब वह जनता के लिए विकास के अवसर प्रदान नहीं कर पाता है क्योंकि उसमें राज्यादेश होता है, जनादेश नहीं।
- डॉ. आंबेडकर का चिंतन मौलिक तथा भारतीय परिस्थितियों के अनुरूप नवीन और वैज्ञानिक
- विश्लेषण की पूरी-पूरी गुंजाइश लिए देश की गति को बढ़ानेवाला था।
- उनका चिंतन और उसकी कार्यान्वयनी में लोकतांत्रिक संचेतना की गहराई और विस्तार था।
- वे सामाजिक प्रतिबद्धता, संचेतना, दायित्व-भावना और संस्कारजन्यता को संपूर्ण हिन्दू समाज में लाना चाहते थे।
- डॉ. आंबेडकर की धर्म-अभिरूचि दर्शन को आधार बनाकर चलती थी। वे महान बुद्धिवादी, महान प्रज्ञावादी और महान विज्ञानवादी थे।

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सुरक्षित, समर्थ राष्ट्रजीवनाचे चिंतन

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भारतरत्न डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांच्या चरित्रात ध्येयसाधनेचे हे लक्षण ठसठशीतपणे दिसून येते, म्हणूनच त्यांना 'महामानव' ही बिरुदावली निर्विवादपणे शोभून दिसते. उच्च शिक्षणासाठी विलायतेला जाण्याच्या इच्छेमागील, तसेच समाजशास्त्र आणि राज्यशास्त्र-अर्थशास्त्र हे विषय निवडण्यामागील हेतूविषयी बाबासाहेबांनी जे विवेचन केले, त्यातून त्यांनी आपल्या जीवनाची दिशा तरुण वयातच निश्चित केली होती याचा प्रत्यय येतो. विलायतेत जाऊन बॅरिस्टर ही मानाची आणि ज्ञानाची पदवी संपादन करण्याची आस तर त्यांना होतीचय परंतु त्या पदवीतून प्राप्त होणारा अमीर-उमरावाचा सन्मान मिळवणे हे त्यांचे उद्दिष्ट नव्हते, तर ज्या समाजघटकात ते जन्मले त्या वर्गाला दारिद्र्याच्या, अवहेलनेच्या आणि उपेक्षेच्या खाईतून वर आणून मानवी सन्मानाचे जीवन प्रदान करण्यासाठी धडपडणे हा त्यांचा हेतू होता. सारांश, आपल्या जीवनप्रवासाला समाजभक्तीचे आणि राष्ट्रभक्तीचे भक्कम अधिष्ठान प्राप्त करून देणे ही त्यांची जीवननिष्ठा होती आणि ती त्यांनी आयुष्यभर कष्टपूर्वक जोपासली.

समाजातील शोषित घटकाचे सर्वांगीण उन्नयन हा प्रधान जीवनहेतू बाळगला, मात्र त्यांच्या सिध्दतेसाठी केलेल्या परिश्रमांमध्ये कुठेही संकीर्णता तिळमात्र डोकावू दिली नाही, हे बाबासाहेबांच्या जीवनचरित्राचे एक झळझळीत वैशिष्ट्य आहे. स्वातंत्र्यानंतरच्या वैशिष्ट्यपूर्ण परिस्थितीत शासनकर्त्या समूहात सहभागी होण्याची संधी त्यांना अत्यल्प काळापुरतीच मिळाली. मात्र घटनानिर्मितीच्या मसुदा समितीचे अध्यक्ष या रूपाने धोरणकर्त्या समूहाचे मात्र ते अध्वर्यू राहिले. या दोन्ही भूमिकांचा निर्वाह करीत असताना निखळ देशहिताच्या दृष्टिकोनाचा बाबासाहेबांनी घडविलेला प्रत्यय विलक्षण आहे. भारतीय संसदेसमोर, देशाला राज्यघटना प्रदान करण्याच्या महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रसंगी बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी केलेले भाषण हे जणू 'भारतभक्ती स्तोत्रा'चा उत्कृष्ट नमुना म्हणावा असे आहे. त्यांनी या भाषणात सामाजिक ऐक्याचा अत्यंत कळकळीने आळविलेला राग हे त्यांच्या अंतरंगातील उत्कट देशभक्तीचे एक उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण होते. नवस्वतंत्र देशाच्या सामर्थ्याची पायाभरणी राष्ट्रीय आणि सामाजिक एकात्मभावनेच्या जागरणानेच होऊ शकते, याची सूक्ष्म आणि प्रगल्भ जाण त्यांच्या मांडणीतून व्यक्त झाली. देशाची अंतर्गत तसेच बाह्य सुरक्षा मजबूत बनवायची, तर राष्ट्रजीवनाच्या आंतरिक ऐक्याची आणि संघटितपणाची बळकटी अत्यंत आवश्यक आहे याचे भान डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी सातत्याने जागविले असल्याचे दिसून येते.

राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षेचे भान

भारतीय राज्यघटनेच्या माध्यमातून देशाला बाबासाहेबांनी प्रदान केलेली धोरण चौकट, तसेच विविध प्रसंगी केलेल्या भाषणातून त्यांनी केलेले धोरणविषयक दिग्दर्शन यातून त्यांनी दर्शविलेले सुरक्षाविषयक अचूक भान प्रत्ययाला येते. देशाची सुरक्षाविषयक नीती, परराष्ट्रधोरण तसेच राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता आणि अंतर्गत सुरक्षा जोपासण्याविषयीचा दृष्टिकोन यांच्याविषयीचे अत्यंत जागरूक भान त्यांनी जागविले. तत्कालीन पंतप्रधान - परराष्ट्र व्यवहार मंत्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू यांनी अंगीकारलेले धोरण धरसोड वृत्तीचे, तसेच मवाळपणाचा अतिरिक्त, स्वप्नाळू अंगीकार करणारे असल्याची स्पष्ट टीका बाबासाहेबांनी केली. मजबूत सामाजिक ऐक्य हाच देशांतर्गत राष्ट्रभावनेची जोपासना करण्याच्या संकल्पनेचा आधार असायला हवा, हा त्यांचा कटाक्ष होता. त्यांनी त्याच दृष्टीने सामाजिक समतेच्या प्रस्थापनेवर आणि सामाजिक ऐक्याविषयीची आस्था जनमानसात निर्माण करण्यावर मुख्य भर दिला. घटना प्रदान करण्याच्या प्रसंगी केलेल्या भाषणात त्यांनी याच भावनेचा स्पष्टोच्चार करणारा इशारा देशवासीयांना दिला. 'प्रत्येक व्यक्तीला एक मत आणि प्रत्येक मताची समान पत हे तत्त्व स्वीकारून आपण राजकीय समानतेची निर्मिती तर केली आहे. मात्र या राजकीय समतेला लवकरात लवकर सामाजिक समतेची जोड दिली नाही, तर सामान्य हक्कांपासून वंचित राहणारा वर्ग पेटून उठेल आणि मोठ्या कष्टाने उभारलेले हे लोकशाहीचे मंदिर उध्वस्त करून टाकेल...' असा अतिशय अर्थपूर्ण इशारा बाबासाहेबांनी दिला. देशांतर्गत सामाजिक ऐक्याच्या भावनेचे महत्त्व अधोरेखित करणारे बाबासाहेब, आंतरराष्ट्रीय संदर्भात राष्ट्रीयतेची जोपासना मानवता आणि बंधुभावाच्या आधारेच होऊ शकते असे प्रतिपादन करतात. मात्र त्याच वेळी भारताच्या भूसामरिक परिस्थितीचेही अतिशय सूक्ष्म भान त्यांना होते. त्या जाणिवेपोटीच पं.नेहरूंच्या परराष्ट्रविषयक धोरणाची आणि विशेषतः चीन संदर्भातील भोंगळ दृष्टिकोनाची त्यांनी खिल्ली उडविली होती. नेहरूंप्रणीत 'पंचशील' संकल्पना, तसेच 'हिंदी-चिनी भाई भाई' ही घोषणा या दोन्हीवर त्यांनी कठोर टीका केली. आंतरराष्ट्रीय पातळीवरील शेजारी राष्ट्रांबरोबरच्या सहअस्तित्वासंदर्भात चीनच्या बाबतीत त्यांनी दिलेला इशारा अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण होता. डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी म्हटले होते की, साम्यवादी देशांबरोबर (चीनबरोबर) सामंजस्यपूर्ण आणि सुरक्षित सहअस्तित्व ही कठीण बाब आहे. साम्यवाद हा जंगलातील भडकलेल्या वणव्याप्रमाणे आमच्या मार्गात येणाऱ्या सर्व गोष्टींना भस्मसात करीत असतो. 'पंचशीलसारख्या (स्वप्नाळू) संकल्पनांना - विशेषतः चीनसारख्या साम्यवादी देशांच्या संदर्भात - राजकारणात काहीही स्थान असू शकत नाही' असे स्पष्ट प्रतिपादन त्यांनी केले होते. 1950च्या सुमारास बाबासाहेबांनी केलेले हे प्रतिपादन पुढे 10-12 वर्षांनी अक्षरशः खरे ठरले, मात्र त्यासाठी (आणि बाबासाहेबांच्या इश्याकडे दुर्लक्ष केल्याची) अत्यंत दाहक किंमत भारताला मोजावी लागली.

चीनबरोबर केलेला तिबेट विषयक करार आणि ल्हासा चीनच्या ताब्यात देण्यास त्यायोगे भारताने दिलेली मान्यता याबाबत डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी तीव्र नाराजी व्यक्त केली होती. असे केल्याने तिबेटसारखे 'बफर' राष्ट्र गमावून भारतीय सीमांच्या जवळ येण्यास पंतप्रधान नेहरू यांनी चीनला मदत केली आहे असे परखड मत त्यांनी प्रदर्शित केले. भारताच्या या 'गाफिल' निर्णयाला जेमतेम बाराच वर्षे झाली आणि चीनने पंचशीलची तत्वे सरसहा धाव्यावर बसवून भारतावर आक्रमण केले. जबरदस्त पराभव, विस्तीर्ण भूमी वादाच्या दरीत लोटणे आणि अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण सीमाक्षेत्रावर चिनी ड्रॅगनच्या कुटिल नजरेची टांगती तलवार कायमची बाळगण्यास भाग पडणे हा त्या युद्धाचा परिणाम भारताला भोगावा लागला आहे. आजची वस्तुस्थिती पाहायची, तर अरुणाचल प्रदेशातल्या 90,000 चौरस मैल क्षेत्रावर चीन हक्क सांगतो आहे. लडाखच्या क्षेत्रातील अक्साई चीन सकट 38,000 चौरस मैलांचे क्षेत्र त्याने गिळंकृत केले आहे, तर पाकिस्तानच्या कृपेने काराकोरम पर्वतरांगांमधील एक हजार चौरस मैलांचा पाकव्याप्त काश्मीरचा भागही चीनने व्यापला आहे. भारत सरकारच्या आंधळ्या आणि पराभूत मनोवृत्तीच्या धोरणाचा जसा हा परिणाम आहे, तसाच तो डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांच्या दूरगामी इशान्याकडे दुर्लक्ष केल्याचाही आहे, हे नाकारता येणार नाही.

पाकिस्तानबाबतही डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी स्पष्ट शब्दात इशारा दिला होता. जगातील भू-राजकीय परिस्थिती आणि आशियातील सामरिक स्थितीचा भारतीय संदर्भ याबाबतचे त्यांचे विश्लेषण अचूक होते. सुएझ कालव्याचे हस्तांतरण झाल्यामुळे इजिप्त आणि इंग्लंड यांच्यामधील अडसर आणि अंतर दूर झाले आहे. तसेच आखाती भागातील मुस्लीम देश आणि पाकिस्तान यांचे सहचर्य सुलभ होऊन त्यांची भारताविरोधी फळी बांधली जाणे सोपे झाले आहे, याकडेही बाबासाहेबांनी लक्ष वेधले होते. फाळणीनंतर-किंबहुना फाळणी अपरिहार्य आहे अशी परिस्थिती भारतीय राजकीय नेतृत्वाने स्वीकारल्यानंतर-सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रातील भू-भागाबाबत नेमका कोणता दृष्टिकोन बाळगावा, याबाबतही बाबासाहेबांचा दृष्टिकोन अधिक व्यवहार्य आणि भारतहिताची चिंता करणारा होता हेच लक्षात येते. उपद्रवी शेख अब्दुल्ला यांना जम्मू-काश्मीर संदर्भात त्यांच्या विघटनकारी दृष्टिकोनाबाबत स्पष्टपणे सुनावणारे बाबासाहेबच होते. 'एकीकडे भारताच्या सर्व भूभागात तुम्हाला मुक्त प्रवेश घ्यायचा आणि जम्मू-काश्मीर क्षेत्रात मात्र उर्वरीत भारतीय भूभागातील देशबांधवांना मर्यादित अधिकार द्यायचा अशी दुटप्पी नीती कायदामंत्री या नात्याने मी चालू देऊ शकत नाही...' अशी स्पष्ट समज त्यांनी शेख अब्दुल्ला यांना दिली होती. पठाणी टोळीवाल्यांच्या आक्रमणानंतर आणि भारतीय नेतृत्वाने अचानक युद्धबंदी जाहीर करून युनोच्या उंबरठ्याशी तो प्रश्न नेऊन ठेवल्यानंतर जम्मू-काश्मीरसाठी भारतीय राज्यघटनेत स्वतंत्र तरतूद करण्याची आवश्यकता उद्भवली आणि 370व्या कलमाचा समावेश करण्यात आला. तो करतानाही बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी त्या कलमाचे स्वरूप तात्पुरते राहिल याची काळजी कुशलतेने घेतली.

जम्मू-काश्मीरचा वस्तुतः काल्पनिक असलेला प्रश्न आणि विशेषतः संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघाच्या पत्रात केली गेलेली सार्वमताची सूचना हे दोन विषय आज भारताच्या दृष्टीने डोकेदुखी ठरले आहेत. डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी या विषयाच्या प्रारंभिक काळातच त्याविषयीची सूचना केली होती. जम्मू आणि लडाख हे अनुक्रमे हिंदू आणि बौद्धबहुल क्षेत्र निर्विवादपणे भारताला द्यावे आणि मुस्लीमबहुल क्षेत्राचा निर्णय तेथील मुस्लीम समुदायाला घेऊ द्यावा अशी त्यांची सूचना होती. सार्वमत घ्यायचेच झाले तर फक्त आणि फक्त मुस्लीमबहुल क्षेत्रातील लोकांचेच घ्यावे, असेही त्यांनी सुचविले होते. आज हे दोन्ही प्रश्न कायम लोंबकळत राहिलेले दिसतात आणि सार्वमताच्या मुद्द्यावर भारताला पुन्हा पुन्हा आरोपीच्या पिंजऱ्यात उभा करण्याचा प्रयत्न करण्याची संधी पाकिस्तानी नेत्यांकडून साधली जात आहे, याचा आपण अनुभव सातत्याने घेत राहिलो आहेत.

स्वातंत्र्यानंतर भारताच्या मुलकी प्रशासकीय व्यवस्थेबाबत बाबासाहेबांनी व्यक्त केलेली मते आणि सूचनाही त्यांच्या व्यापक आणि देशहितैषी दृष्टिकोनाचाच परिचय देणाऱ्या आहेत. भारतातील राज्यरचना, भाषाविषयक धोरण तसेच प्रशासकीय रचना या सार्याचा विचार करताना अंतर्गत स्थैर्य, सुरक्षा आणि राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता याच बाबी त्यांच्यासमोर प्रमुखपणाने होत्या हे लक्षात येते. प्रशासकीय व्यवस्थेबाबत त्यांनी केलेल्या सूचनेची ठळक वैशिष्ट्ये अशी -

1. समस्त भारतीयांसाठी एकच नागरिकत्व तसेच एकच समान न्याययंत्रणेची व्यवस्था. (आज जम्मू-काश्मीरमध्ये या दोन्ही गोष्टी लागू नाहीत. त्यामुळे तेथे आरक्षण, पंचायत राज, माहितीचा अधिकार यासारखे कायदे लागू नाहीत, तसेच नागरिकत्वासंदर्भातही सर्वसमावेशक धोरण अस्तित्वात नाही.)
 2. एककेंद्रित प्रशासकीय व्यवस्था (Single Administrative System) असावी.
 3. राज्य आणि भाषा यांच्याविषयीचे सूत्र 'एक राज्य एक भाषा' असे नसावे, तर 'एक भाषा एक राज्य' (One Language, One State) असे असावे.
 4. एका राज्याची लोकसंख्या दोन कोटींहून अधिक नसावी. या दृष्टीने त्यांनी महाराष्ट्र, उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार आणि मध्य प्रदेश यांच्या क्षेत्रांचे अनुक्रमे चार, चार, तीन आणि तीन अशा भिन्न राज्यांचे विभाजन सुचविले होते. आज छत्तीसगड, उत्तराखंड, झारखंड या राज्यांच्या निर्मितीतून जवळपास तसेच विभाजन झाले असल्याचे दिसून येते आहेच. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी प्रशासकीय व्यवस्थेबाबत सुचविलेल्या योजनेतील पुढील दोन मुद्दे राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा आणि राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता या दृष्टीने अत्यंत महत्त्वपूर्ण ठरतात.
1. भारताला दोन राजधान्या असाव्यात. ब्रिटिशांनीही दिल्लीबरोबरच कलकत्ता येथेही राजधानी करण्याची योजना केली होती. मात्र सुरक्षेच्या दृष्टीने दिल्ली आणि कलकत्ता ही दोन्ही स्थाने राजधानीच्या दृष्टीने जोखमीची आहेत, कारण ही दोन्ही स्थाने शेजारी शत्रुराष्ट्रांच्या बाँब

हल्ल्याच्या टप्प्यातील अंतरावर आहेत, याकडे बाबासाहेबांनी सर्वांचे लक्ष वेधले होते. सुरक्षिततेच्या दृष्टीने त्यांनी हैदराबाद या शहराचे नाव सुचविले होते. याबरोबरच, देशाची दक्षिण आणि उत्तर अशी विभागणी करणे कटाक्षाने टाळावे अशीही सूचना त्यांनी केली होती. तसे झाले तर तुलनेने संघटित आणि मजबूत असलेला उत्तर भारत दाक्षिणात्यांवर वर्चस्व गाजवेल - विशेषतः राजकीय पातळीवर प्रभुत्व ठेवेल, असे भाकित बाबासाहेबांनी व्यक्त केले होते. त्यांचे हे भाकित किती तंतोतंत खरे होते, याचा अनुभव गेली पासष्ट वर्षे निरंतर येत आहे.

2. दुसऱ्या एका आग्रही सूचनेद्वारे त्यांनी वयाच्या चौदाव्या वर्षापर्यंत सर्व विद्यार्थ्यांना तसेच विशिष्ट वयापर्यंतच्या सर्व तरुणांना लष्करी शिक्षण अनिवार्य करावे, असा आग्रह केला होता. लष्करी शिक्षणाद्वारे सर्वांच्या अंगी शिस्त बाणवणे, तसेच जात, पंथ, भाषा, धर्म यांच्या संकीर्ण निष्ठांमधून वर उठून देशाचा विचार करण्याची मानसिकता निर्माण करणे सुलभ होईल असा तर्क त्यांनी मांडला होता. मात्र स्वतंत्र भारताच्या नेतृत्वाच्या डोक्यावर अतिरिक्त शांततावादाचे भूत अशा प्रकारे स्वार झाले होते की, नागरिकांना लष्करी प्रशिक्षण देणे तर दूरच, 'आम्ही कोणाशी युद्ध करण्याचीच शक्यता नसताना देशाला लष्कर हवेच कशाला?' अशा मानसिकतेने त्याला पछाडले होते.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब स्वतः लष्करात सेवा बजावणारे सुभेदार रामजी आंबेडकर यांचे सुपुत्र होते. मात्र राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षेचा विचार करताना ते लष्करी सज्जता, सीमांची सुरक्षा यांच्याबरोबरच अंतर्गत सुरक्षितता, राष्ट्रीय एकात्मता, सामाजिक सौहार्द आणि व्यक्तिमात्राच्या मनात ज्वलंत राष्ट्रभावनेची जोपासना यांचाही विचार सदैव करत होते. डॉ. बाबासाहेब सदैव समर्थ, सुरक्षित, संपन्न आणि एकात्म भारताचे स्वप्न उराशी जपत होते.



आंबेडकरी चळवळ आणि दलित मुक्ती - एक मुल्यांकनात्मक अभ्यास

डॉ. मोहन नगराळे

समाजशास्त्र विभाग,
आर.एस. मुंडले धरमपेठ कॉलेज, नागपूर

जन्मजात विषमता ही कोणत्याही समाजांत मानवी गुलामीला घट्ट करणारी असते. भारतात वैदिक काळापासून जन्माद्वारे उच्च-निचता ठरविण्याची रीत सुरू होती. वैदिक काळातील या तात्त्विक विचारांचा प्रभाव भारतात जवळजवळ ब्रिटीश शासनापर्यंत टिकून राहिला. या जन्मजात विषमतेच्या विरोधाचे प्रयत्न बऱ्याच जणांकडून बऱ्याच प्रमाणांत झालेले होते. मानवी प्रतिष्ठा, शुद्धतिशुद्धांची उन्नती, मानवा-मानवांतील समानता ही मूल्यतत्वे बऱ्याच संत, सुधारकांनी वाचिक पातळीवर मान्य केली होती. पण कल्पित हीन जन्मामुळे मिळालेल्या अस्पृश्यतेच्या स्थितीत फारसा फेरबदल दिसला नाही.

२० व्या शतकातील डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या झंझावती आगमनाने आणि त्यांनी आपल्या बौद्धिक बळाने या जन्मजात विषमतेला प्रभावहीन करून टाकले. सारांश डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी भारतीय जन्माधरित विषमता खणून काढली आणि तेथे गुण व कर्तृत्वाधारित स्तरीकरणाचा पाया रचना, ही प्रस्तुत लेखाची मध्यवर्ती गृहित कल्पना आहे.

वर्णाश्रम आणि शुद्धातिशुद्धांची स्थिती

भारतीय समाजाच्या विषम विभाजनाची वर्णाश्रम ही पद्धती जेवढी प्राचीन आहे तेवढीच ती भ्रामिक ही आहे. समाज संघटनेसाठी श्रमविभाजन ही अनिवार्य असली तरी, जेव्हा हे श्रमविभाजन श्रमिकांचे, दुर्बल-दलितांचे कायमस्वरूपी विभाजन बनते तेव्हा ते श्रमविभाजन अन्यायकारक होवून जाते. वर्णाश्रम ही अशीच गुंता वाढविणारी समाजस्तरीकरणाची रीत होती.

वैदिक काळातील भारताच्या धार्मिक ग्रंथातून विशेषतः पुरुषसुक्तांत वर्णाश्रमाचे वर्णन सापडते. उत्तम पुरुष अर्थात इंद्र (लिंगभाव विषमता येथुनच वाढली असावी असे वाढते) यांच्या सांकेतिक डोके, हात, मांडी आणि पाय या अवयवांच्या कार्याच्या कल्पनेतून वर्णाची मांडणी केली. डोके - ब्राम्हण, हात - क्षत्रिय, मांडी - वैश्य आणि पाय - शुद्र अशी ती मांडणी होती या मांडणीत जेव्हा दोष उत्पन्न झालेले दिसले, त्याला विरोध होवू लागला तेव्हा त्याला अधिक समाजमान्यता मिळविण्यासाठी वर्णाश्रमाची गुणांच्या आधारे पुनः मांडणी केली. ते गुण म्हणजे सात्विक गुण, राजसगुण आणि तामसी गुण होय.



सात्विक गुण हे जन्मत

ब्राम्हणात असते, राजस गुणाचे लोक क्षत्रिय आणि वैश्य असते, तामसी गुणांचे लोक शुद्र असतात. अशा प्रकारची मांडणी स्वभाविकपणे ब्राम्हणांना श्रेष्ठ, सत्ताधारी बनविते तर शुद्रातिशुद्रांना हीन, अप्रतिष्ठीत, अस्पृश्य बनवून टाकले गेले.

या चातुर्वर्णाश्रमातील पहिल्या तीन श्रेणीतील वर्ण हे ब्राम्हण, क्षत्रिय वैश्य हे सवर्ण व द्विज समजले गेले. अर्थात याच वर्णीयांच्या मुलांना उपनयाच्या विधीद्वारे शिक्षण संपादनाने त्यांचा दुसरा जन्म होतो असे कल्पिले गेले आणि वर्णश्रेणीतील खालच्या वर्णीयांना उपनयन विधी नाकारून त्यांना शिक्षणापासून कायमचे हद्दपार केले. ते हीन जन्माचे समाजल्या गेले.

या वर्णाश्रमात ज्यांना वेगळे ठेवल्या गेले ते अतिशुद्र, अस्पृश्य, विटाळजन्य समजल्या गेले. त्यांना पंचम, अंत्यज या नांवानी संबोधल्या गेले. चातुर्वर्णाश्रमातील या शुद्र आणि अतिशुद्र यांची स्थिती गुलाम जनावरांपेक्षाही हीन दर्जाची होती. समाजातल्या एका मोठ्या मानवी गटाला हीन स्थितीत ठेवणारी जी विचारसरणी येथे प्रस्थापित करण्यात आली, तिची पाळेमुळे हिंदू धर्म तत्वांतुन पोषित झालेली होती. अशा रितीने धर्म हा काही अभिजनांची सुरक्षा कवच बनला तर बहुजनांसाठी त्यांच्या अवनतीचे कारण बनला.

समाजाच्या या अभिजन आणि बहुजन या विभागणीला धर्मतत्वांचे पाठबळ असल्याने ते बळकट होवू लागले. अशा रितीने वर्णाश्रमाची पोलादी चौकट अभिजनांचे (ब्राम्हण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य) पोषण वर्णाश्रमाला वितळवून टाकणारा आगडोंब या काळात तयार झाला नाही. या व्यवस्थेला खिळखीळी करण्यासाठी म. ज्योतीबा आणि डॉ. बाबासाहेब यांचे कार्य कामी आले मात्र त्यासाठी एकोणीसाव्या - विसाव्या शतकापर्यंत वाट पाहवी लागली २० व्या शतकातील डॉ. आंबेडकर या महासूर्याने वर्णाश्रमाची ही पोलादी चौकट क्षीण करून टाकली.

वर्णाश्रमाचे विसर्जन झाल्याने भारतातील दलितांच्या समग्र समस्या सुटल्या असे म्हणता येते नाही. चातुर्वर्णाच्या विचारपरंपरेपासून जी जातीव्यवस्था येथे साकारित झाली. तिने येथील महिला आणि दलितांना बरेच बंदिस्त करून टाकले. जातीव्यवस्थेतील असामान्य आणि अभिन्न अशा अस्पृश्यता या प्रथेने, येथील दलितांना होत्याचे नव्हते करून टाकले. अस्पृश्यता ही ज्यांच्यावर लादली होती. त्यांना सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक आणि शैक्षणिक जीवनातून कायमचे दूर केले. त्यांना भारतीय, हिंदू समाजव्यवस्थेचा घटक मानल्याच गेले नव्हते.

डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी भारतातील या अस्पृश्य लोकांविषयीचे आत्मीयतेने आत्मचिंतन, संशोधन केले. त्यांच्या या निम्न, अपमानित स्थितीची कारणे आणि त्यातून त्यांच्या मुक्तीचे मार्ग काय असु शकतात याचा शास्त्रीय

अभ्यास मांडला.डॉ. आंबेडकर हे केवळ निष्क्रीय संशोधक, तत्वज्ञ न राहता त्यांनी आपल्या संपादित ज्ञानाला दलिमुक्तीसाठी उपयोगात आणले. खरेतर दलित समस्या बहुपदरी, बहुआयमी होती. ती कोणत्याही एकमेव उपायाने सुटणारी नव्हती. त्याकरिता आंबेडकरांनी भारतीय संविधानाची रचना करून मानवी हक्कांची प्रस्थापना करून कायदेशिररित्या अस्पृश्यतेची समस्या कायमची सोडविली. शिक्षणातून मानसिक गुलामी नष्ट होईल या विश्वासाने ते दलित -अस्पृश्यांना शिक्षणासाठी प्रोत्साहित करीत राहिले. राजकीय सत्ता ही आपल्यावरील लादलेल्या निबर्धाना मोकळी करणारी किल्ली असेल त्याकरीता त्यांनी राजकीय जागृती करण्यासाठी पक्ष बांधणीचे कार्य दलित मुक्तीसाठी यशस्वीरीत्या केले.

शेवटी अस्पृश्यतेची समस्या ही हिंदूधर्माने दिलेली जन्मजात देणगी आहे. जोपर्यंत आपण या धर्मात राहू तोपर्यंत ही समस्या सावलीप्रमाणे राहील याकरीता हिंदूधर्म त्याग हा त्यावर योग्य इलाज होवू शकतो असे डॉ. आंबेडकरांना गंभीर चिंतना अंती लक्षात आले म्हणून १९५६ ला त्यांनी आपल्या अनुयायासह हिंदूधर्माचा त्याग करून मानवी प्रतिष्ठा जपणारा, समता आणि अहिंसा, न्याय आणि दुःख निवारणाचा प्रतिक असलेला, आपल्या पुर्वजांचा बौद्धधर्म त्यांनी स्विकारला.

या सर्व सक्रिय आंदोलनामुळे भारतातील विशेषतः महाराष्ट्रातील दलित मुक्ती डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या या चळवळीने होवू शकली. म्हणून सारांशपणे डॉ. आंबेडकरांची चळवळ ही भारतीय समाजांत समता, न्याय, अहिंसा, मानवता या मूल्यांना प्रस्थापित करणारी ठरली हे कुणीही नाकारू शकत नाही.

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अर्थचिंतक - डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर

डॉ. सुधाकर इंगळे

आर.एस. मुंडले धरमपेठ कॉलेज
नागपूर

प्रस्तावना

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हे मूलतः अर्थशास्त्राचे विद्यार्थी होते. त्यांनी विदेशातील ख्यातनाम विद्यापीठातून 'अर्थशास्त्र' या विषयातील तीन पदव्या प्राप्त केल्या होत्या. त्यांच्या समकालीन दुसरे कोणतेही उदाहरण आढळत नाही. अमेरिकेच्या कोलंबिया विद्यापीठात, ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनीत - अर्थ आणि प्रशासन हा प्रबंध सादर केला. या प्रबंधात त्यांनी 1772-73 ते 1857 या सहासष्ट वर्षांच्या काळातील कंपनी सरकारच्या कराराच्या विस्ताराने आढावा घेतला. 'ब्रिटीश भारतातील आर्थिक वित्ताची उत्क्रांती (The Evolution of provincial Finance in British India)' या शोधप्रबंधासाठी कोलंबिया विद्यापीठाने त्यांना पी.एच.डी. ही पदवी प्रदान केली. या शोध प्रबंधाच्या संदर्भात प्रो. एडविन सेलिमन आपल्या प्रस्तावनेत म्हणतात 'डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी या प्रबंधात आपल्या देशातील राजकोषिय घडामोडींची वस्तुस्थिती दर्शक मांडणी व निःपक्षपाती विश्लेषण केले आहे. या प्रबंधातील निष्कर्ष इतर देशांनाही लागू पडतील. अशा प्रकारचा मूलभूत सैधांतिक अभ्यास जगात इतर कोठेही झालेला नाही.' लंडन स्कूल ऑफ इकॉनामिक्स या विद्यापीठात डॉ. आंबेडकरांना 'रुपयाचा प्रश्न- उद्गम आणि विकास Problem of Rupee - its Origin and its Solution हा भारतीय चलनाचा उत्क्रांतीचा आलेख रेखाटणारा संशोधनपर प्रबंध सादर केला. त्यासाठी त्यांना या विद्यापीठाने डॉक्टर ऑफ सायन्स ही पदवी प्रदान केली.

लोक शिक्षक

उच्च शिक्षण घेऊन भारतात परतल्यानंतर त्यांनी मोठया कष्टाने प्राप्त केलेल्या अर्थशास्त्रीय ज्ञानाचे उपयोजन व्यवहारात करण्याचा अवसर त्यांना प्राप्त झाला. मुंबईच्या सिडनेहॅम महाविद्यालयात अर्थशास्त्राचे प्राध्यापक म्हणून त्यांनी काही काळ नौकरी केली. पूढे 1926 मध्ये मुंबईच्या विधानमंडळावर सदस्य म्हणून त्यांची नियुक्ती झाली. विधानमंडळातील अर्थसंकल्पावरील त्यांची भाषणे अत्यंत अभ्यासपूर्ण आहेत. विधीमंडळात त्यांनी काही महत्वपूर्ण विधेयक मांडली यात खोती पद्धतीचे उच्चाटन, सावकारी नियंत्रण महार वतने नष्ट झालीच पाहीजे ही महत्वपूर्ण आहेत. या सर्व

विधेयकाच्या माध्यमातून जमिनदाराच्या आणि सावकारांच्या पाशातून ग्रामीण भागातील गरीब, कष्टकरी शेतमजूर, दलित, यांची मुक्तता करण्यासाठी त्यांनी सरकारला कायदा करण्यास भाग पाडले.

एकसुत्रिय राष्ट्रनिती

डॉ. बाबासाहेब हे केवळ बोलघेवडे अर्थऋचतक नव्हते तर ते क्रियाशिल असे अर्थतज्ञ होते. आपल्या देशातील अर्थविषयक प्रश्नांची कुशल आणि कार्यक्षम हाताळणी करण्यासाठी आवश्यक असणारी संस्थापक रचना निर्माण करण्यात त्यांचा मोलाचा सहभाग होता. 1942 ते 1946 या काळात व्हाईसरॉयच्या कार्यकारी परिषदेचे सदस्य असतांना कामगार विषयक विविधबाबी बाबासाहेबांच्या आखत्यारित होत्या. श्रमिकांना सामाजिक सुरक्षा मिळण्यासाठी श्रमिकांची उत्पादकता संवर्धित राहिल यासाठी कामगार कल्याणाचे धोरण आखले गेले पाहीजे व धोरण निर्मितीत प्रत्यक्ष सहभाग घेण्याची संधी श्रमिकांना मिळाली पाहिजे व हे सर्व करण्यासाठी कामगार संघटनांना मान्यता मिळणे गरजेचे असते. हा बाबासाहेबांचा कामगार विषयक धोरणाचा गाभा होता. कामगारांच्या हिताचे संरक्षण करण्यासाठी व कामगार विषयक कायद्याची अंमलबजावणी करण्यासाठी मुख्य कामगार आयुक्त या संस्थेच्या निर्मितीत बाबासाहेबांचा सिंहाचा वाटा होता. कामगार हा विषय केंद्र आणि राज्य यांच्या सामायिक सुचीमध्ये समाविष्ट करण्याचा आग्रही विचार हा ही बाबासाहेबांचा. रोजगार विनिमय केंद्र 'Employment Exchanges' ही देशाभरात कार्यरत असणारी संस्थात्मक रचना त्यांनी निर्माण केली.

दुरदर्शीपणा

सर्वात महत्वाचे म्हणजे भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्थेला गती देण्यासाठी व शेतीची उत्पादकता वाढविण्यासाठी 'पाणी आणि वीज' या उत्पादनाच्या दोन घटकांचे कार्यक्षम संवर्धन, वाटप, वितरण यासाठी सक्षम अश्या तांत्रिक संस्थांची निर्मिती करणे हे बाबासाहेबांचे चिरस्मरणीय कार्य आहे. व्हाईसरॉयच्या सल्लागार मंडळाचे सदस्य म्हणून काम करीत असतांना कामगार कल्याणासोबतच पाणी आणि विज हे जनकल्याणाचे महत्वाचे घटक आहेत, याची जाणीव बाबासाहेबांना होती. देशात उपलब्ध असणाऱ्या नद्यांचा आणि त्यात उपलब्ध असणाऱ्या पाण्याचा वापर सिंचन, वीजनिर्मिती आणि जलवाहतूक अशा तीनही कामासाठी केला पाहीजे. अशी बाबासाहेबांची भूमिका होती. यासाठी नदी खोऱ्यातील जलसाठ्याचे मोजमाप, जलस्रोतांचे नियोजन, पाणी वापरांच्या एकात्मिक योजना व योजनेच्या लाभाचे समन्यायी पद्धतीने वाटप यासाठी नेमके सुत्र तयार करण्याचे कामही डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी केले व अंमलबजावणीसाठी सेंट्रल वॉटर वाटरगेज, इरिगेशन अँड नॅव्हिगेशन कमिशन' आणि 'सेन्ट्रल टेक्निकल पॉवर बोर्ड' या दोन तांत्रिक सल्लागार मंडळाची निर्मिती 1945

साली झाली. बाबासाहेबांच्या प्रयत्नातून 1951 साली 'सेंट्रल अँड पॉवर कमिशन' अस्तित्वात आले. पूढे शेती व सिंचन आणि उर्जा अशी दोन मंत्रालये अस्तित्वात आली. त्यामुळे साहाजिकच सेंट्रल वॉटर अँड पावर कमिशनचे विभाजन करून, सेंट्रल वॉटर कमिशन आणि सेंट्रल इलेक्ट्रीसिटी अथॉरिटी या दोन संस्था अस्तित्वात आल्या.

आपल्या देशातील संघराज्य व्यवस्था मजबुत व्हावी व त्यातून उद्भवणारे संभाव्य पेचप्रसंग सोडविता यावे यासाठी त्यांनी एकापेक्षा अधिक राज्यांचा समावेश असणाऱ्या नदीखोऱ्यांचा विकासासाठी नदी खोरे प्राधिकरण संस्थाची निर्मिती केली व यातून सिंचन जलवाहतूक, वीज निर्मिती आणि पूर नियंत्रण या चारही उद्दिष्टांच्या एकात्मिक पूर्ततेची दूरदृष्टी डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी दाखविली.

वित्तव्यवस्था

1833 पासून भारतात प्रादेशिक वित्तीय व्यवस्थेचा विकास कसा झाला हे सांगतांना डॉ. आंबेडकर मधील जाज्वल्य राष्ट्राभिमान दिसतो. त्यांचा प्रादेशिक वित्त व्यवस्था हा निबंध Piece of Pioneer Work मुलभुत स्वरूपाचा मानला जातो. आजच्या काळात या ग्रंथाचे महत्त्व लक्षात घेण्या सारखे आहे. केंद्र सत्ता आणि राज्य सरकारे यांच्या दरम्यान क्लिष्ट असणारा सर्वात महत्वाचा आश्रय म्हणजे वित्तीय संबंधाचा. केंद्र 'सरकारच्या तिजोरीत जमा होणाऱ्या एकंदर निधीचे वाटप केंद्र सरकार व देशातील राज्य सरकारे यांच्या दरम्यान कसे करावयाचे हा एक जटिल प्रश्न होता. या विलक्षण अशा क्लिष्ट विषयांच्या हाताळणीसाठी वित्त आयोगासारख्या (फायनान्स कमिशन) एका घटनादत्त व्यासपीठाची निर्मिती करणे. हा डॉ. बाबासाहेबांच्या अर्थव्यक्तेपणाचा व घटनात्मक कौशल्याचा सर्वोच्च बिंदू ठरावा. केंद्रीय आणि राज्यस्तरीय सत्तेच्या दरम्यान वित्तीय साधनसामुग्रीच्या उभारणीचे अधिकार व स्रोतही सत्तेच्या या दोन स्तरांवर वाटून देणे हा संघराज्य व्यवस्थेचा कणा आहे. बदलत्या आर्थिक, सामाजिक, भौतिक परिस्थितीनुसार त्यावर वास्तवावर आधारित लवचिकपणा असावा व यासाठी जबाबदाऱ्या आणि निधीचे वाटप यात वेळोवेळी अनुरूप असे बदल सुचविणारी वित्त आयोगासारखी कायमस्वरूपी घटनादत्त संस्थात्मक यंत्रणा निर्माण झाली, ही केवळ बाबासाहेबांच्या द्रष्ट्या अर्थचिंतनातून! त्यामुळेच भारतीय घटनेच्या 73 व्या आणि 74 व्या घटना दुरुस्तीमुळे केंद्राप्रमाणेच राज्यांमध्ये वित्त आयोग स्थापन करण्याचे महत्त्वपूर्ण पाऊल सरकारला उचलता आले यातून विकेंद्रित अशी आणखी राजकीय लोकशाही सुदृढ होण्यास मदत झाली.

साधनसामुग्रीचे सम्यक वाटप

भारतासारख्या खंडप्राय आणि साधन सामुग्रीच्या वाटपात प्रचंड वैविध असणाऱ्या अर्थव्यवस्थेला सातत्याने गतिशील ठेवण्यासाठी उर्जा सुरक्षा ही काळाची गरज आहे हे डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी ओळखले

होते. वीजेचे उत्पादन आणि वाटप यासंदर्भात एकात्मिक आणि सुसुत्र नियोजन राबविले जावे अशी त्यांची भूमिका होती. आणि यासाठी त्यांनी विजेच्या निर्मिती आणि सर्वांगीण विकासासाठी सेंट्रल टेक्नीकल पावर बोर्ड या तांत्रिक सल्लागार शिखर यंत्रणेची स्थापना 1944 साली केली. संपूर्ण देशभरात राबवल्या येण्याजोग्या विज निर्मिती धोरणाबाबत एकवाक्यता निर्माण करण्याकरीता आणि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्राच्या माध्यमातून विजेची निर्मिती व पुरवठा यांना देशपातळीवर चालना देणे हे सेंट्रल टेक्नीकल पावर बोर्ड या यंत्रणेचे मुख्य उद्दीष्ट असल्याचे डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी सांगितले. केवळ इतकेच नाही तर देशभरातील ठिकठिकाणच्या प्रकल्पात निर्माण होणाऱ्या विजेचे आंतरराज्यीय वहन व वितरण घडवून आणण्यासाठी प्रादेशिक तसेच राष्ट्रीय 'ग्रिड' यंत्रणा उभारण्याची कल्पना डॉ. बाबासाहेबांची.

डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या अर्थशास्त्रीय विवेचनात केवळ संपत्ती निर्माण करण्याचे विवेचन नाही तर संपत्तीची निर्मिती समाज कल्याणासाठी असावी असे त्यांचे मत होते. समाजातील जातीव्यवस्था अन्याय पिळवणूक यातून असमानता निर्माण होउन विकासाचे प्रश्न निर्माण होतात हे त्यांनी दाखवून दिले आहे.

औद्योगिकरण

डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी औद्योगिकरण आणि यांत्रिकिकरण याचा पूर्ण पुरस्कार केला मात्र यातून भांडवलशाहीच्या परिणामासारखी स्थिती उदभवु नये म्हणून सरकारच्या मालकीचे उद्योग असावेत पण मक्तेदारी नसावी असे त्यांना वाटत होते.

आजच्या काळातील तंत्रज्ञान व माहिती युगाचे डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी स्वागतच केले असते हे जरी खरे असले तरी येणाऱ्या तंत्रज्ञानातून रोजगार कसा निर्माण होईल याचीही त्यांनी मांडणी केली असती.

उदारीकरण

भारताच्या आजच्या सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्थितीचे विश्लेषण त्यांनी केले असते तर अनेक बाबतीत त्यांनी असमाधान व्यक्त केले असते.

जागतिक राजकारणामुळे मुक्त अर्थव्यवस्था उदारीकरण, खाजगीकरण हे धोरण आपणास स्वीकारावे लागले. पण यातून महत्वाचे प्रश्न सुटले नाहीत. त्यातील सर्वात महत्वाची समस्या म्हणजे भेद. मग तो शहरी, ग्रामिण वर्गातला असो की प्रादेशिक असो. प्रत्येकाला साधन संपत्ती प्राप्त झाल्या शिवाय, मालकी हक्काची व रोजगाराची संधी प्राप्त झाल्या शिवाय त्यांच्या स्थितीत सुधारणा होणार नाही, या साठी शिक्षण, जीवन कौशल्ये यांचा विकास आवश्यक आहे. राष्ट्रीय उत्पन्नात शेतीचा वाटा जरी घसरला असला तरी त्यावरील रोजगारांची संख्या फारशी कमी झालेली नाही. परंतु उद्योगधंदे आणि

सेवा क्षेत्राने रोजगार पुरविण्यात आपली जबाबदारी पेलली नाही त्यामुळेच ग्रामिण दारिद्र्य निर्माण झाल्याचे दिसते.

आज डॉ. आंबेडकर असते तर त्यांनी या स्थितीवर कडाडून हल्ला चढविला असता व त्यावर उपाययोजना करण्यास सरकारला भाग पाडले असते.

प्रसिद्ध अर्थचिंतक मा. दत्तोपंत ठेंगडी नेहमी म्हणत, 'डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर भारतीय राज्यघटनेचे शिल्पकार, एक महान समाज सुधारक, दलितांचे कैवारी, मानवीय हक्कांचे पूरस्कर्ते, शिक्षणतज्ञ, उत्तम संसदपटू, पत्रकार म्हणून जनतेला परिचित आहेत. परंतु त्यांच्या बहुआयामि व्यक्तिमत्त्वातील एक महत्वपूर्ण पैलू मात्र अजुनही दुर्लक्षित राहिला आहे तो म्हणजे त्यांनी कृतीशील अर्थतज्ञ म्हणून बजावलेली कामगिरी व कामगार चळवळीतील त्यांचे योगदान'

भारताच्या आर्थिक व सामाजिक स्थितीचे सखोल ज्ञान, अर्थशास्त्रीय व्यासंगाचा भक्कम पाया आणि राज्यघटनेच्या निर्णयातील थेट सहभाग अशा तिहेरी मुशीतून निर्माण झालेल्या डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांच्या कृतीशील अर्थचिंतनाचा समग्र अभ्यास करण्याची खरी गरज आज आहे आणि ही गरज पूर्ण करणे हे त्यांना खरे अभिवादन ठरेल.

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9. डॉ. बी.आर. आंबेडकर - डब्लु. एम. कुबेर



डॉ. आंबेडकरांचे संपादकीय कार्य

प्रा. सौ. अलका बडगे

आर.एस. मुंडले धरमपेठ कॉलेज
नागपूर

प्रस्तावना

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हे जसे सव्यसाची संपादक होते, त्याहीपेक्षा ते एक साक्षेपी संपादक होते. मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारितेच्या क्षेत्रात डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी एक साक्षेपी संपादक आणि एका निरपेक्ष वृत्तीने संपादकीय सूत्र संचालन करणारे सूत्रधार म्हणून जे संपादनपत्रे कार्य केलेले आहे, ते कार्य अनन्यसाधारण तर आहे, त्याशिवाय मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारितेचा आणि संपादनाचा आदर्श निर्माण करणारे आहे. आपण सर्वच बाबासाहेबांना सामाजिक न्याय प्रस्थापित करणारे आणि भारतीय संविधानाचे निर्माते म्हणून ओळखतो, पण ते एक उत्तम पत्रकारही होते. पत्रकारिता हे बाबासाहेबांच्या जीवनाचे एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग आहे. त्यांच्या निष्ठावान पत्रकार लेखणीने चार दशकांपर्यंत समाजाला योग्य मार्गदर्शनही केले.

सव्यसाची संपादक हा बहुश्रूत असावा लागतो. सत्य आणि असत्यातील भिन्नता पारखून त्याला संपादन करावे लागते योग्य-अयोग्य, सत्य-असत्य, चूक-अचूक, विश्वासार्ह-अविश्वासार्ह, यांतील तफावत सव्यसाची संपादकांना समजून घ्यावी लागते. तरीही प्रत्येक संपादक हा साक्षेपी संपादक असतोच असे ठामपणे म्हणता येत नाही.

साक्षेपी संपादक हंसक्षीर न्यायाने, तटस्थवृत्तीने आणि स्वतंत्रच बाण्याच्या पत्रकारितेचे व्रत आजन्म स्वीकारीत असतो. असे संपादक निःक्षपाती असतात. डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी जी पत्रकारिता केली, जे संपादन कार्य केले ते अनन्यसाधारण होते. म्हणूनच मराठी पत्रकारितेच्या संदर्भात त्यांचे हे कार्य समजावून घेणे महत्वाचे ठरते.

मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारिताही मुख्यतः नागर संस्कृतीतून विकसित झालेली आहे. भारतीय आंग्ल पत्रकारितेपासून प्रेरणा घेऊन भारतातील भाषिक पत्रकारितेचा उदय झालेला आहे. मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारितेचा प्रारंभ इ.स.1832 मध्ये झाला असे मानले जाते. बाळशास्त्री जांभेकरांनी 'दर्पण' या द्विभाषिक नियतकालिकाची स्थापना करून मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारितेची मुहूर्तमेढ रोवली असे मानले जाते. त्यांनीच मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारितेच्या संपादनाचे, संपादकीय धोरणाचे, अग्रलेख, लेख, आणि स्फूट लेखनाचे आदर्श निर्माण केले असेही म्हटले जाते.



बाळशास्त्री जांभेकरांच्या 'दर्पण' पासून जो विष्णूशास्त्री चिपळूणकरांच्या निबंधमालेपर्यंत, म्हणजे इ. स. 1832 ते 1874 हा मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारितेचा पहिला टप्पा मानला जातो. नंतर इ.स. 1867 मध्ये मा. फुलेच्या प्रेरणेने 'दीनबंधु' या नियतकालिकाची स्थापना झाली. आणि याच नियतकालिकाने पुढे ग्रामीण पत्रकारितेच्या उदयाची वाट मोकळी करून दिली. इ.स. 1910 ते 1930 हा कालखंड मराठी भाषिक पत्रकारितेत जसा अमुलाग्र परिवर्तनाचा ठरला, त्याचप्रमाणे याच कालखंडात ग्रामीण पत्रकारितेचा प्रवाह दलितांच्या पत्रकारितेकडे वळलेला दिसतो.

इ.स. 1920 मध्ये डॉ. भीमराव आंबेडकरांनी कोल्हापूरच्या दत्तोबा पवार यांच्या मध्यस्थीने करवीर संस्थानच्या छत्रपती शाहू महाराजांकडून आर्थिक मदत मिळवून 'मूकनायक' या पाक्षिकाची स्थापना केली.

डॉ. आंबेडकरांची पत्रकारिता

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी ज्या काळात पत्रकारितेला प्रारंभ केला, त्या काळातील येथील दलित समाजाची अवस्था केशवसुतांनी म्हटल्याप्रमाणे "मुकी बिचारी कुणी हका" अशी मेंढरासारखी होती. वाचा असून बोलता येत नाही. मनगटात कर्तृत्व असून काही करता येत नाही. मनात धगधगता अंगार असूनही तो व्यक्त करता येत नाही. आभळभर दुःख असूनही ढसाढसा आपलेपणाने अश्रू ढाळता येत नाहीत. पायात बळ असूनही ताठ उभे राहाता येत नाही. अशा अवगुंतीत, अवकळा प्राप्त झालेल्या मूक समाजाचे नायकत्व स्वीकारण्याचे व्रत घेऊन डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी 'मुकनायक' ची स्थापना केली. अशा रीतीने डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी आपल्या पत्रकारितेला प्रारंभ केला आणि ते मूकनायक झाले.

मूकनायकच्या पहिल्या अंकात त्यांनी दि. 31 जानेवारी, 1920 रोजी जे 'मनोगत' व्यक्त केले त्या मनोगतातून डॉ. आंबेडकरांचे संपादकीय धोरण स्पष्ट होते. त्याशिवाय त्यांच्या संपादकीय कार्याचीही आपणास ओळख पटते. मूकनायकातील मनोगतात त्यांनी असे म्हटले की, 'आमच्या बहिष्कृत लोकांवर होत असलेल्या व पुढे होणाऱ्या अन्यायांवर उपाययोजना सुचविण्यास, तसेच त्यांची भावी उन्नती व तिचे मार्ग यांच्या खऱ्या स्वरूपाची चर्चा होण्यास वर्तमानपत्रासारखी अन्य भूमी नाही. परंतु मुंबई इलाख्यात निघत असलेल्या वृत्तपत्रांकडे न्याहळून पाहिले तर असे दिसून येते की, त्यातील बरीचशी चित्रे विशिष्ट जातीचे हितसंबंध पाहणारी आहेत. इतर जातीच्या हिताची त्यांना पर्वा नसते.'

इतर जातीच्या हिताची त्यांना पर्वा नसलेल्या अशा वृत्तपत्रकारांना डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी या मनोगतात जो इशारा दिलेला आहे. त्यातून बाबासाहेबांच्या संपादकीय धोरणाचे स्वरूप स्पष्ट होते. ते पुढे म्हणतात की, "अशा वृत्तपत्रकारांना आमचा एवढाच इशारा आहे की, कोणतीही एखादी जात अवनत झाली की, तिच्या अवनतीचा चटका इतर जातीस बसल्याशिवाय राहाणार नाही. समाज ही एक नौकाच आहे. ज्याप्रमाणे आगबोटीत बसून प्रवास करणाऱ्या उतारूने जाणूनबजून इतरांचे नुकसान करावे म्हणून किंवा त्यांची त्रेधा कशी उडते ही गंमत पाहण्यासाठी म्हणा, आपल्या विनाशक स्वभावामुळे म्हणा,

जर का इतरांच्या खोलीस छिद्र पाडले, तर बोटी बरोबर त्यालाही आधी किंवा नंतर का हाईना जलसमाधी ही घ्यावी लागणार आहे. त्याचप्रमाणे एका जातीचे नुकसान केल्याने प्रत्यक्ष नव्हे तरी अप्रत्यक्षपणे नुकसान करणाऱ्या जातीचेही नुकसान होणार आहे, यात बिलकूल शंका नाही. म्हणूनच स्वहितसाधु पत्रांनी इतरांचे नुकसान करून आपले हित काढण्याचे पद्धतमुखीचे लक्षण शिकू नये.”

बहिष्कृतांच्या प्रश्नांचा सांगोपांग उहापोह होण्यास पुरेशी जागा इतर वृत्तपत्रात मिळणे शक्य नाही. त्यासाठी बहिष्कृतांच्या प्रश्नांची वाटाघाट काढण्यासाठी एक स्वतंत्र पत्र पाहिजे. ही उणीव भरून काढण्यासाठी मूकनायकचा जन्म झालेला आहे. खास अस्पृश्यांच्या हिताची चर्चा करणारी सोमवंशीय मित्र, हिंदनागरिक, विटाळ विध्वंसक ही पत्रे उपजली आणि लय पावली. आपली पत्रकारीता प्रश्नांचा उहापोह काणारी स्वतंत्र पत्रकारिता आहे अशा आशयाचे विचार त्यांनी मूकनायकच्या पहिल्या अंकातील मनोगतात व्यक्त केले आहेत. त्यानंतर इ.स. 1927 मध्ये ‘बहिष्कृत भारत’ या नियतकालिकाच्या पहिल्या अंकातही त्यांनी ‘पुनःश्च हरिओम’ या पहिल्या अग्रलेखात मूकनायक मधील मनोगतातील वरील विचारच पुन्हा प्रकट केलेले आहेत. डॉ. बाबासाहेबांच्या या संपादकीय धोरणावरून ते आपल्या संपादकीय कार्यकर्तृत्वाबद्दल किती अटळ अढळ होते ते स्पष्ट होते

संपादकीय कार्याचे उद्दिष्ट

डॉ. आंबेडकरांना आपल्या नियतकालिकामधून केवळ चर्चा करावयाची नव्हती, जेथे जेथे अन्याय होत असेल, त्या अन्यायावर उपाय सुचविण्यासाठी विचार करणे अधिक महत्वाचे वाटत होते. केवळ चर्चा करून अथवा फक्त उहापोह करून कुठलेही प्रश्न सुटत नसतात. तर त्या प्रश्नांवर सांगोपांग अशा स्वरूपाची चर्चा व्हावी, आणि ते प्रश्न सोडविण्याची उपाययोजना व्हावी, अशी सक्रीय आणि विधायक स्वरूपाची संपादकीय धारणा डॉ. बाबासाहेबांची होती. विचार आणि कृती या विसूत्राव्दारे समाजाचा सर्वांगीण विकास हे त्यांच्या संपादकीय कार्याचे उद्दिष्ट होते. नागरी पत्रकारिता व ग्रामीण पत्रकारितेत तऱ्हेतऱ्हेच्या जाचातून मुक्तता करण्यासाठी अवतीर्ण झालेली दिसून येते. सक्तीचे शिक्षण, मोफत शिक्षण, स्त्रीमुक्ती, आदी सामाजिक आणि शैक्षणिक सुधारणांचा ही पत्रकारिता पुरस्कार करून दलितांच्या प्रश्नांच्या बाबतीतही सहानुभूतीचे धोरण स्वीकारतांना दिसते परंतु सामाजिक विषमतेच्या संदर्भात आणि विशेषतः दलित पददलितांवर होणाऱ्या अन्यायाबाबत या पत्रकारितेत पुरेशी जागा मिळत नाही ही खंत डॉ. आंबेडकरांना होती. म्हणूनच त्यांनी ब्राह्मणेत看 म्हणविणाऱ्या काही नियतकालिकांना ‘अवडंबर माजवणारी पत्रे’ असे संबोधले आहे.

उपाययोजना सुचविणारी पत्रकारिता

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांची पत्रकारिता ही नागर आणि ग्रामीण जीवनातील प्रश्नांचा सांगोपांग उहापोह करून त्या प्रश्नांची सोडवणूक कशी करावी या संदर्भात विचार करून उपाय योजना सुचविणारी ‘लोकपत्रकारिता’ आहे. कुठल्याही एका विशिष्ट वर्गाची, समाजाच्या हिता-अहिताची

चर्चा अथवा केवळ विचार करणारी ही पत्रकारिता नाही तर कुठल्याही समाजातील व्यक्तीला काही मूलभूत हक्क असतात. त्याचप्रमाणे हक्कापाठोपाठ काही कर्तव्ये असतात. हे हक्क कसे मिळवावेत आणि त्या संदर्भात कर्तव्याचे पालन कसे करावे या संबंधीच्या कर्तव्यपूर्तीची जाणीव देणारी विधायक स्वरूपाची डॉ. आंबेडकरांची पत्रकारिता असल्याचे जाणवते. कोणत्याही व्यक्तीस पहिल्या प्रथम नागरिकत्वाचे जे काही अधिकार असतात, ते प्रत्येक व्यक्तीली मिळालेच पाहिजे, अशी त्यांची विचारसरणी होती.

सडेतोड विचार

मूकनायकच्या पहिल्या वर्षाच्या पहिल्या अंकात या देशातील जातीयता आणि वर्णव्यवस्थेच्या संदर्भात डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी जे विश्लेषण केलेले आहे, त्यात जातीसंस्थेचे वर्णन करतांना ते म्हणतात, “*हिंदू समाज एक मनोरा आहे. व एक एक जात म्हणजे एक एक मजलाच होय. पण लक्षात ठेवण्यासारखी गोष्ट ही आहे की, या मनो-यास शिडी नाही.* आणि म्हणून एका मजल्यावरून दुसऱ्या मजल्यावर जाण्यास मार्ग नाही. ज्या मजल्यात ज्यांनी जन्मवावे, त्याच मजल्यात त्यांनी मरावे. खालच्या मजल्यातील इसम, मग तो कितीही लायक असो, त्याला वरच्या मजल्यात प्रवेश नाही व वरच्या मजल्यातला माणूस, मग तो कितीही लायक नसो, त्याला खालच्या मजल्यात लोटून देण्याची आज्ञा नाही.”

वर्ण आणि जातीसंस्थेच्या या विश्लेषणात येथील समाजा- समाजात तुटकपणा निर्माण झालेला आहे. त्यांचे भावनिक ऐक्य निर्माण होऊ शकत नाही. आणि त्यामुळे या समाजाच्या उन्नतीचा मार्ग रोखलेला आहे. यातून मार्ग काढण्यासाठी

सामाजिक समता प्रस्थापित होणे आणि गणानुसार प्रत्येक व्यक्तीला सामाजिक स्थान मिळणे अत्यावश्यक आहे, अशा आशयाचे प्रतिपादन त्यांनी सदर अग्रलेखात केले आहे.

जात, धर्म, पंथ, वर्णाश्रमपद्धती, शासनसंस्था आदी विषयांच्या संदर्भात डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी मूकनायक नंतर स्थापन केलेल्या ‘बहिष्कृत भारत’ या पाक्षिकातून सडेतोड विचार व्यक्त केले आहेत.

मानवतावादी संपादकीय धोरण

मूकनायकच्या पहिल्या आणि शेवटच्या अंकातील अग्रलेख आणि स्फूट लेखनातून जे विषय असणारे प्रश्न आलेले आहेत; त्यामागील संपादकीय धोरण हे कसे मानवतावादी होते. याची प्रचिती आपणास येते. मूकनायकच्या पहिल्या वर्षाच्या दि. 25 सप्टेंबर, 1920 च्या 17 व्या अंकातील अग्रलेखात याच नियतकालिकाच्या दि. 23 ऑक्टोबर, 1920 च्या 19 व्या अंकातील अग्रलेखात बहिष्कृत तरूणांना जो संदेश दिलेला आहे, त्यातून डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या संपादकीय धोरणाचे आणि कार्याचेही उद्दिष्ट दिसून येते.

मूकनायककर्त्यांनी बहिष्कृत तरूणांना संदेश देतांना इसे आवाहन केले आहे की, “हे बहिष्कृत गणलेल्या तरूणा, तू या अज्ञानरूपी निद्रेला सोडून प्रथमतः मी कोण आहे, माझे स्वरूप काय आहे? या सृष्टी सूत्रधाराने मला कशाकरिता उत्पन्न केले? त्याचा मानस काय असावा? व हल्ली माझी स्थिती काय आहे, आणि पुढे काय होणार? याचा विचार करावा.”

ज्याप्रमाणे अंधारातून उजेड, अशुभातून शुभ व निराशेतून आशा फुटते, तेव्हा या अज्ञान समाजातून सज्ञान सशक्त, बनून, प्रकाशमान होऊन, आपल्या जातीबंधूंचा मार्गदर्शक हो. आपण आपला उध्दार करावा. एकजूटीने राहावे, अन्यायाचे परिमार्जन करावे, आपल्या समाजाची उन्नती करावी आणि आपल्या मातृभूमीच्या उध्दारासाठी कार्य करावे. यातच आपल्या जन्माचे साफल्य असून उन्नतीचे बीज आहे. हे प्रत्येक बंधु-भगिनीने लक्षात ठेवून वागावे.” अशा आशयाचा संदेश मूकनायककर्त्यांनी दिलेला आहे.

परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता : लोकपत्रकारिता

डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी जी पत्रकारिता केली ती, परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारितेचा आदर्श आहे. परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही लोकपत्रकारिता असते.

- निःस्वार्थपणे पत्रकारिता करणे हे परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारितेचे मूलतत्त्व असते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही जात, धर्म, पंथाच्या पलीकडचा लोककल्याणचा विचार करीत असते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही लोकहितातून राष्ट्रहिताचा पुरस्कार करते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही लोकहित, लोककल्याणासाठी लोकप्रबोधन, लोकमार्गदर्शन करते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही व्यक्तीच्या स्वातंत्र्याचा, हक्कांचा आणि कर्तव्यांचा पाठपुरावा करते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही व्यक्तीच्या आणि राष्ट्राच्या सर्वांगीण विकासासाठी दिशा सांगून विचार-आचार आणि विधायक वृत्तीची शिकवण देते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही लोकशाहीचा पुरस्कार करते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही परिवर्तनाच्या विचारांना गती देते.
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही वैचारिक आणि विधायक कर्तृवाला चालना देते. आणि
- परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिता ही स्वातंत्र्य, समता, बंधुता आणि न्यायाची प्रतिस्थापना करण्यासाठी कटिबद्ध असते.

परिवर्तनवादी पत्रकारिताही लोकपत्रकारिता असते. म्हणूनच परिवर्तनवादी लोकपत्रकारिता, ही युगप्रवर्तक, युगपरिवर्तनकारी पत्रकारिता असते. “सबसे सत्ता सुखी होनु” हे तिचे ध्येय असते. तर सर्व ‘कल्याणम्’ असे या पत्रकारितेचे बीज असते.

संपादनातील मूलभूत तत्व

डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी जी परिवर्तनवादी लोकपत्रकारिता केली, त्या पत्रकारितेने मराठी भाषिकच नव्हे, तर भारतीय पत्रकारितेला युगप्रवर्तक पत्रकारितेचे आदर्श प्रदान केलेल आहेत. म्हणूनच डॉ. आंबेडकरांचे संपादन कार्य अनन्यसाधारण स्वरूपाचे तर ठरतेच, त्याशिवाय ते मानवी मूल्यांची प्राणपणाने जापासना करते. संपादक समाजाचे मार्गदर्शक असतात. शिक्षक असतात.

◆ माहिती देणे ◆ मार्गदर्शन करणे ◆ प्रबोधन करणे ◆ मनोरंजन करणे

अशा तऱ्हेचे संवाद माध्यमाचे जे चार हेतू सांगितले जातात, त्याशिवाय निःस्वार्थपणे समाजसेवा आणि राष्ट्रसेवा करणे, हा देखिल एक महत्वाचा हेतू असतो. राष्ट्रातील सर्वच समाजाचे हित तेच राष्ट्र उन्नतीचे आणि संवर्धनाचे प्राणतत्व संवाद माध्यमाचे असावे लागते.

वृत्तपत्रांच्या माध्यमातून ते समाजाशी संवाद साधत असतात. म्हणून त्यांचे हे कार्य सुसंवादी असायला हवे. विसंवादी तत्वांमुळे कुठल्याही समाजाचे अथवा राष्ट्राचे संवर्धन आणि विकास होऊ शकत नाही. 'सुसंवादातून समाजोन्नती आणि समाजोन्नतीतून राष्ट्रविकास' हे डॉ. बाबासाहेबांच्या संपादन कार्यातील मूलभूत तत्व होते. म्हणूनच त्यांचे संपादन कार्य अनन्यसाधारण आणि ऐतिहासिक स्वरूपाचे ठरते.

संघर्षशील पत्रकारिता

वस्तुस्थिती कितीही कठोर असली, प्रश्नाचे स्वरूप कितीही जटिल असले तरीही कुणाच्याही रागालोभाची तमा न बाळगता, साक्षेपाने त्या प्रश्नांच्या संदर्भात ठाम, खंबीर भूमिका घेऊन ती पार पाडावी लागते. डॉ. आंबेडकरांना पत्रकारितेचे महत्त्व चांगल्या प्रकारे माहिती होते. कुठल्याही व्यक्तीला जसे पितृऋण, मातृऋण फेडावे लागते, तसेच सामाजिक दृष्ट्या आणि पत्रकार म्हणून लौकिक ऋणही फेडणे हे प्रत्येक पत्रकाराचे आणि व्यक्तीचे नैतिक कर्तव्य असते. या कर्तव्याची जाणीवही डॉ. आंबेडकरांना होती.

पत्रकारिता ही चौथी शक्ती असून वृत्तपत्रांच्या माध्यमाचा सामाजिक परिवर्तनासाठी अमोघ शस्त्रासारखा वापर करता येतो. याचीही कल्पना डॉ. बाबासाहेबांना चांगल्या प्रकारे होती, म्हणूनच त्यांनी अत्यंत प्रतिकूल परिस्थितीत आपले संपादनाचे कार्य केल्याचे दिसून येते. बहिष्कृत भारताचे संपादन करतांना, सर्वच्या सर्व रकाने स्वतः डॉ. आंबेडकरांनाच लिहावे लागत. तर कधीकधी ते इतरांना तोंडी सांगत असत व मग ते लिहून घेत असत. अशी एक आठवण खैरमोडयांनी सांगितलेली आहे.

युगप्रवर्तक संपादन कार्य

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी ज्या काळात आणि त्या परिस्थितीत संपादन कार्य केले, तशा परिस्थितीत आणि काळात इतर कुणी फारसे टिकले नसते. त्या काळातील शासन, दलितेतर समाज

अणि स्वसमाजातील विरोध पचवून डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी मोठया धैर्याने अखंड संघर्ष करून आपल्या वृत्तपत्राचे संपादन कार्य अत्यंत निष्ठेने केले.

एखाद्या प्रश्नावर लिहित असतांना त्यांनी अनेकदा कठोर टीकाही केलेली आढळते. तरीही अशा टीकेतून सामाजिक आणि राष्ट्रीय हिताचीच त्यांनी अहोरात्र काळजी घेतलेली दिसते. आपले संपादकीय कार्य आणि नियातकालिके इतर कुठल्याही नितकालिकापेक्षा कमी दर्जाची नाहीत असा आंबेडकरांना आत्मविश्वास होता. लोकांना केवळ माहिती द्यावी, मार्गदर्शन करावे किंवा केवळ वैचारिक व्यासपीठ मिळवून द्यावे एवढीच त्यांची संपादकीय भूमिका कधीच नव्हती. तर नवभारताचे, लोकशाही भारताचे स्वप्न ते पाहात होते. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर स्वप्नाळू नव्हते, तर त्यांनी वैचारिक, विधायक आणि प्रत्यक्ष वृत्तीने नवभारताचे हे स्वप्न साकार केले. म्हणून ते एक कर्ते, सुधारणावादी संपादक होते.

आज डॉ. बाबासाहेबांच्या विचाराची, त्यांच्या घटनेची संपादनकार्याची आणि पत्रकारितेची समाजात अंमलबजावणी करण्याची गरज आहे. डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी शिका, संघटीत व्हा, आणि अन्यायाविरूद्ध संघर्ष करा, हा क्रांतीचा विचार दिला. डॉ. आंबेडकरांचा उद्देश हा अन्याय सहन करणाऱ्यांना अन्यायाविरूद्ध लढण्यासाठी प्रवृत्त करणे एवढाच नव्हता तर अन्याय करणाऱ्याला सुद्धा तो करीत असलेला कशाप्रकारे अमानवीय व समाजाला कलंकीत करणारा आहे हे पटवून देण्याचे महान कार्य करण्याचा होता.

“द एडिटर इज द ब्रेन ऑफ द न्यूज पेपर” असे म्हटले जाते. डॉ. बाबासाहेबांना “सिक्स्थ ब्रेन ऑफ द नेशन” म्हटले जात होते. ते साक्षेपी संपादक होते म्हणूनच त्यांनी आपल्या लोकपत्रकारितेने आदर्श निर्माण केले आणि युगप्रवर्तक संपादन कार्य केले.

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डॉ. किरण प्रकाश काळे

औरंगाबाद

भारत देशाच्या जडणघडणीतले डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर या योगदानचे अद्वितीय स्वरूपाचे आहे. “राष्ट्र म्हणजे विशिष्ट भौगोलिक प्रदेशाच्या सीमा नव्हेत तर त्या विशिष्ट भौगोलिक प्रदेशात राहणारी माणसे म्हणजे राष्ट्र आणि त्यांच्या विकास म्हणजे राष्ट्र विकास” अशी बाबासाहेबांची राष्ट्रासंबंधाची भूमिका होती, धारणा होती.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी देशातील दलित-पददलित, हक्कवंचित -साधनवंचित, उपेक्षित अशा समाज समुहासाठी, त्यांच्या समग्र कल्याणासाठी अविश्रांत कष्ट घेतल्याची इतिहासाची साक्ष आहे. बाबासाहेब या सर्वहारा समाजाच्या संपूर्ण न्यायाची मांडणी करीत होते. हा समूह इथल्या धर्मसंस्थेने आणि धर्म तत्वज्ञानाने नागविलेला आहे, यावर बाबासाहेब ठाम होते. अतिशूद्र असोत अथवा शूद्र असोत त्यांची अडवणूक धर्माने केली, धर्मतत्वज्ञानाने केली. भारतीय समाजात या दोन्ही घटकांचे प्रमाण हे संख्येने अधिक असूनसुद्धा त्यांचे अपरिमित शोषण आणि अनन्वित छळ केला गेला. त्यांनी कायम समाजातील उच्च वर्णीयांवर अवलंबून राहावे अशी व्यवस्थाच धर्मग्रंथांनी केली.

शक्तिनापेही शूद्रेण न कार्यो धनसंचयः

धनमासाद्य ब्राह्मणानेव बाधते

हा धर्माचा आदेश झुगारून लावणे जिकीरीचे होतं, हा जो भारतीय समाजातला मोठा घटक आहे तो एतद्देशिय आहे. आर्याकडून झालेल्या पराभवापूर्वी तो या भूमीचा, देशाचा मालक होता आणि राजवंशीय होता हे डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी सिध्द केलेले होतं. हा एकच वंश पराभवानंतर तीन टप्प्यात विभागला गेला याची मांडणी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी त्यांच्या ब्रोकनमेन सोसायटी या सिध्दांतात^१ केलेली होती. या सिध्दांतात जे एतद्देशिय आहेत. ते पराभवानंतर जे तीन टप्प्यात विभागले गेले ते नव्या संज्ञेप्रमाणे शूद्र, अतिशूद्र, भटके-विमुक्त- आदिवासी मानावे लागले.

या समाज समुहासाठी त्यांच्या सर्वांगीण कल्याणासाठी बाबासाहेबांनी जबाबदारी आणि कर्तव्य पार पाडलेलं होतं.

देशाच्या संपूर्ण समाजाच्या कल्याणाचा कैवार डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी सार्वजनिक जीवनात येण्यापूर्वीपासूनच घेतलेला होता. भारतीय स्वातंत्र्याचा लढा हा 20 व्या शतकात अधिक तीव्र झालेला होता. 20 व्या शतकाच्या दुसऱ्या दशकात या स्वातंत्र्यलढ्यातील जहालमतवादी, लाला लजपतराय, लोकमान्य टिळक, बिपीनचंद्र पाल हे अधिक अग्रणी होते.⁴ या मंडळींनी संपूर्ण स्वराज्याची मागणी केलेले होती. पण उपेक्षित समाज समूह होते त्यांच्या उध्दाराचे सूचन या संपूर्ण स्वराज्याच्या मागणीत नव्हते हे लक्षात घेवून बाबासाहेबांनी देशातील छोट्या-छोट्या जाती आणि समूह यांच्या संपूर्ण हितरक्षणाची भूमिका घेतली. 1916 च्या सुमारास बाबासाहेबांनी तत्कालीन व्हॉईसरॉय यांना निवेदन देवून दलित-पददलित, बहुजन समाज (मराठा समाज, यालाच पुढे ब्राम्हणेत्तर समाज म्हणून ओळखले जावू लागले.) जैन, ख्रिश्चन, शीख, अँग्लो इंडियन, पारसी, ओ.बी.सी., आदिवासी, बौध्द अशा समाजाचे संपूर्ण हितरक्षण झाले पाहिजे.⁵ असा आग्रह धरून या मंडळींसाठी डॉ. बाबासाहेबांनी स्वतंत्र मतदार संघाची मागणी केली.⁶ पुढे मा. गांधींच्या आग्रहाने डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांना स्वतंत्र मतदारसंघाचा आग्रह सोडून द्यावा लागला.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी संयुक्त मतदारसंघ मान्य करावा, यासाठी म.गांधी यांनी पुण्याच्या येरवडा जेलमध्ये 21 दिवस प्राणांतिक उपोषण केले. म.गांधीजी यांचा जीव धोक्यात आला होता. गांधीजींचे प्राण वाचविण्यासाठी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी त्या स्वतंत्र मतदारसंघाचा आग्रह सोडून त्यांनी संयुक्त मतदारसंघाच्या मसुद्यावर स्वाक्षरी केली आणि गांधीजींचे प्राण वाचविले.⁷ स्वतंत्र मतदार संघाचा डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचा मुद्दा सामाजिक न्यायाचा होता.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी त्यांच्या प्रारंभिक सार्वजनिक जीवनापासून राष्ट्रांच्या जडण-घडणीत अतुलनीय योगदान दिलेले आहे. 1938 सालची घटना आहे. त्यावेळी भारत देश हा अखंड होता. देशाची लोकसंख्या सातत्याने वाढत होती. लोकसंख्येचा हा प्रस्फोट असाच वाढत गेला तर देशाचे कुठलेच नियोजन आपल्या हाती राहणार नाही आणि देशात अराजकता निर्माण होईल. असे बाबासाहेबांना वाटत होते. जो कुणी या देशाचा नागरिक असेल त्यांच्या हाताला काम मिळाले पाहिजे आणि त्याला जगण्याची हमी मिळाली पाहिजे असा बाबासाहेबांचा आग्रह होता. हा आग्रह काही अनाटायी नव्हता हे राष्ट्रहित जपायचे असेल तर लोकसंख्या नियंत्रित करता आली पाहिजे यावर त्यांनी भर दिला. यासाठी त्यांनी देशातील जे पहिले विधानमंडळ अस्तित्वात आले होते. त्या विधानमंडळात कुटूंब नियोजनाचे बील दादासाहेब रोहम यांच्या करवी आणले⁸ डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हे या वेळी ब्रिटीशप्रणित मंत्रिमंडळात मजूरमंत्री म्हणून काम करीत होते. याला अन्य एक कारण होते. थोर समाजसुधारक र.धो.कर्वे हे समाजस्वास्थ्य नावाचे मासिक चालवत असत. या

मासिकास 1935 च्या सुमाराला रघुनाथ कर्वे यांनी माध्यमिक शिक्षणापासून लैंगिक शिक्षणाची गरज असल्याचे तीन लेख लिहिले. त्या काळातील समाज परंपरानिष्ठ आणि कर्मठच होता. त्यामुळे पुण्या-मुंबईचा ब्रम्हवृंद कर्व्याच्या विरोधात न्यायालयात गेला. रघुनाथ कर्वे यांचे वकीलपत्र पुण्याच्या एकही ब्राह्मण वकिलांनी स्वीकारले नाही. म्हणून कर्वे हे करवीर कोल्हापूर संस्थानातील वकील मिळावा म्हणून माधवराव बागलांकडे गेले. बागल कर्वेना म्हणाले की, बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर मुंबईत असतांना तुम्ही इकडे येण्याची गरज नव्हती. बागलांनी बाबासाहेबांना एक पत्र लिहिले, ते कर्व्याच्या हाती दिले आणि बाबासाहेबांची भेट घ्यायला सांगितले. कर्वे मुंबईत आले बाबासाहेबांना भेटले. बागलांचे पत्र त्यांना दिले. बाबासाहेब कर्व्यांना म्हणाले की, ते तीनही अंक आणून दे आणि मग मी ते वाचून वकिलपत्र घ्यायचं की नाही ते ठरवेन. कर्व्यांनी ते तीन अंक बाबासाहेबांना आणून दिले. बाबासाहेबांनी ते वाचले आणि ते वकिलपत्र घेतले. बाबासाहेबांनी केस लढविली. हे लेख केवळ लैंगिक शिक्षणाशी संबंधित होते असे नाही. तर भारतीय लोकसंख्या नियंत्रित करण्याच्या दृष्टीने महत्वाचे होते. म्हणून बाबासाहेबांनी कर्व्यांचे हे वकीलपत्र घेतलेले होते. न्यायाधीश ब्रिटीश होते, त्याला इथल्या धार्मिक जीवनात ढवळा-ढवळ करायची नव्हती. म्हणून त्यांनी विरोधी निकालपत्र दिले. बाबासाहेब यांच्या आयुष्यात हारलेली ही पहिली आणि शेवटची केस होती. न्यायाधीशाने कर्वे -बाबासाहेबांच्या बाजूने निकाल दिला असला तर ब्रिटीश सरकारलाच कुटूंब नियोजनाचा कायदा अस्तित्वात आणावा लागला असता.⁹ कुटूंब नियोजनाचा कायदा त्याचवेळी अस्तित्वात आला असता तर प्रत्येक भारतीयांच्या हाताला काम मिळाले असते. आणि त्याला जगण्याची हमी मिळाली असती. आज जो नक्षलवाद आपल्याला दिसतो आहे याचा जन्मच झाला नसता. या निकालाने बाबासाहेब फार विषण्ण झाले होते. म्हणूनच बाबासाहेबांनी कुटूंबनियोजनाचे बील तयार करून दादासाहेब रोहम यांच्याकडे दिलं होतं आणि विधानमंडळात ते सादर करायला सांगितलेले होते. ते बील मुंबई लेजिसलेटीव्ह कॉन्सिलमध्ये नाकारले गेले. हे बील नाकारल्यानंतर बाबासाहेबांनी काढलेले उद्गार त्यांच्या द्रष्टेपणाची साक्ष देणारे आहे. बाबासाहेब म्हणाले की, हे बील देशाच्या हितासाठी पास व्हायला हवे होते. लोकसंख्येचा असाचा प्रस्फोट कायम राहिला तर येवू घातलेल्या 70-75 च्या काळात आपली लोकसंख्या कदाचित 100 कोटीच्या पुढे जाईल आणि देशाचे कोणतेच नियोजन आपल्या हाती राहणार नाही.¹⁰ अखंड भारताच्यावेळी बाबासाहेबांनी केलेले हे विधान होते. पुढे फाळणीनंतर भारताचीच लोकसंख्या 100 कोटीच्या पलीकडे गेली.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर मूलतः अर्थशास्त्राचे अभ्यासक होते. शेती, शेतकरी आणि शेतमजूर यांच्या समृद्ध विकासाची दृष्टी त्यांच्याकडे होती. यासाठी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी देशातील

नद्या जोड प्रकल्प घटनेचा मसुदा तयार करतांना कायदा म्हणून बिलाच्या रुपाने आणला होता. हे बीलही घटना समितीने पास केले असते तर या देशाची शेती समृद्ध झाली असती. शेतमजूर समृद्ध झाला असता आणि देशाची अर्थव्यवस्था मजबूत झाली असती. पिण्याच्या पाण्याचा प्रश्न सुटला असता.¹¹

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांनी देशाच्या जडण-घडणीत विविधांगाने योगदान दिलेले आहे. त्यांचे राष्ट्रेतेजही कमालीचे होते. डॉ. बाबासाहेब म्हणत असत आपण प्रथम भारतीय आणि अंतिमही भारतीयच असले पाहिजे.¹² बाबासाहेबांची राष्ट्रीयत्वाची भावना प्रत्येक भारतीयांच्या मनात दृढमूल झाली पाहिजे.

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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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