CHAPTER - I

THE CONCEPT

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CHAPTER - I
THE CONCEPT

1.1 Introduction:

The study of socialism is an important aspect in the constitutional life of modern India. This concept has many aspects which have deep socio cultural roots.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s idea behind inclusion of word socialism in the Constitution was very enormous and philosophical. The constitution of India reflects the socio economic provisions for the upliftment of down trodden communities and weaker sections. Sheshrao Chavan has pointed that “Ambedkar’s commitment to education as a major means for untouchable advancement led him to initiate in 1920’s a program for the creation of hostels for untouchable students.” \(^1\) He wanted to educate, organize and awaken his fellow countrymen. \(^2\)

It is true that “His actions were molded not only by his own personal background and achievements and the Maharashtrian thought of his day, but also by his status as an untouchable.” \(^3\) He changed this status by his own efforts and infused spirit among his brotherhood to change their conditions. To him state socialism was a means of this social change.

Socialism is an economic system characterized by social ownership of the means of production and cooperative management of the economy, and a political philosophy advocating such a system. "Social ownership" may refer to any one of, or a combination of, the following: cooperative enterprises, common ownership, direct public ownership or autonomous state enterprises. There are many variations of socialism and as such there is no single definition encapsulating all of

\(^1\) Chavan Sheshrao “Bharat Ratna Dr. Babasheb Ambedkar” Vimal Publications, Aurangabad, 1990, p-5
\(^2\) Ibid., p-5
\(^3\) Ibid., p-6
socialism. They differ in the type of social ownership they advocate, the
degree to which they rely on markets versus planning, how management
is to be organized within economic enterprises, and the role of the state in
constructing socialism.

Modern socialism originated from an 18th-century intellectual and
working class political movement that criticized the effects of
industrialization and private property on society. In the early 19th century,
"socialism" referred to any concern for the social problems of capitalism
regardless of the solution. However, by the late 19th-century, "socialism"
had come to signify opposition to capitalism and advocacy for an
alternative system based on some form of social ownership.

Dr. Ambedkar’s state socialism must be studied in different angles.
Dr. B.R.Ambedkar had a strong legacy of liberal democratic values
which he had received during his education in UK and USA.

Socialism: A socialist economic system would consist of an
organization of production to directly satisfy economic demands and
human needs, so that goods and services would be produced directly for
use instead of for private profit driven by the accumulation of capital, and
accounting would be based on physical quantities, a common physical
magnitude, or a direct measure of labor-time. Distribution of output
would be based on the principle of individual contribution.

As a political movement, socialism includes a diverse array of
political philosophies, ranging from reformism to revolutionary
socialism. Proponents of state socialism advocate the nationalization of
the means of production, distribution and exchange as a strategy for
implementing socialism.

State socialism is an economic system with limited socialist
characteristics, such as public ownership of major industries, remedial

4 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labour_voucher
measures to benefit the working class, and a gradual process of developing socialism through government policy "State socialism” may also be used to classify any variety of socialist philosophies that advocates the ownership of the means of production by the state apparatus, either as a transitional stage between capitalism and socialism, or as an end-goal in itself. Nehru rightly observed that “Dr. Ambedkar play a very important and constructive role in framing India’s constitution.”5 State socialism is one of such constructive ideas of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

1.2 Importance of study:
1. The study of state socialism forms an important facet of social democracy. It has been pointed that “Towards the end of his speech, presenting the Draft Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar rightly pointed out that we must not be content with political democracy, we must have social democracy also, which recognizes liberty equality and fraternity as the principles of life.” 6 On these lines Dr. Ambedkar developed state socialism. Hence the study will be significant in understanding his vision of social change.
2. People’s empowerment was mission of Dr. Ambedkar’s constitution. The constitution itself begins with “we the people—" Dr. Ambedkar pointed that “How can people, divided into several thousands of castes, be a nation? The soon we realize we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the word the better for us.” 7 Dr. Ambedkar wanted to change this condition by adopting socialist means of lives. He aimed to establish casteless

7 Ibid., p-13
society based on liberty, equality, fraternity and social justice. This study is significant while bringing social transformation.

3. The concept of socialism is based on sharing of fruits of development to the common man. Socialism has tremendous value for developing countries in Asia in general and India in particular. Bringing social and economic change was his vision. He evolved the concept of social democracy, suitable for India and his state socialism was a means to achieve it. He had fully warned that “for maintenance of democracy not merely in form but also in fact we must hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution.”

4. Dr. Ambedkar had derived the concept of social justice from the life and philosophy of Buddha. He noted that he had derived concepts of liberty, equality, fraternity and social justice not from French Revolution, but from the life of Buddha. He opined that in order to maintain nationhood Hindus must accept Buddhism as a progressive religion and this can achieve welfare of the society not only of India but also of the entire world. He further opined that he was impressed by humanitarian principles of Buddhism which were containing democratic values. He has noted that Buddhist Sanghas were working on democratic lines and they are free from exploitation.

5. The significance of state socialism lies in achieving welfare of the people. It has been observed that “In states and minorities he urged to establish states socialism not by the will of the Legislature but

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8 Ibid., p-13
9 Ambedkar B.R. “Prabhudha Bharat”, editorial dated 14-4-1956 and 19-4-1959
10 Ibid.,
11 Ibid.,
by the laws of the Constitution making it unalterable by any act of the Legislature and the Executive.”

It means state socialism was a vehicle of bringing social change.

In the directive principles of state policy Dr. Ambedkar had pragmatic socialist vision. All the provisions made in directive principles of state policy have been enacted in the form of law. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to make these provisions enforceable by law, but time has proved that Dr. Ambedkar’s vision has came true and Indian states are making such laws to fulfill vision of Dr. Ambedkar. Durga Das Basu has observed that there are several provisions like right to education, right to work, as well as there are provisions for achieving welfare of the people. M.L. Jain has observed that “directive principles of state policy have been borrowed from Irish Constitution.” Mere political democracy will be futile. In order to bring socio economic change it has been observed that “DPSP were incorporated a few provisions in the constitution with a view to achieve amelioration of the socio economic condition of the masses.” The directive principles seek to establish welfare state in the country and Supreme Court in number of cases has interpreted them as responsibility of the state. Hence the study of state socialism reflected in DPSP can be very much significant in view of the stability of Indian democracy. the constitutional philosophy of which the Directive Principles of State Policy constitute an integral part and justice.

The Supreme Court’s theory of superiority of fundamental rights as they are paramount, immutable and transcendental was modified a little in the Kerala Education Bill. While tilting the balance slightly in favor of

15 Ibid., p-1163
16 Ibid., p-1164
Part IV, the Supreme Court, through Chief Justice Das evolved the rule of harmonious construction in the interpretative process. The court also held that an attempt should be made to give an effect to both as much as possible. This approach was further clarified in the case of Golaknath V/s State of Punjab, where, the Apex Court laid down that, there can be no cases of irreconcilable conflict between Part III and Part IV of the Constitution. The next phase of the Constitutional interpretation of Part III and Part IV began with the Constitutional interpretation of Part III and Part IV began with Kesavananda Bharati’s decision. The reverse journey of the Apex Court in the Bank Nationalization Case and the Privy Purses Case led Parliament to pass the 25th Constitution Amendment providing Article 31 C giving a primacy to Article 39 (b) and (c) over Articles 14, 19 and 31, By K. Bharti decision, the Apex Court set the new trend and continued the same in Minerva Mill Case, despite Parliament’s attempt of giving primacy to all the directives over Part III by 42nd Constitution Amendment Act of 1976. However, Justice Bhagwati and Justice Krishna Iyer put emphasis on the overall importance of directive principles.

Thus the study of state socialism is thus significant in the wake of globalization to understand the economic vision of Dr. Ambedkar.

1.3 Objectives

Every research work requires clear cut objectives. In the present research work following objectives have been set:

1. To study the economic ideas of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar with special reference to welfare of weaker section.
2. To evaluate various financial provisions including Indian constitution and to explain their relationship with Dr. Ambedkar’s ideas with a special reference to ideas of Dr. Ambedkar.
3. To study various books and articles written by Dr. Ambedkar and to highlight his economic thoughts and ideas which have a continuity and evolution,
4. To develop a new outlook regarding Dr. B.R.Ambedkar’s economic thoughts in context of globalization.

1.4 The concept of state socialism:

Socialism is important because it helps promote good health and prevents depression and lowers chances of death in the future and economic status. It's better to talk with people to resolve issues and sometimes just for the heck of it. According to Rao Social justice cannot be achieved without progressive policies and the constitution of India is socialist by nomenclature and social justice evolved through historical conditions."\(^\text{17}\) It is true that “There are compulsions of social conditions in India and these compulsions desirable and these compulsions desiderate new procedure of justice without giving up the basics of the adversary system.”\(^\text{18}\)

Socialism is important because it gives citizens the freedom to own properties and businesses and also help build the nation without having no need to political powers. It also promotes equality.

The British left India to govern herself in 1947. In revenge for the ingratitude of the natives, we sent them our Keynesian economists, who proceeded to ruin her economy for the next fifty years. Socialism is always attractive to a newly independent country. It offers the illusion of the nation at last being self-contained, outside the unfairness of world market forces, and able to plan its way to its own preferred future. It also allows vast opportunities for patronage and jobbery; your political rival can be bought-off by appointing him as a minister of a new department.

\(^\text{17}\) Rao, op cit., p-84
\(^\text{18}\) Ibid., p-85
Socialism can be defined as a form of social organization in which ownership and control of the means of production (farms, factories, etc.) is in the hands of the community as a whole. Under state socialism this ownership and control is vested in the state. Socialism was a most fascinating concept from M.N.Roy to Pandit Nehru and Ram Manohar Lohia. Dr. Ambedkar was also attracted towards these concepts and he conceptualized it as state socialism. M.P. Jain has observed that Sovereign socialist secular democratic republic is the main concept of the constitution which was made implicit in the constitution and now made explicit.\(^{19}\) Jain has observed that the change in the Preamble was meaningful.\(^{20}\) This change was made at a relevant time during Indira Gandhi’s period when India was working in tune with socialist practices and left wing was in high tide.

Socialism is not only a potential doctrine but it has a practical value. The significance of socialism is related to the eradication of poverty and extension of welfare activities on grass root levels.

Under state socialism the state has much more far-reaching powers than under capitalism. Factories, communications, farms, transport and publishing are owned and controlled by the state, as well as labor, police, education, military forces, trade and foreign relations. The state bureaucracies are large, powerful and pervasive, and this is why this form of social organization is often called bureaucratic socialism.\(^{21}\)

State socialism could be considered rule by bureaucracy except for the important role of the communist party. The communist party in a given state is officially the political representative of the people, the means by which the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is implemented. In practice the communist party is also organized bureaucratically, but in a

\(^{19}\) Jain M.P., op cit., p-1672

\(^{20}\) Ibid., p-1672

\(^{21}\) http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/90uw/uw12.html
way which penetrates the other state bureaucracies. In its role as political executive of the state, the communist party organization serves to control, and if necessary shake up or purge, other bureaucracies in order to maintain the system of centralized political control and to advance the goals of the state and the party.\textsuperscript{22}

To begin with, it is important to understand the very concept of state socialism and what the usage of this concept can help a nation achieve.

State socialism is an economic system with limited socialist characteristics, such as public ownership of major industries, remedial measures to benefit the working class, and a gradual process of developing socialism through government policy. "State socialism" may also be used to classify any variety of socialist philosophies that advocates the ownership of the means of production by the state apparatus, either as a transitional stage between capitalism and socialism, or as an end-goal in itself.

Therefore, the ideal aim of a socialist state is to achieve a nation where the government can fully provide for its citizens, while the same citizens are able to enjoy every right and benefit they can. Also there would ideally be no large gap between the economic classes as every person should be earning an equal amount to meet their basic needs.

In reality such a political system is utopian in nature; as it is nearly impossible for a nation to achieve a state in which people are fully reliant on the state but do not suffer any violations of their rights.

1.5 Essential features of socialism:

Socialism is related to welfare of common man. As a well developed economic system in Scandinavian countries take responsibility of every citizen from his birth to death, from his education to health, from

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid
social security to the welfare of women and old persons living in the state.

As per the thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar that, he was against capitalism and wants co-operation instead of competition: Socialism provides for closely connected things – a human fellowship, which denies and expels distinctions of class, a social system in which no one is so much richer or poorer than his neighbors so as to be unable to mix with them on unequal terms, the common ownership and use of all vital instruments of production and an obligation upon all citizens to serve one another according to their capacities. Therefore, socialism is characterized by fellowship, social system, common ownership and mutual service. Socialism is a catch word of the day. It began as a reaction against upheavals caused by the industrial revolution. 23

Today socialism has become the most popular, economic ideology which is the most focal political slogan. During the decades following the II World war, the global advance of socialism has been quite dramatic and unprecedented. 24 Thus socialism has also influenced India right from the pre-independence period. It is true that another essential feature of socialism is the removal of at any rate the reduction of poverty. 25 Socialism reflects peoples’ power and in China they call it people’s democracy and they try to attain welfare of farmers. Social ownership of means of production is also an important character of socialism. 26 Under socialism farms, factories, mines, railways, banks are owned by the society rather than by private individuals or companies. 27

It is against possession of private property on a large scale: Socialism advocates abolition of private enterprise and it’s substitution of

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23 www.publishyourarticles.net
24 Ibid.,
25 Economics-the-economy.kn/keyfeatures of socialism
26 Ibid.,
27 Ibid.,
collective ownership, and also control for the benefit of the whole society, of at least the principal instruments of production, distribution and exchange. It involves the destruction of private investment and the profit system and the adoption of an entirely new standard for the distribution of wealth.

Principle of social control over means of production Socialism is a theory and movement aiming at the collective organization of the community in the interests of the mass of the people through the common ownership and collective control of the means of production and exchange. Here, the emphasis is on common ownership and collective control. According to Karl Marx, control on production system is a basic phenomenon in socialist economy. The surplus value created in a product is based on hard work of workers hence the profit must be shared by workers.

It places society above the individual and upholds the principle of economic equality: Broadly, socialism is understood as a theory, movement and way of life opposed to the capitalist, social and economic order, which is based on unrestricted individualism, private property and free competition. It aims at promoting social and economic justice by regulating the economic activities of individuals, for the common good. Through socialism, socialists claim to provide a workable alternative to capitalism and to launch a movement to realize socialist targets.

In socialism, everybody would have free access to the goods and services designed to directly meet their needs and there need be no system of payment for the work that each individual contributes to producing them. All work would be on a voluntary basis. Producing for needs means that people would engage in work that has a direct usefulness. The satisfaction that this would provide, along with the increased opportunity to shape working patterns and conditions, would
bring about new attitudes to work.

1.6 Democratic control:

Dr. Ambedkar tried to establish social democracy. He was in favor of social liberation and economic emancipation. Democratic control is therefore also essential to the meaning of socialism. Socialism will be a society in which everybody will have the right to participate in the social decisions that affect them. These decisions could be on a wide range of issues—one of the most important kinds of decision, for example, would be how to organize the production of goods and services. In the study of any political doctrine in the political economy, one has to study its features and qualities. The most interesting part of socialism lies in its systematic evolution.

It has been further observed that “Another aspect of social reform of Dr. Ambedkar was his consistent and vehement attack on the Hindu religion and social institutions of Hinduism.” He wanted to bring equality in society. Production under socialism would be directly and solely for use. With the natural and technical resources of the world held in common and controlled democratically, the sole object of production would be to meet human needs. This would entail an end to buying, selling and money. Instead, we would take freely what we had commonly produced. The old slogan of "from each according to ability, to each according to needs" would apply. It has been observed that “He emphasized on reason and rationalism as against blind faith and unreasoning pratiace and a sociological approach to religious problems.”

Thus Ambedkar’s socialism was based on rationale thinking.

* That, Socialism is the collective ownership by all the people of the factories, mills, mines, railroads, land and all other instruments of

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28 Chavan Sheshrao op cit., p-61
29 Ibid., p-63
30 Ibid., p-64
production.

* That, Socialism means production to satisfy human needs, not as under capitalism, for sale and profit. In socialism the production process is contributed and the profit is shared by people. The workers are given their due share. The workers participation in the production process leads to better social welfare.

* That, Socialism means direct control and management of the industries and social services by the workers through a democratic government based on their nationwide economic organization.

Under socialism, all authority will originate from the workers, integrally united in Socialist Industrial Unions. In each workplace, the rank and file will elect whatever committees or representatives are needed to facilitate production. Within each shop or office division of a plant, the rank and file will participate directly in formulating and implementing all plans necessary for efficient operations.

1.7 Dr. Ambedkar’s views on democratic control:

The view of Dr. Ambedkar that, this all persons elected to any post in the socialist government, from the lowest to the highest level, will be directly accountable to the rank and file. They will be subject to removal at any time that a majority of those who elected them decide it is necessary.

Such a system would make possible the fullest democracy and freedom. It would be a society based on the most primary freedom—economic freedom.

For individuals, socialism means an end to economic insecurity and exploitation. It means workers cease to be commodities bought and sold on the labor market, and forced to work as appendages to tools owned by someone else. It means a chance to develop all individual capacities and potentials within a free community of free individuals. It
means a classless society that guarantees full democratic rights for all workers. Providing democratic rights to all citizens is a dream assigned to good society for a long run perspective.

Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution and lays down the framework of the Republic and its social, political and economic objectives. The Constitution is above the Supreme Court, the Lok Sabha, the Prime Minister and the Executive and was intended to be its guiding star.

1.8 Ideas of constituent assembly about socialism:

The Indian independence struggle was founded on the idea “self rule” or Swaraj. Indians were in awe of the political rights offered to British citizens, which were significantly denied to citizens in the colonies.

At the eve of independence in India, there was an overwhelming demand for forming a Republic nation. Indians were skeptical of monarchy in general, as many monarchs had benefitted from Colonial rule and the feudal system. Equality before law in a socialist state is essential because in socialism the provisions of Rule of Law keep poor man away from exploitation both economic or religious in nature.

To the founders, democracy meant a constitutional democracy accompanied with a framework of individual rights and the relevant checks and balances through separation of powers and federalism. But the idea of an Indian republic not only opposed the political imperialism, but also the economic imperialism of the West.

In order to form a Constitutional Democracy, a Constituent Assembly was formed in 1946 and members were chosen through indirect election by the members of the Provincial Legislative
Most of the members of the Constituent Assembly were current or prior members of the Congress party. The Congress Party, in its 1946 provincial election manifesto, promised the abolition of the feudal system, agrarian land reform, and the nationalization of the key industries. Given the popular political and economic ideology, India was to become a Republic with a Parliamentary democracy and also a Socialist Welfare State. This was summed up in Nehru’s “Objectives Resolution” towards the Indian Constitution that was debated, discussed and approved by the Constitution Assembly. These debates have immense value in the understanding and evolution of socialist doctrine suitable for India. The ideology of M.N.Roy, M.K.Gandhi and B.R.Ambedkar is clear in this connection as they wanted to bring change through peaceful ways. Nehru said, “I think also of various Constituent Assemblies that have gone before and of what took place at the making of the great American nation when the fathers of that nation met and fashioned out a constitution that stood the test of so many years … Then my mind goes back to a more recent revolution which gave rise to a new type of State, the revolution that took place in Russia and out of which has arisen the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, another mighty country, which is playing a tremendous part in the world” (Nehru 1946).

Capitalism was considered incompatible with the society the Constituent Assembly envisaged, and socialism the most important means toward eliminating poverty. The problem the Constituent Assembly faced was that the socialists could not agree on the kind of

35 With the exception of C Rajagopalachari and KM Munshi, almost all members of the Constituent Assembly believed in some form of a socialist state.
socialism in the Constitution. Mises defines socialism as a system where all the means of production are in the exclusive control of the organized community (1920:211). Many Indian intellectuals did not subscribe to this definition of socialism. There were three groups within the Constituent Assembly:-

- First were Marxists and Communists who supported the state control of all means of production.
- The second group, which included Nehru and most members of the Congress Socialist Party, supported socialism because they were skeptical of capitalism. All the left oriented groups favored socialism because they wanted to free India from the clutches of capitalist structure. They all believed that state socialism would lead to economic progress, but the trade-off was the suppression of individual liberty, especially political rights. Nehru wrote, “Certain economic results are undoubtedly obtained that way, but the price paid is heavy.”

- The third group was Gandhian Socialists, many of whom belonged to the Congress. They believed State socialism led to tyranny and the only way to be free was to create democratic village republics and neither be a slave to capitalism or state socialism. The Gandhian scholars had a clear perspective of their own Indian socialism. Loknayak Jay Prakash Narayan and Vinoba Bhave were among those leaders who believed in Gram Swarajya.

But almost all believed in some form of socialism. In many debates in Parliament, socialism was used, often interchangeably, to mean two

36 [http://econ.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/23771/Rajagopalan_03262012.pdf](http://econ.as.nyu.edu/docs/IO/23771/Rajagopalan_03262012.pdf)

37 “The State under Socialism threatens, as in Russia, far from withering away, to become an all-powerful tyrant maintaining a strangle-hold over the entire life of the citizen. This leads to totalitarianism of the type we witness in Russia today. By, dispersing the ownership and management of industry and by developing the village into a democratic village republic, we break this strangle-hold to a very large extent and attenuate the danger of totalitarianism. Thus my picture of a socialist India is the picture of an economic and political democracy. In this democracy, men will neither be slaves to capitalism nor to a party or the State. Man will be free.” – Jaya prakash Narayan quoted by MR Masani. See n.24
different things. The first was socialist ideals or goals, which was mainly economic egalitarianism. The second was socialist means towards those goals, which was centralized state planning of the economy. During the debates, despite these differences of opinion, a great effort was made to find common ground and reach consensus within a constitutional framework. India, at the time, was largely agrarian, and mostly an illiterate population. The call from the populace was not for a federal government, or a powerful judicial system, but for land reforms, peasant and worker rights, and abolishing untouchability. The Constituent assembly was indirectly elected but representative of India at the time. It had a disproportionately high number of British educated lawyers, and therefore they paid attention to certain liberal principles during the drafting process. During the drafting process and debates, the tensions between the many meanings of socialism, as well as the liberal and welfare agenda came to the forefront. The welfare approach of both of them was focusing on gradual happiness in great manner. Lord Buddha had also viewed it as “Bahujan Hitaya Bahujan Sukhayya”, i.e. welfare of many people.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was a genius economist, who had a very clear perspective for welfare of weaker sections. He was a philanthropist who had an interdisciplinary approach and he was able to develop various concepts regarding economic development of the masses. Thought few of the research works have been conducted on economic ideas of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, yet there is a lot of scope to explore this subject in the arena of social economics, Dr. Ambedkar’s contribution of Indian

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38“Broadly, it was used synonymously with ‘social revolution’, meaning national social-economic reform with an equitable society as its goal, and tacitly including such ideas as special treatment for disadvantaged citizens. In essence, it meant social egalitarianism and political equality. Narrowly, it had a more classical meaning: central government planning, the dominance of the state sector in the economy, and so on” (Austin 1999: 634).
economic thought which has originated from Kautilya to Dadabhai Naoroji, leading towards economic nationalism of India. Dr. Ambedkar continued the tradition of Dadabhai Naoroji for liberation of masses from the clutches on the bourgeois or the conservative economic system. The economic division thereby developed by Dadabhai Naoroji had improved later by Indian thinkers to develop a new liberal welfare policy towards the betterment of poor.

Returning to India in 1923, Dr Ambedkar started practicing law at the Mumbai High Court. In 1924, he formed the ‘Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha’ (Depressed Classes Welfare Association). Apart from practicing law, Dr Ambedkar also taught at the Batliboi Institute as a part-time teacher from 1925 to 1928. He was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1927 for five years, which was further extended for another five years in 1932. The third step in his journey as a scholar-activist occurred with his Satyagraha on Chowdar Lake in Mahad for the Dalits’ right to draw water in 1927. He delivered his famous speech at Mahad on December 25, 1927 in this Satyagraha, when a copy of the Manusmriti was burnt. This was a significant step towards advancement of the Dalit liberation and rights movement. In April 1927, he had started another Marathi fortnightly, Bahishkrit Bharat (Exiled India). In 1928-29, he served as a Professor of Law at the Government Law College at Mumbai. During 1928-29, he also brought out another fortnightly, Samata (Equality). In 1930, he brought out the Marathi fortnightly, Janata (People). During the same period, Lala Lajpat Rai was bringing out English daily, The People, from Lahore. In 1930, Dr Ambedkar started another Satyagraha from Kalaram temple in Nasik, and this continued intermittently for five years. In 1930 itself, Dr Ambedkar also became the

39 Mainstream, Vol. XLVI, No 18 Dr Ambedkar : An Ambassador of Humanity Chaman Lal
President of the first All India Depressed Classes Congress, held at Nagpur. The whole year of 1930 was full of activities for Dr Ambedkar. In this very year, he participated in the First Round Table Conference called by the British to discuss the future shape of India. In 1931, he was part of the Second Round Table Conference. 1932 was also a politically significant year. This was the year when the Poona Pact, also known as the Gandhi-Ambedkar Pact, was signed on September 24. In this year again he participated in the Third Round Table Conference¹. He started to develop various concepts regarding economic development of the civilization. The circulation can further take a great leap if it is rightly toned on the basis of economic agenda leading towards welfare of common man.

After graduating from Elphinstone College, Bombay in 1912, he joined Columbia University, USA where he was awarded Ph.D. Later he joined the London School of Economics & obtained a degree of D.Sc. (Economics) & was called to the Bar from Gray's Inn, where he completed his research work on the topic of the evolution of provincial finance in British India—a study in the provincial decentralization of imperial finance—which was published in the year 1925. This book so still useful in contemporary to understand economy of Indian state in order to understand the federal nature of Indian economy, this was a first spade work that Dr Ambedkar had conducted on Indian State Finance. He has pointed that even when the treatment of the subject is analytical; a good analytical study often requires an historical setting. Unfortunately no spade work been done in the field of Indian finance. Further, he has rightly pointed that there is an inter-personal relationship between state finance and local finance and studies regarding local finance have not been conducted. In the review published in the Economic Journal, the journal of the royal economic society, W S Thatcher had rightly pointed
out that Dr. Ambedkar has the facility of making forbidding subjects attractive and has produced a very readable book. Mr. Thatcher has described the book as pioneer work. He also published a valuable work on the topic history Indian currency and banking in the year 1923. Also he founded 'Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha' with the main objective of spreading education & improving the economic conditions of the depressed classes. That was the actual view of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

The mission of upholding depressed classes was also supported by the vision and action of V.D.Savarkar, Mahatma Gandhi etc. There leaders have tried to change vision of the people.

1.9 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and constitution of India:

The Constitution of India is the supreme law of India. It lays down the framework defining fundamental political principles, establishes the structure, procedures, powers, and duties of government institutions, and sets out fundamental rights, directive principles, and the duties of citizens. It is the longest written constitution of any sovereign country in the world, containing 448 articles in 24 parts, 12 schedules and 97 amendments. That which can be read as Dr. Ambedkar’s State socialism reflected in the Indian Constitution. Besides the English version, there is an official Hindi translation. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is the Architect of the Indian Constitution.

The Constitution was enacted by the Constituent Assembly on 26 November 1949, and came into effect on 26 January 1950. The date 26 January was chosen to commemorate the Purna Swaraj declaration of independence of 1930. With its adoption, the Union of India officially became the modern and contemporary Republic of India and it replaced the Government of India Act 1935 as the country’s fundamental governing document. The Constitution declares India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic, republic, assuring its citizens of justice,
equality, and liberty, and endeavors to promote fraternity among them. The words "socialist" and "secular" were added to the definition in 1976 by constitutional amendment. India celebrates the adoption of the constitution on 26 January each year as Republic Day.

The adoption of the word socialism in 1976 was a true manifestation of the debate that had occurred in constituent assembly. This was evolution of such debate that occurred in the earlier period.

1.10 The preamble and socialism

So, while the Constituent Assembly did want India to become a socialist state, there was no agreement on the kind of socialist state that free India would become. This lack of agreement was not new to the Constituent Assembly. In his Presidential Address at the annual session of the Congress Party in 1946 at Meerut, JB Kripalani said that words like socialism “can be made to cover multitude of Sins”. One of the first issues debated in the Constituent Assembly was a draft of the Preamble of the Indian Constitution. In his resolution, Nehru declared India to be an “Independent Sovereign Republic” but many believed that the word Socialist should be included. For further discussion see chapter on socialism.

Mr. Masani, and a democratic socialist at the time,\textsuperscript{41} was against adding the word Socialist in the preamble. Masani\textsuperscript{42} argued that “it would be wrong to provide for such a thing, because this House has no mandate to go in for far-reaching economic changes in the country,” especially given the lack of consensus on the meaning of socialism. This lack of consensus was due to divergent groups, and sections that

\textsuperscript{40} Rajgopalan Shruti: “Ideology and Institutions in India”

\textsuperscript{41} He later changed his views and joined the Swatantra Party, the main liberal party in India, post independence.

\textsuperscript{42} Tuesday, the 17th December, 1946 Constituent Assembly Debates Vol I.
represented diverse political culture of India and Dr. Ambedkar was aware of these facts.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the architect of the Indian Constitution, did not advocate Soviet style socialism, but nevertheless expressed his disappointment when Socialism was not included in the Preamble to the Constitution. Seth Govind Das, RR Sidhwa, Dakshayani Velayudan, Shibban Lal Saksena, and Algurai Shastri opined that the dream of a socially and economically just India could only be realized through socialism and insisted that the preamble include reference to India as a Socialist and Republic. This was irrespective disagreement on the meaning of socialism. Some members of the Constituent Assembly proposed amendments to the preamble to add more specificity, all of which were negative by the overall Assembly. V D Tripathi suggested that the “Constitution shall be formed in a socialistic and positively not on a capitalistic basis”.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted to be specific about the type of socialism and wanted the preamble to read “We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a union of Indian Socialistic Republics to be called U.I.S.R. on the lines of U.S.S.R”. This was really a dream and it was not possible at the time. Only in 1976 when the atmosphere was favorable it was possible to include the same.

Brajeshwar Prasad wanted to add the words “socialist order” in the Preamble and he clarified, “I believe that the future of India is in Socialism. I believe in a Socialist order. When I say that I believe in a
socialist order, I do not mean that I accept the Marxian interpretation of History. Neither have I believed in class war nor in the materialist Philosophy which is so widely prevalent among the socialist circles. By socialism I mean an equalitarian social order”. Thus, the various proponents of Socialism could not come to an agreement on the precise nature of the proposed economic system. Finally the word socialist was left out of the Preamble, which declared India a “Sovereign Democratic Republic”.

The Preamble to the Constitution of India is a brief introductory statement that sets out the guiding purpose and principles of the document. It is not an integral part of the constitution which was first decided by the Supreme Court of India in The Berubari Case and therefore, it is not enforceable in the court of law. However, the Supreme Court of India in the Keshvananda Case has recognized that the preamble may be used to interpret the ambiguous areas of the Constitution where different interpretations are possible.

As originally enacted, the Preamble described the state as a “Sovereign Democratic Republic”. By 15th August, 1947, socialism was not even a significant thought in the Indian polity. In 1977 an amendment was made to the Preamble. By the Forty-Second (Amendment) Act, 1976, three words, ‘Socialist’, Secular’, ‘Integrity’ were introduced in the Preamble to the Constitution. This was a period of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi under whose period Congress had been dominated by left wing and communists had also supported her cause. This inclusion was a timely part.

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, have solemnly resolved to constitute, India into a ‘SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC’ and to secure to all its citizens:
JUSTICE, social, economic and political;
LIBERTY, of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;
EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;
and to promote among them all
FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949, DO HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

The preamble to the Constitution of India is a brief introductory statement that sets out the guiding purpose and principles of the document. The preamble is not an integral part of the Indian constitution was first decided by the Supreme Court of India in BeruBari case therefore, it is not enforceable in a court of law. However, Supreme Court of India has, in the Kesavananda case, recognized that the preamble may be used to interpret ambiguous areas of the constitution where differing interpretations present themselves.

As originally enacted the preamble described the state as a "sovereign democratic republic". In 1976 the Forty-second Amendment changed this to read "sovereign socialist secular democratic republic".

“No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.” “The provisions of Parts III and IV are supplementary and complementary to each other and not exclusionary of each other and that the fundamental rights are but a means to achieve the goal indicated in Part IV”.

The long run perspective of this provision was to attain various goals in to provide and to come out of constitutional culture in to reality.

The employment of children in construction related jobs clearly fell foul of the constitutional prohibition on child labor and the nonpayment
of minimum wages was equated with the extraction of forced labor. Similarly, in *Bandhua Mukti Morcha v. Union of India*, (1984) 3 SCC 161. These provisions clearly indicate stand of thinkers and policy planners towards socialism. The socialist doctrine was thus supported by thinkers and planners.

In 1947, Dr. Ambedkar became Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India. His contribution in this role has become unmemorable. Dr. Ambedkar's legal expertise and knowledge of constitutional laws of different countries was very helpful in framing the Indian Constitution. His deep regard for a democratic constitution and insistence upon constitutional morality also helped in this process. In this sense, he is rightly regarded as the architect of the Indian Constitution. There are many administrative details in the Indian Constitution (e.g. provisions regarding the Public Service Commission, Attorney General, Comptroller and Auditor General, etc.) which have made the constitution a very lengthy document. But Dr. Ambedkar defended inclusion of such details. He argued that we have created a democratic political structure in a traditional society. If all details are not incorporated, unscrupulous rulers in the future' may misuse the constitution without technically violating it. Thus, formally the constitution may remain in operation but its real purpose may be defeated. To avoid this, the best safeguard is to write down all necessary details and to bind future rulers to these details. In a society where the democratic tradition is weak, such safeguards become essential. This shows that Dr. Ambedkar was a staunch constitutionalist. He believed that a government must be constitutional and that constitution must be treated as a basic and sacred document. There was no room for extra-parliamentary activity in constitutional politics. He also attached much

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50 *Bandhua Mukti Morcha v. Union of India*, (1984) 3 SCC 161
significance to the evolution of constitutional norms and public practices consistent with the constitution. Thus, makers of Indian constitution have thought on long run vision and not in a short term perspective.

Dr. Ambedkar's most important contribution to the Indian Constitution may be seen in the areas of fundamental rights, strong central government and protection of minorities. As a liberal, Dr. Ambedkar believed that fundamental rights constitute the most important part of the constitution. But mere listing of these rights is not sufficient. What makes fundamental rights really fundamental is the guarantee of constitutional protection to these rights. Ambedkar was proud of Article 32 of the Indian Constitution which guarantees judicial protection to fundamental rights. Such protection makes the rights real and meaningful. There was general agreement in the constituent assembly that India needed a strong central government. Dr. Ambedkar shared this view. But his chief reason for advocating a strong central government was slightly different from that of the others. That India was a caste-ridden society in which lower castes have always received unjust treatment from the higher castes. He was afraid that castism would be all the more powerful at local and provincial levels. Government at these levels would be easily subject to caste minded pressures and it would fail to protect the lower castes from higher caste oppression. The national government would be less influenced by these pressures. This was Dr. Ambedkar's most important reason for seating a strong central government. He knew that the minority communities in India were in the most vulnerable position. In India, there was a tendency of a communal or caste majority becoming a political majority also. Thus, a minority will be both a caste minority and political minority. It will be subject to political as well as social harassment. The democratic rule of 'one-man-one-vote' will not be sufficient in such a situation. What we need in India is some guarantee of a share in power.
for the minorities. The framers of constitution had seriously thought regarding welfare of minorities and they have tried to bring them in the mass stream. Minority communities should get an opportunity to elect their representatives. The views of these representatives must be fully respected. Dr. Ambedkar attempted to incorporate many safeguards for the minorities, including definite representation in the executive. He was successful in creating provisions regarding political reservations in legislatures and the appointment of a special officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Commissioner) under Article 338 etc. He would have liked to create many more safeguards but for the unwillingness of the majority in the constituent assembly. What is significant here is Dr: Ambedkar's view that democracy is not merely majority rule had that caste-communal minorities must be fully protected to make democracy meaningful. He 'was, in other words, against the 'Majoritarianism Syndrome'.

1.11 About Petition on socialism:

The Supreme Court dismissed a writ petition challenging the validity of Section 2 of the Constitution (42nd Amendment) by virtue of which the word ‘socialist’ was inserted in the Preamble to the Constitution.

The petition, filed by the Good Governance India Foundation, also challenged the validity of Section 29 A (5) of the Representation of the People Act, which was inserted by way of Section 6 of the RP (Amendment) Act, 1989 making it incumbent upon every political party registered in India to pledge allegiance to the socialist ideal, failing which such a party would be rejected from registration. This reveals that Indian political system must understand seriously the implications of socialism as a doctrine of Indian constitution.
A three-Judge Bench comprising Chief Justice of India S.H. Kapadia and Justices K.S. Radhakrishan and Swatanter Kumar, after hearing Senior counsel Fali Nariman, Solicitor-General Gopal Subramaniam for the Centre and Counsel Meenakshi Arora for the Election Commission permitted the petitioner to withdraw the petition saying that the issues raised would be left open and decided as and when the situation arose.

Mr. Nariman submitted that the 42nd Amendment, evolved in the climate of national Emergency, violated the basic structure of the Constitution. Prior to the amendment, the Preamble read as follows “We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic.” After the amendment, the Preamble read: “We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic.”

1.12 State Socialism and Social Change:

Dr. Ambedkar made constant efforts for the removal of untouchability and the material progress of untouchables, which violates the gross human rights. From 1924 onwards, he led the movement of untouchables till the end of his life. He firmly believed that the progress of the nation could not be realized without first removing untouchability. Dr. Ambedkar held the view that the removal of untouchability was linked to the abolition of the caste system and that it could be only by discarding the religious notions from the basis of the caste system. The reform, in the course of his analysis of the caste system, he examined the Hindu religious philosophy and criticized it. He did this boldly, often facing strong resentment from the orthodox Hindus.⁵¹

Dr. Ambedkar had made a crusade against the traditional system. His temple entry movements and his writings amply testify the

phenomenon. He had focused on social change and he aimed to build India a democratic nation free from exploitation.

1.13 Judicial activism and enforcement of socio-economic rights:

At the time of the drafting of the Constitution of India, the foremost objective of luminaries such as Dr. Ambedkar was to create a document that embodied the core features of a modern parliamentary democracy while at the same time containing the road-map for ameliorating the existing socio-economic inequalities in our society. The vision and foresight shown by the drafting committee under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has stood the test of time. The textual incorporation of principles such as rule of law, equality, individual and group rights as well as secularism proved to be the pre-conditions for the creation of the world’s largest democracy. Like any deliberative democracy, the contents of our constitution have been frequently debated upon and even amended – but no one can take away from the fact that Dr. Ambedkar was the architect of our constitutional democracy. Dr. Ambedkar had navigated the ship of Constituent Assembly so effectively that he had echoed all voices and all feelings of the various socio-cultural groups in Indian Republic.

His personal story is very compelling. He was born in a very humble background and faced the evils of caste-based discrimination such as untouchability and unjust exclusion from public places. However, despite these social disadvantages he went on to gain a first-class education and eventually earned a doctorate in law from Columbia University. After his return to India, he became the most eminent leader of the historically disadvantaged sections of Indian society and was instrumental in the formation of the Scheduled Castes Federation (SCF). In the pre-independence political sphere, he made an articulate case for recognizing the socio-economic exploitation that had been suffered by
those outside the caste system. However, he never chooses the path of ‘agitationist’ politics and instead relied on reasoning and an appeal to moral values. When India earned its independence, Dr. Ambedkar chose to work with the Congress Party and served with distinction as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee in the Constituent Assembly, and later as the first Law Minister of the Union of India. In his later years, he gave up his position in the Union Cabinet on account of the government’s reluctance to reform family laws – which were aimed at combating the entrenched gender and caste-based discrimination in private, relations. His untimely passing in 1955 drew tributes from all around the world.

Even though caste-based discrimination and violence still remains a fact of life in India today, there has been considerable progress for the historically disadvantaged sections of society. Numerous political parties have emerged on the strength of voters from the oppressed sections, and the benefits of education and economic development have also been gradually reaching these sections. The attainment of genuine social equality is of course a gradual process and maybe several generations away, but it was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who set us on this path with a written constitution which is for the protection of the human right. It is not surprising that the invocation of his life and contributions continues to be a major factor in political mobilization, even today.

1.14 Summary:

Dr. Ambedkar was able to understand the Indian psychology. He felt that socialism is a long ranging dream. It was not a right time to switch over socialism. Dr. Ambedkar was always in favor of democracy as a way of life. He had tried to evolve a democratic setup based on wide, all comprehensive and free democratic system. He felt states socialism as an essential part of economic development and by introducing the same the traditional society of India will change. He was in favor of
nationalization of agriculture, industries and also education. He wanted to avoid exploitation of common man and he was in favor of establishing free and just Indian society. His democracy was aimed to establish social progressive attitudes based on socialist doctrine. His state socialism has distinct character of Indian base. He had tried to develop solutions to Indian problems by developing new mode and means of life, through constitutional frame work in India unity in diversity has been achieved and people belonging to different religion and faith are staying together, the credit goes to Dr. Ambedkar’s state socialism.

In the next chapter research design has been presented.