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CHAPTER IV

THOUGHTS OF DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR ON POLICIES OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

The problem of national Integration is a complex one in multi-cultured and multi-religious societies and has often posed serious threat to national security. In India, it has not yet been sufficiently, discussed and debated by politician, social scientists, statesman and jurist.

During the last five decades, since the country attained independence, several divisive forces and fissiparous tendencies have emerged. These have severally and cumulatively threatened the country’s unity due to the categories of religious fundamentalism, communalism, linguistic fanaticism, the growing sense of discrimination, the growing feeling of injustices, excessive economic disparity, and inequalities at various levels.

4.1 Meaning and Concept of National Integration:

The word ‘National’ is derived from the word ‘nation’ which when shorn off its historical meaning can be defined as a body of persons inhabiting a definite territory and thus united together by the primary fact of living together on a common land (Barker E., 1967: P 53). The word ‘nation’ stand for a group of persons who because of living together in the same territory, over a long period, have developed a strong sense of community based on a common historical experiences and traditions and common cultured traits including usually a
common languages and who believe that their identity and interests are or need to be protected and preserved by a sovereign state of their own in which they have a predominant position. According to various scholars, identity of political antecedents and common historic memories are even more important than the community of language, race, and religion. The term ‘nation’ according to many modern writers also implies a political and legal element and a result of which a community possesses common institution, common laws and forms an independent political entity (Kopur A.C., 1981. P 128). The word ‘Integration’ means a “combination of diverse elements of perception leading to a happy synthesis of culture” viewed in this context, the concept of national integration is at once holistic and multi-dimensional. It is holistic because it takes into account society, law, economy, polity, and education. It is multi-dimensional because it is a question of cultural, political administrative, economic and emotional integration. And its multi-dimensionality makes it at once a goal and a process. Considering together, the phrase national integration means a process as well as a goal, by which all the people inhabiting in a particular territory irrespective of their religious, ethnic, and linguistic differences.

However, negatively, integration does not mean loss of social identity of different social groups, nor it means perfect assimilation. In fact, no society is ever perfectly integrated. Sometimes integration is also viewed in terms of minority situations, and in such a situation it denotes, the distribution of power and number
as a pattern of relationship. As a matter of fact, integration is an arrangement of goals and means of society.

In India, National Integration certainly is a reaction against old social order. It means establishing and furthering healthy inter-reaction between sectors of society, so that they participate equally and free in nation building as per the established standards of modern civilization without losing the characteristic national distinctive identity and diversity in pursuit of over all unity. National Integration may be extra-rational as a sentiment but as a policy, doctrine or project is full of reforming and critical spirit. In a developing country like India, national Integration is bound to be rational and progressive realization of goals of national development and progress, because India has to fill in the gap of the centuries, suffered due to poverty, illiteracy, socio-economic inequalities and backwardness.

4.1.1 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s views on National Integration:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had firm faith in a cohesive society, which he thought would eradicate the evils of traditional systems and assimilation of marginal section of society into the mainstream of national life and thereby helped in promoting national unity and integration. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s views on associated life and interaction are also reflected in the preamble of our constitution which says, “we the people of India, having 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 thoughts and expression,
belief, faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity and to promote among them all fraternity assuring dignity of the individuals and the unity and integrity of the nation.

4.1.2 Constitutional Provision for National Integration:

The Constitution of India, besides dealing with the structure, powers, and methods of functions of a government also reflects the hopes and aspirations of its people as well as the value consequences of its society. The constitution of India, besides dealing with the above is not only a chart of social, economic, and political Justice but also a model of national unity and integrity. The preamble to the Constitution of India, embody in nutshell, the constitutional problem for national integration. It expressly lays down the resolve of the people of India “to constitute India into a sovereign, socialist and democratic republic, to secure its citizens. Justice, social, economic and political, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality and status and of opportunity and to promote among them fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation. The inclusion of the word ‘fraternity’ in our preamble is intended to foster the spirit of brother-hood, which is a moving spirit of National Integration and the promotion of which is absolutely essential in our country, which is composed of people of many races and religions, keeping the larger objective of National Integration in mind. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has justified the use of word ‘fraternity’ in our preamble and he defines it as;
"A sense of common brotherhood of all Indians. If Indian being one people, it is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life. It is difficult thing to achieve. In India there are castes. The castes are anti-national. In the first place, they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality. For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation, without fraternity, equality and liberty will be no deeper than coats of paint" (CAD: PP.979).

According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, national brotherhood can become reality only after abolition of caste system. Without breaking of mental barriers of caste system, one cannot realize others feelings or considers others as brothers without any hypocrisy. That is the reason that, practicing a cast system is considered as a criminal offence by law. Perhaps, this is the most important contribution in our constitution for nation building.

A glance of constitution of India reveals that the spirit of brotherhood assuring dignity of individual and the unity and integrity of the nation is sought to be achieved by the following provisions of the constitution.

1. By providing one citizenship (Article 5).
2. Abolition of untouchability (Article 17).
3. Prohibition of traffic in human beings (Article 23)
4. Providing for freedom of religion (Article 25-28)
5. Protection of Interests of minorities (Article 29-30)
6. Assuring equality of status and opportunity and prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, only with safeguards for protection of interests of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes (Article 14-16).

7. Providing to the citizens of India, the right to move freely throughout the territory of India and to settle and reside in any part of the territory of India [Article 19 (1) (d)] and (e) and a guarantee of life and liberty (Article 21).

8. Equitable distribution of material resources of the community (Article 39-b)

9. Provisions ensuring the economic unity of India (Articles 301-05)

However above provisions are integrally connected with the objective of national integration summarizing the spirit of the constitution philosophy of national integration is incorporated in the preamble of national integration policy adopted by the national integration council.

From above broad parameters of the philosophy of national integration that the founding fathers of Indian constitution specially Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar took cognizance of India’s unity in diversity in concrete social and political terms and did not allow rigid doctrinaire considerations to effect their political vision constitution of India also take care individual dignity and unity of the nation freedom and dignity of the citizens are secured through the fundamental rights, while the goals of welfare state are imposed on it in the directive principles of state policy.
However, the following broad features emerge out of the constitutional philosophy of national integration.

4.1.3 Single Citizenship and Single Judicial System:

Single citizenship and single judicial system are also unifying factors as they create common thinking that we are Indians whether we live in any part from Kashmir to Kanyakumari. In order to realize this goal our constitution recognizes only single citizenship unlike U.S.A. where a man has two citizenships, that one of the state and the other of the United States of America. This concept of single citizenship has brought the Indians together for the first time in Indian history. This concept of single citizenship has also made possible to frame the common laws in the country. Despite such provisions, some persons do object the implementation of this principle in the matter of employment. By providing for a single citizenship, the constitution underlines the concept of unity and lends to the union of Indian an essential feature of unitary state.

4.1.4 Unity in Diversity:

Article 1 of the constitution echoes the theme of unity in diversity wherein it declares. “India, that is Bharat, shall be a union of states” and therefore, also portray federal system in India. Federalism is a method, by which, integration is achieved, in political organized societies. The pattern of distribution of powers between the centre and the states in India indicates that in the total legislative process, the union legislative has been given an upper hand and the autonomy of
the states is restricted by upper hand and the autonomy of the states is restricted by Article 249, 250, 253 and the emergency provisions, vide Articles 352, 356, 360. For these Articles, empower the union executive to encroach upon the state jurisdiction, legislative, executive, and financial. Thus, freedom of movement and settlement is basic to our constitutional values, likewise, trade, commerce etc.

Justifying such a structuring of the Indian polity Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has observed:

"Though the country and the people may be divided into different states for the convenience of administration, the country is one integral while its people diving in a single imperalisium derived from a single source" (CAD: Vol. II P. 36.).

Thus with a view to maintain and protect the national unity and integrity, the constitution makers were influenced by the pragmatic considerations.

4.1.5 Common Language and Common Culture:

According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar common language, common culture is also conductive for national unity and integration since it strengthens the social cohesion, which is the basis of national unity. In fact, common language and common culture are interrelated and common culture emerges out of common language. Thus, culture is not only the part of language but geographical in nature and consists of various aspects. As such, every religious community can certainly claim to have made some contribution to national culture.
4.2 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Views on the Regional Integration:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was very against of the North-South divide of the nation on any ground. His perception was very pragmatic and quite different than the others. In his opinion, India can be united horizontally by shunting out the regional feeling. That is possible through while re-organizing states of India. For a single larger language group of population a single state should not be made. Because that single ethnic group will develop a separate identity in the long run, where as if that single larger language group divided into many states will not get opportunity to develop into a single dominant entity. By making smaller states, a collective national feeling would develop, and the single dominant state would not be challenging the center or dominant the smaller states. Therefore, he suggested smaller size many more states than what has been curved by the commission on re-organization of Indian states.

4.2.1 Divisions and Size of States:

In the first, few decades of the 20th century the Bruisers made provinces like Bihar, Sind, North-West Frontier Province, Assam and Orissa on a linguistic basis. At the time of independence, 500 princely states were merged in India and there was urgent need to restructure the boundaries of different provinces on a rational basis. There was some objectives emerged for understanding and solving the linguistic problem which are -

1. The India should be reorganized based on various administrative zones and no facility should be given to linguistic groups.
2. For the administrative purpose, India should be divided into different provinces based on socio-economic, cultural and political considerations.

3. India is multi ethnic, Multi-culture, Multi-lingual hence it should be re-organized on a linguistic basis.

In the period, 1921-22 Congress leader had been demanding the re-organization of states on linguistic basis. But later on Congress party shifted and more stress was laid upon developing a common Indian nationality. Same time Muslim leader propagated the separatist theory. In 1930-1945 the congress party underplayed this issues. At the time of independence, the Indian leaders were opposed to the formation of linguistic states. From 1928 to 1956 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar tried to bring reforms for our national unity and integration. During the British period, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was opposed to the formation of the linguistic states. While appearing before the Simon Commission in May 1928, he opposed the formation of the linguistic provinces because he feared that encouragement to local patriotism, regionalism and group consciousness would danger the cause of stability and development of common Indian nationality. (Patil V.T. 1995, P.316) He opposed the formation of linguistic provinces on two principles (a) they would encourage regional consciousness (b) they would establish the government of one caste (Patil, V.T: 1995, P.316)

After independence, he continued to express these fears in the light of the social and political implications of the creation of linguistic provinces. After political independence of India, different princely states were merged with India
except Kashmir, Junaghad, etc. It was necessary to reorganize the states on some logical basis. If you look after 1930, different princely states in North India were organized on linguistic basis but the southern and western parts were not touched. However, in these two regions only this issue became a matter of public controversy and agitation. Dr. Ambedkar published his first major writing on this subject in 1948 when he submitted his statement to linguistic province commission as “Maharashtra as a Linguistic province”. Dr. Ambedkar regarded unification of Indians more vital and essential than unification of different provinces on linguistic basis. To him, a linguistic province meant a province, which by the social composition of its population would be homogeneous and therefore more suited for the realization of those social ends, which a democratic government must fulfill. In his view, a linguistic province had nothing to do with the language of the province. He remarked the constitution should provide that the official language of every province should be the same as the official language of the central government. It is only on that footing that; I am prepared to accept the demand for the linguistic provinces.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar gave an examples from “One state, one language” as a universal feature of almost every state. Examine the constitution of Germany, France, Italy, UK, and examine the constitution of the U.S.A., “one state, one language” is the rule wherever there has been a departure from this rule there has been a danger of the state. The illustrations of the mixed states are to be found in the old Austrian Empire and the old Turkish Empire. They were blown
up because they were Multi-lingual states with all that a multi-lingual state means. India cannot escape this fate if it continues to be a congery of mixed states. The reasons why a unilingual state is stable and a multi-lingual state unstable are quite obvious.

A state is built on fellow feeling. What is this fellow feeling? To state briefly it is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness, which makes those, who is charged with it feels that they are kith and kin. This feeling is a double-edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one’s own kith and kin and anti-fellowship, for those who are not one’s own kith and kin. It is feeling of “consciousness of kind”, which on the one hand, binds together those who have it so strongly that it over-rides all differences arising out of economic conflicts or social gradations and on the other, serves them from those who are not of their kind. It is a longing not to belong to any other group. The existence of this fellow feeling is the foundation of a stable and democratic state. This is one reason why a linguistic state is so essential but there are other reasons why a state should be unilingual. There are two other reasons, why the rule, “One state, one language” is necessary. One reason is that democracy cannot work without friction unless there is fellow feeling among those who constitute the state. Faction fights for leadership and discrimination in administration is factors ever present in a mixed state and are incompatible with democracy.

Another reason why it is necessary to adopt the rule of, “one state, state language” is that it is the only solvent to racial and cultural conflicts. Why do
Tamils hate Andhras and Andhras hate Tamils? Why do Andhras in Hyderabad hate Maharashtrians and Maharashtrians hate Andhras? Why do Gujrathis hate Maharashtrians and Maharashtrians hate Gujrathis? The answer is very simple. It is not because there is any natural antipathy between the two. The hatred is due to the fact that they are put in juxtaposition and forced to take part in a common cycle of participation such government there is no other answer. So long as this juxtaposition remains, there will be no peace between the two. According to Ambedkar, he wants linguistic states for two reasons. To make easy the way to democracy and to remove racial and cultural tension Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar gave thought on dangers of linguistic state. A linguistic state with regional language as its official language may easily develop into an independent nationality. (Govt. of Maharashtra, 1979, P. 145) The road between an independent nationality and an independent state is very narrow. If these happens, India will cease to be modern India we have and will became the medieval India consisting of a variety of states indulging in rivalry and warfare this danger is of course inherent in the creation of linguistic states. There is equal danger in not having linguistic states. The former danger a wise and firm statesman can avert. But the dangers of a mixed state are greater and beyond the control of a statesman however eminent.

How can this danger be met? According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, he gave solution that to provide in the constitution that the regional language shall not be the official language of the state. The official language of the state shall be
Hindi and until India becomes fit for this purpose English will Indians accept this. If they do not, linguistic states may easily become a peril.

One language can unite people. Two languages are sure to divide people. This is an inexorable law. Culture is conserved by language. Since Indians wish to unite and develop a common culture, it is the bounden duty of all-Indian to own up Hindi as their language. Any Indian who does not accept this proposal, as part of a linguistic state has no right to be an Indian. He may be a hundred percent Maharashtrian, a hundred percent Tamil or a hundred percent Gujrathi, but he cannot be an Indian in the real sense of the world except in a geographical sense. It will be a collection of different nationalities engaged in rivalries and wars against one another.

After 1951-52 his writings on this issue clearly express this anxiety. Dr. Ambedkar continued to support the principle of re-organization of states on a linguistic basis but he now demanded certain safeguards against the dominant castes. In an article on this issue in the, “The Times of India” dated 23rd April 1953 he demanded checks and balances to maintain social and political equilibrium in the province. He made it clear that establishment of linguistic states would place numerically and economically dominant castes in the region in an advantage position, thus power would go in the region in an advantage position, and thus power would go in the hands of a communal majority. He argued that it was not necessary to consolidate states into big state interest of size and population like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in the name of linguistic provinces. There could be two provinces of the same linguistic group in the small states the danger of communal majority could be minimized.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar concluded that there are advantages in the demand of linguistic states but there must be definite checks and balances to see that a communal majority does not abuse its power under the garb of linguistic states. On November 5th of 1953 Dr. Ambedkar demanded certain safeguards against a communal majority to protect the rights of minorities. He said that the state governor should be given some powers to protect the minorities and special commission should be established, on the lines of the bodies established in Canada and England. He feared that in the name of linguistic provinces the communal forces were raising their head therefore, unless it was absolutely necessary the demand for linguistic provinces should not be conceded.

In 1954-55, the report of Fazal Ali Commission on the re-organization of states was made public and the recommendation of the commission regarding the Bombay State became the subject of controversy. The commission also recommended the formation of a separate state of Vidharbha. Dr. Ambedkar wrote his thought on linguistic states in response to recommendations of the Fazal Ali commission. In the preface of this book, which was published in 1955, he made it clear that it was an important issue and one could not sleep over it in silence. Sometime his ideas on this issue might be found inconsistent with the earlier views expressed from time to time. But consistency was the virtue of an ass because one had to learn from experiences. He also agree a responsible person must learn to unlearn what he has learned. A responsible person must have the courage to rethink and change his thoughts.

Second important point raise by Dr. Ambedkar states reorganization commission had consolidated big state in north India and Balkanized the states in
South India. He predicted that the big North Indian states would dominate politics of India. He held that there is vast difference between the North and South as the North was reactionary and south was Progressive. The North India backward in education and South India are better than North India in terms of social development and education. Therefore Dr. Ambedkar wanted to correct the imbalance by dividing large north Indian states into small and administratively manageable states. Dr. Ambedkar gave solution on that i.e. the Division of the North.

4.2.2 Divisions of the Northern States:

Dr. Ambedkar gave thought on division of the northern states is to divide the three state of

1. Uttar Pradesh
2. Bihar

4.2.3 Divisions of Uttar Pradesh:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s proposal with regard to the Uttar Pradesh is to divide it into three states.(Govt. of Maharashtra : 1989, P.150) (See map 1) Each of these three states should have a population of approximately two Crores which should be regarded as the standard size of population for a state to administer effectively. The three states of the Uttar Pradesh could have as their capitals. (I) Meerut. (ii) Cawnpore (iii) Allahabad. They are situated quite in the center of each of these three states.
4.2.4 Divisions of Bihar:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar gave proposal with regard to Bihar is to divide it into two states (See map 2). Each of these two states will have a population of a little over one and half Crores. It is not a small population for one government to administer. The two states of Bihar could have as their capital (I) Patna and (II) Ranchi. They are situated quite in the center of the two states.

4.2.5 Divisions of Madhya Pradesh:

According to Dr. Ambedkar proposal Madhya Pradesh stands before us in two forms. The old Madhya Pradesh and the new Madhya Pradesh. The old Madhya Pradesh consisted of:

1. The Provinces at one time known as C.P. and Berar &

The old states of Madhya Pradesh had a population of 2 ½ Crores. It consisted of 22 districts. Its legislature had 223 members. The new Madhya Pradesh as planned by the commission will consist of:

I) The 14 district of the old Madhya Pradesh.

II) The whole of Bhopal

III) The whole of Vindhya Pradesh

IV) Madhya Bharat except: Sunel enclave of Mandasaur district and

V) The strong sub division of Kotah district of Rajasthan
The total population of this new Madhya Pradesh will be 26.1 Million and its area will be about 171,200 square miles.

Dr. Ambedkar suggests that it should be divided into two states: (1) Northern Madhya Pradesh (2) Southern Madhya Pradesh.

According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar proposals, the state of new 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 should consist of:

i) The whole state of Indore and
ii) The 14 district of Mahakosal.

The population of this Indore state will be about 2 Crores and the population of Vindhya Pradesh will be about 1.30 Crores.

Further, Dr. Ambedkar argued that the commission has been under the impression that one language; one state is a categorical imperative from which there is no escape. As Dr. Ambedkar shown one language, one state never is categorical imperative. In fact Dr. Ambedkar believed one state, one language should be the rule and therefore people forming one language can divide themselves into many states.
As far as Maharashtra was concerned, Dr. Ambedkar suggested the formation of four different units.

1) City state of Bombay
2) Western Maharashtra
3) Central Maharashtra
4) Eastern Maharashtra. (Govt. of Maharashtra: 1989, P.155)

He had given some interesting reasons for this proposal. He said that traditionally Maharashtra was divided into three units and this was nothing new. Secondly there were regional imbalances as western Maharashtra was an advanced area and Marathwada was a backward area and the latter would suffer in united Maharashtra. Thirdly the city-state of Bombay should be kept independent because it was of a cosmopolitan character. Due to its non-communal character, it could very well become refuge to all the minorities who would be at the receiving end at the hands of communal majority in linguistic states.

Dr. Ambedkar stated that the danger posed by the communal majorities received his attention and to minimize this danger he suggested the formation of smaller states, because he thought that, "as the area of states increases the proportion of the Minority to majority decrease and the position of minorities becomes precarious" He held that the crux of the problem, was that of communal majorities that would be automatically created due to the creation of linguistic province. He was argued that Indian political structure based one the social
structure and Indian social structure based on caste system. He highlighted some aspects of the caste system were as follows:

a) In Indian social structure, castes were so distribution in areas that one caste was economically and numerically dominant and other castes were sub-servant to them.

b) In Indian social structure castes systems was marketed by inequality in the manner of ascending scale of hatred and descending scale of contempt.

c) The caste had all the exclusiveness and pride which a nation had and its consequences on politics were quite obvious because in a single member constituency with present election system, its impact on representative government was disastrous because voting took place on communal lines and the communal majority captured most of the seats.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar further argued that India did not have political majority, which could change, because it was formed based on some principles but on the contrary communal majority was the bone of the society. It was in fact a caste majority.

Analysis of this views the ill effect of the linguistic states. Ambedkar suggested some safeguards to protect the minorities from the communal tyranny. He suggested two points (1) large states should be divided into two or three states so that it would not be possible for communal majorities to consolidate their
position. (2) The people’s representation Act should be amended. The supporters of the linguistic states did not appreciate these ideas of Ambedkar. He revised his earlier proposals for four states of Maharashtra in 1956 and instead demanded two states one for Konkon, Belgaum, Kolhapur and Karwar with Bombay as its capital and other for Western Maharashtra including Vidharbha and Marathwada with Aurangabad as its capital. (Kunte, B.G.: 1982, pp-426-427). In the Janata on 2nd June 1956 he wrote that he was unable to understand why people wanted united Maharashtra because the united Maharashtra would not remain united and homogeneous because of intense rivalry for political powers. But dr. Ambedkar was under pressure from the people of Maharashtra to support the cause of Samyukta Maharashtra. A few days before his death, Dr. Ambedkar decided to support of Samyukta Maharashtra movement and allowed his followers to join Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti. In a way he decided to support the creation of a big state like Maharashtra.

If you look back from 1928 to 1956 very few people at that time studied this problem through the sociological, political and security perspectives as developed by Dr. Ambedkar. He is often criticized for shifting his position on the issue but if we carefully observe his ideas we will find that he is consistent about the reservations on the issue throughout the period he argued that if proper care was not taken, the states would cause disintegration of the country, that they would encourage regional and parochial tendencies and the would establish rule by the communal majority.( Patil V.T. 1995, P 323) As far as his ideas
changes were concerned they were more in the field of research. I feel that some of the points raised by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are important and they need critically analyzed in the light of the problem of big state vis a vis small states and also our 55 years experience of running the administration of linguistic states.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar thoughts with regards to Various linguistic states can be analyzed as follows:

(a) The idea of having a mixed state must be completely abandoned (b) The state must be unilingual principle one state, one language (c) Abandon the formula one language one state- a people speaking one language may be cut up into many state as is done in the other parts of the world. (d) Four principles must be observed. 1) Efficient administration. 2) Needs of the different areas. 3) Sentiments of the different areas. 4) Proportion between the majority and minority must be taken into consideration. (e) The state must be small as the area increases the proportion of the majority and minority increases. (f) Protection must be given to minorities to prevent the tyranny of the majority to do this. This are the important aspects Dr. Ambedkar highlighted from the period of 1928 to 1956 which aspects are till relevant to India’s unity and security. And the formula he has evolved to reformation of states should be implemented for the batter political integration of the region.
MAP 1: DIVISIONS OF UTTAR PRADESH

[Source: Map of India, 1979, Education Department]
MAP 2 : DIVISIONS OF BIHAR

[Source: Government of Bihar Education Department. 1979]
MAP 3 : DIVISIONS OF MADHYA PRADESH
DIVISION OF MAHARASHTRA

MAHARASHTRA AND ITS FOUR STATES

Source: Government of Maharashtra
Education Department
1979, 1979

MAP 4: DIVISIONS OF MAHARASHTRA

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4.2.6 Vertical and Horizontal Integration of Society:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested that to build the powerful country it required horizontal and vertical integration of our nation state. Horizontal integration is based on territorial democracy, balance of central state relation in favour of democratic setup. Management of natural resources based on the principles that nation state as a cohesive unit and curbing parochial tendency of localized politics. i.e. mineral resources, water resources. Vertical integration is based on management of redistribution of goods and services, eradication of caste, creed, discriminating based on religion and faith.

4.3 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s Views on Social Integration:

4.3.1 Social Justice:

The international system comprises sovereign nation states with legitimate national security interests. The traditional national military security concept is based on the assumption on external threats. The protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation state is the core of legitimate national security concerns. Inter-state conflicts and internal challenges threaten the international security. The maintenance of international and national security is based on national security strategies and collective security arrangements. Social justice is part of national security strategies. From that point of view Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s thought on social integration will be important means of development of Indian nation state.
The problem of social injustice, which is one of the important problems and inhibitor of any nation’s security and development. Development, particularly the national development is a very broad term and can be analyzed from different theoretical and methodological perspective. National development can be of two kinds, economic, and social. Nations economically grown up thus should have problems such as employment, social discrimination, and social exploitation.

The major problems of India are poverty, illiteracy, and increasing population but also injustice.

4.3.2 Indian Constitution and Social Justice:

Social justice has a special importance in the Indian context. The Indian society based on castes and communities; social order comprised multilingual, multi-cultural, and multi-religious groups such as the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhism, Janis, Parsis, and Christians, having different social and cultural background for centuries. Thus, constituent assembly’s task was to draft a constitution for Indian that would not merely establish major political institutions but also bring about social cohesiveness through ‘social justice’. The concept of social justice in a comprehensive sense takes within its sweep the objective of remaining all inequalities and affording equal opportunities to all citizens in social and economic activities it revolves around the basic value of justice, equality and liberty.

The commitment of the founding fathers of the Indian constitution of social cohesiveness through constitutional devices eloquently finds place in preamble to
the constitution. Today, in the age of globalization, individual security is much in demand for proper implementation and good output of the globalization. With social hierarchy, individual security cannot be guaranteed.

4.3.3 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Social Assimilation through Social Justice:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's quest for social justice can be visualized in the philosophy, policy, and ideals of the constitution of India. The constituent assembly recalled the injustice-social economic and political-bordering on denial of basic human rights, values, dignities, and amenities to the lowest state of the Indian society and the inhuman treatment meted out the underprivileged segments of the society, and provided for their redress even in the preamble to the constitution which contemplate a new social order with cherished ideals of justice. Social economic and political liberty of thoughts, expression, belief, faith, and worship, equality of status and opportunity and fraternity assuming the dignity of individual. The constitution explicitly conveys the intention of the founding fathers of which Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the chief architect, to reconstruct the existing social order into a just egalitarian and homogenous social order based on justice, liberty, equality, and universal brotherhood. The substances of justice, liberty, equality, and befitting human dignity of individual are made more elaborate in part III and IV of the constitution. A fleeting glance at the constitution as a whole reveals the quest of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for social revolution for the reconstruction of an egalitarian and classless society. The fundamental rights as a whole foster the
social reconstruction by generating equality, prohibiting discrimination on grounds
religion, race caste or place of birth, abolishing untouchability and making its
practice in any form an offence punishable by law, and banning trafficking in
human beings and forced labour, which furnished a solid basis for social
inequalities and injustices. Constitution empowers the state to make any special
 provision for the advancement of any educationally, socially backward classes and
also for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It also enables the state to make
reservation for appointments or posts in favour of any backward class, which in
the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services under the
state. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar expressed his hope that in the future legislature
and executive would not merely pay lip service to the Directive principles but they
would be made the basis of all legislative and executive action that might be taken

Thus, the constitutional ethos of the social revolution running through the
preamble Fundamental Rights and ‘Directive principles’ expressly emphasizes the
establishment of egalitarian and homogenous social order devoid of caste and
based on human value of justices social economic and political equality of statues
and opportunity and fraternity assuming human dignity. The quest for social
justice of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar offers hope and guarantees through the
constitution of India to the hitherto oppressed segment of Indian society such as
the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward classes, to the backward
sections of the people and minorities. It provides chance to ensure
constitutional rights with a view to creating an egalitarian social order. The constitutional commitment of the creation of a classless society is shattered by the wide-spread rampant practices of untouchability and bonded labour, frequent communal riots, ugly trends of curbing communal riots and inhuman acts on caste considerations, communal biases, economic disparity and social inequalities.

It is unfortunate that the attempts at reconstructing social order, casteless society as dreamt by Dr. Ambedkar in India on the modern foundation of justice, equality, fraternity and reasoning have thus met serious set-backs and severe jerks due to the increasing instances of atrocities, disparities, and discriminations for the removal of untouchability. Dr. Ambedkar wanted that the concept of socio-religious status should be replaced by the secular status based on the principle of 'one man one value, and one man one vote. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar launched a crusade against untouchability by creating public awareness through his speeches and writings in several conferences and several periodicals like Mooknayak, Bahiskrit Bharat, Equality, and Janata etc. Started by him and by organizing protest marches like the renowned mahad march for entitling the backward communities to draw water from the famous Chavadar tank. The Nashik’s "Kalaram satyagrah" for permitting entry to the shudra's into the kalaram temple. He believed that the problem of emancipation of the shudras was basically a problem of political, economic and social equality. He believed political equality was not enough for emancipation of the shudras what is really required is equality
in social and economic life. Participating in the constituent assembly debate he declared without emotional words, "On the 26th January 1950 we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the 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 deny the principle of one man, one value. How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy" (Rajaskhariah: 1989, P. 224).

Where as, in respect of the Hindu society, he desired abolition of caste system and untouchability, and an amendment in the laws relating to marriage, adoption, succession etc. He prepared a Hindu code bill incorporating matters relating to (i) right of property of deceased Hindu who has died intestate without making a will, to both female and male (ii) the order of succession among the different heirs to property of a deceased dying intestate (iii) the law of maintenance (iv) Marriage (v) Divorce (vi) Adoption (vii) Minority and guardianship. Though the bill could not be passed and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had to resign from the post of law Minister. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar made a multi-dimensional contribution to the empowerment of women in India by
advocating girls education right of women to act as priests, maternity benefits divorce maintenance, adoption and succession etc. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar always had the view that the progress of any society can be estimated on the basis of advancement of women in that society.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar formed an Independent labour party in 1936 at the time of elections to the Bombay Assembly. He organized a strike to end, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar had always had a special concern for the development of minorities problems were concretely expressed in the memoranda submitted by him to the Simon commission and at the round table conference as a member of the Minorities committee, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar supported the demands made by the Minorities for proper representation in the legislature, the executive, the public services as also for the statutory guarantee for the prevention of discrimination against the minorities by the majority. He favoured special consideration for the minority communities because it is weak either in number or because its social standing is low or its educational standing is backward as compared with others or because its economic strength is not sufficient to place it on a fighting level with other communities. (Rajasekhariah: 1989, P.92)

Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar propagated idea that all land belong to the state, basic industries should be state monopolies believing in rapid industrialization and full employment of all, he thought any state socialism could achieve these according to Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar caste consciousness hampers all economic
growth. It creates conditions, which are harmful to collective efforts in agriculture and other activities. In the presence of caste relations would be against the development of the society. Therefore the great feudal estates based on casteism must be broken up and land distributed to the people who cultivate it and who can collectively produce thing for the rapid progress of both cities and villages. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested nationalization of life insurance and advocated state management and state ownership in industry.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar stressed parliamentary democracy along with socialism an architect of the Indian constitution he provided suitable parliamentary form of government to the country. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s way of thinking on social humanism characterized by following factors (a) Equality among human beings (b) Every human beings as an end in himself (c) Right of every human being to social, economic, political and religious freedom (d) To maintain liberty equality fraternity and to strive to secure redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man of class by class and of nation (e) To stand for a democratic society under a parliamentary system of government (f) To believe in non-violence as an instrument of social change and adopt peaceful and persuasive methods to avoid class conflicts and the possibility of civil war (g) To avoid any ‘ism’ or any theory or dogma in its extreme aspects (h) Need for spiritual discipline and (i) Firm foundation of universal love, equality and brotherhood that the Buddha taught.
4.3.4 Labour Policy:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar joined as member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council on the 20th July 1942. He was asked to look after the portfolio of labour.

As member of legislative council of Bombay and member in the Viceroy’s Executive Councils his contribution to labour legislation in India was immense. As a labour minister at new Delhi on 6th and 7th September 1943 Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in a very impressive speech defined the demands of the labour for food, clothing, shelter, education, cultural amenities and health resources.

During Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar tenure as labour member. The factories Act was amended three times of which two were important. In April 1944 he moved a bill-proposing holiday be for industrial workers employed in perennial factories. The second amendment adopted on 4-April 1946 restricted the daily and weekly hours for laborers. (Nagar V.D. Nagar K.P. 1992.P140)

As a labour member Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar got prepared legislation for the establishment of five labour welfare funds during his tenure. They include coalmines welfare fund, Mica mines labour welfare fund, and one each for Iron and maganese. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also suggested constituting a welfare fund to provide housing, education, and health care to the colliery workers. During Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar tenure as labour member the mine maternity Benefit Act 1941 was amended twice. These policies were for the purpose of development and maintenance of human resources to build strong economic base.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar introduced the minimum wages Bill in the legislative Assembly on 11th April 1946. The bill provided for constituting wage-fixing machinery for fixing and revising minimum wages in certain industries under certain conditions. The bill became law in 1948. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also introduced social insurance scheme, comprising workmen’s compensation, sickness insurance and maternity benefit.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was of the opinion that its worker’s have the right to strike but the weapon of strike should be used sparingly and must be to the advantages of the worker and not for the political objectives of the party. Today in the modernization word each and every trade union’s used strike weapon for the political objectives and become hurdle in the development process.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested all India labour federation to come together and work out a policy which could be applied uniformity to all the working classes and to the men in the service of the government Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar opposed various trades unions for each department like. Railwaymens union posts and telegraphs union, textile union. Because of separate union the problems of labour are not solved and there demand not fulfilled by the government. (Govt. of Maharashtra, 1991, P.245)

In the process of globalization and pressure from IMF and World Bank Indian labour are looking there right from nation state. The process of privatization and commercialization of Indian Industries may halt the process of development of the Indian labour, the nationstate has to play a very decisive role
in protecting the interests of the vulnerable sections and insure the development with human face.

The government has already started expenditure cut in labour programs. Curtailment of public expenditure and withdrawal of subsidies may have important repercussion on employment situation and welfare level of the vulnerable sections.

For the security of nation state labour status should maintain through providing proper basic facilities and avoid any confrontation with labour Vs manager or worker Vs management. In future military capability cans assess by labour work culture. Considering this view India should adopted various policies which are suggested by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for development of India.

For development of India Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar adopted three

Providing safeguards and social security measures to workers

Giving equal opportunity to workers to participate in formulating labour policy and strengthening the labour movement by introducing compulsory recognition of trade union in order to enable labour to play and effective role in the economic development of the country. Establishing machinery for enforcing labour laws and setting disputes. This policy pursuasion could have contributed to minimise the gap between workers and the owners and also settling the industrial disputes between workers and owners. That could have support for continuous production without lockouts.
4.3.5 Women Development Policies:

In order to understand Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar regarding the position of women in the Indian society it is essential to understand the philosophical basis of his ideas in general and his perspective on the social problems in particular. As a strategic thinker, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had developed a logical structure of interrelated ideas that he used as a theoretical framework to explain the social phenomenon as well as to suggest change in the existing pattern of social relations. In his analysis Ambedkar, thus argues that the inhuman treatment given to women in Indian society is related to the caste as an institution. Therefore, the question of women cannot be isolated from the questions of caste. Thus instead of treating women’s issue in isolation, he attacked the institution of caste which he felt contradicted the basic human values. He in fact, realized the need to change the Indian society radically throughout. He remained critical of the Indian society and in his criticism Ambedkar wanted religion to be based on rational principles and he had no patience for a religion to be based on rules. Liberating the Indian Society from the rigid system, he added, would transform Hindu religion from a religion of rules to religion of principles. Only such transformation could provide the basis for a moral order that would make the national life meaningful (Bhatia, k. L., 1995, P. 180). One of the most crucial roles played by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in relation to elevation of the status of women in India was his initiative to draft and introduce the Hindu code Bill. In the constituent assembly legislative the provision in Hindu code Bill, a) the law of maintenance. b) Marriage. c)
Divorce  d) Adoption  e) Minority and guardianship. Dr. Ambedkar has given equal status to women at par with men by providing many provisions in the constitution. This is evidenced from different constitutional provisions i.e. the state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. The state shall not discriminate any to citizens on grounds of religions, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. Besides providing constitutional guarantees to women Dr. Ambedkar introduced and got passed four acts which strengthened the position of Hindu women in the society. These were incorporated in the Hindu Code Bill. They are:

D) The adoption and maintenance Act, 1956.

Inspite of equal rights as guarantee under the constitution of India, Indian women are still suffering severally from the social evils like dowry, sexual harassment, etc. It is right time that women get respectful and dignified position in society. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, himself a strong supporter of gender Justice, knew that the position of women could not be improved without proper education and economic well being. The law, which have been or may be made for the protection and upliftment of women, must be effectively implemented. The machinery for the implementation of these laws should not be inefficient and corrupt. There has to be a change in the outlook of the common man. This change
is possible only through proper attitude towards women and effective education. If these changes are introduced in earnest sense Babasaheb’s vision and dream shall be materialized to a great extent. His resignation as a Minister for the cause of empowerment of women took place about 45 years before the Indian society realised the same importance.

4.4 Government’s Policies for Social Integration:

Cohesive effort of the countries people can contribute to achieve objectives of the nation-state in a time frame. This cohesiveness is possible through regional and social integration of the country.

After the five decades of independence we have serious threat to the national unity and integrity.

4.4.1 Social Justice:

India is a vast country with acute problems of poverty and unemployment. Owing to perpetuation of historical injustices on the downtrodden society and the guarantee from national integration point of view founding fathers of constitution specially Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar made efforts to provide constitutional provisions for social justice to marginal section of Indian society so that our society can become egalitarian society. The objective of social justices are to promote equality and to eliminate inequality in social and economic field. Over the five decades of implementation of policy related to social justice. If we critically analyze the results, it is observed that the results are not up to the mark.
Till we have to work very hard in this direction to achieve the status of egalitarian society, as a very important component of National Security.

4.4.2 Labour Policy Adopted by the Government:

For overall development of Indian society government of India adopted various policies for labour. The bonded labour system (Abolition) Act 1976 had played important role for landless labour. This act is a landmark in the history of India as it sought to free certain sections of the rural poor from the relic of colonial and feudal system and to ensure their meaningful participation in the nation building activities. The act is only a rescue measure and not remedy for difficulties arising out of social and economic competition. For economic power or for a strong and united India, the gap between the elites and the mass in the social and economic fields will have to bridged. In this connection the system of bonded labourers which runs round the vicious circle of poverty, inequality and exploitation of a section of poor people should be eradicated as early as possible.

4.4.3 Women Development Policy Adopted by the Government:

Constitution of India proclaims equality in all walks of life, but there are many government departments, which still practice gender based inequality. If you receive the current status of women in the context of various sectors such as agriculture, food production, rural development, industrialization, education, mass media, science and technology, population, housing and environmental issues. One of the basic obstacles in achieving women’s equality was the non-recognition of women’s pivotal role in the society. Lack of concerted and determined efforts to
remove gender-bias was recognized as the second important obstacle. (Mittal Mukta. 1995, P.368). Some of the following importance decision should require for women development.

a) Marked increase in literacy and civic education of women, especially rural areas.

b) The extension of co-educational technical and vocational training in basic skills to women in the industrial and agricultural sectors.

c) Equal access at every level of education, compulsory primary school, education, and the measures necessary to prevent school dropouts.

Government of India had taken strong decision on equal remuneration Act 1976, because gender based discrimination is widely practiced is the payment of lesser wages to women workers for the same or similar kind of work. In spite of enormous legislative provisions, providing for protection to women but our society did not accepted the status of women that is the main hurdle for the development strategy.

4.5 Assessment:

4.5.1 Policies for National Integration:

As far as democracy is concerned, the definition given by Abraham Lincon is very popular. He defines: “Democracy is the government of the people, for the people and by the people”, Although Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar almost has the same essence however, it covers a wide scope for security, unity and integrity of India. He says, “Democracy is not a form of government. It is primarily a mode of
associated living of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellowmen.” (Govt. of Maharashtra, 1989, P.57)

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wanted to bring about national unity and security through democratic system, which is obvious from the fact that he regarded it as an effective instrument for the emancipation of the people. He laid a great stress on associated life, common activity and communication, which are essentials of democratic life and help in promoting national unity and security.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar rejected duel citizenship, which exists in U.S.A. (CAD, Vol. VII, and P.31). Indian constitution adopted single citizenship for the purpose of national assimilation and integration. Because of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar efforts constitution Assembly agreed to accept single citizenship.

Second important aspects for national integration No dual system of courts. In the U.S.A., there is bifurcation of the judiciary as between the federal and state governments. Cases arising out of the federal constitution and federal laws are tried by the federal courts, while state courts deal with cases arising out of the state constitution and the state laws. But in India, the same system of courts, headed by the supreme court, will administer both the union and state laws as they are applicable to the cases coming up for adjudication. (Basu D.D., 2001, P. 59)

For national assimilation and integration of India and its people, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested various important aspects, which are adopted by government of India. Due to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar vision for national assimilation integration today we are united. Although we are facing internal and
external security problems but all are contemporary and manageable the only thing is that, how we applying various method for national assimilation and integration, that is more important. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested various policies, which are covered in chapter IV. Now it is needed to adopt systematic method for vertical and horizontal integration of Indian society.

4.5.2 Policies for the Regional Integration:

During the last fifty-five years since the partition of Indian subcontinent and India's Independence, tremendous politico territorial changes have taken place and the process has been continuing to date. Perhaps no other country in the world has undergone such a variety of changes with such a fast speed. Organization of space, both horizontal and vertical in India, is a product of many historical, cultural and political forces, which are intricately interwoven with geographical factors. Such geographical factors, both physical and humane have influenced various political decisions at different times and their implementations have again affected changing politico geographical realities.

The politico-territorial structure of India under the British was consisted of two units. First, the British India governed by the British crown according to the statutes of British Parliament and their enactment of the Indian legislature and second Indian states under the personal rule of their princes. (Pal Saroj K. 2000, P.43)

At the time of Independence, India inherited 14 geographical linguistic groups, some 1652 mother tongues more than 3,000 cast groups, a large Muslim
population. So, with all these inherent cultural diversities, India's need a federal system with a strong government at the centre. In 1953 the state's Reorganization commission was formed to examine objectively and dispassionately the problem of reorganization of the states of the Indian union.

The states Reorganization commission adopted following consideration:

i) To recognize linguistic homogeneity as important factor but not to consider it as an exclusive and binding principal.

ii) To ensure those communicational, educational and cultural needs of different language groups are adequately meet.

iii) To reject the theory of one language one state.

On these considerations, the commission analyzed the various factors and submitted its report in earnest on 30th September 1955 recommending reorganization of India into 16 states and 3 union territories. The government of India examined this report in detail and proposed the reorganization of India into 15 states and 7 union territories. The proposals of the government and the report of the commission was placed before the Parliament and after prolonged discussion the state Reorganization Act, 1956 was passed reorganizing the country into 14 states and 6 union.

The Reorganization of states (1956) in India is a significant landmark in the history of politico-territorial changes in the post colonial India. However, the Reorganization could not satisfy all the people it accepted the linguistic principle as the main basis. The Indian federation has at present 28 states each with
dominant linguistic groups 7 union territories as the chief components from the earlier 14 states and 6 territories in 1956.

4.5.3 Criticism of Linguistic Provinces:

Federating units in Indian federal system are known as states and the country is the nation state. The whole-scale reorganization of the northeastern region into seven sister states and Punjab into three states and one union territory have not solved administrative, unity and security problem. The demands are still there. Various other regions in India are also not free demands for territorial reorganization.

In India, regionalism is a well countrywide phenomenon and often took the form of well-conceived and well-organized agitation’s and campaigns. Regionalism based on four factors i.e.

a) Demand of people for separate identity

b) Demand for full-fledged state autonomy.

c) Interstate dispute i.e. water dispute, Interstate border dispute etc.

d) Political interest and anti social elements of certain states for succession from the Indian union.

Regionalism whether based on geography, religion, language or culture it is a challenge to national security and core values of the constitution should not be allow to grow and nourish on the constitutional soil. The agitation in Punjab, Kashmir, Mizoram, Nagaland, Bodo and Gorkha Andolans disputes for separate
state of Vidharbha, Telengana and water and boundary disputes among the various states under the above mention categories.

There are few causes to spread regionalism i.e. disparity of economic development, caste and language, culture, injustice of regional group etc. The problem of social and economic development of the Indian society, the poor people were offered nothing but disappointment, more hardship, more exploitation, and more distress of injustice as an output instead of caring for the interest of the country as a whole they become narrow minded and began to clamour for the progress of their own state or region. Regionalism is a double-edged instrument, it is anti-ethical to national integration when it becomes parochial and goes against direction of the main currents of national life and ultimately leads to secessionism.

The existence of different and varied languages in India has no doubt contributed in the richness of culture but the sometime-created problems and mainstream of national life. The problem between Hindi and regional language and south Vs north has been dangerous challenge to India’s national security.

4.5.4 Policies for Social Integration:

In the process of globalization, liberalization and privatization social integration is important dimension for nation capability. Without social development or overall development of human being nation state cannot become global actor or first rank nation.
However, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had played important role for social integration. He had suggested various policies for overall development of Indian people. As a model taken for this research work. Under social integration policy, there are three major policies, which are existing policies and past government of India adopted suggested policies of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

a) Social justice
b) Labour policy
c) Women development policy

4.5.5 Social Justice:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's philosophy of constitutionalism revolved around social justice and change through perfectly constitutional means. He desired to create casteless, class less, and equal society through the process of constitution making. He had vision for India there would be no discrimination between man and man, no exploitation, no degradation. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar approached the problem from the wider perspective, of unity and security, nationalism, democracy, Human right and justice.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar made special provision for social justice. The provisions of part XVI of the Indian constitution may be described as special provisions relating to certain classes the scheduled castes, and Tribes, the Anglo-Indians and the socially and educationally backward classes. Article 330 and 332 provide that seat shall be reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes in the Houses of people and Legislative Assemblies of the states respectively. Articles 331 and 333 provide for representation of the Anglo Indian community by
nomination by the President and the Governor, in case that community is not adequately represented in the union and states. Lower Houses Article 335 stipulates that claim of the members of the SC and ST shall be taken into consideration. Consistent with the maintenance of efficiency of administration in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the union or of states. Article 336 and 337 deals with the special provision respectively for appointments in certain services, and educational grants for the Anglo Indian community. Article 338 provides for a special officer for the SC and ST to be appointed by the President whose duty is to investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for the SC and ST and to report to the President. For the purpose of Article 338, references to SC and ST are to be construed as including references to such other backward classes as may be specified by the president on receipt of a report from the commission which may be appointed under Article 340(1) provides for the appointment, by the President, of a commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of Indian and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that should be taken by the union or any state to remove such difficulties and to improve their condition etc.

It must be mentioned here that there were many in the constituent Assembly that objected to the special provisions providing for reservation. (Shashi S. S. 1992, P.275). But because of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, efforts various provision are inducted in Indian constitution. Since 50 years Indian government has adopted his policies/ideas for social justice and social integration of Indian
society. Because of various policies/idea’s of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar today people from marginal section, they are able to improving their life and working for development of India.

4.5.6 Labour Policy:

For the development of nation state, labour culture is important. Labour culture of China, Japan, Germany is different from India. Lack of strategic and development vision would create problem to security and unity to the nation state. When we look back our labour policies adopted by government of India it is directly related to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar policies.

As a member of legislative council of Bombay and member in the Viceroy’s Executive Council his contribution to laws labour legislation in India was immense. Whatever laws he had suggested were amended for to create proper labour culture and labour development. His idea’s and policies are great relevance in present process of globalization age.

Following are some important labour Act passed during Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar tenure.

1) Amendments to factories Act: - According to this Act 10 days paid leave to adult and 14 days paid leave to child workers. The act also allowed a worker to avail of the compensatory leave if compulsory leave remained unutilized.

2) The second amendment adopted on 4-4-1946 restricted daily and weekly working hours for labour. If the labourers worked in excess then it should be treated as overtime and was to be paid at double the normal rate. This was reactionary amendment made by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for to create labour
culture and development of labour. From last 50 year’s this rules have implemented by government of India and till overtime, compensatory leave, existing, and adopting by government. Although there are, several lacunas and problems Indian labourers are facing but it was Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who had laid foundations for labour development.

3) Labour welfare fund:

Towards labour welfare fund, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar suggested to constitute a welfare fund to provide housing, education, health care to the workers. Three more welfare fund was created one each for iron, and manganese ore, mines limestone and Dolomite mine and Beedi workers. Thus, the government assumed a new role of directly providing welfare activities and realizing the cost from the industry presently various new schemes adopted by government of India for Indian labour such as PPF, Bonus, allowances etc. This all scheme are brainchild of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

4) Mines Maternity Benefit Act 1941:

The amending Act of 1945 was with the object of increasing the benefit period of the underground women workers to 16 weeks 10 weeks before the confinement and 6 weeks after confinement. The period of authorized absence along with the quantum of payment was also increased. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also launched social insurance scheme comprising worker’s compensation, sickness, insurance, and maternity benefit.

Today Indian labour is demanding for their rights. Due to advancements of Science and information technology, the concept of labour has changed. In spite of
changes occurred at global level or national level, reflection of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar scheme ideas policy for labour will continue for example Group Insurance Scheme, Compulsory Insurance Scheme, etc. These policies are important from the point of view of generating healthy human resources, which can contribute with better quality input to our industries and agricultural production.

5) Women development policies:

Women’s role is important for development of nation-state. Capability of nation state will count by women development. That point of view Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had played important role for women development. It was Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar whose important contribution is seen in relation to elevation of the status of women in India and introduce the Hindu code bill in the constituent assembly this Hindu code bill try to put an end to variety of old customs and traditions existing in the Indian society. The main problems, which the Indian society suffered from, were marriage system in India divorce, maintenance, adoption and minority guardianship. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar legalized the marriage system to monogamous marriages, i.e. one to one relations. It also proposed women right to property.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar tried to convince members of Parliament of the logical necessity of legal changes in relation to the status of women Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar argued, “In view of the fact that you are pledged to a constitution which guarantees liberty and equality to every citizen you cannot allow this institution (of marriage) to stand as it is. That is the reason why we are proceeding with this
"bill, not because we want to initiate any other people or we want to go back on our ancient ideals...." (CAD, September 20, 1951). His belief was that the adoption of Indian constitution based upon liberal principles was a major achievement in the direction of social change. The bill as prepared by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was later split into four bills and these were passed as the Hindu marriage act 1955, the Hindu succession act 1956, the Hindu minority and Guardianship act 1956, and the Hindu adoption and maintenance act 1956. This four act are the product of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar thoughts even after 55 years of independence.

After 50 year’s India, with all its shortcomings, remains a vibrant democracy. A democratic but relatively less noticed development has been the 73rd and 74th amendments of the Indian constitution in 1992, which has given a constitutional base for a multi-level system of democratic governance. India is now ruled by more than three million elected rural and urban body representatives from the village to the district and municipal level. One third of elected representatives are women. (Pai Panandikar V.A., Nandy Ashis 1999: P. 12.) Such type of development came out because various provisions made in constitution and government adopted various policies suggested by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

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