CHAPTER - I

RESEARCH PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION:

Dr. Ambedkar was a foremost philosopher and strategist of the emancipation movement of Indian Untouchables. He viewed the problem of emancipation of humanity in general and the untouchables in particular in terms of historical and contemporary context. According to him the root cause of Indian Untouchability lies in the Hindu religious philosophy and the Hindu way of life.

As a solution to this Dr. Ambedkar challenged the historically existing Hindu social order and counter-developed his own social model in the process of developing his movement. In doing so he had to work out his strategy from time to time. Development of political action is a
process of shifts and turns in views congruent with basic goals and objectives of the movement. Dr. Ambedkar had to frame his thinking in the process of giving responses to the views expressed, and the ideas propounded and put forth, by the then existing movements of his time. He acted in a historically given Indian social milieu. The development of his political thought must be viewed from these angles. This study has made an attempt to trace development of his political thought i.e. the changes and continuities in his political ideas in his lifetime i.e. from 1916 to 1956.

The introductory chapter of this dissertation deals with the life sketch of Dr. Ambedkar and a review of the works on his mission and thinking. This has helped me to classify his thoughts into definite periods and find out the clues to study the continuities and changes in his ideas.

A BRIEF LIFE SKETCH OF DR. AMBEDKAR:

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born at Mhow in Madhya Pradesh on 14th April, 1891. His father Ramji was a Subedar-Major in the British Army. Ramji served in the army for about fourteen years and was retired in 1891.

He then went to stay at Dapoli in Ratnagiri District. After the death of his mother, Bhimabai, in 1896, Ramji and his sister Mirabai took care of Bhimrao.

Ramji was a religious minded man and a follower of Kabir. Dr. W. N. Kuber has given the rationale for Ramji's acceptance of Kabir and his thoughts saying, "Kabir condemned caste system and hence the untouchables who suffered untold miseries on account of the caste system turned to the Kabir cult." Ramji also was admirer of Phooley. Ramji was reemployed in 1884 in the Public Works Department, Ratnagiri, as a Store Keeper and was taking much care of Bhimrao as well.

In the beginning Bhimrao was admitted to a school at Dapoli but later on he was brought to Satara because of his father Ramji's transfer. Bhimrao entered the Government High School in 1900 in the first standard.

Being an untouchable Mahar by caste Bhimrao was forced to sit aside in the school. He could not mix with the other boys or to play games with them. Sanskrit language

3. Ibid
4. Ibid
5. Ibid

... 4/-
was prohibited to the untouchable castes. The teacher of Sanskrit did not teach that classical language to Bhimrao. Ambedkar was forced to learn Persian as second language, instead of Sanskrit, in his school days mainly because of his untouchable caste.

Ramji left Satara, for his service was terminated in 1904. The same year he went to Bombay and started staying at Parel. Bhimrao was admitted to fourth standard in Marathi High School, Parel. Later on, he joined Elphinstone High School and completed his education up to his matric in the same school. He passed his matriculate examination in 1907. A meeting under the presidency of S. K. Bole, one of the leaders of the Satyashodhak movement, was arranged to congratulate Ambedkar. At this time he was presented a copy of the life of Gautam Buddha, by K. A. Keluskar. Ambedkar was married to Ramabai when he was fourteen years old.

Ambedkar joined the Elphinstone College and was getting Rs. 25/- as monthly scholarship from the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda and a good help from Pro. Muller of the College. Ambedkar passed his B.A. in 1913.

7. Ibid, p. 27.
8. Ibid, p. 32.
His father died on 2nd February, 1913. It was a great shock to Ambedkar. Ramji had intended must to give good education to his son, and also had sacrificed for him.

Ambedkar joined a service in Baroda State but being an untouchable he could not get good treatment from caste Hindus there. Narrating these incidents Dr. Kuber says, "The ideas of pollution by touch were so strong that even the peons in his office threw the office files at him lest they should be polluted." Thus the social conditions were unfavourable and unbearable for him to continue in the service.

In July, 1913, he went to join Columbia University on the scholarship sanctioned by Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad. Life in the Columbia University was a revelation to him and it enlarged his mental vision. He could move there with a status of Equality. Ambedkar used to study very hard here. Professor Seligman, an eminent economist, was his teacher. Ambedkar came into contact with Lala Lajpat Rai at this time. They used to discuss about the national emancipation struggle which was going on in India.

9. Ibid, p. 34.
Ambedkar obtained his M.A. degree for his thesis, "Ancient Indian Commerce" in June, 1915. The castes in India, their Mechanism, Genesis and Development was a paper read by him in May, 1916 in the seminar of Dr. Goldenweiser.

In June, 1916, Ambedkar submitted his thesis for the degree of Ph.D. on the topic "National Dividend for India: A Historic and Analytical Study". Later this work was published under the title The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India. This book was dedicated to Sayajirao Gaekwad and had an introduction by Seligman.

Mr. Keer has rightly pointed out the influence that the book has had on the political processes in India. He writes, "The book proved very useful to the members of the Indian Legislature at the time of the Budget Discussion."

In June 1916, Ambedkar left Columbia University and joined the London School of Economics and Political Science as a graduate student. Professor Seligman gave him introductory letters to Professor Cannon and Sydney Webb. In

11. The same paper entitled "Castes in India, Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development" was published in 1917.

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October 1916, he got admitted to the Gray's Inn for Law. But he could not stay longer in London. He came back in India after submitting a thesis for his M.Sc. degree. The tenure of his scholarship was over and he had to join the service in Baroda as agreed before getting the scholarship.

In July 1917, he was appointed the Military Secretary to the Maharaja of Baroda with a view to being groomed for the post of the state's Finance Minister.\(^\text{14}\)

In Baroda, he did not get a place to stay only because he was an untouchable. "He was treated by his staff and peons as a leper."\(^\text{15}\) He sent a note to the Maharaja. The dewan of Baroda expressed his inability to do anything in the matter. Ultimately, in November 1917, Ambedkar returned to Bombay.

From November 1917, to November 1918, he was a tutor to two students. He had started a business firm offering advice to the dealers in stocks and shares. But as the customers were not ready to go to an untouchable for advice, he had to close it permanently.\(^\text{16}\) In November 1918, he got a


\(^{15}\) Ibid, p. 17.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
job as a professor in Sydenham College, Bombay, on temporary basis. He served in the college from 11th November 1918 to 11th March, 1920, on Rs. 450/- per month as his salary.

Dr. Ambedkar gave evidence before the Southborough Reforms (Franchise) Committee claiming political rights for Depressed classes in India in the year 1919.  

Dr. Ambedkar started a weekly paper 'Mooknayak' on 31st January, 1920 in order to champion the cause of the Depressed classes in India. Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur donated one thousand rupees to this paper but this paper did not continue long.

Nagpur Conference (1918) and Mangaon (Kolhapur) Conference under the presidencieship of Shahu Maharaja were attended by Dr. Ambedkar. The latter was held on 21st March, 1920. Depressed Classes Mission, started by V. R. Shinde with support by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, was criticised by Ambedkar. He said, "The institutions and individuals have no right to defend the interests of the depressed classes if they are not run by untouchables."  

In September, 1920, Ambedkar rejoined the London School of Economics and Politics and also entered Gray's Inn to qualify as a Barrister. In June 1921, the University of London accepted Dr. Ambedkar's thesis "Provincial Decentralisation of Imperial Finance in British India" for his M.Sc. degree in Economics. Dr. Ambedkar studied economics for some months in Bonn in Germany during 1922-23. In March 1923, he submitted his thesis "The Problem of Rupee: Its Origin and Its Solution," for D.Sc. degree in the same year. This thesis was published by P. S. King and Company of London in December, 1923.

In London he had talks with E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Vithalbhai Patel in respect of the grievances of the untouchables in India.

In June 1923, Ambedkar started legal practice in the High Court of Bombay. He had no money even to obtain a sanad. He had joined the appellate side of Bombay bar. The solicitors would not condescend to have any business dealings with him on the ground of untouchability.

On Ninth March, 1924 at Damodar Hall, Parel in Bombay, Dr. Ambedkar convened a meeting to consider the problems of the depressed classes. Later on 'Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha' was formed. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad was the President and Dr. Ambedkar was the Chairman of the Sabha. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, G. K. Nariman and B. G. Kher, Mayor Nasim, M. A. Rustumaji, Jinwala were the members of the Managing Committee of the Sabha.\(^{22}\) Objectives of the Sabha were to spread education, to improve economic conditions and to represent the grievances of the depressed classes.

Ambedkar was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council in the year 1926 and later on he was elected to the Bombay Provincial Legislative Assembly from Bombay in the 1937 Elections. He retained this position till 1942.\(^{23}\)

Ambedkar resolved not to take any job that would hinder social work. He already had started to work for the upliftment of the downtrodden. He realised that the problems of the depressed classes were severe and the solution to them


The Sabha was formed in 1920. In fact, Dr. Ambedkar was the main force behind its formation and functioning. However, as he was in service in a Govt. College, he had appointed Mr. Bhatkar and Mr. Kadam to look after the organisation.

was only in giving social and political rights to these classes. Therefore, in order to champion the cause of the depressed classes he started a newspaper named 'Bahishkrit Bharat' in April, 1927. He also launched the famous Mahad Satyagraha in Kolaba District in the same year.

In 1928, Dr. Ambedkar was appointed as a professor in the Government Law College, Bombay, and subsequently, the Principal of the college. In the same year, Dr. Ambedkar was called to give evidence before the Simon Commission. On behalf of the Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha Dr. Ambedkar submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding joint electorates with reservation of seats for the depressed classes.24

In 1929, an organisation named 'Samata' was founded and an attempt of Poona Parvati Satyagrah was made in this year.

Dr. Ambedkar started a weekly named 'Janata' in 1930 and in March, 1930 led a satyagraha for the right to entry to the temple of Kalaram at Nasik.25

25. Ibid, p. XX.
On the recommendations of Simon Commission the First Round Table Conference was held at London in November, 1930. Dr. Ambedkar was invited for the conference as the representative of the Untouchables. But this conference was boycotted by the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress agreed to attend the Second Conference to be held during August to December, 1931. The main issue of discussion in this conference was the communal problems in India including the question of separate electorates for the untouchables.26

Dr. Ambedkar opposed the claim of Mahatma Gandhi as the leader of the untouchables. No unanimous agreement was possible. No agreed solution could be evolved as regards the representation. And the second Round Table Conference ended without any decision.27

In August, 1932, the Communal Award giving separate electorate to the untouchables was declared by Ramsay MacDonald. Gandhi refused it as it disreputed Hindu Society and went on fast unto death. Dr. Ambedkar accepted joint electorates with reservation of seats at the intervention


27. Ibid.
of Sapru, Jaykar etc. And the Poona Pact was signed on 24th September, 1932. Dr. Ambedkar was nominated as a member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on constitutional reforms during 1932-34.

On October 13, 1935, Dr. Ambedkar made an announcement in a public meeting at Yeola, in Nasik District, that the untouchables should leave the Hindu fold and adopt some other religion. In his presidential address he said, ‘I was born to Hinduism but I will not die as a Hindu.’

In order to prepare for the elections to the provincial legislature in 1937 under the Government of India Act, 1935 on all India basis, Dr. Ambedkar formed the Independent Labour Party in 1936.

Dr. Ambedkar prepared a speech for the 1936 Annual Conference of the Jat-Pat Todak Mandal, Lahor. The speech was not delivered but later on it was published under the title ‘Annihilation of Caste’.

Dr. Ambedkar entered the Bombay Legislative Council in 1927. He was renominated in 1932. In 1937, he was returned to the Bombay Legislative Assembly in the General Elections. He participated in the debates on the following Bills.

1. On the Bombay University Act Amendment Bill.
2. On a Bill to abolish Khoti System.
3. On a Village Panchayats Bill.
4. On Local Boards Act Amendment Bill.
5. On Small Holders Relief Bill
6. On the Bombay Police Act Amendment Bill
7. On the Industrial Disputes Bill
8. On Participation of War.

In 1937 he introduced Khoti and abolition of Mahar Vatan, Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council.

On 29th January, 1939, he delivered a speech on 'Federation Versus Freedom' in Poona and the speech was published later on in the same year.

He formed "All India Scheduled Caste Federation" in April, 1942, and in July, 1942, he was appointed as a labour member to the Executive Council of the Governor General of India. During the year 1943, he wrote Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah, and Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables. In 1945, Dr. Ambedkar established Peoples' Education Society in Bombay. The two books he published during the year 1945

are :-

1. What the Congress and Gandhi have done to The Untouchables.
2. Communal Dead lock and a way to Solve it.

After giving up the post as a labour member in the Council of Governor General of India he left for London in July, 1946 to plead for the constitutional safeguards for untouchables in Independent India.

In November, 1946, the Constituent Assembly of India was formed. Dr. Ambedkar was elected to the Assembly from the Bengal Province. He was made Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of Free India. He was also chosen as the Law Minister in Nehru's Cabinet.

He wrote Who Were The Shudras and States and Minorities in 1947 and in the subsequent year he wrote Maharashtra As A Linguistic State and The Untouchables.

Dr. Ambedkar resigned in 1951 from Nehru's Cabinet accusing the Government of apathy towards the Scheduled Caste, expressing his differences with the Cabinet on the Kashmir issue, India's Foreign Policy and blaming Nehru's attitude towards the Hindu Code Bill.

Dr. Ambedkar lost his elections to the Parliament in 1952 but later on he was elected to the Council of States.
The LL.D. Degree was conferred on him in a special convocation in June, 1952 by Columbia University.

In December, 1954, Dr. Ambedkar attended the Third Buddhist World Conference at Rangoon. The next year, Dr. Ambedkar founded Bharatiya Buddha Mahasabha for the spread of Buddhism in India. He embraced Buddhism at Nagpur in a historic ceremony on 14th October, 1956. He went to attend a Buddhist Conference at Kathmandu in November.

Dr. Ambedkar died on 6th December, 1956. His book Buddha and His Dhamma was published in 1957.

Dr. Ambedkar rose to be one of the greatest men of India, almost the only acknowledged leader of the untouchables of India. He distinguished himself as a scholar in British and American Universities. He was an authority on economics, legal and political matters and on constitutional law. Although he was a Mahar by birth he equalled or even excelled the higher castes by his scholarly achievements. That is why Dr. Ambedkar is considered as a giant among the genicises the world has ever produced. The validity of this statement comes into high relief and also automatically to proper focus and strikes all those sincere students of social evolution of the depressed and oppressed people of the world in general and those of India in particular.
The brief life sketch of Dr. Ambedkar narrated above helps us to classify his views into definite periods. The objective of periodisation is to study continuities and changes in his views. The criteria applied for periodisation is to take into consideration mile stones and turning points that have occurred in his march of life as a part of his own movement in particular and the national freedom movement in general. The following scheme of periodisation is evolved out of our understanding of his life which has proved to be helpful in our study: (1) From 1924 to 1935, (2) From 1936 to 1941, (3) From 1942 to 1950 and, (4) From 1951 to 1956.

(1) FROM 1924 TO 1935:

Dr. Ambedkar started his socio-political life since 1924 with the formation of Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha. Among other objectives it had clear political motive to represent the grievances of the Untouchable People. During this period Dr. Ambedkar formulated his ideas on joint electorate with reservation of seats and separate electorate. He published a number of articles in 'Bahishkrit Bharat' and 'Janata'. He also gave a number of speeches in Bombay Legislative Assembly. This was the period of formation of his views on many political issues.
(2) FROM 1936 TO 1941:

In the year 1936 he established the Independent Labour Party. In 1937 he had to enter the electoral politics. During the period he introduced two important Bills in Bombay Legislative Assembly namely, "Khoti System" and "Mahar Vatan Bill". It was during this period that he prepared his thought provoking undelivered speech on 'Annihilation of Castes'. The main thrust during this period was on Labour issues. He interpreted political issues from the point of view of Labour.

(3) FROM 1942 TO 1950:

In the year 1942, he dissolved Independent Labour Party and established a new political organisation i.e. Sheduled Caste Federation. From 1942 to 1946 he wrote books on a number of important issues like Gandhian approach to Indian freedom movement and upliftment of Untouchables, the problem of communal dead lock, the issue of linguistic state, the problems of Untouchables and minorities. From 1946 to 1949 he expressed his view on constitutional matter as he was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the constitution of India.
(4) FROM 1951 TO 1956:

During this period he observed the practice of the Indian Constitution. He bitterly criticised the functioning of the parliamentary democracy in India. He confronted Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on a number of issues like Hindu Code Bill, Kashmir Problem, Foreign Policy issues, and general neglect towards the problems of untouchables. During this period he concentrated his attention on organizing the Scheduled Caste People in India. He had also planned to form a political party, All India Republican Party, which remained unfocused during his life. At last he embraced Buddhism.

Dr. Ambedkar's political thoughts have been explored and analysed by the following eminent scholars. The review of their literature taken below found to be of immense help to understand the views of Dr. Ambedkar and take up the task of further explorations into the chronological development of his political ideas and tap the untapped source material, particularly available in Marathi literature.

The literature of four eminent scholars has been reviewed in brief as under:-
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

(1) Rajasekhariah A.M.; "B. R. Ambedkar : Politics of Emancipation".

The work mainly deals with the basic political philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar and his approach to the political and constitutional issues that faced the nation during the period of his public life over two decades.

The author introduces his work with the views on Dr. Ambedkar's activities pertaining to political and constitutional reforms in India. He has also made a brief reference to Dr. Ambedkar's social philosophy. He does not feel it necessary to separate two areas: political and constitutional in an exclusive manner at the outset.

The starting point of his work is to show the top level political and scholarly standing of Dr. Ambedkar as a national hero. He very clearly states that Dr. Ambedkar, even though a towering personality, was omitted from the name list of top leaders.

This happened, according to the author, mainly due to his public stand on a number of issues. The stand was not conforming to the then existing public norms of the life accepted by other leaders. But further he accepts that even though he was a nationally outcaste leader no one of the ...
eminents of the period could deny the sincerity of purpose and dedication to the mission of Dr. Ambedkar. He compares Dr. Ambedkar to Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee. The author praises all scholarly merits in Dr. Ambedkar.

The author further admits that all efforts of Dr. Ambedkar were centred on the issue of the eradication of the untouchability. He finds that Dr. Ambedkar stressed the importance of the sole the state should play in eradicating the untouchability. The state, Dr. Ambedkar thought and rightly so, could be useful for the purpose only if and when it is constituted on the modern principle of secularism.

Dr. Rajasekhariah notes that the idea of political power, political rights and the share of the untouchables in the power after independence was the centre point of the memorandas submitted by Dr. Ambedkar to various commissions and agencies such as The Round Table Conference, The Lothian Commission, The Cripp Mission, The Cabinet Mission and the Constituent Assembly of India.

The author states that Dr. Ambedkar succeeded in presenting these memorandas adequately. Further it is shown by the author that Dr. Ambedkar proved himself not only a great scholar but he achieved very important positions in the working of British Government and in the working of the Government in free India.
The author has also made a reference to the impact of the West on Dr. Ambedkar. He says that Dr. Ambedkar was influenced by Edmund Burke, Booker T. Washington, Thomas Jefferson, the American Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of U.S.A. The author points out that Dr. Ambedkar had no faith in any Indian leader's seriousness regarding his efforts of annihilating the caste system. Dr. Ambedkar was of the opinion that the approach of the Indian National Congress under the guidance of Gandhiji was inadequate and unrealistic.

In the third chapter the author deals with the aspect of 'the Untouchables and the National Destiny'. Origin of Untouchability, its effects on the downtrodden and the efforts made by National Congress to eradicate it are also discussed. Dr. Ambedkar's views on these points are explained in details. The author says, "Dr. Ambedkar was fully convinced that without an effective and due participation in political process and life of the country the untouchables cannot have any justice. He soon abandoned demands and movements for temple-entry and the like through persuasive methods as satyagraha, which framed part of Gandhiji's plan for abolition of Untouchability. Whenever he had an occasion to speak to his people, Ambedkar exhorted them to his approach and task instead of depending entirely on the good
The author further agrees with Dr. Ambedkar's views that his approach was not only communalist but also nationalist. Dr. Ambedkar was not only serving his own fellows but the people of the whole nation. Ambedkar, indeed, served the nation as a social reformer and politician who also combined in him the qualities of visionary and a humanist. Hence the author proves Ambedkar as true nationalist. He says that Dr. Ambedkar's contribution cannot be restricted to that of his leadership of a minority section of the Hindu society only but should be acknowledged at the national plane itself.

The sixth chapter deals with the thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar regarding Pakistan. The author gives a detailed estimate of Dr. Ambedkar's views regarding the Muslim minority problem. The author says that, "it was pointed out by Dr. Ambedkar that Pakistan had become a political necessity, if not anything else. To any objective reader of his book on Pakistan one thing would be quite obvious: at every stage he has pointed out that there is no point in blaming the Muslim League alone for this startling demand. There were others who were also equally on even more...

responsible for creating a situation in which such a demand was natural.31

While dealing with the aspect of the freedom of the country the author depicts on one side the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and the some other leaders and of Dr. Ambedkar on the other. Gandhi and the others believed that once the British leave India, all the so called maladies of India would disappear which was, needless to say, a wrong assessment of the situation. It was something like dealing with mere symptoms rather than true malady itself that lay deep down in the social and political fabric whereas Dr. Ambedkar's task was to apply incisive politics in order to expose the trouble spot and thus help healing this gaping wound. Politics to Ambedkar naturally became a mission rather than a ladder for personal gain and ambition. His politics was essentially the politics of principles and not of pragmatism. While championing the cause of the untouchables he put the entire problem in the wider perspective of nationalism, democracy, humanity and justice. Further the author says, "To Dr. Ambedkar democracy meant something more than a mere frame of political society, to be complete it should encompass social and economic organisation of a particular order that would strengthen political liberty."

The author has succeeded in exploring the democratic ideas of Dr. Ambedkar in true sense which visualises that democracy in real sense is a mode of associated living. The author has also noted the views of Dr. Ambedkar regarding ways of success of democracy in India.

The ideas of Dr. Ambedkar about fundamental rights and the constitution of India have also been elucidated in the last chapter. He writes about the skillfulness of Dr. Ambedkar in regards with the draft of the constitution and about incorporating all the possible provisions regarding minorities in India with full justifications. The author states that Dr. Ambedkar was the Chief Architect of the Constitution and very scholarly faced the Constituent Assembly Members. He succeeded in removing all the possible obstacles and the conspiracies among the members of the Constituent Assembly, while drafting the Constitution of India.


In this work Dr. Ambedkar's social and political ideas are taken by the author for searching enquiries in the evaluation in a most academic manner.

This work deals with Dr. Ambedkar's personality, his work and views culminating in his policy formation programme...
of social reconstruction, social and political ideas which ultimately earned him slow but full recognition as the leader of the depressed classes in India.

Dr. Chandra Bharil takes into account Dr. Ambedkar's contribution to the constitutional history of India as well as his modernising influence on pre and post independent social texture of this country. Dr. Chandra Bharil begins her thesis by giving educational and social background of Dr. Ambedkar and his family. She sketches out his early life, i.e., from his birth to his death in 1956. Further she covers his initial efforts of organizing Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha, Mahad Satyagriha, Poona Parvati Satyagriha, Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagriha and Dr. Ambedkar's role in Bombay Legislative Council and the Constituent Assembly of India. She says that the viewpoint behind introducing the Mahar Vatan Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council is the year 1937 was to break the shackles of serfdom. Because of the Mahar Vatan the Mahars had to work day and night in the service of the villages.

Further the author deals with Dr. Ambedkar's role in the Round Table Conference, London and covers his political activities up to his death. During this vast period the author says that Dr. Ambedkar had to face so many things right from the British Government to the Indian Conservatism. Author says that Ambedkar thought that, "British Government was not
able to play the role of trustees and that the British Government was not good. She further discusses, Dr. Ambedkar's ideas of a good Government. She quotes Dr. Ambedkar, "We must have a Government in which men in power, knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for ..." This role the British Government will never be able to play." Further she adds the speech of Dr. Ambedkar in where he warns the depressed classes: "... We must be careful as to how other people are treating us. I am afraid that the British choose to advertise our unfortunate condition not with the object of removing them but only because such a cause serves well as an excuse for retarding the political progress of India. In these circumstances, I think it is the duty of our leaders to trouble themselves less about what the Britishers have done for us so far and to care more for what is to happen to us in future and shape our course accordingly without fear from anybody and insist upon a just if not a generous treatment to which we are entitled by reasons of our circumstances."  


33. Ibid, p. 269.
Further she clarifies that Dr. Ambedkar felt the necessity of the Home Government because only a Home Government could solve the problems of the depressed classes. She says that Ambedkar had unequivocally declared Swaraj as the goal of the depressed classes along with other national leaders.

She says, in the part of the communal Award Period Ambedkar changed the attitude slightly. He turned much towards the issue of rights of the downtrodden and their share in political power in free India. He did not want to change his claims even after the sanction of reservation of seats with weightage.

Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism has been discussed in the third part of the book with its socio-political implications. The views of Dr. Ambedkar regarding the Indian National Congress have been discussed in the fourth part.

The author has explored social and political ideas of Dr. Ambedkar in the fifth part. She deals with Dr. Ambedkar's views on Chaturvarnya, the Riddle of the Shudras, the degradation of the Shudras, castes in India and Brahminism. She agrees with Dr. Ambedkar's views that the Hindu root causes of the untouchability lied in the Hindu religion and their way of life. Further she has explored Dr. Ambedkar's
political ideas. She says, "Dr. Ambedkar viewed democracy as a form and a method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed." She further says that Dr. Ambedkar himself was a great admirer of Parliamentary system of government. She further adds that Dr. Ambedkar endorses and admires the conception of Parliamentary Government as government by discussion.

She points out that, according to Dr. Ambedkar, the negation of hereditary rule free and fair elections from time to time, electoral representatives and principle of collective responsibility were the main features of Parliamentary Government. She says Dr. Ambedkar had great faith in Parliamentary form of Government, but this led him to enquire into the causes that have gone to make Parliamentary Democracy a failure in the West.

The author quotes Dr. Ambedkar in order to support the view that the Parliamentary Democracy more depends upon the principle of responsibility and the relationship between the Legislature and the Executive. Besides, the economic inequalities may cause much to the failure of the Parliamentary Democracy. The following citation of Dr. Ambedkar given by the author, proves the viewpoint put forth by the author.

"All political societies get divided into two classes, the rulers and the ruled, this is one evil. If the evil stopped here, it would not matter much. But the unfortunate part of it

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is that the division becomes so stereotyped and stratified that Rulers are always drawn from the ruling class and the class that is ruled never becomes the ruling class. This happens when generally people do not care to see that they govern themselves. They are content to establish a Government and leave it to govern them. This explains why Parliamentary Democracy has never been the government of the people and by the people and why it has been in reality a government of a hereditary subject class by a hereditary ruling class. It is thus vicious organization of political life which has made Parliamentary Democracy such a dismal failure. It is because of this that Parliamentary Democracy has not fulfilled the hope that it held out to the common man of ensuring to him liberty, property and pursuit of happiness.\textsuperscript{34}

The author further gives Dr. Ambedkar's analysis of the necessary conditions for the success of Democracy. The first condition she states is that there must be no glaring inequalities in society, there must not be oppressed and suppressed classes bearing all the burden and there must not be a class having all the privileges.\textsuperscript{34} The second condition essential for a successful working of a democracy is the existence of opposition and a multiparty system. As for:

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, p. 186.
Dr. Ambedkar democracy meant a veto of power, Dr. Ambedkar considers democracy to be a contradiction between hereditary or autocratic authority and masses.

The multiparty system is a necessity as a fundamental right of the people and the opposition is a pre condition of democracy.

The author further takes into consideration the constitutional morality as an essence of Dr. Ambedkar's political philosophy. To him a constitution is like a skeleton, the flesh of which is to be found in constitutional morality. With all these opinions the author sums up Dr. Ambedkar's idea of Parliamentary form of Government and Parliamentary Democracy.

At the end, of her thesis she deals with Dr. Ambedkar's views on social and political reforms and some aspects of Buddhism and Dr. Ambedkar's efforts for the upliftment of the downtrodden. She states that Dr. Ambedkar was a literary genius and an eminent educationalist, a dynamic personality, an able Parliamentarian and illustrious architect of our constitution. He was a champion of the downtrodden and exploited ones of India.
Dr. W. N. Kuber is, perhaps, the first scholar in Maharashtra who worked on Dr. Ambedkar's social and political thought.

Dr. Kuber is not only a scholar but his concern for the Indian Freedom Movement is of great importance. For, he actively participated in the movement when he was a schoolboy.

His work on Dr. Ambedkar is a great contribution to the Indian Political Thought. His work on Dr. Ambedkar consists of around fifteen chapters. The first two chapters deal with the historical background and a brief life sketch of Dr. Ambedkar.

In the third chapter Dr. Kuber has discussed Dr. Ambedkar's views on the origin of Shudras, Nature of Untouchability, Caste system, Hindu Code etc. Dr. Kuber has also discussed Brahminism and Non-Brahmin Movement and Social Attitude and Social Activities in details.

Dr. Kuber has considered some of Dr. Ambedkar's views about Religion and Conversion to Buddhism in the fourth chapter.
Further, Dr. Kuber has very skillfully presented Dr. Ambedkar's scholarly role in the Constituent Assembly of India. Dr. Ambedkar as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee had to deal with so many constitutional matters and had to explain his views on them. Dr. Kuber discusses Dr. Ambedkar's views that constitution was merely a mechanism for the purpose of regulating the work of the various organs of the state, and a mechanism whereby particular members of particular parties are installed in office. It means that the constitution should not tie down the people of the country to live in a particular type of society. Further Dr. Kuber says that, Dr. Ambedkar raised such fundamental problems as policy of state, social and economic organizations of society and the adoption of new policies by people in consonance with the needs of changing times. According to Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Kuber states, all these matters should not be laid down in the constitution itself. Because that would be destroying democracy altogether. He says again that Dr. Ambedkar clarified in the Constituent Assembly that the social organisation of the state should take a particular form that would not take away the liberty of the people to decide what should be the social organization in which they might wish to live.  

Dr. Kuber has taken into account Dr. Ambedkar's role in the Constituent Assembly regarding: (1) the Objectives Resolution moved by Nehru, (2) the System of Representatives, (3) the Preamble of the Constitution, (4) the Federal System of Government and a number of other issues.

About the federal system Dr. Kuber points out that according to Dr. Ambedkar, all federal systems are placed in a right mould of federalism, it cannot change its form and shape. It can never be unitary. On the other hand, Indian Constitution can be both unitary as well as federal according to requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times it worked as a federal system. But in times of emergency it can be worked as a unitary system. He said that under article 257 the President had such a power of converting federal into a unitary state which no federation opposed.

Besides, this, Dr. Kuber has discussed the views of Dr. Ambedkar on Fundamental Rights, Minority Problems, Directive Principles of State Policies etc. Dr. Kuber says that according to Dr. Ambedkar directive principles are nothing but obligations imposed by the constitution upon the various governments in the country, that they should do certain things, although it is said that if they fail to do them, no one could have the right to call for specific performance. But the fact that they were obligations of the...
government stood unimpeached. If the word directive were omitted the intention of the Constituent Assembly in enacting that part would have failed in its purpose. Further he states that according to Dr. Ambedkar Directive principles had no binding force behind them but it does not mean that they had no sort of binding force at all. Dr. Kuber says that Dr. Ambedkar was not prepared to concede that these principles were useless because they had no binding force in law.

Further Kuber has given views of some of the Constituent Assembly members as critics of Dr. Ambedkar's ideas.

The author further deals with the views of Dr. Ambedkar on Nationalism and National Integration. He says that Ambedkar's nationalism started with different premise which amounted to the welfare of the downtrodden and the poor. Further Dr. Kuber adds, "Dr. Ambedkar wanted equality and civic rights for those persons who were deprived of them for centuries in the past. He had full faith in the greatness of his country and dignity of his countrymen. Nationalism in his began as a protest, both against external domination and internal oppression. He held the British rule responsible for the negligence of the welfare of the millions of the people. He held that the depressed classes in no sense formed an integral part of the community and remarked that the states granted to the poor people was

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midway between that of the serf and the slave. According to him this enforced servility and bar to human intercourse were due to untouchability which involved not merely the possibility of discrimination in public life but actually worked out as a positive denial of all equality of opportunity and as a denial of the most of elementary of civic rights on which all human existence depended. He said that the whole social and economic code of life would be amended by our own government. The British Government would never be able to play such a role. It is only a government which is of the people by the people and for the people that will make this possible. He clarified further that though he had quarrel within Caste Hindus over some points he was ready to lay down his life in defence of the motherland. National urge came to him through his pride and dignity both for the country and its people.  

To mark Dr. Ambedkar's national feelings Dr. Kuber says, "though Ambedkar belonged to non-Hindi speaking area and his mother tongue was Marathi yet he was very confident of one language being accepted by all countrymen, which would smoothen the way to democracy and removal of racial and cultural tensions in our own land. Through one common language - Hindi - he wished to have two things: a sense of unity and oneness and a strong feeling of Nationalism. He had deep faith in cultural unity of India, he remarked that this cultural unity defied political and racial divisions."  

Dr. Kuber points out very rightly regarding the problem of untouchability in the social and political life of the Indian peoples that "the problem of abolishing untouchability was bound up with that of a basic socio-economic reconstruction of the Indian society. The anti-untouchability movement which came into existence, and which subsequently gathered momentum, was the expression of the growth of large national and human consciousness among the Indian people. It was an essential part of the national and democratic movement of the Indian people. The removal of untouchability as a programme in the Congress movement accelerated the pace of ameliorative movements in the country. The struggle for Swaraj demanded the democratic alliance of all castes and communities in India. The untouchables were mostly landless labourers, semiserfs or engaged in worst occupations. They suffered from two fold evils, economic and social. Their social position accentuated their economic exploitation and their miserable economic conditions tended to stabilise their low status." 38

Dr. Kuber further states, that the feeling of bitterness was the main cause of the unbridgeable gap that separated the depressed classes from the rest of the people of India.

38. Ibid, p. 160
during the years of struggle for independence. Ambedkar 
always maintained that mere political independence was not 

enough, social emancipation must also be won. After independence he changed his thoughts and advised his 

followers to cooperate freely with other sections of the 
society. This thought of cooperation led him to enter the 

Constituent Assembly and later the Nehru Cabinet. 39

Leadership of Dr. Ambedkar is also taken into 

consideration by the author. He accepts that Dr. Ambedkar 
gave a toughest fight for the upliftment of the downtroddens. 
He says, "the political form of democracy presupposes a 
democratic form of society. The formal frame work of democracy 
was of no value and would indeed be a misfit if there was no 

social democracy. Assuming these things as basic, Ambedkar 
never remarked that the 'political' schol

realised that democracy was not a form of government, it was essentially a 

form of society." 40

Dr. Kuber has given in brief the views of Dr. 
Ambedkar regarding the leadership of Ranade, Gandhi and the 
Indian National Congress.


40. Ibid, p. 163.
He has also dealt with Dr. Ambedkar's ideas about the trade union movement, Marxism versus Buddhism, political parties, linguistic states and Indian foreign policy etc.

Dr. Kuber says, "Dr. Ambedkar was not a pacifist. He wanted to protect his country and make her prepared for war, if she was attacked. To him the submission to wrong and surrender to evil was cowardice. It was against one's self-respect and dignity. He did not oppose peace if peace was just and honourable. Free and peaceful living of nations was the principle underlying his concept of international relationship. It meant the creative effort of adjusting the worn machinery of democracy to the existing conditions of scientific society. According to him, the vital problem in international relations, particularly before the free nations of the world, was the expansion of communism. Referring to the principle of peace he said: "We want peace. Nobody wants war. The only question is: What is the price for this? At what price are we purchasing this peace?" 41

Regarding the political thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Kuber says, "Ambedkar attached more importance to the society than to the state. The state, to him, has to provide against internal disorder and external aggression. He did not

41. Ibid, p. 246.
consider state to be absolute one. He did not agree with the idealist view of the state as a separate mystic personality, 'a march of god on earth' upon which the individual depended for his existence. To him it was the people who made the state and without them, there could be no state. The ultimate aim of the state was to enable man to achieve the best on earth. In this sense the state was a means rather than an end in itself and it owed to its members a duty to build and sustain a social system within which man might live happily."\(^{42}\)

Dr. Kuber further gives the views of Dr. Ambedkar regarding the centre - state relations but more importantly he focuses on the concepts rights, liberty, equality, justice, etc. He says, "Ambedkar by temperament was a liberal. His liberalism was of a bourgeois type. His attitude towards reforms was liberal and it never took a revolutionary form. His community comprised of landless labourers, small peasants and workers. To solve economic problems of the community was tantamount to waging class battles. For that was essential to maintain class solidarity by allying with other class organizations. The object must be to defeat the class enemies. But he could not achieve this."\(^{43}\)

\(^{42}\) Ibid, p. 294.
\(^{43}\) Ibid, p. 311.
Lastly, Dr. Kuber states that, "In his later life Ambedkar became a follower of Buddha. He appreciated Buddha's attitude towards social problems and particularly private property. He said that the rules laid down by Buddha were very strict as regards private property. He emphasised the importance of Buddhism and regarded Buddhism as an alternative to Marxism. Therefore, he led thousands of untouchables into Buddhist fold and said that it was the only salvation to the depressed classes."\(^44\)


Dr. Lokhande in this work has attempted to present Ambedkar's ideas and his efforts towards the social upliftment of the Depressed Classes. He has dealt at length with Ambedkar's views on different subjects and with his crusade to save the integral unity of the country.

Dr. Lokhande has, at the very outset, focused on the intellectual influence of Gautama Buddha, Jyotiba Phule, St. Kabir, Marx and Justice Ranade on Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Lokhande has discussed Dr. Ambedkar's views on democracy and integration. Dr. Lokhande states that caste system is the reason of

\(^{44}\) Ibid, p. 306.
social disintegration. The caste system, according to Dr. Ambedkar, is an integrated part of Hindu civilisation and culture and, therefore, there are always feuds and conspiracies of Caste Hindus to enslave the weaker sections. According to him to get economic equality it is necessary to complete, bargain, or fight, but caste prejudices breed jealousies, rivalries and ultimately result in conflict and conspiracies to suppress the weak. They result in vested interests and monopoly of only one or two higher castes. The unity of the country is, therefore, blown up by the caste system and there is no coherence.

Dr. Lokhande shows how Dr. Ambedkar has made original contribution to the concept of democracy by making distinction between 'state and society', 'state and centre', and 'state and Nation'. Further Dr. Lokhande states that Dr. Ambedkar perhaps, was the first political thinker who realized the inapplicability of the western pattern of democracy to India. He went to the roots of the concept of state, society and nation and pointed out the importance of taking into account the element constituting these institutions, that is, the people. Western thinkers like Harold Laski and Macver did not go further than suggesting a distinction between state and society and so on. They made only specific references to the social economic-status of the various
classes of people who constitute the society and the state. While dealing with the views of Dr. Ambedkar on democracy Dr. Lokhande says, "To Dr. Ambedkar fundamental changes in social and economic life of the people and acceptance of those changes by the people should be brought about without resorting to disputes and bloodshed." Further he says that Dr. Ambedkar desired to remove the contradiction created by economic and social inequalities. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to establish the principle of one man one vote, and one vote one value not only in the political life of India but also in social and economic life. In other words, he wanted political democracy to be accompanied by social democracy. He was conscious of social and economic inequalities which corrode the national consciousness of the Indian people. As Ambedkar said, "We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lied at the base of it social democracy." 

Dr. Ambedkar, after highlighting the element of democracy, says that a political democracy without an

46. Ibid, p. 23.
47. Ibid.

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economic and social democracy is an invitation to trouble and danger. Social democracy alone can assure the masses the right to liberty, equality and fraternity. That is why, Dr. Lokhande argues, Dr. Ambedkar proposes the idea of 'state socialism through constitutional law'.

He says that Dr. Ambedkar advocated state socialism in the field of industry and also state ownership in agriculture with a collectivised method of cultivation. Dr. Ambedkar was one of the few Indians who demanded nationalisation of Insurance. Dr. Lokhande has pointed out some essential features of socialism advised by Dr. Ambedkar as follows:

1. A condemnation of the existing social, political and economic order as unjust;

2. An advocacy of a new order based on one man, one value, one vote;

3. A belief that this ideal is realizable in state socialism and parliamentary democracy;

4. The conviction that immorality of established order is traceable to the attitude of Hindus and to corrupt social institutions;

5. A programme of actions leading to the ideal to be achieved through constitutional means only; and
6. A revolutionary will for establishing social democracy to carry out the programme of social solidarity.

Dr. Lokhande has further given in detail the summary of the origin of castes and their effects on Hindu society. But a very important aspect of Dr. Ambedkar's views on human rights and his views on World War II has also been discussed. To him, Dr. Ambedkar opposed tooth and nail the fascist designs of expansion and dictatorship. He supported wide heatedly the British Government's attempt fight against fascism during World War II. While giving a clarion call to the workers to support the Government in war activities he explained how this war benefits labourers in number of ways. He also defined at the same time what is meant by liberty, equality and fraternity, to a labourer. Dr. Ambedkar says that liberty for a worker does not merely mean the absence of restraint but government by the people. It does not simply mean Parliamentary Government but the government that works for him. By equality he means abolition of all privileges and by fraternity brotherhood.

Dr. Ambedkar's contribution to the moulding of the Hindu culture and civilization on the basis of equality and fraternity is great. His gift of the constitution to India based on justice, liberty, equality and fraternity is greater.
And revival of Buddhism is based on four principles i.e. truth, teaching, meditation and wisdom. Dr. Lokhande has thus successfully brought into light the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar.

This survey of the research work on Dr. Ambedkar helped us to prepare a frame to study his political thinking. It was found from the above discussion that Dr. Ambedkar was a philosopher and his political thinking was shaped by certain moral values. It, therefore, becomes a first essential thing to know and understand his philosophical approach to political life. Then we further found that he has defined both objectively and interpretatively various aspects of the nature of state structure. As an activist, he launched a movement of untouchables against the practice of untouchability and thereby made an attempt to bring into reality his own theory of social organization. Naturally he formed number of organizations, built cadre and organized number of actions. He expressed views on the nature of these organizations, activists and their actions. This, therefore, becomes the third content part of his frame of political thinking. Thus his political ideas have been classified into three clusters i.e. (1) Political Values, (2) State Structure, (3) Political Organization, Action and Activists. Content of these three thought-clusters of Dr. Ambedkar's political thinking has been discussed below.
At the centre of the political value frame of Dr. Ambedkar are the concepts of justice, democracy and nationalism. The other related values he mentioned in his philosophical ideological structure are liberty, equality, fraternity, rights and constitutionalism. The concept of justice, for Dr. Ambedkar appears to be a relational concept between Hindus and the Untouchables. Untouchability according to him, is a form of slavery. It is a slavery imposed on untouchables by Hindus though Indian social caste structure and culture at the base of which is the Hindu religious dogma. To emancipate untouchability from this Hindu slavery, he suggested necessity of overthrowing the caste structure and bringing radical changes in traditional orthodox culture of the caste Hindus. According to him, it is possible only through taking up a humanist approach that all human beings are equal. He prescribed democratic way of life as tru humanism. According to him democracy is an associated living and feeling of brotherhood. The associated living depends on the achievement of liberty, equality and fraternity for untouchables. The achievement of liberty, equality and fraternity further depends on the creating of a casteless social structure and a non-Hindu Buddhist culture. He has also defined nationalism and constitutionalism as important
political values. The chapter on political values, therefore, has covered all his ideal premises expressed by him from time to time.

**STATE STRUCTURE**

Dr. Ambedkar, being a leader and spokesman of untouchables, in India had to contribute to an explanation of the nature of the state structure that the country should have adopted. He had framed his ideas on the following aspects of power structure of state, i.e. Democratic, Federal, Socialist and Secular. Democratic aspect included a scheme of distribution of power among different communities suggested by Dr. Ambedkar. Federal aspect included the issue of relationship between units and the centre and nature of Federal executive, legislature and judiciary. Socialistic aspect included ideas on state socialism and economic democracy. Secular aspect included Dr. Ambedkar's views on freedom of religion right to profess and relationship between state and religion.

**POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND ACTION**

Dr. Ambedkar established different types of organizations like welfare, volunteer and labour organizations. Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha was a welfare type of organization. Samata Sainik Dal was a volunteer organization. Trade Union exclusively for scheduled caste workers was an
example of labour organization. He established three political parties namely Independent Labour Party, Scheduled Caste Federation and Republican Party. He made an attempt to build a cadre of activists for running all these organizations and activists he launched a number of actions like, Satyagraha, resistance, bycott and elections. Dr. Ambedkar had expressed his views on nature of these organizations, activists and actions. All these views have been covered in this chapter.

**CONCLUSION**

Finally, the whole thought of Dr. Ambedkar discussed in forgoing chapters on different political aspects has been summarised in brief and continuities and changes in views have been derived.