Family Background

The life of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is a story of struggle of an untouchable who is revered for his determinant social commitment towards bettering the lives of socially degraded masses in Indian social order. His life and dedication for social cause had been inspiration for generations during and after his life. He showed exceptional spirit in framing Constitution of India due to which innumerable masses from downtrodden or lowest strata of Hindu society could attains social and legal safeguards in independent India. That is the reason why his social, religious, and political thoughts have been ultimate refugee for activists who strive to devote his/her life for a welfare society. Today even after passing over sixty years after his passing away any educated individual, if happens to come in contact with his writings and speeches, cannot refrain from generating a strong sense of concern for underprivileged, disadvantaged, extremely poor and subjugated masses in a society aimed at landing of Mars or Moon. This chapter is a brief biographical sketch primarily intended to bring forth the social, religious, thoughts of this great scholar, leader and foremost savior that having been and shall ever be guiding force behind any tryst to acknowledge outcastes and backwards classes in.

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born on 14th April, 1891 at Mhow-military cantonment in Madhya Pradesh. Son of Ramji Sakpal and Bhimabai, family belonged to Ambavade village in Mandangad taluka in Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. Belonged to Mahar community, untouchable caste the family enjoyed reputation and prestige among
untouchables as its ancestors had served in military of British East India Company. Father Ramji Sakpal after serving the Indian Army, retired in 1894. Immediately after retirement from military service Subhedar Ramji Sakpal got back home at Dapoli in Konkan. Here in Dapoli, Bhimrao received his primary education. However, the family could not stay longer in Dapoli. Shortly after their shifting to Satara, Ambedkar's mother Bhimai died. The children were cared by their paternal aunt, and lived in difficult circumstances. Only three sons—Balaram, Anandrao and Bhimrao—and two daughters—Manjula and Tulasa—of the Ambedkars would go on to survive them. Of his brothers and sisters, only Ambedkar succeeded in passing his examinations and reaching up to higher school. Bhimrao Sakpal Ambavadekar the surname comes from his native village Ambavade in Ratnagiri District. His Brahmin teacher Mahadev Ambedkar who was fond of him, changed his surname from 'Ambavadekar' to his own surname 'Ambedkar' in school records; since then Dr. B. R. Ambedkars’s name became Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. The family moved to Bombay and Ramji sought job in the military quarters at Satara. Ramji Sakpal led a hard-working and devout life. Ramji Sakpal was a “stout, impressive, generous and voluble devotee. He offered prayers and devotions to God morning and evening. The children joined in his devotions”. For 14 years Ramji worked as headmaster in military schools. Apart from this he was well aware about current social problems faced by the Mahar or untouchable community.

**Early Education**

In his childhood Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was dearly called ‘Bhiva’. He completed his primary education at Satara. In school he experienced the disgrace of inescapable untouchability in society experienced by downtrodden classes. During this period Bhiva faced many incidents that
conveyed him cruelty of the caste system that left a permanent impact on his sensitive mind. Out of many incidents, one would be sufficient to cite the impact of treatment of untouchability at a tender age. As recorded in his brief book entitled ‘Waiting for Visa’, once on his way to meet his father at Goregaon, he and his brother got down at Masuri station. For onward journey they had to wait at station expecting someone to pick them up. But no one arrived. So at last at evening they decided to hire a bullock cart. But when the Hindu cart man came to know that well dressed children were untouchables he refused them to board the cart. After intervention of Station Master the cart man agreed to take them to Goregaon only if they pay him double the fare. Having agreed on the deal, the prejudiced Hindu walked along asking children in the cart to drive it. Because of indifferent attitude shown by the cart man, the boys had to reach the destination at eleven in the next morning. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar writes:

This incident has a very important place in my life. I was a boy of nine when it happened. But it has left an indelible impression on my mind. Before this incident occurred, I knew that I was an untouchable and that untouchables were subjected to certain indignities and discriminations.”

In the school he was not allowed to sit with other students but in a corner of the class. He was asked to bring a separate piece of gunny cloth. While in the school when felt thirsty he was banned to go to the water tap, unless and until it was opened by a touchable peon; hence if no touchable person, no water. In village no washer men in Satara would wash cloths even if afforded to pay the washer men. Hence, cutting the hairs or shaving of brothers was done by his sister because no barbers in Satara would agree. As Vasant Moon records another experience from Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s childhood regarding untouchability in class room.
“Once Bhiva was asked by the teacher to solve a geometrical theorem on the blackboard. But the students protested vehemently. It was only when they were allowed to remove the lunch packets that they had placed near the blackboard, Bhiva could solve the theorem.”

In school days, young Bhimrao with his merits received completely unexpected kindness from teacher. For instance, a Brahmin teacher by name Ambedkar liked Bhim very much. It was this teacher’s compassion that Bhimrao accepted Ambedkar as his surname. The original family was Sakpal. Bhim drew his surname Ambavadekar from his native village Ambavade. The teacher changed his surname from Ambavadekar to Ambedkar in the school records. Despite receiving favor from teacher, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and his brothers were not treated well at school.

At the age of ten his father Ramji decided to get married again. Bhimrao did not like this idea and decided to earn his own livelihood and settle down in the Bombay city. But unable to arrange the money to go to Bombay, he gave up the idea and started studying hard to get through exams as fast as possible. This was the turning point in his life because he became so hard-working that his teachers recommended his father to give him further education. Ramji with his entire family moved to Mumbai where they decided to reside in Dabakchawl in Lower Parel. Ramji got Bhimrao admitted into the Maratha school. Under the strict observance of his father, Bhimrao developed a passion for reading. After a few months, Bhimrao was sent to the Elphinstone High School where he and his brothers were not allowed to take up the study of Sanskrit. Encouraged by his father to rise to a high position in life Bhimrao passed the Matriculation examination in 1907 from Elphinstone High School. The important thing in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s life was when he passed matriculation examination in 1907 and secured 282 marks out of 750.
S.K. Bole a social activists, honored this rare achievement in untouchable community. At the same time Krishnaji Arjun Keluskar admired Bhimrao’s success and presented him a book entitled *Life of Gautam Buddha*.

**Glimpse of Academic Excellence**

Bhimrao Ambedkar got married at the age of 17. Even after getting married he was constantly encouraged to study by his father. Bhimrao Ambedkar aspired to go further and complete his Inter Arts. At this time Keluskar’s assistance and reference turned direction of Bhimrao’s academic life. With Keluskar’s reference Bhimrao appeared before Maharaja of Baroda at a Town-hall meeting in Bombay. Here, after asking some questions the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad granted him a scholarship of 25 rupees per month.

This scholarship was most helpful for Bhimrao in borrowing various books. In 1912 Bhimrao passed B.A. He desired to apply for a job in Baroda state against the wishes of his father. Soon he got job as a lieutenant in the Baroda State Forces. In just about 15 days later Dr. B. R. Ambedkar received message that his father was not well and taken to bed due to ill health. After seeing his son Ramji died on 2nd Feb, 1913. This was the saddest day of his life because Ramji was an ultimate supporter and motivator in his education and who had inculcated a strong sense of determination. Deeply upset by father’s demise Bhimrao Ambedkar had no desire to return to his job in Baroda.

In the meantime, in the month of June, 1913 the Maharaja of Baroda announced an intention to send some students to Columbia University for higher studies. The selected candidate had to sign an agreement with the Baroda state that after completion of Higher
education the students should serve the state for 10 years. Bhimrao Ambedkar applied for the scheme. Accordingly he, along with three other applicants signed an agreement in the presence of the Deputy Minister for Education of the Baroda State. This indeed became the most important turning point in Bhimrao Ambedkar’s educational life that opened an unpredicted hope and experience in a foreign country.

**Foreign Education**

In the same year 1913 Bhimrao Ambedkar went to Columbia University. Here, living in foreign country was different experience than in India especially in terms of social freedom enjoyed irrespective of being an untouchable. He had an opportunity to live a life, in true sense enjoyed by a free man. This began to alter his mind in the direction of equality. In one letter he penned down his views on the women’s education. In another letter revealed his spirit of the liberator. He wrote, “We must now entirely give up the idea that parents give birth-Janma- to the child and not destiny-karma.”

According to Dhanajay Keer, ‘to him life at Columbia University was a revelation. It was new world. It enlarged his mental horizon…His life gleamed with a new meaning.’ Here in America Bhimrao Ambedkar sincerely expressed desire to work for well-being of the downtrodden community and also suggested remedies for problems of his community.

Touched with free and enlightened thoughts Bhimrao Ambedkar realized the sense of being dependent upon others for his expenses. So he determined to acquire skills and develop potentiality in order that he would not require asking for any support or influence. For the purpose, he gathered that strenuous study and knowledge is the only way out. He began to seize every possible moment to browse knowledge treasures in
political science, moral philosophy, anthropology, sociology and economics available in American university.

In next two years Bhimrao Ambedkar acquired M.A. degree in 1915. In pursuance of the degree he submitted the thesis entitled “The Administration and Finance s of East India Company”. He also presented a research paper on ‘Castes in India, Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development’ in a seminar on anthropology in the month of May, 1916. In this research paper he attempted to formulate that India has no racial problem, the untouchables are an intrinsic component of the India culture, the theory on which he based all his future research. It was one the honest attempt to trace the origin of caste system in India in which he pointed out its evil consequences and its remedies. Simultaneously, Bhimrao Ambedkar submitted his Ph.D. thesis entitled ‘National Dividend of India – A Historic and Analytical Study’ to the Columbia University in June 1916. Columbia University awarded him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy for this dissertation. At Columbia he was especially influenced by two of his professors: John Dewey (the initiator of the pragmatic philosophy) and R. A. Seligman. While in America he was impressed by two things: first was the constitution of America and second was the fourteenth amendment which declared freedom for Negros. He was too much impressed by the thoughts of Booker T. Washington who was great reformer and educator of the Negro race in America. It may be possible that due these impressions Dr. B. R. Ambedkar decided to fight against the prevailing caste system in Indian society because he was also the victim of the inhuman caste system.\(^6\)

After the completion of studies at the Columbia University, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar left New York and went to London in the month of June 1916. Here, in October 1916 he entered in Gray’s Inn for completing his
Bar-at-law and also enrolled in the London School of Economics. But the Dewan of Baroda informed him that period of scholarship was over and asked him to serve Baroda state. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was compelled to return back, unwillingly, but he managed to obtain special permission from the London University to resume his studies in London within a period not exceeding four years from October 1917.

**Back to the Plight of Being Untouchable In India**

After spending years from 1913 to 1917, in United States of America and London Dr. B. R. Ambedkar landed on native land in Bombay on 21 August, 1917. Immediately, as he was bound by the agreement to serve the State of Baroda for ten years, he reached Baroda in September, 1917. At first he was supposed to be appointed as Finance Minister in Baroda State sooner or later; but in order to make him familiar with administration first he was given the office of Military Secretary. To his dismay, in Baroda he began to experience grim reality of being an untouchable unlike many years of stay in foreign countries. He wrote, “five years of stay in Europe and America had completely wiped out of my mind any consciousness that I was an untouchable and that an untouchable whenever he went in India was a problem to him and to others.”

When Dr. B. R. Ambedkar landed in Baroda state, no hotel was prepared to provide shelter for him just because he was identified as an untouchable. Even the professional inn keepers, after knowing his caste showed unconditional reluctance to give shelter for a Mahar to stay in. After assuming a Parsee name he took shelter in a Parsee inn. Moreover, “in office Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was,” writes D. Keer, “treated by his staff and peons as leper. The poor illiterate peons thought it sinful to hand over office papers and files to him. They flung the bundles of files and hurled
papers at his desk. They rolled the mats when he got up to go. Drinking water was not available to him in office.”

Adding to the worse conditions following incidence, as depicted by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar himself, following passage implies to what extent the stigma of untouchability ruined the mental condition of a highly qualified officer in the Accountant General's Office in Baroda state, just because he was untouchable.

It was 11th day of my stay in the inn… As I was picking up some books…I heard footsteps of a considerable number of people coming up the staircase. .. Instantly I saw a dozen angry looking, tall, sturdy Parsis, each armed with a stick, coming towards my room… They lined up in front of my room and fired a volley of questions. Who are you? Why did you come here? How do you take a Parsi name? You scoundrel! You have polluted the Parsi inn! This scene of a dozen Parsis armed with sticks lined before me in a menacing mood and myself standing before them with a terrified look imploring for mercy is a scene which so long a period as 18 years has not succeeded in fading away. I can even now vividly recall it and never recall it without tears in my eyes. It was then for the first time that I learnt that a person who is an untouchable to a Hindu is also an untouchable to a Parsi.

Having driven out for being untouchable on city streets neither Hindu nor Muslim allowed him take shelter in the city. In such condition neither the Maharaja nor the Diwan helped him to secure dwelling place in Baroda city. He realized that even his personal achievement could not ease the narrow-mindedness of the caste Hindus. He got dreadfully saddened. Dismayed and disgusted with ill treatment and disallowed to get even a public lodging for shelter Dr. B. R. Ambedkar thoroughly decided to bid good bye to Baroda in the month of November, 1917 and got back to Bombay.
Analysis and Interpretation of Hindu Society: A Home Of Inequality

While in Bombay, he had to look out for earning sources for living. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar realized it as utmost necessary, before starting any effort to put end on prevailing practice of untouchability and allied evils of caste system, to analyze social organization of Hindu society. In fact his family or social background compelled him to seek after solutions to break out invisible shackles of caste system to which he himself was falling prey in India, despite being highly qualified from foreign countries. His Foreign education enabled him to delve into far and wide knowledge of Hindu scriptures which was considered taboo for an untouchable to acquire. The research paper entitled *Castes in India* shows thoughtful contemplation over being born as untouchable. It made him restless until he found answers to fundamental questions: What is caste system? How it originated in India? Why only the Shudras or untouchables had to suffer being lowest caste in Hindu fourfold social organization? What is the basis of caste system? If at all someone come to know answers, what methodology one should adopt to fight back? Is it feasible to adopt violence oriented revolt or rather civil disobedience to get demands accepted from dominant castes? If at all one adopts the Satyagraha but bears not results, then how about altering the religion itself? Then, what religion, one that lures by economic rights; one that promises to bestow religious rights; one that assures social security or one that asserts individual liberty, humanity, caste-class-less equality in every social affairs? Dr. B. R. Ambedkar adored his personality throughout his life to a mass knowledge not for pleasure but finding answers to the above questions. His entry into public service made aware that finding
answers to above questions was beyond their perception, for they abounded themselves by rigid caste rules.

Thus, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar adopted strategic struggle amide all sort of rigidity and with utmost confidence successfully achieved everything he planned during his lifespan. Displaying profound research aptitude and attitude slowly and steadily he began to indulge in public affairs.

For the purpose he took to practice Law in Bombay. Through the help of a Parsi man he became a tutor to two students – started offering advice to dealers in stocks and shares. But as soon as it became known that its owner was an untouchable he had to close the counseling office. Meanwhile he reprinted his paper on *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*. Since then, every educated individual from Dalit community one or the other time must have read this paper in order to understand what is this phenomenon called Caste System in India. Troubled with financial inadequacies he came to know an available job in Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay. In November 1918 he joined as professor of political economy. Here as professor he again planned to reserve money restart education in England. Here too in the college, some Gujarati professors protested against his drinking water from the pot set aside for the college staff. Verbal mistreatment and disgrace were provoking him to look out for the root cause of the trouble he was suffering within society. Therefore slowly but surely he began feeling the pulse of the untouchables and was silently contacting sympathizers who showed interest in improvement in the deplorable condition of downtrodden sections.

Shri Shahu Maharaj, the ruler of Kolhapur showed profound interest for betterment of oppressed classes and removal of untouchability. As ruler he tried to eliminate the caste discriminations
prevalent in the caste system. On the 27 January 1919, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar appeared as a witness before the Southborough Committee to investigate people’s right to vote in the light of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. He submitted his statement arguing for proportional representation for untouchables. He demanded 9 reserved seats in separate electorate for the Depressed Classes in proportion to their population.

Around 1919, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar came in close contact with Chatrapati Shahu of Kolhapur. With the Maharaja’s help he started a fortnightly paper titled Mook Nayak- leader of the dumb, in January 31, 1920. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar made full use of it to explore his thoughts, with his brilliant logic, the irrationality and the basic injustice inherent in the caste system. In the first issue of the Mook Nayak, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar elaborately put forward his stance on the prevailing inequality in Indian society. Dhananjay Keer summarized on editorial article appeared in the opening issue of the Mook-Nayak in following words:

…India was a home of inequality. Hindu society, he observed, was just like a tower which had several storey without a ladder or an entrance. One was to die in the storey in which one was born…In his view the backwardness of the non-Brahmins was due to lack of education and power. In order to save the Depressed Classes from perpetual slavery, poverty and ignorance, herculean efforts must be made, he asserted, to awaken them to heir disabilities.\textsuperscript{10}

In other words Dr. B. R. Ambedkar aired his view and beliefs that before India gets independence, the untouchables needed to be free. On March 21, 1920 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar along with Chatrapati Shahu Maharaja of Kolhapur attended a conference of the Untouchables at Mangaon in the Kolhapur State. The Maharaja in his speech said: “You have found your savior in Ambedkar. I am confident that he will break
your shackles. Not only that, a time will come when, so whispers my conscience, Ambedkar will shine as a front rank leader of all-India fame and appeal.”

In May 1920 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar attended first ever public program All-India Conference at Nagpur. It was presided by Shri Shahu Maharaja and Shinde. On behalf of his Depressed Classes Mission, Vithal Ramji Shinde opined that the representatives of the untouchables should be selected by the members of the legislative council; but not by government or by the institution of untouchables. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar showed reluctance in his fighting speech disliking the stance taken by Karmveer Shinde. As recorded by Dhanajay Keer, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said, “However the caste Hindus worked hard for the welfare of the untouchable, they did not know their mind. That was why he was fundamentally opposed to any organization started by the caste Hindus for the uplift of Depressed Classes.” It was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s first victory in public speech. With this conference he had an opportunity of representing the cause of untouchables as was considered to be till date under the Depressed Class Mission run by Karmveer Shinde.

As a professor, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar drew a good salary and also planned to go to London. With savings and borrowed money of Rs. 5000 from Naval Bhatia and financial assistance from the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar managed to reach London in the month of July 1920. In London, Ambedkar resumed his studies from September 1920 in Economics at the London School of Economics and Political science. He often used India office library, London University Library and other important libraries as well as London Museum. During his study for academic advancement, Ambedkar was constantly reminded of his social responsibility back home. He visited Montague- the then
secretary of State for India, and Mr. Vithalbhai Patel in connection with the grievances of the oppressed classes in India.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar finished his research work. For his thesis ‘Provincial Decentralization of Imperial Finance in British India’ was awarded the Master of Science in June 1921. In October 1922 he submitted the thesis ‘The Problem of the Rupee’ for D. Sc. in University of London. Thus in two and half years he acquired M. Sc. and D. Sc. He wanted to appear for his degree of Barrister-at-Law. After submitting his thesis on The Problem of the Rupee to the University of London in 1922, he went to Bonn. However, in London his thesis raised severe discussion in the academic world of the University of London, because of his straightforward critique of the British financial system in India. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was asked to rewrite the thesis without altering conclusions by Professor Edwin Cannon. After revising it the University of London accepted the thesis and awarded him the degree of Doctor of Science.

**Education for the Purpose of Society**

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar returned India in April 1923. By then, Ambedkar had Ph.D. from American University, D. Sc. from London University and he was Bar-at-Law. Thus had acquired highest qualifications which very few of his contemporary caste fellow men would have hardly accomplished and was ready to brace any tempestuous arguments in Economics, Sociology and Law.

In India, for his daily sustenance he decided to practice law and started to take up court cases in July 1923. He worked in High Court of Bombay. But because he was untouchable other solicitors did not co-operate him openly. That discouraged him and he turned to the district courts as well. Slowly he secured the grip on his practice. As soon as he
had some financial stability he decided to get involved in the affairs of the untouchable community.

As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar entered in public life many social forces and factors were active moulding the fame and fortune of India. Regarding the awakening of untouchable a resolution was passed by the Bombay Legislative Council on August 4, 1923 after the proposal moved by S. K. Bole. it stated that the “Council recommends that the untouchable classes be allowed to use all public places including wells and Dharmamshalas which were built and maintained out of public funds or administered by the government bodies or created by statutes as well as public schools, courts, offices and dispensaries.”

To enforce this resolution the government of Bombay Presidency circulated a dictate asking implementation of resolution. The Chairman of the Bombay Improvement Trust and the Municipal Commissioner of the Bombay City too passed ordered giving effect to the Council’s resolution concerned to the use of public places by untouchables in their jurisdiction. Vasant Moon writes, “But in practice, the ruling was disregarded. The untouchables were debarred from using all public places. The right to access to the drinking water is a basic human right and how had it legalsanction.”

Belief in the Organized Efforts

In order to create awareness among untouchables Dr. B. R. Ambedkar believed in organized efforts. Hence he called a meeting in March 1924 at Bombay in Damodhar Hall to discuss about establishing a central institution to address difficulties faced by untouchables and putting their grievances in Government offices. On 20th July 1924 he announced the establishment of ‘Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha. The Sabha issued a general appeal which illustrated how the other institutions
established for rendering service to the untouchable community were inadequate.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar came from the untouchables themselves. He had experienced hardship, and hence felt a terrible need of awakening in the lives of untouchables. He never loosed chance to invoke his community members to rise and stand for their rights. He evocatively urged the masses saying:

> My heart breaks to see the pitiable sight of your faces and to hear your sad voices. You have been groaning from time immemorial and yet you are not ashamed to hug your helplessness as inevitability. Why did you not perish in the pre-natal stage instead? Why do you worsen and sadden the picture of the sorrows, poverty, slavery and burdens of the world with your deplorable, despicable and detestable miserable life? You had better die and relieve this world if you cannot rise to a new life and if you cannot rejuvenate yourselves. As matter of fact it is your birth-right to get food, shelter and clothing in this land in equal proportion with every individual high or low. If you believe in living respectable life, you believe in self-help which is the best help.”

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s speeches showed positive effect upon the mind of depressed classes and roused them against their slavery. On the third convention of the Sabha organized in Nipani in Belgaum district on 10th and 11th of April 1925 in his extensive presidential address referring to the struggle for abolition of slavery in America and France he said, “Thousands of people died but the future generations enjoyed the outcome. If we sacrifice now, our future generations will enjoy the results. In our community the parents arrange the marriages of their children but do not care whether their children are self reliant and thus become the cause of their children’s misfortune.” He frankly expressed his views about political and social reforms and made people to think. He said, “it is no use accepting old as gold’ following exactly the way the
parents led their lives is not right. To rely on time to take its course will not help. Changing your way of thinking according to the situation is necessary."

In the month of February 1927, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was appointed as member of the Legislative Council of the Bombay Province. On the other part he did not join the movement for the political independence of India. He resolutely aimed for liberation of the depressed classes for which he was aware to fight with the Hindus and to deal with the British government in respect of political rights. He however realized that hatred of British rule would be inviting double enmity of his people. So he thought it prudent to cooperate with the British so far as that cooperation would-be able to secure rights for the depressed classes.

**Aspects of Dr. Ambedkar’s Social Struggle**

Dr. Ambedka’s message of self-elevation was gathering force. The depressed classes took him as their new leader. Later events in his life underline his emphasis on self-help boosting the self-respect of the community. Implementing the resolution passed by Bole in the Bombay Legislative Council, in the years 1923-1926, the Mahad municipality allowed the use of *Chowdar* Tank to the Untouchables. However, the resolution proved to be on paper only, as the untouchables were yet not allowed to exercise their right just because of hostility of the Hindus. The right to access to the drinking water is a fundamental human right and now had the legal sanction. Babasaheb decided to establish the right publicly at Mahad’s tank of drinking water. Hence, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and thousands people from depressed classes gathered for the conference at Mahad on 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} March 1927. Addressing the conference at evening on 19\textsuperscript{th} March he put forward his programme accentuating its three features: not to eat the flesh of the carcass; not to eat the leftovers
from other’s plates; and not think of the hierarchies of the caste and behave like any other middle class person. On the next day at 9 AM the conference proposed to exercise their right and implement the municipal ruling that Mahad tank was open to all irrespective of their caste. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and flowed by everyone, drank water from the tank establishing their right and went back peacefully to the conference.

But the orthodox Hindus planned an attack on the untouchables. The miscreants suddenly attacked the people who were peacefully going back to home. Thus the Mahad march turned out to be heinous act on part of the orthodox Hindus. Later the tank was purified. But the conference had long reaching impact as it is taken as a propitious launching of the Dalit revolution. It was the beginning of a new age in the social and political life of India. It was the first time when the Dalit, untouchables started a direct action. People went home all inspired and decided to forsake dirty habits of eating the flesh off the carcass, dragging dead animals and begging alms. The manacles of mental slavery thus began to break down for the first time. On the contrary the offended orthodox Hindus tried every sort of trick to boycott the depressed classes in their daily affairs. They were refused to sell them corn, picked quarrels under any pretext and had a number of them jailed. For months the wave of protest against the unjust, inhuman conduct of the Mahad caste Hindus swept India. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar faced criticism from Hindus.

**Humanitarian Aspect of Struggle against Social Injustices: Mahad Satyagraha**

One finds first glimpse of deep rooted humanitarian aspect of Dr. Ambedkar’s social struggle when he opened Mahad satyagraha in order to get access to natural water resources for untouchables in Konkan region. To air his views Dr. B. R. Ambedkar started a fortnightly *Bahishkrit*
The news of religiously purification of the Chowdar Tank discouraged the depressed classes. In reply Dr. B. R. Ambedkar determined to open a Satyagraha for the justification of people’s rights. It was decided to start Satyagraha on 25th December 1927. A Conference was called upon in Mahad the day. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar reached Mahad on 24th December 1927. He addressed the conference:

Untouchability has its roots in the caste system...We cannot rely upon the non-Brahmins and ask them to fight our battle...This means that we ourselves must fight our battles relying on ourselves... we refuse to be controlled and bound by the Shastras and Smrites composed in the dark ages and base our claims on justice and humanity.\(^{18}\)

Thus the conference resolved to proclaim human rights for untouchables. It renounced the authority of all age old and modern Hindu scriptures that was stuffed with the dogmas of social inequality. At the same time the Conference decided to burn Manusmriti, which is backbone of social, economic, religious and political slavery of untouchables. On 25th December 1927, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar burnt the Manusmriti. He revealed his intention behind the publicly burning of Manusmriti saying, “The bonfire of Manusmriti was quite intentional. We made a bonfire of it because we view it as symbol of injustice under which we have been crushed across centuries. Because of its teaching, we have been ground down under despicable poverty and so we made the clash, staked all, took our lives in our hands and performed the deed.”\(^{19}\)

Mahad conference had massive influence upon the untouchables; alike it was taken as a shock by the orthodox caste Hindus and of which the Government too took notice of it. Depressed classes become conscious that now it was possible for them to get organized; defy the injustice leveled by upper caste Hindus; moreover, they realized that they
were not alone in their fight but had number of community members in other part of the locality, districts who could come together in times of danger. At the same time Mahad Satyagraha enabled Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to acquire and exercise skills of a statesman. Then he took part in more and more social activities, some time leaving side the legal practice; because now he became deeply focused about his work and the mission not to earn money or stock pile assets but completely transform Hindu society. On the other hand he plainly thought to secure a safe place of honour for the depressed classes in the Hindu Society, for it had been being unjustly denied owing to misrepresentation ever since ancient ages.

British government had decided to review the political changes wrought by the Act of 1919 and improve it accordingly. In England the Indian Statutory Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon. To cooperate with the Commission, every legislative council elected its provincial committee to work with the Commission. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was elected to co-operate the Commission from Bombay. Thus, 18 depressed classes Associations gave provided evidence before the Commission of which 16 appealed for separate electorates. However all political parties including congress boycotted the commission because of non-representation of Indian amongst its members. On its arrival on 3 Feb 1928 they were received with black flags. About the same time the Congress called an all party meeting. In the meeting Pandit Motilal Nehru submitted the plan for the Constitution. However, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had different views on the plan. In the Bahishkrit Bharat he stated that “the plan of the constitution has made no arrangement for the Dalit representation. On the other hand Muslims have been given too may concession. Nehru has succumbed to the Muslim idea of new provincial organization...knowing that my comments are going to
enrage interest of the nation is not in the interest of our community.”

The Bombay Provincial Committee before submitting its report suggested 10 reserved seats for depressed classes with joint electorates and 33% of elected seats out of 140 seats to Muslims with separate electorates. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar did not agree with the Committee and refused to sign the report and submitted a separate report. Thus, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar always carved for securing the constitutional and legislative rights for his people as he was aware of the backwardness of his people in education.

**Struggle for Religious Rights: Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagraha**

In the year 1930 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar started Kalaram temple entry movement at Nasik. All the depressed classes were asked to come to Nasik and claim the right of worshiping Hindu idols. But the orthodox Hindus did not allow them to enter the temple. So Dr. B. R. Ambedkar staged Satyagraha- a non-violent struggle before the gates of the temple. The Satyagraha lasted for a month. It aroused ill feeling against the depressed classes in varied forms: their children were taken out of schools, received maltreatment from upper castes in village etc. In his speech Dr. B. R. Ambedkar explained the actual importance of entry into the Hindu temple. He said:

…”we are about to enter the temple. But the entry in the temple would not solve the whole problem. Our problem is comprehensive. It is political, social, religious, economic and educational...The high caste Hindus deprived us from the far ages. Whether the same Hindus are willing to grant out humanitarian rights will be the question raised from this temple entry Satyagraha. Our real problem is not going to be solved by the entry into Ram temple. It will not bring about any radical change in our life. But this is a test to judge the high caste Hindu mind. Whether the Hindu mind is willing to accept the elevated aspirations of the new era that, ‘man must be treated as man; he must be given humanitarian rights;
human dignity should be established’ is going to be tested. In order to achieve this goal, we have launched this Satyagraha.\textsuperscript{21}

Depressed classes had determined to claim their right to enter the temple as the caste Hindus had to keep the famous temple closed for a whole year and agitation continued right up to the end of October 1935. It becomes evident from above speech that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar aimed not only claiming civil rights such as to enter a Hindu deity temple but his implied actions sought much wider aspect of liberating minds of depressed classes imbibed with blind faith. The untouchables in the villages had to face ostracisation and yet the Satyagraha at Nasik continued. Dadasaheb Gaikwad and Amritrao Rankhambe continued the struggle of temple entry at Kala Ram till 13\textsuperscript{th} October 1935.

In one of his presidential address at Chiplun on 13 April 1929, he addressed crowd of nine thousand people asking them to ‘ignore the threats and the oppressions;[and] you should continue religious revolution in a constitutional manner.’ In an interview with Pandit Mahadeo Shastri Divakar, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar pointed at the ultimate solution of oppression inflicted by Caste Hindus i.e. annihilation of untouchability. Answering a question posed by Shastriji that ‘how come then you consider yourselves to be an independent state? Dr. B. R. Ambedkar replied that he used the word in political context of independent electorate and facilities and concession. Hindu community must accept eating together and inter-caste marriages. Temple entry is the first step towards annihilating untouchability. Satyagraha is a tool to help people change their attitudes. We want equality in all spheres. I believe in democracy but I am against the domination of one class over the other.’\textsuperscript{22}
Representation of Depressed Classes at International Level

At national level the British government was concerned about Indian independence. For the purpose it invited all party the leaders from India to the first Round Table Conference as representatives of India to frame the constitution for India. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar received the invitation for the Round Table Conference to be held on 17 to 22 November 1930. It was an epoch-making event in the history of the Untouchables. They were conferred along with the right to discuss framing the constitution of India. Before departure for the conference, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had clear vision of what shall happen in connection with depressed classes. Clearing his doubts he said, “In framing the constitution, the interest of different classes must be respected. Letting any single group wield unlimited power is tantamount to handling a knife to the executioner of a death sentence” Differing Mahatma Gandhi’s movement of disrespecting law, he said, “This kind of revolution is without direction. There is a risk of one group becoming powerful. There is no guarantee that the untouchables will have proportionate empowerment.” “I will demand what is right for my people, and I will certainly uphold the demand for Sara. We too are in favour of self government. We must insure that in the future constitution untouchables’ freedom is the first priority. I am going to try to secure representation of the untouchables in the army and in the police department.”

He asserted:

I regard as more important the freedom of the scheduled castes in India, the community which has been the victim of domination and oppression for over 200 years…The Hindu Dharma was the main cause. Of all religions in the world, it was Hinduism that recognized caste distinctions and untouchability. This was the cover, the cloak for all injustices perpetrated on the scheduled castes by caste Hindus.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar perceived the problem of untouchables was fundamentally rooted in political concerns. In his views,

It is wrong to say that the problem of the Untouchables is a social problem. For, it is quite unlike the problems of dowry, widow remarriage, age of consent, etc., which are illustrations of what are properly called social problems. Essentially, it is a problem of quite different nature in as much as it is a problem of securing to a minority liberty and equality of opportunity at the hands of a hostile majority which believes in the denial of liberty and equal opportunity to the minority and conspires to enforce its policy on the minority. Viewed in this light, the problem of the Untouchables is fundamentally a political problem.  

Hence he started for separate and distinct communal group entailed for constitutional safeguards. For if such a group is identified in Hindu society it would be admissible to ask for rights under new constitution in independent India. But, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar very early realized that Congress failed to recognize untouchables as separate entity alike Muslims, Christians and Sikhas. He put forward his views thus:

…basis of my politics lies in the proposition that the untouchables are not a subhead or a sub-section of the Indus. And that they are a separate and a distinct element in the national life of India…I contended that the untouchables formed separate and distinct element in the life of the country. The Hindus who were their hereditary enemies could not be trusted and far from using the political power for raising the untouchables the fear was that they would use it for perpetuating their subjection, and it was therefore absolutely necessary to use it to promote their welfare or to use it to save themselves against the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus.

In order to claim separate communal group he argued with British government for no improvement in the condition of the depressed classes since their presence in India. In the conference he boldly put forth treatment of British government towards India and the untouchables. Dr.
B. R. Ambedkar advocated the demand for dominion Status for India but doubted if the depressed classes would be given due attention as the political representatives for the new constitution belonged to particular section of society. The unafraid tone and open criticism in his speech resulted into a wonderful effect upon the Conference. One of his achievements is the goal of Declaration of Fundamental Rights securing the cultural, religious and economic rights of the depressed classes. He showed ingenuity in submitting the demands to the Minorities Sub-Committee to be included in the future constitution of India. In order to get adequate representation in the Legislatures he forwarded following demands:

1. Right to adequate representation in the Legislatures of the Country, Provincial and Central.
2. Right to elect their own men as their representatives, (a) by adult suffrage and(b) by separate electorates for the first ten years and thereafter by joint electorates and reserved seats, it being understood that joint electorates shall not be forced upon the Depressed Classes against their will unless such joint electorates are accompanied by adult suffrage.27

This shows commitment of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar towards the cause of the depressed classes. He made use of every opportunity to communicate with Members of the British parliament put forth conditions of untouchables. As result first time the fate of the Untouchables in India Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was able to convince the world that condition of untouchable is worse than that of the Negroes in America. His reflective study, hard work and winning intellect generated incredible impression upon the delegates and British statesmen. At the same time he inspired admiration and hatred. First ever in this Round Table Conference evolved the conception of a united India and it contributed in definite emergence of the depressed classes in the political picture of India amide bar of world
opinioned. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was taken to as forceful leader. With his efforts he generated sufficient pressure upon the Government to change its approach towards the oppressed classes.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Gandhi, Sapru amongst other received invitation for the Second Round Table Conference in September 1931. In his speech on 15th September 1931, Gandhi in the Federal Structure Committee asserted that the Congress represented all interests and classes of India including Muslims. One of the reasons he put forth for representing depressed classes was that in his view the congress had been active in removal of untouchability from its political platform. On the contrary, in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar views the State’s representatives to the Federal Assembly ought to be elected by-election and by not nomination. This opinion stirred the Princely Order and their supporters. The last meeting of the Minorities Committee took place when leading representative of Muslims, depressed classes, Europeans, and Anglo-Indians submitted a Memorandum affirming their general and special claims. Further it demanded employment of the depressed classes in public services, military and police services etc. More importantly they asked for separate electorates. This last demand was taken as ‘neo-caste-Hindus'. To the depressed classes Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had now become a symbol of hope, strength and ambition. But the Congressmen described him as a traitor because he opposed Gandhi.

Social and Political Identity: Communal Award and Poona Pact

The British Premier announced its Communal Award on 17 August 1932. The Communal Award stated it details as follows:

Members of the Depressed Classes qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation
the legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the Depressed Classes’ electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency.\textsuperscript{28}

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar considered the Communal Award as a significant event in the political history of untouchables. Its importance lies in the fact that the untouchables were given due attention in the form of separate political rights. However, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was dissatisfied with the limited tenure. The communal Award in its details mentioned that the Constitution shall provide these political safeguards for 20 years. He expressed his harsh reaction that in reality Dalits can do nothing since their rights are to be considered after 20 years and nobody is going to take any account of them till then. Accordingly the Muslims, Sikh, and Christians were all given independent electorates, naturally hurting the sentiments of higher Caste Hindus.

Gandhi resolved to oppose at the cost of his life if the depressed classes received separate electorate. He threatened to undertake fast unto death if the proposal was not cancelled. Gandhi’s fast stirred the national interest. People across the country recognized Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as the leader of the depressed classes. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar told he was willing to consider everything, although he was not willing to allow the rights of the depressed classes to be reduced. A furious campaign was launched against Dr. B. R. Ambedkar but he was calm and collected. He found himself in great dilemma. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
It was a baffling situation. I had to make a choice between two different alternatives. There was before me the duty, which I owed as a part of common humanity, to save Gandhi from sure death. There was before me the problem of saving for the Untouchables the political
\end{quote}
rights which the Prime Minister had given them. I responded to the call of humanity and saved the life of Mr. Gandhi by agreeing to alter the Communal Award in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi.  

This agreement is popular in the name of Poona Pact which was signed on 24th September 1932. It gave 148 seats to untouchables. But the award had given something more than the seats in election i.e. separated electorate. The communal award was beneficial for untouchables from two aspects: first, a predetermined allocation of seats to be elected in separate electorate of untouchables and to be filled from the untouchables; second, double vote— one to be used through separated electorates and the other to be exercised in the general electorate. The award meant that the Hindus would be dependent upon the suffrages of the untouchable. It was rather intended to free the untouchables from the domination of the Hindus. But with the Poona pact the untouchables had to depend upon the suffrage of the Hindus— nothing but to perpetuate slavery as it increased the fixed quota of seats and asked to forsake the right to double vote. Thus, Poona pact reversed the fate of political liberation of untouchables. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar gave vent to his displeasure in following words:

This fast unto death was a great gamble on the part of Mr. Gandhi… There was nothing noble in the fast. It was a foul and filthy act. The fast was not for the benefit of the untouchables. It was against them and was the worst form of coercion against a helpless people to give up the Constitutional safeguards of which they had become possessed under the Prime Ministers’ award and agree to life on the mercy of the Hindus. It was vile and wicked act. 

After this Dr. B. R. Ambedkar began to focus his attention to gain political power rather than satyagraha. On 28 Sept. 1932 he declared his changed intention saying:
Temple entry would not help to liberate you, the political right should be used to gain all conveniences for better life...There is not much point in wasting the energy of Dalits on small issues like temple-entry. The Dalits can achieve progress by fighting for their rights to higher education, senior jobs and dignified ways of earning bread and thereby changing the attitudes of caste Hindus towards Dalits.31

Hereafter he gave many speeches awakening political consciousness among depressed classes. In one of his speech in Thane district he remarked that “the right to food is more important than the right to worship. We have a bad deal because others are selfish. Do not be fatalistic. Work with your muscles to earn what you deserve.”32 In Mazgaon he appealed people to not eat the flesh of corpses and live the life of respect and dignity for “those who struggle always success.”33 In Mumbai speaking on hero-worship he told followers to leave all sort of worship and devote for political rights. “The strength of the community lies in its awareness, education and self respect.”34

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was constantly busy with conferences and meetings throughout Maharashtra. His wife Ramabai was very ill. He had no time to look after due to social work during last ten years. On 27 May 1935 his wife passed away at Dadar residence. Passing away of Ramabai saddened Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to the core as she had upheld all household responsibilities with courage and without hesitation. She had sacrificed all pleasures of a popular family for the mission undertaken by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. He was saddened by her death so much that for some time he felt like withdrawing from politics.

Simultaneously Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had regular correspondence with the anti-caste society in Punjab. The society wanted him to preside over their annual conference. On 5 December 1935, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar forward them the scheme of his presidential address. But after reading it
the society asked to change it. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar declined for any changes in views expressed. The conference was cancelled informing him that the audience would not accept the revolutionary thinking. The presidential address was later published under the title *Annihilation of the Castes* - an important and thought provoking book on basic tenets of caste system.

**Religious Proclamation: Conversion as the Ultimate Remedy on Untouchability**

Disheartened by the Poona pact and congress leaders, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar pondered over the further course of action he and his followers should adopt in order to attain social and political goal. News appeared in the newspapers that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was going to make a declaration of change of religion at the Yeola Conference scheduled to be held in October 30th, 1935. Every one shocked to learn it. For last ten years Dr. B. R. Ambedkar did in fact everything to turn the mind set of upper castes but it culminated into vain effort to create an opening for his people into Hindu society. The Mahad and Nasik Satyagraha had made him indignant. The Conference was organized by leaders of the depressed classes to assess their political and social situation during last ten-year-old struggle and the improvements. In this conference Dr. B. R. Ambedkar surveyed the plight of the depressed classes and efforts undertaken with little succession 13 October 1935 he declared that the time for making a final decision has arrived saying, ‘Unfortunately, I was born a Hindu untouchable. It was beyond my power to prevent that, but it is within my power to refuse to life under ignoble and humiliating conditions. I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu’.

On 30th May 1936 at Dadar, Bombay in a speech he made it clear why he wanted conversion. He viewed the conversion from two points of
views first- social and religious, second- material and spiritual. Without going further he connected the issues with nature of untouchability and its practice in India. Since untouchables have to face atrocities. Hindus have made their daily life unbearable. The root of their tyranny is class struggle between higher caste Hindus and Untouchables: a matter of injustice against one man.

The problem of the untouchability is a matter of class struggle. It is a struggle between caste Hindus and the untouchables. This is not a matter of injustice against one man…the class struggle has a relation with the social status…It is eternal, because the religion which has place you at the lowest level of the society is itself eternal, according to the belief of the High caste people... You are at the lowest rung of the ladder today. You shall remain lowest forever…How you will survive through this struggle is the main question…

To survive one must have power. The untouchable had no power to survive through the struggle. But then where from the power to survive would generate.

…Three types of strengths are known to man, 1) Manpower, 2) Wealth and 3) mental strength. Which of these, you think that you possess? So far as man-power is concerned, it is clear, and that you are in a minority…It is an undisputed fact that you at least have a little bit of man-power, but finances, you have none. You have no trades, no business, no service, and no land. The pieces of bread thrown out by the higher castes are your means of livelihood. You have no food. No clothes. What financial strength can you have? As regards mental strength, the condition is till worst. For centuries you have not only served the higher caste but also tolerated their insults and tyranny without grudge and complaint, which has killed the sense to retort and revolt. Confidence, vigor and ambition have completely vanished from you…

Lack of communal consciousness, wealth and metal strength made the untouchables depend on caste Hindus, ironically against which they
had to fight back. But in Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s opinion: “If you depend only upon your own strength you will never be able to face the oppression.” He convinced the untouchables to realize the actual condition of untouchables. He convinced them that the strength required to face this tyranny needed to be gathered from out-side. He illustrates his reason for conversion with factual example in the life of untouchables.

…Unless you establish close relations with some other society, unless you join some other religion, you cannot get the strength from outside. It clearly means, you must leave your present religion and assimilate yourselves with some other society. Without that, you cannot gain the strength of that society.

It becomes clear that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar wanted conversion for material gains, but what about mental or spiritual strength. He put forth his thought explaining that “religion which governs people is religion,” such a religion should have proportionate relationship between man and society. He pointed out that the “Hindu religion is constituted on a class-concept. …“Hindu religion does not teach how an individual should behave with another individual.” Hence, “A religion which does not recognize the individual is not personally acceptable to me. Although society is necessary for the individual, mere social welfare cannot be the ultimate goal of region… [Instead] individual welfare and progress should be the real aim of the religion...”

Clearing his stance on notions imbibed in Hindus religion concerning the relation of society and individual Dr. B. R. Ambedkar emphasized freedom of man in society.

…Man’s life is independent. Hinduism does not recognize the importance of an individual...this is what is called the chaturvarna Hinduism…it is clear that you cannot develop yourself at all in the Hinduism. Three
factors are required for the uplift of an individual. They are sympathy, Equality and Liberty.

So the religion which does not have any compassion, or any sense of fraternity, who treat ‘worse than foreigners’ because the untouchables and Hindus of village act as if armies at a war camp. There is not a single illustration of kind consideration by Hindus toward untouchables. According to Dr. B. R. Ambedkar there is no equal status for untouchables in Hindu religion. In his observation he found that untouchability is nothing but a ‘concrete inequality’ due to which the condition of untouchable is worsening. He cites an example that if anyone happens to hear a Mahar person speaking while an upper caste person is taking food after fast, the person will not touch his food. Such is the maltreatment attached with lower castes.

If you have to get rid of this shameful condition, if you have to cleanse this stigma and make this precious life graceful, there is only one way and that is to discard the Hindu religion and the Hindu society...

The most important aspect of conversion according Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was social liberty guaranteed by religion than law. For him physical freedom is not more important than freedom of mind. His thoughts over the importance of freedom in a society is utmost important as it is closely related to the mental and physical development of a person in society. His analysis of conception of freedom in Hindu society shades light on the plight of untouchables and their mentality.

...A man has body as well as a mind. Mere physical freedom is of no use. Freedom of mind is proof of one’s existence...In my opinion, not only you have any freedom but you are worse than slaves. Your slavery has no parallel... In the other words, it [Hinduism] has doomed you to be in the conditions of a slave. If you want freedom, you must change your religion...
So far being born in the lower caste is quite natural, but it becomes one’s responsibility to get ride off from slavery of mind. The ultimate solution in front of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was to wipe out castes and abandon the religion. Many scholars and social activists thought that the caste can be abolished by inter-caste marriage or inter-dining in contemporary circumstances. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had thoroughly concentrated and searched out the mindset behind the caste system in Hindu religion. He contended, “so long as we remain in the religion which teaches a man to treat man as filthy, the sense of discrimination on account of caste, which is, is deeply rooted in our minds, cannot be abolished. For annihilating the castes and the untouchability from among the untouchables, change of religion is the only antidote…” After all,…

…Why do you remain in that religion which does not treat you as human beings? Why do you remain in that religion which does not allow you to educate? Why do you remain in that religion which prohibits you from entering a temple? Why do you remain in that religion which prohibits you from water? Why do you remain in that religion which obstructs you from getting a job? Why do you remain in that religion which insults you at every step? A religion, which prohibits righteous relation between man and man, is not a religion but a display of force. A religion, which does not recognize a man as a human being, is not a religion but a disease. A religion, which allows the touch of animals but prohibits the touch of human being, is not a religion but a mockery. A religion, which precludes one class from education, forbids accumulation wealth, to bear arms, is not a religion but a mockery of the life of human being. A religion that compels the illiterate to be illiterate, and the poor to be poor, is not a religion but a punishment… You have to keep in mind that this is, therefore, a crucial occasion. Your today’s decision will carve out a path for prosperity of your future generations. If you decide today to get liberated, your future generations will definitely be
liberated. If you decide to remain slave, your future generations will also be slaves.\textsuperscript{36}

The above notions clearly show the way Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar used to create self-respect among illiterate untouchables. He was determined to change the Hindu religion itself. In January 1936 at Pune speaking in All India Youth Conference he emphasized, “Dalits now would not change their mind about conversion even if God tried to persuade them. I am trying to lift you from your downtrodden state. I have personal gains. You will have to be responsible for your actions. If you follow me, you will be liberated.”\textsuperscript{37}

**Political Strategy to Stand For Own Rights: Independence Labour Party**

In the year 1937 the elections were scheduled for Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act. The coming elections aroused interest among all the political parties as well as leaders. This was to be the first occasion when the people of British India were going to elect their representatives by adult franchise. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar having been disappointed by treatment of upper caste Hindus, during the last few years, especially the Poona pact, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar started to gather his friends and followers. So in 1936 he founded a political party *Independent Labor Party* or ILP. The Party’s priority was resettlement of industries, technical education, employment opportunities and fixing least hours of work with adequate wages etc. Although the party was limited to Bombay province in election that took place on 17 February 1937 out of 17 seats around 15 were successful. It was an occasion for depressed classes a great celebration and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s victory. On 18 July 1937 after resignation of Cooper government Congress came in power on July 19, 1937. However, without absolute majority the Congress Party took time to form their ministry in Bombay with B. G. Kher as its
Premier. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Jamanadas Mehta take oath as opposition leader. By 1940, ILP had established one of the prominent organizations. ILP was strengthened by Samata Sainik Dal. However, owing to organizational weakness and contradictory principles ILP gradually became unsustainable. At last it had to be replaced by Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942.

Apart from constantly looking after problems of labours, farmers and untouchables he was also studying and replying various religious leaders who used to visit him asking for acceptance of new religion. The Muslims, the Sikhs and Christians had offered him to accept their religion keeping in view the goodwill of downtrodden people. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was somehow getting attracted towards Buddhism. In this regard in February 1940 in an interview with H. V. Desai he expressed his notions about Buddhism:

“Buddhism is based on equality and liberty…Non-violence was the Buddha’s favorite principle. One should have the weapon but should not use it for destruction. It is the powerful who should refrain from atrocities and not the weak, this what Buddha taught.” Emphasizing the need of religion he added, “A religion is needed to control human life, the philosophy of Marx will not satisfy the downtrodden.” In his view man is not for religion but religion is for man.

**Striving For Social and Political Status for Untouchables in Independent India**

The All India Depressed Classes Conference was organized on 18 and 19 July in 1942 at Nagpur. Addressing the seventy thousand assembled people he expressed satisfaction over progress of untouchables in politics and public service. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also pointed out considerable progress achieved in education and secured foot hold in the
institutions of public service. He encouraged the progressed made by women too. It was an outcome of his constant struggle; his strategy that untouchables were not a sub-section of the Hindus, but a distinct element in the national life of India as separate as Muslims brought unprecedented consciousness among Dalits. In the speech he made an ardent appeal:

> My final words of advice to you are **educate, agitate and organize**; have faith in yourself. With justice on outside, I do not see how we can lose our battle. The battle to me is a matter of joy. The battle is the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or social in it. For our is a battle, not for wealth or for power, it is a battle for freedom. It is a battle for the reclamation of human personality.”

For conference leaders from the Punjab, Bengal and Madras had come to attend it. It was indent ed to discuss a change in political strategy of depressed classes observing the Cripps Mission Formula suggested in March 1942. As the Cripps mission resolved ‘India’s constitutional impasse’ but contrary to the benefit of untouchables it proposed election of constituent Assembly without special electorate for untouchables. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar viewed imposing danger of sidelining interest of untouchables. In order to have nationwide political organization Dr. B. R. Ambedkar founded **All India Scheduled Castes Federation** in July 1942. The organization resolved to uphold the demand for separate electorate for depressed classes.

In the month of September 1945 general elections were announced in India. All parties started preparations to contest elections. Scheduled Caste Federation in its election propaganda emphasized for relying on being in power instead of going with Congress, Muslims or Hindu Mahasaba. To remove social disabilities and redress their grievances, the untouchables should rely on themselves to acquire political power. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar took nationwide visits campaigning for the elections. The
provincial elections held. Congress outnumbered the votes of Scheduled caste Federation. The Scheduled Caste Federation failed to win seats: for this Dr. B. R. Ambedkar drove him to extreme anxiety. So he began to think of radical ways to justify place of untouchables in independent India.

Observing the nationalistic upsurge in India the British government realized that it is time to free India from bondage, the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee sent a delegation to discuss the political deadlock. The delegation met various parties and representatives of Minority communities. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Master Tara Singh were interviewed. Among the other issues Dr. B. R. Ambedkar demanded safeguards in the new constitution relying on sufficient representation in the Central and Provincial Legislatures as well as public services. The delegation suggested formal union of three groups of provinces, formation of a constituent Assembly and an interim government but no representation for untouchables.

**Foundation of Educational Legacy: The Remedy for Intellectual, Social and Political Development of Untouchables**

Amid political uproar Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s public and social discourse was directed at reawakening untouchables to their social and political status. One more thing he thought to be vital in raising the lower classes was education. As he belonged to the lower caste in Hindu society he realized the value of getting education. He observed that the reasons behind problems faced by lower castes are not, at the root, concerned about feeding them, providing cloths but allow them to enter in educational institution. Due to far away from educational awareness, he found lower castes suffer from inferiority complex. This inferiority had become major hurdle in their growth and turned them into slave to others.
It is of vital importance to create in them the sense of self-respect as normal citizens of society- in absence of which they have been robbed by the Hindu social order. “Nothing can achieve this purpose except this spread of higher education. This is in my opinion the panacea of our social troubles.”

Illustrating his own example, he would appeal the downtrodden, untouchable community members to enroll their wards in school, colleges. He believed in education can enable the lower castes to find an answer to their discrimination under caste system. He was worried about the negative effect being illiterate in a civilized society. He observed that with education the upper classes become more and stronger and lack of which the lower castes become worse than the weaker. If the lower castes are departed from getting education, he argues, to what extend it cause harm to society:

…though education is being given on a large scale, it is not given to the right strata of India society. If you give education to that strata of Indian society which has vested interest in maintaining the caste system for the advantages it give them, then the caste system will be strengthened. On the other hand, if you give education to the lowest strata of Indian society, which is interested in blowing up the caste system, the caste system will be blown up.

In order to provide for educational requirement of untouchables Dr. B. R. Ambedkar started focusing the need of the educational institutions for dalit youth. It was his dream to open an ideal educational institute with qualified staff and improved infrastructure. To promote higher education among untouchable youth he ventured to open Siddharth College on June 20, 1946 under the Peoples Education Society, founded in July 8, 1945. The People’s Education Society sought after the improvement the educational interests and awareness among lower,
middle classes. Another education institution named Milind College at Aurangabad. While establishing these institutions he had very clear and far sighted views about the aims and functions of education and higher education in particular. In his view,

The aim and function of university education should be to see that the teaching carried on there is suited to adults; that it is scientific, detached and impartial in character; that it aims not so much at fillings the mind of the student with fact or theories as at calling forth his own individuality, and stimulating him to mental effort; that it accustoms him to the critical study of the leading authorities, with perhaps, occasional reference to first hand sources of information, and that it implants in his mind a standard of thoroughness, and gives him a sense of the difficulty as well as the value of reaching at truth.\textsuperscript{42}

In future these institutions grew into source of inspiration and for Dalit students who were attracted towards Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s mission. PES opened new avenues and educational opportunities for youth from oppressed classes who played vital role in maintaining and carrying forward the Dalit movement to the root level, out reaching Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s message door to door in areas where majority of untouchables reside.

In Delhi a new caretaker government, comprising representatives of the successful parties, came into being. On August 24, 1946 the names of the members of the Interim Ministry were announced. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in order to make sure sufficient representation for the scheduled castes in the new Government of India, met British Prime Minister Attlee as well as the Secretary of State for India. For Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Dalit issue was his life and death problem. He endeavored to secure constitutional safeguards for untouchables in new constitution. Meantime members were to be elected by the provincial legislatures to be part of Constituent Assembly. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had no men at
Bombay to support his candidature. His name was put up through Scheduled Castes representatives in the Bengal Assembly. Muslim League supported him in getting elected on Constituent Assembly in New Delhi.

The Architect of Indian Constitution

The committee for drafting Constitution was formed under the supervision of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Pandit Nehru moved a resolution regarding India’s objective as an Independent sovereign republic. At the same time as Dr. M. R. Jaykar proposed amendment to the resolution until the Muslim League and Indian States join the constituent Assembly. Dr. Jaykar’s amendments aroused uproar in the Constituent Assembly. Then, unexpectedly, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was requested to express his views on this controversial issue. In his words:

I know, today we are divided politically, socially and economically. We are in warring camps and I am probably one of the leaders of a warring camp. But with all this, I am convinced that, given time and circumstances, nothing in the world will prevent this country from becoming one, and with all our castes and creeds I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that we shall in the future be a united people. I have no hesitation in saying that, notwithstanding the agitation of the League for the partition of India, some day enough light will dawn upon the Muslims themselves, and they, too will begin to think that a united India is better for everybody...

Expressing views on the contemporary chaotic scenario he said,

Power is one thing and wisdom and prudence quite a different thing, the dignities of the leaders or men or parties ought to count for nothing…let us prove by our conduct that we have not only the power but also the wisdom to carry with us all sections of the country and to make them march on that road which is bound to lead us to unity. 43
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was applauded for his passionate appeal. His speech evoked a sense of co-operation in the constituent Assembly. The resolution was taken for discussion next meeting in January 1947. The British government soon after announced its intention to transfer power June 1947. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar prepared a comprehensive memorandum proposing separate electorate for the scheduled Castes in only those constituencies wherein seats were chiefly set aside for them. British Parliament approved the Act of Indian Independence and the Constituent Assembly be converted into the first Parliament of the country. On 15th August 1947, India got freedom but dividing Pakistan and Bengal from it and with it Dr. B. R. Ambedkar lost his candidature. So he was re-elected to the Bombay Legislative Assembly to fill the vacancy after the resignation of Dr. M.R. Jayakar.

After partition of India, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was completely engaged in the task of drafting the Constitution of India. T. T. Kirhnamachti on November 5, 1948 in Constituent Assembly disclosed the fact that “out of the seven members nominated by the constituent Assembly to the Drafting Committee, one died and was not replace, one was away in America for most of the time and his place was not filled up by another person and another member was engrossed in the affairs of the State, and also that one or two other were mostly away from Delhi because of health reasons. So, “Ultimately,” said Shri Krishnamachari, “the burden of drafting the constitution fell on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and I have no doubt that we are grateful to him for having achieved this task in manner which is undoubtedly commendable.” Evidently, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was hailed to be the chief architect of Constitution. The draft Constitution got completed at the end of February 1948. The work of drafting the constitution affected Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s health. To look
after his health he decided to get married to one the doctors (Miss) Savita Kabir on the 2nd of his 56th birthday at New Delhi.

The drafted constitution was put for consequently three readings by the constituent Assembly. One of the important things he introduced in the constitution is fundamental rights. “The object of the Fundamental Rights is two-fold. First, that every citizen must be in a position to claim those Rights. Secondly they must be binding upon every authority….authority which has got either the power to make laws or the power to have discretion vested in it…”

On November 25, 1949 he delivered a forty minute speech impassionedly appealing to the people of independent India saying:

…On the 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contractions. In politics, we shall have equality, and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognizing the principal 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 only put our political democracy in peril. We must remover this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from equality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up.

The Constitution Assembly in the name of the people of India adopted the Constitution on November 26, 1949. It was thoroughly examined by the members of the Constituent Assembly. The debates revealed that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was closely questioned and he readily answered every doubt and questions of the members. Thus, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s arguments proved final word in all the matters pertaining to the Constitution during the debate. His authority in Law, social and economic conditions of our country, history, anthropology, constitutions, of the world, jurisprudences was of immense help.
Constitutional Safeguards for Oppressed Classes

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar revised and submitted the Hindu Code Bill in October 1948 as the Minister of Law of the Government of independent India. He suggested wide-ranging alteration concerning inheritance of property rights of a Hindu woman. But the Bill raised controversy all over the country. In 1950 Dr. B. R. Ambedkar made public what are the aims, nature and scope of the change in Hindu code bill. However, the Bill was not taken up for consideration. The Bill was finally introduced in Parliament on February 5th, 1951 but it received strong disapproval from MPs and general public. In the end, on September 25, 1951, after several debates only Clause 4 of the Hindu Code Bill was agreed by Parliament rejecting entirely Part 2 regarding the Marriage and Divorce. Deeply hurt by the parliamentary proceedings in connection with Hindu Code Bill finally resigned from the Cabinet on Sept. 27, 1951.

Buddhism: A Final Solution over the Stigmatized Life in Hindu Religion

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was pondering over change of religion as he had announced since Yeola Conference in 1935. Studying several books and religions on May 24, 1956 while in Bombay Dr. B. R. Ambedkar disclosed his intention to adopt Buddhism. He based his decision on the study had been engaged from 1935 to 1956. He found as social reformer, founder of religion, and preacher of liberty, equality and fraternity first time in history of social, political and religious revolution. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar upheld Buddha as foremost leader of human kind and following whose principles only, he was confident that the lower class can attain mental strength to fight back miseries inflicted by Hindus society.
He was born a son of man and was content to remain common man and preached his gospel as a common man. He never claimed any supernatural origin or supernatural powers nor did he perform miracles to prove his supernatural powers. The Buddha was satisfied with playing the role of a Margadata.\textsuperscript{47}

After discussing with friends he planned the month and date of the conversion 14\textsuperscript{th} October 1956 and the place Nagpur. Before the date he completed \textit{‘The Buddha and His Dhamma’}. Bhikkhu Chandramani and other five Bhikhus in the presence of huge crowd of more than five lakh men, women and children, particularly from depressed classes, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar repeated the five vows directed by Bhikkhus. He then addressed the gathering and announced the 22 pledges, which he had himself formulated. He then asked the enormous crowd to adopt Buddhism. Responding to his revolutionary call the entire gathering then followed the three precepts and the 22 pledges.

After the conversion, in spite of bad health undertook visits to different places in order to spread the message of Buddhism and explaining relevance of Buddha’s philosophy for a just society. At last the fateful day dawned with the message that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar passed away in sleep in the early morning of December 6, 1956. One can deduce the place of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in life of untouchables from the words of a well-known Dalit writer Daya Pawar. Deeply saddened by the passing away of this savior of untouchables Pawar wrote:

\begin{quote}
I had the impression that the earth was shaking; It was as overwhelmed as if a member of my family had died. Leaning against the doorpost, I began to weep. Neither my mother nor my wife understood why I had begun to weep. When I told them the news the whole family burst into tears.\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was multidimensional personality. Born and brought up on highly disciplined childhood his parents, especially,
his father set the foundations of his educational excellence for rest of his life. Despite being most highly qualified person among untouchables he had to undergo mental torture from orthodox Hindus. He realized and used his education for the purpose of researching and finding solutions to the plight of lakhs of other untouchables surviving in direst conditions on account of caste system in Indian subcontinent. Apart from being a highly disciplined person he was never intimidated by the constant degradation and unpleasant treatment by upper castes as an untouchable. He redefined the concept of ‘caste’, the origin, development and mechanism of caste system by conscientiously researching and unveiling true knowledge between the lines of Hindu scriptures. It had been, since his analysis, pivotal document for the sociologists, and Dalit activists today in order to locate their position whenever they try to protest against injustice in daily life.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s social analysis and interpretation of India social order i.e. caste system enabled him to unearth deep rooted religious, social tenets of untouchability and devise a standard way of protest to address it in most opportune legalized way unlike other social reformers. His social analysis presents an objective, unbiased view of India society. Notably, he had gathered a deep faith in cultural integration of Indian society. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s resolute character facilitated him to qualify highest academic achievements from well-known centers spread across the globe: England, USA and Germany. Instead of joining any of luxurious jobs, if he had compromised within the upper offices, he used all of his academic excellence for the cause of untouchability and Indian general public.

Despite born in untouchable community, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s life and career had been influencing innumerable people
across India and abroad not only for his profound knowledge but also for the way he utilized all his learning in order to up-lift, empower and let realize a massive section of Hindu society its true nature as part and parcel of indigenous culture and it should strive it to get back its status on account of learned efforts instead of violence. For the purpose he deliberately focused on unearthing the deep down social values submerged in the cultural ethos which had been, as his speeches and writing pointed out, misused, misinterpreted and exploited in order to enforce dominance of one specially privileged community on the other under privileged section in society.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, as has been often said about him was, most learned man of his times among Dalits or other than upper castes and communities. The plight and punishment of being born in lowest rung rather compelled him to deplore upon the social system of which he was part. He realized the necessity to observe things going on, for instance, on account of caste factor that thwarted him hire a lodge or room even after being the most qualified man in home country unlike his short stay in USA, Britain. Higher education equipped him analytical skills to sort out questions that he began to face in home country and search its solutions in the scriptures, which were allegedly banned for other castes than the Brahmins. This set the direction of his enquiry into the cultural ethos of this country for which he most impartially studied and devised a most suitable framework of Constitution that could bind multi-caste, multi-lingual nation into a united India. So it would be vital to shade a light of his contribution in the making of this country as one nation and most eagerly in empowerment disgraced untouchables, outcastes and other backward community members till date. Broadly
some key features of his thoughts can be summarized under social, educational, political and religious aspects.

**Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar**

**Social Thoughts**

In his interpretation of Hindu society Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was influenced by a deep sense of trust in self-respect and worth as human being. It was the humanitarian ideas of Gautam Buddha, Saint Kabir, Jyotiba Phule and John Dewey that profoundly influenced his thinking. Buddha’s impartial conception of the world that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar sought after was primarily rooted in wellbeing of general masses without any discrimination.

Kabir condemned caste system and explored human dignity and fraternity in his *dohas* or verses. Similarly, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was inspired by Jyotiba Phule’s social service for the dedication to opening education for the oppressed and lower classes. Yet another noble man was responsible for shaping Ambedkar’s outlook, especially on politics, was John Dewey, a professor at Columbia University, U.S.A. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar often referred John Dewey in his writings on ‘democracy and social freedom.’ In *Annihilation of Caste*, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote “Prof. John Dewey who was my teacher and to whom I owe so much says that every society gets encumbered with what is trivial, with dead-wood from past, positively perverse… As a society becomes more enlightened, it is responsible not to conserve and transmit the whole of its existing achievements, but only such as make for a better future society”. While expressing his belief in humanitarian aspects he whole heartedly declared:

> My social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words: liberty, equality and fraternity. My
philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teachings of my master, the Buddha.\textsuperscript{49}

Thus, it is evident from the above quote that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s impact on Indian politics, social system and religious conversion of Dalits. It can clearly be observed when thousands of protesters, social activists throng upon streets to protest against exploitation, torture originated from caste discrimination towards downtrodden sections of society. For, when any social activists strives to rise for his/rights in society, one tends to understand the philosophical foundations and his comprehensive worldview.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s worldview can be inferred from his statements on society, its foundations and bounding principles. His approach to study society was not only directed by his formal degrees acquired in U.S.A. and U.K. but also his individual experience of being untouchable and wrath of discrimination and marginalization shaped his approach to revert caste system. The unpleasant sense of disgust and injustice he felt in other way motivated him to defend all the oppressive institutions of society i.e. caste system. After completing education he was restlessly critical of the Hindu caste system which, for him was the root of social, political, educational suppression of lower castes, outcastes etc. the prevailing Hindu caste system rendered him new outlook to study fundamental ideas underlying the formation of society, individual and segregation of certain communities across the world and in India in particular. For him “society is one [unit] by its very nature. The qualities which accompany this unity are praiseworthy community of purpose, and desire for welfare, loyalty to public ends and mutuality of sympathy and cooperation.”\textsuperscript{50} This mutual sympathy generates among people to be part of a unit when “the individual shares or partner in the associated
activity…feels its success as his success, its failure as his failure is the real thing that binds men and makes a society of them.”

Clearly, society is a unit and it should function as one unit in order to secure wellbeing of its members. It should support the ‘growth and development of personality’ of an individual. For that a society must regard ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’ as its basis of its ideological foundations. Hence an ideal society according to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is one which is based on ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’. It should be ‘mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change-taking in one part to other parts. In an ideal society there should be many interest consciously communicated and shared. There should be varied and free points of contact with other modes of association. In other words there must be social endosmosis.”

In such a society ‘fundamental rights are protected not by law but by the social and moral conscience of society’. Further the social stratification, as has been observed ever since antiquity, has been source of ‘injustice to the individual and to society.’ Classification not only becomes hurdle in utilization of fullest capacity of individual but also it poses threat to the safety and security of members in a society and often existence of another community. He believed:

A society is always conservative. It doesn’t change unless it is compelled to and that too very slowly. When change beings, there is always a struggle between the old and the new and the new is always in danger of being eliminated in the struggle for survival unless it is supported. The one such way of carrying through a reform is to back it up by law. Without the help of legislation, there can never be reform in any evil. The necessity of legislation is very great when the evil to be reformed is based on religion.
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar made these statements examining Hindu society and its social stratification. He began to sought out the real sense and sensibility behind the name ‘Hindu’ when it became clear that the name ‘Hindu’ as foreign name given by Mohammedan to the natives of Indian sub-continent. The Sanskrit texts had no such name inscribed before the invasion of Mohammedan rulers. For, ‘they [native Indians] did not feel the necessity of a common name because they had no conception of their having constituted a community.’

One wonders at present, then how come Hindu society did not perished with the foreign invasions. The possible reason is that Hindu communities survived due to ‘surrender’ to foreign forces instead of restoring to fight and defend: “the History of the Hindus has been one of surrender-abject surrender.” Hindus survived many invasions not only because of castes system but the foreign rulers for instance British govt. did not care to destroy castes, and hence Hindus survived. The Hindus have characteristic conservatism and their ‘religion is incompatible with liberty, equality and fraternity i.e. with democracy.’ Owing to conservatism Hindu society, during Middle Ages was engulfed by social evils emanating from caste system and hence Hindus reorganized themselves for re-organization.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar thoroughly pointed out the caste and class division undergone ever since Vedic period. Hindu society was, in its earliest stages, a ‘class system’ in which an individual could change class. But due course of time the priestly class separated from the rest of the general people and ‘through the closed door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large, others into very minute groups. Thus, Hindu society today has become a collection of castes.”

Being the ‘federation of castes and each caste being self-enclosed there is
no place for the convert for no caste will admit him.” In other words in Hindu society caste became primary subject when one is born and brought up on society.

One of the foremost characteristic features of Hindus is caste system. It is necessarily become ‘integral part of Hinduism.’ Here are some of the observations made by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on the nature of caste for general people. The Hindu ideal of society as preached by Manu says that “it is a religion, which is not intended to establish liberty, equality and fraternity. It is gospel, which proclaims the worship of the superman-the Brahmin by the rest of the Hindus society. It propounds a superman and his class is born to live and to rule. Others are born and no right to develop their own personality. This has been the gospel of the Hindu Religion. 

“A Hindu is as much born into caste as he is born in Hinduism. Indeed a person cannot be born in Hinduism, unless he is born in caste. Caste and Hinduism are inseparable.”

“Caste doesn’t result in economic efficiency. Caste cannot and has not improved the race. Caste has however done one thing. It has completely disorganized and demoralized the Hindus.”

“A Hindu is born in a caste and he dies as a member of that caste. There is no Hindu without caste, cannot escape caste and being bounded by caste from birth to death he becomes subject to social regulations and traditions of the caste over which he has no control.”

The worst affected section of un-democratic Hindu caste system is millions of Shudras, non-Brahmins or untouchables who are suffering the fatal results of being born in lowest castes. It seems a deliberate, well planned scheme of upper castes…governing class that comprises of upper castes to grab ‘benefits from education, from public service and from political reforms’.
According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar the Hindu social order is maintained by peculiar features: First, the worship of superman second, Kingship responsibility technique devised to preserve system and third, gospel that it is divine order designed by God himself and hence one cannot forsook it. The first technique confers special rights to a section and no rights to other sections in society. Hence “the superman is the Brahmin and the common man is Shudra. The Superman has rights and no duty…Against the superman the common man has any right to life, liberty, property or pursuit of happiness.” Further the responsibility to maintain it is bestowed with King to regulate and nab any rebel occurring in caste system. Thereby it has ‘fixed the social status of the lower orders for all generations to come. Their economic status is also fixed… it denied education to the lower orders. The result is that no one is conscious that his low condition is a ground for grievances. And if there is any consciousness it is that no one is responsible for the low condition.” Third unique characteristic is the notion that “everything is designed by god Himself, and hence no one can challenge it; hence it is ‘scare, not open to abrogation, amendment, not even to criticism.” This is how Hindu social order is maintained. It so happened that those who belong to upper castes and rest of the lower castes too felt equal pleasure being fated to born and brought up in advantaged and disadvantaged conditions. In other words, it is basic reason why, even after suffering deadliest conditions, untouchables tried to resists the injustice, exploitation.

Further, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar found that the Hindu social order is “ladder of castes placed one above the other together representing an ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt.” Common hatred among the social order is the Graded inequality.
In the system of graded inequality there are the highest (the Brahmins) below the highest are the higher (the Kshtriyas). Below the higher are those who are high (Vaishya). Below the high are the low Shudra) and below the low are those who are lower (the untouchables)... The higher is anxious to get rid of the highest but does not wish to combine with the high, the low and the lower, lest they should reach his level and be his equal. The high wants to overthrow the higher who is above him but does not want to join hands with the low and the lower, lest they should rise to his status and become equal to him in rank. The low is anxious to pull down the highest, the higher and the high but he would not make a common cause with the lower for fear of the lower gaining a higher status and becoming his equal. ⁶⁴

This is why that the Hindu social order cannot overthrow inequality among castes. Due to graded inequality, the Shudras try to pull down Brahmins but would not allow untouchables to acquire equal status. Rather, “he prefers to suffer the indignities heaped upon him by the Brahmins to join the Untouchables for a general leveling down of the social order. The result is that there is nobody to join the untouchable in his struggle. He is completely isolated.” ⁶⁵

In interpreting the social order thus, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was in fact preparing for massive struggle. He had gathered reasons for the dilapidated conditions of untouchables. He concluded that, “unless you change your social order you can achieve little by way of progress. You cannot mobilize the community either for defense or for offence. You cannot build anything on the foundations of caste. You cannot build up a nation; you cannot build up a morality. Anything that you will build on the foundations of caste will crack and will never be a whole.” ⁶⁶ The real solution is in the destruction of faith in the purity of the shastras. He asserts that to get rid of social order one should have ‘courage to tell the Hindus, that what is wrong with them is their religion; the religion which
has produced in them this notion of the sacredness of caste.”

“If injustice is be abolished it must be resisted and when injustice proceeds from collective power, whether in the form of imperialism or class domination, it must be challenged by power…That is the only way of stopping the exploitation of the week by strong.”

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also pointed out that why there have not been any revolutions in India as there have been in other countries in the world. According to him the reason behind it lies in the caste system.

The lower classes of Hindus have been completely disabled for direct action on account of this wretched system of Chaturvarnya…On account of the Chaturvarnayana they could receive no education. They condemned to be lowly and not knowing the way of escape and not having the means of escape, they became reconciled to eternal servitude with they accepted as their inescapable fate.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, after criticizing the social order took to ultimate remedy on the problems of untouchables. Until now he was well aware that remove of untouchability would require removal of caste system. But removal of this system needs to understand ‘sort of sanctions’ upon which a system thrives. These are: ‘legal, social and religious.’ The nature of sanction decides the vitality of an institution.

“Unfortunately, the sanction behind the caste system is the religious sanction, for the caste as a new form of Varna system derives its section from Vedas which form the sacred book of the Hindu religion and which are infallible.”

Keeping in mind the stringent rules of caste system and its implicit nature Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar strategically arranged for a massive movement that aimed at removing disabilities, but also at bringing about social revolution, a revolution that will remove all man-made barriers of caste by providing equal opportunities to all to rise to the highest position.
and making no distinction between man and man so far as civic rights are concerned. The Dalit movements launched by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar thus characteristically withhold humanitarian aspects of sustenance: it aimed for equality, liberty and fraternity. It was deliberately peaceful movement. It demanded that the Varnashrama be abolished and wanted to lay down the ‘principles that rights, responsibilities, and status shall be determined not by the accident of birth but by merit alone.

**Political Thoughts**

Ambedkar’s political thoughts guide us in stabilizing society that has been disturbed mainly because of tyrannical socio-political system: a heritage of the caste system. The caste system is fundamentally commanded by Brahmins who developed a social control system that could regulate dominance over the people. The development of the caste system had been hindrance to the growth of the intellect, the capability of all the people confront modern impediments. Further they are bounded by their past. They are so connected with past that the caste system and its bondages are deep-seated into the very mentality that generation after generation reproduced the same laws that avert them from understanding the ability for liberty and capability for profound social unity in their social context. Such procedures of governing the lives of people were framed as guidelines of religion and sacraments to which the individual life was profoundly knotted. In such a culture the notion of the individual liberty is strange. This complicated contrivance captures people sensitively and mentally by several types of mythological dogmas that are entrenched in the minds all people. It was B.R. Ambedkar who recognized the reason of the obstruction in creativity. He saw that by mode of emotional exercises this slavery cannot be broken. It was desirable to break the social linkages that scrambled up the minds of the
public’s over centuries. To this he devoted his time. Prevalence of poverty in India was the indication that an obligatory method must be devised by which lives of people are no destroyed any further by this rotten caste system.

Other leaders in India tried to point at glories of India in the past but Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar demonstrated how the splendor of past is lost and how the suppression of the majority of Indian minds. He was well informed on history and the political notions formed in the process of struggles for democracy. He was profoundly conscious of the history of problems faced by marginal. He assumed that problem of minority, if not solved this civilizations can lead to destruction in clashes which harmful for all society.

No doubt that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar is the utmost political leader who sensed the connection between ‘social controls’ implemented by religion and its influence in the contemporary society. Whereas for, Mahatma Ghandi meaning of freedom lies in terms of attainment of freedom from colonial rulers and bestowing it to local leaders, on the Contrary Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar considered freedom as to get freed from the cultural occupied slavery generated by the caste system. So, he began to search for the best way to get liberated from the clutches of slavery. He has studied movements of liberation in India directed by Buddhism. He believed in indigenous principles of democracy preached by Gautam Buddha rather than attributing it to Western philosophers. For him law is the only protection against the practice of liberty and equality. However, fraternity is the only real defense against the rejection of liberty or equality or fraternity: the other name for brotherhood or religion.
Ambedkar’s political thoughts are centered on two statements—first, society and moral conscience of society protect the rights of citizens and secondly, in democratic form of government expects democratic form of society. He believed that democratic form of society the social morality is the only to secure the rights of general masses. For the simple reason that in democratic society rests on social relationships and associated life among the people.

According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar social relations play key role in democracy. He was social democrat in spirit and practice. He contributed to political thoughts by adjoining the three principles liberty, equality and fraternity to the notion of social democracy which helps in settling down a social democratic government. Limitations of social democracy in everyday functioning. He stated limitations of social democracy saying, ‘Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy’ in other words, a way of life judged on liberty, equality and fraternity in day to day life.’ According to him in democratic government only social and economic changes can be brought about without violence. His speeches and writings are directed at social reforms. He often emphasized social reform over political reforms and contended that political issues should be necessarily connected to the social problems. The base of democracy lies in interconnectedness of communities in society.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s social and political thoughts are essential to ponder over because of his scholarly interpretation of caste system and its function in Indian society. His sole aim was to change the lives of the Dalits: the victims of caste system. Thus it demands understanding of Ambedkar’s political thoughts along with other political streams of the time. He interpreted the Indian social conditions so as to
change it. While discussing Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar’s political philosophy one must subsume fundamental questions in mind that point at certain notions of human being and society, civil rights, freedom and justice, cultural and historical roots dominance and marginalization, democracy and social inequality, the ultimate remedy to the question of individual and community and what should the Dalit movement focus in Indian democratic society.

His political thoughts were developed from liberal, traditional and fundamental political thoughts in his times. His thoughts exceeded all these traditions as he was influenced by the ideas of John Dewey, the rationalist American. Apart from this, Fabian Edwin R. A. Seligman too had remarkable impact on his thoughts. His notion of liberty is closely related to T.H. Green.

His political philosophy is basically ethical and religious in nature. After extensively exploring the Indian traditions and its philosophical systems he adored new political notions like democracy, justice, state and civil rights on moral grounds. He critically studied the caste system, after which he observed had pervasive influence on the individual’s life and society as a whole. He minutely pointed out how an individual relates to society and how an individual is bound by social forces. He specifically delved into the ethical and social base of India and strived to bring forth plight of sustenance of disadvantaged people. In doing so he adopted a rational point of view: objective, radical thinking along with scientific attitude supported him to sort out political solutions unlike other social and political leader of his time.

Establishing an ideal community is central to his thinking. His political thinking was directed at moral community: an ideal community wherein all sections of society shall interact without barriers of caste
prejudices. For that purpose he critically observed Hindu social order and argued about organization of Hindus into a community. Instead he sought the principle of idea society in the gospels of Buddhism as it aimed to set up community on the grounds of morality. According to him Buddhism tries to establish society on the basis of ‘reason’ and morality’ unlike graded inequality and dominance in Hindu social order. Thus, his idea of a moral community is unique. Projecting his idea he did not confirm to the idea of Hindu ideal community or Marxist notion of community which is asserts equal participation of in production processes. He aimed for a community founded on the moral and ethical values that would easily allow general masses to participate in common affairs. To achieve this one needed to undergo tough and torturous process of moral alteration, the core point of his social revolution aimed at restoring dignity of downtrodden masses as equal civilians.

**On Democracy**

Democracy in India is a result of advent of British in India and thus it’s a great boon to the country. It is with the advent of British that the noble notions of liberty, equality and fraternity entered India social and moral code. However the existence of caste system is a hurdle in India. The main concerns in establishing democracy in India are: “the position of the governing class of India, the aims and objects of the governing class towards the servile classes, the raison deter of the demands of the servile classes for constitutional safeguards.

According to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar democracy rests on four principles: first, the individual is an end in himself; second, that the individual has certain inalienable rights, which must be guaranteed by the Constitution; third, that the individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a
privilege; and fourth, that the State shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others’.  

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar defined the term democracy in his words as – “a form and a method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the social life are brought about without bloodshed.” In year 1943 he emphasized for “a democratic form of Government, arguing for a democratic base of society. He believed that a formal structure of democracy is of no use when we do not press for social democracy. For the reason that democracy is not a “form of Government: it was essentially a form of society.”  

The purpose of democracy that is seeks to provide for welfare of common people and not necessarily sacking autocratic kingship. But, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was particularly worried of the Dalits’ prospect in the sovereign India. Because he clearly saw political leader, parties were getting ready for a democratic form of government, without solving the issues concerning caste system in society. So, he insisted social reform movements all along fundamental lines to which many political outfits opposed. He observed that none of the political organization was interested to address the internal affairs of the society. While referring to the experiences of other societies, he had cautioned,  

Those who wish that democracy and self-government should come into their own, and should not remain as mere forms, cannot do better than start with the recognition of the crucial fact that the existence of a permanently settled governing class is the greatest danger to democracy. It is the only safe and realistic approach for an existence in coming to a conclusion to whether in a free country freedom will be the privilege of the governing class only or it will be the possession of all.  

In order to maintain democracy in India Dr. Babasaheb suggested that “we must hold fast to Constitutional methods of achieving our social
and economic objectives; not to lay one’s liberty at the feet of even a
great man or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert his/her
institutions; we must not be content with mere political democracy. We
must make our political democracy a social democracy as well, for
political democracy cannot last unless there lays at the base of it a social
democracy.” By social democracy he meant a ‘way of life which
recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life.

He again warned that getting freedom and constitution doesn’t
mean that our task is done and nothing remained to be undertaken; but it
has begun a fresh. We have to maintain it. “We have to be very cautious
and very considerate regarding our own future.”\textsuperscript{74} …the true democracy
in India could be safe only in the hands of the non-Brahmin party.\textsuperscript{75}

It can be summed that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was deeply
conscious of the illogical traits inside the Indian society. One occasion
commented “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.” He, consequently,
highlighted the necessity for an economic progress grounded on justice
and equality of all the segments of society in beliefs as well as in day to
day life.

\textbf{Educational Thoughts}

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar considered education as the only remedy
for all religions and social evils prevailing in society. His vast knowledge
and wisdom was the result of voracious reading of books. Hence, in his
personal life love of book was the ultimate means of education and self-
development.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar believed that only education and
economic status can lead to overall improvement of backward classes
which in turn will protect their social and political rights. Hence he recognized education as the first priority among Dalit community and nurturing individuals with character. He emphasized on development of individual and his surroundings; for education can generate fundamental changes in the life of oppressed society and produce equal opportunities for all. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's thoughts are equally relevant in current educational scenario for Dalit and backward classes. He often addressed Dalit students telling them the importance of educational provisions, of which everyone must be aware of.

He was keen to let the student enrolled for advanced studies realized their responsibility. Student should pursue their studies very sincerely. While encouraging the students to go for higher education, he insisted that education should reach each and every section of society. His views on education can be summarized in following points which he had expressed as member of committee established by the Government of Bombay in 1928.

Forget that parents gave birth to the child and not destiny (karma). They can mould the destiny of their children by giving them education. Knowledge is the foundation of man’s life. Education is necessary for females as it is for males. If one’s education is detrimental to the welfare of the poor, the educated man is a curse to the society. Character is more important than education. Thus, it becomes clear that when Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar insists for education he meant to generate awareness which is not just formal education but process of securing one’s place in society as free citizen.
Religious thoughts

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was, in true sense was revolutionary, for he tried hard to mend Hindu society from social evils of caste system but when at a time it seemed futile to do so he decided to forsake the religion and its belief system itself. His declaration of religious conversion in the Yeola conference indicated his foresightedness. He had realized and experienced that Hindu social order is set in the steel frame of caste system in which one caste is assumes privileged condition over the other with mutual consent over privileges, rights, inhibitions and disabilities. Considering the irreversibility of the caste system in last part of his life, he abandoned Hinduism and became Buddhist. He elaborated his reasons for doing so in specific and detailed manner in books like The Buddha and His Dhamma, Annihilation of Caste, Philosophy of Hinduism, Riddles in Hinduism etc. along with many public speeches and articles. He unearthed the basic notions of religion, community and individual.

He defined religion “that governs people is religion and its function is to reconstruct the world and to make it happy and not to explain its origin or its end.” It is necessary for a society for mankind because if religion ends the society too perishes. So it is only dhamma or niti that can safeguard people from doing wrong.

His analogical study has been helpful for many in adopting better religion in democratic society. He says, “What is called religion by Hindus is nothing but a multitude of commands and prohibitions”. According to him Hinduism consists of evils practices such as: “It has derived moral life of freedom, it has only emphasized conformity to commands and the laws are unjust because they are not the same for one class as of another. Besides, the code is treated as final.” Dr. Ambedkar also discussed as to why and religion declines. He cited three reasons for
decline of religion: first, immaturity of a particular religion whose basic principles are not in-depth study of phenomenon, lack of learned preachers and third reason relates to dogmatic practice that the religious principles are only for learned people and seas to be understood by people. On these basis depends the future of a religion.

He was attracted towards Buddhism for its purpose. He concluded that Dhamma is as preached by Buddha was intended to eliminate the sufferings of people from the world. “Recognition of the existence of the suffering and to show the way to remove suffering is the foundation and basis of Buddha’s Dhamma.” In most clear way Dr. Ambedkar explained what is Dhamma and what it excludes: Dhamma is purity of life, to believe that karma is the instrument of moral order etc. On the contrary Dhamma doesn’t believe in supernatural power, it has no place for Ishwra or God, it rejects the beliefs about soul, sacrifices, speculations and infallibility of sacred books.” In other words Dhamma is based on Morality.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar converted to Buddhism because the base of Buddha’s Dhamma has scientific base, scope for freedom of an individual, equality, liberty and fraternity. Buddha, according to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar preached ‘social freedom, equality and political freedom. He taught equality, equality not between man and man only but between man and woman. He was more concerned with salvation of man in this life and not after death in heaven or hell. Most importantly it paved way for the establishment of democracy on India soil. Buddha’s Dhamma brought social change that Shudras could a life of dignity and glory. From 1935 to 1956 he held many discussions with different religious leaders, and after comparative study he decided to that the Buddhism is the only religion that fits his point of view.
As has been noted earlier Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar declared his intention to convert his religion. He took many years to decide over conversion to Buddhism. He explained the ‘Social and religious and material and spiritual’ aspects of conversion to Buddhism. In order that the general public should understand his intentions he first of all tried to convince people over their conditions. Dr. Ambedkar related his conversion to class struggle between shudras or untouchables and Caste Hindus. Caste Hindus would not allow the shudras to raise to equal status. But those who wanted to live a life of self-respect and equality will have to think over to start efforts to claim equal status. In order to be ready for struggle on must acquire three things: ‘Manpower, wealth and mental strength.’ Untouchables lacked three of assets. He made a crucial assertion while convincing untouchables to convert to Buddhism. He said, “I tell you specifically that man is not for religion, religion is for man. To become human, convert yourselves. To get organized, convert yourselves. To achieve strength convert yourselves, to secure equality convert yourselves. To get liberty, convert yourselves. To make your domestic life happy, convert yourselves. So “the conversion is as important to the untouchables as is self-government to India. The ultimate object of both the conversion and the self-government is the same. The ultimate aim is to attain freedom.”

His views on Buddhas and his religion and society in general can be summarized as follows:

The society must have either the sanction of law or the sanction of morality to hold it together. Without either, the society is sure to go to pieces. Religion, if it is to survive, it must be in consonance with reason, which is another name of science. It is not enough for religion to consist of moral code, but its moral code must recognize the fundamental tenets of liberty, equality and fraternity.
Religion must not sanctify or make a virtue out of poverty.\textsuperscript{83} Further in 1956 in a talk by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said: “I prefer Buddhism because it gives three principles in combination, which no religion does. Buddhism teaches Prajna i.e. understanding instead of superstition, Karuna i.e. love and compassion, and Samata i.e. equality. This is what man wants for a good and happy life. Neither God nor soul can save society.”\textsuperscript{84} After conversion to Buddhism he made it clear to carry the responsibility of being Buddhist which has been followed by all the Dalits. He asked the newly converted Buddhist, saying your responsibility is great too. Your behavior should be such that other people will honour and respect you. Do not think that religion means we have got stuck with a corpse around our neck. We must resolve to follow Buddhist religion in the finest way. If should not happen that the Mahar people brought the Buddhism to disgrace, so we must have firm determination, it we accomplish this, then we will thrive ourselves.”\textsuperscript{85} Further, the general masses should act upon the new path, he asked untouchables to give up all Hindu religious festivals, festivities and deities.

To sum up all the thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar bear implicit and explicit impact on the learned as well as illiterate members of Dalit communities. These thoughts have played vital role when most of the social and political leadership seemed distracted from its social concerns. As has been mentioned earlier Dr. Ambedkar was convinced about illiterate, ignorant untouchable followers. So he used simplest language to put forth their history, social status and political and religious measures to get rid of wrath of caste system. As a result thousands of Buddhists thoroughly followed him and began to practice his message in daily life. Those who entered social service took it as boost to review
thought process and those who enrolled in school, college his thoughts assumed power of weapon of words. Hence it becomes necessary to study the Dalit autobiographies on the backdrop of enlightened messages of great humanitarian leader of Dalits.
References

3. Vasant Moon. Quoted in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar*: p. 4
5. DhanajayKeer: Life and Mission of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, p.27
10. DhanajayKeer: p.41
11. Quoted by Moon, Vasant. *Dr. Babasaheb*: p. 20
12. DhanajayKeer: p. 43
13. Ibid. p.53
15. Quoted by DhanajayKeer: p. 60
16. Ibid. p. 60
17. Quoted by Vasant Moon. *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar*: p. 32
18. Quoted by Sontakke, Y. D. *Thoughts of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar*: pp. 91-92
19. Ibid. p. 93
20. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. *The Bahishkrit Bharat*, 18th Jan, 1929
28. Ibid. p. 931
29. Ibid. p.4200

172
30. Ibid. p.4200
32. Ibid. p. 93
33. Ibid. p. 93
34. Ibid. p. 94
35. Ibid. p.94
37. Quoted by. Vasant Moon. *(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar*: p. 108
38. Ibid. P. 135
40. Quoted by. Y. D. Sontakke. *Thoughts of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar*: p. 28
42. Ibid. p. 296
44. Ibid. p. 405
46. Ibid p. 375
48. Quoted by Christophe Jaffrelot : p. 1
51. Ibid. pp. 519-20
52. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol. 1, p. 51
53. Ibid., p. 5
54. Ibid., p. 222
55. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol. 12, p. 115
56. Ibid., p. 50
57. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol. 9, p. 286
58. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol. 1, p. 219
59. Ibid, p. 219
60. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol. 3, p. 336
61. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol.1, p. 50
63. Ibid., pp. 126-127
64. Ibid. 127
66. Ibid., pp. 115
67. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol.1, p. 66
68. Ibid., p. 69
69. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol.5, p. 375
70. Ibid. p. 102
71. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol.1, p. 409
73. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol. 9, p. 449
75. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol.1, p.264
76. https://ambedkarism.wordpress.com/2011/03/30/ambedkar-thoughts
77. Quoted by. R. B. Langayan, Relevance of Dr. Ambedkar’s Thoughts in Present time. p. 154
78. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W. & S. Vol. 3, p. 442
79. Quoted by. R. B. Langayan, Relevance of Dr. Ambedkar’s Thoughts in Present time. p. 155
80. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, W.& S. Vol. 11, p.121
81. Ibid. p. 247
82. Dr. Ambedkar B.R., Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Vol. 17 (III), p. 117
83. Quoted from Ramendra, Why Dr. Ambedkar Renounced Hinduism? p. 01
84. Keer, Dhananjay. Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission, p. 490