CHAPTER-V

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SOCIAL SOLUTION

For over five decades, preceding the transfer of power, the Indian political scene was stormed by several political leaders and illustrious personalities. Ambedkar was one of those who played a crucial role in the amelioration of the down trodden people of India. He was a perceptive thinker who drew upon his intellectual capacities to find solutions to the vexed socio political problems of his times. Ambedkar was a great thinker, emancipator and a constitutionalist of eminence. No less a person than Mahatma Gandhi, with whom Ambedkar had acute political difference and crossed swords wrote of Ambedkar thus “A man who has carved for himself a unique position in society. Whatever label he wears in feature, Ambedkar is not the man to allow himself to be forgotten”

It is true that his revolt against Hindu society was volcanic. He was cyclonic by temperament. But it is also equally true that he was sincer in going to the root cause of the evil. His make up was, nevertheless, different because he did not agree that the dispensation of Heaven could be so unreasonable as to condemn so inexorably the untouchables. He was looking out for not the immediate cause which was socio logical but for the roots in the deeper layers of Hindu minds.
John Gunthur observes that, "Caste is as old as India". It is the inner citadel of Hinduism. It is the institution which makes India unique, the device breaking up Indians into fixed categories that has no approximation elsewhere in the world. Every Hindu is born into a caste and his caste determines his religious, social, economic, domestic life, from the cradle to the grave. No man may leave his caste, except he be expelled. It is impossible to progress from caste to caste. So, Ambedkar observed that caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy.

While discussing the origin of untouchability in India two important factors are referred to usually. They are, the race and occupation is done by Stanley Rice. Ambedkar could not accept them as valid. He believed that in the first place the untouchables were different racially from the Aryans in view of the explanation based on anthropology and ethnology of India. Secondly he thought that they had not come to be traced as untouchables just because they performed fill the job. The monster of untouchability followed the untouchable at every step is very well illustrated by the very life of Ambedkar himself. How for he was able to liberate the millions of his brethren from the yoke of social slavery is the subject matter of his address.

The society which from times immemorial had denied freedom to the outcastes had come to believe smugly that such a denial of freedom to the outcastes was consistent with justice because of the entrenched religious motives. From this it can be seen that while Ambedkar was ardently working
for justice to the untouchables in a just society mainly through the instrumentality of politics. Gandhiji and others were making a religio-political approach to the problem. The sad upshot of it all was that the dream of a social revolution which Ambedkar had hoped for to set off to rights. Which were long overdue did not come off. In this way this could be construed as a national loss, since a divisive society could hardly qualify for a nationality still less for nationalism.\(^7\)

It is difficult to speak of the Indian community as such. Since the religious motive, which is the basis for building a common life, has become the very principle which divided one section from the other.\(^8\) Ambedkar therefore fully exercised over the fact of dealing with question of the untouchables as a political minority who had no chance of ever participating in political power despite the democratic claim for India. Congress on the other hand was prepared to treat the untouchables as a religious caste group, whose interests had only a political bearing but was not prepared to consider if fundamental to national politics.

To begin with the genius born amongst the most desprised and degraded community in India surveyed the situations reflected on the causes and came to the conclusion that their sufferings were multiplying as they had not voice, no power to resist and no proper understanding of their slavery and serfdom. As a first step he founded in January 1920 a fortnightly in marathi called 'Mook Nayak' (leader of Dumb) through which he emphasised the necessity of awakening the down trodden from their age-old lethargy and inaction. He asserted that in order to save the depressed classes from perpetual slavery,
poverty and ignorance, herculean efforts must be made to awaken them to their disabilities.

Turning to the freedom movement he declared that "it was not enough for India to be an independent country. She must rise a good state guaranteeing equal rights in matters religious, social, economic and political to all classes, offering every man an opportunity to rise in the ladder of life and creating conditions favourable to his advancement."9

In his endeavour to liberate the suppressed masses. Ambedkar founded in 1924 a society known as “Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha” to promote the spread of education and culture among the depressed classes and to advance and to improve their economic conditions.

With the help of his people Ambedkar made heroic efforts to achieve social equality by launching Satyagrahas at Mahad (for the right to take water from a public tank) and at Nasik (For the right of entry into Hindu temples) in 1927 and 1930 respectively. This direct action served a double purpose. Firstly, it made the untouchables realise the strength of their united efforts, and secondly, it brought their goal nearer to such an extent in a few years what hundreds of years of preaching by the friars would not have done.

As a sequel to the Indian statutory commission under the chairmanship of Sir John sinon to re-examine and revise the 1919 Act, Nehru Committee determined the principles of a constitution for India. The Nehru Report enumerated nineteen fundamental rights,10 to be embodied in the statute. There was no specific reference to the abolition of untouchability and the same religious form was maintained in the Report.11 Further the depressed
classes were not recognised as a minority and no specific safeguards were contemplated for them under the Nehru Report.¹²

To counteract this, Ambedkar submitted in May 1928 a memorandum to the Simon commission, where in he stressed the need for safeguards for the depressed classes. In his dissent not to the Simon commission’s Report, Ambedkar forcefully pleaded for due representation of the depressed classes in the Legislatures, Executive and public services.¹³

As the Simon commission’s recommendations had no chances of being accepted, the British government convened a Round Table Conference to settle the framework and the future constitutional setup for India. On behalf of the depressed classes, Ambedkar along with Rao Bahadur Shrinivasan was incited to participate in this historic conference in 1930, perhaps also impressed by weighty arguments of Ambedkar besides their own policy divide at impera, the British government recognised the untouchables as a separate entity and granted them separate electorates along with other minorities in the communal Award announced by the British Prime Minister Ramsy mac Donald in August 1932. The Award provided for voting by the voters of the depressed classes in the general constituency; and a number of special, seats to be assigned to them. These special seats were to be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of depressed classes were entitled to vote, besides their voting in general constituencies. Gandhiji took exception to this award and nothing short of reversal of the separate electorates for the depressed classes could prevent Gandhiji from holding on his resolve to go on a fast unto death. So the whole nation turned to Ambedkar whose leadership of the untouchable was now accepted as a
fact. Ambedkar who was caught in a dilemma, however, responded to the call of humanity and saved the life of Gandhiji by agreeing to after the communal award in a manner satisfactory to Gandhiji. The outcome was the Poona pact.

The reaction to the Poona pact were mixed in nature. It was a peculiar arrangement which was liked neither by the Hindus not by the depressed classes. It was at the same time accepted by both the parties, perhaps to respect the sentiments of Gandhiji.

The immediate outcome of the Poona pact was a meeting of the Hindus at Bombay to throw open temples to the untouchables. Mahatama Gandhi gave his support and started a column in the Harijan weekly with the caption week to week, with a view to giving a detailed account of the temples, schools, wells, etc., thrown open to the untouchables in different parts of country. A more concrete result of Poona pact was the formation of the All India Anti-untouchability league under the inspiration of Gandhiji At Bombay 1932, later it was called ‘Harijan Sevak Sangha’: Its aim was for carrying propaganda against untouchability and taking immediate that all public wells dhrmasalas, roads, schools and public temples be declared open the depressed classes.

Ambedkar was fully convinced that without an effective and due participation in the political process and life of the country the untouchable could not have any justice. He soon abandoned demands and movements, for temples entry and the like. Through pursnassive methods as Satyagraha, which formed part of Gandhiji’s plan for abolition of untouchability, he pleaded for getting political power into the hands of the untouchables.14
Finally it can be concluded with the following points of Ambedkar about social transformation:

1. There are many cases which allow inter-dining. But it is a common experience that inter-dining has not succeeded in killing the spirit of caste and the consciousness of caste. I am convinced that the real remedy is inter marriage. Fusion of blood can alone create the feeling of being kith and kin and unless this feeling of kinship, of being kindred, becomes paramount, the separatist feeling the feeling of being aliens created by caste will not vanish. Among the Hindus inter marriage must necessarily be a factor of greater force in social life than it need be in the life of non-Hindus. Where society is already well, knit by other ties, marriage is an ordinary incident of life. But where society is cut asunder, marriage as a binding force becomes a matter of urgent necessity. The real remedy for breaking caste in inter marriage nothing else will serve as the solvent of caste.

2. To ask people to give up caste is to ask them to go contrary to their fundamental religious nations. The Hindus hold to the sacredness of the social order. Caste has a divine basis. You must therefore destroy the sacredness divinity with which caste has become invested. This means you distory the authority of the Shastras and the Vedas."

3. The Hindus must consider whether the time has not come for them to recognise that there is nothing fixed, nothing eternal, nothing sanatan, that everything is changing. Change is the law of life for individuals as well as for society. In a changing society there must be a constant revolution of old values and the Hinduism must realise that there must be standards to measure the acts of men there must also be readiness to revise those standards."
4. Finally, Dr. Ambedkar warns the downtrodden to unitedly fight for political power. For self interest, people belonging to the deprived section or depressed class may join other political parties. But he would be restricted and can not work for the welfare of the depressed classes. Hence, even if it is a small power, the independent political power of depressed classes alone would enable them to uplift their socio-economic position. Because of lack of economic power, the political power of depressed classes could be only weapon through which they would work for social transformation, as Ambedkar says; "political power is the master key through which you can open each and every lock"

An estimate of Ambedkar's contribution to social transformation in India would not be complete without reference being made of other leaders like Jyotiba Phule of Maharastra, Sri Narayan Guru of Kerala, E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker commonly known as Periyar of Tamil Nadu who contributed in a big way towards social transformation in their respective regions. But Ambedkar emerges as a colossul amongst the social reformer of modern India.

POLITICAL SOLUTIONS:

Both Untouchables and Caste system which are so very strongly linked need to be destroyed if there is to be real change in the social status of the lower strata of the Indian society. In order to eradicate untouchability and caste, Ambedkar suggested political reforms. He knew fully well the importance of political power and rightly assigned it a place of great significance in the social and economic transformation of any society. The task of securing political rights to the untouchables was a very difficult one
and Ambedkar had to fight at every point. He was alone in this task and had little help from others. Indeed he had to encounter the British rules also. The British Government which had taken the lead in the reform of the Indian society on such social evils as Sati and Child Marriage remained passive on the issue of atrocities on the low caste people carried out in the name of caste system. No doubt, they intervened to introduce equality before law for all citizens, touchables and untouchables alike but, did not see that the untouchables were free from the horrible conditions created by the Orthodox Hindus. They took neutral stand regarding the uplift of the untouchables. Ambedkar considered, "political power sine qua non for any practical and meaningful reform. Political power had not only to be in the hands of the Indians but it should be concentrated in the hands of the oppressed and social suppressed sections of society it social, legal and cultural disabilities of the deprived people had to be removed." Political power once with the untouchables will help to solve their social maladies because it is the key to all social progress. To, achieve this, Ambedkar advised his people to 'educate', 'organise' and 'agitate'.

Ambedkar as an untouchable himself knew that the word 'Untouchable' was an epitome of the ills and sufferings of the lower caste people. Untouchability had not only arrested the growth of their personality but had also came in the way of their material well being. It had also deprived them in a very subtle way certain basic rights such as personal liberty, personal security, right to hold private property, equality before law, liberty of conscience, freedom of opinion and speech, right of assemble, right of representation in the country's government and right to hold office under
the state. The British Government in line with their liberal tradition may be said to have conceded these rights at least in theory to its Indian subjects, but the untouchables hardly made any use of them. Besides, as Ambedkar opined, they never made any demands which could help them raise their status in the Indian society. They were not bold enough to rebel against their oppressors or their rulers. They lacked the courage of a Carrson who could tell Redmond "Damn your safeguards we don't wish to be ruled by you."\textsuperscript{18} The untouchable came close to Plato's definition of a slave as one who accepts from another the purpose which control his conduct. Ambedkar could never compromise with this kind of a situation and emerged as a first person in his community to ask for political share in the Indian society.

The real beginning of the share in political power for the untouchables started for the first time in Indian History through the Act of 1919 which recognised the existence of the Depressed classes. Ambedkar had demanded Separate Electorate with reserved seats for the untouchables in proportion to their population before the South Borough Committee.\textsuperscript{19} Because of his demand, the Act of 1919 recognised the existence of the Depressed classes and gave representation by nomination. Among "the fourteen non-official members nominated by the Governor-General to the Central Legislative Assembly, one was the representative of the Depressed classes. In the provincial Legislatures, they were represented by four nominations in the Central Provinces, two in Bombay, two in Bihar, and one each in Bengal and United Provinces. In Madras ten members were nominated to represent nine specified Depressed classes and in Bombay four members were nominated."\textsuperscript{20}

Ambedkar was however very critical of the Act of 1919 because he felt
that this Act had provided for nomination only in the absence of satisfactory representation. The Act did not discuss the position of these unfortunate people or their capacity to look after themselves. Ambedkar asserted that even the Muddiman Committee which was appointed two years later after enactment of the Act 1919 to report upon the possibility of improving and enlarging the scheme of reforms admitted that the representation granted to the Depressed Classes was inadequate. He pleaded for the Depressed Classes to be considered a minority in his submission to the Simon Commission because they were subjected to all kinds of humiliation and suppression in the name of caste by the high caste Hindus. Hence, he was not willing to place them in the broad category of Hindus but through of them as a separate group as against the majority group. However, according to Ambedkar unlike other minorities, the Depressed Classes as a minority deserve and need greater protection since they are educationally, socially, and economically very backward. Indeed they “suffer from certain political disabilities from which no other community suffers.” Therefore, he considered legitimate his demand for the status of a minority to the Untouchables (Depressed Classes) at the Round Table conferences and in the “Constituent Assembly”

Ambedkar opposed the principle of nomination and insisted upon the “extension of the principle of election even to the depressed classes.” To him election is not only correct in principle from the stand point of responsible government but also necessary in practice from the stand point of political education. His insistence on political education for all was the product of his faith in liberalism. As a true liberal, he believed that it was only in a society with proper facilities for political education that people would be happy and
satisfied and the best way of promoting political education was to allow the representative system to work without any hindrances.

To secure proper representation of the Depressed Classes, Ambedkar claimed "Reserved Seats if accompanied by adult franchise" and wanted "Separate Electorates where adult franchise was not granted." At the Round Table Conferences, Ambedkar representing the depressed classes demanded representation in provincial or central legislatures lathers through Separate Electorate.

One can consider Ambedkar's demand for Separate Electorates as the very negation of liberalism. But, in defence of Ambedkar it could be said that he was thinking of it as an ultimate alternative in view of the peculiar conditions and constraints. It could also be said that it was to uphold the basic liberal ideal of true representation that he defended Separate Electorate because he fully appreciated the view that true representation was the very essence of liberalism. Ambedkar's belief in and commitments to liberalism made him claim "equal citizenship, free enjoyment of equal rights, protection against discrimination, adequate representation in the legislatures and the executives, adequate representation in the services, redress against prejudicial action or neglect of interests and special departmental care" to the untouchables.

Although Ambedkar was convinced of the need for separate electorates, he was however willing to discord in the case of the Upper House of the federal legislatures if the method of indirect election was adopted. But in the case of Lower House he was not prepared for any compromise. It was not
that Ambedkar had no faith in the democratic process of direct elections but
was fully aware of the dangers of the system in a plural and very fragmented
society of India. Further both Ambedkar and Rao Bhadur Srinivasan argued
that the Separate Electorates for the Depressed Classes shall not be liable to
be replaced by a system of Joint Electorates and Reserved seats, except when
the following conditions were fulfilled.

a) A referendum of the voters held at the demand of a majority of their
representatives in the Legislatures concerned and resulting in an
absolute majority of the members of the Depressed Classes having the
franchise and

b) No such referendum shall be restored to until after twenty years and
until Universal adult suffrage had been established.26

The Depressed Classes wanted their quota of seats in proportion to their
population and hence viewed Proportional Representation system with
favour. For them true representation was guaranteed only through Separate
Electorates and Proportional Representation System.

The British Government considered for the first time the case of the
Untouchables from the political point of view and the outcome was the
‘Communal Award’. The British Prime Minister, Ramsay Mac Donald
announced a provisional scheme of minority representation commonly
known as ‘Communal Award’ on August 17th 1932.27 (though the Award
was signed on August 14, 1932). The arrangements with regard to the
representation of the Depressed Classes were defined in para 9 of the text of
the Award which stated that, “all members of the Depressed Classes so entitled
under the ordinary electoral qualifications will vote in a general constituency. In addition since it is improbable that members of Depressed Classes would under present conditions secure adequate representation in the legislature by this means alone, it is provided that some special seats shall also be assigned to them. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of Depressed Classes residing in these areas will be entitled to vote. Members of Depressed Classes will thus be allowed two votes—one in a general constituency and one in a special constituency while members outside them, will vote in general constituency only. The Separate Depressed Class constituencies, however, are a temporary device, designed to safeguard the community until its present social and education disabilities have been, to some extent, made good, and His Majesty's government intend that the new Constitution shall provide for their compulsory abolition after 20 years, if this has not previously been affected with the agreement of the parties concerned by the means afforded in the text of the Award itself. ²⁸

For the first time, Untouchables were given an independent existence by the Communal Award, though no agreed solution could come through the deliberations in the Round Table Conferences. Since there was no agreement on the question of representation, Prime Minister Mac Donald came up with the idea that all the parties should sign a pledge and authorise him to settle the communal question. Gandhiji and other high caste Hindus signed but Ambedkar refused because he was convinced and confident that his demands were responsible and no arbitration was necessary in this regard.

To Ambedkar the Communal Award gave the Untouchables two benefits-
i) "a fixed quota of seats to be elected by Separate Electorate of Untouchables and to be filled by persons belonging to the Untouchables and ii) double vote, one to be used through Separate Electorates and the other to be used in the general electorates". However, Ambedkar was to fully satisfied with the Award because of "the absence of any representation to the Untouchables in Punjab and if the time limit fixed to 20 years." He doubted if the evils of Untouchability will vanish within the 20 years when they had not disappeared in the last two thousand years.

There is no doubt that the Communal Award was a welcome development to the untouchables. It had the promise of great political relief to the hitherto neglected sections of population. As a political measure, it had great value in the eyes of the depressed people. On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi and other high-caste Hindus condemned the-Communal Award on following grounds.

i) The Scheduled Castes (Untouchables) are not a minority.

ii) They are Hindus and therefore, they cannot have separate electorates.

iii) The separate electorates will perpetuate Untouchability.

iv) The seperate electorates are anti-national; and

v) The separate electorates will enable British Imperialism to influence the communities having separate electorates to act against the interests of the country."
Gandhiji tried his best at the Round Table Conferences to prevent the untouchables from having Separate Electorates and towards that end, he went to the extent of aligning himself with Muslims and some Depressed Class leaders. Mahatma Gandhiji was greatly disturbed when he learnt that Muslims were supporting the demands of the untouchables and with a view to neutralise them he accepted their 14 points which he had earlier rejected. Some Depressed Class leaders like M.C. Rajah who had supported Ambedkar in his demand for Separate Electorates changed their view because of pressure from the Congress party and in fact, entered into a pact with Hindu Maha Sabha leader Moonje to reject Separate Electorates. This he had done without even consulting Ambedkar and other leaders from the Scheduled Castes which pained and shocked Ambedkar. Some other leaders like P.N. Rajbhoj and G.M. Thavare had however, criticized and opposed Ambedkar’s call for Separate Electorates right from the beginning. What became very distinctly clear in the whole controversy was the lack of unanimity among the leaders of the Depressed Classes. Ambedkar distinctly failed to keep the untouchables united and the divisions within the community was in fact a great loss of face for Ambedkar who was generally regarded their spokesman and leader. However, Ambedkar’s persistence, his genuine efforts and proper defence won the day for the Depressed Classes. Acceptance of Separate Electorates by the British made Mahatma Gandhi write a letter to the British Prime Minister on August 18, 1932 from Yeravada Central Prison in which he vowed to “resist Separate Electorates” even at the cost of his life. The British Prime Minister in response to Gandhiji’s letter reiterated that “under the award the Depressed Classes will remain a part of the Hindu Community and the
Separate Electorates will only have a dominating influence over their future.\textsuperscript{33} This did not satisfy Mahatma Gandhi who in his letter of September 9th 1932 "reluctantly affirmed to adhere to the earlier decision."\textsuperscript{34} and undertook fast unto death on 20th September 1932.

Ambedkar condemned Gadhiji's attitude and declared that separate electorate was not meant to harm the interest of the Hindu Society. It was their desire to be independent of others in matters affecting the untouchables. Ambedkar was very clear when he said that, "If we chose separate electorates, we do so in order to avoid the total dependence on the sweet will of the caste. Hindus in matters affecting our destiny.....I however trust the Mahatma will not drive me to the necessity of making a choice between his life and the rights of my people. For I can never consent to deliver my people bound hand and foot to the caste Hindus for generations to come."\textsuperscript{35}

Gandhiji fast created a serious situated in the country. Opinion was divided leading to fresh clashes among the Depressed Classes. Ambedkar became the built of all criticism and came to be called a 'monster', a 'traitor' and a 'hireling'.\textsuperscript{36} The whole nation along with Britain was seriously watching this grave situation created by the Separate Electorates to the untouchables. The only way left to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi was to alter the Communal Award. The British Prime Minister had made it quite clear that the British Cabinet would not withdraw or alter the Communal Award on its own, but they were ready to substitute it, if it was acceptable to the caste Hindus and the Untouchables. As Ambedkar had the privilege of representing the untouchables as their leader at the Round Table Conferences, it was natural
that his assent would be necessary for any change in the Communal Award. All eyes turned on Ambedkar as the man of the moment of rather as the villain of the piece. There was no doubt about his leadership of his people - a position which the Congress had always questioned and refused to accept. The situation was a very piquent one for Ambedkar. He was placed in a grave dilemma with two equally important alternatives. If on the one hand, he had the duty, as a part of common humanity to save Gandhiji from sure death, he owed on the other hand, the moral responsibility of saving for the untouchables the political rights which the British Prime Minister had announced.\textsuperscript{37}

The Congress and the other Hindu leaders such as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Moonje, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Raja Gopalachari, Sardar Patel, Sapru, Birla, Jayakar, Kamala Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Solanki, Dr. Savarkar, Rajah and others worked for amicable settlement to save the life of Gandhiji. As a result of their discussions with Ambedkar and Gandhiji they arrived at an agreement known as the "Poona Pact". The agreement was signed on Saturday September 24, 1932 putting an end to the controversy regarding Separate Electorates for the untouchables. Gandhiji broke his fast on September 26th.\textsuperscript{38} when the British Government announced that it would recommended to Parliament to endorse the Poona Pact. Ambedkar emerged very strong wedded to his liberal beliefs and commitments and also saved Gandhiji's life. He was able to extract great many concessions for the Depressed Classes. It was not in any case a let down for his people.
The Poona Pact envisaged the following proposals:-

1. The Depressed Classes were given hundred and forty eight reserved seats in the Provincial Legislatures.

2. Election to these seats were to be by Joint Electorates where all the members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll in a constituency will form an electoral college. They will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats, by the method of the single vote, the four getting the highest number of votes in such primary election, shall be the candidate for election by the general electorates.

3. Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature was likewise to be on the principle of Joint Electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election provided for the class (2) above.

4. In the Central Legislature 18% of seats allotted to the general electorate for British India were to be reserved for the Depressed Classes.

5. The system of primary election to a panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislature were to come to an end after ten years, unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in the settlement, thus putting an end to the system of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the provincial and Central Legislatures.

6. Franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes were to be indicated in the Lothian Committee* Report.
7. No one was to be denied elections to local bodies or appointment to the public services on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes; there was to be fair representation of the Depressed Classes subject of course to such educational qualifications as may be laid down from time to time for appointment to the public services.

8. In every Province an adequate sum was to be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of the Depressed Classes out of the educational grant.39

The terms of the pact were given effect to by the Government of India Act of 1935. though the pact gave more seats on the basis of the Communal Award, it took away the right of the untouchables to double vote. To Ambedkar, the second vote given by the award was a priceless privilege and its value as a political weapon was beyond reckoning because, the untouchables with their voting strength could determine, if not dictate, the general elections as no Hindu candidate could dare to neglect the interest of the untouchables in his constituency or to be hostile to their interests. But the 'Poona Pact' completely failed to send the true representatives to the Legislatures. Ambedkar had proved that the candidates who win the primary election were defeated at the final election due to voting strength of the Hindu majority. Thus according to Ambedkar, the voting system of the 'Poona Pact' was responsible for the defeat of the Scheduled castes candidates in the general elections. So he initiated a resolution in the Executive of the Scheduled Castes Federation on September 23, 1944 demanding separate electorate again. He decided that the 'Poona Pact' had to go. It had indeed resulted in
disenfranchising the untouchables. Ambedkar wanted to nullify the Pact although it had been signed. He knew fully well as a student of Law that any pact signed in duress was not legally justified. And yet, there was little he could do. The Pact was a fact and it was in operation.

At All India Scheduled Casts Conference held at Nagpur on 18th and 19th July 1942, a Resolution (number IV) demanding 'Separate Settlements' was adopted after rejecting Separate Electorates. This was incorporated by Ambedkar in the paper he submitted to the Pacific Relations Committee at Quebec in 1943. The All India Scheduled Castes Federation which met at Madras on 23rd September 1944 under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Raj also passed the resolution endorsing the 1942 Resolution of All India Scheduled Caste Conference.

The Untouchables in India had come to be considered as a separate element ever since 1917. Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, had talked of the Scheduled Caste as a separate element in the national life of India, as far back as 1944. Boldened by such recognition Ambedkar demanded separate settlements. He considered it as the beginning of the New Life Movement for Dalits. He knew very well that the Indian village system perpetuated untouchability and contributed to the evil effected of caste system. So he wanted untouchables to be geographically and territorially separated. In other words, he was for separate villages exclusively for the untouchables. Another reason for demanding separate settlements was the economic position of the untouchables. Ambedkar believed that the untouchables had a separate and exclusive existence, they would not be prone to the economic exploitation
and domination of the upper castes. This demand of separate settlement could be traced to the loss of the political gain which Ambedkar had made at Round Table Conferences; The Poona Pact had left him both disappointed and frustrated. Hence, it be fair to look at his call for separate settlements as the response of an angry, disillusioned man. He felt that the High Caste Hindus thought of the Untouchables as part of the Hindu society joined together by the divine will of god. Their contention was similar to the one found in the Bible wherein it is said that those whom god is pleased to join, "let no one put as under." So Ambedkar was determined to repudiate any such relations with Hindus. He visualised that the separate settlements could be completed in about twenty years time. Indeed it could be gradual and steady without unnecessarily putting pressure on the existing system. This demand of Ambedkar did not catch the attention of the general public and most leaders of the time ignored it. It is also true to say that Ambedkar was himself rather cool to the proposition and failed to revive it. There is indeed no mention of separate settlements in any of his later speeches, statements or writings until his intervention in the Constituent Assembly Debates.

ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS:

Dr. Babasaheb Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is a great social visionary of our times, comparable with other great sons of India viz., Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, M.N.Roy, Ram Manohar Lohia, Rabindranath Tagore and others who have dreamt and worked towards a new social order which is free from social economic and political disabilities of a ancient and medieval culture. I am aware of the important differences and an rare co-
incidence of similarities of views and perspectives of these Indian leaders. The comparability is only regarding their broad ideological foundations like secularism, democracy, abolition of untouchability, constitutional protective measures for protecting weaker and deprived sections of society, social and economic equality etc.,

The purpose of this chapter is to 1) reconstruct the Ambedkar's vision of a national economy and society. 2) explore the internal contradictions if any in integrating his concept of economy and society; and 3) to point out the usefulness of the need to integrate the economy and society through constitutional methods to certain extent, as Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's thought action process would not only help us to set in right historical and theoretical as well as policy perspective his strength and weaknesses but also would help us the discover the social, moral, economic, political and legal basis as well as processes to achieve social transformation in India.

The legacy and personality of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is portrayed very objectively and subtely by Hirendrananth Mukherjee who observes that;

"Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a great man on any reckoning, exceptionally versatile, positive in his views and often in his life-time the target of criticism and fierce controversy but deeply admired never the less, a man who had inflexibly championed and made totally his own the cause of millions of the deprived and society degrated in our country who, in their turn, venerate him with a fervour almost unparalleled in the case of any other comparable personality to those who comprise the scheduled castes and scheduled Tribes, most of them in the predicament of what Franz Fanon described in celebrated
words as "the wretched of the earth" Ambedkar has been the hero who stood steadfastly by them and gave them hope and confidence in themselves and a profound sense of self-respect.\textsuperscript{42}

The ideas of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar are not only revolutionary but also are of contemporary relevance. A.M.Rajashekharaiah observes rightly that: "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is well-known as the stontest champion of the dumb and downtrodden millions of this country. His life was a saga of incessant struggle and supreme sacrifices for the cause. He was a leader of not only the downtrodden but of the entire nation. He was not only a leader of men but a great thinker, scholar and writer of eminence. He has left behind a number of works of his which today are inspiring, thought-provoking and highly relevant."\textsuperscript{43}

Dhanajay Kheer, in his Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: Life and Mission observes that:

"Great men have sprung from palaces as well as from cottages. They have sprung from the homes of shoe-makers, tailors, butchers, bricklayers and blacksmiths. But Ambedkar had the unique distinction of springing from dust. He came of a family whose hundred forefathers were treated in this land worse shadow a sacrilege."

Ambedkar's name, therefore, will be imperishably linked with the history of India. Most of his ideals have been incorporated into the constitution. He rebelled against Manu and dethroned hi from his high pedestal. This was a victory unequalled in the history of this ancient land.
Dr. B.R. Ambedkar thus achieved what was above the ambition and attainment and beyond the dream of men of his community. He belongs to the men of first eminence of our age. He belongs to the line of those who have been saviours of the suppressed and oppressed. He shaped the life of sixty million people. He made his mark on the times. He wrote his name on the future of this country and in the history of human freedom. 

These observations indicate clearly that Ambedkar had unquestionable faith in total and perfect human freedom and had fought throughout his life for the total emancipation of the oppressed and exploited of India. Ambedkar’s unique creative faculty and commitment for humanism made him a great revolutionary of modern India. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s influence ideologically has been highly pervading in the independent India both in the official circles and among the emerging educated dalit class. This influence has to be further strengthened to organize the dalits and other weaker sections for political mobilization and to prepare them for a take off towards socio-economic transformation.

To understand and appreciate Ambedkar’s vision of economy and society, it would be necessary to identify the influences on his total ideology that has sought to build an modern India free from tears and exploitation, deprivation and degradation; gross inequalities and sub-human conditions; domination of majority over minorities etc. It is also necessary to remember that Ambedkar gave equal importance to materialistic as well as moral development of man. Man and his total happiness is the prime concern of Ambedkar. Thus, we find the influences of both Buddha and modern capitalist and socialist economic thought on Ambedkar simultaneously.
The most significant influences upon Ambedkar's vision of modern economy and society are as follows:

1. Ambedkar had observed the life style and racial discriminations against American Negors by the whites and tried to understand the problems of Negros (black population), when he was a student of M.A. and Ph.D. in California University, California during 1913-1916. In fact, Ambedkar had met Mr. Booker T. Washington, the leader of American blacks. Mr. Booker T. Washington was trying to organize and attempt at political mobilization of American blacks to ameliorate their poverty and improve their living conditions. Mr. Booker was emphasizing the need for educating, organizing and mobilizing, the blacks for individual and collective upliftment. The regular meetings of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar with Mr. Booker had enabled him to understand the important similarities between the blacks and Indian Untouchables and the causes for their socio economic deprivation:

2. The liberal western education which fortunately Ambedkar was able to receive both in U.S.A and British had made Ambedkar an economist and lawyer, but above all, had transformed Ambedkar into an social scientist and a social activist. Thus Ambedkar was able to formulate an inter-disciplinary approach into his writings. The western secularism, individualism capitalism, constitutionalism the French Revolution, Democracy all have had far reaching influence upon the subsequent thought action process of Ambedkar.
3. As it is well-known the impact of Buddhism on Ambedkar is very great. Ambedkar was attracted towards the Buddhism on account of its moral and ethical as well as human values. Ambedkar did not view Buddhism as a religion in an ordinary parlance but as a unique social and moral ideology for human dignity, equality, freedom, self-respect and human emancipation. It is very important to remember that Ambedkar did not believe in Atma (soul) and Paramatma (God); further, Ambedkar did not link up between spiritual values and materialistic values as the Hindu religion does. Therefore it was possible for Ambedkar to incorporate the Dhamma and its values into his system of economy and society.

4. To some extent the socialist thought has also influenced. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's socio-economic thinking. It could be clearly observed from Ambedkar's philosophy of nationalization of agriculture and redistributive justice.

We shall first analyse Ambedkar’s vision of society since it has influenced considerably his economic ideas. Ambedkar’s vision of society is shaped by his faith and conviction that man is most significant element in any form of social organization: his faith in man's quality to strive towards building an progressive social system for collective good.

Ambedkar’s views on society compares well with Hobbe’s concept of society. He observed that “man is what his mind makes him”45. By this, he wanted to focus on the fact that the state of development of man's mind and the value-judgements that shape man’s reasoning and attitudes would
determine man’s attitude to life and regarding others. Thus, Ambedkar had rightly said that "......a human being is always changing, always growing. He is not he same at two different moments of life". Ambedkar’s life mission and pursuit was to understand ‘man’ and discover the new and changing ways and means to maximize human dignity and happiness. To achieve this goal, Ambedkar relied on individualism, democracy and constitutionalism.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar argues that: “more than political or religious, man is a social animal. He may not have, need not have, religion: he may not have politics: He must have society: he cannot do without society”. Thus, it becomes clear that Ambedkar assigns greater significance to man’s social needs than his political and religious needs. Ambedkar in his search towards the essentials of a progressive, free and unexploitative society clearly recognizes the need for a progressive social conscience. This viewpoint can be derived from Dr. Ambedkar’s observation that:

"If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognize the rights which has chosen to contact (and if) rights are opposed by the community, no law, no parliament no judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word". Therefore Ambedkar had made it his life ambition and mission to destroy the Hindu social order that the has created most hineous caste system and untouchability. Thus, Ambedkar wrote: "The religion which regards the recognition of man’s self respect as sin is not a religion but a sickness. The religion which allows one to touch a foul animal but not a man is not religion but a madness. The religion which says that one class may not acquire wealth, may not take up arms, is not a religion but a mockery of
man's life. The religion which teaches that unlearned should remain poor, is not a religion but a punishment.”

Ambedkar not only unfolds the discriminatory characteristic of Hindu religion leading to human indignity and socio-economic deprivations but also view them as important obstacles for socio-economic transformation. Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindrananth Tagore are the only national leaders who have consistently made a case for humanizing the human relations in India and elsewhere.

Therefore to remove untouchability and caste system Ambedkar had advocated a) intercaste marriages b) inter-caste dinning and c) appointment of dalits as priests in Hindu temples. Openness, occupational mobility, education, equality, demystification of birth theory of higher varnas, disbelief in karma theory, are some of the other important things which Ambedkar has identified as most essential requirements of building a modern progressive society in India. It becomes clear from an total review of Ambedkar's writings and speeches that he has clearly recognized the social transformation as an most significant ingredient of nation building in Indian context.

Ambedkar's prime concern was undoubtedly the abolition of untouchability. At the same time, with same degree of firm commitment, Ambedkar had opposed caste system as it is based on hierarchical order breeding thousands and thousands of mutually exclusive social groups, practically rendering them untouchable to each other. Ambedkar was the only nationally leader who had an comprehensive and rational
understandings of Hindu caste order, if allowed to continue would definitely pose serious challenges to Indian unity and secularism. Thus, Ambedkar had always argued for the most oppressed to be protected. He had repeatedly argued that:

"The out caste is a bye-product of the caste system. There will be outcastes as long as there are castes. And nothing can emancipate the outcaste except destruction of the caste system" Thus, it is very clear that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had never indulged in any type of medievalisms like many others who were his contemporaries. This is the greatest strength, of all of Ambedkar.

It is also gratifying to note that Ambedkar was the only Indian leader of his time to meet and feel for the most socially deprived and ostracized like prostitutes. He had addressed one an gathering of Bombay prostitutes and in his speech Ambedkar had tried to focus upon the moral degradation of the profession like prostitution and had argued for taking up other forms of socially respectful self- employment activities.

Similarly Ambedkar had always shown great enthusiasm and interest to meet other sections of the deprived and oppressed of the Indian society. He had tried to introduce couple of bills in the Bombay legislature as a member to improve the economic conditions of village level workers and to offer attractive prices of farmers.

However, Ambedkar did not visualize the formation of social classes in an Marxian sense and thus, did not analyse its impact upon the social welfare of the weaker sections. A.M. Rajshekharaiyah (1991) had argued rightly that:
"Without fluidity and equity among classes there cannot be social progress and hence no social stability. Stability and adjustment should not be at the cost of change and social justice" Further, Rajashekharaiah also draws our attention to Ambedkar’s attempt not to distinguish between naturalism and humanism, since he believed that they are synonymous. Rajashekharaiah has brought out this very clearly.

"He (Ambedkar) naturalism with humanism. Naturalism denies the existence of anything beyond nature, behind nature or other that nature. There is nothing as supernatural or other world. Naturalism without humanism is meaningless. It is only combination of the two that can bring about a better understanding and human welfare. Ambedkar naturally does not draw any line of distinction between man and nature"

In brief, we can say that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s vision of society is progressive, humanistic, individual centred and welfare-oriented. His concept of society integrates well with a modern concept of national economy and national integration. Ambedkar had given an shock treatment to Hindu society and asked its advocates to be introspective. Ambedkar had asked the upper caste Hindu’s to humanize themselves. His vision of society is not sectarian and static but it is dynamic and open-ended as well as equality based.

Ambedkar’s vision of economy is moulded by a) his progressive social thought and b) an admixture of socialist as well as capitalist economic thought. Therefore on account factor c) Ambedkar’s concept of economy has certain inbuilt contradictions. Ambedkar’s idea of nationalized agriculture
do not go well with his ideas on industry. Regarding industry, Ambedkar advocated the participation of public and private sector. In a way Ambedkar had advocated mixed economy in general for India and in particular for Indian industry.

Like karl Marx, Ambedkar had faith in the great production machine of the capitalism. Ambedkar also had an clear idea of infinite ability of the industry to create economic surplus. Thus, he argued for building an competitive, well diversified and dynamic industrial sector. However, Ambedkar was not able to clearly perceive and fully appreciate the inter relationships between industry and agriculture as well as rural and urban relationships. Dr. Ambedkar’s analysis of an national economy was purely sectoral and was in consistency with many other leading economists of his time.

Ambedkar had believed in the institution of private property, economic freedom and liberty, equal distribution of economic opportunities, equal rights to accessibility for public services, etc., In Dr. Ambedkar’s vision of economy, there are three important agents of production and economic change, viz., the individual the private sector and the Government. All these three agents, according to Ambedkar shall have to play a significant role to maximize economic growth. He was for total industrialization of India. In this regard there was total unanimity between Ambedkar and Jawaharlal Nehru, unlike Mahatma Gandhi, who had advocated limited industrialization.
Ambedkar sounds rational and a great visionary when we observe that he had advocated Government participation in economic growth, employment generation and redistributive justice to ameliorate the conditions of the toiling masses of this country. This line of economic reasoning of Ambedkar fits in well with the later day development thought of the famous growth economists of the 1950’s and 1960’s like Ragnar Nurkse, Arthur Lewis and others.

Ambedkar had relied on constitutional methods to resolve the socio-economic problems of the depressed and other backward classes because they are legal in nature and for want of an next alternative. The legal measures being compulsory, coercive and direction based would creates, Ambedkar believed, in the long-run appropriate environment for total development and change. This is a great achievement of Ambedkar since he has aimed at creating an economic democracy in India. Constitutional coercion and voluntarism as well as self transformation together would usher, in a new socio-economic order in the long-run. India is marching towards it. The dalits and other backward classes have gained over the last four decades considerable degree of political and economic bargaining power and social liberty. The credit for this great silent revolution should go to Ambedkar the great son of India. It is gratifying to note that the country is celebrating the Dr. Ambedkar’s birth centenary year as the year of social justice Ambedkar would be always remembered in the history of modern India as the great champion of human rights. Ambedkar has been an pioneer to give socio-economic-political dimensions to the concept of human rights.
EDUCATION SOLUTIONS:

Ambedkar gave importance to education in the eradication of the Indian caste system. He believed that education would help emancipate the untouchables from their social maladies. If proper education is given to the "lower strata of the Indian society which is interested in blowing up the caste system, the caste system will be blown up."52 was Ambedkar's belief and conviction. Ambedkar was convinced that if the upper strata of the Indian society alone is educated the caste factor would continue to exist and perhaps get strengthened. The best example to Ambedkar was that of the Brahmin caste where one can see more educated people but yet, they stick to the caste system. Ambedkar argued that "the growth of education if it is confined to one class, will not necessarily lead to liberalism."53 It may lead to justification and conservation of class interest and instead of creating conditions conducive to the enjoyment of liberties by the down trodden it may create champions of the caste system and supporters of the status quo.

Ambedkar infact went to the extent of exhorting the state to give up the principle of equality when it came to the question of education of the lower strata of society. He pleaded for favoured treatment to those communities which were too backward to be in a position to vie with others or to consider themselves as equal either in their status or their standard of progress."54 He was of the opinion that University education, teaching in particular should suit the needs and meet the demands of adults in a fast changing world. It is possible only when it was scientific, detached and impartial in character. It is only then that the student would be in possession
to fulfill his personality and realize his objectives. It should stimulate and bring out the best from the mental efforts of the student. It would sharpen faculties to allow him to be critical and give him "a standard of thoroughness" and a "sense of the difficulty as well as the value of reaching at truth."55 It was from this point of view that he considered a good library attached to the University as an essential aspect of all good higher education. Appearing before the Universities reform committee appointed in 1924, Ambedkar clearly spelled out the social significance of University education when he said that the University Senate was like a Legislative body which was intended to put forth the needs of the society and the backward communities in particular and provide facilities required for proper education of the depressed people.

Ambedkar on behalf of the 'Bahishkrita Hitakarini Sabha' submitted a memorandum to the Indian Statutory Commission (Simon Commission) on 29th May, 1928, concerning the state of education of the Depressed Classes in the Bombay Presidency.* He stated in his report that during 1813 to 1854 "the depressed classes were not allowed by government to share in the blessings of education".56 Ambedkar considers the lifting of the ban on the education of the depressed classes in 1854, a nominal affair because its practical operation was not an easy task. Christian Missionaries were the only agencies took charge of the education of the depressed classes. However, to find a way out of this impasse, the government started separate government schools for low caste boys and relaxed the rules of grants -in-aid to missionaries. With these improvements, the education of the Depressed classes slowly picked up.
Ambedkar was unhappy with the existing education system and had reason to oppose the compulsory primary Education Act for its neglect of the educational needs of the lower strata of society. Hence in the matter of promoting the education of the depressed classes Ambedkar put forth certain suggestions to government through the statutory Commission on behalf of the 'Bahishkritha Hitakarini Sabha'

They were:

1. To abolish compulsory Primary Education Act and to stop the transfer of primary Education to the school Boards.

2. compulsion in the matter of Primary Education should be made obligatory and admission to Primary Schools should be strictly enforced.

3. The recommendations made by the Hunter Commission regarding the education of the Mohamedans should also be applied to the Depressed classes and

4. Entry in the Public Service should be secured to the Depressed Classes if not there will be no inducement for them to get themselves educated.157

'Bahishkritha Hitakarini Sabha' was not obvious to the special provisions made for the education of the people in the form of a few hostels for them to stay and a few scholarships for maintenance. But it was genuinely concerned with the state of primary education and rightly emphasized the need for its proper growth. Only where primary education was ensured, higher education would become meaningful and also useful.
Ambedkar attached great importance to education being the key to all success in man's life. Being himself well read he fully realised the scope and importance of education and always exhorted his followers to give proper education to their children. Nothing was more sacred then learning to Ambedkar. Infact he considered it the basis for a child's destiny and opined that the parents could change the destiny of their children by getting them educated. He was all for education without any distinction of sex. Infact he was of the view that the education of the woman was as necessary as education of man.\textsuperscript{58}

Ambedkar's educational philosophy was influenced by Prof. John Dewey's pragmatic theory of education. Prof. Dewey was his favorite teacher who in his pioneering work on education had defined it in its broad sense, as the "means of social continuity of life."\textsuperscript{59} Ambedkar thought that education based on righteousness, would automatically lead to more social interaction among people in the society. And this interaction is bound to prove helpful in the destruction of the caste system. Education, Ambedkar rightly considered as the most powerful means of destroying the notorious aspect of Indian society namely the inequalities perpetuated by the caste system.

Ambedkar had very clear perception of the students life. He was opposed to their involvement in active politics.\textsuperscript{60} He expected them to develop right culture and be in a position to be on their own with self help as the guiding principle. He wanted women to be more particularly trained in Home Science Education so that they can help the family to integrate itself in a healthy society. He did not think that boys and girls should be given the
same education. They could be given the same education up to matriculation. His view was that men and women deserve different kinds of education in the sense that learning about Burke and Shakespeare might be alright for boys but home science education would become essential for women. Here Ambedkar sounds less than liberal though he was for the emancipation of contribution to the working of a healthy social system. He was convinced that healthy family so very necessary for a healthy society depended on its proper nurturing by women. His idea of technical education only for boys as mentioned in his independent Labour Party manifesto of 1937 does not seem to be of relevance today. However, what one needs to appreciate is his great admiration for the contribution of women to family and towards that end he found home science education more helpful and necessary than any other course.

Ambedkar advocated full and compulsory education and demanded scholarships through state-aid to deserving persons from communities which were educationally backward. Ambedkar as a member of Viceroy’s Executive Council in 1942 stressed the need for state-aid to ‘Universities for advanced education and technical training.”

Ambedkar’s dedication and his concern for the education of the Depressed Classes may be traced to his educational institutions started in the beginning of June 1928 in which he started two hostels and established the Depressed Classes Education Society on June 14, 1928.” With the founding of the People’s Education Society by Ambedkar Siddhartha College at Bombay and Milind Maha Vidyalaya at Aurangabad started functioning.
The first college to be established by him in 1946 was Siddhartha College which was due to a grant of Rs.3 lakhs and an equal amount as a loan without interest to the People Educational Society by the Government of India. This was possible because of Ambedkar’s persistent efforts as a member in the Viceroy’s Executive Council (1942-46) to persuade the viceroy, Lord Linlithgow and his cabinet colleagues to give assistance for the first college being established in the country for the benefit of the downtrodden people, Speaking on the occasion of the foundation stone laying ceremony of Milind Maha Vidyalaya on 1st September 1951 Dr. Ambedkar emphasised the need for higher education for the lower classes in the following words -

“Coming as I do from the lowest order of the Hindu Society, I know what is the value of education. The problem of raising the lower is deemed to be economic. This is a great mistake. The problem of raising the lower order in India is not to feed them, to clothe them and, to make them serve the higher as is the ancient ideal of this country. The problem of lower order is to remove from them that inferiority complex which has stunted their growth and made them slaves to others; to create in them the consciousness of the significance of their lives for themselves and for the country of which they have been cruelly robbed by the existing social order. Nothing can achieve this purpose except the spread of higher education. This is in my opinion the panacea of our social troubles.”63 Thus, education had a far nobler purpose than as a mere food for economic well being. Ambedkar had the vision and far sight to look at education as the solution to our social problems of the future.
The colleges established by Ambedkar have now acquired the status of reputed institutions of higher learning where in pupils from different castes study. They stand as testimony to Ambedkar’s mission of giving education to all in general and depressed classes in particular. He emphasized the role of state and its responsibility in the cause of education. He advocated grant in aid even to the educational institutions started by private people. It was his great faith in education which came to be enshrined in the constitution of India. Under Article 30, educational institutions can be established and administered by religious minorities and in the Directive Principles of state Policy, Article 45 makes primary education compulsory.

No doubt, right kind of education should play a role in the eradication of the caste system but, experience suggests that the present system of education has not served its purpose. Nearly fifty years of Independence, has not shown any great success in abolishing the rigidity of the caste system, the social condition of the untouchable has definitely improved with the spread of education. And this is where Ambedkar’s belief in education as a succor stands out and continues to be relevant even today. Thus, the educational philosophy of Ambedkar stood as one of the liberal creeds to reform the Indian society.

CONSTITUTIONAL SOLUTIONS:

The principle of democratic equality can work only if the nation as a whole believes in and is brought under the same social and political order. There should not be any distinction or discrimination out on the basis of caste, class or community. To ensure that there would be respect for the principle
of equality, Ambedkar entered the Constituent Assembly on the expressed desire of "safeguarding the interests of the Scheduled Castes". His main concern was to make sure that his people would enjoy equality in free India.

As the champion of the downtrodden, he was convinced of the need for fundamental rights if social justice had to prevail. The whole Memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of Scheduled Castes Federations, literally came to be adopted later by the Constituent Assembly with an addition of four other articles. The four articles which had not been mentioned in Ambedkar's Memorandum were - Abolition of titles, cultural and educational rights of minorities and right to property.

In the course of discussion of fundamental rights in the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar emphasized their two-fold liberal objectives and their universal application thus; firstly, every citizen must be in a position to claim, those rights and secondly, they must be binding upon every authority whether Central or Provincial. They must be binding upon all authorities with power to make laws. Ambedkar's liberalism enshrined in the chapter on fundamental Rights in the Indian constitution made possible a dignified existence for the Scheduled Castes. Constitutionally and legally there was not to be any discrimination on the grounds of one's low caste. The Constitution had abolished Untouchability under Article 17 of the Constitution Parliament is authorised to make a law prescribing the punishment for this offence under article 35 and in exercise of this power parliament has enacted the untouchability (offences) Act, 1955, which has been amended and renamed in 1976 as the Protection of Civil Rights Act,
The word ‘Untouchability’ has not, however, been defined either in the Constitution or in the above Act. But it has been assumed that the word has a well known connotation - primarily referring to any social practice which looks down upon certain depressed classes solely on account of their birth. The Constitution of India has given a “realistic and effective shape” to Ambedkar’s views on untouchability. The Constitution had in fact recognized Articles 14-18 are definitely necessary for prevalence of social equality in India although one can see the practice of untouchability still existing in India.

Ambedkar strongly stressed the importance of the Directive Principles of State Policy in which his liberal principles are widely seen. Article 38 states that the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political are assured. There is a general directive in article 46, that state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the Weaker Sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. The President is empowered to draw up a list in consultation with the Governor of each state, subject to revision by Parliament under Articles 341-342.

While the rights of free movement and residence throughout the territory of India and acquisition and disposition of property are guaranteed to every citizen, in the case of members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, special restrictions may be imposed by the state as may be required for the protection of their interests. For instance, to prevent the alienation or
fragmentation of their property, the state may provide that they shall not be entitled to alienate their property except with the concurrence of a specified administrative authority or except under specified conditions. (Article 19 (5).

Article 335 also guarantees claims of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for appointments to services—a provision included to satisfy those like Ambedkar who had demanded the right of representation of the depressed people in the public services. The Constitutional requirement of the appointment of a National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to investigate matters relating to the safeguards provided in the constitution and to report on the same is meant to ensure proper implementation of the constitutional provisions and give proper publicity by placing them before Parliament. With a view to associate members of Parliament and the members of the public, three Parliamentary Committees have been set up. Their function is to formulate and review the working of schemes for the welfare of the scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and to advise the Government of India on matters relating to these caste and tribes.

Financial aid for the implementation of these welfare schemes is provided for in article 275 (1) which requires the Union to give grants-in-aid to the states for meeting the costs of schemes of welfare of the Scheduled Tribes and for raising the level of administration of the Scheduled Areas in a state to that of administration of the areas of that State. Besides, there are temporary provisions for special representation and reservation of seats for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in the legislatures (Articles 330, 320, 334).
Ambedkar had all long fought bitter political battles and the inclusion of these provisions in the Indian Constitution could be seen as a great moral victory for the liberal ideals of Ambedkar. The period that is, extension of reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes only confirms that the objectives of Articles 334 have not yet been fulfilled. Today whatever little the SC and ST people have achieved is because of Ambedkar's efforts and his untiring struggle to get the political, social, educational, economic and religious rights to his people. Due to his skillful efforts the low - caste in India are now living a decent life enjoying equality.
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