डॉ. भीमराव रामली आंबेडकर
चरित्र खंड अकराना
श्री. चा. ए. क्लैवमोडे

महाराष्ट्र राज्य साहित्य आणि संस्कृती मंडळ, मुंबई
डॉ. भीमराव रामजी आंबेडकर
चरित्र ग्रंथ
खंड ११ वा

लेखक:
श्री. चॅ. म. खेरमोडे

महाराष्ट्र राज्य साहित्य आणि संस्कृती मंडळ, थुंबई.
संपादक - वार्षिक १९९०

प्रकाशक - लेखक,
महाराष्ट्र राज्य साहित्य आर्थिक संस्थान संबंध,
नवीन प्रशासन मंडल,
मुंबई ४०० ०२२.

© प्रकाशकीय

सूचक - आरम मिस्ट्री, ५, युनिवर्सिटी इंडस्ट्रियल इन्स्ट्रिक्ट, जे. पी. रोड, अंधेरा (प.), मुंबई ४०० ०५०.

किंमत २२/- रुपये
अनुक्रमणिका

1) अर्पण पत्रिका

2) प्रावश्चिक

3) प्रा. न. र. फाटक बाबू के पत्र

प्रकरण 1 वे :- राज्यसभातील भाषण 1

प्रकरण 2 वे :- लोकसंघीयांच्या उत्कृष्ट भाषण 20

" 3 वे :- आंदोलनदेश निमित्त 42

" 4 वे :- अस्पृश्यता पाठवणे गुंड्यांचा कालदर 70

" 5 वे :- अंतरराष्ट्रीय घोषण 90

" 6 वे :- शेड्युल्ड कांटव, शेड्युल्ड ट्राईडेंस-रिपोर्ट 109

" 7 वे :- घटना दुर्भिष्टी 142
अर्पण पत्रिका

वामनाल्यातील नामांकन

जन्म : १४ एप्रिल, १८९१
परिनिर्वाण : ६ दिसंबर, १९५६

ज्यांच्या करूऱ्याच्या बेलोवर भो. चां. भ. खैरमोडे यांची ही खडक्याची पुऱ्ये पुऱ्ये त्या डॉ. भीमराव रामजी तंत्र वावासाहेब अंबेडकर यांनी हे पुष्प त्यांच्या जन्मशताब्दीच्या सुरवातीला लाच मनोभावाने अर्पण!

द्वारका खैरमोडे (गायकवाड)
प्रा स्ता विक

परम वंदनीय डॉ. भीमराव रामचंद्र तथा बाबासाहेब आबेकर यांच्या समग्र विशेष उपलब्धि-श्री. या. डॉ. बेंगळूरू मिशन-Ⅲ ११ व खंड छापून प्रसिद्ध करण्याचे कार्य महाराष्ट्र राज्य साहित्य संस्कृति मंडळ, डॉ. बाबासाहेबाला जन्म-शताब्दीचा मुळ्यांतराच असलेले. पुढीला खंडात व्यक्तीच प्रसिद्ध होणार आहे. यांच्याशेष मंदिराचा ध्वन्यावाद.

या ११ खंडात डॉ. बाबासाहेब आबेकराच्या, १९५२ ते १९५४ या कालांतरातील, प्रामुख्याने राजकीय जीवनातील कार्य, भी. बेंगळूरू यांनी मूळ इंग्रजी उत्तराखण्डात प्रधान केलेला आहे. ते काऱ्य महाने, भारताच्या राज्यवटना मंडूर हल्लाकाळ निवडून आलेले पहिले पालिकेत अभ्यास तयार केलेले प्रवासिनांचा राज्यवटन प्रेमपूर्ण निवडून आलेले, राज्यवटन जे ठरल मंडुरीलाच आले त्याचा विषयान्वयन अध्ययनाचे, त्यांचा असंध्यान दलोल अभ्यास करून लागू आपले विचार मोळ्यात, लाते प्रत्येक मागण महाने त्याचा तयार किरायावारून अंक उक्त किरायावारून आहे.

स्वतंत्र भारताच्या धर्मनिर्माणात निवडून आलेल्या पालिकेमध्ये बाबासाहेबाचे १९५२ वा पंतप्रधान व. तेहेंड्रें अभिमानपणे पहिले मागण झाले, पंतप्रधानांतरात सर्व सुधार त्यांनी पारस्परिक वेळेच व तांत्रिक तुलना  करण्यासाठी त्यांनी देशवाची विभागी केली.

जुलै १९५२ वा बाबासाहेब मंडुरीला आले असता तुम्हाला वाक्यातील देशवाची मंडुरी मेड फेयरन ता. २२ डिसेंबर १९५२ वा तिथीला तूफानाचा खराब स्थानांतरात तुम्हाला आयुक्त होत होते, ज्यामुळे पुन्हा विकटता पालिकेचे, तुडूळ सर्वेक्षणात अभिमानाविषयक बाबासाहेबाची शाळा उभारली. त्याच्यावर नागारकांची प्रश्नी विचारणेवर व त्याच्यावर त्यांना उत्तरे दिले, त्याच्यावर त्यांच्यांना हल्ल्याने नूतनात्मक मधुरात्मक
माधव रामाचरणजी मानवी मार्गव्यापारी नंदराय. श्रीमती रामाचरणजी मानवी मार्गव्यापारी नंदराय. ती अशे—लोकाश्य राजकीय व सामाजिक धर्मार्थ कार्य में नियमित उपाययोगी दक्षता प्रदान का प्रेरणा देकर इर्दी महाने लोकाश्य अग्रणी। मानव लोकाश्य नागरिक जाति में नह केवल समाज समाज पालनकर अन्त में लोकाश्य टिकेल, अर्थ लोकार्थी प्रति करने के।

माधवार राष्ट्रवादी मानवी मार्गव्यापारी नंदराय. श्रीमती रामाचरणजी मानवी मार्गव्यापारी नंदराय. ती अशे—लोकाश्य राजकीय व सामाजिक धर्मार्थ कार्य में नियमित उपाययोगी दक्षता प्रदान का प्रेरणा देकर इर्दी महाने लोकाश्य अग्रणी। मानव लोकाश्य नागरिक जाति में नह केवल समाज समाज पालनकर अन्त में लोकाश्य टिकेल, अर्थ लोकार्थी प्रति करने के।

‘अमृतशंकर गुजारावत’ विषयक तीक्ष्ण राज्यसंस्थान आदेश, तेहसी बाणसाहेबाणी मानव कल्याण अस्पतालांकी नीती व ती अपनी महत्त्वपूर्ण मानवी मार्गव्यापारी नंदराय. ती अशे—लोकाश्य राजकीय व सामाजिक धर्मार्थ कार्य में नियमित उपाययोगी दक्षता प्रदान का प्रेरणा देकर इर्दी महाने लोकाश्य अग्रणी। मानव लोकाश्य नागरिक जाति में नह केवल समाज समाज पालनकर अन्त में लोकाश्य टिकेल, अर्थ लोकार्थी प्रति करने के।

२६ अगस्त १९५४ ला पंडित नेहरूती भारताच्या परामर्श जोराणाऱ्या भारतात एक ठाव राज्यसंस्थान मार्गव्यापारी होता। लोकार्थी बाणसाहेबाणी आपणे विचार व ध्यान केले होते, हे विचार लोकार्थी अस्पतालांकी नीती व ती अपनी महत्त्वपूर्ण मानवी मार्गव्यापारी नंदराय. ती अशे—लोकाश्य राजकीय व सामाजिक धर्मार्थ कार्य में नियमित उपाययोगी दक्षता प्रदान का प्रेरणा देकर इर्दी महाने लोकाश्य अग्रणी। मानव लोकाश्य नागरिक जाति में नह केवल समाज समाज पालनकर अन्त में लोकाश्य टिकेल, अर्थ लोकार्थी प्रति करने के।
सुसंस्कृत जीवन जगण्यालाटी सरकाराचे पुकंर कांधी करायला पाहिजे असे बावासाहेबांनी सांगितोऱे।

यांच्या फांटाळे, ‘चौथा पटाका दुसरीचे बिल आणि’ सरतनेला क्रम ३१ हे माहित्यसहित मानकी इतक्यांबंधन घेतो. नाही चेवण्यासाठी बावासाहेबांनी प्रमाण करतानांचा अथात तीन क्रमांकाचा किसा सांगितोऱे, या क्रमांकांना पं. नेहूऱे, वहीमागे पेले व पं. नोंदवाल्यांना पंत यांच्या विचाराने प्रमाणात्मक होऊ न शक्यासून नियमाची बृंदणी विशिष्टतेप्रमाणे व व्यावसायी मेहराबाजार विशिष्टत वाचकाचा हार खाती वाचकी. स्थानाने प्रमाण वाचविणारे ते वेदीवे व स्थान हवाले. हवेन्दुन ‘प्रमाण कुटुंब कुटुंब’ असा आहे आल्या तेथे वाचाळून म्हणून, ‘आम्ही प्रमाणातील अंदाज बोलो, स्थान देखील असला आता राक्षसांनी व्यावसायात ताप वेतला आहे!’ पुढे यांनी ना इतरही दिली की अभी सारस्ती-सारस्ती पटाका हुज्जात करणे हे येण्या होणार नाही.

अशा त्यांनी बावासाहेबांच्या कार्याची आपडा आहे. त्यांनी संबंधित साधारण देख्या तशी. चां. म. वासमोऱे यांनी कृतेकी कमर केलेली नाही हे दिसून शेईल.

चरित्रकारी श्री. लेहमोऱे यांनी आपल्या या वंशाच्या ५ व्या संख्येप्रस्तावात घडीत आहे, “बावासाहेबांच्या स्वरूपात चरित्रकारी माहिती हे मध्य १९२४ ते १९२७ वा काळात राही असाय दिसाचिह्नांचा उत्तरदायक (दामोदर होळ) साक्षी असतात. एका राही बावासाहेबांना मला पहाऊले, “हे माझे यात्रात चरित्र स्मरणीय, असे मला बांटूऱे! माझा तुम्ही आशीर्वाद आहेच. पण रहांठल ठेव कांधी लेक तुझ्या म्हणजे विषयक रहांठणा विषयातील प्रमाण यांच्यांमध्ये कांधी समजलेला बनतेवारुन माहिती आणि त्यांचे समजणे वेगाने असाय त्यांच्याजचे प्रमाण करतील; तेथे दुसऱ्या कार्यानी महत्ती घडीत!” (खेड ५ वा प्राक्तिक पान राह-आठ १९६८)

याच्याच चरित्रकारपुढील विहितादरे—

‘असुद्धासमाज असुद्धासमाज, वैदिक, धार्मिक व सामाजिक गुणांमध्ये यांचे असिस्त न होते भारतात्या जीवनातील जोर करणे आहेत हे कल्याण नद करणातील ज्यांनी ज्यांनी प्रयत्न केलेले ते करते राहसून होते. बावासाहेबांनी, १९१९ ते १९६६ व्या काळात हे प्रयत्न केलेले, त्यांचे प्रयत्न दुसऱ्या वीश्व शास्त्रासाठी होते. त्या समय तेंदुसून आम्ही असुद्धासमाज जोर करणातील असल्या. आशासमाजाच्या गोसुदात वर काळासाठी होते. ही आशासमाज गोर्ज धर्मचे, असुद्धासमाज बांटू आम्ही गृहदृष्टी, विद्यमान गृहदृष्टी, वातावरण वातावरण गृहदृष्टी वातावरणे हा आभास असे, हाच राहणारे. हे ही दोन व्याख्याचा अभाव नद करणातील वाचा, आपल्यांनी केलेले काळे हे भारतात्या सार्वजनिक प्रसारण प्रेक्षक
व पुरुष आहे; ही जाणव ज्ञाना शालेली असेल असाह वाचकांना ही विचारसर्गी माया होईल, जीणमतांनी पहाडेकंडक्याना ती मान्य होणार नाही. अशाच लोकांना आता देख, गर्स व हस्ताक्षराच्या मात्र समजले पाहिजे, धार्मिक व राजकीय लेखात दाखलित, अवश्यक माहुन राजीवलक्ष्या गण्य मार्गारी, यांनीही भोपाळ दरु समजले पाहिजेल......

याच प्राचीनस्वरूपो श्री. लैरिंगने दिलितांना की जोळ बनाई शाव ईटले लोकांकडे एकत्र दिली उद्दाम काळे होते की इंट्रेक्ट्सल कोंडी करती ते एकाद तत्वांचा आधार बेहोश करतो-ती दुखायांची बदामी करत, तेंद्रिय ता राजी वातावरण तत्वांचा आधार बेहोश करते ते हुंकार हुतीत, तेंद्रिय वायारी तत्वांचा आधार बेहोश करते हुंकार गुमसाल करते, तेंद्रिय ती सामाजिकता तत्वांचा आधार बेहोश करते. ती राज्यांचा पाठिता देते, तेंद्रिय ती राजनीतिक तत्वांचा आधार बेहोश करते, आणि ती राज्यांचा शीर्षेश्चेत करते, तेंद्रिय ती लोकसाहित्यांचा तत्वांचा आधार बेहोश करते, हे उद्दाम यथावता-बहुत प्रभावीत हिंदुस्तानीतील अथवा भारतीयांनी अधूर तयार करता वेळेत, कारण धार्मिक सुधारणांना ते विरोध करतात, ते सामाजिकता ईश्वर निर्मित चारवैश्वात्य सास्त्र करणासाठी, (हकारांसाठी) मंडळातील दलित पुढीलांना विरोध करतात ते मारात्या अभिमंत्रण सुरुवात केलेले करणासाठी, आणि दलित कर्मने ते परोपरीत छठलेले, ते स्वतंत्रत्या बनाच, ही दलितांची मनक्तेय भूमिकाच्या पाने भविष्याचं चाल जाणारी म्हणून!

बांसाहीस्वरूपांचा या परिवेशातील कडी अनुभव (स्वातंत्र्य सेवकत्व कार्यकर्त्य) आहे, याचे शिक्षाधार स्वातंत्र्य अभावात पहायात भिडले भावनांमुळे. "इतिहासात ज्ञा चटना पहत्या आणि त्या घटिणच्या जी विचार मांडेत ते जाणांना तसे लोकसमोर देखील हे इतिहासातील काही आहे. त्याची संस्कृत कुली ज्ञा ज्ञानाचा कजवार आणि अभावाची तोपणे--(It is the true office of history to represent the events themselves together with the counsels and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgement) हे बाँडी खेकूनचे ज्ञान होकांसोर ठेजभं री या व पुढील खंडात ठाळीली दिलेली आहे." (किंचित पाण्या द्वारे).

श्री. जांगावत भावाजी लैरिंगने भेजले, डॉ. भमराऊ सदस्य अब्बेडकर चर्चा घेतली पहिले पाच संद्र श्री. लैरिंगठ वाच्या हनुमत प्रसिद्ध होते. १८ नोव्हेंबर १९७३ साली व्यापारी व राजकीय अभियंतांच्या प्रसिद्धी संदर्भात लेखांचा उल्लेख केलेले होते परंतु ते संपादन केल्यास प्रशिद्ध करण्यास कर्त्याने, कारण काय बाल्य होते.

महाराष्ट्र राज्य शाहीनचे संस्थान मंडळातील डॉ. तुंडेश वाचेकर यांनी पुढील खंड प्रकाशनाचे आयोजन दिले. आयोजनकाळ ६ ते १०
लंडनः ज्यामात्र काम पूर्ण होऊन ६७८९ व व ६ लंड प्रकाशित हालेस १९८९ मसवे नवे अयक्त डॉ. अश्वकांत मनोहर यांनी रेगाल्टेला लंड १० वा प्रसिद्ध केला व लागलींच ११ वा लंड छापावयस दिला.

हे गायरे लंड श्री. चां. म. लैसमोडे यांनी फाल्कमांस्तर माणिके केलेले आढळ. १९७२ साली पहिला लंड प्रसिद्ध आता. आतात १९९० वा हा ११ वा लंड प्रसिद्ध होत आहे.

हे जमारे प्राप्त इतिहासी १९७१ सालाच्या आधी लिहिलेले हातांतरणांची माळ हान अनेक तहांची मदत व्यावी लागती. श्वान प्रामुख्याने सामाजिक चलनक्रिया बांधकामी काम्याचे रंगणात्मक आदर गावणार्या प्र. कलानी पंहत याची फा. भोटा रूप आहे. डॉ. पी. डी. बोल्ग, डॉ. बी. डी. वालेरिक, डॉ. कंबोड, श्री. दु. दह, गावे, ती. रूपणात्मक जोदी यांनी ने अतिहासिक व्यक्ती यांनी महत्त्वाची जाणून, माणाच्या हे काम तडीस नैस्थ विशेषत्व दिले, मी वा सत्याची आमरी आहे.

माणास या कामांत निर्माण होण्याची अवधी तैकून व्याव हान कारणेला वागणारे जरी आणणात्याती डॉ. एन. ही. तत्कालीक, एस. आर. ही. पी., ही. तारावाई ही. तत्कालीक, श्रीमती ही. मदे, प्रा. ही. वाण कारणेला, ही. मदे पुढे, ही. मदे प्रम्प पुढे, ही. मदे मंगित निगुणकर, ही. व. ही. पूर्ववर्ती यांनी वैज्ञानिक माळ हा कामांत अनेक तंत्र रूप आहे. या सत्याची मी ज्ञानी आहे.

या पुत्रकारी युवकांना तयार करणार श्री. एन. ही. मंडोरे, ही. प. ही. ही. कोणते, डॉ. बिलिता कोणते, ही. प्रम्प सांगत, प्रा. या. बरके यांचा हातांतर वागण्या आहे. या १० व ११ वा लंडाच्या छापाचे काम "अरेम प्रिंसेप प्रेस" ने वेल्हान, वावाळवांच्या जनम शताब्दी भारतीय पूर्णे केले, लावण्यात वर्तुळ बाळ वेळांनी व दोने आणि वाळसंग्रहाच्या आयुर्वेदातलमध्ये तपस्वी वर्ग यांची मी आमरी आहे.

म. रा. सं. मंडोरे हविंबर श्री. पं. रा. पारित्र व युववचायतील कमेचारी वर्गाने श्री. चां. म. लैसमोडे यांनी, डॉ. श्रीमान राजरूप रामचंद्र अंबेडकरांचा दैधिमान सर्वांचा आहान वेल्हान वेल्हान प्रसिद्ध केला, वावाळवांच्या अवयापाने, समाजवादीयाच्या अभ्यासांचा व संतोषांच्या उपजा केले हाले महापूर्ण मी स्वतः व वाचक वर्ग यांचा ज्ञानी राहिल.

शेष छाप डॉ. वावाळवांच्या अर्थ कारणाचा भिक्कु चरित वेळेंचे अनुसंधान होता. हे वावाळवांच्या जनमशतांद्रीचे व पूर्ण ११ वा लंड) स्वाभाविक वर्गीय अर्थ करत आहे.
शैवती व लेखन प्रपंचाचा, चरित्रकाळाचा मनोबलाचा एक उतारा मी
बाली देत आहे:—

‘परादासार, संवादास, आणि मुलुळलाकर (स्वतःस्वा) दृष्टशीलतेनुसार,
कमतत्त्वत्र विनाशकर, विविध, मनन व लेखन करणारी, केवळ विशेषद बुद्धीची, प्रेयक
व्यक्ति स्मृत, अगर सामाजिक काळीची तत्त्वंता व उद्दाहरण स्मृत अथवा
पद्धतीनगर अंतःकरण माणूसलेल्या स्वतंत्रत्वांना आत्मा उदय करणारा धार्मिक
इम्या स्मृत, ज्ञानमा या (महामानत) वागारसिंहास्या, चरित्राचा अभ्यास करणात
अथवा अगर स्वतंत्र श्री चिकित्साची इच्छा होईल, ज्ञानमा या सवे चरित्र बाळूते
मर्यादा माहिती भीते व इतर माहिती भीतोड्याचे मार्ग सांगतील, माझ्यांपर्यंत
केंद्र येउन एवढेत उत्साह त्याना हे लांब उपप्रवृत्त उत्साह; याचे समाधान माळा
थापते, उद्विक्त वंद्र प्रसिद्ध हीतीय तेजस्ती भोईल, तेथे कितेच वर्षोंचा परिस्थित
त्याचे फल कायते पंढरचं माझ्या हाती खोळेल।’

चरित्र बाळूते काम, महाराष्ट्र राज्य आहिल्या आणि संस्थेची मंडळाच्या गौरवाची
आणेचे आहे. संस्थेची अवधारणा वागारसिंहास्या, चिकित्साची चिकित्साची चिकित्साची
पुरवणुकी चरित्रकाळात थे, व. व. वैष्णोड माणूसी इच्छा फलद्वारे होत आहे याचे
वाण माहिती भाषिते.

१४७-अ, हिंदू कॉलेजी
दादर, टुंबडी-१४.
२५ एप्रिल, १९९०

दारकावाई वैष्णोडे
प. न. र. फाटक यांचे पत्र

ननी मनावडी, कॉलेजन, मुंबई-४
tा. ८-५-६५ शासिस्त.

श्री, चंद्रप्रकाश महाराज लेख्यिते यांनी एकसहीच्या समारोहांचा अधिक महत्त्व आहे. सकारात्मकतेने कैदल्या पाचारणाचे ही माझे आम्हाचे प्रथम मनून व्यक्त करतो.

हहांच्या जीवन काहींत एवढाऊला साध्याचे वर्ग संपूर्ण एकसहीच्या वर्गांत दालेल होय. यांनी लागेली श्री तरूंलालाच अभिनंदन करण्यातापरिवहनात असून लांखा जाली प्रकार साजरा करणे हे एक समाजातील कर्त्येचे आहे. त्याच्या त्याच्या श्री. लेख्यिते हे ज्या महाराष्ट्रीय समाजात बधावेत, त्या समाजाने आजादीांतील दुसर्या विचारात शेत्याच्या जनवणुकी तसेच आत्मवादी अभिवृद्धांनी उपलब्धी होणार, श्री. लेख्यिते यांनी विलक्षण शेत्यात, विविध व्यवाहार केला, समाजाचे प्रत्येक पटक हेच करतो. परंतु त्यांचे हा. महाराष्ट्र सामाजी आवेदक त्यांचे विलक्षण चरित्र असलेल्याला काम हस्ती शेतेत हा लांखा आत्मवादी अंतराणी सोय, श्री. लेख्यिते यांनी नव महाराष्ट्रीय विश्वविद्यालयाचे जोड गेला, त्यांनी लिहिलेले चरित्र जेव्हा केवळ आवेदक त्याचा यांनी, त्याच्याचा व्यवहार नवलुकातील महाराष्ट्रातील सामाजिक समतेच्या इतिहासाचे एक नवे अंग स्थापने जनरात्मक निर्देशनाव आणणारे माझ्यांच्या अनेक लोकांना उत्साहित करता. त्यांनी उपरोक्तांचे विचारांनी शेतेत भांडू बनवणारे श्री. लेख्यिते यांनी नवाच्या संवादांच्या पाठवलेल्या साधन करण्यासाठी चर्चा केली. त्यांनी अंतराणी वातावरणात हा काढल्यास महाराष्ट्रीय सामाजिक समतेच्या इतिहासाचे बहुमुळ साधन समजत जाईल. चर्चासाठी जबद्धत प्रकरणात जतन करणे आणि इतरांचे संविधाने त्यांचे काम कापडाने नाही. त्यांनी विविध विविधांते जल्लपांत प्रकरणात अश्लै काम करणारे, त्यांचे काम जास्तीत जास्तीत होईल.

श्री. लेख्यिते यांनी संवादांच्या संस्थेची मिशनपूर्वक श्री महाराष्ट्रात असेल, कामचे हा त्यांच्यासहीच्या संस्थेसाठी इको-संस्थेची आथमी आणणारे, त्यांच्यासहीच्या संस्थेसाठी इको-संस्थेची आथमी आणणारे.
अशी मुख्य देशाच्या प्रकंदर उद्योगांच्या हातामार लावीला या भविष्यात एक प्रसाद सिंह भरणे श्री. लेखमोडे यांनी लेखन, त्यांची ऐतिहासिक गौरवपूर्वक साजरी करणारे ने तत्पर होताहून असतील त्यांची श्री. लेखमोडे यांचा किंतु गिरविमाण दंडावा या प्रवंश करावा. त्यांचे किंतु म्हणजें ती म्हणून लेखनाचा नष्ट नाही, तरी प्रकाशपणे लेखक-पंगोळी कार्यांचा किंतु अथवा शय्यार अंतर्भाव आहे. लेखक जो विषय असेल त्याला या विषयातील विहिंदी मिळून विचार लांब सामग्री जोनेस देण्यास पर्यंत काळांतरे लेख वाचावेत ले केवळ किंतु गिरविमाण या शय्यार अंतर्भाव आहे. श्री. लेखमोडे यांच्या लेखनाचा द्वारे लेखकांना चालविलेले आहे. निरंगी किंवा विषय सांगणारी निरंगी साधन हाती थांवते. पण आपल्यांच्या समाजांना घरण आहे व ते धार्मिक हिताच्या उद्दिश्याने फेफडे पाहिजे हे श्री. लेखमोडे यांच्या कामगिरीला तांत्रिक आहे. मी श्री. लेखमोडे यांना आशीर्वाद देतो की, त्यांना उद्देश्य आयुष्याचे, ते आयुष्य दुःखाचे, निरोगी आणि कार्यशम असावे. स्वच्छ भारत संवेदन लेखकांना होत राहती, आशीर्वाद दिला, व्यायामस्थान एक व्यापारी सोजणा करावीली वारते की आशीर्वाद उत्सेध देतो, पण कायची साफत्य हे उद्योग वाचाच्या व्यवस्था अवश्यक असते व यसाचे नसे.
संद- ४ चे प्रकाशन हातीविन १) श्री. चा. म. लेखमोडे, २) श्री. न. र. फाटक
३) श्री. बाबासाहेब बरांबर

मुंबई सर्वश्रेष्ठ वाणिज्याच्यात
श्री. चा. म. लेखमोडे व श्रीमती प्रिन्सेनर शिलिवट
१९५६ साली नागपूर येथे दीर्घामृतीकडे जाताना
डॉ. बाबासाहेब अंबेडकर, आणि श्री. रत्न,

चर्चकाराचा, एकत्री व प्रकाशन समारंभ
बाकी कळणाल — प्रा. नारायण पॅडित, श्रीमती लैफोड, श्री. चंद्रदेव तथा
आणि श्री लैफोड, अभ्यस्र श्री. बाबासाहेब मार्दे.
डॉ. भिमराव रामजी आंबेडकर चरित्र
खंड ११ वा
प्रकरण १ वे
राज्यसभेतील भाषणेन

१९५२ च्या निवडपारित सरकार राज्यसभेची पहिली वैटक १३-५-५२ ला शाळी. तीत सागळीचं शंकरविक्रम झाला. अर्थात ब्राह्मणांमध्ये शासनातील अधिकृत यांनी निर्देश दिली (Parliamentary Debates May-June 1953 pp. IV & 1). १५ मे १९५२ ते १९५६ व्या अखेर पर्यंत हुमारा ताडे चार कविक्रम कार्यकाळ ब्राह्मणाच्या राज्यसभेच्या लाठी भाषणेन केली. ती भाषणे महत्त्वाचे व सुविचार निरंतर आणि आत्मनिर्भर काळी शौचार्यांच्या अर्थ होती.

राष्ट्राध्यक्षांनी ११ मेहरा राज्यसभेकडे जे भाषण केलेले त्यावधी ही आमार मान्यता ठरवावर राष्ट्राध्यक्षांनी आल्याने, अर्थात सागळीची मान्यता देणे ही आणि धूरती सोनरा व अपूर्वना मान्यता. त्याना सागळी क्रियान्वयन पडलीले त्यात त्यावधी काही सागळी ११ मेहरा मुंदे उपस्थित केले. तेसा ताडसा खुलासा करण्यासारखी बांडोश्चित्र गोळाच्यावर उठले. त्यांचा हे भाषण (राज्यसभेतील) पहिलेच होते. त्यांचा मत्तत्यात असा, राष्ट्राध्यक्षांना मान्यतील मिहरूडा द्वारे आक्षेप. ज्या सागळी तुस्स्वम असतील त्यावर चर्चा होऊ नाही, हे योग्य होई अनेके जो विवाद राष्ट्राध्यक्षांच्या मान्यता अंतर्भूत झालेला नव्हता.अशा विषयांची संबंधित सागळी त्यावर चर्चा होऊ देणे योग्य असाही. कारण राष्ट्राध्यक्षांच्या मान्यता अंतर्भूत झालेला नव्हता. तर सागळी हा नव्हा निर्णायक नाही. तो नव्हा जर हुजूमच्या लागतील कोणताही, तर सागळी हा नव्हा निर्णायक नाही. तर सागळी हा नव्हा निर्णायक नाही.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay): The procedure followed in Provisional Parliament was this. Perhaps it is not a new thing. It is going on for the last two or three years since the constitution has come into operation. As far as I remember—there are many members of the lower House; they will correct me—the procedure followed by the speaker of the House of the People was that he would allow all the amendments to be moved in the beginning. Of course, those were amendments that could be admitted. Subsequently, he called upon the proposer of the different amendments to make speeches in support of their amendments. It was always understood that because a person has moved his amendment, he necessarily will not have any right to speak. But the Speaker, out of consideration for the fact that certain gentlemen had indicated their intention to move an amendment, did allow them a chance of making speech. That was the procedure that he adopted. I think the same procedure might be adopted here also.

With regard to one other observation, I should like to say with the deepest respect that in making the reference to what happens in the House of Commons, you indicated that only those amendments which refer to subjects which have been expressly mentioned in the Address of the President would be admitted. With all respect I think that the rule ought to be the other way round. The purpose of a debate on the Address in this. Government is pleased to inform the House, though the Address of the President, the subjects to which they allot what may be called priority or urgency. Article 87 of the Constitution of India says that the purport of the debate on the Address of the Pre-
sident is to inform Parliament of the causes of its summons. The purport of the Debate on the Address is to let the opposition tell the Government what are the purposes for which they ought to have included. Therefore, any subject which is not included in the Address of the President, for that very reason become as a matter of urgency, because, Members of the opposition may feel that Government has given priority and urgency to matters which they think important but which, in the opinion of the opposition, are less important than other matters. Secondly, I submit that merely because an amendment refers to a subject which has not been referred to in the Address of the President, it should not on that account be ruled out. But the Opposition should be given an opportunity to discuss and to place before Government any particular subject, which is the subject matter of the amendment, as a matter or urgency which must be given priority over subjects which have been spoken of by the President in his Address. I thought I could make these observations so that you might be in a position to regulate the procedure about the amendments” (Parliamentary Debates pages 81-89. A’s Speech in the Rajya Sabha on 10th May 1952, opposing amendments to the President’s Speech on 13th May 1952, on points which were absent from it, by Member).

राष्ट्रपत्यक्षेत्रा भाषणात दुकादल्ल व दुकादल्ल प्रदेश शाखाबद्ध मराठी माझटी चित्रूलही गाडी. असा काही समाहादनी २२-२३-२५ ज्या सॅट्यपासून (पा २६६-७०) मुळा उद्धवत मेकल. या मुळात वावासही बोलेले. दुकादल्ल प्रदेशात माझे सहानुभार गेलेले, तेथे आमचे बहिर बेचीवस्थेज देणे काम करत होते. त्यांना दुकादल्ल लोकाचे काय हांश होतात ति मी स्वतः पाहिलेले आहेत. सरकारी वातावरण पहत दुकादल्ल आणि दुस्स्त सुमाचे बेचींच वेगी चाल होती. पण या पद्धतीत उपलब्ध वावास भारताचा माझे फारसी कथी शाला नाही व जनता सरकारला सांगणे हाच। तेथे सरकार इंग्रजीत होते आताच सरकार (स्वतः इंग्रजीत) होकोल्हा आहे. पण हेती सरकार काही मरेप त्यांच्य सरकार (स्वतःते) इंग्रजीत होकोल्हा आहे. पण हेती सरकार काही मरेप कार्य काही हिंदीत नाही, असे त्यांच्य हातात्त्विक प्रदेशातिक दिसत येते. असे त्यांचे ध्यान सरकारला दुस्त शाथक होईल, असा वावासही भाषणाचा सांगणे होता: त्यांना चेंच वीलबाच वेचत होते पण अथवाच्याच त्यांचा फक्त दुस्ती मिळतं जवा डिक्की किंवा ती वावासही वापरली, अपुरी मध्य नाकाची. त्याचून मूळ माफी असे:-

चरित्र : संबंध अकराचा
"Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay) : I had originally thought not to participate in this debate, because I felt that it was right and proper that the new members of this house who are sitting on the front opposite Bench ought to be given the fullest chance to express their views on these important matters dealt with in the Speech of the President. But some of my friends said that it would be useful if I said what I felt about the two important matters which undoubtedly loom large before the minds of some Members of the house at any rate and a large majority of the public. The first matter which looms large is obviously the matter of food. There can be no doubt that this country has found itself in the grip of one of the biggest problems that it has ever been called upon to face. Sir, as a young boy, I had witnessed famines myself because my father was engaged as some kind of cashier to pay the wages of many people who were engaged in famine relief work. I was living with him as a young boy and I could see the condition of the famine-stricken people. As a student of economics I had an opportunity of reading those magnificent books by one of the greatest Indian Civil Servants, namely, Romesh Chandra Dutta, who had given a complete picture of the periodical famines that had taken place in this country, right from the beginning when the British came to occupy. But, Sir, remembering all this past history, my imagination cannot recall anything that I have read in any way comparable to the condition that we see today. I think it would not be an exaggeration to say that there was a time when there were famines but they occurred sometime at an intervals of 10, 15, or 20 years. Today we have reached a stage when there is a famine almost every month in this country. This month there is a famine in Bihar, another month there is a famine in Rayalaseema, a third month here is a famine in some other part of the country. I think it would be impossible for any person who reads newspapers to say that any month passed when there has not been a famine in this country. I was quite interested to listen to the argument which has
been urged by some members of the Congress Party, that the opposition should not be too hard on the Government. The opposition must remember that when the British left, they left this country as an empty shell, with the resources undeveloped, with the people of this country untrained for economic production. Those arguments, if I may say so with all respect, are without substance. It may probably pass muster in this house or may pass muster with those who are inclined towards the party in this House. But I should like to tell even my friends who are sitting on the opposite side this excuse will not go down for a long time with the people.

An Hon. Member: You were yourself in the Government once.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Don't you recollect my past? I am now divorce. What I want to tell my friends on the other side is that this excuse will not serve them for a long time. No hungry man is going to be sympathetic to a critic who is going to tell him “My dear fellow, although I am in power, although I am in authority, although I possess all legal power to set matters right, you must not expect to do a miracle because I have inherited a past which is very inglorious”. If this Government will not produce results within a certain time, long before the people become so frustrated, so disgusted with Government as not to have any Government at all, a time will come when I suppose unless we in Parliament realise our responsibilities and shoulder the task of looking after the welfare and good of the people within a reasonable time. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind that this Parliament will be treated by the public outside with utter contempt. It would be a thing not wanted at all.

Sir, the situation has been greatly aggravated by the sudden decision the Government has taken with regard to this subsidy. The subsidy is in another way an additional project which the Government has undertaken to relieve
the people against the high cost of living. The subsidy, so for our information goes, has been in operation.

Shri B. B. Sharma (Uttar Pradesh) : What percentage of the population does the Hon. Member want to be subsidised for food?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Sir, my submission is this that he will not want me to go into the details of the rationing system. I do not want to go into details as to how the population should be classified so that we might be in a position to say that the following classes shall be subsidised and the following classes shall not be subsidised. That information Government has not placed before us. If the Government places that information before us, I certainly will be able to make such contribution as I can make no other proposal. For the moment I am saying this, that this reversal of the policy of giving subsidy seems to me an absolutely new thing. I find that from 1946-47 when the subsidy made was 22 crores, it has increased in 1951-52 to 36 crores. In the last Budget which the Finance Minister presented to the Provisional Parliament for the purpose of obtaining a vote on account, he had estimated that the subsidy which he might be prepared to give in this year (year) would come to about 25 crores. That was the estimate that he had made. I am sure about it that at the time when he presented the Budget he must have been ready in his mind to commit himself to that magnitude of expenditure. Suddenly thereafter we find this sudden change. Some reasons have been given. One reason is that the subsidy would come to about 55 crores. Some Members have said that it would be about 90 crores. I do not know what the correct figure exactly is. But I do want to say that even in the last Provisional Parliament, when the Budget was presented, Government was agreeable to take upon itself the responsibility of a subsidy to the extent of 25 crores. I do not quite understand why the Government has stepped aside from that promise, from that obligation. There are of course......
Mr. Chairman: Your time is up. You take one or two minutes more.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have something else to say. It will not be possible for me to finish within the one or two minutes that you are very gracious to give me. I will stop here. (Parliamentary Debates. May-July 1952 pp. 266-70 dated 21-5-52 A's speech on May 21 criticising President's speech not suggesting concrete proposals for famine relief etc.

र) अंद्राजपदका संबंधी

रीतीमा १९५२ च्या राज्यसेवका शेषीलेन १९५२-५३ मा अंद्राज प्रकरण सर्वसाधारण नव्वू हुः पाली. त्या वाक्तीत २७ मे च्या राज्यसेवका शेषीलेन बाबासाहेबांनी देखील भाषण केल्या ते समापती राज्यसेवकांना गाण्या आवलोकन दिल्याचे केलेल्या (पत्रांने) मुखेंद्रनाथ ते भाषण देणे विश्रुत आणि माहितीने उल्लिखत माहित माळेंने होते. त्याने सार असे:--

सरकारी अधिकारी धार्मिक पिकवाची ही मोहिम हातांत बेतिची व तीत शेषकर्त्यांचा अभिक्षण धार्मिक पिकवाची याचे म्हणजे धार्मिक विकसती ब्राह्मी बेतिची व जनतीची सीव होईल. या शेषकर्त्यांची प्रत्येक (गरजेचे) धार्मिक पिकवाच्यांकडून आधिक प्राप्त करून देणारी प्रकरण पिकवाच्यांना आत्महत्या व ला तर सरकारी आधिक आहायणाचा बराचता संघ खच खच खचा. म्हणून अधिक धार्मिक पिकवाची ही मोहिम कठीणी हाली नाही. सरकारी अधिकारी सहयोग अधिकारीच्या व धार्मिकांना राह्याची ते शाहरुख व स्थाने अशा दोन्ही विकारी दिले पाहिजे व धार्मिक पिकवाची विशेषेने निवेण्या ठेवले पाहिजे. त्यानंतर प्रमाणे शेषीलेनांच्या अधिकारी विकारांची, असा सरकारी दंडक ताण खेळा पाहिजे, सरकार उल्लेखी लाखाच असाठव खच करत आहे. काठिन्यस्थान संस्काराणिचा हा खच आस्वद्य आहे, असेच जो क्षेत्र म्हणून त्याचा उल्लेख न कर्या, पाकिस्तान, काश्मीर व हिंदुस्थान यांच्यांकडून स्वतंत्र आपल्याकडून मूर्ति नाही. तेसां सैन्यांसाठी खच करतील त्या व्रतीचा उपयोग समाजकल्याणाची कामे करण्यात यासा. त्या वाब्यांमधून घेंदूने उदाहरण नम्देतून आहे. त्याचे माहितीच्या अनुक्रम असे पाहिजे. बाबासाहेबांनी ते भाषण असे:--

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay): Mr. Chairman, I propose to bring from the point from which I had to leave off, before, my observations on the President's Address. The House will remember that when I had to break off. I was dealing
with the question of food subsidy. Today I find myself in a much better position to deal with the matter, because in the interval we have had a statement from the Finance Minister justifying why he has taken what might be called a ‘political roundabout’. The explanation that Finance Minister has given in an explanation which I think is more intended to frighten people from demanding any subsidy with regard to food. His explanation is this that if he at all must do anything in the matter of food subsidy, he must do it in a manner so that he might be able to maintain the price level at the level it stood in the last year. That is I believe his starting promise. And then he develops his premise by saying that if on the basis that the subsidy is given only if he maintains the last year’s price level, if the subsidy is to be continued to industrial areas, he would required to pay Rs. 60 crores; and if that subsidy is to be extended to the rural area, he will be required to pay Rs. 90 crores. Obviously if these figures are correct, they are quite calculated to moderate the spirit of the great enthusiasts who want some kind of food subsidy to be given, so that the misery of the consuming classes may be alleviated to some extent. So far I understood, nobody has pitched his flag so high as it has been represented to be by the Finance Minister. So far as I have been able to pursue the discussion that has been taking place in the various newspapers, nobody has said that you must give subsidy to such an extent and on such a magnitude that the price level of this year would be the same as the price level of last year. Nobody is demanding that. Secondly, Sir, with regard to the question of the rural demand which has been put forth by the Hon. Finance Minister as a ground for refusing subsidy, I am sorry to say that he has now agreed to accept that condition when the same has been urged upon him for the last several years and which he has repudiated all along. I am sure that it has been the demand of the provincial Ministers that if you are giving subsidy, you must not make a discrimination between the industrial population and the rural population You
must give subsidy to all or you must give subsidy to none. That has been an old old argument. But I do not remember a single Finance Minister or a single Food Minister — and we have had a series of them, one after the other — having ever agreed to that proposition. It has always been the policy or the contention of the Government of India that in the matter of allocating subsidy, certain classifications must be made. A classification must be made. ....

The Minister For Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): On a point of information, Sir, the system of subsidy whereby only industrial towns where Subsidized was adopted only last year.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, the demand, that the subsidy should be extended to the rural area is not a new thing at all. No Government of India, so far as I remember agreed to that demand.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: What I meant was that before last year the subsidy was given to rural as well as urban areas; so no such condition could have been made.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: If that is so, then it is all the worse for the Finance Minister, I should say. If in the past year you have accepted the demand the subsidy should be given to all, then I do not quite understand why you should recite from that position now.

Shri H. N. Kunzru (Uttar Pradesh): Whatever may be the demand, he has said in this connection that the subsidy was not given not merely to industrial centres. Is that a fact? Was subsidy given to those rural areas where there was a large heavy deficit in the country as a whole, in accordance with recommendation of the first Food Policy Committee?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: My point was that the subsidy was not confined only to the industrial areas except during last year.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: My contention has been that because you cannot do the very best, let not the better be the enemy of the good. Do whatever good you can; if you cannot do it better, the country will be prepared to excuse you, because of your limited sources. But because you are not preparing to do even the good, when you agree to do it, by making a provision of Rs. 25 crores in the Budget, I think the public will have a legitimate right to complain.

Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer has done in England in the course of his Budget. He knows, I think, much better than I do. I have collected my facts from newspapers and other magazines where I have been able to find a certain analysis of the Budget presented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the House of Commons. Now, Sir, confining our attention to the matter of food subsidy, I find that in the year 1950 in England, the food subsidy was £480 million. In the last Budget the subsidy has been reduced — there has been a cut of £160 million. Well, so far as this part of the Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is concerned, probably the Hon. Finance Minister may take comfort in the fact that after all he is not doing something different from what the Chancellor of the Exchequer has done in England. But if you look to the other side of the picture of the Budget produced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England — taking the other side, the counterbalancing proposals of the Chancellor in England — I find that while the subsidy has been reduced, there has been an increase in income-tax relief to the extent of £2,228 million. Secondly, there has been an increase in family allowances to the extent of £37 million. There has been a considerable increase in pensions. There has been an enormous increase in the housing subsistence. Now, all these reliefs which have been provided for by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his Budget beyond question have the effect of increasing the purchasing power of the consumer. If there is so much increase in the pur-
chasing power of the consuming community, it matters very little if the subsidy has been reduced by £167 million.

What are the reliefs of that our Hon. Friend the Finance Minister has provided in his Budget? Nothing. The level of taxation, whether of direct or indirect character, is just the same. The purchasing power of the people remains where it was. In addition to that, he is now increasing the cost of food. This I find to be a fundamental difference in the approach of the Hon. Finance Minister to the problems of the people and that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I think my Hon. Friend Finance Minister may well consider whether he might not copy something from the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to do in England for increasing the welfare of the people.

9 a.m.

Now, Sir, I have not been able to exactly understand what position the Hon. Finance Minister proposes to take. But I want to put it in the best light because I know he is an honest person with the greatest good of the people at his heart. What is he trying to do? So far as I have been able to understand the policy of the Government of India with regard to food, I do not think that the Hon. Finance Minister is opposed to subsidy. If I put this position correctly as I understand it, he is in favour of subsidy, but his position seems to be that the subsidy instead of being granted to the consumer ought to be granted to the producer, either in the form of grow more food grants or in some other way. His object, logically speaking I do not find any difficulty in accepting its validity — is that if you produce more food in the country, prices will fall, consumers will benefit and subsidy to the consumer may then not be necessary. I believe that I have stated his position somewhat correctly if I have understood it. He wants subsidy, but he wants it to be given to the producer and not to the consumer.

Well, Sir, that may be one kind of approach, different though it may be from the line of approach which some of
We must take the question I think that we have to ask, with regard to this attitude is this: which is going to benefit the people quickly? So far as this subsidy for the grow more food policy is concerned, I do not think that it could be contended by the Government that the subsidy has been of any consequence so far as the production of food is concerned. I think it is not necessary for Members of opposition to cite any authority when we know as a matter of fact that the Reserve Bank, income of the investigations which it undertook, reported that the grow more food policy has been a complete failure. Obviously, therefore the policy of not giving subsidy to the consumer but giving it to the producer, has not produced the effect desired by the Hon. Finance Minister.

The second thing which I find why this emphasis on the grow more food has failed is because of the contradictory policy which the Food Department, or the Government of India, has been following. On the one hand, they have been giving subsidy to farmers and others to provide more food. At the same time, they are giving encouragement for the production of what are called cash crops, which are every moment competing with the production of food. A farmer finds it much more to his advantage to produce cotton, seeds, black pepper and things of that sort. He does not care for the growing of more food. Surely, if the Government's objective — and firm objective — is to produce food, Government ought to have taken some steps in order to curb tendency on the part of the farmers to produce something other than food. That Government has not done. The result is that we have in this country two competing economic activities so far as agriculture is concerned, the cash crops versus food production.

The result is that notwithstanding the grow more Food Campaign and the amount of money that has been spent, we have not been able to produce more food prices. The question that I would like to ask the Hon. Finance
Minister is this. Would he or would he not realise that if his object is to reduce prices by the production of more food, and if that object has failed, would be still continue to penalise the consumer and not give him any subsidy or offer him any kind of relief from the distress from which he is suffering? That is the point. There is no dispute that some kind of subsidy is necessary in this country in the situation in which we find ourselves. The whole question is, at what point the blood may be supplied, at what point the subsidy may be given to the producer or to the consumer. I make this observation in the hope that the Hon. Finance Minister will reconsider the line that he has been pursuing, namely, that our immediate problem could be solved more by giving subsidy to producer and not to the consumer. He may succeed. As we know originally, our Government, when I was a member of it had announced that we must achieve self-sufficiency by the year 1952. Our Prime Minister, day in and day out, emphasised that after 1952 we shall not import a single grain of food from outside. Today, I think I am right in saying that the Government of India have realised that reaching self-sufficiency in 1952 was an idle dream. They have now proclaimed that we will achieve it by 1956. God only knows. The target is always receding; it goes back and back. We do not know for how many years the consumers in this country will have to undergo this agony add allow the Finance Minister and the Minister of Food to delay the thing, by trying as if in a laboratory the various proposals and the various schemes they have in their mind. I do not wish to dilate upon this subject any more.

Sir, I would now say a few words with regard to the General Budget as a whole. The Budget undoubtedly in every country is an expression of the functions which a Government undertakes towards its people. There was once a time in this country when the function of the British Government was to collect taxes and to maintain law and order. The welfare of the public, the well being of the
people, their educational advancement, public health, unemployment, or any of those remedies and reliefs, which were now found functioning on such a large scale in the Budgets of the various European countries had no place. Not only they had no place in the Government but the Government itself had not accepted any liability on that account. We thought and we hoped that when this country become independent, that aspect of the matter would change, that the Government would not be merely a Government of an agency to collect taxes and a magistrate to punish people for wrongful action, that the Government would do something more, that the Government would assume the function which all civilised Governments have assumed in the 20th century. Sir, can anyone scanning the Budget which has been presented to this house say that they can find any trace of any other functions, which all modern civilised nations and States assume to themselves, reflected in the Budget of the Finance Minister? I can find nothing. We are still repeating the old history of the British, namely, to collect taxes, to punish offenders. No provision is made for all the social benefits which are conferred upon the poorer and lower classes in other countries in the world. I want to ask the Hon. Finance Minister: "Can he promise us, as he had promising in the case of the food subsidy, that we will be self-sufficient in food in 1952, if not in 1952 it shall come in 1956; if not in 1956 it shall come in the year 1960?" There is some hope, so long as there is a fixed day or a promised day of the arrival of the new regime. Can he tell us that we can tread upon the path foreign countries have been following so far as social services are concerned? He has said none. The whole thing in the Budget, to put in a nutshell — it has been put, I know, by other speakers before me — the crux of the whole matter in this country is that the Army is eating up into the vitals of the funds that are necessary for the well-being of this country. We have, in a total Budget of Rs. 404 crores, a sum of nearly Rs. 200 crores spent on the Army. It is difficult to understand this position. Sir, when peace came, and
order of demobilisation was passed. It was decided by the then British Government that the Army of India should be reduced. What do we find? We find that in the year 1947, the revenue of the Government of India was somewhere about Rs. 172 crores. I am speaking of the Budget for the 8 months that was then presented from August 1947 to April 1948. The military Budget then was Rs. 90 crores. Our revenue today has grown to Rs. 404 crores, and our military expenditure has also grown to nearly Rs. 200 crores. It is an extraordinary thing that when your revenue rises, your military expenditure also rises. My view was that the revenue should be the process, that your military expenditure ought to go down. If you can reduce the military expenditure by a modest sum of Rs. 50 crores, how much good we can do to our people? We can apply this reduction of Rs. 50 crores in the Army Budget to river valley projects. The Damodar Valley Project could be completed within three years out of our revenue Budget instead of having to go to foreign countries for aid. If we could spend that amount of Rs. 50 crores out of the military Budget for the betterment of our own people, what amount of good we can achieve? But I have not been able to understand why the Government of India has been consistently and regularly increasing the military budget. Sir, it is an extraordinary thing from another point of view. We have told that our foreign policy is a policy of peace and friendship. My Hon. Friend, Diwan Chaman Lall, called it the Nehru Doctrine. If that is the object of the Nehru doctrine, it is a welcome doctrine provided it was observed at all. Now, if the object of the foreign policy of this country is to maintain friendship and peace throughout the world, I want to know who are our enemies against whom we want to maintain this huge army at a huge cost of Rs. 197 crores.

Shri J. R. Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh) : Our next door neighbour.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I do not know that. If we were informed that our relatives with certain foreign countries were not happy, that there might be any time a danger to our safety and to our security, it would be possible for most of us to agree that rather than wait for the arrival of the danger, we should keep the Army ready so that in an emergency we may face the danger squarely. But we are told that we have no enemy at all in the world. Then, why this Army is maintained, I do not quite know. Secondly, the only possible enemy, if one may use the word, is probably Pakistan. And that too, on account of Kashmir. Now, with regard to Kashmir, I hope that this House will have a full opportunity of discussing the question. I did not have time to say anything, nor did I think it right to spend just a few moments on a problem so great as that of Kashmir. But surely the matter is within the charge of the U.N.O., and I do not think that Pakistan would be so foolish as to invade Kashmir or to invade this country in the teeth of the U.N.O. decision on the subject. Therefore, again, why are you maintaining this Army? I am quite unable to understand the point.

Then, Sir, on our part we never seem to be able to realise that the sooner we settle this Kashmir problem the better for us, because if the excuse for this enormous increase in our Defence Budget is to be attributed to the Kashmir tangle, is it not our duty to do something, to contribute something, positively in order to bring that dispute to an end? I cannot expediate on the subject, but so far as I have been able to study the part played by the Government of India in connection with the negotiations that have been taking place on the settlement of the Kashmir issue, I am sorry to say that I have not read a single word which I can describe as a positive and not negative suggestion on the part of the Government of India to settle this question. All that they are dealing with is the question of military allotment. The question of plebicite is in no way new in history of the world. One need not back to
the ancient past to find precedents are settling question of this sort of plebiscite. After the First World, I certainly remember these were two questions to be settled by plebiscite. One was the questions of Upper Silesia and the other was the question of Alsace-Lorraine. But these questions were settled by plebiscite, and I am sure that my Hon. friend Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar with his mature wisdom and sagacity, must be knowing of this. Is it not possible for us to borrow something from the line of action taken by the League of Nations with regard to the plebiscite in Upper Silesia and Alsace Lorraine which we can usefully carry into the Kashmir dispute and have the matter settled quickly so that we can release Rs. 50 crores from the Defence Budget and utilise it for the benefit of our people?

I do not want to say much more, but I do want to say that most of us are feeling very keenly that the Defence Budget is the greatest stumbling block in the path of the welfare of this country.

There is one other thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister. He has already indicated in the course of his Budget Speech that the prospect for this country so far as taxation is concerned in the future, is not very happy one. He himself has admitted that our income-tax revenue would not remain at the same level at which it has remained for the last two years. He knows very well that the export duty, which forms a very large part of the present revenue of the country, it no longer to be regarded as permanent part of the revenue structure of this country. Export duties which in all countries are of an unusual sort, extraordinary in their character never can be regarded as a natural part of the tax structure of a country and depend upon conditions in foreign countries. The moment those conditions vary, you have got to vary the tax. You may meet with a situation where you may have to abandon such duties completely. The fear which I feel on account of this prospect in the decline
of revenue is this: How is the Finance Minister going to make good the losses that might occur by the reduction of certain items on the revenue side? Will he cut into the Defence Department's Budget or will he cut into the Budgets of the other Departments which are ministering to the social welfare of the people? I have no idea. If the opinion in favour of the relation of the armed forces at the present level of expenditure prevail our conditions, so far as the welfare of the people are concerned, will deteriorate considerably. I want the Finance Minister to take note of this fact and tell us something about what he would do when such a prospect presents itself to him. In the concrete.' (Parliamentary Debates May-July 1952, pp. 470-79 A's speech on May 27 on Government's Grow More Food Scheme.)

"Shri Rama Rao (Madras) .... Neither does the size of the Indian Army to be kept in Kashmir come in the way of a settlement. Dr. Ambedkar is not the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. Neither am I. The Indian Army is led by the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. It is our intention and all agreed that we should have an army kept at a particular level, in Kashmir for the sake of its safety and security. We are not going to accept the opinion of the learned Doctor in this matter. We shall take no risks." Parliamentary Debates: May-July 1952, p. 525).

"Shrimati Violet Alva (Bombay) :— When I heard the learned Doctor, Dr. Ambedkar, talking so much on defence and forgetting so much at the same time of the size of this country, of the extensive length of her coast-line and her other boundaries, of the persistent cry of Jihad from Pakistan, of the turmoil, that the Near East is in, and of how we should be careful, I almost wondered how his eloquence
was lost on the floor of this House ........ (P. 535) ' ........
.....I do not know how the Hon. Member, Dr. Ambedkar
could indulge in so much reckless talk when he himself
was part and parcel of this Government until yesterday..." 
(p. 538).

[“Shri K. S. Hegade (Madras)] (28-5-52) .... Dr. Ambedkar
made one of the most unfortunate speeches yesterday. It
was quite untimely, Sir. It was unfortunate and I say, it
was full of mischievous implications so far as the matter is
concerned? Dr. Ambedkar was one of the Members of the
Cabinet till recently and I think he had a hand in shaping
the policy of our Government towards Kashmir. I do not
know whether the Doctor took responsibility for the
Kashmir policy. I am sorry Dr. Ambedkar is not here. Is
it that Dr. Ambedkar has so changed his views that he
sees some ‘political roundabout’ in Mr. Deshmukh’s policy?
Dr. Ambedkar’s political somersault may not have been
noticed by him but is known to all others. Is the learned
Doctor willing to tell us that he did not agree with the
Cabinet policy in regard to Kashmir and yet that he
continued in the Cabinet for the sake of a job? or is it
that he has changed his policy overnight? It is unfortu-
nate, Sir, that political tradition and politiral philosophy
change so suddenly. We have one political tradition and
philosophy when a person is in the Government and we
have yet another political tradition and political philosophy
when he crosses over to the Opposition benches......” pp.
594-95 speeches of the members of Rajya Sabha criticizing
A’s speech on Kashmir problem).
डॉ. भीमराव गांधी अबेडकर
चरित्र संहिता खंड ११ वा
प्रकरण २ रे
लोकशाहीवरील उत्कृष्ट भाषण
लोकशाही है राज्यकार्यार्थे प्रथम रूप में, पण ते रिचर्ड नरेंद्र, ते नवंदी बदलत जाते. अशा निर्देशित कार्यक्रम वर्तमान संस्थान जो राज्यकार्यार्थे चालविला जाते तो 'लोकशाही' या नायावाणी मध्ये लोकसमुदाय राज्यकार्यार्थे 'लोकशाही' क्रिया पापा होते, प्रथम देशातील लोक शुद्ध होते व निम्न स्तरहून होते. तथा नेतृत्व ग्रहणारायणाने लोजाली फलकाचा भाग बत्ता येत नाहीत, तरी ५० टक्करे लोकांचा चालविलेल्या राज्यकार्यार्थात 'लोकशाही' हे नात्ते होते. प्रथम लोकशाही मध्ये तत्कालीन लोकशाही आपली आहे.

लोकशाहीचे रूप एका दैशात कायमचे नवते, इंग्रजमध्ये १६६८ च्या क्रांतीच्या लोकशाहीचे जे रूप होते ते १६८८ च्या क्रांतीच्या काळात नवते. तरा इंग्रजमध्ये लोकशाहीचे जे रूप १६७१ मध्ये १६५२ च्या काळात होते; ते १६५२ च्या नंतर राज्यकार्यार्थे लोकशाहीचे जेव्हा सहज होते, १६५२ वाढात इंग्रजमध्ये राजकीय दुर्विषय मानिक झाल्या.

लोकशाहीचे ज्येथा कायमस्थील बदल असते. त्याचे दैशात बदल होत झालो, पूर्वी राजस्व तथा अत्याधिक होती, ठिक आता वाढूने लोकशाही बनायला आली, त्यामुळे लोकशाहीचा विस्तार सध्याच्या राजस्वशीलांचा प्रमाण घालणे, हे पूर्वी लोकशाहीचे ज्येथ होते. आता तिचे ज्येथ केल्यांचे वाढतीत जात नवत हित करणे हे आहे.

लोकशाही वाढतो दृष्टांक गोरक्षक परिस्थिती कारणीसुद्धा होते, हे मी अगदी केलेल्या सुलभाने आलेला व्याख्या वेळेले.

लोकशाही दशकाचे काळ हे लोकशाहीचा या शास्त्रीया व्याख्या, हे लोकसमुदाय अनेक स्थानसाठी तेजीतेला आहे. बॉल्टर जैविक या घटना दर्शनातील व्याख्या 'चर्चा कलन राजकार्यार्थे चालविले' अशी आहे, 'लोकसमुदाय चालविले आपल्या होंठातील व्यक्तीला जाणविले अशी लोकशाहीची व्याख्या एकाहार तिथल्या ठीक रोजी शेषलाच्या शैक्षणिक व्यक्त वाहनांची कार्यक्रम बऱ्याच राज्यात एकदिन न गाटता योग्यता आणणे' स्वरूप हो. लोकशाही हो, अशी मासी व्याख्या आहे, लोकशाही राज्यकार्यार्थे करणे, हे ज्याचे केलेल्या आहे. व तता
ज्ञान अधिकारी आत्म आत्म लोकतानी स्थाना एकदी देख न सोंह देता समाजत सामाजिक व आर्थिक समाज प्रश्नापन कैसे, तर स्थाना मिर लोकतानी तर केरुरे सेवक ख्याति। पण हे चित्र सलग दस्तावेज उतरणे शर्य आत्म कैसे ? होय आत्म ? पण त्याला लोकतानी विषय कसी रावणिघो पाहिजे। पण्यातील ती वाक्यने होईल, हे प्रथम समग्र वेळ राहिले। हे समग्रात्म रुळोंत आहेत परंतु लोकतानी येव नागिनासाठी ल्याय काही ठरार्य ह्यव (सिद्धान्त), उपनिषद (उपविषद) आणण्याला आद्रून देशार नाहीत, ते एकत्रा करावण्यासेच्या नाहीत, त्यासाठी आणण्याला इतिहासातून च्या मागवा केल्या पाहिजे, या वातावर इतिहास आणण्या जे घडू देतो ते असे:—

(1) लोकतानी येव फरारी व्यावहार असेच तर समाजत श्रेणी किंवा असे भेट नसेले, सर्व समज समतेच्या पालिकेचा उभा असला पाहिजे, समाजसह येजासे असे तर समाजातील शक्ती विकासात, व समाजात सकारात्मक करतात, अतारूरही स्थितीत कसेच विस्मयासाठी अनेक राज्याने लागिते की, तुम्ही आणि उच्चश्रेणी आत्मी परस्परसंबंध उद्देश्यास तर या श्रेणी आणण्याने स्वातंत्र्य करील व या आणण्याला पारंपरिक सहभाग लागेल, ज्या देशातील समाज विकसितपणे पूर करून गेले. तेथे लोकतानी दिगु त्याच्याच नाही. संघर्ष सामाजिक समाज ही लोकतानी विरासू करणारी एक संजीवी प्रेम.

(2) लोकतानी चित्रायो करणारी हस्तिंच संजीवी प्रेम. रक्षकार्याचा एक पक्ष असे विरोधकर्ता कृत पक्ष या दोही वाणिज्य लोकतानीचा राज्यात उभारला जातो. याॅणी कोणती लांब वेदक शासन की लोकतानीचा राज्यात वाणिज्यो कोणतो. या दोही पक्षी व्यक्तीक त्याने निर्देशपणे जो समजून ठीकत व्यावहार अचानक अनेक, ईश्वर व वेदक या देशात राज्याकडे पूर्ण विषय व्यावहार अचानक आपल्याने वाणिज्यीत, विषयी परिणाम जो पुढील असतो त्यात व्यावहार वाणिज्यीत, नौकर वेदकी वेदकी. तेंता हा की, देखी पक्षी पक्षी राज्याकडे राज्याकडे गवत देखी, व सरकार बेल त्याची देखी, व खुले रक्षकार्यात दुर्लक्ष आणण्याने मार्गदर्शन करणे.

(3) लोकतानीला विरासू करणारी तिसरी संस्थेची संस्थेच महावे काळमा आणे राज्यकार्यात बाध्यपूर्वस सर्वात समान घरणे. राज्यकार्य कसा आपणा पाहतात लोकतानी नॉक्ट्या, परमास (मायृशाला) देखा अचानक तर केवळ नॉक्ट्या उपलब्ध होईल, आणे राज्यकार्यातील दोष लागात, पालक वर्गीयक वर्गीय प्रि अनेकाचे अधिकार इला वाचवू लागेल, राज्यकार्यात विच्छेदिक होईल. तोही गणितीय हा लॉर्डसयर्व प्रतिवेदनात या मंत्री होते, याॅणी नासाठी मोठे वर्णन शासन तिचे पणी दिली शासनाचा पुढील योजना, वाक्यातील योजना लाखों मी ठी. इत्यादी टी. त्यात आपलं होईले, तेहून व्यासित्रे चित्रायो बुद्धचं भुला मेंटे असे शासने की, विचित्र राहू वेदना सर्व व्यासित्रे चित्रायो देशी त्याचे केलेले.
आदें। तुम्ही (वा) विनिविवेच्याको धार्मक करा! अभावन फी। दक्ष्मू दी, ते निर्णय नाम, प्रायां यांना भी महसूल की, आपल्या लाजांने नासक श्रम माणून दिले तर जासा करा! तेहा निर्णयात मठालेक की से काळाच्या बोध दिसावर नाही, संत्स्त्वाच्या हंसिहाळ नकार. देणे, हे लाजाचे निर्णयीत करणे करते नाहीत आणि नकार दिलाच्या तर मंजूर नीतीथी काळ किंवा बदली तात्त्विक करतो, मी मात्र लोकांशीतीला तयारचा जागृत चित्ताने अस्त्राची सदीच्या माणून दिसेच, आणि त्याचाे तिही निविविवेच्याको एकदा स्मरक होते नाही. (v) तीनी संजीवनी म्हणजे संस्कृती नीतिमाला आणि कारसार विचार याचे काळेको पालन करणे. आपल्या राष्ट्रवर्गीयांचे कन्हाच लोकांना आदरात उमाचे वेतन. मचा तसेच उमाचे वेतन नाहीत. ती घटना रहू नसती, निराकार विविधता खूप फेरचे वर्णून आणण्यात, असे मझा बांधते. कारण आपल्या बहुनेत कायदेशीर हसकावून अववर भाजविले आहे. घटनामध्ये सतिमला बं ती पालणाची मनाची सिद्धांत जवळ जवळ अद्वैत रक्षायत तत्त्वात बास्तवत करत. ईश्वरवर्गीय तत्त्वात विद्यमान परंपरावर तर आहे. परंपरांची परंपरास्थळी व्याख्या यांनी वास्तवत करत. आणि ईश्वर कोण त्याचे पाठन असे नेही करते. त्यांचे वास्तवावर आम्हाचा पहिला अस्त्राचा होता, तो जन्माच्या दिव्याची कामना होती. ती जर अथवा असाडार दहा वेळा जरी उमा राहिला असता. तरी आम्ही जेथे वाचली वाचली अथवा मण्डून निविद्ध आणले जाते, पण ती हथियाराची असती निविद्ध नेही. त्याचा जाताने आयोज केल्यांना त्या गृहांच्या, "मित हो! आपल्या आपल्या राष्ट्रवतना तसर केली, तिचा मुख हेतू काय? आतापर्यंत परंपरावर एका संबंधात जी राजकीय सत्ता नाहीत आखेती होती, ती बंद करणे, आणि एकमात्राने व्याख्या उत्तरायला नेअन वाचलोणे. दुर्गापीढा तुम्ही मात्र मिळाला वाच, हेंतयेसे. भागदी प्रथानेका काळीली वाचते ना?" तरी/ती लोकांहासत वास्तवावर आपल्या हुनावळा अस्त्रांचा हाचा. पण दिव्यावर्गा अस्त्राचे होणे ताफ साजराते. आठवे एकदा हे राष्ट्रवर्गांना न जनेकरून एका अमेरिकन ब्रीफिच्याच बिवाह करणार प्राध्याशी ब्रीफिच्याचे प्रवासातील तेंदूंमध्ये ईश्वर हेका ठरता व्याख्या उपलंब लाल्या. त्या काळात हुजुर पर्यंत अस्त्राचा वाचलोण नेअन वाचलोण नेअन. अनुसाराने, दुर्गापीढा हाचा मात्रून नेअन वाचलोण नेअन. भागदी प्रथानेका वाचलोण नेअन. भागदी प्रथानेका वाचलोण नेअन.
होते, व्यायाम दस्तकारी संस्था परंपरा (राजनी सम्प्रदायानी सहायता मान्य केंद्रीय पाठ्य) मोल्ली जाते, मजबूर पश्चात दे पाप के त्यो स्थानात, तो पश्चाद उदारता आधारी लाभ प्राप्त होते, लाभकारी हा महामार्य मानना आल। वाणिज्य राजनी वाहिकनिवाना स्थानानी राज्यपाल के ला, अवसरमार्य नैतिक बाधाएँ दर्जन पत्ताबाबमारी अपने उदाररणे इंडिया इतिहासात आहेत। यामुळे वसंतीय लोकशाही त्या देशात अनेक शासन पालक होती होतीं आहे। लोकशाही रिकविश्वास आपल्या एका गोष्टीची जबरी आहे ती स्वरूप (५) वहुसंख्य फसाने अवस्थानाचे पत्तांना समावाह न आहेत, त्याच अवस्था न करणे, १९३१ व्या राष्ट्रीय सरकारने वेळी मजबूर पत्तांना पालिकामारे ५० तोमासाद रश्सीमार्य शासन पालक आपल्याचे अन्वय करतो, अनेक एकात्मक तत्त्वातून केली नाही। मुंबई व दिल्ली शेतील मोर्चे मार्गारमारे मा ते पाहिजे व अनुमतीते आहे ते मात्र वापस वापसी उठवून आहे। निरोधात पत्तांना समावाह, तोल्याचीरी पत्रांनी आळू वागणी त्या लिंग हस्ताक्षर पत्तांनी हैरान करते, त्याने माध्यमिक लोकशाही बिले अग्र उठवून वापसा शक्तीत मुक्त करणे, वपरी लोकशाही बिलेत असे अनेक प्राकृतिक नाही, मौर्याची वे ताडी, पुन्हाची माचकंडण कर, वपरी वहुसंख्य पवसातीत वस्त्राच्या लाभकारीत मला पहायला मिळाले। अशा विकत्तीत अवस्थानाचे पश्चात वहुसंख्यांचा धम्म करणे, हे अढूलाचे चेतते। अशा अवस्थाने देशात पर्याप्ततेही धैर्यभावना वाहत राहिली तर लोकशाही ती मंगण करणारा।

समाजात नैतिक मूल्यांच्या बृहस्पती जातीच, असे सामाजिक बातावरण अर्थित्वात असेच इत्यादी आहे, वा बातावरणाने राज्याच्या अनुसार प्रभुका नदेखी ते रगाव नाही, ती रच्यात 'बातावरण लोकशाही' पोषक आहे। वा बातावरण आपल्या देशात नाही, आणि राष्ट्रीय समाजातील नाही, आपली लोकशाही वा अथा प्रकारच्या बातावरणात ठकून राहणे हे कठीण काम होय!

या बातावरणात पोषक असा एका गोष्टीची जहाजी आहे, ती म्हणजे 'सार्वजनिक ताराकार विचारावधी' व्या, अर्थात, पाप-पुन्हा, ऐतिहासिक गोष्टी गोष्टीचा समाजातील ताराकार परिशिष्ट परिणाम होतो, हे ज्ञानांतरी शक्ती शक्ती शक्ती 'सार्वजनिक ताराकार विचारावधी' ही जाणवून तरं नागरिकता अवस्था व व्यवस्था व्यापार वर्तन करणे ही लोकजीवन व देशाची नीती महाराष्ट्र गोष्टी समज्यल पाठ्य, इंस्टीट्यूटांमध्ये अता कायदा होती की 'क्यू' ज्ञानांतरी मार्गाचा मार्ग की, त्याची सर्व इंस्टीट्यूट राजकीय जात असे, वा इंस्टीट्यूट 'क्यू' व्या (गांधी) मुख्य इतरत सर्व राजकीय नागरिकता हे परत होते, आणि राजाचा ज्ञानांतर जला-जमीन (मालयता) म्हणजे मुख्य व्यावहारिक व्यवस्था दिव्य करता होता, ती अन्यांनी चढवल वहुसंख्य तसेच तसेच तसेच चढवल व राजा वाच्य छात्राना क्यू लोकांना ठोऱ्यांचे चयन चाहें लागते, नंतर २४

डॉ. रविशादेश वातेलकर
इंग्लैंडमें सुविचार प्रस्तुत करणारे काही व्यक्ती समाजात. त्यामध्ये समाजांत
वासारे विचाराकर्तीमध्ये आपले विचार समाजांत सुचविले. अन्याय
कोणतीही धर्मालू, पवित्रताची अगर मतात्मक व्यक्तीवर ाहेला. असे तो नाते वाळाने महूळ त्या व्यक्ती पहुँचवत असतील तर त्याना संबंध
पाठवा देणे, हे प्रेम वाचवाच वातावरण होव, मरा त्या मानवाच्या त्या अन्यतराची
खासी संबंध नल्ला तरी हूकत नाही. त्या विचार लगणे जेथे दान लोक
भारतातून त्यांना ‘युद्ध’ व्या नावाच वाठिक दिला, व ये उत्कर्ष तो यून
विरोधी कायदा पालितेत नाते केला. दलित अमेरिकेत स्वतंत्री लोक कुश्वाच्या
भारोतियांना अनेक अभावाने कायदे लाभ त्यांचा परामर्श आपल्याला आलेले
आहे. हिंदी लेखकांना या अन्यायासिद्ध जेथे चलवले मुख्य केली तेथे असे. स्कॉट
ही स्वतंत्री व्यक्ती हिंदी लेखकांना चलवले काही कह लागाली. अतिके बरीच
वित्तीय तसलेल्या लोकांनी मंडळी हिंदी लेखकांची जाणे मैन स्वतंत्रीयांच्या तांत्रिक
आहिल. हा सर्व सार्वजनिक सरासर विचाराची प्रती. भावाने. कुश्वाच्या लोक
अन्याय लेखकांने जेथे ही कार्यकर उभारली हे तेथे त्यांची हिंदूमुख्य दृष्टीने आहवाला
विचाराचे व विरोध वहन करते लागाते. आम्हाला पाठवा देण्यासे हिंदू हातात्या
दृष्टीकोण धोक्यात डेंडिल, हातकेच होतो. असे काही? कारण हिंदू समाजात सार्वजनिक
सरासर विचार वाढती नाही (हेच ल्याचे उत्तर)! 

लेखकांनी असिद्धांत आणण्याला आण लिंग पाल्यांत्य परामर्श करणारे
गेल्या काही व्यक्ती इंग्लैंड, अमेरिका, फ्रान्स, कॉर्चे देशात कोटी राष्ट्रांतूनत
उद्यान आहला. हे आपणांचा माहित आहे. १९४८-१८ या पश्चिम वातावरण
उद्यान बनते व नतंत्र युरोपात अनेक देशांत वाच्या हाताला, राजस्थानी नष्ट हाती आणि
लेखकांना व दुःखकेकांनी असिद्धांत आहला. तुरन्त महादुःखातून काही देशातील लेखकांही
नष्ट हाताला व तेथे दुःखकेकांनी असिद्धांत आहला. असे काही हाताला? या पश्चिमी उत्तरे
मी आज जेथे संयुक्तात्मक तुमचंतु लोक हाताला त्यांच्या पदव्या विलोकनी. ती
उत्तरे तुमचंतु पत्तिक, अशी माझी राणी आहे. आपण आपल्या देखाला लोक-पडळीचे बीशांरोपण केलेले आहे. ते रोप बादविणे ही अपलं राष्ट्रीय जनाभावांतरी
आहे. ती वाच्यानमाणी हिंदी समाजात व राजकीय वाणी कोणसा गोडी-गोडी
आकाषका आहे हेच युरोपी मी भाषणांत माहितले. त्यामध्ये त्या हिंदीसमाजाचे
वाणा तून आपली लेखकांनी वाचते तर आपली लेखकांनी वाचते लोकांवर व विदेश, नाहीतर विश्वविद्यालयांक, हाक, इतर वर्गीय देशात जसे दुःखकेकांची वाचत्या हाती तरी ही आपल्या देखाता मुख होईल. यावातीत तुमचंतु म्हणजे हिंदी समाजाचा. मतसळबऱ्या इतरांना देणारे भाषण
करणार्यांच्या तुर्की मला जी संबंध तिली व ते भाषण शालटल्यांना एकूण भेटे, याबद्दल मी
आपले आमार मानतो. मी माझे काम भेटे, याबद्दल मला समाजाने वाटते.

चरित्र: क्षेर अश्वान
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Dr. Ambedkar's Address at District Law Library', Poona Bar, on Monday the 22nd December 1952. Price: 12 Annas.

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DR. AMBEDKAR'S ADDRESS.

CONDITIONS PRECEDENT FOR THE SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF DEMOCRACY.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,
When the invitation came, I wrote to your Secretary that I would very much like to know what are the subjects in which the members of the Distirt Library are interested, because I may come here and speak on a subject in which they may have no interest. If so, the visit would be of no value whatever either to you or to one. He was kind enough to send me a list of four subjects. He said, "You can select any one of them." I was hurry to reply to him and could not convey to him actual decision as to what subject I would select. But I told him in general way that I would select one of the four and if I did not select one of the four, I will not travel beyond the ambit of the four which he had prescribed. The one subject which he had prescribed. The one subject which attracted me which he had mentioned was Parliamentary Democracy and I thought that, that was a subject on which I might speak. The subject which I have selected is not Parliamentary Democracy, but something which is very closely associatd with Parliamentary Democracy and
which from my point of view, and I believe from the point of view of the country, is a very important subject. Now, the subject on which I am going to speak to you this evening is according to my wording of the subject... Conditions Precedent for the Successful Working of Democracy'. What are the conditions precedent which must exist in order that the democratic form of Government may continue to work without any kind of hindrance. This is the subject on which I propose to make a few observations.

**SETTING FOR THE SUBJECT.**

Now, before I actually deal with the subject matter, I propose to make a few preliminary observations in order to provide, what we call a setting for the subject.

The first preliminary observation I propose to make is this that democracy is always changing its forms. We speak of democracy but democracy is not always the same. The Greek spoke of Athenian democracy. But as every one knows, the Athenian democracy was as different from our modern democracy as chalk is from cheese. The Athenian democracy consisted of people 50 per cent of whom were slaves. Only 50 per cent were free. The 50 per cent who formed slaves had no place in the Government at all. Surely our democracy is quite different from the Athenian democracy.

The second thing to which I would like to draw your attention by a preliminary observation is that even in the same country democracy is not always the same. You take the history of England's Revolution of 1688. Was the same as the English democracy which came after the revolution of 1688? Nor can anyone say that the English democracy as is existed between 1688 and 1832 when the First Reform Bill was passed, is the same as the democracy that developed after the passing of the Act of 1832. Democracy keeps on changing its form.

The third thing that I would like to draw your attention is that democracy not only undergoes in
forms, democracy always undergoes changes in purpose. You take the ancient English democracy. What was the purpose of that democracy? It was to curb the king, to prevent the King from exercising what we now in law call his prerogative rights. The king even went to the extent of saying that although parliament may be there, as an enactment making body, "I as a king have got the prerogative to make the law and my law shall prevail." It was this kind of autocracy of the king which made democracy to come into being.

Today what is the purpose of the democracy? The purpose of modern democracy is not so much to put a curb on an autocratic king but to bring about welfare of the people. That is the distinct change in the purpose of democracy. You will therefore see that in the title which I have given to my subject, I have deliberately used the words 'Conditions precedent for the success of modern democracy'.

DEMONCRACY DEFINED.

Again what do we mean by democracy? Let us have a clear understanding before I proceed to any subject. Democracy has been defined; as you know, by various people, writes of political science and philosophers, sociologists and so on. I take only two for the purpose of illustrating my point. I do not know whether any of you is acquainted with that famous book by Walter Bagheot on the English Constitution, the modern attempt to give a clear picture of democracy. If you refer to that book of Walter Bagheot, his definition of democracy is 'Government by discussion'. That is how he defines democracy. Take another illustration and that is of Abraham Lincon. In his famous Gettysburg speech which he made after the conquest of the Southern States, he defined democracy as a "Government of the people, by the people and for the people." Well many other definitions could be added in order to give an idea what people mean by democracy. Personally for myself, I define
democracy in a different way in a much more concrete way. I think my definition of democracy is, 'a form and method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed'. That is my definition of democracy. If democracy can enable those who are running it to bring about fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people and the people accept those changes without resorting to bloodshed, thus I say that there is democracy. That is the real test. It is perhaps the severest test. But when you are judging the quality of a material, you must put it to the severest test. And this is how I propose to define democracy at any rate so far as today's address is concerned. Now, how can such a democracy be successful? This is a main subject-matter of my address. Now unfortunately there are no dogmas laid down by any of the authors who have written about this subject of democracy which can give us any idea in concrete, as to what are the conditions precedent according to their judgement to make democracy a success. One has to read history and as a result of reading history to find out the break-down period in democracy's life in the different parts of the world where it has functioned and come to one's own conclusion.

CONDITION No. I

The first condition which I think is a condition precedent for the successful working of the democracy is that there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. There must not be a class which has got all the privileges and a class which has get all burdens to carry. Such a thing, such a division, such an organisation of society has within itself the germs of a bloody revolution, and perhaps it would be impossible for the democracy to cure them, Lincoln once said, "If you of the Southern States and we of the Northern States are divided, we shall not be able to stand together when a foreign enemy comes." That was probably the meaning that he wanted to convey when he said that the house divided cannot stand. But think that
phrase of his or sentence of his is pregnant with much deeper meaning and it means, as I understand it, that the deep cleavages between class and class are going to be one of the greatest hindrances on the success of democracy. Because in democracy what happens? In democracy everybody, even the oppressed, the suppressed, those who are deprived of their rights and those who carry the burden, they have the right to vote in the same way as those who have all privileges, and probably those who are privileged are fewer than those who are unprivileged and since we adopt a majority rule as the rule of decision it is quite possible that if the privileged few will not willingly and voluntarily surrender their privileges, then the distance between them and lower orders will destroy democracy and bring into existence something quite different. There is, therefore, no doubt in my mind that if you examine the history of democracy in various parts of the world, you will find that one of the causes for the breakdown of democracy is the existence of these social cleavages.

CONDITION No. II

The second thing which a successful working of democracy requires is the existence of opposition. Now, I have seen many people not only in this country but in (the) England condemning the party system. I was just recently reading, just before I came, a little small book published by the Harvard Society on the party system in England and there is one whole chapter devoted to this question whether the party system is a good system and should be tolerated. There is a variety of views. Now it seems to me that all those who are against the party system who must be taken also on that very amount to be against opposition, seem completely to misunderstand what democracy mean. What does democracy mean? I am not defining it. I am asking a functional question. It seems to me that democracy means a vote of power. Democracy is a contradiction of hereditary authority or autocratic authority. Democracy means that at some stage somewhere there
must be a veto on the authority of those who are ruling the country. In autocracy there is no veto. The king once elected is there with his divine right to rule. He does not have to go before his subject at the end of every five years to ask them, “Do you think I am a good man? Do you think I have done well during the last five years? If so, will you re-elect me?” There is no veto on the part of anybody on the power of the king. But in democracy we have provided, that at every five years those who are in authority must go to the people and ask whether in the opinion of the people they are well qualified to be entrusted with power and authority to look after their interest, to mould their destiny, to defend them. That is what I call veto. Now, a democracy is not satisfied with a quinquennial veto that the Government should go at the end of five years only to the people and in the meantime there should be nobody to question the authority of the Government. Democracy requires that not only that the Government should be subject to the veto, long term veto of five years, at the hands of the people, but there must be an immediate veto. There must be people in the parliament immediately ready there and then to challenge the Government. Now, if you understand what I am saying, democracy means that nobody has any perpetual authority to rule, but that rule is subject to sanction by the people and can be challenged in the house itself. You will see how important it is to have an opposition. Opposition means that the Government is always on the anvil. The Government must justify every act that it does to those of the people who do not belong to its party. Unfortunately, in our country all our newspapers, for one reason or other, I believe, it is the revenue from advertisement, have given far more publicity to the Government than to the opposition, because you cannot get any revenue from the opposition. They get revenue from the Government and you find columns after columns of speeches ruled out by members of the ruling party in the daily newspapers and the speeches made by the opposition are probably put some-
where on the last page in the last column. I am not criticising what is the condition precedent for a democracy. The opposition is a condition precedent for democracy. But do you know that in England not only is the opposition recognised, but the leader of the opposition is paid a salary by the Government in order to run the opposition. He gets a Secretary, he gets a small staff of stenographers and writers, he has a room in the House of Commons where he does his business. In the same way, you will find that in Canada the leader of the opposition gets a salary in the same way as a Prime Minister does, because in both these countries democracy feels that there must be some one to show whether the Government is going wrong. And this must be done incessantly and perpetually and that is why they do not mind spending money on the leader of the opposition.

CONDITION No. III

I think there is a third Conditions which may also be called condition precedent for the success of democracy and that is equality in law and administration one need not at this stage dilate too much on equality before the law, although there might be cases here and there where there is no equality before the law. But what is important is equality of treatment in administration. It is quite possible for good many of you to imagine or to recall cases where a party government is carrying on the administration for the benefit of the members of the party. At any rate I can recall a great many instances of this sort. Suppose there is a law which says that nobody shall deal in a particular commodity without a license. Nobody can quarrel with that law because it is universal. There is no discrimination in that particular piece of legislation. But let us go further and see what happens when a man goes to a particular officer or to the Minister with an application for license in trading in a particular commodity. I do not know, it is quite possible again that probably the Minister may first look at his hat. What sort of coloured hat he is wearing? If he is wearing a
that which appeals to him and it assures him that he is a party man and another man goes with another sort of dress or belonging to another party and in making his decision the license is given to the first and refused to the second, although both of them on merits are equally qualified to have that license, then obviously this is a discrimination in administration and there is no equality. Of course the question of license i.e. granting of this privilege and that privilege is perhaps a small thing and effects only a very small class of people. But let us go further and see what would happen if this kind of discrimination enters administration. Supposing a member of a certain party is being prosecuted for a certain offence for which there is abundant evidence and suppose the head of the party in that particular area goes to the district magistrate and tells him that it is not right for him to prosecute this man because he belongs to his party, and says “well, if you dont do it, I shall refer the matter to the Minister and get you transferred from this place to some other place. You can just imagine what chaos and injustice would result in administration. The sort of a thing which used to happen in United States which is called a spoils system, that to say, when one party came in office, it removed all the employees that were employed by their predecessor including even the clerks and peons and they fill their vacancies by those gentlemen who helped the new party to go in power. The United States as a matter of fact, had no administration worth speaking of for a number of years. Subsequently they themselves realised that this was not helpful to any democracy. They abolished this spoils system. In England, in order that administration should remain pure, impartial away from politics and policy, they have made a distinction between what is called political offices and civil offices. The civil service is permanent. It serves all the parties which ever is in office and carries out the administration without any kind of interference from the Minister. Such a thing at one time did exist in our country when the British were here. I recall very clearly an incident in my own career as a member of
the Government of India. You perhaps will recollect that every Viceroy has got in Delhi, some street or Club named after him, the only Governor General who does not get his name attached to some street or institution is Lord Linlithgow. His Private Secretary was my friend. I was then in charge of P.W.D. and there were plenty of works I was in charge of. He came and quietly said to me "My dear Dr. could you do some thing for naming some institution or work after the name of Lord Linlithgow? He said it is looking very glaring that everybody's name is there but not his. I said, "I will consider." I was then discussing the construction of a barrage over Jamuna in order to provide water to the city of Delhi in summer, because it goes dry in Summer. I told my Secretary who was a European by name Priar. And I said "Mr. Prier, look here. This is what the Secretary to the Governor General has said to me. Do you think we can do something," What do you think was his reply? His reply was, "Sir, we must not do any such thing at all." Such a thing at any rate in this country to do would be quite impossible. For any officer to say something which is contrary to the wishes of the Minister is, to my mind, utterly impossible. But in those days it was quite possible, because we too in India like Great Britain had made that wise decision that administration must not be interfered with the Government and that the function of the Government was to lay down policy but not to interfere and not to make and discrimination. This is very fundamental and I am afraid we had already departed from that and may completely abrogate and abolish the thing we have had so far.

CONDITION No. IV

The fourth condition precedent in my judgement for the successful working of democracy is the observance of constitutional morality many people seem to be very enthusiastic about the Constitution. Well, I am afraid, I am not. I am quite prepared to join that body of people who want to abolish the Constitution, at any rate to redraft it. But
what we forget is that we have a Constitution which contains legal provisions, only a skeleton the flesh of that skeleton is to be found in what we call Constitutional morality. However in England it is called the convention of the constitution and people must be ready to observe the rules of the game. Let me give you one or two illustrations which came to my mind of this movement. Yet, remember when the 13 American colonies rebelled, their leader was Washington. It is really a very inadequate way of defining his position in American life of that day merely to say that he was leader. To the American people Washington was God. If you read his life and history, he was made the first president of the United States after the constitution was drafted. After his turn was over. What happened? He refused to stand for the second time. I have not the least doubt in my mind that Washington had stood ten times one after the other for the presidency, he would have been elected unanimously without a rival. But he stepped down the second time. When he was asked why, he said “My dear people, you have forgotten the purpose for which we made this Constitution because we did not want a hereditary monarchy and we did not want a hereditary ruler or a dictator. If after abandoning and swearing away from the alliance of the English King you come to this country and stick to worship me year after year and turn after turn what happens to your principles? Can you say that you have rightly rebelled against the authority of the English King when you are substituting me in his place? He said, “Even if your loyalty and fidelity compels you to plead that I should stand a second time, I as one who enunciated that principle that we should not have hereditary authority must not fall a prey to your emotion.” Ultimately they prevailed upon him to stand at least a second time. And he did. And the third time when they approached him, he spurned them away. Let me give you another illustration. You know Windsor Edward the VIII. Whose serial story has now been published in the Times of India. I had gone to the Round Table Conference and there was a great
controversy going on there as to whether the King should be allowed to marry the woman whom he wanted to marry, especially when he was prepared to marry her in morganistic marriage, so that she may not be a queen, or whether the British people should deny him even that personal right and force him to abdicate. Mr. Baldwin was of course against the king’s marriage. He would not allow him, and said “If you do not listen to me, you will have to go”. Our friend Mr. Churchill was the friend of Edward the VIII and was encouraging him. At that time Labour Party was in opposition. They had no majority and I remember very well the Labour Party people considered whether they could not make capital of this issue and defeat Mr. Baldwin, because there was a large number of conservatives who in their loyalty wanted to support the king; and I remember the Late Prof. Laski, writing a series of articles in the ‘Herald’, condemning any such move on the part of the Labour Party. He said “By our convention we have always agreed that the king must accept the advice of the Prime Minister and if he does not accept the advice of the Prime Minister, the Prime Minister shall force his ejection. “That being our convention, it would be wrong or our part to defeat Mr. Baldwin on an issue which would increase the authority of the king. And the Labour Party listened to his advice and did nothing of the kind. They said they must observe the rules of the game. If you read English history, you will find many such illustrations where the party leaders have had to them many temptations to do wrong to their opponents in office or in opposition by clutching at an issue which gave them temporary powers, but which they refused to fall a prey to, because they knew that they would damage the Constitution and damage democracy.

There is one thing which I think is very necessary in the working of democracy and it is this that in the name of democracy there must be no tyranny of the majority over the minority. The minority must always feel safe that although the majority is carrying on the Government the
majority is not being hurt, or the minority is not being hit below the belt. This is a thing which is very greatly respected in the House of Commons. Good many of you must be remembering the results of elections in England in 1931, when Mr Ramsay MacDonald left the Labour party, formed the National Government when the election came the Labour party which I think numbered somewhere about 150 or 60, had only 50 members out of 650 which Mr Baldwin as the Prime Minister. I was then there. But I have never heard of a single instance of this small minority of 50 members, belonging to the Labour party under the huge majority of the Conservatives ever complaining that they were denied their due right of speech, or opposition or making motions of any kind as you probably know. You take our own parliament, I am not justifying what the members of the opposition are doing by constantly bringing in motions of censure or adjournment motions. It is not a very happy thing to work in parliament to be constantly during these adjournment motions. All the same you must have noticed that there is hardly any motion, whether of adjournment or censure which has been admitted for the debate. It surprises me considerably. In my reading of the English parliamentary debates I have very seldom come across a case where a demand for adjournment has been refused either by the speaker, provided of course it is an order by the Government. When I was a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. There were a few of our friends Mr Morarji, Mr Munshi and Mr Kher and others who were in office, they never allowed a single motion of adjournment to be discussed. Either our friend, Mr Mavlankar who was then speaker helped them by ruling it out or as he admitted, the Minister objected to it. You know what happens when a Minister objects? When a Minister objects, the man who proposes the adjournment motion has to produce 30 or 40 people, whatever the quota is. It may be that if Government were constantly to oppose adjournment motions of the small community which is represented in the house by a group of
few members such as 4, 5 or 6, such small minorities can never get a chance to ventilate their grievances. What happens is that these minorities develop a contempt for parliamentary people and develop a revolutionary spirit something unconstitutional. It is therefore necessary that when democracy is working, the majority on which it is based, must not act in a tyrannical manner.

The other point I will refer to and then close. I think that democracy does require the functioning of moral order in society, somehow, our political scientist have never considered this aspect of democracy. Ethics is something separate from politics. You may learn politics and you may know nothing about ethics as though politics can work without ethics. To my mind it is an astounding proposition. After all, in democracy what happens? Democracy is spoken of as a free Government? And what do we mean by free Government? Free Government means that in vast aspects of social life people are left free to carry on without interference of law, if law has to be made then the law maker, expects the society, will have enough morality in it to make the law a success. The only person who I think has referred to this aspect of democracy is Laski. In one of his books he has very categorically stated that the moral order is always taken for granted in democracy. If there is no moral order democracy will go to pieces as it is going now probably in our own country.

To the last thing that I refer to is that democracy requires “public conscience”, there is no doubt about it that although there is injustice in every country, the injustice is not equally spread. There are some where the impact of injustice is very small. There are some against whom the impact is very great. And there are some who are absolutely crushed under the burden of injustice, one might very easily cite the case of Jews in England. They were the people who suffered certain injustice which the Christians never did. What happened was that the Jews alone had to struggle in order to get this injustice removed. But the
English Christians never helped them. In fact they liked it, the only man who helped the Jews in England was the king. This may be extraordinary. But the reason also is extra-ordinary and the reason is this, under the old Christian law the children of the Jews could not inherit the property of the father for no other reason except the property that he was a Jew and not a Christian, and the king being the residuary legate of the State received the property of a dead Jew. Now the king liked that sort of thing. He was very happy when the children of the dead Jews went to the king in application the king handed over to them a little bit of the property of their dead father and kept the rest for himself. But as I said, no English man ever helped the Jews, and the Jews continued the struggle for their liberation this is the result of what is called "public conscience". Public conscience means conscience which becomes agitated at very wrong, no matter who is the sufferer and it means that everybody whether he suffers that particular wrong or not, is prepared to join him in order to get him relieved. You take South Africa, the most recent example. Well, the people who are suffering there are the Indians. Are they not? The white people are not suffering and yet you find this Reverend Scott, who is a white man doing his level best in order to get this injustice removed. Recently, I have been reading that a large number of young boys and girls belonging to the white race are also joining the struggle of the Indians in South Africa, that is called "Public Conscience". I do not want to shock you, but sometimes I feel how forgetful we are. We are talking about South Africa. I have been wondering within myself whether we who are taking so on do not have South Africa in every village. There is, we have only to go and see. There is South Africa everywhere in the village and yet I have very seldom found every body not belonging to the Scheduled Class taking up the cause of the Scheduled Class and fighting, and why? Because there is no "Public Conscience". Myself and my India is the only word within which I am bound. If
this sort of thing happens, the minority which is suffering from injustice gets no help from others for the purpose of getting rid of this injustice. It again develops a revolutionary mentality which puts democracy in danger. Now, as I said, what I have said is not a series of dogmas which have been worked out by any political scientist, but the result of what is impressed upon me as a result of reading the political histories of various countries, and I (have) believe that these are the most essential conditions for the purpose of preserving democracy.

Now ladies and gentlemen, I have no idea what has been the underlying purpose or motive which led you to give this invitation. It might be that you wanted to add something to your programme. I hope I have discharged that function.

But so far as I am concerned I have no doubt about it that the subject about which I have spoken this evening to my mind is a subject of the greatest importance to this nation we have somehow developed the idea that we have independence. The Britishers have gone. We have got a constitution which provide for democracy. Well what more do we want? We can now rest as we say on ours oars and do nothing more! Let me warn you against this kind of a smug feeling that with the making of the constitution our task is done. It is not done. It has only began. You must remember that democracy is not a plant which grows everywhere. It has grown in America. It has grown in England. To some extent it has grown in France. Yes there are examples by which we can take a certain amount of courage to ourselves to see what has happened elsewhere. You must remember that as a result of the First European war and break up of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire Wilson created on the basis of self-determination, small nationalities independent of Austria. They all began with democratic constitution, democratic government and they had also Fundamental Rights provided in their constitution. Which it was made obligatory for them to have by the Peace Treaty of
Versailles. My friends! What has happened to that democracy? Do you see any trace of it there now? It has all gone. It has all vanished. They are probably under the dominance or surveillance of other countries. There is no democracy left. Take some of the most recent examples. Syria had got a democratic government. After a few years there was a military rebellion and the Commander-in-Chief of Syria became the ruler of Syria and democracy vanished in air. Take another example what happened in Egypt? There too there had been a Democratic government beginning right from 1922 or 30 years. In one night the King had to leave and Najib became the dictator of Egypt and he abolished the Constitution.

With all these examples before us, I think we ought to be very cautious and very considerate regarding our own future. You ought to consider whether we ought not to take some very positive steps in order to remove some of the stone and the boulders which are lying in our path in order to make our democracy safe. If as a result of these few observations I have made I have effected in you a consciousness that this is a problem on which we cannot afford to sleep. I think I would thank myself for the work I have done. Now ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you long and thank you for the kind attention with which you have listened to what I have said.”
संद ११ वा
प्रकरण ३ रे
राज्यसम्बंधी भाषणें
(३) आंध्रप्रदेश निमित्ती

श्री. पी. व्ही. नागरमण (ब्राह्म) वांनी १६ जुलै १९५२ व्या राज्यसम्बंधी बैठकीत नवीन आंध्रप्रदेश निमित्ती करणार्‌तंवाची ठराव घोष. (Parliamentary Debates: May-July 1952, P. 1224) तर ठराव छायली समाहारजी भाषणें हजारी व ती ठराव भेटली करणार्‌ता आला.

यहमंत्री डॉ. केलालनाथ काल्लू वांनी आंध्रप्रदेश निमित्ती करणार्‌तंवाची कायकाचे बिल (The Andhra State Bill, 1953) राज्यसम्बंधी १-१-१५३ वा माणके. लावर वांनी भाषणकेले (Parliamentary Debates, Council of States, Vol. IV A August-September 1953, P. 786) लावतर बावलाहे-वांनी २ वट.रोज १९५३ वा माणके. (Ibid, pp. 864-79) लावत व्यांनी नवा माणक उपचर करणे हे सार्वजनिक लेखकांकडून अधारित करणे वरे नवे असे दुसरे व नवा माणक उपचर करणार्ता ताजीक पावा सर्व भारत सामान्य पाँचीक निर्देश द्वारे हा असावा, असा बाधार्थवाळांनी हुआ माणके. आंध्रमंत्री संरक्षण या बात आAYER प्रवर्त केली, भारत, वंदे, जीवनी काउंटी नागरिकत्वाचा जीवनाला पोषक असे सर्व वस्तुमाळांचे कांडीकरण रेंडी लोकांत्या हातात घातले आली, रेडी जातीमया व्हाव्या पातीली सर्व जाती अहिले त्यांत 'क्षमा' व 'क्षुधा' व्या मुख होत; सर्व व्हाव्या जाती अस्तित्व होत. भारत जातीतिल लेक वांना गुणमाणांमध्ये वाचवासारे, ही सामाजिक परिस्थिती सुधाराची आणि सर्व जातींसाठी माणक दर्शने राजकीय, धार्मिक, सामाजिक व आधिक नक्क मिळालेले,
अशी तर्कद आंगणी विलायत होणे चाह आहे. अंध्र प्रांताची आधिक संप्रभुता शाळकुंद तायावर उमी करता वेळेही, अशींशी तजळी चेली पाहिली. हे याहे माझ्यात बाहाकास करीना त्या संबंध स्फुरण करिंट्या कामापासून अनुभव मागिले, तामागे प्रतिष्ठा करावा की नाही, नाही होऊ माऩतो माणूस व खर्चार बांचं ठरवले नाहीं तेव्हा, त्यामुळे घटले आंगणात रोगाचा स्वतः उठवले हे स्फुरण करिंट्या ठरविला असे नाही. त्यासाठी वडिल नेण्यांचे नत करिंट्या वेढोवैची अजमानाचे लागले. भारी ज्ञांचा सांगण्यासाठी माझ्या हा मळामाळक दाखवावा लागला. [घटना व प्रांत तयार करताना काँग्रेस पक्षापासून डाळित करिंट्या मुहूळ नाक घसरत नयाने लागले; भारी आपणास अशी हुलेचित्रही करावा हूनी तसेच घटना तयार करणे माग पडले असे बाहासेहीवैंची सांगितली. गाडी झंप्तेल्या व्यक्तीपेक्षा भारणात सदर करिंट्या काही जास्त महसूल नव्हे; अशी ही ते महणाले. भाषा परिवर्तनीत तयार करणात आलेली घटना कोणत्याही हिताची नाही. आणि अशी घटना जालवयाची ठरवले तर मी, प्रथम त्या घटनेना आपल्याच्या आपल्याच्या जग जग जणीत उदार काळरे. ही परिवर्तनी अभिषेक आहे. सर्वसाधु पक्षाने अशा घटनात करणे हे देखील धारक आहेत, खण ते ह्यू देववच उंवच अंध्र प्रांताची निर्मिती तसें जमातीना हिताच घडाहे, अशी करावी, नाहीं ती निर्मितीही नको, असा बाहासेहीवैंचा भाषणाचा सारांश होतो.

हों. आंवेल्डकर हे गाडे पिन्हंत, निक्टिंक वेको आणि तेलक आहेत, नाही होऊ आम्हाला याच्याच्या आदर आहे. त्याचे भाषणसंस्लेन मातीपूर्ण व मुहूळ आहे. परंतु त्याचं भाषणामय जी विरोध की विचारक भूमिका आहे ती आम्हाला पसंत नाही, अशा अथाही उद्दर काही समाजदारी तसें व्याख्या नोंदताना काळेत. या समाजाची ठीका एकज्ञात बाहासेहीं राष्ट्र संवेदना बेलकापासून उपरंतुतत नव्हे. बाहासेहींच्या ते माणूस व त्यावरील हटर समाजदारें काही ठीकात अभिव्रत नसेल ते होईल करत आहेत :-

"Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay) : Mr. Chairman, this is a Bill the object of which is to create a new state for the Andhras. As such it is the subject matter of the Andhras themselves. Others who are not Andhras can only take part in it in a general way, and solely because this new Province is a portent of probably some other linguistic provinces to come into existence. It is only because of the
feeling of the latter kind that I have stood up today to say a few words.

Sir, when one goes into the Bill, one is very much puzzled as to whether one should congratulate the Government on the Bill such as has been brought forward before the House, or whether one should congratulate the Andhras who are clamouring for a separate province. As any-one of in this House knows, as soon as the Congress party was organised and had a constitution in the year 1921, the first thing it did was to incorporate the principle of linguistic province. I have no idea that at any time from the year 1921 up to the year 1949 or there about, the Congress either ever withdrew that principle from its constitution or regretted having entered that principle in its constitution. In 1949 I believe — if I am wrong my friends will correct me — but I think that is about the year, when the Drafting Committee was sitting, and one member of the then Assembly tabled a Resolution for the formation of the linguistic provinces. I was in charge of the Law Department and as such the Resolution fell within my portfolio. I had to consult my Cabinet colleagues in order to know what sort of reply I should give to this Resolution. They said that the better thing would be for me to transfer the Resolution either to the Prime Minister or to the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, which I very gladly did, because I did not want the responsibility to fall on my shoulder for the answer that might be given to that Resolution. It was then arranged between the mover of the Resolution and the Members of the High Command of the Congress, that although they were not prepared to accept the Resolution in all its generality so as to apply to all the multi-lingual provinces then existing, they were prepared to consider the question of creating an Andhra Province. The members of the Drafting Committee were waiting to know what exactly they should do, whether they should enter Andhra as a separate province in the Schedule of the State. Hon. Members who are particular to know about this will find in a foot-note to the first
draft of the Drafting Committee’s Report that I referred to the Prime Minister in order to let me know whether Andhra should be entered in the Schedule to the constitution. I got no reply, with the result that Andhra then did not become a separate province. It was a great surprise to me that when practically for twenty years, a party had stood by the principle of linguistic provinces, it should have developed cold feet after twenty years. Surely, twenty years was a long period for even the greatest dullard to think over the matter and come to a clear conclusion as to whether the principle that was adopted in 1921 was a mistaken principle and ought completely to be withdrawn, or whether it was a principle which should be pursued with certain modifications. The result has been that from 1949 upto this period, there had been a vacillating attitude on the part of Government, once saying that there shall be no linguistic provinces, at another time saying, “Yes we shall create an Andhra Province.” And unless and until one honourable gentleman had sacrificed his life for the sake of his country an Andhra Province, the Government did not think it fit to move in the matter, I have no idea and I do not wish to be harsh on the Government; but I am dead certain in my mind that if in any other country a person had to die in order to invoke a principle which had already been accepted, what would have happened to the Government. It is quite possible that the Government might have been lynched. But here nothing has happened. The Government is playing with the proposition.

The argument that has been brought forth by the Government is that if you create linguistic provinces, you will break up the unity of India. That has been the argument which one heard time and again from every member of the Government. Sir I am surprised that such an argument should have been used. If any one were to look up the Schedule of State, attacked to the Constitution he would find that there are all-together 27 States filling up different parts — Part A, Part B, and Part C. I am not
taking into account Part D. Now if you take up these 27 States, you will find 23 States are linguistic States. Only 4 are multi-lingual. I should like to ask my Hon. friend the Home Minister, whether he thinks that the 23 linguistic States which have existed from the very beginning of the Constitution have in any way done anything in order to disrupt the unity of this country. I would like him to answer the question. These 23 linguistic States have not been able to disrupt the unity of India. I am as keen as he is on maintaining the unity of India and I shall not support any step which will bring about the break-up of this country.

We have by God’s grace, achieved not only independence but also unity, and it is our bounden duty, no matter to what party we belong, to see that independence and this unity is retained. But to say, in the face of this fact, with 23 linguistic States, that linguistic States would break-up the unity of India is to say something which is puerile. They must produce some very weighty arguments in support of their contention that they cannot pursue a policy of creating linguistic States.

Now, Sir, coming to the Andhras on whom this blessing is showered by the Government after such a long delay, what do they get by it? First of all, as I look at the Bill, I do not find anywhere mention about the capital of this new State of Andhra. The Capital is the very life source of a State. I cannot understand how one can imagine a State without its capital. In fact, it is the capital that gives life to the State. There is no mention of it, at all. Who is to create this capital? Is it the legislature of the new Andhra State which is to meet and decide what is to be its capital? Is it the Executive Government of new State which is to sit at some place and decide that the capital of the new Andhra State will be this? There is no indication at all in the Bill, as to which is the authority which is to create this capital. Reading from the news-
papers it does appear that there is no unanimity among the Andhras on the question of the capital. ... (pp. 864-65).

"Sir, as I said, I am not Andhra. But I belong to what might be called a political group—I shall not give it the honorific name of a 'Party'—which is called the Scheduled Caste Federation. As the leader of that group, I had the occasion to move round in the Andhra country in order to see what the condition of the Scheduled Castes there is. My picture is this that, in this Andhra country, there are as everywhere else, as I am going to show, some big communities, and some small communities. Of the big communities the biggest, I believe, is the Reddy community, below the Reddys come the Kammas; below the Kammas come the Kapus; and below them come the unfortunate Scheduled Castes people working as landless labourers. This is primarily the picture of this area. As I said, this is not a lonely case. There are many other areas of the same pattern.

The second thing I noticed is this that all the lands practically are in possession of the Reddys. The Reddys are the biggest landlords there. Next probably come the Kammas, to which my friend Professor Ranga belongs. I was told very recently how great is this evil, I was told in a very vivid way by one of the Congressmen himself. I do not know whether he would feel offended if I mention his name. It would lend an authority to the statement that I am making, but I shall not mention his name as I have not asked him.

An Hon. Member: Is he a Member of this House?
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: He is a Member of the Lower House.
Dr. K. N. Katju: I do not like it to be called the Lower House.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: When we were discussing this question, my friend told me that that was by no means peculiar. There was a certain village in the Andhra area. The entire land of the village measured 1400 acres. Out of that,
only 14 acres were owned by private individuals; the rest of it was owned by a single Reddy. One has just to imagine the picture.

Shri P. Sundarayya (Madras): Let us confiscate it.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have no idea what they were that
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have no idea what they have done. The third fact he told me was that all trade in the village was in the hands of the Reddys.

An Hon. Member: What is wrong?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The lowest village officer is also a Reddy; the ‘mulki’ is also a Reddy. Well, Sir, I want to know for myself, especially in view of the fact whether the reservation, which was so blissfully granted to us by the Congress Party for ten years, is going to disappear.

An Hon. Member: You accepted it.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Yes, What is one can do, if you cannot get puri you must get roti. Sir, in view of the situation that is obtaining here you can imagine what is likely to be the position of the Scheduled Castes. What provision has my Hon. friend made for the purpose of granting protection against tyranny, against oppression, against communalism, that is sure to be rampant not only in the Andhra Pradesh but everywhere in the States similarly situated. One of the greatest regrets that I have is that the Home Member, whose duty it is to see that every citizen is well protected against the tyranny of the majority, has come here with a Bill with no idea, with no occupation as to what the State is likely to be and what is likely to happen to millions of people. I know, Sir, he is a high born person.


Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: But the fact is that he is a Kashmiri Pandit. Even if he takes to the profession of a Bhangi he will still remain a Kashmiri Pandit. He may never
suffer. All people may respect him for his ancestry, for his noble birth, for his learning. What about us who have been tyrannised for the last 2,000 years?

_Shri H. P. Sakseña_ (Uttar Pradesh): But we all respect you.

_Dr. B. R. Ambedkar_: I may die in ten years time. Now, Sir, these are three conditions which I thought I should urge before my Hon. friend the Home Minister, for his consideration. There is still time even in his House, if he likes.

_Shri K. S. Hegde_: Is it the suggestion that Andhra should have a different tradition altogether?

_Dr. B. R. Ambedkar_: I am going to suggest that. That is why I am going to tell him, that he has not applied his mind to this subject.

_Shri K. S. Hegde_: That will be applicable to all the States.

_Dr. B. R. Ambedkar_: I have said so.

_Shri K. S. Hegde_: It is a general proposition.

_Dr. B. R. Ambedkar_: Wait a minute now, please. Mr. Chairman, we are not going to finish our troubles with the creation of Andhra State. There are plenty of other States which are making a similar demand and I think it is therefore necessary for the Government to find out whether there are any other ways and means whereby we could keep the multi-lingual provinces as they are, and remove the feelings and the lots of blemishes that arise therefrom and only in excusable cases resort to the creation of a linguistic State. I have been devoting a certain amount of attention to this question because I know that this is going to be one of our most crucial questions. Sir my suggestions are two-fold whenever I find a multi-lingual State I would vest the Governor there with certain special powers to protect the minorities in the State. That is one proposition that I would place before the Government for its considera-
tion. I shall presently cite some authority in order that may not think that this is my imagination. I am going to cite some constitutional precedents. And the second thing that I would like to be done would be that in all such States where there are multi-lingual people you should establish by law committees of members belonging to different linguistic sections which would have the right to hear and the right to ask the Ministry whether they are doing justice to their problems. Also they should have the right to appeal to the Government to set aside any act of injustice that might have been done to any one section. I think, if these three things are done, we should be able to keep the States as they are, at any rate in the first stage. If ultimately we find that we do not succeed even with these measures, then fate may take us to the logical extreme end, namely to have a linguistic State.

Sir, in the case of creation of linguistic States, in my judgement there appear to me to be two considerations. One is that the linguistic State must be a viable State. It may be that this is a small state which has got a culture and which has got language and which has got a separate feeling and an entity. Yet it is so small that it cannot find that means of carrying on its Administration. People do not live on culture. People do not live on language. People live on the resources that they possess. But if God has given them language but God has not given them the resources, I am afraid they cannot have the luxury of having a separate linguistic State. The seemed thing is this. It is only in our country that we find that linguistic provinces create difficulty. I would like to ask the question as to why there are no difficulties in Switzerland although Switzerland itself is a multi-lingual unit. The Costumes have French, German and Italian. Yet they are a very happy nation and they are the most prosperous nation today. Why it is that Switzerland has no provinces although it is a multi-lingual unit? The answer which I can give is this that linguism in Switzerland is not loaded with com-
munalism. But in our country linguism is only another name for communalism. What happens when you create a linguistic province is that you hand over the strings of Administration to one single community which happens to be the majority community and can cite many provinces where this is likely to happen. That community charged with a feeling of its own sacred existence begins to practice the worst kind of communalism which otherwise is called discrimination, discrimination creates injustice and injustice creates ill feeling. If our linguism was not charged with communalism our linguism would not be a danger to us at all; but the fact is that it is. But it seems to me that in order to do away with the community practising communalism being in office these two remedies are worthwhile, namely to give the power to the Governor to override and, secondly, to appoint small committees who can make representations either to the Ministry or to the Governor.

Now, Sir, we have inherited a tradition. People always keep on saying to me: “Oh, you are the maker of the Constitution”. My answer is I was a hack. What was asked to do, I did much against my will.

Shri P. Sundarayya: Why did you serve your masters then like that?

Mr. Chairman: Order, Order.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: But, Sir, we have inherited, on account of our hatred of the British, certain ideas about democracy which it seems to me, are not universally accepted. We inherited the idea that the Governor must have no power at all, that he must only be a rubber stamp. If a Minister, however scoundrelly he may be, however corrupt he may be, if he puts up a proposal before the Governor, he has to ditto it. That is the kind of conception about democracy which we have developed in this country.

Shri M. S. Ranaur (Rajasthan): But you defended it.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: We always defend many things. (Interuption). You should listen seriously to what I am saying, because this is an important problem.
Sir, as I said, we happened to develop a theory of
decocracy, simply because of our opposition to the British.
The British must have no power. A Governor must have
no power. Let me cite two cases.

One case is which I propose to cite is about the Constitu-
tion of Canada and I refer to Section 93 of that constitu-
tion. As everyone in this House knows, Canada, like our-
selves, is a bilingual place. A part of it speaks English; a
part of it speaks French. And what is worse still is that
the English speaking people are Protestants; the French are
Roman Catholics. In 1864, when the Constitution of Canada
was made, the Catholics were very much afraid as to what
might happen to them under the English Protestant ma-
jority and they were prepare to come into the constitution of
a united Canada. Therefore the Parliament enacted Section
93 in the Canadian Constitution. That section does two
things. It says that if any province — naturally the refer-
ence was to province in Protestant areas — where Roman
Catholics lived passed any law with regard to certain
matters which the Roman Catholics regarded as their
special privilege based upon religion, they had the right to
appeal to the Governor General that a wrong was done to
them, and the Governor General by Section 93 had the
right to look into their complaint. It was a salutary right
of complaint. Not only did Section 93 give the Catholic a
salutary right of appeal against the decision of the majority
to have a certain measure annulled; but it goes much
further and says that Governor General shall have the right
to enact a positive measure in protection of the Catholic
minority. I would like to ask my friend, the Home Member,
whether, with the inclusion of Section 93 in the Canadian
Constitution, he regards the Canadian Constitution to be
democratic or undemocratic. What is his answer?

11 A.M.,

Dr. K. N. Katju: My answer is you had drafted this
Constitution.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: You want to accuse me for your blemishes?

Mr. Chairman: He has said that he defended the present Constitution because it was the majority decision. Get along.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, therefore, my submission is this that no harm can be done to democracy and to democratic Constitution if our Constitution were amended and powers similar to those given to the Governor General under Section 93 were given to the Governor. At any rate, that would be some kind of safeguard to certain small linguistic areas or linguistic groups who find that majority in the State are not doing justice to them.

The second suggestion that I would like to make is from the the English Constitution. My Hon. Friend must be aware of the position of Scotland in the British Constitution and therefore I would not go into greater details. But he will remember two things. One is this that although Scotland and England are one, nobody can say that they are two separate countries — still there is a special Secretary of State for Scotland under the British Constitution to look after the interests of the Scottish people. He must have gone to London, I think, various times (The Hon. Minister indicated by signs. — Three). Three times. Surely he must have passed by the Parliament Street and just by the side of 10, Downing Street, there is a big brass board; 'Scottish Office', that is the place where the Secretary of State for Scotland sits. That is the one provision which the British have made. They have not argued, as my friends have argued that this is a recognition of communalism. Have they? Scotland came and joined England some hundreds of years ago and yet the British people in order to recognise the sentiments of the Scots in order to respect their feelings, have created statutorily an office called the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The second thing to which I would like to refer is that in British Parliament there are two Committees. One
Committee for Wales and Monmouthshire and there is another Committee for Scotland consisting of Scotch Committee so that the Scotch members may have their say in the matter. In the same way the members of Wales and Monmouthshire are also brought on committees connected with their affairs. It is by placating the sentiments of smaller communities and smaller people who are afraid that the majority may do wrong, that the British Parliament works. Sir, my friends tell me that I have made the Constitution. But I am quite prepared to say that I shall be the first person to burn it out. I do not want it. It does not suit anybody. But whatever that may be, if our people want to carry on, they must not forget that there are majorities and there are minorities, and they simply cannot ignore the minorities by saying, “Oh no, to recognise you is to harm democracy.” I should say that the greatest harm will come by injuring the minorities. I fear sometimes that if minorities are treated in the way in which they are being treated in our Bombay State — I do not want to be parochial, but my friends have been telling me, as I am not there I do not take any interest in my State, as you know, and I do not even like to call myself a Maharashtrian — I do not know what will ultimately happen. I am fond of Hindi, but the only trouble is that the Hindi speaking people are the greatest enemies of Hindi.

The Chairman: Dr. Ambedkar, it is an aside.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is an aside.

Now, Sir, I am told that the Ministers are drawn from the two provinces. The clever members of the Ministry draw all the funds for developing the resources in that particular area, and the other area gets nothing. The same is being said about the Rayalseema area, that the coastal people are generally able to get larger funds for their area and the Rayalseema people get nothing. If my friend could make a provision in the Constitution that there shall be constituted lawfully under this very Bill a Committee consisting the members belonging to Rayalseema, who will
have the right to represent to the Governor and to the members of the Ministry that their part is to be included, I think a large part of the grievance would disappear. Similarly, Sir, I find that our Bengali members are considerably agitated over the fact that part of Bihar — they say — is Bengal. I do not know; it may be, because originally Bengal spread over everywhere. The Governor General had a very large area, and whenever the Governor General went, the Bengalis also went with him.

Mr. Chairman : Go on with Andhra Bill.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (P. 879) : Yes, I am only giving an illustration. My illustration is this, that supporting, such was the case that the Biharies were not treating the Bengalis well. Well the only way open for solving this problem would be that there should be a committee of the Legislature consisting of the Members who are Bengalis and who should have the right to represent their grievances to the Ministry as well as to the Governor or to the President. When all these things fail, then I suppose we shall have to go to the naked proposition that we shall be linguistic first and linguistic last, and that we shall not recognise India. If that is to be our ultimate aim, well, God save us. But, Sir, my submission to my hon. friend is this that he should examine carefully some of the points I have made, particularly in the last part of my speech, and see whether he can find any solution to the problem of linguistic provinces, based on the suggestions that I have made in the new measure that he may have to bring — he may not be very willing to bring a new measure, but he may have to bring it.” (Parliamentary Debates, Council of States, Vol. IV-A — August-September 1953, pp. 864-79 A’s speech on Andhra State Bill, 1953 to form the new Andhra State moved by Home Minister on 1-9-1953 in Rajya Sabha).
I would even appeal to Dr. Ambedkar, if it is not too late for him to change — because he has all his life been indulging in this communal politics; he has been putting one community against another, taking advantages of the wretched conditions of the Scheduled Castes for which we are not responsible and for which whole system of society is responsible — to join us in reconstructing Society on a new bases so that all people who are suffering from exploitation can lead a new decent life. . . . .” Vol. IV-A, August-September 1953, page 881, Sundarayya’s request to A to leave off communal out look).
path help his argument? we all know what a vital contribution he has made to our Constitution, but he has repudiated it! It is perhaps his view that nationalism is not functioning properly. It is, however, too late now to stem the torrent of democracy and he will not succeed. I remember to have read a Press report of Dr. Ambedkar supporting linguistic provinces and giving his opinion that there might be Maha Vidarbha if not a Maha Maharashtra....

An Hon. Member: He began like that.

Shri Rama Rao: He began like that today; but went off at a tangent. He is a political puzzle, a psychological conundrum, a pathological problem. I refuse to take his arguments seriously though I was overwhelmed by his scholarship and learning....” Vol. IV-A, August-September 1953, pages 896-97, Rama Rao’s speech on A’s angry speech reg. burning constitution).

(“Yesterday Dr. Ambedkar — unfortunately he is not here — made a brilliant but contradictory speech. I was not sure whether he was not contradicting himself at every stage. To me this, his was rather a pitiable case. He was at one time acclaimed by the public as the modern Manu who drafted the Constitution; but in a highly painful speech he said he was prepared to burn the Constitution. Once before I had to ask on the floor of the House whether Dr. Ambedkar continued in the Cabinet for a mere mess...
of pottage. I would not like to repeat it. It was rather astounding something which cannot be appreciated in constitutional phraseology or by political commonsense for a member who was Minister entirely in charge of the framing the Constitution to come and tell you, Sir, that he was a mere hack. Is he setting a good political precedent? I am sorry Dr. Ambedkar only abused, and got out of the House. If he abuses, he should be prepared to receive the reactions thereof. It came with ill grace from Dr. Ambedkar when he said that his heart was not in the Constitution, that he was merely perpetuating a froud, to put it in the mildest form. Well, I will leave Dr. Ambedkar severely alone. His whole life has been one of a series of contradictions. First he tried to live in communalism and now probably it is too late in the day, for him to get himself out of that past. I have nothing but pity for him....” Vol. IV-A Aug-Sept. 1953, speech on A’s speech denouncing Constitution, etc.

भी. दी. एच. पद्मसिरमण् (मद्रास) यानी ५ सवंदिव्यच्या वैदिकीत डॉ. आंबेडकरकात्या भाषणातील मुख्यचा ठीक घेत ते सध्य अक्सर आहे असे संगिताचे (पा. १२७७-८७) डॉ. आंबेडकरकांब्यू ह्यानी असे उद्देश्य काढून की, डॉ. आंबेडकर ही फार महान लोकीच आहे. त्यांचे घटनाशास्त्राचरे शान अचाने आहे. एक प्रकारं पंख रस्तूक लावी लावी कीती सर्व देशात पकलेणी आहे. पण त्यांनी हे भाषण तहसील धडाड करतात आहे. घटना त्यांची स्वतःचे त्यांची कोणते किंवा मस्त नाही त्यांची. पण त्यांनी हे भाषण तहसील धडाड करतात आहे. घटना त्यांची स्वतःचे त्यांची कोणते किंवा मस्त नाही त्यांची. पण त्यांनी हे भाषण तहसील धडाड करतात आहे.
tect of our Constitution. But it was most surprising to see and hear Dr. Ambedkar himself that he was not the architect of the Indian Constitution, but the real architects were the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. That myth has been exploded by Dr. Ambedkar himself and it was very refreshing to note that. Again, Sir, in his speech he said that he would burn the Constitution. I may submit here that the Constitution was not the creation of a handful of persons, it was not the result of agitation carried on by a few persons in this country, but it was the result of the sufferings of unknown thousands and millions of people, and I am sure, Sir, that their sacrifices will not go in vain and it will not be possible for Dr. Ambedkar to burn the Constitution. I am sure, Sir, if Dr. Ambedkar has an opportunity to burn the Constitution, he will have to see the entire country burning. Sir, the burning of the Constitution is not ordinary joke. Dr. Ambedkar was referring to the fact that if a person like Patti Sriramulu had died in any other country, the Government of the day in that country would have been lynched. But he was sorry that nothing happened in this country. With all respect to Dr. Ambedkar I would submit here that in any other country, if he had said that he would burn the Constitution — in Assembly itself — I am sure he would himself have been burnt in that Assembly and would not have been allowed to go scot-free. But this is the democracy in which he lives and but for democracy Dr. Ambedkar could not have talked like that. . . . . " Vol. IV-A, August-September 1953, page 1281-82 Pattabiraman’s speech on A’s angry speech, denouncing Constitution, etc.).

श्री. ने. इम. कुमारप्पा (नामितेंद्र) यांनी ७ सहर्षस्वल्ल वैद्यकीत भाषण करून आंबेडकरांच्यावर, वैद्यकीत ठिका क्षेत्रात त्यांच्या समाजातील सहाय्यात घेतला, डॉ. आंबेडकर हे कोणी युगीन्द्रेंदुत शिकत असताना भाषण त्यांचे सहाय्याच्या होतो, आंबेडकरांचे दैविक्यानिमित्त विवादार्थ जीवन भाषण पाहिलेले आहे. त्यांच्या निमित्ताच्या आणि बुद्धिमानांच्या त्यांचे शिक्त व शहीदाच्या दिनपपणे म्हणून दोन वातावरणात राहावे तयाने, स्वतंत्र लोकांच्या झण्डावरहें, बिध्याशास्त्र आणि क्षण

चरित्र संक्षेत्र : अकरमा
"...I only want to make a few remarks with regard to the speech that Dr. Ambedkar made on the subject. Even since he spoke, we have been hearing during a last few days nothing but criticism of Dr. Ambedkar, and so I thought I should take up the unpopular cause of defending him at least in certain implications of his speech.

I feel, Sir, that Dr. Ambedkar’s speech was very provoking because of the unpopular cause he has been championing during the last many years. I had the pleasure of knowing Dr. Ambedkar as a student at the Columbia University, New York. At that time, he made a brilliant record as a student and after his return, I have followed his career with much interest. But I did find all along that he and his community had to suffer from severe disabilities, humiliations and social injustice. He was described by an Hon. Member as a political puzzle, as a psychological conundrum and as a pathological problem. Now, if he is all that, I would like to know why and how a brilliant scholar like Dr. Ambedkar has been brought to that state of mind. If he is mentally pathological, then, it seems to me that is necessary for us to analyse and find out what circumstances and social conditions have made him what he is. I believe that we are products of a social system and our personality is either enriched or warped by the social system and our personality is either enriched or warped by the social forces which play upon us. Dr. Ambedkar, as a pathological problem, is a product of our social system, as I see it. It is necessary at this time when we are thinking of bringing about new linguistic States to consider some of the social
implications which were evident in Dr. Ambedkar's speech. A man cannot go through trial and tribulations throughout his life and not suffer a certain warping of his personality.”
(Vol. IV-A, Aug.-Sept. 1953 pages 1396-97, J. M. Kumarappa's speech on A's angry speech reg. burning Constitution, etc.).

Dr. Anup Sing (Punjab) : .......My distinguished friend, Dr. Kumarappa, offered a sociological explanation of Dr. Ambedkar's speech or behaviour. Well, I fully subscribe to the view that we are all products of our environment and to this Dr. Ambedkar is no exception. Saints and sinners, they all belong to the same category from that point of view.

Nevertheless we do pass judgement on individual behaviour and collective behaviour, and I personally do not see even after making due allowance for some of the frustration from which Dr. Ambedkar may be suffering or alleged to be suffering, why he should not be subjected to the same kind of examination, more so, because he has developed the
irritating habit of hitting and then running away. Ever since I have been in this House I have seen that he has emerged on the scene three or four times and invariably he hits and hits hard and then he performs the rope-trick and disappears completely and he is nowhere to be seen.

Now as for the point that he made, Sir, he castigated the Congress Benches, for their inability to make up their mind and he said that even a dullard should be able to make up his mind after twenty years. I am afraid, Sir that perhaps more can be said about Dr. Ambedkar. I have followed his statements, speeches and points of view, I think, for the last thirty years and I am sure that he has not been able to make up his mind and continues to treat us to all kinds of intellectual somersaults. I for one have put it on the credit side of his account that he had so much to do with the Constitution. It certainly came to me as a great surprise when to my utter dismay he completely repudiated it and said that he had absolutely nothing to do with it and that he simply did what he was told to do. That certainly puts him in the position of a glorified draftsman or a glorified clerk and I am very much afraid that Dr. Ambedkar is turning out to be the worst enemy. He seems to be hell-bent — if I may use such an expression — in wiping out his past. For the present I think he is in a state of suspended animation, and as for the future, I am reminded of the observation that was once made about Churchill’s great — grandfather who was a young man and who was very brilliant when he started out but later on began to deteriorate. One day while he was passing by, one of his neighbours, a great jurist, looked at him and turned to a person next to him and said “There goes the man with his future behind him.”

So I think if Dr. Ambedkar is not very careful he might turn out to be a very peculiar phenomena. Past he himself
has wiped out, present non-existing and future behind him.”

(Vol. IV-A, Aug.-Sept. 1953, pages 1430-31, Dr. Anup Sing’s speech on A’s angry speech).

बाबासाहेबांबंयांच्या माणणातील जठरलिंग कडाकापणा पुढे हभासांदा लोका. कांती समावादी लोकमतातील माणणे कहून आपणा निरंधेय व्यक्त केली. पक्ष दोनं समावादीने ठार. बाबासाहेबांबंयांच्या माणणासे सकाळीपुत्रीतील पाठी, वाकीच्यांनी आपल्या पक्षीय राजकारणाच्या हंगकॉनतांत पाठीत आणी निरंधेयाने बाबासाहेब हांबंवर तोडस्थळून ढेवले. बाबासाहेब १९५२ व्या निवडणुकीत पडले होते, जी घटना लांठी त्यानंतर केली होती तिथा अनुसरण ही पहली निवडणुकांना झालेली होती. या निवडणुकीत काळात पृथक काळी आपल्या पामाने, बाबासाहेबांबंयांच्या राज्यागृहांच्या सत्ता एवढी बदल विविधता आढळा आहे का कधी नसणारी असे सिद्ध हालाते बाबासाहेबांबंयांना कठोर झुकले. राज्यपत्तने महान राष्ट्रवादी क्षेत्रांतर हिंदुस्तानी बाबासाहेबांबंयांच्या निवडणुकीत पाहाळे जे काळस दिले, त्यानंतर त्यांनी त्यांच्या मनोबली हिंदूस्तानी मुलगी किंवा दुर्दृष्टी. हिंदूसमाजाच्या लोकाच्या धार्मिक लोकाने फिरती मोठे राज्यांचे त्यांमध्ये केले तरी त्यांचे हिंदूस्तानी हिरोती ह्याच घटले, ही पार्षदीय मनोहारी हिंदूस्तान अर्थव्यवस्था आपले ! बाच गोविंदी ह्या बाबासाहेबांबंयांना आते होती, म्हणून विद्वानांमध्ये वर्चुवताते हे अपलेले अर्थव्यवस्था, असे व्यापारांनी मैनकेते निर्देशां सावित्री हसणाऱ्यांना त्यांनी बाबासाहेबांबंयांनी, भारतीय राज्यपत्तने हे आपले अर्थव्यवस्था, असे राज्यसेक्टर २ सप्टेंबर रोजी संगितते. ते अर्थव्यवस्था अर्थव्यवस्था आपण त्यानंतर आहेत, असे ही ते तूकडे म्हणाले ! १९५२ व्या निवडणुकीत काळी अर्थव्यवस्थांच्या लांठी, हनंतर जी विचारांचा गोष्ट झालेला होता. त्यांचा उदेश्य लांघा २ सप्टेंबराच्या भागात शाळा, त्यांनी भाषानिमित्त ध्वजांमध्ये शाळेच्या दर्शन ज्या दोन हभासांदा झालेले होते ते श्री. गुरु आणि डॉ. कृमार्गण हे दोघेच झाले !

उस्मानीया शुद्धभक्ति, हैदराबाद (दक्षिण), हिने शोभावाने ता. १२५०-१२५१ दा बाबासाहेबांबंयांना ‘Doctor of Literature’ हस्ताक्षरकारी पक्षी जन्मेते, पदवीदान आपल्या दोन व्यक्तीनांनी अर्थव्यवस्था केले त्यासमावे ह्याच रूढणे होई, सर्वनाशी राज्यांकण आणि श्री. एस. के. चेरोडी या होत, बाबासाहेबांबंयांनी ५ वाचन म्हणून पदवीदान समारंब उस्मानीया शुद्धभक्ति छाँटूने हस्ताक्षरे लांघूने कर्यात आला होता. “Procedure for the Convocation, Osmania University, Monday, 12th January 1953” यासमील कार्यकृत मराठी वाचकांच्या माहिती करता मी उद्देश्य करित आहे. —

चरित : संप अकरमा
“The Chancellor shall say:

“This Convocation of Osmania University has been called to confer Honorary Degrees on 1) Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, 2) Shri M. K. Vellodi, 3) Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and also to confer Degree upon the candidates who have been certified of these Degrees, Let them now be presented.”

7) The Vice-Chancellor will then read the citations and present the above persons.

8) At the end of each citation, the Chancellor shall present the degree and say:—

“By virtue of the authority vested in me as Chancellor of the Osmania University, I admit you to the degree of …… Honoris Causa on account of your eminent position and attainments.”

परिश्रेष्ठ ८ मथने जे Citation उठेकिएले आहे ते बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर संबंधी लालेखप्रमाणे होते:—

“Mr. Chancellor,

I have the honour to present to you Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for conferment of the Degree of Doctor of Literature Honoris Causa.

Born in 1893, Dr. Ambedkar was educated at Satara and Bombay. After Graduating from the Bombay University, he went to the United States of America, for further studies, and received the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1917 at the young age of 24. After returning to India he served for some time as Finance Minister of the Baroda State and later as Professor of Political Economy at Sydenham College, Bombay. Again he went abroad, this time to England and enrolled himself for the Doctorate degree in Science at the London School of Economics. His, treatise, entitled ‘The Problem of the Rupee’ was acclaimed by Economist the World over.
The political career had started early, but his legislative career started when he entered the Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1926. He gave evidence before the Lothian Committee on Indian Franchise; Royal Commission on Indian Currency and many other important Committees and Commissions. Dr. Ambedkar has been a staunch supporter of all the down-trodden people from the beginning of his career. Such people evoked his sympathy and he became the Founder-President of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation. He was invited to attend the Round Table Conference at London (1930-1932) to present the Scheduled Castes.

Dr. Ambedkar held the high office of Labour Member in the Viceroy’s Executive Council from 1942-46. In 1947 when India became an independent country, he was taken in the Cabinet as Law Member. The responsibility of framing the Indian Constitution devolved upon him and the part played by him in this matter is well known.

Dr. Ambedkar is a voracious reader. He knows seven languages. He is an author of distinction and published several books, 'What Congress and Gandhi Have Done For Untouchables'; 'Annihilation of Caste'; 'Federation Vs. Freedom'; 'Pakistan and Partition of India'; 'Ranade and Gandhi', etc. are among them.

Mr. Chancellor, in presenting Dr. Ambedkar, I am presenting a person of great eminence, high attainments and distinguished services, one of the ablest lawyers, a pre-eminent legislator, a champion of the backward and down-trodden people of India. I request you now to confer the Degree of Doctor of Literature Honoris Causa on Shri B. R. Ambedkar.'

(महाराजः! विचारक ज्ञान! डॉ. अंबेडकर यांची औरंगल कृतन देशाचा मान मत्ता मिळालेला आहे, ही औरंगल लोकांना जी समानस्वत ‘साहित्यविदेश’ ग्रंथांत पद्मी देशात येऊन आहे, त्या निमित्ताने त्यांची ही औरंगल कृतन देत आहे.

चरित्र : लंड वरावा)
स्थाना जन्म १८९३ सालाति साथी, लोगी शिक्षण हातारा ब मुंबई वेदे शाळे, ते मुंबई विद्यालयाची पदवीत पानांतर उच शिक्षणा अवेरिया अमेरिका गेले व ते माती नवा १९१७ साली म्हणजे वाच्या १४ व्या वर्षी डॉक्टर अफ फिलोसफी ही पदवी मिळावली, तेथेश मार्कसेसही आपातांतर ते कॉलेजर सर्वांची अथवाश्रमी शाळे, व नंतर वूंबेड लितेन्डेन्क कॉलेजमध्ये अप्रेशाचा प्रार्थनाक शाळे, द्वांतर ते पुढील महावाजानी झडळवाळा मेले व ते उढन स्कूल अफ इंस्ट्रुमेंट वेदे त्यांनी संजोय स्व प्रथांचा प्रश्न हा प्रश्न दी, एसो, पदवीवासी लिहिला, हा प्रश्न जगांतील तवं अथवाश्रमी झडळवाळा मेले हा.

लागे राजकीय जीवन पार लोकर हुई शाळे. त्यांचे कायदे महावाजानी जीत १९२६ सालाति हुई शाळे. इंदिरा मॅन्चि, रायपुर कामकाज निदिरण करती, स्वतंत्र महाभाष मामिला कामिनंक व कामिनंक धावर समावेश महावण त्यांनी काम केले आहे. ते वाणीतील पदवीवासी पाठ्यपाठी आहेत, त्यांनी अखबारांनी हितार्थी आंध्र इंडिया 'शिक्षण कार्यक्रम फेडरेशन स्थापन केले, १९३०-३२ वा काळात ते अन्यथानी प्रतिष्ठित महावण राझाक नेट्टा कामकाजमध्ये काम करत राहत होते.

१९४२-४५ वा काळात डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हेंदराजा कार्याचारी मंदिर तोंडी महावण उच्च पदवी देणार काम करत होते. १९४७ सालात भारत स्वतंत्र बनाने तेथील त्यांनी महावण मंदिरांमध्ये काम करते. धर्मातील राजपदने सर्वांनी कर्मचारी जबाबदारी वाच्याचार पदवी व त्यांनी क्षत्रीय उद्धृतीत नाही. हे सर्व जगात महावण आहे.

डॉ. आंबेडकर म्हारा विद्याप्राप्त अध्ययन आहे, त्यांना सात भाषा अवतार आहेत, तेलूगे महावण व्याकरण प्रमोक्त लोकप्रिय आहे. त्यांचे अनेक प्रथम प्रसिद्ध झालेले आहेत, 'कार्यरत आणि गाधी बाळी अस्तुरोपिक निर्देशक केले आहे?', 'जातीचा तपस्या नागनाट', 'संस्कृत राज्य की व्याख्यात, 'पाकिस्तान किंवा महाराष्ट्री फाळणी', 'पाळी, रामें आणि जिगाच', 'इयूनियन वाळी की हुस्निंद वंध आहेत.

विषयविषय खुशीते ! डॉ. आंबेडकरांची जी मी ओठवू काळ देत आहे ती ते एक अतिउच्च व्याकरण, उच्च स्तरांनी मंडित केलेले, जोनवींत महाम शास्त्रांत मतः व विशाल विश्वसंस्थान सागर सेवा करणारे विद्यार्थी कायदे पंजित एक महत्वाचे कायदे तयार करणारी, आणि भारतीय दलितांसाठी आणि महासेवांवर लोकांचा उल्लेख नवारण प्रभाव योग्य देणारा भाषेत योग्य होय.

श्री. श्री. राम. आंबेडकर यांना भारत संवादनशीलत विद्यार्थी पदवी द्वारे वाचावा मी आपणाऱ्यांना संबोधित करतो.)

बाबरसाहेब बाबरसाहेब आंबेडकर
Osmania University  
The Degree  
of  
Doctor of Literature  
Honoris Causa  
Has Been Conferred At The Convocation Upon  
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar  

In Recognition of his Eminent Position And Attainments.  
Hyderabad - Deccan.  

January 12, 1953.

Dear Mr. Bindu

When we met in Delhi you promised to send me copies of the decision taken by the Hyderabad Government in regard to the grant of land to the Scheduled Castes. It is now more than a week but have not sent me the copies.

From the newspapers it appears that about 1700 men and women belonging to the Scheduled Castes in the Aurangabad district have been arrested and sent to jail for offering Satyagraha for the return of their lands which were granted to them and which were afterwards resumed.
I do not know what the intention of the Government is. Perhaps it is to prosecute them and send to jail. If this happens it would be a great tragedy. It cannot redound to the credit of the Government to prosecute. Starving people and send them to jail because they ask for bread. I think you ought to release them, the law having been vindicated.

If the orders that your Cabinet has passed are satisfactory from our point of view I may intervene and ask the Scheduled Castes to drop the Satyagraha.

I shall be grateful for an early reply.

Yours Sincerely,
Sd./- B. R. Ambedkar.

Shri Bindu,
Minister for Home Affairs,
Hyderabad State,
HYDERABAD."

(Requesting Hyderabad Govt. to release Scheduled Castes Satyagrahis — 1700 — from prison. Satyagraha on behalf of S. C. Federation for grant of lands, etc.)

बाबासाहेब बाळींची या प्रकरणात श्री. रामकृष्णपराक, मुख्य प्रशासन, हैदराबाद
सरकार, यांना झाड़ १९५३ मध्ये अध्याय अर्थातच वर्तमान वर्तमानें होते.

अमेरिकन बॉडीवर रिफाहींग कंपन्य द्वितीय स्थापन शाहयांतर तेथे नोकर
भारतीय काम कुल हाते. या कंपन्यात अश्चर्य लोकांना नोकर्या मिळताना स्वयंत्र
बाबासाहेबांची प्राप्त केला, नाशन त्यांचा या आळे नाही. हिंदी लोकांची भारती
करणार्यांना काम कंपन्यातील वर्तमान या पर्यावरणात् बसेलेल्या हाती होते. ते लोक,
जातीयमध्ये पाहून लोक नोकरीवर ठेठीत अखंड. बाबासाहे बाबासाहेबांची दिलीतील
अमेरिकन बियल, मि. जॉर्ज बेनी. बाबासाहे यांना ११-१२-५३ वा फंट पाठवून ही
परिस्थिती कातिल, आणि कंपनीचे एक प्रेस अधिकारी मि. डेवर यांना शब्द
टाकल. आणि अस्तरणाना नोकर्या वाचवत, अशी बाबासाहेबांची मि. बाबासाहे
यांना बिनेंती केली. तेव्हा मि. बाबासाहेब यांनी बाबासाहेबांना १०-१२-५३ वा
फंट पाठवून आपल्याचा दिले की, अस्तरणाना नोकर्याचा घोरण स्वीकारण्यास
सी कंपन्यांचा विनंति.
The Editor, The Kasari and the Maratha Office,
Poona-2.

My Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 5th July 1954 asking me to state my views on certain questions mentioned therein. I am sorry to say, I could not deal with that letter while in Bombay as I was extremely busy with the affairs of the College. Immediately thereafter I had to go to Coonoor to deliver a lecture on the Indian Constitution to the Military Staff College. I returned therefrom only yesterday.

In the present day with one man’s traffic in public affairs it is very difficult to maintain one’s interest in the foreign affairs as the country is not prepared to listen to any view which does not concur with that of the Prime Minister. The same has been more or less the case with me and I may say that I have ceased to take the same degree of interest in the foreign affairs of the country which I used to take at one time. That being so I do not feel quite competent to deal with the subject you have raised.

With kind regards,

Yours faithfully,

Sd/- B. R. Ambedkar

(Editor of Kesari & Maratha, Poona newspapers, wrote to Ambedkar on 5-7-1954, to let them know how the Nehru Cabinet meetings functioned. A’s reply, dated July 15 to that letter).
खंड ११ वा
प्रकरण ४ वे
अस्पृश्यता पालने गुंडा-कायदा
(राज्यसभेतील भाषण चालू)
अस्पृश्यता त्यांच्यातील अस्पृश्यता मानून लागणी लागते, त्यानुसार हा छठ व नास आणि हाती सोसाय लागते, लाखहुऱ्या हा छठ व नास देखील किंवा हेतू तुरुस गुंडा
म्हणून मानावा, अशी भारतीय रत्ने तस्रे तस्टी आहे. (अधिकल १५) या गुंडा-
वेढा शिक्षा हाती पाहिजे, अशी तस्टी कृप्यासाठी वटने घड्याली करणारे विल (अस्पृश्यता गुंडा कायदा) Untouchability (offences) Bill, 1954
२२ सप्टेंबर १९५४ या राज्यसभेत ग्रहणारांनी माहिते, ल्याख ल्यानी १६ वर्षांना
पैट्रकिर आपण करून विलानी आपेक्षिकता सिद्ध केली. (Parliamentary
Debates, Rajya Sabha, Vol. VII B pp. 2410-16) अस्पृश्यता भाषा-
बिळी की बांधक-आमच्या गावांतील विवाह होतील व समाजात मोठा प्रभावाचा
माहित अशे असेले लेक विभिन्न वाक्यांना आहे, अशी तत्परता रूपाने आहे.
व्याचे तत्परत्व वाचे पाणी, असे उद्धार ग्रहणारांनी काळेचे बेच्या डो. पी. टी. मिश्र (बिहार) ग्रहणाचे
महात्मा गांधी रोडी व बैंकी व्यवहाराच्या विषय होते. (पा. २४१५-१६) ग्रहणाचे
गांधी जीनी समाजाच्या विबाहात दृष्टीमा आपूर्ती देखील नसत, अंतर-
जातीय विवाहात दृष्टीमा त्या अधिकार देत असत (पा. २४१६) लोकसंपर्कने विवाह
तिलेक कमिटी नेमती होती, त्या कमिटीचा लेख समस्या समाधान आहे, अशा
दृष्टीने उपराष्ट्रीय (केंद्रीय वेळापत्र) मालवी. त्या सहभागी समाजांमध्ये
वाचकांनी विशेषतः नाव होती. (पा. २४१६) विलेक कमिटीत अघोकता समाधानता
चेतन भाग घेत घेत नाही; आणि आपणांनी तर चेतन भाग व्याप्त केले, अशा
वाचकांनी तिकाव फेली. (पा. २४१७) व्यावहार्य मूल काही ही समाधानातील
मत दिसून की आंदोलकर विलेक कमिटी आपले तरी चेतन योग भाग घेऊ दिला
पाहिजे. (पा. २४१८-२०) उपराष्ट्रीय सांगतात विलेक कमिटीत
समाधानता चेतन भाग घेऊ घेऊ ही अपलेला पाहिजे. चेतन भाग घेऊ अशा
कमिटीत रहाणी, व्यावहार डो. औरंगाबादीनी सक्ती, उर्मिला. (पा. २४१९) वाचकांनी
चेतन भाग व्यावहारच्या उर्मिला. ल्यानी १६ वर्षांना विवाह केले, (पा. २४२४-२६) वा
मानार्थ बैंकी अर्थातः:
वर्तानील आंदोलकर १३ महाने को, ३ पौष तारीखी आतिष्ठत होते यांत
पर मुख्य मानवी इक्काल्या विषय तस्माद असेल तर ती तस्माद घटना, या दिवसीय
भारतीय लागू होईल ल्या दिवसीय नहान लाई पाहिजे, अस्पृश्यता मुख्य मानवी
इक्काकर गडा. असमाधान करा तर हे या Bombay Municipal Servants Act, V of 1890, U.P. Municipalities Act II of
1916, Bombay Hereditary Village Officers' Act of 1874,
Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Act, Pensioners Act, इत्यादि
कायमत आहेत, आर्थिके १३ का त्या वाप आणणार्‍या आहेत, महणून त्या नव
फक्षांची तजवीच शाळी पाहिले, असे मी कायदे मंत्री असलेना कायदे-लाते आणि
शुद्धत्व यांना पटरणा असलेला पर्याय उपलब्ध ठेवते पण ही दोन खाती
महा आहेत. त्यांनी काहीही केले नाही.

Untouchability (offences) Bill हे नाव जरा विलेख वाचते.
The Civil Rights (Untouchables) Protection Act हे नाव तुम्ही असे आणि विवाद योग्य असे आहे; नेवी विलेख वाचते, या नावाचा हुशार सर्वांच्या
Untouchables Civil Rights Protection Bill किंवा Scheduled
castes Civil Rights Protection Bill, असे नं तुबांचतो.

निहित ही तत्त्व सूचवते, ते आहे ती अनुवादक ते नावानुसार अनेक प्रकारचे
चुंबन होतात, त्यांना सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक विषयांमध्ये या आना जोचन
करणे असावे काढून अधिक भावाची व्याख्या देऊन त्यांची निमित्ती निर्माण करण्यास अज्ञात
करते, त्यांना त्यांच्या नाना विविध प्रकाराच्या आपल्या पदांमध्ये. ही उत्तीर्ण हुं तसेच,
किंवा उत्तीर्ण हुं तसेच, हे युनेस तिती तिता पर्याय अपूर्ण पदांमध्ये,
आणि या कायदांची अवधारणा भारत
सरकार करणार की, प्राकृतिक सरकार हे स्थान करते.

वाणासाहित्यांचे मूल भाषण :-

(A’s Speech on Untouchability (offences) Bill, in Rajya

“Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Mr. Deputy Chairman, before I
actually deal with the provisions of this Bill, I think it is
desirable that I should draw the attention of the House to
the responsibility created by certain articles in the Constitu-
tion and the responsibilities placed upon the Government
to give effect to those provisions.

I would first like to refer to article 13 of the Constitu-
tion. Article 13 says that all laws inconsistent with the
Fundamental Rights are void from the date on which the
Constitution comes into existence. That is a general provi-
sion which is laid down in article 13. It is, as a matter of
fact, a general notice given to the public as well as to the
judges of the Court that if any question was raised before
them which involved the adjudication of the Parliament
Rights, the court shall not give effect to any existing law
that was in conflict with the Fundamental Rights. But the makers of the Constitution were not satisfied with the general declaration because they felt that it was too much to expect a common citizen to go to a court of law in order to get relief from the court for the invasion of his fundamental rights. That was too much of a burden on the common citizen. And therefore, the Constitution enacted another article, which is article 372, sub-clause (2), which gives power to the Government to made modification and adoption in existing laws in order that the laws may be brought in conformity with the fundamental rights.

If my hon. friend will allow me to make a personal reference, I would say that when I was in charge of law I immediately took up this question about adaptation and modification of the existing law in order to bring it in conformity with the Fundamental Rights. And I did succeed in getting repealed one of the most important pieces of legislation in the Punjab, called the Punjab Land Alienation Act, under which certain communities or as the law speak of them, certain tribes, were declared to be only tribes which could hold property or aquire property in the Punjab. The law, in my judgement was so iniquitous that a man who was actually an agriculturist, but whose community or tribe was not declared by the Government to be agricultural tribe, was not entitled to get any land. But a person who was a barrister all his life, and never hoped to grow even two blazes in a field, became entitled to acquire property, because the Government had chosen to declare his tribe to be an agricultural tribe. I succeeded in having a whole Act cancelled under the provisions of Article 372, Clause (2). There remained another law or custom which went along with the Punjab land Alienation Act, and which referred to what is called the Shamilat land, that is to say, the land held in common by the villagers. Under the customary Punjab law, the Shamilat land could be shared only by those communities which were called zamindars, hereditary landowning communities. The others were non-zamindars. They were called Kaminas, that is to say, they belonged to a low
class, and they were not entitled to share in the land. Consequently, they could not build their houses in a pacca form on the land on which they stayed. They were always afraid that the zamindars of Punjab may, at any time turn them out. And the people did not venture to build permanently. I left the note in the Law Ministry, when I left, that this matter should be taken up and dealt with by the Government under the provisions of Article 372, Sub-Clause (2). I have no idea what the Law Ministry has done or what the Home Ministry has done. I believe, no action has been taken on that account so far. I had, for my own guidance, made a list of certain laws, which, I felt it was absolutely essential to modify in order to bring them in conformity with the Constitution. The first that I would like to mention is Madras Regulation XI of 1816. This is a criminal law enacted by the East India Company. In that, there is a provision, I think, section 10, which says that if the offender belongs to the lower classes, then the punishment to be inflicted on him is to put him in the stocks. This punishment is not to be inflicted if the offender belongs to the higher classes. There can be no question. Sir, that this Regulation is a discriminatory Regulation and should be repealed. Then the next item that I would refer to is the Bombay Municipal Servants Act, V of 1890. Under that Act, it is provided — I think it is Section 3 — that if a municipal servant, whose duties fall within the Schedule attached to the Act, absents himself from work without permission, or resigns his office without at least giving three months notice in writing, he shall be sentenced to imprisonment. It is a well established principle now that a contract of employment is only a civil contract for which, if there is to be any punishment that punishment must be only damages and not imprisonment. But this Municipal law still remains on the Statute Book. The result has been that under this Act — if my Hon. friend will refer to the Schedule, he will find that the Schedule particularly mentions, although in terms of duty, people who are doing scavanging work or street-cleaning work and things of that
sort, and who are mostly Scheduled Castes or the untouchables — it has become quite impossible for them even to go on strike, because the term of resignation must be three months notice. Nothing has been done so far as that Act is concerned. I will take now another item, the U.P. Municipalities Act, II of 1916. I think it is section 85. Yes. There again, the provisions of that section are more or less similar to the provisions of the Bombay Municipal Servants Act. There again it is said that a sweeper employed by a board who, except in accordance with the terms of a written contract of service, or without a reasonable cause, of which notice has been given, resigns or abandons his employment, shall be liable, upon conviction, to imprisonment which may extend to two months. I think these laws, if I may say so, are absolutely uncivilised laws. No country in the world today regards breach of trust of service as an offence punishable with imprisonment or with fine. It is just damaging, but nothing has been done here.

Then I will refer to three other acts, one is the Bombay Hereditary Village Officers Act of 1874. Those who work or officiate under this Act are divided into two classes. My friend Mr. Dange, must be quite familiar with it, although the Home Minister himself may not be. I do not know what the system is in this province, but there the servants are divided into two classes, one class are called officers, and the other are called village servants, although both are paid in the ancient form of payment, viz., land assigned for service out of which they have to eke out their income. The land that has been assigned to them was in ancient times, probably during the time of Shivaji or during the time of Peshwas. No addition has been made to the land them assigned. They have been cutting up and sharing their land into bits and bits, and probably no one individual owns more than one hundredth of an acre of land. Yet these poor people are sticking to that land. Now when the British came in, they started scheme of what is called commutation: that is to say, realising a person from the obligation of hereditary service.
and allowing him to retain the land provided he was prepared to pay what is called 'Judi' or land revenue, as the Govt. though fit. That person has been going on for ever and many many, hereditary officers have been liquidated so far. Recently the Bombay Government took upon itself the responsibility of further commuting these village hereditary officers, but notwithstanding the incessant demand of Scheduled Castes in the Bombay State that their workers and their hereditary officers should also be commuted so that they may be free from the obligation of service and be allowed to retain the land on payment of land revenue — they were very liberal and wanted to pay the full land revenue and did not want any concessions — the Bombay Government refused their requests. They confine their law to the commutation of officers other than the Scheduled Castes. This — I speak from experience — is one of the cruellest pieces of legislation, because it is quite possible for the village Patel who is an officer under this Act to require the whole body of the Scheduled Castes people to go and serve under him not only for Government purposes but also for his private purposes. Any village Patel, for instance if there is a death in the family, would not send a post-card to his relatives informing them of the death in the family, because it is a derogatory method. He must insist upon one of his village servants, as they are called, to walk miles and miles to convey the message that a death has occurred in the house of the Patel. If a married girl comes to the house of the Patel and wishes to go back, he must insist upon one or two of the village servants to go along with her, accompany her, chaperon her, and to see that she is safely arrived at her father-in-law's house. If a marriage takes place, he must insist on the whole body of people to go and break wood and do all services without paying them anything. If they refuse, he is competent to report to the Collector and that his village servants are not doing their duty, and the Collector under the Act is able to fine them or to take away their land and dispossess them. I wonder whether this is
not a piece of legislation which is fundamentally opposed to the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution, and whether such a piece of legislation does not require modification at the hands of the Law Department or the Home Department.

There are two other Acts which are, so to say, correlative to this Bombay Hereditary Village Officers Act. One is the Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Act, and the other is the Pensions Act. (Seeing the Home Minister rising from his seat). My Hon. friend is too hot perhaps.

Dr. K. N. Katju : I find it too cool on the other hand.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : It will be hotter as I go on.

Both these Acts prevent access to the Judiciary for any wrong that may have been done by the officers, the Collector, or the Commissioner or the Minister. No relief can be had from the Courts because the Revenue Jurisdiction Act says that the Court shall not have any jurisdiction either to alter or to modify or to revise the decision of the Collector, who is an executive officer. The Pension Act says that no one who has any kind of inam shall be entitled to go to court and the court shall not exercise any jurisdiction unless it obtains a certificate from the Collector that the case may be tried by the court. It is quite impossible, therefore, for these poor people to have any kind of remedy against the many injustices which are being practiced under the name of this particular Act. If I had remained as Law Minister, it was my intention to carry out these reforms. But I think it is the duty of any Law Minister and particularly of the Home Minister to look into our Laws and to find out to what extent the laws are in conflict with the Fundamental Rights. I am sorry to say, Sir, that both these Departments are the most laziest Department that I have ever seen. They have neither the zeal nor the urge nor the conscience to move in this matter. They have no idealism either. I hope that, after what I have said, they will be spurred to some kind of action in this matter and to see that relief is given where relief seems necessary. Well, Sir, this is what I wanted to say by way of preliminary observations. I will now turn to the Bill itself.
I would like to say a word about the title of the Bill. It is not a very important point, but I think the name does not matter. Shakespeare has said that rose smells as sweet whether it is called rose or some other name. I disagree with that statement of Shakespeare. I think that name is a very important matter, and I think that a good law ought to have a good and succinct name. What is the name of this Bill? 'A bill to provide punishment for the practice of untouchability arising therefrom'. I personally think that it is a very clumsy name and very mouthful. What really should be the name of the Bill may be a matter of dispute but I personally think that it ought to have been called "The Civil Rights (Untouchables) Protection Act." After all, what you are doing is nothing more than protecting their civil rights. The emphasis ought to have been therefore on civil rights. I venture to tell my friend in charge of the bill that if he had referred to the case of the Negroes in United States or to the Civil War, he would have found that the Bill that he is now proposing to be passed by Parliament has had its predecessor in the United States and the Bill, if he will refer to it he will find, is simply styled Civil Rights Protection Bill. Even the word 'Negro' is not mentioned in it. I don't know why he should keep on repeating Untouchability and untouchables all the time. In the body of the Bill he is often speaking of Scheduled Castes. The Constitution speaks of the Scheduled Castes and I don't know why he would feel shy of using the word Scheduled Castes in the title of the Bill itself. Personally of myself, I would be quite happy with the name Untouchables Civil Rights Protection Bill or Scheduled Castes Civil Rights Protection Bill. I hope my friend will take this into consideration.

Now, Sir, I find there are certain very grave omissions in the Bill and it is to these omissions that I propose to draw the attention of the House. There is really, as a matter of fact, no provision for the removal of any bar against the exercise of civil and constitutional rights. No doubt the ultimate result of the Bill would be freedom to exercise civil
and constitutional rights but I personally think that it would have been much better if my friend had expressly stated that the Bill was intended to remove any kind of a bar against the exercise of any civil and constitutional rights. I would just like to read to him a provision from the Civil Rights Bill as they call it in the United States. This is how the provision reads. Don't read the title page of the book — it will hurt you. It is the United States Constitution Amendment XIV taken from Government of Ireland Act, 1920 and also Professor Keith's Command Paper. This is how the provision reads. I have of course converted it to make it applicable to the untouchables but the original is taken from the text of the Civil Rights Bill:

"All subjects of the States are equal before the law and possess equal Civil Rights. Any existing enactment regulation, order, custom or interpretation of law by which any penalty, disadvantage, disability is imposed upon or any discrimination is made against any subject of the State on account of untouchability, shall, as from the day on which this constitution comes into operation, cease to have any effect."

I think such a positive statement was necessary. It is no doubt contained in article 13 but there can be no harm in repeating the whole of that article 13 with such amendments as are necessary in this Bill. I don't know why the Bill is silent. The Bill seems to give the appearance that it is a Bill of a very minor character, just as dhoby not washing the cloth, just as a barber not shaving or just a mithairwala not selling laddus and things of that sort. People would think that there are trifles and piffles and why has Parliament bothered and wasted its time in dealing with dhobies and barbers and ladduwala. It is not a Bill of that sort. It is a Bill which is intended to give a protection with regard to civil and fundamental rights and therefore, a positive clause, I submit ought to have been introduced in this Bill, which the Bill does not have now in its present form. That is one omission which I think requires to be made good. The other omission, which, I find, is of a very
grave character, is that there is no provision against social boycott. Now I feel from my personal experience that one of the greatest and heinous means which the village community applies in order to prevent the Scheduled Castes from exercising these rights is social boycott. They boycott them completely. It is a kind of non-cooperation. This is not merely my opinion but it is the opinion of a Committee that was appointed by the Bombay Government in order to investigate into the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and also of the depressed classes and aboriginal tribes. I might mention to the House that the Late Thakkar Bapa was a member of this committee and he had signed this report. I will just read only one para from the report of that Committee which relates to the question of social boycott. It is paragraph 102. This is what the Committee said:

"Although we have recommended various remedies to secure to the pressed Classes their rights to all public utilities, we fear that there will be difficulties in the way of their exercising them for a long time to come. The first difficulty in the fear of open violence against them by the orthodox classes. It must be noted that the Scheduled Castes from a small minority in every village opposed to which is a great majority of the orthodox who are bent on protecting their interests and dignity from any supposed invasion of the depressed classes at any cost. The danger of the protection of the police has put a limitation upon the use of violence by the orthodox classes and consequently such cases are rare. The second difficulty arises from the economic position in which the depressed classes are found today. The Depressed Classes have no economic independence in most parts of the presidency. Some cultivate the land of the orthodox classes as their tenants at will. Others live on their earnings as farm labourers employed by the orthodox classes, and the rest subsist on the food or grain given to them by the orthodox classes in lieu of service rendered to them as village servants. We have heard of numerous instances where the orthodox classes have used their economic power as a weapon against those depressed..."
classes in the village when the latter have dared to exercise these rights and have evicted them from their land and stopped their employment and discontinued their remuneration as village servants. This boycott is often planned on such an extensive scale as to include the prevention of the Depressed Classes from using the commonly used paths and the stoppage of the sale of necessaries of live by the village bania. According to the evidence sometimes small causes suffice for the proclamation of a social boycott against the depressed classes. Frequently it follows on the exercise by the depressed classes of their right to the use of the common well; but cases have been by no means rare where stringent boycott has been proclaimed simply because a depressed classes man has put on the sacred thread, has bought a piece of land, has put on good clothes or ornaments, or has carried a marriage procession with a bridegroom on the horseback through the public street. We do not know of any weapon more effective than this social boycott which could have been invented for suppression of the depressed classes. The method of open violence pales away before it, for it has the most for-reaching and deadening effect. It is more dangerous because it passes as a lawful method consistent with the theory of freedom of contract. We agree that this tyranny of the majority must be put down with a firm hand if we are to guarantee the depressed classes the freedom of speech and action necessary for their uplift."

This is the conclusion of a committee which was specially appointed to consider the condition of the Scheduled Castes. I do not find any provision to deal with this point of social boycott. I may draw the attention of the Hon. Member of the Burma Anti-Boycott Act of 1922, if he thinks that it is difficult to put the matter in express words which can be legally of use to the courts. I say he can copy the provisions contained in this Burma Anti-Boycott Act of 1922. It gives us the most valuable definition of a difficult matter, namely, social boycott. That will be found in section 2 of that Act. This Burma Act not only creates the instigating of social boycott an offence but it also creates
the instigating of social boycott and offence. It also creates the threatening of social boycott an offence, in phraseology as precise as any meticulous lawyer would want to have. My Hon. friend has tried, I think, in sub-section (2) of section 8, to have some kind of garbled version of it for defending a Hindu who does not wish to practise untouchability but whose caste-fellows compel him to do so. I believe they can only do that two ways, either by committing violence against him or by organising social boycott. As the Committee has said, the village communities most often prefer the social boycott because it is an act behind the curtain and appears to be perfectly in consonance with the terms of the law of contracts, to violence under the Indian Penal Code. Therefore, instead of going round about and bringing about a haphazard result, why not proceed directly and recognised social boycott as an unlawful means of compelling the Scheduled Castes not to exercise their rights? After all, what can be the objection to social boycott? I say, in legal terms, social boycott is nothing else than a conspiracy, which is an offence recognised by the Indian Penal Code. If two people engage themselves in doing wrong to a third person, well, that is conspiracy. The social boycott is brought about by the concurrence of the majority of the people and is also a conspiracy and could be recognised as an offence. I do not know why my Hon. friend forgot that very important fact in this matter.

The third omission — I do not know whether it is an omission or not, I speak subject to correction. I wish the Law Minister was here because it is purely a legal matter. But there is no doubt about it that our Home Minister was a Law Minister in the beginning and certainly has been a practising lawyer and he could not be unfamiliar with what I am saying. Now the question that I ask myself is, are these offences mentioned in this Bill compounding or non-compoundable? The Bill says nothing about it. It is completely silent. The other day when we were discussing the report of the Commissioner drew pointed attention to the
fact that the untouchables were not able to prosecute their persecutors because of want of economic and financial means and consequently they were ever ready to compromise with the offenders whenever the offenders wanted that the offence should be compromised. The fact was that the law remained a dead letter and those in whose favour it was enacted are enable to put it in action and those against whom it is to be put in action are able to silence the victim. That has been the conclusion of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Such a situation is not to be tolerated. The offences must not be made compoundable if the offence is to be boycott to the guilty party. If the guilty parties by compounding the offence either by payment of a small sum or something like that are able to get away they can continue their career of harassment of the untouchables until the moon and the sun are there and untouchability would never end.

Therefore, compounding of the offence is a grave matter and a grave issue and it must have been expressly dealt with. I do not know what the intention of my Hon. friend is but in order that we may be able to judge by reference to other provisions in other laws, I shall refer to section 345 of the Criminal Procedure Code which defines what offences are compoundable and what offences are non-compoundable. My hon. friend will remember that there are altogether 511 sections in the Indian Penal Code. Of them, 106 are taken up with purely declaratory, matters, punishments, where the law would apply, general exceptions to the law, costs and so on and so forth. So, we shall cancel or deduct 106 out of 511. The sections which actually define offences are grossly about 400. Four hundred offences, acts and omissions are made offences by the Indian Penal Code. Out of this 400, how many are compoundable? That is a matter which must consider because under that lies the principle which is of importance. As I said the only provision which defines what offences are compoundable or not is section 345 of the Criminal Procedure Code. I have made a little calculation. I am rather weak in mathematics but I believe I cannot be
very wrong in saying — that only 44 offences are compoundable out of 400. The rest are non-compoundable. From this position, I deduce the conclusion that the principle of the criminal law is that an offence shall ordinarily not be compoundable and that these 44 are merely exceptions to the general rule. Out of the 44, 24 are compoundable without the permission of the Magistrate and 20 are compoundable with the permission of the Magistrate. So, really speaking, only 24 are compoundable offences. Now, are these offences indicated in this Bill compoundable or not? The Bill itself does not say so. I think there ought to be an express provision to this effect that any offence under this Bill, shall be non-compoundable. If my Hon. friend does not propose to accept this suggestion what would be the result? The result would be this, that most of these offences will be offences in which hurt or grievous hurt would be caused. They could not be mere offences of show of force or anything less than that, they would be offences involving hurt, grievous hurt violence and things of that sort. Now if a Magistrate were to apply sub-sections in the Indian Penal Code (1) or (2) of section 345 — I do not want to weary my Hon. friend by reading the two sub-section of of section 345 which define offences of this sort — he will find that the offence involve hurt. He will also see that a large majority of them which are made compoundable either with the permission of the Magistrate or without the permission of the Magistrate are offences which involve hurt, grievous hurt, confinement of a person or kidnapping his relation or something like that. All of them are compoundable, absolutely, every one of them. Therefore, it follows that unless you make a specific and express provision in this Bill all the offences if they involve social boycott — this is not mentioned in the Penal Code at all and it is not an offence except conspiracy — and such other acts which involve hurt or violence, so far as section 345 is concerned, which become compoundable and the Bill will be reduced to a complete nullity. It would be a farce. Therefore my Hon. friend will look into this matter and see
— he would be entitled, of course, to take the advice of the Law Ministry — whether within the terms of section 345 of the Criminal Procedure Code these offences would be compoundable, and if so, whether it is not necessary to make an express provision in this Bill to say that offence involving untouchability shall not be regarded as compoundable.

Now, Sir, I come to the question of certain defective provisions. I have said about omissions and I want to say something about the defective provisions. The first such provision to which I shall refer is the clause 8. The punishment prescribed in the Bill is six months imprisonment or fine which may extend to Rs. 500 or both. My Hon. friend was very eloquent on the question of punishment. He said that the punishment ought to be very very light and I was wondering whether he was pleading for a higher punishment because he himself wanted to commit these offenses. He said, “Let the punishment be very light so that no grievances shall be left in the heart of the offender?” I suppose his primary premise is that the offenders who offend the untouchables are really very kind people, overwhelming with love and kindness and that this is merely an errant act which really ought to be forgiven. It is a matter of great solace to me that he has not prescribed the punishment of being warned and then discharged. That I think would be the best section 561 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Yes, that would be the best; if our object is to make the offender a loving person; well, let him be warned and discharged. He will continue to love and no soreness will remain in his heart. Why should he have that? Unfortunately, my Hon. friend has thought that could not be and therefore, he has suggested this punishment.

Now, Sir, having had a little practice in criminal law, I think the rules on which punishment is based are two mainly. One is to deter the offender from repeating his offence. That I think, is the primary rule of criminal juris-
prudence. Punishment is necessary; otherwise the offender may go on repeating his offence. It is to prevent him that there must be punishment. The second object of punishment is to prevent a man from adopting a criminal career. If a man once begins a criminal career then he may continue to do so unless there is some deterrent punishment to prevent him from adopting that career.

Now, Sir, if you accept these two principles, is the punishment proposed by my Hon. friend adequate for the purpose of the Bill? In the first place the six months imprisonment is really maximum and a Magistrate may only inflict one day's imprisonment and let the man be off. There is no minimum fixed that the imprisonment shall not be less than six months or three months or whatever it is. The whole matter is left in the hands of the Magistrate. What sort of a Magistrate he may be, it may be quite possible and I am quite imagine that he may be a Pandit, from Kashi sitting in judgement in the Magistrate chair. What conscience would he have in the matter of administering this law?

Shri Basappa Shetty (Mysore) : Kashi or Kashmir?
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Oh, Kashmir Brahmins are not true Brahmins, I understand, they are meat khao, machli khao, as they say. Therefore they are not Brahmins.

Now, as I said, in this case if you want to see that the law is observed, there ought to have been a minimum punishment below which the Magistrate could not go. Secondly the punishment is alternative, imprisonment or fine. The Magistrate may very well inflict the alternative punishment of fine and there might to an offender who might be prepared even to pay the five hundred rupees in order to escape the clutches of the law. What good can such punishment do? The Indian Penal Code prescribes a variety of punishments, a variety of them in section 53 : death, transportation, imprisonment, forfeiture of property, fine, whipping, detention in reformatory. There are seven offences for which the Penal Code fixes death penalty, for 50 offences the punishment is transportation; for 21 offences
simple imprisonment; for 12 offences fine. In all other cases the imprisonment is rigorous. Why my friend has thought so little of this Bill as not to prescribe adequate punishment, it is very difficult for me to understand, I mean the least that one can expect from him is to prescribe a minimum, may be three months, it does not matter, a minimum of three months’ imprisonment and fine if he wants to fix fine — I am not for inflicting a fine because that only benefits the treasury, but if you say that the fine will go to the victim, I am for fine also. Otherwise I do not want fine.

Shri B. B. Sharma (Uttar Pradesh) : Why not the maximum penalty of death?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Well, if you like it, have it. — I am not so cruel as that and I do not think you are sincere in suggesting it, and, as I said, there are not cases in the Indian Penal Code where minimum punishment has not been prescribed or rigorous imprisonment has not been prescribed. There are three sections here which prescribe rigorous imprisonment, section 194, 226 and 449. Then the Penal Code has prescribed the minimum period of imprisonment in sections 397 and 398: I do not see why, when there is the precedent, the precedent should not be……………

Dr. K. N. Katju : What is 397?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Dacoity. This is worse than dacoity. I think, to starve a man and not to allow him to take water, I think, it is almost causing death. That is, I think, one drawback in the Bill. Then, Sir, the second draw-back in the Bill is that there is no provision for taking security for good behaviour. The Criminal Procedure Code has got four sections, Sections 107, 108, 109 and 110, and they all enable Magistrate to demand security for good behaviour. I don’t understand why this Bill should not contain a provision to that effect. When — for instance — when we find in Rajputana and other States the Caste Hindus are agitating to harass the untouchables because they exercise civil and constitutional rights, why should you not take security for good behaviour?
Shri J. S. Bisht (Uttar Pradesh): These are all the provisions in the Criminal Procedure Code.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: That is what exactly I am saying, that there is a precedent in the Criminal Procedure Code for taking security from persons who do not keep peace, for good behaviour, from persons disseminating seditious matter from vagrants and from habitual offenders, for good behaviour. I am not certain that these provisions could be invoked for the purpose of taking security from persons offending against this law. It may be that specific provision dealing with the cases dealt with in this Bill has to be made, and that can only be made by a specific provision in this Bill.

Then, Sir, there is another provision which finds a place in the Indian Police Act, Section 15 of the Act, under which when some people in the village or the villagers as a whole disturb the peace, the Government can quarter upon them additional police and recover the cost of the additional police from the inhabitants of that village. That is a general provision. I am not sure again whether that provision could be invoked by the Govt. for the purpose of enforcing this Act. That Act is a general Act, disturbance of peace and so on and so forth. This is quite a different case and I should have thought that a specific clause on the lines of section 15 of the Police Act should have found a place in this Bill if outlawing of untouchability is intended to be an effective thing.

Now, Sir, I come to another question about which I certainly feel a certain amount of doubt. Who is the administer this Law, the Centre or the State? And if the Centre is not to administer the law, is it not better that this Bill should contain a clause to that effect, that it shall be administered by the Central Government? I make this suggestion because I feel that the States might raise an objection that this is a concurrent piece of legislation and being a concurrent piece of legislation the States have the right ordinarily to administer these Acts. I do not think that
this is a concurrent piece of legislation in which States can claim to have a right to administer.

I claim that this is a Central Law although it does not fall in List I of the Seventh Schedule. The provisions contained in Article 35 are quite clear. It has been stated in Article 35 that any law to be made for inflicting punishment for any infringement of a law made in pursuance of Article 17 shall be by Parliament and not by the State. Those are the very express words. Therefore there can be no doubt in my mind that law will have to be by virtue of the Constitution administered by the Centre and not by the States. I say this because my Hon. friend might be saying that since we have made the offences under this Act cognizable it does not matter if the law is administered by the States but that argument cannot stand at all in virture of Article 35 and I would suggest to him that he should introduce an express provision in the Bill that the law shall be administered by the Centre. If my friend's contention or the contention of the States is that this is also concurrent piece of legislation, I would like to draw his attention to the proviso to Article 73 which is a very important one and which relates to the administration of laws in the concurrent field. My Hon. friend will remember that in the scheme of things in the Government of Indian Act of 1935 we had the same kind of classification of subjects — List I — Central subject, List II — State subject, and List III — Concurrent subject but the Government of India Act contained an express provision that the power of the Centre to make law in the Concurrent field was confined merely to Law-making. It could not encroach upon the field of administration. The reasons why such a provision was made in the Government of India Act, 1935, are quite irrelevant to the times in which we find ourselves now, but when we made the Constitution we refused to accept such a provision. We said that although generally the Centre may have a law in this concurrent field for administration to the States the choice must be given to the Centre to determine whether any particular law in the concurrent field
made by it shall be administered by it and not by the States. That intention has been carried out in the proviso to Article 73. We said that if the Centre so determines that the law made in the concurrent field shall be administered by the Centre then the States cannot interfere in the matter at all. Therefore, I am strongly of the opinion that this contention is invalid in view of Article 35 of the Constitution. This Law is a Central law by Constitution. It is really part of List I, although it does not occur as an entry in List I, all the same it is part of List I and therefore the administration must be by the Centre. Whatever expenses are necessary would be a matter which be quite outside the field of discussion. The burden of expenditure, the burden of administration must be taken by the Centre upon itself which I think is only right in this matter. This is all that I wanted to submit.” (Parliamentary Debates : Rajya Sabha, Vol. VII-B, Suptember 1954 pp. 2424-45) (Bill passed on 15-3-1954 into Act).

**Parliamentary Dehates, Rajya Sabha, Vol. IX-C, April-May 1955, pp. 6490-6504.** लोक लीग या विधानसभा जनमाना इतिहास सागित्वा, १६-१-१९५६ का धर्म सुदृढ़ हैति भारत सरकार अस्तुत्तेत्या प्रभाव लक्ष चाहते, त्याविभावतीत कावशाना महदा तथार कृत्त लावर सर्वे प्रांतस्थार आणि अस्तुत्तेत्यावराळ्या कायदे कायाचत यांनी लक्ष चाहते आढळ असे समाज-सेवन व अग्र शार्वाचनिक संस्था बांजी मंते व दिशातिथी सरकार वरकराने मामिल्या. नृ्मांच वोक विचार करत विध १५ माचे १९५४ वो लोकसभेत आणि. नाला दुर्विशेषता दुर्लक्ष लक्ष चाहते ज्ञाने तेने विध लोकसभेत जोड़ू लिखित कमिटी देखे देखे, इतर समाचारदोही या विधानार्थांचे जाहीर चेकले. (पा. ६४०४-६६२९). उपाधिशाली विध मंदूर दाहियांचे जाहीर चेकले. (पा. ६६२६).
खंड ११ वा
प्रकरण ५ वे
‘आंतरराष्ट्रीय धोरण’
(राज्यसभेत भाषण)
भारताला द्वारिकाक तुरंत आँधे, कालिंगर हा देशा केक्हाना ता केक्हाना पाकिस्तानन, धीर, रंगिया आगर इतर राष्ट्रें बहुवर्ष हेष्ट्होट्सार सोबत्तेक्झ, धीर तेक्शां जर हा सुधारी रस्ता तयार आलेल्या असेल तर ल्यांला मार्गारू आकर्षण करावयत या हेष्ट्होट्सार देशाला अर्थात सोबत तयार कर्याच्या योजना. हेष्ट्होट्सार बेक्षणी गेल्या ५० वर्ष हे संतापिता जात आहेत, पण मार्गार हा संस्थापक धीर्यांनी समस्यांचा देशा जर हेष्ट्होट्सार देशाने वाहनांतर पडला गेला तर इंस्ट्रेक्शन ता देशाने हा कर्याच्या सुधारी रस्ता उपयोगी पडते, ही जागीवे विद्वानांनी ओळखतात कोणतीही तो सुधारी रस्ता तयार कर्याच्यात ईशान्य नाही. नामाणे आपसार धाता थाया.

कम्युनिस्ट मतिस्तांती महणे राजस्वाली वाराकट ईतर, ही ढूंढ तेक्शाना ता केक्शां मार्गार होणार हा आहे, भारत हा लोकतांत्रिक कर्ता बातचीतारे. देशा आहे. धीर, रंगियाचे बर्षेने कम्युनिस्ट महणे लोकतांत्रिक नाही कर्याच्यात जोडलेले ध्यान भरतानांनी व्यापारी माणसांनी कस्ते पाठवले, हे गोवळू होट्सार. हे तत्त्वच तुलना नूक आहे व ते नामांने अधिक दिले पाल्ये

गोवळूचा महणांतेने सोडवली व्यापारी बाजारातील साकारी पोर्गाल बाबासाहेब वोपरी नोवालिशा दिली पण या दातांतेना माणसांचा दीर्घ काळ लागेल, अमेरिकेने फ्रान्सच्या हुसियान देखील विकत बेचला तसा गोवळू पोर्गालच्या भारताल्या विकत थाया, अगार देखील मुदतील गोवळू म्हणून थाया. बाबासाहेब गोवळू महणांतेने पण वेलस नोडविला जाईल.

सीटो (अनेक आधीश्वरी दुर्शाया मंडल) त्या संस्थेचा भारताचा विरोध आहे असे पंतप्रधान महादत्त, या संस्थेचे अमेरिका, ब्रिटेन, जापान, जर्मन व पाकिस्तान हे देशा आहेत. ही संस्थेचे चीन व रंगिया या कम्युनिस्ट देशांच्या आकर्षणाला धोक्यात चर्चासारखी कारवाई करून असते, पंतप्रधान हे अमेरिकेकडेच फारे प्रेम बांधत नाहीत, त्याच्याच्या अनुभवाने तसा संस्थेचा जवळ करून नाहीत, रंगिया व चीन आंत्या देखील नीती दाखल करत आहेत. अंतरालात चीन व भारत आंत्या नीतीत थोडाच व्यापक आहेत. आपण रंगिया व चीन हे तर हेष्ट्होट्सार देशांतांमध्ये आहेत. तेहेत त्यांचे हल्ले भारताच्या किंवा होट्सारच्या होट्सारच्या ह्या वर्गेत उर्वर करून आहे. चीन व रंगिया आंत्या आकर्षणाला धोक्यात चर्चासारखी 'सीटो' हे संस्था अबल्यासे भारत या पूर्वीच जर 'सीटो' त्रा समावेश ह्या ह्या माणसांनी असते तर, रंगिया देशात द्वारकत्या ध्यान देत हे म्हणून पंतप्रधानाने 'सीटो' बनवलेले उपरण योग्य नाही असे बाबासाहेबांनी आपले सत्य व्यक्त केले.

बाबासाहेबांनी चीनच्या भाषणात थेविले, चीन व इतर कम्युनिस्ट देशांच्या नीतिसंघर्ष राजकारणाच्याच्या आघाताचे आक्रमक चौराह्यातून निषेधने उद्दार काढले, त्यामुळे

चरित्र : चंद्र अकराचा
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay): Mr. Chairman, in this debate on foreign policy what one can do, at the most, is to discuss the principles on which the foreign policy of the Government is based. There is hardly time for doing anything more. Principles are undoubtedly very valuable, but I take it politicians have a great dislike for principles, particularly politicians who are dealing with foreign policy. They like to deal with things ad hoc, each transaction by itself, without any underlying principle.

I remember that when after the first World War, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Clemencean met in a hotel in Paris before the Versailles Treaty in order to settle among themselves, where to draw a line of partition between territories belonging to Germany in order to hand them over to France for satisfying the strategic fears of France, they had a long map spread in a room which covered the whole of the room and Lloyd George and Mr. Clemencean had fallen on their tummies to examine exactly where the line should be drawn. After a long search they drew the line which was, of course, most suitable to France. Afterwards Mr. Lloyd George called Mr. Nicholson, who had accomplished him as the expert from his foreign office and asked him to express his opinion about the line which they had drawn. Mr. Nicholson explained in horror saying, “Oh! this is too bad, too bad. Morally quite indefensible.” Both these statesmen immediately turned on their back and raised their legs in the air and said, “Well, Mr. Nicholson, can’t you give us a better reason?”

I remember also about 1924 or so, Mr. Low, the great cartoonist, having drawn a cartoon in the Evening Standard in London showing the various Foreign Ministers of the different countries of Europe then searching for the settlement of European problems with their top hats, tail coats
and stripped trousers holding each others hands, dancing round and saying, "Oh! give us peace without principles, give us peace without principles." Of course, the world laughed at that.

I am glad that cannot be said of our Prime Minister. He has certain principles on which he is proceeding. It is for the house to decide whether the principles which can furnish us a safe guide and whether they are valid principles on which the destiny of this country could be staked. That is the only question that we can discuss and it is these principles that I am going to confine myself.

The principles on which the Prime Minister is proceeding — and he has said so himself — are mainly three. One is peace: The second is co-existence between communism and free democracy; and the third is opposition to SEATO. These are the three main props on which his foreign policy is based. Now, Sir, in order to that one may be able to assess the validity and the adequacy of these principles, I think it is necessary to have some knowledge of the background of the present day problem with which we are concerned and for which these principles are enunciated.

Now, the background, to my mind, is nothing else but the expansion of communism in the world. It is quite impossible to follow the principle or to understand the validity and the nature of the principle unless one bears in mind the problem the world has to face today — that part of the world which believes in parliamentary and free democracy, viz., the expansion of communism in the world. I propose to give some of years to the House which I have collected in this matter. I am not going back into the long past but I am going to start from May 1945 when the War came to an end. By May 1945, Russia had consumed ten European States.

Shri B. Gupta : It is an utter falsehood.

Mr. Chairman : Mr. Gupta, you will have your chance to reply.
Shri B. Gupta: He cannot say such things. An older man like him cannot say such things.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Sundarayya, tell him that he will have an opportunity of answering and he need not get excited.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: You will have time to answer. Don't be impatient. The person who is often uneasy is the Prime Minister but he is not today. He is quite calm. Why are you so excited?

If you want to have a look at the authority, I will give it to you — I have got here — provided I am assured that you will return it to me.

Shri B. Gupta: You have your document from McCarthy and Dulles.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Now, Sir, I was saying that if we take stock of the situation from May 1945, and find out what has happened, this is the situation. Russia has consumed, as I said, ten European States: one is Finland; two, Estonia; three, Latvia; four, Luthuania; five, Poland; six Czechoslovakia; seven, Hungary; eight, Rumania; nine, Bulgaria; and ten, Albania.

Shri B. Gupta: ..........and eleven is Dr. Ambedkar.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am glad you add to my list. You are more up-to-date than the book.

In addition, Russia has taken possession of parts of Germany, Austria, Norway and the Danish Island of Bornholm. Of these ten European States three have been straightaway annexed by Russia and made part of her country. The rest seven are kept under Russian influence. This European conquest of Russia amounts to an absorption of a total of 85,000/- square miles and 23 millions of people subdued.

In the Far East Russia has annexed the Chinese Territory of China (Tannu Tuva), Manchuria, and Korea, north of the 38th parallel, the Southern Sakhalim. This territory in the Far East represents against a total area of 20,000 square miles and 500,000/- inhabitants.
Shri Sundarayya : What about the Peoples’ Republic of China? Why did you omit it?

Shri Govind Reddy : He said that.

Shri B. Gupta : A great demonstration of history is going on; a great historian has devolved!
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : They have increased the number by further aggression in South Korea and Indo-China.

Well, Sir, this is the background, I say, against which the adequacy of the principles on which the foreign policy of this Government is based must be considered. I will take first the principle of peace. We want peace, nobody wants war. The only question is, what the price of this peace is going to be. At what price are we purchasing the peace? Now, it is quite obvious that peace is being purchased by what might be called partitioning and dismembering of countries. I can quite understand the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary where different nationalities with different languages, different cultures, different races, were kept together under one sovereign autocracy of the Austrian Empire. The first World War brought about the end of the Austrian Empire on the well-known principle of self-determination. But here what you are doing this. There are countries which are culturally one, which are socially homogeneous, which have one language, one race, one destiny desiring to live together. You go there, cut them up and divide the carcass; and hand over a part of the carcass (carcass) to what? to countries who are interested in spreading communism. From the figures which I have given there can be no doubt about it that communist countries today are as big as a giant — nobody has seen a giant — I have not seen any how……

Shri B. Gupta : Except yourself.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : …… and he is supposed to be one of the biggest individuals or persons that can be imagined. Here you have a vast country endlessly occupied in destroying other people, absorbing them within its fold on the
theory that it is liberating them. The Russian liberation, so far as I can understand, is liberation followed by servitude; it is not liberation followed by freedom. But the point is this — and it worries me considerably. You are, by this kind of a peace, doing nothing more but feeding the giant every time the giant opens his jaw and wants something to eat. When you are feeding the giant regularly and constantly, the question that I should ask myself is this: Is it not conceivable that this giant may one day turn to us and say, "I have now consumed every thing that there was to be consumed; you are the only person that remains, and I want to consume you."

Shri H. P. Saksena: Then we will consume the giant.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Let us not boost ourselves too much. We have not been tried as yet in an international boat and when we are tried in an international boat I think it will be found out whether we can face the situation ourselves. But the point that I was making is this. This principle of feeding the giant seems to me a most abnoxious principle and how, for instance, as I said, can we expect to be relieved? Will the Russians show any gratitude because the Indian Prime Minister and the Indian Parliament have supported the partition of Indo-China or supported the partition of Korea, and will they not turn to us? I think this is a question which the Indians should bear in mind and not forget or overlook.

Now the other question, namely, co-existence. This co-existence to my mind is an astounding principle unless it is very strictly limited. The question is: Can communism and free democracy work together? Can they live together? Is it possible to hope that there will not be a conflict between them? The theory, at any rate, seems to me utterly absurd, for communism is like a forest fire: it goes on burning and consuming at anything and everything that comes in its way. It is quite possible that countries which are far distant from the centre of communism may feel safe that the forest fire may be extinguished before it
reaches them or it may be that the fire may never reach them. But what about the countries which are living in the vicinity of this forest fire? Can you expect that human habitation and this forest fire can long live together? I have seen comments from Canadian Statesmen and from European Statesmen congratulating the policy of co-existence. The praises and their encomiums do not move me in the least. I attach no value to their view and to their opinion. The Statesmen of Canada can very easily say that co-existence is possible because Canada is separated from China and Russia by thousands and thousands of miles. Similarly, England after having pulled itself out from the great conflagration, now thinks that she is too exhausted to do anything and therefore likes to enunciate and support the principle of co-existence. But there again it is a matter of distance. One must not forget that in the foreign policy of a country the geographical factor is one of the most important factors. Each country's foreign policy must vary with which its geographical location in relation to the factor with which it is dealing. What is good for Canada may not be good for us. What is good for England may not be good for us. Therefore, this co-existence seems to me a principle which has been adopted without much thought on the part of the Prime Minister.

Then, Sir, I will say a few words with regard to the SEATO. I was very carefully listening to the Prime Minister's observations with regard to the SEATO and I was glad to find that he had not made up his mind about the SEATO. If I heard him correctly, he said that in view of the fact that this country has accepted the Chairmanship of some commission in accordance with the Geneva decisions it may not be compatible for him and for this country to join the SEATO at the same time. The two things would undoubtedly be incompatible. But apart from that I think the merits of the SEATO must be considered.

The repugnance to SEATO appears to me to arise from two sources. I think I am not telling out any secret nor am I accusing the Prime Minister of anything of which he
does not know, that the Prime Minister had a certain amount of hostility, or if he does not like that word, estrangement between himself and the United States. Somehow he and the U.S.A. do not see eye to eye together. That is one reason why I think he always had a certain amount of repugnance to anything that comes from the United States. 

Shri B. Gupta : Are you speaking for match making?

Mr. Chairman : The Prime Minister is quiet and you are talking.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : And secondly from the fear of what Russia will think if India joins SEATO. Here again, I think, it is necessary to give the House some background against which the merits of the SEATO may be assessed. Now Sir, what is the background of all this? The background is this.

I have given a list of countries which have gone under the Russian regime. I think it is well known that this happened largely because, if I may say so, of the foolishness of the Americans during the last great war. The Russians got possession of these territories with the consent of Mr. Roosevelt and with the reluctant willingness of Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill expressed, when the war ended that they had done, a great mistake, and a great wrong in sacrificing the liberty of so many nations for the sake of winning victory against Hitler. And the same feeling, I think, is expressed by him in his last volume which he called “Triumph and Tragedy”. It is because of this that he named his last volume — ‘Triumph and Tragedy’. Now Sir, what the Americans are doing, if I understand their policy correctly, is this their point of view is that Russia should be satisfied with what she has got during the war, the ten countries. As a matter of fact, I should have thought that it should have been the duty of Americans and the Britishers to extricate these countries, to liberate them, to make them free. But neither country has the will, nor the moral stamina, nor the desire to engage itself in such a stupendous task. They are therefore following, what may be called a second line of defence, and that second line of
defence is that Russia should not be allowed or China should not be allowed to occupy any further part of the free world. I think that is the principle to which all freedom-loving people would agree. There could be no objection to it. And it is to prevent Russia from making further aggression — that they are planning the SEATO. The SEATO is not an organisation for committing aggression on any country. The SEATO is an organisation for the purpose of preventing aggression on free countries. I wonder whether the Prime Minister will not be prepared to accept this principle; that at any rate, such part of the free world as has, by accident, remained free should be allowed to remain free and not to be subjugated. Is India not exposed to aggression? I should have thought that it is very much exposed to aggression. I have no time. Otherwise, I was going to point out to the House how this country has been completely encircled on one side by Pakistan and the other Muslim Countries. I do not know what is going to happen, but now that the barrier between Egypt and England has been removed by the hand-in-hand over the Suez Canal. I think, there may be very little difficulty in the Muslim countries joining with the Pakistan and forming a bloc on that side. On this side by allowing the Chinese to take possession of Lhasa, the Prime Minister has practically helped the Chinese to bring 11 A.M. their border down to the Indian border. Looking at all these things, it seems to me that it would be an act of levity not to believe that India, if it is not exposed to aggression right now, is exposed to aggression and that who always are in the habit of committing aggression.

Now, I come to the other question. What will Russia say if we join SEATO? And the question I like to ask, to ask is this. What is the keynote of Russian foreign policy? What is it? The keynote of our Foreign policy is to solve the problems of other countries, and not to solve the problems of our own. We have here the problem of Kashmir. We have succeeded in solving it. Everybody seems to have forgotten that it is a problem. But I suppose, some day, we
may wake up and find that the ghost is there. And I find that the Prime Minister had launched upon the project of digging a tunnel connecting Kashmir to India. Sir, I think, it is one of the most dangerous things that a Prime Minister could do. We have been hearing of a tunnel under the English Channel to connect France with England. We have been hearing it for 50 years I think. Someone has been proposing and yet the English have never done anything to carry out the project because it is double-edged weapon. The enemy, if he conquers France, can use the tunnel and rush troops into England and conquer England. That might happen the Prime Minister in digging the tunnel, thinks that he alone would be able to use it. He does not realise that a conqueror who comes to the other side and captures Kashmir, can come away straight to Pathankot and probably come into the Prime Minister’s House — I do not know.

Mr. Chairman : Getting time.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Now, one or two observations.
Mr. Chairman : One or two observations to wind up.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Yes, the Prime Minister has been depending upon what may be called the Panchusheel taken by Mr. Mao and recorded in the Tibet treaty of non-aggression. Well, I am somewhat surprised that the Prime Minister should take this Panchsheel seriously. The Panchsheel, as you Sir, know it well, is the essential part of the Buddhist religion, and if Mr. Mao had any faith in the Panchsheel he certainly would treat the Buddhists in his own country in a very different way. There is no room for Panchsheel in politics and secondly, not in the politics of a Communist country. The Communist countries have two well-known principles on which they always act. One is that morality is always in a flux. There is no morality. Today’s morality is not tomorrow’s morality.

You can keep your word in accordance with the morality of today and you can break your word with equal justification tomorrow because tomorrow’s morality will be dif-
ferent. The second thing is that when the Russian Communist State is dealing with the other States, each transaction is a unit by itself. When we deal with somebody, we begin with good will and end with gratitude. When the Russians deal with somebody, they do not begin with good will, nor do they end with gratitude. Each transaction begins and ends by itself, and this is what I am sure the Prime Minister will find at the end when the situation ripens. The Prime Minister has always been saying that there is such a thing as that principle, 'Asia For Asiatics'. Yes, in so far as colonialism is concerned that principle is perfectly true. Asia must be for Asiatics, but are we dealing with a situation like this? Is Asia one today? In what sense? Asia is divided now, it is a divided house now. More than half of Asia is Communist. It has adopted a different principle of life and a different principle of Government. The rest of Asia follows a different life and different principles of Government. What unity can there be among Asiatics? What is the use of talking about Asia for Asiatics? There can be no such thing at all. Asia is already becoming the cock-pit of war and strife among Asians themselves. Therefore, it is better to align ourselves with what we call free nations if we believe in freedom.

One word about Goa. There can be no doubt that the Prime Minister in pursuing the policy of getting Goa evacuated is quite right. It is a very sound policy and everybody must lend his support to him. I do. But there is one observation about the evacuation of Goa by the Portuguese and handing it over to India, was, if I remember aright, brought to his notice very early when we got our independence. I possess with me some notes which were submitted to him by a delegation — I have forgotten their names, but I have got with me — but the Prime Minister took no active interest in it. I am very sorry to say that, because I feel that if the Prime Minister had in the very beginning taken an active interest in the matter, I am sure about it that a small police action
on the part of the Government of India would have been quite sufficient to enable us to get possession of Goa, but he has always been only shouting against them, only shouting and doing nothing. The result has been that the Portuguese have been able so far as we know, to garrison Goa, of course, the Prime Minister’s information must be correct and must be accepted by us that Goa is still defenseless, that there is garrison there, no army there, brought by the Portuguese.

Shri Jawaharalal Nehru : I said no such thing.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : I thought he said so, but whatever it is, the point now is this : Personally myself think that this discussion over observers has no value and no consequence. Supposing the Portuguese give the best treatment to the Goanese, are we going to give up our claim over Goa? May be that they give dominion status to them, so far as we know, and make them full hedged citizens, but we are not going to give up our claim to Goa, No doubt about it. It is part of India. Therefore all this talk about observers seems to me to be beside the point. We must deal with the Portuguese people over this question. Are they prepared to surrender their sovereignty in the same way as the British did? This is the only issue that I think need be discussed. Sir, it seems very unfortunate that some of the enlightened nations are siding with the Portuguese. I am sorry to see Mr. Churchill in a clandestine manner siding with Portuguese saying to us. “Do not use force”. Why? Are they going to go away with a kiss from the Prime Minister? And without a shot being fired? Similarly Brazil, and I do not know what the attitude of the U.S.A. is, which has not been publicly proclaimed. Possibly, they may also have a soft corner for Portugal. I have been wandering why all these things have happened, Why England, which voluntarily surrendered sovereignty to the people of this country, should ask another country similarly situated to act in contrary way. It is impossible to understand it. It seems to me — The Prime Minister may
accept my suggestion or may not accept it but it seems to me that they are trying to teach our Prime Minister that neutrality has a price.

Shri Sundarayya: The Prime Minister must take note of it.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am going to make one suggestion to the Prime Minister. I do not think that we should not have an armed conflict with the Portuguese if the Portuguese are going to be supported by other United Nations members, but less than that, there are two proposals that I want to make. You remember perhaps that there was the case in America which concerned the State of Louisiana, which was a French possession in the midst of American possessions and the Americans were very anxious to get rid of the French and to have Louisiana transferred to the United States. The measure that they adopted was to get it for a price. The price given was — I have got the figures with me......

Shri P. Sundarayya: A few pieces of silver.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: A very small price indeed for a huge territory. Goa is really nothing compared with it. Goa is just one of the towns of Louisiana. If the Prime Minister wishes to adopt it......

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What is it?

Mr. Chairman: Purchase it from Portugal......

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Initiate discussion on that. I am suggesting alternate methods.

Mr. Chairman: That is one suggestion. What is the other?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The other suggestion that I would like to put before the Prime Minister is that we can take Goa on lease. We all remember in our own country of the lease of Berar. Berar was the property of the Nizam. He had sovereignty over it, but the British Government in the year 1853 or so got Berar on a permanent base. I do not know what amount of money they gave the Nizam. It might have been very small.
Mr. B. Gupta: If we do that we will have to mortgage India's honour.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am sorry I can't follow him. It is very difficult for me to follow him.

Mr. Chairman: It is difficult to follow him.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: What I say is this. We are not interested very much as to who is the nominal sovereign in this matter. What we are interested in is getting possession of Goa, and in establishing our own administration there. We have here a case where in our own country a territory belonging to another sovereign, was leased over, made permanently part of India with certain establishments to indicate that there was a sovereign. I think his (Nizam) son was made Prince of Berar. That is another method which the Prime Minister may try, I don't see any reason why he should not succeed with the Portuguese in persuading them to adopt either of the two methods.

There is only one more observation I shall make and I will sit down. I was reading the other day a volume published by the Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, giving a survey of things that led to the Second World War, and the author undoubtedly one of the best and most erudite drew two conclusions as to why the war came and why its was not avoided. One was that Mr. Chamberlain on account of the policy of disarmament which was then being agitated upon, by the Labour Party could not presume what is called the balance of power in Europe and allowed Hitler to grow and grow until it was difficult to control him. The second thing he said, was that Chamberlain made the greatest mistake in believing in the work of Hitler. There was no greater liar than Hitler. He was given all that he wanted when the Sudeten Germans were separated from Czechoslovakia and he said he had nothing more to ask. The whole House will remember that after that treaty was signed, the very next day he marched into Czechoslovakia. I hope our Prime Minister will not make these blunders. Sir, I have done.”
I have heard many speeches from partisans, non-partisans, and eye-witnesses, and especially the speech of Dr. Ambedkar whom I respect very much. When he says something, one has to listen carefully. Dr. Ambedkar is a good lawyer. He advanced many arguments like a partisan lawyer which were fallacious in many respects."

"Nehru told: Giant may eat you" New Delhi, Thursday: The leader of India’s 60 million ‘Untouchables’ attacked Mr. Nehru in Parliament today for his refusal to join the proposed ASIAN PACT against Communist expansion.

"Peace is being purchased by partitioning countries", said Dr. Ambedkar, a former Minister in the Nehru’s Government. This kind of peace is nothing more than feeding the giant. Is it not conceivable that the giant may one day turn and say: Now I will consume you?"
FEAR, HOSTILITY

Dr. Ambedkar said that the Premier's attitude towards a south-East-Asia Treaty Organisation seemed to flow from some estrangement or hostility between Mr. Nehru and America, and also from fear of what Russia would think if India joined.

In the sharpest criticism yet of India's foreign policy, the Doctor warned Mr. Nehru against blunders like those of Neville Chamberlain when he believed the promises of "that great liar Hitler".

The continued expansion of Communism has absorbed to European countries since 1945, as well as Manchuria, North Korea and Southern Sakhalin. He said that Mr. Nehru by allowing the Communists to take Lhasa, he helped China to bring her borders to the fringe of India.” (News Chronicle, London, 27th August 1954).

A talk to Mr. Nehru: "Be Careful, the Giant does not eat you."

New Delhi, August 28: A former Minister in Mr. Nehru's Government, Dr. Ambedkar, in one of the sharpest criticism of the Government's Foreign policy yet made in the Indian Parliament warned Mr. Nehru against making a mistake similar to those of Mr. Chamberlain when he believed Hitler's promises.

Mr. Nehru's policy, Dr. Ambedkar said, should be examined against the continued expansion of Russian Communism, which had absorbed the European countries since 1945, and also Manchuria, North Korea and South Sakhalin. He said that Mr. Nehru, by allowing the Chinese Communists to take Lhasa, had helped China to bring her borders right down to the fringe of India.

"Peace", Dr. Ambedkar said, "is being purchased by partitioning countries. This kind of peace is nothing more
than feeding the giant. It is not conceivable that the giant may one day turn and say, Now I will consume you!"

Dr. Ambedkar said that Mr Nehru’s repugnance to a South-East Asia Treaty Organisation seemed to flow from some estrangement between himself and the United States, and from a fear of what Russia would think if India should join such a body — British India Press” (The Manchester Guardian, Manchester, 27th August, 1954).

“Nehru Policy Criticised — Soviet Expansion from our own correspondent.”

New Delhi, Thursday: Dr. Ambedkar, a former Indian Minister, suggested today that the foreign policy of Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister should be examined in the light of the expansion of Russian Communism. “Be careful”, he said to Mr. Nehru, “that the giant does not one day eat you”.

The former Minister was criticising a statement made by Mr. Nehru in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House). In it the Prime Minister explained why India had decided not to join the proposed S.E.A.T.O. talks in the Philippines.

The project, he said, was likely to reverse the trend towards peace arising from the Geneva Conference. India’s participation would have meant departing from her policy of non-alignment with power blocks

Mr. Nehru caused a mild stir when he asserted that the same Portuguese Government which was unwilling to negotiate with India on Goa’s future was not unwilling in 1947 to consider a deal with Hyderabad for the transfer of Goa to the Nizam’s Government”. The Daily Telegraph, London, 27th August 1954.
COMMENT

The interview between Mr. Atlee and Mao-tse-tung is of interest because it provides authentic confirmation of what is at present uppermost in the minds of the Communist leaders. Britain, or rather the Labour Party, has been assigned the task of persuading America to withdraw her fleet from the Straits of Formosa, and to discontinue plans for rearming Germany and Japan. Only when the non-Communists are weak, according to this thesis, can peace be assured.

Mr. Nehru, in attacking the whole concept of a defence organisation for South East Asia last week, seemed to be subscribing to this thesis. That he does not speak for all Indians was indicated by the speech of Dr. Ambedkar, leader of the "Untouchables" who dwelt on the danger that China's immense power may be used to isolate and then dominate her neighbours. It will be the immensely difficult task of the statesmen at next month's conference in Manila to produce a military pact which provide a counter weight to China now, without discouraging the Indians and their neighbours from recognising that ultimately they must play a part in their own defence and thereby in the maintenance of the peace of the world."

(The Observer, London (29th August 1954.)

(Press opinions on A's speech on India's Foreign (Policy) speech.)
संड ११ वा
प्रकरण ६ वे
शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट अंड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्यून रिपोर्ट
(राज्यसभेतील भाषणे)

२ सप्टेंबर १९५४ व्या राज्यसभेचा बैठकतीत श्रीमानी हॉ. के. पंजा काळजूरी यांनी अना टराय मंडळ की कमिश्नर शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट अंड शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्यून यांनी ११ दिसंबर १९५३ पर्यंतच्या आयोगात शामिल अहमदाबाद सरकारचा सादर केलेला आहे, तो राज्यसभेचे विनंतात घोषणा. (Parliamentary Debates : Rajya Sabha, Vol. VII-A — August-September 1954, pp. 1140-41). या ठरावार अनेक समाजदर्शी भाषणे शाळी. (पा. १४४-१९९९). ६ व ७ सप्टेंबरच्या बैठकतील समाजदर्शी भाषणे शाळी. (पा. १४५७-१५७८ आणि १५७९-१६३०). सरकारचे अस्तुर्यचा सुधारणेची ते काळी केलेले आहे ते फार कमी प्रमाणंत केलेले आहे, आणि बन्य पत्रांची सहानुभूती ते काळी केलेले आहे ते फारच अस्वभावाच्या केलेले आहे, असा समाजदर्शी भाषणाचा सारांश होता, बाबासाहेबांनी गृहमंत्र्याचा ठरावार ६ सप्टेंबरचा भाषण केले. (पा. १४५३-१४७५) व्याख्याचा भाषणाचा शाळीवा असा।

अस्तुर्य काळीचा सुधारणा वर्तमान लोक पर्यंतीत छाह कार्यकाळ अस्तत, हे जगातील आहे; या ते काळच्या प्रकारे छाह अस्तत, याची संगतीचा वाही या अवहालात कमिश्नरचे का स्थितीची नाही, हे काळी नाही. बाबासाहेबांनी काळीत भाषण पर्यंत अस्तुर्यचे अस्तत छाह होतंत व्याख्याने साधिली. पुढील अवहालात हे न्यून राहू देऊ नाही. तसे न्यून पुढील राहिली तर व्या हेतूसांची कमिश्नरची जागा निर्माण करण्याचे आहे त्या हेतूसाठी फिरविध्यालयांसाठी होईल. आपला छाह कारणाचा गृहवासीला अस्तुर्यचा कायदे अस्तुर्य अस्तुर्यांनी कारण या अवहालातील सुधारणा काळी असे नाही. अस्तुर्य हे सुधारणे गृहवास आहेत व लांच्या जीवन सुधारण्याचा अवकलंबून आहे, तेव्हा हे सुधारणे कायदे
इलाज कर्मचार क्षति, शक्ति, नाइट, या सरकार खत्म है काशेर इलाज का करीय नहीं! लक्षारी उच्च जनजाति आदेश तक अस्थायी चाली लोक अस्ते तर है काशेर इलाज हटी नवायाय लक्षारा न्यो होईल, जोपड़ित या जाना सर्व जिन्दूस्था हास्यत आदेश तीव्रत जा योशेर इलाज मानवीकपण के धेर जानी की नहीं या मूलच सो आहे, कामिन लोक इतरांच जुलैश कर्त्ता की विलायतेत युजे पाठून दिनायकाच्या पैशा नशीले नका. आणि हे अभूलु मुलगे आणि मूली विलायतेत पाठून वांचा युजकत करून आणतात आधि हिंदुस्थानात मोठेमोठेम फागाराव ज्योती नेन्नूक करून बैठाव. अस्थायी चाली युजो व युजी हे विलायते व पाठून तुंग बांधले; मुख्य ज्योती भांड, पासारखा व अमल गाजियाच्या जागा मिळाली व तेंच साहेब मुख्य अस्थायी चाली काही लोकांची पूर्ण घडी आहेल, या भावावले मी १९४२ व्यट बॉयडीत रोरं याच बांधने जावंच अधिनियम अस्थायी चाली युजोना पाठून शिक्षण वेळरूढाची विधानदृष्ट निर्माण करून बैठता आधि चाळी वर्ष २० विनायकाच्या त्यांचा फाता मिळाला. १९४६ व्यट कामिन लोकां नवायाय व या सरकारी विद्यामणी श्री. राजगोपाळ बाबांनी आहे, ज्योती या विलायतेत बंद केले, आधि अस्थायी चाली विद्यामणी पाठून विधानदृष्ट उद्याज रंग शाळा. सर्व जिन्दूस्था हास्यत सा सवं जवळी कर्त्तेरांचे शाळेत आहे. अस्थायी चाली जोकांना उन्हे शिक्षण भवे, ज्योती उन्हे अधिकाराच्या जागेरवर नेमले, अत घोषण सरकार आवेदन तर स्थायी व अस्थायी यांमधील अंतर काही दिवसाची नाही होईल, आधि हिंदुस्थान एकधीन व व्यट होईल या घोषण न ब्रीकरता जेब्रे प्राणी वेळा जेवल तितके ठेवली आहे, हे वेलांव, सैन्य औऱ सरकार अस्थायी नोकरांची जी स्थिती आहे तीहांना हस्तांत्रे तेटे. अस्थायी वर्ग हे हिंदू सामाजिक समाजात आणले आहे तेटे, व ज्योती हिंदू न भाजन समाजाचा जब्त आहे तर ज्योती काही अनुभव होईल, हे तर गाजीव आवेदने, तेते सरकार या जोकांना समाजातांची जी प्रमाण चालविचाले आहेत अनुभव इतरांचे सरकारच्या आपणात बाळबाळ बन्ने वाहाने नाही.


DR. B. R. AMPEDKAR (BOMBAY) : Mr. Deputy Chairman this is the THIRD REPORT WHICH THE COMMISSIONER FOR THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND THE TRIBES HAS SUBMITTED TO THE PRESIDENT. At the
outset going through the report one notices that the Commissioner makes a complaint against the members of Parliament blaming them for not taking action on the various matters discussed by him in his Report. He says that the Members of Parliament have forgotten that he is not an executive authority that his duty is merely to report. The Executive departments are supposed to give effect to whatever recommendations or suggestions that he makes. I think his observations are very sound. He is not an executive authority and for the purpose of criticising what action has been taken the criticism must be levelled either against the Home Minister or against the other departments of Government of India. But Sir, while one must admit the legitimacy of the criticism made by the Commissioner, I think there is one criticism that one can legitimately make against the Commissioner himself in the matter of drafting and preparing the Report. I was referring to his chapter dealing with complaints because I thought that would be one of the most interesting and constructive chapters of that book we are aware of the fact that the Scheduled Castes in particular are subjected to all sorts of tyrannies, oppressions and mal-treatment at the hands of the villagers in the midst of whom they live. And it would undoubtedly be a matter of great interest to know what are the tyrannies, mal-treatments and oppressions to which they are being subjected almost every day. I have no doubt that the Commissioner's Report would be the proper place where such complaints would be recorded but I find the Commissioner absolutely silent over this matter of the greatest importance for the Scheduled Castes. I find for instance that from the complaints which have come to me and I am sure that many more complaints must have gone to the Commissioner, they could not be less than a thousand or certainly five hundred least. I mention one or two which have come to my notice and are of very recent occurrence. I am told on very reliable authority that in Rajasthan thirty Scheduled Caste people have been shot
down by the so-called dacoits. The real fact is that the Rajputs and the high caste Hindus do not like the Scheduled Castes in Rajasthan to enjoy what are called the fundamental rights which give them equality of status with the other Hindus. In order to terrorise them and to make them nervous in the matter of exercising these fundamental rights the high caste Hindus have organised themselves into a band of dacoits and they go on shooting the Chamaris, who are trying to exercise and derive the benefit of their fundamental rights. Police parties have been sent there in order to give protection to them, but my information is that the police are in league with the dacoits. Half a number of guns possessed by the police were handed over to the dacoit and the report is made that the guns have been snatched away from them by the dacoits, half the number of bullets are again handed over to the dacoits by the police. Only half are fired probably in the air without causing any effect. The result is that the dacoits are getting on merrily. The dacoits are really nothing else but what ended in the Southern States of America known as the Ku Klux Khan a band of whites who were but upon shooting down the Negroes if they tried to exercise the rights of Equality which was given to them after the Civil War. I do not find any mention of this incident in the report of the Commissioner. I mention another incident and that has occurred in Bombay. One Bhangi who was living in a village was supposed by the Hindus to have brought about a certain disease in the village. They thought the malignant influence which he possessed was the cause of a certain disease which was prevalent in the village. They caught hold of him and asked him to take a burning fire on his head and walk round the village so that the evil forces which brought about the disease may pass away. Fortunately they forgot that he had a turban on the head and he too forgot to remove turban. And the burning fire and the pot in which the fire was placed were so hot that practically half his cranium was burnt. I find no mention of this in the Report of the Commissioner.
10 A.M.

My Hon. friend the Home Minister I think will admit that the Scheduled Castes people for the good reason or bad reason are in the habit of sending their complaints to me as well as to the Government officials and I too propose a long list of these tyrannies and oppressions. I thought that it would be right to expect some reference to these complaints in this public document. But there is none whatsoever. And I have been wondering whether the Report of the Commissioner so far as the record of the complaints in concerned is a doctored and tortured document. The Commissioner seems to have completely forgotten one of the most important objectives that underlie the creation of his office. The object was that public conscience should be exercised by the representation of the ugly treatment which the caste Hindus meted out to the Scheduled Castes so that those who are enlightened enough may go among the public and tell them whether this is a behaviour worthy of a civilized people. But when you do not present these facts when suppress them for one reason or another this important motive and object in the creation of this office I think I completely nullified. I do hope that in the next report which the Commissioner will prepare he will bear this thing in mind and not to be ashamed to present the facts as they are presented to him by the suffering masses the untouchables. That is the first comment that I have to make over the nature of the report submitted to us by the Commissioner. It is quite clear that in such cases as have been referred to by the Commissioner there have been many notations of the law and there have been an endless series of tyrannies and oppressions practised upon the Scheduled Castes. This is a matter which I suppose is a matter which is within the portfolio of the Home Minister. To what extent are the laws made especially for the Scheduled Castes or the general laws made for all people respected, and to what extent are the breaches committed punished? Sir, on the first day when the Hon. Home Minister presented the Report to the House. I happened unfortunately to
come a little late. But I did catch him towards the end of his speech. And the impression that was left upon me of the speech that he had made, was that what he had said was said in a spirit not merely of lightheartedness, but he will forgive me if I say this with a certain amount of levity. We asked, what is the use of prosecuting people? People will begin to do Satyagraha, people will begin to do all sort of things. Therefore let us not rely upon what might be called the vindication of the law. Well if that is the attitude of the Home Minister then of course nothing can be expected. The lawlessness which is being practised continuously for thousands of years against the Scheduled Castes, has been lawful because it is impossible for the Scheduled Castes people themselves to come forward to prosecute the breaker of law. As the Commissioner has said the Scheduled Castes people are economically so subservient to so dominated by the Caste Hindus that it is quite impossible for them to come forward to challenge the very people on whom they depend for their economic livelihood. That is an admission which the Commissioner has been making from the very beginning. It occurs in his first report it occurs in his second report and he repeats it in his third report that it is useless to depend upon the Scheduled Castes themselves to vindicate their rights. They have neither the economic independence against their oppressors nor have they got the means to prosecute their oppressors. The second thing which the Commissioner does not seem to emphasise very much and which I know very well myself from my experience of twenty years is that in a large number of cases the police force is in league with the Caste Hindus. Ninety per cent of the police force is drawn from the Caste Hindus. Only a few per cent and a very small one is now being recruited from the Scheduled Castes but this is only to the posts of police Sepoys. There are no officers amongst them. The result is that the upper grade policemen are in league with the Caste Hindus. More often they refuse to record the complaints of the Scheduled Castes when they
go to the Thana in their Station diary even though the offence may be cognisable. They throw them out turn them out and tell them to go away. They do not record complaint and Secondly if they probably would conduct the investigation in such a slip shoed manner that ultimately the facts. In this situation I ask the Home Minister whether he thinks that there is any duty upon him or not I ask him whether the breaches of the law which are being reported and witnessed by Scheduled Castes or other people are not breaches of the fundamental rights? Are not fundamental rights part of the Constitution? If you are allowing a large mass of butchers and hooligans to trample upon the fundamental rights are you not bringing the Constitution to contempt? Is it not your duty to create a special Department either within the Home Ministry itself or separately for the purpose. The United States has got a Judicial Department the duty and the function of which is to see that the Constitution and the Federal laws are respected. I think it is high time that the Home Minister realises that if the Constitution is to function if it is to be the law of the land if all people are to recognise it his duty is to see that it is enforced and the only way in which he can enforce it is to take upon himself the duty of enforcing it and not leave it even to the State Governments who can never do it not even to the Police who has no desire to do it and not even to the Scheduled Castes who have no means to do it. Therefore I hope that he will take the matter more seriously and attend to it in manner in which a statement ought to. Now I come to the subject matter of Education. It is quite satisfactory I must admit that the Government has spending annually more and more on the education of the Scheduled Castes. If my Hon. friend will forgive my mentioning myself he will realise that it was for the first time in the year 1942 that the Government of India at my instance when I was a Member of the Executive Council accepted that they too had responsibility for the education of the Scheduled Castes. Therefore education was purely a provincial subject. It
was only so far as the Muslims and Hindus were concerned that the Government of India had taken upon themselves the responsibility of supporting the Aligarh University and the Benaras Hindu University by an annual grant of Rs. 3 lakhs. I raised the question whether the Government which had recognised its duty for the Muslims and Hindus had not also a duty for Scheduled Castes and the Government of India agreed that it was a legitimate question and that the answer to the question could not be given except to the alternative. They granted Rs. 3 lakhs as a grant for the education of the Scheduled Castes from the Central funds. While I am satisfied with the progress that is being year by year by the Enlargement of the Educational grants for the Scheduled Castes there are two points with which I am greatly dissatisfied. One is this at the time in 1942 when the question was raised by me for the first time in the Government of India it was argued that the responsibility for the education of the Scheduled Castes up to the University Standard in India was to be borne by the provincial Government and that whatever contributions the Government of India made towards the education of the Scheduled Castes would be devoted for their education in foreign countries. According to that understanding the first batch of Scheduled Castes students was sent to England although there was great difficulty in the matter of getting admission to English and American Universities because they were over flooded. Yet we here in the Government of India pressed upon the foreign universities that as it was for the first time that the lowest of the low people were being sent for higher education the foreign universities should show them some consideration. The result was that were able to get about 30 Scheduled Caste students. Thereafter in 1945 the old regime ended and the Congress regime came in 1946. I had hoped that a system which had been inaugurated in 1943 or so and which had been given effect to and in which the Governments responsibility for the education of Scheduled Castes in India and then education outside was accepted, would be continued but to my surprise great
chagrin about I must say. I found that Mr. Rajgopalachari
who became the Education Minister in the Congress regime
and who has a great knack for giving a pious look to an
impious act abolished the system of sending Scheduled
Castes students to foreign countries and since that time
there has hardly been any student belonging to the Sched-
uled Castes who has gone abroad for further studies. I
think than this is what shall I say a most dangerous thing
from one point of view. No doubt the Hindus do not like
any criticism but I am firmly convinced that my criticism
is right and I must repeat it notwithstanding the opposition
with which it may be met.

Shri B. K. P. Sinha (Bihar) : But the Scheduled Castes are
also Hindus.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Yes if you call them so. I am
statutorily a Hindu.

Shri B. K. P. Sinha : Factually also.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Sir the point is this. In this country
for reasons into which I need not go now, the fact is quite
clear that the higher classes receive the highest education.
Their children go to Cambridge their children go to Oxford
their children go to the Columbia University and to all the
foreign Universities.

Dr. K. N. Katju : Perhaps my friend is probably not aware
that Harijans as members of the Scheduled Castes and the
Scheduled tribes are being sent to the foreign countries.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : You are repeating I see.

Dr. K. N. Katju : They are benefitted by it.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : I cannot bear.

Dr. K. N. Katju : May I just say a few words? I heard
him complain just now that the system of awarding foreign
scholarships to the members of the Scheduled Castes has
been given up and was being given up and was being given
up in 1946 by Rajaji. I was only just saying that foreign
scholarships are being given today and that scheme was
tried last year for once year and that scheme has now been made permanent for five year.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : You are reviving it because you have seen the folly to it.

Dr. K. N. Katju : It has been reviewed. The scholarships are now being given.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : After an abeyance of several years.

Dr. K. N. Katju : I am not concerned with that point.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : You should look into the history of your Department. You cannot simply say, I don’t know! What I was saying was this. Notwithstanding what my Hon. friend said I think the criticism that I am making is very valid and very fundamental. Here in this country you find really two nations — a ruling nation and a nation which is a subject nation.

An Hon. Member : Question.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : The backward classes are all subject people. They have no authority in any place. None whatever. They have no place in Administration they have no place in the Executive and the Executive and the Administration is entirely monopolised by the higher classes. They are monopolising it by the reason of the fact that they have been able to get the highest Education. Why not examine all the Secretaries of your Departments in the Government of India? The son and daughter of every Secretary in the Government is to be found in Cambridge or Oxford. Twice and thrice they have made journeys in order to lodge their children there because they have amply means. The backward class man’s son cannot get even primary education. This sort of revolution in the two different classes is going on for centuries it is an intolera-

ble business because we cannot allow one class to rule for ever. For some time they may but they must see that the other classes also become educationally qualified in order that they too may hold the reigns of Government. We are not going to be subject people all the time.
Shri H. P. Saksena (Uttar Pradesh) : There are no classes in India. This is a classless country.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Therefore what I am saying is this that if you really want to unify the people to bring all the people on level, then it is not enough that you should get the highest education and others should get the lowest and not even the lowest. It is from that point of view that you must introduce the system of foreign education.

It was with that aim that I struggled to get some quota from the Government of India and asked them to put the responsibility for University Education upon the provinces. The States have been jolly glad to throw the responsibilities upon you. What do they do? They are having prohibition making people sober, personally for myself I think a sober man who is an ignominious is not be preferred to a man who is educated and who drinks a bit. I prefer the latter I am glad to hear that my Hon. friend is now reviving the system of sending Scheduled Caste boys to foreign countries, I congratulate him.

Now Sir the other thing which has recently come to my notice is this that the Education Department has issued a Circular — I think a month or two ago to the effect that those Scheduled Caste boys only who have secured 50 per cent Marks in the Examination shall get Scholarships. Others will not get I am wondering whether a generous Government with a sympathetic heart desiring to elevate the Scheduled Castes would even think of prescribing so bad a test as securing 50 per cent, you must consider the condition in which the Scheduled Caste boy lives. Probably his father or mother has not got even a room set apart for his study. He probably has not got a lamp to sit by at night and study. He is living in the midst of a crowd. How do you expect him to secure 50 per cent marks in the Examination? It is a absurdity — bitter absurdity. You must for some time allow the ordinary standard viz. of 33 per cent which has been recognized by all the Universities
and which is being recognised by you also for the purposes of Employment in the Government of India. If a boy who merely passes is fit to be employed by the Government of India why is he not fit for the grant of Scholarship for further education unless you want deliberately to put some kind of an impediment in the growth of their education? The difficulty is this. The admission take place some time in the last week — June. Various colleges admitted Scheduled Caste students without asking for fees because they knew that the Government of India would give them the Scholarship. After three months of the joining of the College the Ministry comes out with Circular saying that only those who have secured 50 per cent will get Scholarships.

What are the colleges to do with the boys whom they have admitted on the assurance that the previous system will continue in operation? What are the boys going to do who have got themselves admitted into the College? I hope my Hon. friend the Home Minister will look into this matter take it up with the Education Minister and ask them to square up this difficulty at any rate so far as this year is concerned. You may do what you like next year provided you give enough notice both to the students and to the colleges as to what you propose to do.

Then I come to the question of Services. The Commissioner has divided his figures with regard to the Services under three groups the Army, the All India Services and the Central Services of Government of India. With regard to Army, I find that in certain categories the position has determined. In 1952 there were two Second Lieutenants belonging to the Scheduled Castes. In 1953 the position is “NIC” of junior Commissioned Officer in 1952 there were 601. In 1953 the number is 435 Non-Commissioned Officers in 1952 there were 3273. In 1953 the figure has gone down to 2533 other ranks in 1952 the number was 2,22,288. In 1953 it has gone down to 18,666. I am quite unable to understand this deterioration in the position of Scheduled Castes in
Army. The Army I thought is the one place where not much intellectual calibre is necessary, I mean in the other ranks. May be that in the higher staff it is required much intellectual eminence. But we are not talking about them. But taking the other ranks we find that the figure has gone down from 22,000 - to some 18,000 - why? The Army I understand has been expanding and with the expansion of the Army one would naturally expect an increase in the number of Scheduled Caste men in the Army. In all other places you say they are suitable. And that is a very ambiguous phrase. All public service commissions and appointing authorities have learnt that phrase by heart. You simply say the man is unsuitable and there is an end of the matter. But in the Army what is there to be unsuitable? What is the unsuitability about? There you have certain measurement of the chest. There are very few people among the Scheduled Castes who would not fulfil the test. Then you have certain tests of height some 5 ft. 4 inches or so. Well I think all Scheduled Caste candidates would fill up that height (Interruption). Very few there may be I admit who may fail. But given those physical standards of health chest measurements and height I should have thought that almost every Scheduled Caste man was first to be in the military service. And when you are denying them service in other departments of the Government of India surely you ought to make some concession to them in departments like the Army and the Police where education is not a matter of any considerable movement. But there again you have been behaving in a step-motherly fashion I do not know whether the Home Department ever takes interest in these figures or knows them and pursues the matter. Surely the Commander in Chief ought to be asked by them as to why this deterioration has taken place. Then Sir I come to the All India Services. These are what they call the Administrative Services and the Indian Police Services. Recruitment to these I think started through the Public Services Commission in the year 1952. My Hon. friend Shri Datar will correct me if I am wrong. But I think that is the year.
The Deputy Minister for Home Affairs (Shri B. N. Datar) About 1946.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: No I am not counting those whom they recruited from the provinces. No Scheduled Caste man was recruited except one or two. The rest they found to be utterly unfit although the Provincial Governments thought them quite fit the Central Public Service Commission found them utterly unfit. That is all past history and I am dealing with the present. Has there been any recruitment to the Indian Administrative Services since 1952. When the new Constitution came in force? I have not seen a single caste candidate being chosen by the Public Service Commission for the Indian Administrative Services not one. I have not seen a single candidate being chosen by the Public Service Commission for the Indian Police Service either. It is only last year that I struggled with the Public Service Commission and induced them to accept one for the Indian Police Service. I wonder whether the Home Department which is in charge of services looks upon this matter as of or consent or looks upon this matter as a matter of high consent. These are Executive Services. My Hon. friend knows very well the difference between an Executive Service and an Administrative Service. An administrative service is more or less a clerical thing. The executive service possesses the power of direction. It has directive authority. Now I want to say and I want to say it quite fearlessly that 2,000 clerks are of no value as compared to one officer holding an executive post. In Hindi we call it “Marneki Jagah”. What are these poor clerks? You will see in forteresses but you have none in U.P. In my part of the country the place is full of Maratha forteresses.

Shri B. N. Datar: “Mar Quilla” we call it.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: आदमी वहाँ बैठकर फायर कर सकता है दुष्पर को

Now these Executive posts are posts from where direction can be given. The clerks need all kinds of protection. Any officer may spoil their character roll by writing a bad
remark or saying that the man is no good the only way he
can be protected is by having somebody in the Executive
Service who might look into this matter and see no injustice
is being done. Similarly with regard to the policy laid
down by the Government whether that policy will fructify
and yield results depends upon who are the people who are
charged with the duties of executive that policy. If the
Executive authority is unsympathetic is antagonistic that
policy however good it may be can never fructify. And let
me add and so far as my experience goes the whole of the
administration which is now composed of caste Hindus is
the most unsympathetic administration that the Scheduled
Castes have to suffer under. This is because of the sympha-
thetic character of administration. And when we have been
shouting for representation in services that claim is being
maligned by calling it communalism what we are trying
to do is to reduce the communalism of the other people.
We are not asking for communalism I hope my Hon. friend
will remember this until and unless your administration
and your executive becomes more sympathetic to the
Scheduled Castes none of your laws and none of your
administrative policies will bear any fruit. Then let us
come to what are called the Central Services. Here I am
taking only the figures of permanent posts not the temp-
orary ones as they stood on 1st December 1952. The Com-
missioner says that the Ministry of Railways, the Ministry
of Communications, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry
of Information and other organisation under its control
have not supplied information on this point. Therefore
these figures relate to those departments which have sup-
plied the information. The figures are very telling. In class
I the actual strength is 752 and the Scheduled Castes
member 10 according to the proportion fixed by the Home
Ministry that ought to have been 175. Class II (gazetted
posts) total number is 642 while the Scheduled Castes
number only seven that ought to have been 107 according
to the proportion. Class II (non gazetted) total number is
1,123 and the Scheduled Castes number 44 that ought to
have been 185. Class III total number is 10,372 and the Scheduled Castes number 536 and this ought to have been 728. In Class IV the total number is 3,807.

Dr. P. C. Mitra (Bihar): How many of them applied?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The Scheduled Castes member 1,451 but ought to have been 1,478. Class IV servants I think are chaparasis and there you find the number of Scheduled Castes people fairly large. These are the figures which must be within the kin of the Home Ministry they have laid down a proportion and surely it is their duty to see that the proportion is carried out by the different Ministries. Why has there been this defalcation on the part of the various Ministries and why has the Home Minister not taken any action? If he had taken any action what is the action that he took in order that the Scheduled Castes receive then quota which is fixed by him? Sir it is very black picture if I may say so very black. It reminds me of a cartoon which was drawn by the German during the last war. The cartoon depicted an old negro gentleman in Washington when was declared the negro as everybody knows negroes are not well disposed towards the whites in America they are always very angry quarrelling with them are not giving them equality of opportunity. Suddenly felt very patriotic and he said that he must transfer some of his patriotism to the young boy who was his son. He went to the market and purchased an American National-Flag — small one which the boy could hold and gave it to the boy. He said “My son, I want to show you today our capital, our capital”. The boy did not realise what it meant. Holding the boy by the right hand and the boy holding the flag in his left hand the old man took him round and round in Washington City showed him the Supreme Court, the Congress House, the Senate and so on and so on and ultimately after lunch came down to the White House stood there for a minute or two and said to the young boy: “My dear boy, this is the House of our President”. But the boy said “Father what are you talking? He is a white man and
how do you praise him?” The old man said, “Oh shut up, that is only outward”. That is to say inside he is quite black. I think that might well be applied to the Home Minister not withstanding the white dress he is very black inside and the evidence is the neglect which has been shown in the matter of seeing that the Home Minister’s own order’s are carried out. Nothing has been done.

I have dealth with services and I will deal with the question of propaganda. I see that the Government of India has sanctioned about Rs. 50 lakhs for the year 1953-54 for the purpose of carrying on propaganda against untouchability. The scheme I understand is that a part of the money is given to all India organisation directly by the Government of India. That is the Scheme. I have no idea what my Hon. friend means by the abolition of untouchability. What is Untouchability? Let us understand it is a kind of mental disease of the Hindus. It is not a disease from which I am suffering, not any tumour which I have got not a rheumatic pain or any of the physical disabilities which can be removed but it is a mental trust. Every Hindu believes that to observe untouchability is the right thing. I do not understand how my friend is going to unturst the turst which the Hindus have got for thousand of years unless they are all sent to some kind of a mental hospital it is very difficult to cure them and I do not want them to be sent there. Therefore let us understand what we talk and what we are doing. Besides all must realise that untouchability is founded on religion. There is no doubt about it and let us not be ashamed of realising it.

Manu in his law book very definitely prescribe untouchability. He said that the untouchables shall have only earthenly pots that they shall not have clean clothes, that they shall beg for their food and so on and I cannot see how you blame the Hindus. For thousand of years by the teaching this dirty law they have go inculcated in their mind the doctrine that untouchability is a most
sacred thing. The Hindu has been taught the most pious and best of life is that of a rat who lives in a hole uncorrected with anyone. We must not touch this, he must not touch that, he must not eat this, he must not eat that etc. and this is a kind of life which a rat observe by living in a hole. A rat would not allow another rat to come into its own house. That is the position and all that we can do is to see that untouchability which as I said to a mental twist of the Hindus does not protrude so much into public life as to involve the civil liberties of the people.

Dr. P. C. Mitra: Untouchability is only a custom and usage.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: If you want to study that subject with me I can spent a few hours with you. Therefore Sir, this propaganda business is quite impossible for me to understand. I agree with my Hon. friend Mr. Kunzru that it may result in nothing else but a waste of public money.

Secondly I do not understand why this matter should be left to these what are called organisations of Social workers. A social worker in this country is a professional, he has no such thing as inner sympathy. He is a professional. If the Muslim League wants him he will probably serve the Muslim League if the Hindu Mahasabha wants him he will serve the Hindu Mahasabha if the Congress wants him he will serve the Congress. He is a professional and there is no such thing as for instance an inner love. As Tolstoy has said rightly said, 'before you serve you must learn to love.' No man can serve anybody unless he loves him. These professionals have no love they are simply trying to make their livelihood and therefore perhaps I would not be surprised if they are getting remuneration from all three. I do not wish to comment on it. The proper thing if my Hon. friend wants to do seems to me to be to take hold of these unemployed graduates. There are plenty of them, intelligent educated boys who can be said to have some kind of a modern outlook in life or who might
be said to have developed some public conscience in the matter you engage them on some reasonable salary, give a motor bike or a cycle and give each man seven, ten or fifteen villages and ask him to go round village by village, hold public meetings address the people on the question of untouchability and tell them this is something which is going to bring disgrace upon this country in the modern world. What way it would be far more fruitful and for more effective the kind of thing that my Hon. friend is doing. Why these social organisations have a fascinativer for the Congress Government I do not know. In older times during the British regime the Centre acted administratively through the Collector. Money was given to him and he was asked to discharge certain functions in certain fields. He could be held accountable to Government. Money was safe in his hands. If you do not like the Collector then employ the kind of Agency that I have submitted, namely a group of intelligent boys who would be longing to do this Service. This kind of a thing a woolley crowd, calling itself by some kind of a name to attract people if no consequence at all.

Then Sir ............... .......... 

Sir K. B. Lal (Bihar) : Will they not be professional. 
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : The Government servant is not a professional. Why? You want to use them latter for canvassing votes for you in the elections. That is the whole trouble about it.

Now Sir, regarding the other point namely selected of certain agencies by the Government of India and giving them funds to do this propaganda work, the Commissioner has made some observations on some communication that passed between me and the Home Department. He has said that other agencies have accepted the offer of the Government to receive money and to do the propaganda. I was one naughty boy who refused and he thought that it might well in bringing the default on my part to public notice.
I wish he had given him the full letter which I had written to the Home Department. I think Mr. Datar dealt with the matter if I mistake not and he will recall that what I said was this that the bodies were chosen by the Government of India were political parties like the Harijans League and something like that were all political bodies. The Federation was also a political body. So I think it was wrong for Government to hand over public funds to political bodies who may use the funds to political propaganda and not for the elevation of the Scheduled Castes, and I told him that there was the Chairman of another body which was being built up in Bombay, which was a purely social welfare body. It had large funds some where between two or three lakhs of rupees they were going to build a hall and carry on activity. Of course I forgot to mention therein that body although it was formed in Bombay was not conformed in the matter of social work either to the Bombay City or to the Bombay State. It was open to them to do any kind of social work in any other part of India. The only thing was that the centre and head office would be in Bombay. Mr. Datar rejected my suggestion and put this matter in the report. All that I want to say is this. If Mr. Datar had communicated to me that he did not accept my suggestion, I am sure within myself that I would have changed my mind and accepted the offer in the name of the Federation because 'beggars cannot be choosers' if for no other reason and I even now say that if he insists that the Federation is the only body which the Government of India would entrust the money with well I have no hesitation but I still mention my view that this work ought not to be entrusted to political bodies. Now Sir, I come to the question of the Economic Emancipation of the Scheduled Castes.

This I think along with Education and Services is the most important thing for the raising of the status of the Scheduled Castes. Now what are the means of raising the Economic status of the Scheduled Castes? Obviously the
Economic Emancipation of the Scheduled Castes will depend up on the opportunity that they get for what might be called entry into gainful occupation. Unless and until doors are open to them where they can find gainful occupation, their economic emancipation is not going to take place. They are going to remain slaves, if not slaves, serfs of the land-owning classes in the villages. There can be no doubt on the point at all. Now Sir, out of these gainful occupations I personally feel no doubt that the most important thing on which Government ought to concentrate is the giving of land to the Scheduled Castes. They must be settled on land so that they might obtain independent means of livelihood, cease to be afraid of anybody walk with their heads erect and live fearlessly and courageously. I think this is a thing which all the Ministers are agreed upon. I take it that the one thing that Government ought to do is to provide land for the Scheduled Castes. Let us take that question. Firstly is there land available to be given to the Scheduled Caste?

Has Government any power to sequester land from those who are owning land now, take it away and give it to the Scheduled Castes? It is possible for the Scheduled Castes to be financed by the Government in the matter of purchasing lands if land was to be sought? These are the three ways by which land could be given to the Scheduled Castes. Government should by law limit the holding of those who hold land and take away the excess and hand it over to the Scheduled Castes. Secondly the Government may finance the purchase of land if any is to be said.

Sir, it is clear to everybody that land-holding in India is not merely a matter of economic livelihood. It is a matter of social status. A person holding land has a higher status than a person not holding land. Now it is quite clear that in the villages this matter of Economic Status is of the utmost importance to everybody. And no Hindu wishes that an untouchable should possess a piece of land so that he may reach a higher status than his community is entitled
to under the social system. Sir, the question of a Scheduled Caste man getting a bit of land in the village seems to me to be utterly impossible. I do not know to what extent the Government will be able to make a law limiting the holdings. There might be a Revolution. If the Government had in passing land legislation, instead of giving the title of the property to the peasant kept the title to themselves as permanent owners of land they might have been able to pass a law that as the land belonged to the Government nobody would be allowed to hold now than a certain number of acres. But the Government has committed one of the greatest acts of folly in creating these peasant proprietors. Sir once Talleyrand told Napoleon “Why do you want all this bother with Europe? Why do you want to create all this Enmity. Why should you not be content with becoming the king of France with one as your Prime Minister? There was a certain number of soldiers standing outside the palace of Napoleon, holding their guns with bayonets shining in the light of the Sun. Napoleon was a very abusive person. He told Talleyrand, “You were so much done in a Silk stocking” “Do you see my battallions?” he said “Yes I see them”. Then Napoleon asked “why should I not be an empertr?” To that Talleyrand replied and my friends will remember that reply. “You can do anything with these bayonets except sit on them.” Now you have created these peasant proprietors. You cannot sit on them, they will sit on you. You have bungled and bungled most wrongly notwithstanding the advice of many people not to do it. But just to win political elections you did it and you are bearing the fruits of it now. However this limitation of holdings therefore is an impossible thing.

I happened to study the report of the United Provinces. Tenancy Committee appointed by my friend Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant. I know every line of it and I wonder whether the people who raised the cry that holdings ought to be limited know anything about the facts of it what is the
average holding in Uttar Pradesh? The lowest is about 1½ acres and the highest is about four to five acres. That is all that there is and the further fact is that every inch of land in U.P. has been under cultivation and in occupation. You can do nothing there and that I am sure is the case in most of other States. Therefore my submission to the Hon. Home Minister is this that unless you want to go on fooling the Scheduled Castes by telling them "On keep quiet we are going to give you a piece of land. Either we will have a ceiling or we will finance your purchase. We will do this or that unless you want to go on fooling them like this you ought to think of some other method of doing that. That is a problem which you must solve and if you do not solve it you know what consequences there might be most evil consequences. The fire is burning outside. It may easily come in and the Scheduled Castes may carry the banner and you and your Constitution will go under. Nothing will remain.

Now Sir I am going to make one suggestion to my Hon. friend and it is this. I find from the Planning Commission's Report that a very large amount of what might be called cultivable waste is to be found in this country. According to the Planning Commission it is 98 Million Acres. Now my suggestion to my friends is this the Government is going I understand to amend the Constitution. They are fond of amending the Constitution. Why have a Constitution at all? I do not understand if you are amending it every Saturday? However as you are amending it I suggest that you amend it and put the cultivation of waste land in List No. 1 so that it will come within the purview of the Central Government. The State Governments have not got the means of developing that land. They are living like a dog in the manger neither developing it themselves nor allowing anybody else to do it. There can be nothing wrong in taking over the waste land by amending the Constitution in List No. I.

11 A.M.:  

चरण : खंड अकरण
The second thing which I am going to suggest is one which many people may not find pleasant but I think there is no harm in suggesting. It is this you can levy the salt tax. The salt tax was the lightest tax that we had in our country. At the time it was abolished, the revenue was about 10 crores and it might easily go up to Rs. 20 crores now. No doubt the abolition of salt tax was done in the memory of Mr. Gandhi. I respect him and I suggest to you that you levy the tax and create a Trust Fund in the name of Mr. Gandhi — Gandhi Trust Fund for the development or settlement of the untouchables. After all the untouchables according to all of us were the nearest and dearest to him and there is no reason why Mr. Gandhi may not bless the Project from Heaven namely Levying the tax and using it for the development of waste land and settling the Scheduled Castes on this waste land. There is promise to it not only promise but a scope for performance. You know in the game of power there is difference between promise and performance. I give you a scheme where there is not only promise but there is also performance. I do not understand why the people of this country should not contribute through the means of the salt tax for the elevation of the Scheduled Castes. You may keep it quite outside the Budget just as sort of a Gandhi Welfare Scheme which will perpetuate the name of Mr. Gandhi and which will give relief to the people whom he wanted to protect and whom he wanted to elevate. This is my suggestion to the Hon. the Home Minister and I hope he will give this matter his most serious consideration.

Sir I have done and do not want to say anything more. The only thing that I would like to say is this that in all this effort which is being made by the Government by the various social workers and the Social Agencies there is one thing which gives me a very sad thought and it is this that our Prime Minister has taken no interest in this matter at all. In fact he seems to be not only apathetic but anti-untouchable. I happen to have read his biography and I
find that he castigated Mr. Gandhi because Mr. Gandhi was prepared to die for the purpose of doing away with separate electorates which was given to the Scheduled Castes. He has said in his biography, Why on earth Mr. Gandhi is bothering with this trifling problem.”

Sir, I was shocked and surprised to hear the Prime Minister — rather Mr. Nehru this in 1934 uttering these words. I thought that since the responsibility of Government had fallen on his shoulder he may have changed his view and thought that he must now take the responsibility which Mr. Gandhi was prepared to take on his shoulder, but I do not find any kind of a change in his mind. Sir in the year 1952 a conference was held at Nagpur at the Presidentship of my Hon. friend Babu Jagjivan Ram.

I understand that there was a very big Shamiana: Two silver chairs were placed on the dais, one for Mr. Jagjivan Ram and one for Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There was an audience of two hundred to three hundred and one thousand police. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was supposed to inaugurate the conference. I have got his speech here but I do not wish to trouble the House by reading it, but this is the gist of it. He was told in great anger against Babu Jagjivan Ram for having organised the Conference. He said roundly “I do not recognise that there is such a problem as that of the untouchables. There is a general problem of the economically poor and the problems of the untouchables is a part of that problem.

It will take its place and receive its attention along with other problems. There is no occasion no purpose in bestowing and special thought upon it.” Sir if the Prime Minister is prepared to throw such cold water not cold water from the refrigerator so to say what enthusiasm can we expect from the rest of the workers who have taken upon themselves the duty or the responsibility or the interest in carrying on with this particular problem. I do not think that untouchability will vanish. They believe “Yes”. I think
"No" as I said because it has a mental twist. It will take years and years. At the same time there is no reason why we should not strongly agitate for seeing whether untouchability goes or not that the social Economic potential and constitutional rights of the Scheduled Castes are fully protected. To that extent efforts must necessarily be directed.

Sir, there is no other word I should like to say. People might say that I have taken most of time with the Scheduled Castes. I have not said anything with regards to the tribes and I am not going to say anything because there are many friends who are qualified to speak about them than I am, I shall therefore not venture to enter that field but there is one thing which I think one can say and should say because I find there is a good deal of confusion in the minds of the people as regards the relative portion of the Scheduled Castes the tribal castes and the criminal tribes. Now Sir with regards to the Scheduled Castes the position is this they are prepared in fact not prepared but they are already within the pole of civilization. They are not outside. Their struggle is to achieve equality of opportunity and equality of status. That is their problem. With regard to the tribal people their problem is totally different. They are outside the Hindu civilization. And the question that has to be considered with regard to these tribal people is this do they want to come within the Hindu civilization and be assimilated and then acquire equality of status and equality of opportunity?

I was talking to many leaders of the tribal communities — many men and women of the tribal community — they seem to be most reluctant to come the pole of Hindu Civilization.

Dr. Shrimati Seeta Parmanand : Question (P. 1475).

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : They prefer to live outside they do not want to come in. With regards to the criminal tribes this is a purely Economic problem how well can you give them the opportunity to earn a decent living?

If they can get the opportunity to earn a decent living they will cease to be criminals. Now Sir one question asked
is this. It seems to me a matter of great regret that this Hindu civilization which is so many years old some say six thousand years old — many people will not be satisfied with that period probably they want to take it back never mind about it let it be six thousand years old — has produced five crores of untouchables. Some two crores of tribal people and some fifty thousand criminal tribes people. What can one say of this civilization? With a civilization which has produced these results there must be something very fundamentally wrong and I think it is time the Hindus looked at it from this point of view — whether they can be proud of the civilization which has produced these communication like the Untouchables, the Criminal tribes and the tribal people. I think they ought to think twice not thrice a hundred times — they are conventionally called civilization whether they could be called civilized with this kind of results produced by their civilizations.

"Sir I thank you very much for this opportunity."
(Parliamentary Debates — Rajya Sabha Vol. VII A.

August-September 1954 pp. 1447-75 A’s speech on 2-9-1954 on the Rport of the Commissioner Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes introduced in the Rajya Sabha by the Home Minister on that day):

राजनीतिक अवसर आत्मवांतर ब्राह्मणालिंब विद्वीव गेले. तेह्या व्यानी असे उक्तवळे की, '‘बुध एंड हिज गाँठेच’ हा अंध खोजकर जापाना. त्याचे सक्षमाने वे पुढीं हात किळू लागले. इतर देश संसारी आवश्यक करून बाजुला पडलेल्या होते. ते '‘बुध एंड हिज गाँठेच’ हा संपूर्णपणे तसार झाला व झापसाखत गेला की भी दुसरे अंध पूर्ण करून असे ब्राह्मणालिंब व्यळ्या पी.ए. नागरंवर्क्के वोहेत असल.

२९५४ च्या विलेवर महिलावत चौथा नवा अंध विलिवाची ब्राह्मणालिंबानी तयारी केली. त्याचे नाव ‘‘ड. रिहास ओंड हिल्लक्कोम’’ (हिंदुस्तानी कोडेक) असे होते. त्या प्रश्नाती जमा केलेली महिली येथे एकत्र करू लागले. डॉ. राजेंद्रप्रसाद गांधी कार्यकी विद्वानांनी कार्य केल्याने ब्राह्मणांची पाय धुकून ते तीर्थ संस्कृत प्रशासन केले होते. आणि गायक्या प्रवेशावत अतिशय होते. या संबंधाचे प्रेक्षे वर्तमान प्रशासन परिसरात आलेले होते. त्या प्रकारचे कार्य विचारबंधनी निषेध व्यक्त केलेला होता, डॉ. छोहिया गांधी निषेधात्मक तेल एका वर्तमानप्रतिबन्धमुळे वाढ घेतला. ही
यह माहिति व फोटो, अधिकतर तरह-तरह के अनिश्चित प्रकार के पूर्वी हिंदुस्तानी आदित्य होते, ये सब, या अंग्रेज़ वस्तुहस्तक कर्मचारी गोठा कर्मचारी बायासहित व्यग्य होते, हा प्रथा बायासहितमारी १९५६ या स्वरुपरूप स्वीकृत पुरा वेळा, परंतु याद पुनः केवल कारण व वेजसिली मृत वापस करने ही कामे अपरिचित राहिती होती।

'बुद्ध और दिख धम्म' या श्रीधरा श्रीलोकी काही प्रकारे वाण्यासाठी मुंडाळे, 'पिपल पंजुर्णके तोळेसाठी' मुंडा धंडाचल मरी. एस. एस. रॅगे मार्चकऱ्ये १९५६ चा अगस्तमध्ये, बायासहितमारी पाटली, व्यावहारिक हूलिती मरी. रॅगे, बायासहितमारी दिहौता पादवरक असत. दुर्योगी गोळी ताका बायासहितमा वाण्यासाठी मान्यामारी होते नाहीत. तेऱ्या लाभी मरी, रेल्टी वा, २३ ऑक्टोबर १९५६ चा क्रम पाटली, पूर्वा नीत सुचना केल्या, या श्रीधरा प्रतीकात्मक बायासहितमारी आधार लिहिली होती, ५ डिसेंबर १९५६ चा राही तिथिक रेल्टी द्वारे हवा संप्रवाह व लोक राही तात्कालिक अवस्था आहेत.

उपरोक्त नाव श्रीधरा मुंडे वापस प्रथा बायासहितमारी वाण्यासाठी दिहोता काळन देखली होती. "The Case of the Untouchables in India After Independence" (स्वतंत्रीता भारतीय अग्नि श्रीधराची परिशिष्ट) या वंधूत अस्वीकाराची स्थिती श्रीधरा श्रीलोकी काळात सुरूवात करून तिथा त्याच्या काळात किंवा वस्त्र पुरावासाठी देखली याच्याच बायासहितमारी उपेक्षित होते. त्याच्या स्थिती लुप्तावस्थाना तिथा मंदाळा आहात ही ती हुम्बका विश्व कलन तर मंथ भरू नो. किती वापसवार्ताचा व्यावहारिक व वेजसिली निर्देशक होता. यू. नो. ने अस्वीकाराचा प्रमाण देणारी लिहिली नवगत्ता वाण्यासाठी मान्यामारी होती, अनुभव व शरीरच अवघड होता. पण तो श्रीधरा संपूर्ण प्रवा दिहून पुरा हवाय सांगली नाही. (१) 'Riddle of Geeta'
(२) 'Riddle of Vishnu'
(३) 'Riddle of Trimurthi' अनि (४) 'Riddle of Woman' या श्रीधरा श्रीलोकी वायासहितमारी सामूही जमिनेच देखली होती. या श्रीधरा श्रीलोकी खाली पाणे व्यावहारिक १९५६ चा सर्वजन-अधिनरोध-मध्ये लिहिली होती. त्या नोट्सेक्स श्रीधरा प्रवा वेळा आती नाहीत; कारण १९५६ चा स्वातंत्र्यमन्त्र्य व्यावहारिक अवस्था आहेत.

एका नोटपात्रा अभिलाषा भी, नानकजंद राष्ट्र महादेव, "बायासहितमारी! तुम्ही आत्मचेंड कों लिहित नाही?" बायासहितमारी उच्छरले, "अरे! मला कुठी बेळेत आहात?" नानकजंद महादेव, "बायासहितमारी, तुम्हाला जसा आतुरपणे आत्मचेंड तरा मला नवेदन करा, मी नोट्सेक्स तेजी. मला तर काहीतरी तुम्हाला आत्मचेंडता' ग्रंथ तयार करता वेळेल!" बायासहितमारी

१९६

श्री. बायासहितमारी अब्बिडकर
महाराजः "माझे चरित्र विस्तृत प्रमाणांतून लेखनार्थीने लिखित आहेत, तरी हतरांना न सांगता येणाऱ्या काही गोष्टीं आहेत, तशा! पण ते वसू आपण नंतर! परंतु मला गांधीजीचे चरित्र लिहिल्याचे आहे, त्याचा चरित्रकारानी गांधीजीचा कवय स्वरूपत मोडलेला नाही. मला जसे माझीची जीवन मार्गे असून तसे ते कोणाही ओळखता आहे ती नाही. त्या माझ्या दौडकोल्हाडी मी गांधीजीचे चरित्र लिहिला, नंतर वेळा मिळताय नाही."
पण या वेळी गोष्टी त्याचा हातून हींडू वाक्या नाहीत, गांधीजीचे चरित्र बाबासाहेबांच्या हातून लिहून हाते असते तर सांग्या जमात त्यांने लखवड उडून दिली असती! पण 'काळाय तरम्य नम:' हेच शेवटी मराठी माणे माहे पढते!

श्री. नानकचंद रचूने हे बाबासाहेबांची काळ–प्रश्न उत्तर, बाबों-साहिब तोडी सांगते तेंडः ती नानकचंद्र बाबू लिखित 'तेजुन दाखल करत, मंगलीची प्रकरणे', भागणे बाबासाहेब नवादी चिह्नित त्याची टक्करलिच्चे त्याचा करणे, उल्लेख वातावरण.'बाबासाहेबांना ह्या अरुनिला भाव दाखल करत ठेवणे कवर- करत, बाबासाहेबांनी ह्या मोठी नोबदाच देऊ नेंता असता. ते महाराजे, "बाबासाहेब! या कामाचा निमित्ताने मला तुमचा दरसोन सक्षम मिळतो हे. आणि तुमची माझ्या कामाची सहीत करता, हेच ती माझे माझ्य समजते आणि हाच माझा लाग मोडला! त्यांत मला मोठ्यानीचा आंदोलण अभार!" बाबर बाबासाहेब इतकरागेने नहाणे, "असा भावनाबिच होऊ नको, मी तुम्हाचा ६.७५ वेळ जाईल, थोडे आहेत हे मला ठाकर आहे, पण नून ते वेळ जाणार्" नानकचंदने नकार दिला तेंडः ते महाराजे, तु मूलं आहेर! तू साहसाठी २०-२५ मैलची शातकरे सर्व करतो, तर नवाद त्या करती "सुटद्रणी" आउळ अफ्रिका नाही व्याची ने माझे ते पेसे देऊन ती स्कूर वापर!" गांधी मोठीला नानकचंदने नकार दिला.

नानकचंद्र बाबासाहेबांची लिखानिची काळे तर बचत होताच पण धारतीले ह्याच दुरंतीच्या वेळीच्या तो उपयोगी पडविला. अथवा आणखाच्या सेवासाबधिकृत नानकचंद्र बाबासाहेब पार लूळ होते, त्याचे एक उदाहरण वेण्याखायले आहे. १९५५ चा फेब्रुवारी महिन्यात नानकचंद्र एकऱ्यांना विविधदार्शी जाणण्या आपल्या एका नात्त्वाच्या, मुंबई संघातील निर्याचे लागायले. १७-२-१९५५ चा वेदांना एकऱ्यांना दिलील्या निर्याचे, तेंडः बाबासाहेबांची यशस्विनी वंडणाऱ्यांना (आपल्या विरोधात) लागितत तार करत नानकचंद्राची नीट व्याख्या करताना कोलिए. त्यांनी ताबांचे नानकचंद्रांची तीन चार दिवस उत्तम व्यवस्था ठेवली, ते मुंबईहून परस्पर दिलीली आले तेंडः साहेबांची व्याख्या. आणखाच्या स्वत:ची मोरार प्रेचनाचा प्रारंभ.
My dear Nanak Chand,

So far I recall you have not written a single line to me, as to what is happening to the driver, to the electricity at 26 Alipore Road. We have been relying upon you for regular information so that we may be in a position to pay our bills in time. I have no idea whether the Driver is still at Alipore Road or whether he has obtained service elsewhere. I am of course informed by Balu when he returned from there in November that the electricity connection has been cut off. I do not know what has happened about the car license fee. So as electricity is concerned I have a recollection that we have been paying regularly and that we are not in arrears. It is difficult to understand the electricity. Will you please go to the office and make enquiry immediately? And if we are really in arrears, please let me know. Let me know about the driver. He has been paid up to October 1955. If you can let us know that he has been in our service from October we can send cheque for his salary. I expect a very prompt reply. I am improving but I shall not be in Delhi till the first of January.

The enclosed cheque for Rs. 45/- is for car registration.

With kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,

Sd./- B. R. Ambedkar.

Encls.:
Cheque No. R 507376
Shri Nanak Chand Rattu
B. 11/228 (G.D.S.)
Devnagar, New Delhi, 5.
1959 स्न्यात्मक मानवसाहित्य आधार कमी कमी होत चालू होता. चार पंच वचन नाते तर ते एक वचनाती व दोषा मात्र अर्थ अनेक अहारावर आतो. ते त्याहीता एकदा फसल व चहा झेटत, जेवण सकाळी 11-12 वेळ दुरंगानेव झेट. रात्रीचे जेवण 7-8 वेळ सुमाराने होत असे. ते बाँधणावर व लिहिलेला गर्दी हाती तर जेवण न मिळा. फक्त ताक माला व ब्रेडचा एकादा खाळी स्वतंत्र झेट असत. त्याचा आधार बाजार महणून लोणे डॉक्टर मालवणकर बांसी माहिवाहिवानांना सांगितले. हांडकरांना व माळीवाहिवाना संगतांनाच्या असे ठरले की युरोपियन पहरतीचे जेवण तयार केले तर बाहावाहिवाना आहेतीने स्वतंत्र व लोणाने 'आहार वाढविला,' तेंचो लोणी एक गोवानी बटकर व खानसाग यांना कामावर ठेवले. बाहावाहिवानांना ते युरोपियन पहरतीचे जेवण अळवले आहेत नसे. पण ते लोणी सात आठ दिवस युरोप पहुँचले तर फसल कंट्रोल लोणी बाजारीची मारक, अग्नि वापरत, वर्गणकर, बांसी व मटमसुप देखील जेवण पहुँचले. गोवानी बटकर व खानसाग यांना दोन आठवड्यांने नोकरीवर फलकी केली ते.
चावाळाहें १९४६-४७ व्या. पूर्व, नॉर, देड, बैटका, नमकेर, आसने, प्रिनों कौरे मार्गी व्यास धें असत, आले नाहा आहारी धें असत, पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत. पण या नंतर बरात काळीला माली संघी धें असत.
രവിവാരാണി ദിവസം മുഴും കരസാധാരണം കർണ്ണ നിരാജിച്ച ദിവസം. പന്നാവാരാണി മാസ്ത് രാശിയായി കാരറോട് മുക്കുന്ന് കൊണ്ട്. കാരക അനിത്യം, രാവിവാരി നാനകിനുകുളം ലിഡി അതെ. പന്നാവാരി നാനകിനുകുളം ദൈവം കരിപ്പിക്കുന്ന സമയം ചെലി മികവും അതെ. ബ്രതാശിവാരി അഭിഷേകം ദീപസ്രുപ്പ് രാശി അവിശേഷം രാത്രി അവിശേഷം രാത്രി ബ്രതാശിവാരി സമ്പ്രധാനം സൂക്ഷിച്ച് അതെ. നാനകിനുകുളം ആയണികമില രാവിവാരി, താ. १८-२-१९५६, സൗകര്യ ബ്രഹ്മാധിവശം ലേക്ക ഉദ്ധാരണ അധ്യായി ഉണ്ടാക്കുക. രേഖകൾ നേരത്തെ. പ്രാധാന്യ പൂർണ്ണമായി ബോധനാശ്രമം അതെ രേഖകൾ നേരത്തെ. ബോധനാശ്രമം സമൂഹം അവശേഷം ഉണ്ടാക്കുക ഇത് അസാധ്യമാലി. 


day 2

1949 ൽ 1952 ൽ കുടിന്റെ ബ്രഹ്മാധിവശം ചാരം ഉപയോഗം കാലാട്ടു നിലനിന്നു. ഭാഷാ പ്രസക്തിയായ ചാരം മാത്യു വിജയനാശിക്ഷണ കുളം. 1949 ൽ നാരായണ മാത്യു മുട്ട മിശ്രിത പ്രസക്തിയായ ചാരം നിലനിന്നു. ആണി ഗണിത ശാസ്ത്രം തെളിഞ്ഞ ചാരം കുളം നിലനിന്നു. രേഖകൾ നേരത്തെ. പ്രാധാന്യ പൂർണ്ണമായി ബോധനാശ്രമം അതെ രേഖകൾ നേരത്തെ. ബോധനാശ്രമം സമൂഹം അവശേഷം ഉണ്ടാക്കുക ഇത് അസാധ്യമാലി. 


Charithram: കന്നാടാരാണ

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डॉ. भीमराव रामजी आंबेडकर
चरित्र खंड ११ वा
प्रकरण ७ वे
— घटना दुरुस्ती —
(राज्य समन्वय भाषण)

भारतवर्ष राज्यसभेका चौथी दुरुस्ती करणारे विषयक (Constitution Fourth Amendment Bill 1954) लोकसभेत मुम्रु आयोजनात ते सरकाराने राज्यसभेत आणले, त्याच्या अनेक समावेशातील भाषणे देणे, बाबासाहेबांनी त्यावर ११ मार्च १९५५ ते मार्च ९ दे. (Parliamentary Debates, Rajya Sabha Vol. IX-B-March-April 1955 — pp. 2446-66).

ही दुरुस्ती घटनेच्या ३१ आयोजनाच्या होती, सरकारचे खाजगी माहिती आपल्या तपासतील तर त्यामूळे, मुख्यालय तुकाराम मरपण माळहणार दिली पाहिजे, असे म्हणून आयोजनाची कल्पना निर्देश नेते, पण त्याने अनेक अस्थिर कडते. भूविज्ञान, मुख्यालयाच्या सोलापूरच्या एक निर्णय तपासतील तेथे मुक्तिसाधनसेवकसेवन समावेश माहिती घटकरण मास्ताच्या उंच न्यायाधीष्ट देणे, तेथे सरकाराचा हार खातीची, सदर कल्माची रचना. मुख्यालय आपल्या स्थग करण्यासाठी ते विषयक होते.

बाबासाहेबांनी भाषणात प्रथम दे संगीताचे काळ, भारतवर्ष घटना ही सांतोष, थांबता आणि बंधनस्थ या नर्मद्याचा पावकर आपल्यांत आपल्या आपल्यांना घटनेच्या मुख्यालयमध्ये विचार आहे. घटनेच्या हुणी आणि घटनेच्या साठी नष्ट करणे अथवा मूर्त्तित हक्कांना बाबर आणणे, हे राज्यसभेच्या होतत माही, घटनेच्या कल्मांच्या अर्थ न्यायाधीश जसा लाख्य असला तसा तो राज्यसभेच्या विकार.
पहिले, तर्क लाभी घटनेवाली भक्ति आगि मृदुमूत हक्कावंदन्ते प्रेम सोकान 
पदेत पण सरकारेन है विशेषक अनुष्ठान स्वायत्ताचा निर्णयार्थ मात केली 
आहे. भव्याचे सरकारत्र घटना आणि मृदुमूत हक्क वाहनाहु आहे. प्रेम अयो निर्ण 
य वातावरण नाही, अंते ठरते. इस्ते भयो कंपनीच्या वेळी सुंबंधी हायकोर्ट्सच्या 
जबाची (मिन. नाहीं) निर्णय लहानरो प्रयत्न करता नाही. तेथील तर जडतात 
कोटला कुटुंब अन्यांचे व कोटी बंद रहताने रेफरेंस गेला. लाॅन्टर पऱ्यांणीुण्याचे 
हायकोर्ट्स चालू करणारी निर्णय दिला. विकिरण चोक घटना व मृदुमूत हक्क यांना 
मानत होते तसे आमांचे सरकार मागत नाही. अधिकतर २५ जन माहिती कर्मचारी पदार्थ 
लिंग तर त्यांना होता, हाफ्टिंग कमिश्नर नाही. तेथील यावहुल कन्सेप्शन पडल ज्याविद्यार आहे, 
मी आणि हाफ्टिंग कमिश्नर नाही. इंतजार धारा हसदहिता बावडा गेले असा माणासी 
लागताचा समजणार्थ योगा म्हणून मी घटना त्यांना केली. त्यावहुल मला अधीन्ते 
अनेक लोकांचा स्वायत्त दिले. घटनेवर तुम्ही ताक्त लिहा, आपल्या ती प्रशिक्षा करतों 
त त्यावहुल मंगण पैत्रे वेले, असा मला अनेक प्रकारांचा विचार लाभ देता तेठा मी लांगा 
सांगतो की, मी त्यांना की हाजिरांना योग्य खाती कारण दिलारांना नाही. खाती 
दिवसाच्या घटना जाणून घेण्याच्या दृष्टीकोणात देता होते. आम्ही आता घटनेचे 
हाघ हाफ्टी लांग करता, हे कसे, असे डॉ. अशुप सिंह यांनी माणेच 
दिचाले (पा. २५५.२.), तेथील बाबासाहेब झारणे, घटना हे एक पतिता मंदिर 
आपल्या वांचले, पण त्यांत देखील स्थापना आपल्या कस्तीला अनोदचक राहण्यासाठी विचार 
दिला व त्यानं दुराण्यांचा विचार केले. तेथील तो जाणारांक खोप नाहें करे? 
(पा. २५५.२) ते मंदिर जाणारांक त्या राहणाला ठेव करत नाही? अशे श्री, भी. के. पी. 
सिंह (विद्यार्थी) यांनी बाबासाहेबांच्या विचारांना. तेथील 
ते दिसले, ते बाबासाहेबांनी, करण हा राहण्यासाठी शक्तीप्रद आहे, आम्ही आपल्याचे दुसरे आहे. विचार व्यायामाच्या उद्देशीत होणारे अभूत अभे. तो नभ गर्दी काळ्य नाही.

बाबासाहेबांनी दुसरी विचारांना भरधुर भरधुर माहिती देऊन व विचित्र पदार्थां 
नेहमीतो विचारांना भेजून माणण केले त्यांचा त्यांचा माणण नी म्हणे वेल आहे:—

"Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay) : Mr. Chairman, those 
who are familiar with the British Parliamentary system, 
will know that there is a dogma in the working of the 
British constitution that all parties in England accept that 
dogma is that the King can do no wrong. If any wrong is 
done in the working of the constitution, the person respon-
sible for the wrong is the Prime Minister and his colleagues. 
But the King can never be wrong and can never do wrong.

चर्चा : संद कर्णरवा
We too in this country have adopted practically with slight modifications, the British constitution. But unfortunately the working of our constitution is governed by a dogma, which is just the opposite of the dogma adopted by the British people. In our country the dogma on which we proceed is that the Prime Minister can do no wrong and that he will do no wrong, therefore, anything that the Prime Minister proposes to do must be accepted as correct and without question. The devotion in politics to a personality may be excusable in some cases, but it does not seem to me excusable where the fundamental rights are being invaded. The fundamental rights are the very basis of the preamble to the constitution will have as its basis liberty, equality and fraternity. These objectives of the constitution are carried out by the fundamental rights. And it is, therefore the duty, I should have thought of every Member of Parliament, apart from personal loyalty to be critical when any invasion is made of the Fundamental rights. Unfortunately, one does not find this kind of critical attitude. The history of fundamental rights in this country is very interesting. In olden times under the Hindu Kings there were Fundamental rights only for two — the Brahman and the cow — and the Puranas described the King as “Go Brahman Pratipal”, that was the duty of a King, whether the other sections of his subjects received any consideration at his hands or not, or whether animals other than ‘Go’ had any consideration was a matter of no moment at all. So long as the Brahmin and the cow were protected, the King was destined to go to heaven.

When the Muslims came, they took away these fundamental rights which the Hindu Kings had granted to the Brahmin and cow. The cow unfortunately not only lost its rights to live, but became the victim of everybody. So was the case of Brahmin. What the Muslims did was to privileges to the Musalman and no rights to the non-Muslims. After the Muslim rule ended in this country, there came upon us the rule of the British. Anyone who examines the
various Government of India Acts passed from 1772 to 1935 will find that there were no such thing as fundamental rights in any of the Government of India Acts they were passed by the Parliament for the administration of this country. It is in 1947, or so when Swaraj became a fact in this country that this idea of fundamental rights emerged. It is our Constitution which for the first time contains the embodiment of what are called fundamental rights. It is a very strange thing that although the foreigners were ruling in this country, namely the British no one ever agitated for the enactment of the fundamental rights. The Congress was in existence from 1836. Let anyone examine the annual resolutions passed by the Congress. They never asked for any fundamental rights.

Babu Gopinath Singh (Uttar Pradesh) : Did you read the Karachi Congress Resolution of 1931!

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Well, I have no idea about that. They said that they would have Fundamental rights when they enact a Constitution. I am coming to that now. It is as I say a very strange commentary that no Indian and— the Indians who ran the Congress in the earliest times were intellectual giants, they were most learned, they were wide awake—not one of them to my knowledge asked for any fundamental rights. But as soon as Swaraj came, there was a demand for fundamental rights. It is a matter worth consideration why this happened? Various people would no doubt give various replies, but my reply is very simple. My reply is this—the reason why Indians did not demand fundamental rights when the British were here is this. Although the British had their imperialism as one aspect of their rule, there cannot be any doubt that the administration of this country was governed by what was called the rule of justice, equality and good conscience. Sir, I remember at least speaking for my own promise, how independent was the judiciary which wholly consisted of Europeans. How independent it was of the executive, I remember a case........

चरित्र: खंड अकराया
Dewan Chaman Lall : (Punjab) : It is Tilak's case?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : It is a very famous case of Justice Knight who was the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court during the time of the East India Company. He had issued a writ against the Government of Bombay and the Government of Bombay refused to obey. They said that the Chief Justice of the Bombay High-Court had no right to issue a writ against the executives when they informed him that they were not going to carry out that particular writ, what did Mr. Knight do? He called the Chaprasi and said, "Bring the keys of the High-Court" and he asked him to lock up every room of the High-Court, including his own, and next day booked a passage for himself and went back to London, saying, "If you are not going to obey my orders as the Chief Justice of Bombay High-Court, you will have no High-Court at all." Subsequently, of course, his order was reversed by the Privy Council. But that is no matter at all. The point is that the British administrated this country in a manner in which everybody felt that there was some sense of security. That is the reason why, in my judgement, nobody in this country demand for the fundamental rights, but as soon as Swaraj presented itself, everybody thought — at least many of the minorities thought — that there was the prospect of political authority passing into the hands of a majority, which did not possesses what might constitutionally be called constitutional morality. Their official doctrine was inequality of classes. Though there is inequality in every community, or whatever be the word, that inequality is a matter of practice. It is not an official dogma. But with a majority in this country, inequality as embodied in their Shaturvarna (Chaturvarna) is an official doctrine. Secondly their caste system is a sword of political and administrative discrimination. The result was that the fundamental rights became inevitable. What I found — and I know this thing more than probably many do, because I had something to do with it — was that the Congress party was so jubilant over fundamen-
tal rights. They wanted fundamental rights and they thought fundamental rights were so necessary that if the Indian people had a constitution which did not embody fundamental rights, they could appear rude to the word. That was the reason why they demanded for fundamental rights. In the proceedings of the constitution Assembly I do not find a single Member who stood up and said “We do not want fundamental rights,” Fundamental rights were regarded as a kind of an ornament which the Indian people must have. Today their attitude has undergone a complete change. Today, they took upon the fundamental rights as an iron chain which ought to be broken, whenever occasion arose for breaking it. This, I find, is a fundamental change. I am sorry to say that attitude of treating the fundamental rights with contempt, as though they, were of no consequence, that they could be trodden upon at any time with the conscience of the majority or the wishes of a party chief, is an attitude that may easily lead to some dangerous consequences in the future. And I therefore feel very sorry that even a matter of this sort, namely, the infringement of, or the deviation from, fundamental rights, is being treated by the party in power as though it was a matter of moment at all.

It seems to be suggested that those who made the constitution had no sense, that fundamental rights must be elastic, that they must leave enough room for progressive changes, I must, Sir, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, repudiate any such suggestion. Anyone, who reads the fundamental rights as they are inacted in the Constitution, will find that every fundamental right has got an exception. It says: Not withstanding anything contained the State may impose reasonable restrictions on them. We were quite aware of the fact that fundamental rights could not be rigid, that there must be elasticity. And we had provided enough elasticity.

Article 31, with which we were dealing now in this amending Bill, is an article for which I, and the Drafting
Committee, can take no responsibility whatsoever. We do not take responsibility for that is not our draft. The result was that the Congress Party, at the time when article 31 was being framed, was so divided within itself that we did not know what to do, what to put and what not to put.... There were three sections in the Congress Party. One section was led by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who stood for full compensation, full compensation in the sense that in which full compensation is enacted in our Land Acquisition Act, namely, market price plus 15 per cent solatium, that was his point of view. Our Prime Minister was against compensation. Our friend, Mr. Pant, who is here now — and I am glad to see him here — had conceived his Zamindari Abolition Bill before the Constitution was being actually framed. He wanted a very safe delivery for his baby. So he had his own propositions. This was thus this tripartite struggle, and we left the matter to them to decide in any way they liked. And the merely embodied what their decision was in article 31. This article 31, in my judgement, is a very ugly thing, something which do not like to look at. It may say so, and I say it with a certain amount of pride the Constitution which has been to this country is a wonderful document. It has been said so not by myself, but by many people, many other students of the Constitution. It is the simplest and the easiest. Many, many publishers have written to me to write a commentary on this Constitution, promising a good sum. But I have always told them that to write a commentary on this Constitution is to admit that the Constitution is a bad one and an un-understandable one. It is not so. Anyone who can follow English can understand the Constitution. No commentary is necessary.

Dr. Anup Sing (Punjab) : Last time when you spoke, you said that you would burn the Constitution.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : Do you want a reply to that? I would give it to you right way here.
My friend says that the last time when I spoke, I said that I wanted to burn the Constitution. Well, in a hurry I did not explain the reason. Now that my friend has given me the opportunity, I think I shall give the reason. The reason is this: We built a temple for a God to come in and reside, but before the God could be installed, the devil had taken possession of it, what else could we do except destroy the temple? We did not intend that it should be occupied by the Asuras. We intended it to be occupied by the Devas. That is the reason why I said I would rather like to burn it.

Shri B. K. P. Sinha (Bihar): Destroy the devil rather than the temple.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: You cannot do it. We have not got the strength. If you read the Brahmana, the Shathpatha Brahmana, you will see that the Gods have always been defeated by the Asuras, and that the Asuras had the Amrit with them which the Gods had to take away in order to survive in the battle. Now, Sir, I am being interrupted.....

Mr. Chairman: You are being drawn into............
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: ........into all sorts of things into which I do not wish to enter.

I was saying that article 31 was an article for which we were not responsible. Even then we have made that article as elastic as we possibly could in the matter of compensation. If members of the House will refer to entry 42 of the Concurrent List, and compare it with section 299 of the Government of India Act 1935, they will find how elastic has been the provision made by the Drafting Committee. Section 299 of the Government of India Act which governed the question of compensation described the following ingredients. One was that there must be full compensation by which they, no doubt, meant compensation in accordance with the terms of the Land Acquisition Act. Secondly, it said that compensation must be paid and paid in cash before
possession could be taken. That was the provision in the Government of India Act, 1935. Look at the provision that we have made in entry 42 of the Concurrent List, by which I hope Members will understand that the authority to determine compensation is given to both the State Legislatures as well as to Parliament, and the reason why we did this was simple. It was thus. We thought that, if compensation was distributed in List I and List II, so that the Centre might be freed to fix compensation for such acquisition as it might make, and the provinces or the States might fix such compensation as they might think fit, it would result in utter chaos in this country and that there must be some sort of uniformity in this. Therefore, while giving authority to Parliament so that Parliament might enact a general law which would be applicable to the whole of India and which might supercede any State law which be inequitous. That was the reason why we put it in the Concurrent List. What is the provision we have made? We have said that it is not necessary that Government should actually pay compensation to acquire possession of property. We have not said that. We have said, "Compensation to be given" and not "paid" so that it is open to the Government at the Center as well as in the States to acquire property without actually paying compensation.

The second distinction that we have made between section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and entry 42 is that compensation may be in any form, that either Parliament or the State Legislature might decide by law to give compensation in the form of paper bonds, cash certificates or whatever they liked to give, or they might pay it in cash if they liked it. We have also said that, although Parliament may not actually fix compensation, it may merely lay down the rules for compensation, it may merely lay down the rules for compensation, so that, if a law was passed which did not contain a clause specifically saying what should be the compensation but merely laid down the rules and principles, that was enough for Government to take
possession of the property and acquire it. Now, Sir, I would like to ask the Members of this House if they can point out any Constitution where the procedure for acquiring property is so easy as it is in our Constitution. Can any one point out to me that there is some other Constitution which enables the Government with greater facility to acquire property for public purposes? Now, with all this facility is there any necessity for the Government to come out with a proposition that there are cases where they shall not give compensation? They need not cast the whole burden, the entire burden, on the present generation. They are not asked to say that the bonds that they might issue must be redeemable. They may make them irredeemable. All that they need do is to give some interest on the bank as every borrower agrees to do and as every creditor gets. Why at all even the most hasty socialist should say, "Well, we shall not pay compensation", I do not understand. They are in my judgement three cases or three paths that one might follow. The first path would be full compensation, the second, no compensation, and the third, compensation as determined by law. I am quite in agreement with those who think that it is not possible to accept full compensation in terms of the Land Acquisition Act. I am quite in agreement with that, if by full compensation is meant compensation as determined by the rules now prescribed by the Land Acquisition Act, I am quite prepared to side with the Government and say that that is an impossible proposition which we need not accept. I might at this stage draw the attention of the House to the fact that we are not the only people who are bringing about socialism. What socialism means, nobody is able to say. There is the Socialism of the Prime Minister, which he himself said that he cannot define. There is the Socialism of the Praja Socialist Party; they don't know what it is. And even the Communists........

Shri S. N. Dwivedy (Orissa) : You don't know either.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : I am not a socialist.
Shri S. N. Dwivedy: You want to criticise without knowing what it is.

Mr. Chairman: Order, Order, You may go on.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Even the Communists say that theirs is socialism and I want to know why they call themselves Communists if they are only Socialists. It would lose all terrors which the word 'Communism' has for many people and they might easily have won a victory in Andhra if they had made a change in name. What I wanted to tell my friend Mr. Pant is — I hope he is listening to me......

Mr. Chairman: Of course he is listening with the greatest attention.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: What I wanted to tell him was this, that this is quite interesting. Any one who has studied the legislative programme of the British Labour Party, after the close of the War, will see that the Labour Party, according with the report of the Trade Union Congress, published in 1945, carried out nationalisation of various industries and various services including the Railways and even the Bank of England. I have not understood what changes have been made by the Labour Party in the working of the Bank of England by nationalisation. I am a student of currency and I know something about the Bank of England but there it is that they had it. But what I wanted to tell my friend Mr. Pant is this, that in every one of these cases where the Labour Party has carried out nationalisation, they have paid full compensation — full. That is to say, they have paid the market of the shares that they have acquired. Payment of compensation, therefore, cannot come in the way of nationalisation but as I said, I am quite prepared for that proposition because the values of the shares are not due merely capital that is invested. It is due to a vanity of social circumstances. It is social causes which have brought about the rise in the value of the shares and there is no reason why a private shareholder should be entitled to appropriate to himself the social values which have be-
come part of the values of his shares. I don’t also understand how the theory of non-compensation can be supported. In Russia they paid no compensation it is true. But it must not be forgotten that the Russian Government undertakes to give employment to people, to feed them, to clothe them, to house them, to serve them and to provide for all human needs. If the State can undertake to feed the population whom it has deprived of compensation. Then of course, in those circumstances, the theory that non-compensation shall be paid is a valid one. Why do you want compensation? Compensation is necessary simply because the State has deprived an individual of his instruments of earning a living. You cannot deprive a man of an instrument of his earnings and at the same time say, “Go and feed yourself”. That theory, in my judgement, is a very barbarous one. It is therefore not possible to accept it. But why can we not accept the theory that just compensation means compensation determined by the law of Parliament? Why not? It does not mean that Parliament shall make a law exactly in terms of the Land Acquisition Act. You can scrap the Land Acquisition Act. You have a right to do so because it is within the purview of the both Parliament and the State Legislatures. It can enact a new Land Acquisition Act with a new set of principles. There is no harm in doing that and no difficulty for doing that. If you do that, well nobody can have a right to complain because when you bring forth such a measure for determining compensation by law, all sections of the House will have a right to say what they have to say. It would be the result of common agreement. If one Parliament finds certain principles to be good and another Parliament finds that those principles are bad, Parliament may change but it should all be done and it can be done by Parliament. Therefore my suggestion to the Government is this, that rather than bring in this kind of a Bill, a bold one and, as I am going to show later, really a very trifling thing, its corpse ought to be carried unwept, and unsung and nobody ought to cry over it. I am not
going to cry over it because it is not going to do any good or going to do any harm, as I will show. Therefore, my suggestion to the Government was this that rather than keep on encroaching upon these fundamental rights from time to time, it is much better to give Parliament once for all the power to determine compensation. This tampering with the Constitution from time to time is a bad thing. I said so last time but I don’t suppose the Government has cared to pay any heed. I would like to repeat the same caution again and I should like to give some reasons why the Constitution should not be amended and tampered so easily. Any one who is familiar with what is called the interpretation of law by courts — and there are well-set rules as to how Statutes are to be interpreted — all will recall that there is a famous rule of interpretation which is called *stare decisis* which means this, that when the courts have given an interpretation for a long number of years in a very uniform sense, and if after a long number of years some lawyer gets up and convinces the court that the existing interpretation is wrong and ought to be changed, the courts say that they shall not do it, although they are convinced that the interpretation is wrong. The reason why the courts adopt this role of *stare decisis* is very important. The court says:

"Whether the interpretation we have given is right or is wrong is now not a matter of moment, for the simple reason that a large number of people have acted upon our interpretation as being the correct law, have incurred obligations, have secured rights. No to say that all these obligations and rights are founded upon a mistaken view of the law would be to unsettle the society altogether. Let therefore the wrong continue."

That is the attitude of the courts have taken. The same reason prevails, in my judgement, why the Constitution should not be constantly amended. People know that the Constitution contains certain rules, certain objections, and in accordance with them, they make their contracts, they
make their plans for the future. It is not right therefore, to come in every year and to disturb these values. That is the reason why I say the Constitution should not be so lightly and so frequently amended. I do not know so frequently amended. I do not know whether the Government would listen to it, perhaps not.

Shri Tajamul Hussain (Bihar): Why should they?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Well, Sir it is a habit. Once a cow gets the habit of running into the fields of another, you cannot covert her by morality. It is a habit.

Mr. Chairman: Go on, go on.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: In other countries wherever a clause of the Constitution has been interpreted by the judiciary in a way which the Government does not like the Government concurs in, it does not like to upset the decision of the court. Here, in our country we have cultivated a different mentality. Our mentality is that if the Judges of the Supreme Court do not give a judgement which is to our liking, then we can throw it out. This is what it is. I am rather glad with regard to the behaviour of the Supreme Court. In the short time that it has been in existence, I see some different phases of the Supreme Court being a sick person I have not been attending the Supreme Court for the last two or three years, but I am in contact with what is happening. I remember that in the very first flush of its power, the Supreme Court declared or had the courage to declare that a certain section of the Indian Penal Code was Ultra Vires. Our Government at once reacted and brought in an amendment to declare that the interpretation of the Supreme Court was wrong. .........

(Interruptions).

Mr. Chairman: Let us avoid comments upon the Supreme Court.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I hope that notwithstanding the constant amendments which the Government seems to be
proved to bringing forth, the Supreme Court will continue to have its independent judgement, notwithstanding what the Government may have to say. I do not find that the Supreme Court has given any judgement which any independent man can say, is not in consonance with the terms of the Constitution.

Now Sir I will proceed to deal with the different clauses in the Bill. The first clause is clause 2. This clause 2 of the Bill divides clause (2) of the original article 31 into two parts, clause (2) and clause (2A). With regard to clause (2) one has nothing to say, because it is merely a reproduction, probably with a certain economy of words, of the terms contained in the original clause (2). I have, therefore, nothing to say about it. But clause (2A) is a new thing and it must be examined carefully. In the first place, I cannot understand the meaning of this clause. It has not been explained by the Prime Minister, nor do I find any explanation from my Hon. friend the Minister for Home Affairs. What exactly is it intended to convey? It is a sort of mysterious clause it has been shrouded in mystery. Now let me analyse this clause (2A). What does it say? To put it in plain language, quite different from the language that is used in the clause, as embodied in the amending Bill, it seems to say this. If Government buys up ownership of any property, it will amount to acquisition and Government will pay full compensation in accordance with article 31. If Government buys up ownership, that is the important point. If Government buys up ownership, then that is tantamount to acquisition and Government will be bound to pay compensation. Secondly, it means that if Government takes possession of the property, then the taking possession will also amount to acquisition and the Government will be bound to pay compensation in accordance with the terms of article 31.

12-00 Noon

That is what the clause in the Bill say; what is it that will not amount to acquisition? What it is that is left
which Government can do and wants to do and yet escape compensation? If it acquires ownership, it is said, it will pay compensation; if it takes possession, it says, it will pay compensation because that would be tantamount to acquisition.

Shri Tajamul Husain: What about Solapur Case? It was only temporary provision for improving matters.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have got the case here; I shall come to it.

It seems that the only case which will be only out of these two, acquisition of ownership and acquisition of possession, is the cancellation of a license, because when you cancel a license you do not acquire possession and therefore, by reason of the cancellation of the license you do not become liable for paying compensation. That is what this clause means. I wish it had been stated in positive terms that in the following cases, Government shall not pay compensation but having been put the other way, the real meaning of this clause is very much concealed from the right of the reader. If my interpretation is right, then, what the clause intends to do is to exempt Government from the liability for paying compensation whenever it cancels license. Is that a justifiable ground for not paying compensation? I believe that the case which my Hon. friend Mr. Pant has very much in mind and which I also have in mind, is the case of the bus owners. The bus owners under the Motor Vehicles Act, have to obtain a license for running their buses on a certain routes. My friend Mr. Pant is a very covetous person, and he likes to get the monopoly of running the buses in his own hand and he, therefore, does not like the bus owners. How can he prevent them from running the buses? He has got the power of cancelling their licences. He therefore, cancels their licenses and sets on Government on the route on which they were plying and he does not want to pay them any compensation at the same time. The question that I would like to ask this: Is
this a just and fair proposition? I have no objection to the Government running their own buses. I do not know how cheap the fare in U.P. are, whatever they are cheaper than in the case of private buses.

Shri H. P. Saksena (Uttar Pradesh): Yes.

Shri Tajamul Husain: And better.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am not saying anything; I do not know whether they give good service; probably they do.

Shri Tajamul Husain: Yes, they do, the Government buses always do.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: But the point to be considered is this; here are a body of people engaged in this particular trade, who are earning their living by this trade. They have invested quite a lot of money in buying their stock-in-trade, namely, the buses, the workshops and whatever other things are necessary you suddenly come and say, "Stop your trade. We shall not allow you to carry on." Even that I do not mind but the point that I would like to ask my friend is this: the least thing that my Hon. friend could do is at least to buy their stock-in-trade because that very stock-in-trade would be useful to bus running by the Government. If it did that and then said that it is not going to give them any more compensation because the stock-in-trade has been bought with which money they could go and practise any other trade they liked, that would be quite an equitable proposition from my point of view. But the Government does not want to do that. In running the Government buses they prefer to buy new buses. The Minister has yet to give an answer as to why he would not take the old buses from the people whose licenses he has cancelled. No answer has been given for this thing.

Mr. Chairman: Dr. Ambedkar, you have taken nearly an hour.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Yes, Sir, that is quite true.

Mr. Chairman: Please wind up as early as possible.
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Yes, Sir, What I was saying was this, that in such cases it would be wrong to deprive a man of his means of livelihood and not to compensate him for the loss of his stock-in-trade. I would like to hear some argument on this subject what would justify this kind of conduct. Therefore my submission is that clause (2A) is a most inequitous piece of legislation. It has no relation to justice, equity and good conduct. Unless some friend is going to give some satisfactory explanation I mean to oppose that clause.

Now I will proceed to column 3 of the amending Bill. I would like to say at the outset that the provisions contained in clause 3 are in my judgement, most insignificant, trivial and jejune and I do not know what the Government is going to achieve by incorporating this clause in the Constitution. Now with regard to sub-clause (g), (h) and (i) of proposed clause (1), in clause (3) of the amending Bill, I have not the least objection because I do not see that by taking action under these clauses, there is going to be any injury to anybody. The essence of acquisition is that it causes injury to the interests of any body. I do not see that these sub-clauses will cause any injury to anybody, and therefore, I support the proposition that there need be no compensation in these cases.

But there is one thing that I would like to say with regard to these clauses and it is this that if any action is taken under these clauses (g), (h) and (i) it must only be on the ground that public purpose justifies it. It must not be merely an arbitrary act on the part of the Government. It must not be a whim that Government wants to amalgamate one company with another or transfer the management of one to another. These clauses must be subject to the rule of public purpose. If that is so, thus there is no objection to them.

Now going back to the other clauses, to (a) I have no objection; it may stand as it is.
With regard to (b) I do not know whether the first part of (b) is very different from (a). It seems to me that both are alike, but I would like to have some explanation as to what is meant by “modification of any rights in agricultural holdings”. What does than mean? There is no explanation. As far as I understand an agriculturist requires four rights. First is security of tenure; he must not be liable to ejection by the landlord without proper clause. Secondly he should be liable to pay only what is called their rent, as may be determined by a court if it is necessary. Thirdly he must have transferability of tenure. If he wants to sell his holdings he should before to sell it and the landlord should not stand in his way. And fourthly it must be hereditable, that is to say, if he dies, his descendants should have a right to claim the holding. Now these are the four things which I think a holder of an agricultural holding is interested in. Now Government would take power to modify these things. I do not know what is the nature of the modification and what are the rights which they propose to modify. I think some explanation is necessary.

Then comes (c), the fixation of the maximum extend of agricultural land etc., well, all that I can say is this that whether this particular clause will have positive results depends upon what is the maximum that you are going to fix. This is the pet idea of the Socialist Party. They want that land should be distributed after fixing the maximum holding of a tenant.

Mr. Chairman: Are not these matters to be taken up in the Joint Committee when it comes to discuss the thing?

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It may be but the point is this that it is necessary to know whether, these things are really good to be incorporated in the Constitution. My friend Mr. Pant knows because he was the Chairman of the Committee on Land Tenures in U.P. which I have studied — that the maximum holding in U.P. is about two acres for a ryot and I do not know that there is any part of India where ryotwari
prevails, where the holding is larger than two acres. What maximum can you fix I do not understand. Therefore this seems to me quite a futile thing.

The other thing about which I wish to make some reference is this. It says that the surplus land shall be transferred to the State or otherwise. I do not know what is meant by "Otherwise" whether it means it may be given to other tenants; that might be the meaning. If so, I would like to utter a word of caution. I am of opinion that peasant proprietorship in this country is going to bring about complete ruination of the country. What we want is—although I am not a Communist—the Russian system of collective farming. That is the only way by which we can solve our agricultural problem. To create peasant proprietorship and to hand over land to peasants who have not got means of production is in my judgment. 

 Shiv Tajamul Husain: Have they done it in Russia?

Mr. Chairman: Don't bother, he takes it as an illustration.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am prepared to pick and choose from everyone. Socialist, Communist or other; I do not claim infallibility and as Buddha says there is nothing infallible; there is nothing final and everything is liable to examination.

Shiv Tajamul Husain: That is why we are amending the Constitution framed by Dr. Ambedkar.

Shiv S. Mohanty (Orissa): And voted by you.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Now with regard to vacant and waste land. The proposition is of course a welcome proposition and I support it. But I have yet to see, if you take vacant land without compensation, whether the municipality which would have to exercise this right would do so because I fear a large majority of municipal councillors are friends of the slum-owners and therefore probably they will not exercise this right unless something more is done.
Now with regard to management all that I want to say, is this, Most people do not realise what is involved in this. If the Government wants to take up the management of a mill because it is badly managed, there is no harm in doing that. But the question is this. Suppose the Government management turns out to be worse than the previous management and losses are created who is going to be the responsible for those losses, I think some provision must be made. Nationalised industries so far as India is concerned do not appear to be very profitable. Our Airways Corporation, as I see from papers, has brought to us a loss of one crore of rupees within one year.

Shri S. Mohanty : And about Rs. 50 lakhs.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar : What other corporations would do I do not know.

But if you take the property of a man because it is mismanaged and because there is social purpose in it, you must also make provision that the losses that might be incurred are made good by somebody and are not put on the head of the old man who was the owner of the property.

Now, Sir, one word with regard to clause 5. It seems to me very obnoxious. What are we asked to do by clause 5? By clause 5 we are asked to give constitutional validity to laws passed by the State Legislatures. We have not seen those Laws; they have not been circulated; they have not been debated here. And yet we are asked here to exercise the constituent powers of Parliament not only to validate them but to give them constitutional immunity from the other clauses of the Act. Sir, I think it is very derogatory to the dignity of the House that it should be called upon to validate laws passed by some other State which laws it has not seen, it has not considered. The proper thing for the Government to do is to put these subjects in the concurrent field so that Parliament may at least give them validity by the powers vested in it. But it is a very wrong thing. Because we did it in the case of the first amendment where we
added the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution that is no reason why we should widen this anomaly and this ugliness in the Constitution.

That is all that I want to say”.


[Raw text in Hindi]


Chirita: Sandeep Awatara

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(S. S. More on Communist in India: The Most Dangerous Decades, by S. S. Harison. “More dismisses the Communists in his region as “mostly from the advanced classes. Look at Sardesai and Ghaite. They are Brahmins all the way (P. 190)."

मि. हरिसन यांची बाबासाहेबांची मंड दिली (आलियर रोड) वेळेवर २१ व २८ फेब्रुवारी १९५६ रोजी मुंबईत बैठून भारतात अनेक राजकीय प्रश्नांवर चर्चा केली, महाराष्ट्राच्या तपासकी कमांडूला आणि अस्पृष्ट राजकीय मुद्द्यांना काम करणारी कम्युनिस्ट विचारसाधने मोठी प्रतीक असेह, कम्युनिस्ट प्रवक्तेंच्या आमंत्रणाने अम्बेडकरने कल्पना करू नसलेले, कम्युनिस्टच्या मार्क्सवादी प्रमाणत काळात कम्युनिस्ट चूक केली, कम्युनिस्टिक चर्चेतील भाषण दिली डॉ. अम्बेडकरने असे प्रमाण मिळवले कि, कम्युनिस्ट प्रवक्ता मार्क्सवादी संविदा करून आम्बेडकरने कल्पना करू नसलेल्या आम्रपालांच्या अपन्न माहितीही माहितीही संपत्ती नसलेल्या आम्रपाळ्यांच्या अपन्न माहितीही नसलेल्या आम्रपाळ्यांची अपमानावट वाचली, किंतु भारतीय समाजातील जातीयदारी म्यायर उत्तर आणि कम्युनिस्टिक विचारांची बाबी स्थापन केली वाळ्यांना नीती आकलन आली. ह्याची शाखेची आम्रपाळ्यांना आपल्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना वाळ्यांना आम्रपाळ्यांना

The Communist Party was originally in the hands of some Brahmin boys — Dange and others. They have been trying to win over the Maratha community and the Scheduled Castes. But they have made no headway in Maharashtra. Why? Because they are mostly a bunch of Brahmin boys. The Russians made a great mistake to entrust the Communist movement in India to them. Either the Russians didn’t want Communism in India — they wanted only drummer boys — or they didn’t understand” pp. 190-91. Ambedkar on Communism in India — quoted in the book, India: The Most Dangerous Decades, by Seling S. Horrison).

२०२२ वर्षाच्या निविष्टत्तोत्तर फेडरेशनाच्या फार मोठ्या प्रमाणात परापत्र शास्त्रांमध्ये व्यावसाय कार्यक्रमांच्या विचारांत विचारांत उत्पन्न होणारे, प्रामाणिक कार्यक्रमांना अनेक अनुभव वेळ लागली की तांबे स्वातंत्र्य अंतरालांना अनेक मार्गांनी नसल्याअने असंख्य बाळी जाण्यासाठी ह्याची ईमानदार आणि काहीही कार्य न करता, तुम्हाच्या व्यक्तिके ध्यैऱे

२०२२

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आम्बेडकर
Scheduled Castes’ Federation Facing Crises, Mr. Shivraj likely to Quit Presidentship.

Poona, April 12.

Mr. N. Shivraj, President of the All India Scheduled Castes’ Federation, likely to quit the organisation soon.

This possibility is regarded to have been hinted by him in a circular addressed to members of Federation’s Working Committee.

He is also understood to have indicated in the communication that the South Indian unit of the Federation might secede from the parent organisation.

Chiri Sid : Andhra
Mr. Shivraj has accused Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the circular of having taken major policy decisions in the name of the Federation without the President’s knowledge it is learnt.

He was surprised to know that Dr. Ambedkar had prepared a new Draft Constitution for Federation without consulting him. Moreover, Dr. Ambedkar had not even supplied him a copy of it, though it had been circulated among members by Dr. Ambedkar himself.

Mr. Shivraj has protested, it is understood, against the former Union Minister’s action in having his name printed on the cover page of the Draft Constitution with the designation of President of the Federation, inspite the fact that Mr. Shivraj still continue to be the duly-elected President of the organisation.

SECRETARY QUITS PARTY
DR. AMBEDKAR BLAMED.

Poona, April 12. Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, a close associate of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for more than ten years, blamed the former Union Law Minister for the chaotic working of the Scheduled Castes’ Federation and resigned his membership yesterday.

Mr. Rajbhoj, M.P., and General Secretary of the Federation, took this “final and irrevocable step” owing to the ‘insufferable conditions in which I have been forced to work during the last few months.”

(The Times of India, 13-4-55).

भारतातील मागाळ्यात्या वाचांची तुडारणा चहतुत्त्र आणण्यासाठी कोणते उपयुक्त नोजारे बाची पहाणी करण्यासाठी ’ वेब्कच’ क्लासिस कसिशन’ची नेमणक राष्ट्रीयी घटनेच्या १४० कलमांनी १९२१-१९५३ रोजी केली. कमिश्नचे अभ्यास भ्रू. काकासाहेब काल्याणकर, एम. पी., आणि १० समालोच आणि तीन नस्कारी अधिकारी बाची नेमणक केली होती. कमिश्नचे कामकाज १८-१-१९५३ ला १६६ दृ. काकासाहेब अंबेडकर
कमिशनने आपल्या अहबालाच्या Government of India — Report of the Backward Classes Commission, Vol. I, 1956 (भाग १) तिथिने प्रकरणांत ‘जात आणि समाज’ (Caste and Society) या विषयावर आपलेच चिन्हाच स्वतःच व्यक्त केलेले आहेत. समाजस्वरूपपणे आणि अन्यांचे कर्मकांड, अंतर्गतही वहिंगावर जास्त निया देखील समाजात रुढ झालेली प्रभारि, अन्यांना हीन हडची वागविजयाची मनोरंजनी, बेहोऱे कारणीचे समाजात वर्णव्यवस्था व जातिविद ही उपलब्ध हाळी असे सर्वांशास्त्रात मत; या प्रकरणात व्यक्त केलेले आहे. जातिविद्या करारामुळे अनुपयोग असलेल्या राष्ट्रातील समाजाची स्थिती अस्वित बाईले हाळी. व्यांचा सांश्या माणसांच्या हक्क नाहीत. जातिमत्त नाही करणे हीती बहरीचे आहे, त्यातील कसे पर्याय केले पाहिजेत आणि कोणते उपाय घेतल्या पाहिजेत, इत्यादीही हुस्सेन महिला या प्रकरणात (पा. १४-२६) महिली हिरवाची आहे. या पुढीलाचेंच्या काळी परिणत मी देखील उद्धृत करतो.
24. The position of the fifth class viz. The Untouchables, was indeed galling. They suffered from many humiliations and were condemned to a life of degradation.

25. The excessive ritualism practised by the Brahmins and the extreme importance attached to the outer forms of observances had their reaction in course of time. Both Jainism and Buddhism were Reform movements started by Kshatriyas preaching against rituals and sacrifices and emphasising the performance of duty and the observance of right conduct. Buddhism spread over the whole of Northern India and a part of Southern India. The old ritualism of sacrifices was discarded and popular forms of worship were introduced. Hinduism gradually absorbed all that was good in Buddhism. Buddhism, in course of time, lost its pristive vigour and developed degrading practices. Shankaracharya opposed the metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism and reestablished Hinduism in the heart of the people. His doctrine of Advaita was so akin to Buddhistic metaphysics, that he was accused of being a Buddhist in disguise. Hinduism finally accepted Buddha as an Avtar of Vishnu and recognised the present age as being under (कलंकी अवतार) his sway.” (p. 18).

50. One of the evil effects of the caste system has been that general education was denied to a large section of the people. Knowledge of the hereditary occupation or craft was all education which a child got through its parents. The upper castes have one common characteristic, viz. they dislike physical labour and try to evade it as much as possible. The system of education introduced by the British suited these classes excellently and has helped them to secure a dominant share in administrative and industrial spheres.

51. Jawaharlalji has powerfully summarised the whole situation thus:

“...In our own period have arisen numerous movements to break the tyranny of caste among the middle classes and they have made a difference, but not a vital one, so far as the masses are concerned. Their method was usually one
of direct attack. Then Gandhi came and tackled the problem after the immemorial Indian fashion, in an indirect way. He has been direct enough, aggressive enough, persistent enough, but without challenging the original basic functional theory underlying the four main castes. He has already shaken the foundations of caste and the masses have been powerfully affected. But an even greater power than Gandhi is at work; the conditions of modern life — and it seems that at last this hoary and tenacious relic of past times must die.”

“The conception and practice of caste embodied the aristocratic ideal and was obviously opposed to democratic conceptions. It had its strong stations and did not challenge the established order. India’s success and achievements were on the whole confined to the upper classes, those lower down in the scale had very few chances and their opportunities were strictly limited. These upper classes were not small limited groups but large in numbers and there was also a diffusion of power, authority and influence. Hence they carried on successfully for a very long period. But the ultimate weakness and failing of the caste system and the Indian social structure were such that they degraded a mass of human beings and gave them no opportunities to get out of that condition educationally, culturally, or economically. That degradation brought deterioration, all along the line including in its scope even the upper classes. It led to the petrification which become a dominant feature of India’s economy and life. The contrasts between this social structure and those existing elsewhere in the past where not great, but with the changes that have taken place all over the world during the past few generations they have become far more pronounced. In the context of society today the caste system and much that goes with it are wholly incompatible, reactionary, restrictive and barriers to progress. There can be no equality in status and opportunity within its frame-work, nor there can be political democracy and much less economic democracy. Between
these two conceptions conflict is inherent and only one of them can survive.” (The Discovery of India — by Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, Chapter VI, Page 234. 3rd Edition)* (pp. 25-26) (Report of the Backward Classes Commission, Government of India, Vol. I, 1956, Part I, pages 14-16).


ही माहित्री देश्याची उदेश तर की, घटनेत नमुट केळेले राजकीय प्रतिनिधित्व या मानवीता लोकांना मिळाली मंडळी आहे किंवा नाही. उत्तर नाही हेच आहे. जे प्रतिनिधित्व मिळाले ते सत्तास्त पदार्थाच्या हेपमुंडांना, आणि ज्ञानानंतर ते लोक व उत्तरास्त अनेकांना गोलमात्र होताने राहिले. त्याना स्वतंत्र पदार्थांच्या बाजारी नगरांत लाँड कल्हन नाममयी लोकप्रियता मिळविण्यास व ती दिक्क म्हणून अनेक, एवढेच त्याना स्वतंत्र होते. त्यामागा उद्योगात भारतीय हरिजन व गिरीजन वाण्यांसाठी उद्योगात व दुसऱ्या व्योजन तयार करणे व ती राजकीयांना सुचविणे वाढावल वांत्रो नवतर. नवतरत्न वा गोरीची व्या स्वतंत्रतेने जाणवून नवटी व व्या तयाची दुसऱ्या नवटी. इतर काम हस्तान्तरण यथार्थ प्रतिनिधी राजकीय पदार्थांनी निवडली आणि स्वतंत्र होते. त्याना चांगलीत, स्वतंत्र प्रकाशी सुविधेच असेल हरिजन (व गिरीजन) नको होते. उद्योग आशी, या हरिजन-गिरीजन लोकांच्या कार्यात्मक स्वतंत्रतेच्या या योजनाच्या सरकारातून पैसा वाढविलेले तील व बुढाली पैसा त्याचे हस्तक्षेप व सोपोल्यांना वाना मिळवत असे, कारण हेच लोक व्योजनांनी पदार्थांकिती असत. नौक्यांतरी बालातीत हीच बालांनी असे. कर्ती ती भाषा: —

“Reservation for Scheduled Castes. Scheduled Tribes in Government Services and Posts —

१७०

राज. बाबाळाहेंस शंभूदेव
Section XIII 156-57 : pp. 95-106 — Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes:—

**Position** :— 1-1-1955/and 1-1-1956 (p. 97).

**CENTRAL Services**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S.C. Officers</th>
<th>S.T. Officers</th>
<th>Other Officers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.C.S./I.A.S.</td>
<td>17.17</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1125.1178</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.P. /I.P.S.</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
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**STATES :**

**P. 103 Police Deps. (1955-56)**

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Posts</td>
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<td>S.C.</td>
<td>S.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Class I &amp; II (Gazetted)</td>
<td>2,812</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Class II (Non-Gazetted)</td>
<td>1,06,486</td>
<td>5,398</td>
<td>3,133</td>
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<td>(3) Class III</td>
<td>1,95,378</td>
<td>9,527</td>
<td>3,767</td>
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<tr>
<td>(4) Class IV</td>
<td>32,663</td>
<td>3,299</td>
<td>1,310</td>
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**P. 104 Judicial Dept.**

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<td>(1)</td>
<td>2,309</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>5,084</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>13,072</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>129</td>
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<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>13,040</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>160</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Indian Foreign Services**


**Armed Forces of India (P. 100)** — No. reservation for S.C./S.T.

**Pp. 105-6 : Employment Exchanges**

1956 : Regd. S.C. = 1,76,945.


13165 Central Govt.
8704 State Govt.
6218 Other employees.

528 — Graduates remained unemployed
7331 — Matric unemployed
66056 — Non-Matric unemployed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>S.C./S.T.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>14</td>
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<th>I.A.S.</th>
<th>1-1-56</th>
<th>1-1-57</th>
<th>1-1-58</th>
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<td>17-18-29</td>
<td>2-3-6</td>
<td>1,178-1,232-1,486</td>
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<td>S.T.</td>
<td>7-10-14</td>
<td>3-5-5</td>
<td>672-714-793</td>
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<table>
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<th>Employment Exchanges 1957</th>
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<tr>
<td>S.C. = 178210 (56)</td>
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<tr>
<td>193681 = 57</td>
</tr>
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</table>

92,932 unemployed (31-12-57)
798 Grad. 10,331 Matric &
81,303 Non-Matric

1937-58 REPORT
Reservations XIII — 143-52
CENTRAL SECRETARIAT SERVICES
on 1-1-57

92,932 unemployed (31-12-57)
798 Grad. 10,331 Matric &
81,303 Non-Matric

92,932 unemployed (31-12-57)
798 Grad. 10,331 Matric &
81,303 Non-Matric
Alleged Sale of Girls by 'Rescue Homes'
Moral and Social Hygiene 'Advisory Body' Findings.

Hyderabad, July 28

Mrs. Rama Rau, Chairman of the Moral and Social Hygiene Advisory Committee, said here today that many of the rescue homes for women maintained by the Hindu Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj were anything but "rescue homes".

She called that the girls who claimed the protection of these ashrams were put on the marriage market and sold to the highest bidder.

Mrs. Rama Rau, who has been touring a number of cities with other members of the committee, was addressing a press conference.

She said that the committee found that rescue homes for fallen women maintained by Christian Missionaries were doing excellent rescue and rehabilitation work.

COMMENDABLE MODELS.

She heartily endorsed the missionary methods rescue and rehabilitation and recommended them as models for other social workers to imitate.

The Moral and Social Hygiene Advisory Committee was appointed by the Central Social Welfare Board to inquire into the problem of immoral traffic in women and children with special reference to brothels and the working of immoral traffic laws and the Children's Protection Act.
Mrs. Rama Rau said that the Advisory Committee was expected to submit its report by the end of September. She hoped that the Central and State Governments would undertake to implement laws against immoral traffic by that time.

She said that although laws against immoral traffic existed in several States the necessary machinery required for their effective enforcement had not been evolved by State Governments. It was essential that this should be done without delay. Recently a new Bill on immoral traffic had been introduced in Parliament, but discussion on the measure had yet to come up.

The inquiries of the Committee into the problem of immoral traffic, she said showed the bulk of the women were recruited from the poorer classes in villages and rural areas and taken to cities and sea-ports where there was a demand for them. When farm labourers had no other means of supporting their families in the off season they were driven by extreme poverty to compel their daughters to dedicate themselves as ‘Devadasis’ and live on their earnings.

LACK OF DATA

Mrs. Rama Rau said that the Advisory Committee was handicapped by the lack of proper statistical data in its inquiry.

She was wholly in favour the Government establishing and running rescue homes with the help of fully paid workers trained in sociology. Unless this was done, she said voluntary workers would not be able to tackle so vast a problem with any degree of success.

Mrs. Rama Rao said that the problem of ‘devadasis’ had been almost completely solved in Madras State. In Bombay endeavours to abolish this system of prostitution had not been as successful as in Madras.
The inquiries of the Committee in Hyderabad showed that there were at present 23,000 children of both sexes serving as domestic servants under the Parvardhan system. These children were virtually sold into service by parents who were unable to rear them. (The Times of India 29-7-1965.)

अहमदाबाद बेगीले एका गिरिजातील नाहीत, चहा दुकानांत खूप व अस्थित्य यांना निरनिराकरणात तंत्रज्ञ जात होती. शाहझानाबाद अस्थित्य कामगारांनी लूप विरोध केले. शीघ्रते अस्थित्य कामगारांनी चहा दुकानाच्या व्यवस्थापकार Bombay Removal of Social Disabilities Act 1946, या कामगारांनें फिरविरूढ्य केली. लुप्तिणित जंक्शन अस्थित्य विरोधी निर्धारणात आयुक्त दिला. व्यवस्थापकांना अतिरिक्त केले. श. प्र. के. ठाकूर, आंदोलन सेवा वर, अहमदाबाद, यांनी निवारण सुरू केला. निरस्तातील चहा चिकित्सा हे दुकान असराच तार्किक लेखांतै पिकाचे दिक्षण १९४६ व्या कामगाराच्या सेवा नाही. (लाईम्स, २४-६-५५).

सच्चायत पश्चातील गोस्वामी ह्या पंढरा व्यक्तीलही विचारात भूमिका पाहत वाबाळांकडून, हिंदुस्माजात समाज समस्तीची भावना निर्माण होत्या ती स्वतः ती कंठ आंदोली-मानसाची पश्चातील आहेते हे कल्पना व्याख्या भीतीत मर्यादा पडती. हा मानसाची पाहण व्यक्ता वाढणे वागणे की अस्थित्य समाज हिंदू समाजापूर्ण तेजच्या दृष्टीत राहील तेव्हा व्यक्ता आपल्यातील कोट्ते घटण्याची हिस्मत घेतले, स्तंभ हे देखील पालते त्याकडून लागते. राजकीय अन्वेषणात तथा जमा तोकाच होत्या त्या नसाहत ठीक पतिथा पत्रपंचायत देखील, दुसरा पचिसा महान हिंदू धर्मपालांना अस्थित्यांची राजसेवांना फारक मागणे. व्यासाठी त्यांनी बीच धम्म सिद्धांतांची योजने, त्यासाठी वाबाळांकडून प्रचारकर्त्यांची युक्त केले.

रविवार दिनांक २१-८-५५ रोजी दुसर्या वाबाळांनी बैठक अथवा अन्यथेस्वाती समा भरली होती. तित दहा (१०) तारा संजूर करण्यात आते. चांगली साठी ठराव असताच होते:—

१) महावर्ती आणि राजा विचित्रस्थळ, किंवा व स्थानिक श्रेणी वाळ शेरुपुड काहरू सेफरेसनच्या समाजानंदाने राहून जात. शेखाबादी जी पदत आहे ती तांडवटीय आलंबित नवपोलकी पसूंकी देखील, देसमार हे करण्यात आहे. २) महात करुळस्त राजाराजी धरण बहत विरोध आणि ३) गोशा सत्यासाहबर नामस्ते. (नववर्ष, २४-८-५५, पा. १).

चरित्र: संबंध अकारका
S.C.F.'s MOVE OPPOSED

Nagpur, August 27: Mr. Balkrishna Wasnik, Secretary of the Bharatiya Depressed Classes League here, had expressed himself against the All India Schedules Castes Federation's resolution for the abolition of reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes.

Describing the resolution as “lacking justification” Mr. Wasnik in a statement today said: “The plea for getting rid of reservation in the legislatures was thought to lead to the interference that Dr. Ambedkar now wants to do away with distinction based on caste system, but set against it his advocacy of detaching the Scheduled Castes from the villages and creating separate distinctive colonies for them. (Times of India, 28-8-55).
चारित्र लेखकाचा अत्यपरिचय

डॉ. भावालाहिय आंबेडकराचे चारित्रकार श्री. चा. म. तथा आंबेडकर लेखकाचे याचा जन्म पांचव्या, ता. लटाव, जि. खालास, रे वे १५ व्या १९०४ मध्ये हाळा, १९२९ व्या बी.ए. शाखे, एम.ए., एल्केएल० शी. र्नां भारत भारतीय पंडू वर्गीकरणास नोकरी सिद्धांताचे पर्यवेक्षण करत वाढत. त्येचे सामाजिक चारित्रकारीले वेळ व व्यक्तित्व १९२३ ते १९२४ या काळात अनेक निबंधकालिकांत संपादन आहे. १९२९ व्या त्यांचे 'अमृतनाचे' हे चारित्रकारीले व्यक्तित्व आहे. युनिभरसारे आंचल तुसकानन (अमेरिका) त्रिपावल रॉकेट मिलाच्या शाखा "Button Button... Great Tradition Little Tradition Whose Tradition?" या विषयाच्या अंत:प्रोमोशनल धारकरीत वा. नं. १० जानेवारी १९६६ वा लेख प्रसिद्ध शाखेत आहे. लांभ 'अमृतनाचे' दहावे, गोरखपर उद्धवत वाजते आहेत.

आंबेडकराचे 'श्रद्धा पूर्ती कोण होते,' हिंदू स्त्रियांची उल्लेख व अन्यती वाचने अनुवाद आहे. लेखकाचे याची कथा ते प्रसिद्ध शाखे. ती. आंबेडकरला लेखकाचा यानी डॉ. भावालाहिय आंबेडकराने सहायता आहे. आंबेडकरांचे लेखकांनी चारित्र लिखिताचा हृदयाने प्रचंड सामूहिक जमा करून चारित्राचे अद्वव लेख प्रसिद्ध करणारा. संकल्प केरिवल होता. १९२२ ते १९६८ पर्यंत ५ लेख प्रसिद्ध शाखे. ६ वा लेख चावत संस्कृत सहायन ग्रंथाने १८ नोव्हेंबर १९७१ वा शा यांचा मुख्य शाखा.

१९८२ पासून पूर्वी लिखिताचे काम म. न. लेखकाच्या अनुसरणात मंदिरात हाती चेजण ६, ७, ८ व ९, अंतिम १० हे लेख प्रसिद्ध साठे होता. ११ वा लेख आता प्रसिद्ध रीत आहे. ११ वा लेख मंदिरात हाती बेचला आहे.

पूर्वी प्रसिद्ध शाखेतिस पर्याय लेखकांच्या अधिकारीला अंबिकाव संदे १ (स्त्रीलिंग आंचल) व संदे ५ पार्वत दिवे आहेत. तांत्रिक श्री. लेखकांनी यांचा कट्टराची, अचुक व खास लिखिताच्या महत्त्वाची सांग करते.