



Ambedkarism and its relevance in achieving Social justice

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Abstract

An attempt is made in this chapter to analyse the Ambedkarism and its Relevance in Achieving Social justice through Constitutional provisions to the present scenario. Baba Sahab Ambedkar has enormous idea and personal experience on India's social, economic and political structure. Thus, he strongly argued that the depressed should have social justice in all aspects under constitutional provisions. In this context, this paper tries to presents the views and experiences of Dr B R Ambedkar regarding social justice in brief.

Key words: Ambedkarism, Social justice, constitution, Hindu Code, corruption, knowledge

1. Ambedkar thought

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb, was an Indian jurist, politician and social reformer, who inspired the Modern Buddhist Movement and campaigned against social discrimination in India¹. Ambedkar wanted social and political equality. He insisted that they must be secured before the Britishers departed from India. He urged that the country must be placed above community. He issued a call to the Scheduled Castes, telling them that it was the duty of the Scheduled Castes to defend India's hard won freedom and to avoid our Independence being put into Jeopardy for a second time and probably be lost for ever.¹ He told the scheduled castes plainly that when the British ruled the country, the members of the friendly relations with other political groups, but now conditions were different. They

should therefore, try to win the sympathy and friendship of all political parties in the country. He told them that as Harijan they were in a majority and no minority could exist without the sympathy support and cooperation of other parties.

Ambedkar submitted the Hindu Code Bill to the Parliament in October, 1948. He said, "I drafted the mail in conformity with the dictates of the smithy which allow several rights to women. The Bill was only aimed t removing the obstruction of law in the social advancement of women in wealth depends independence and a women must be very particular to retain her wealth and rights to help retain her freedom. Compared the Hindu Code Bill to milk which has been spoiled by mixture with a bilter acid on 5 February, 1951, he introduced the Hindu Code Bill. It brought forth various reactions and many objections. It was decided that the



marriage and divorce part of the Bill should be treated as a separate Bill. They decision was Parliament on 20 September, 1951; he vigorously defended the Bill in the Parliament. His reference to the story of Rama and Sita created an up road in the House. It brought forth bitter and scathing criticism and it's alienated the sympathy and cooperation of many more members. The opposition become to drop the Bill. On 25 September 1951, clause 4 of the Hindu Code Bill as adopted and the rest of the Hindu Code Bill was abandoned.

Ambedkar resigned from his seat in the cabinet on 25 September, 1951. He was not allowed to speak in the House. Unless he gave an advance copy of his speech to the speaker. He walked out from the new session of Parliament on 11 October, 1951. After his resignation, he started concentrating on the General elections due to be held in 1951. He was busy campaigning and canvassing support of the public for the scheduled castes Federation. He charged the congress Government with corruption. He declared congress Ministry take bribery. They get money through black market. They are corrupt it our ministry are of such bad character, you can well understand how their subordinates will behave and what will be the position of the labour under the capitalists. I had expected that our Prime Minister will do something in this connection and bribery, corruption and black marketing will end forever. But I am sorry to note that in his presidential address to the All India Congress General Session in New Delhi, Pandit Nehru stated that corruption is

ram part in other countries also and as such we should not worry very much if it is prevalent in India too. He further added that corruption and bribery is in a very small scale in India as compared to other countries. I do not know how Prime Minister is going the remove this evil when he is openly encouraging if by saying that corruption is in a very small scale here. Even if it is in small scale it must be removed what has the Prime Minister done in these direction? Should be keep quite of the Ministers and other higher officials of the Government are corrupt.²

It is indeed a tribute to his sagacity, wisdom and legal acumen that the basic philosophy and ideals enshrined in the Constitution of India. Have with stood the test of time and helped in preserving the unity, Integrity and democratic fabric of the country. Therefore, he has been aptly described as the Modern Menu.³

"It might be in your interest to be our mastery, but how it is in our interest to be your slaves?"-- Abraham Lincoln

It was not an accident that Dr. Ambedkar was a great educationist. He believed that no democratic process could be complete unless the masses were properly educated. He therefore considered true educational as the solvent for many hardened problems once he remarked that "changes in the human society can be brought about neither by mere counting of head nor by breaking of needs, but appealing to head as well as heart". He believed that even the experiment of Parliamentary democracy



would founder on the rock of ignorance and glaring social inequalities. He had sounded this warning in his last speech in the Constituent Assembly during the debate on the Draft Constitution of India.⁵

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was much splendored personality a jurist with encyclopaedic knowledge, as astute thinker, a prolific writer, a constitutional Pandit and a political leader with a charismatic personality. It would however, be as a militant reformer, a compassionate. Social rebel, and as a liberator of the downtrodden message that he would be long remembers.⁶

2. Historical Conditions

India has witnessed a movement against untouchability. The depressed classes' mission, which was started in 1906, held a meeting at Bombay in 1918 under the president ship of the king of Baroda and passed the "All India anti-Untouchability Manifesto". The Muslims claim for separate electorates was admitted by Lord Minto in 1906. Shiva ram Janab mamble, a depressed caste leader started a Marathi monthly "Somavanishya Mitra" to educate the depressed class by 1910. The congress condemned the practice of untouchability in 1917. In South India, especially in the Madras province, the non-Brahmins organised a self-respect movement during the 1920's to bright against the disabilities imposed upon them by the Brahmins. The Maharajan's of Baroda, Kolhapur, Pithapuram etc., have had helped the untouchability by providing them scholarships, free education with lodging

and boarding facilities. The Montague Chelmsford reforms of 1919 admitted the provision for nominating members from depressed classes to the legislative councils. After the completion of his studies in U.S.A. Ambedkar's stayed one year in England and came back to India in 1917 and joined in the service of the Kind of Baroda. By this time, many depressed classes association were formed even in the south India also.

"In the year 1917, Montagu, the then secretary of state for India came to study the different shades of political opinion. There different depressed classes associations which were formed at Madras by that time got interview with Mantaguchelmsbord and demanded the grant of separate electorates to the depressed classes on par with the Muslims. The Head of the depressed classes mission also interviewed Montagu. Ambedkar's was 21 years old and had not entered in the public life and social life.⁷

Ambedkar's entered to the service of the depressed classes in the they son 1920. He was participated in two conferences in that year under the initiation of the Maharajah of Kolhapur with the help of the king; Ambedkar's started a fortnightly Mook Nayak (leader of the dumb) by the end of that year. The publication of this paper continued till 1933 with the change of title as "Bahishkrit Bharat". In 1927 and as "Equality" in 1932. In this crusade against caste-oppressed and discrimination Ambedkar's organised Hindu-Temple entry-movements. In the



earlier phase of his life. From 1930 to 1936 he organised various movements to uphold the rights of the depressed classes on par with the other Hindu of India. He started an association called "Bahishkrit Hitakarin Sabah" in the year 1924 and subsequently he was nominated as a member to the Bombay province. He formed the Independent labour party in 1936 and dissolved it after six years. In 1946, he established "peoples education society" to educate the depressed classed through establishing colleges. In the last days of his life, Ambedkar's thought to establish a party called "the Republican Party of India" for the depressed classes to fight in the elections and to take power themselves, but he died soon.

A study of the biography of Ambedkar's with reference to social and political conditions in India and the related movements interested in the welfare of the Harijans, proves that Ambedkar's has not advocated any new principle that was not existed in his times for the improvement of the scheduled castes. But he was the champion of them because he had much the depressed class movement move revolutionary and aggressive in nature India witnessed the untouchably walling in the streets demanding for their human rights.

3. Social Settings

According to Professor Ghury, the outstanding features of Hindu society are: (1) Segmental division of society, (2) Hierarchy (3) restrictions on feeding and social intercourse

(4) civil and religious disabilities and privileges of the different sections, (5) lack of unrestricted choice of occupation, and (6) restrictions on marriage – endogamy as the essence of the caste system.⁸

The structural basis of Hindu society is caste. Caste is not merely a principle of social division, but a comprehensive system of life dealing with food, marriage education, association and worship. Caste is defined as a hereditary, endogamous, usually localised group, having a traditional association with an occupation, and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed, among other things by the concept of pollution and purity, and generally commensality occurs within the caste.

According to Dr. M.N. Srinivas, the three main area of power in the caste system are the ritual, the economic and the political ones and the possession of power in any one sphere usually leads to the acquisition of power in the other two.⁹

The basic principles of caste can be summarised as under: (1) in equality of mankind based on birth, (2) in equality professions, and (3) absolute and rigid social exclusion between the four main castes and the equality rigid subdivisions between themselves. The whole system permeates the dogma of Brahmanic superiority. In short, "caste is social.

Imperialism perfected by experience and maintained by religious sanction. This system functioned best in



a feudal, stationary economy with minimal occupational and social mobility. It is completely accepted by all, and it is everywhere the unit of social action.

Untouchability is a corollary of the institution of caste, and not a separate institution. The untouchables formed the lowest stratum of Hindu society. They were in that position for centuries together. The touch or shadow or even voice of an untouchable was deemed by caste Hindus as polluting. They were forbidden to keep animals and to use certain metal for ornaments, and had to live in the unhygienic outskirts of villages. This condition was miserable. They were denied the use of public wells, and their children were not admitted to schools attended by caste Hindu children. All temples were closed to them. They could not get service even from barbers and washer men. They were treated by caste Hindus as sub-human. Public services, including police and military services, were closed to them. Naturally they followed hereditary occupations and trades of a degrading order. The social segregation kept them untouchable throughout their life. They remained socially degenerated. Economically impoverished, politically servants of the upper classes and were permanently excluded from educational and cultural opportunities. They were born as untouchables. They lived and died as untouchables.

The Brahmins were regarded as the gods on earth. The exemption of property from royal claim, freedom from

being killed and such others were the privileges of the Brahmins. The four orders of society as seen in the "Parushasukta" denoted not only the origin of the classes but also a divine justification of the order of society.¹⁰ According to Ghurye, special rights for the higher classes and disabilities for the lower ones were almost a universal feature of a class society. The dominance of religion was manifest in every sphere. Social life lay for the most part outside the sphere of state activities.

In the Islamic medieval period, the Shudras and the untouchables were denied the "Human" rights of education, equality and liberty. The Muslim rulers created Sardars or noblemen from the caste Hindus, but did not confer these privileges on untouchables. The rulers thought that they would have to face opposition of the caste Hindus if they conferred privileges on the untouchables. In the Maratha Empire also, thought the untouchables, especially Mahars fought heroically against the Mohammedans, they were deprived of these privileges. Even the great Shivaji could not abolish the system of untouchability.

Energetic attempts to free Hindu society from the evil system of untouchability were going on since the time of the Buddha (500 B.C.). The ideological and spiritual attempts to abolish untouchability and establish social equality went on for centuries. Chakradhar, Ramanand, Chaitanya, Kabir, Khanath, and other saints succeeded to a great extent in



establishing spiritual equality and the Bhakthi (devotion) cult.

It was only during the British period that the untouchably become a problem for the Hindu social organisation. The western impact was not confined to politics narrowly defined. The social institution of caste came under attack as being incompatible with the idea of democracy. The western notion of representative institutions was based on adult franchise. What democracy asserts is equality of right privileges and opportunities and not the equality in respect of talent or character.

The Indian social reform movement began with the introduction of new society. The leaders of these new societies were influenced by ideas of liberty, a belief in the parliamentary system and the conviction that all men had equal rights before god and the law. Reformers had a vision of the new social structure. Based on social equality social reformers pointed out that the undemocratic institution of caste was not compatible with political democracy according to Tagore so long as society remained must there could be no justice in politics. Social reformers wanted the higher and the lower castes to have equal rights in law, education, politics and in every other matter under British rule, the Brahmin as well as the Shudra had equal status in the law courts.

4. The new context and social change

“Social change may be significant alteration in the structure and

functioning of a particular social system.¹¹ According to Srinivas, social change is brought about by Sanskritisation and Westernisation. These are linked processes in Modern India and it is not possible to understand one without reference to the other. Sanskritisation is both a part of the process of social mobility as well as the idiom in which mobility may be said to occur within the framework of caste, whereas Westernisation implies mobility out side the framework of caste. Sanskritisation can also occur independently of the acquisition of political and economic power. According to Srinivas, the introduction by the British of a western political institution like parliamentary democracy has also and contributed to the increased Sanskritisation of the country. However, Sanskritisation does not always result in higher status for the Sanskritised caste, and this is clearly exemplified by the untouchably.¹²

According to Srinivas, when the leaders of the dominant castes are sensitive to economic and political opportunities they are socially conservative. They do not for instance like the condition of Harijans to improve. They have a vested interest in keeping Harijans poor and ignorant. At the present time Harijans are their most important source of agricultural labour and if they become educated and conscious of their rights they will be a threat to the position of the dominant castes.¹³ The leaders of the upper castes claim equality for themselves with the Brahmin or Vishya, but so far as the



Harijans are concerned they seem determined to keep them where they are at the present moment.¹⁴

It was during British rule that India become a single political entity, the technological developments of the last 150 years of more made at possible to create an administrative communications network extending over the whole of India. British rule set in motion economic forces which upset the traditional Hierarchy and increased economic mobility and led to increased social mobility. The increased economic benefits went to the castes which were already at the top of hierarchy. According to M.N. Srinivas the policy pursued by the British government in India of giving preference to the low castes was in accord with humanitarian sentiments. It also had the effect of making the lower castes look upto the British for protection. It drove a wedge between the higher and the lower castes.¹⁵ The British policy was to perpetuate the regimes of social medievalism in India because that would strengthen the foundations of their political rule.

Removal of untouchability from which the depressed of socio-religious movements that sprang up in India during British rule. The attitude of the rulers, though not antagonistic, was not favourable to the untouchables. The government was careful not to antagonise the upper classes. It always sidetracked the issue as far as possible. Besides, the upper stratum of government officers was composed of Brahmins.

The intellectual renaissance of India has been a great casual factor in the rise of Modern Indian nationalism. The renaissance in India was characterised primarily by moral and spiritual aspirations. Revivalism was domination the renaissance movement. One of the greatest renascent forces was the Brahma Samaj. Which was regarded as a synthesis of Hinduism and Christianity? Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). Rabendra Nath Thakur (1817-1905) and Keshav Chandra Sen (1838-1884) were the leaders of the Upanishads and the religious devoutness of Christianity. It tried to establish a brotherhood wherein man would not be divided from man because of castes the Brahma Samaj (Prayer Cult) was established in Bombay and it threw caste over board. Swami Dayananda Saraswati established the Arya Samaj which tried to revive the ancient purity of the Vedic Society. It championed social reform. The ideological influence of the Ramakrishna Mission's charitable work and the theosophical society must be mentioned in this context. All those movements rendered valuable service, in their own way in reforming the behaviour patterns in Hindu society. The main problems that confronted the leaders, along with the political backwardness, were the caste system, untouchability, child marriage, widow, marriage and emancipation of women. A bitter controversy arose whether social reforms should precede political reforms. The most men participated in that controversy, man like Ranade, Agarkar, and Dr. Bhandarkar actively propagated



the views of the social reformers. Tilak was on the side of political reformers.

The policy of the 'accidental' school under Macaulay's leadership triumphed in the field of education. Western education created the foundations of a new type of intellectual and political life in India. Bhandarkar, M.G. Ranade, Chiploonkar, Tilak, Agarkar, Gokhale in Maharashtra; Tagors, Aurobindo, Vivekananda, J.C. Bose, P.C. Roy in Bengal; Vijayaraghavacharya Pantulu, Rangiatinaidu, G. Subramanian Iyer, in Madras and Hansraj, Shreddnan and U, Lala Lajpat Rai and Punjab were some of the notable figures with western education who took leading part in the socio-religious movements of the country. In Maharashtra Jyoti Rao phooley carried on his movement for social equality. He founded the satyashadhk Samaj (society of the seekers of truth) in 1877. Phooley's was a revolt against caste so far as caste and denied ordinary human rights to all the members of Hindu society. He was the first man who inspired self-confidence in the masses.

The democratic awakening of the depressed classes and increasing consciousness of their basic rights was a part of the general national democratic awakening that had taken place among the Indian people during the British rule. The humanitarian activity of the members of the upper castes reinforcing the rebellious struggles of the submerged sections constituted the social reform movement in India. Removal of untouchability became one of the

programmes of the nationalist movement. Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi declared in 1920 "untouchability cannot be given a secondary place in the programme without the removal of that taint, Swaraj is a meaningless term".

The introduction of railway's and buses, modern industries recruiting their labour from both touchable and untouchables, restaurants where all people met and the nearly developed class consciousness supplanting caste consciousness, where some of the factors that helped to liquidate caste-inequalities and caste-distinctions. The spread of education accelerated they process. It brought forth a group of intellectuals and passionate fighters for their elementary human rights and political demands.

The depressed class's mission society of India was formed under the chairmanship of Justice Sir N.G. Chandravarkar on October 18 1906 on November 11, 1917, a conference of the depressed class's way convened under the chairmanship of Sir Chandravarkar. The conference placed the demands of the untouchably before government. In 1917, a resolution in corporation these demands was passed at the Calcutta session on the congress social workers before 1920 were under the influence of humanitarian ideas, U.R. Shinde and Shivram Kamble did pioneering work in promoting the movement for the abolition of untouchability, Maharaja Sayajirow of Barods and Shahu Chhatrapati of Kolhapur helped the movement from its inception.



5. Influence of John Dewey

In this essay on caste, Ambedkar had referred to John Dewey his teacher, "whom I owe so much". Almost all thinkers and leaders of India were children of the liberal tradition of thought of England, but Ambedkar was the only leader who received inspiration from America. He acknowledged the debt to John Dewey.

The philosophy of John Dewey is based on pragmatism, and it is often called instrumentalism. It is a tendency and movement rather than a philosophy. It is an attitude and habit of thought - a habit of looking forward to results rather than backward to first principles. Everything is to be judged by its fruits, by its consequence reality is found in the flow of experience. Life is a series of problems to be solved, a succession, of real struggles with real difficulties, the spirit of pragmatism is the spirit of youth, adventure and experimentation. It is a forward looking philosophy of hope and promise. Instrumentalism shows how knowledge has arisen in the evolutionary movement and paint out the function of intelligence. Looking at from the above angle to Ambedkar we can very well conclude that his view and thinking of social problems was based on instrumentalism.

6. An Estimate: Ambedkar was a renowned scholar, distinguished educationist, masterly statesman, powerful debater, during liberator, authoritative constitutionalist, able administrator, and famous defender of the revolutionary social

reformation movement and the fearless champion of the downtrodden masses. In him culture, wisdom, wit, humanism, instinct of reason, spirit of rationalism, contempt for injustice and superstitions were harmoniously blended in right proportions. He was a versatile genius. Gandhiji remarked that he was fierce and fearless.

He borrowed the evidence from the scriptures to show that discrimination had been made part of religion to facilitate exploitation of bulk of the people by those who had managed to place themselves at the highest run of the social ladder.

He subordinated the national struggle for national independence and gave priority to the social emancipation of the untouchables. Gandhiji stressed that Swaraj would be unattainable without the removal of the sins of untouchability. The nationalist movement was influenced by the above teachings of Gandhiji.

Ambedkar united the untouchables, raised them to the level of human beings and put them on the social and political map of India. Because of his leadership the bonds between elite and masses have grown and an active education middle class has been created which is to a great extent absorbed in government service. He realised that the political eminent absorbed of the untouchability in a democracy where the majority ruled, was not the Brahmin (though he was against Brahmanism),



but the dominant agricultural caste. He gave insistence on rights and privileges to abolish Mahar watan, and the relay tried to break feudal bonds.

Ambedkar's legacy can be traced to three important institutions: 1. People's Education Society (1945) and its colleges; 2. Buddhist Society of India (1953) and 3 Republican Party of India (formed on the principles laid down by him, but after his death).

Ambedkar's criticism of congress and Gandhiji the organisation he made of the fight for freedom, naturally aroused the sentiments of the people and many leaders attacked him as anti-national and therefore pro-British. K. Santhanam remarked, "when hostility to congress became the main qualification for membership to the vacant seat (Viceroy's Executive Council) Dr. Ambedkar got his chance on the eve of the great struggle of August 1942 "Ambedkar wrote his book on "Congress and Gandhi:" in 1945, i.e., when he was the member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. K. Santhanam blamed him and remarked that his eminent was due to his hostility towards congress.¹⁶ Rajaji charged Ambedkar of disconnection the Scheduled Classes from the Congress movement.¹⁷

In America, Ambedkar came in contact with Lala Lajpati Rai who was exited from India when Lalaji knew that Ambedkar was an untouchable by birth, he tried to win him over and persuade him to join the political movement. Lalji's efforts to win over Ambedkar are failed. Ambedkar used to say. 'You sub judge untouchables and your remove

your political slavery, because of they the untouchability with not join the nationalist movement.

7. **Social Amelioration:**

As a mark of respect Ambedkar dedicated his book "who were shudras?" to phooley. The followers of phooley called Brahmins 'Enemies of the nation". Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur saw in Ambedkar a promising youth who might be able to lead the non-Brahmin movement. He asked him to consult Messrs. Little and Co. In London whether Tilak can be prosecuted for his statement – that Mahars were a criminal tribute.¹⁸ In another letter, the Maharaja wrote "the present scheme of self-government for India (1919) will not make the people free and equal but will only make the Brahmins powerful. A Brahmin origarchy possessed of political power will be a menace to the Empire and a drag on the onward march of the Indian people.¹⁹ At the end, he hoped that the non-Brahmins would get sympathetic hearing from the British. The Non-Brahmin movement demanded the protection and guidance of the British Government.²⁰ Until the ineffectiveness of the evil of the caste system became manifest. All this did not make may effect on Ambedkar.

Ambedkar on many occasions had analysed the causes of the failure of this movement. He said that the non-Brahmin parties prostituted their positions of power for providing jobs for their men and nothing more. The non-Brahmin parties forgot the class from which they came. He criticised that many of the non-Brahmin party men



tried to become second class, Brahmins. They have not abandoned. Brahmin.²¹ Phooley's ideas did not make progress among non-Brahmins Caste consciousness became. Sharp in 1916 when Montague arrived in India to consult the people and the Government of India about the future form of government²² to him, the main beneficiaries of the movement were the land, owing dominant castes.²³ Though he brought Brahmanism still he was not anti-Brahmin.²⁴

According to Ambedkar, the Non-Brahmin leaders had no loyalties to the cause; they forgot to bring the Non-Brahmin castes on equal footing. Marathas began to preach their superiority and the distinction between Marathas and Non-Marathas become of clean in all the party programmes. Even in the educational conferences of the Non-Brahmins, the untouchables were seated away from others for fear of being polluted. Even Non-Brahmins leaders like B.V. Jadhav asked Maratha to vote for Maratha in general elections. The untouchable community has no place in that movement. That is why the untouchability us though attracted towards the movement could not become one with it.²⁵ Non-Brahmin members in Bombay legislative council opposed the Bill for the removal of untouchability. The upper class Marathas did not support Ambedkar in Mahod tank Satyagraha. He said that Maratha were not progressive as they opposed the Mahawatam Bill.²⁶ He remarked "there is no man of eminence among them (Marathas) such as Tilak, Gokhale or Ranade."²⁷ In a

message given to the satyashodhak magazine on the 16th satyashodak social conference Ambedkar said "the non-Brahmins have off acced the memory of Jyoti Rao Phooley completely. Not only that but that class has shamelessly betrayed his philosophy."²⁸ Anti-Brahmanism became a progressive force so far as it tried to boost us the untouchables in general and Ambedkar in particular but the leaders of the non-Brahmin motives and they excluded untouchables from the orbit of the movement

8. Extracts

A few extracts from the writing of Ambedkar are given below. They express his typical views on different topics. "If one agrees with the definition of slave as given by Plato, who defines him as one who accepts from another the purposes which control his conduct, the untouchably are really sieves. The untouchables are so socialized as never to complain of their law caste. Still less do they ever dream of trying to improve their lot, by forcing the other classes to treat them with that common respect which are man ones to another. The idea that they have been born to their lot is so ingrained in their minds that it never occurs to them to think that their fate is anything but irrecoverable nothing will ever persuade them that men are all made of the same clay, or that they have the right to insist on better treatment than that method out to them."



9. Conclusion

Basing on the analysis we have therefore two possible methods of meeting the situation either to reserve seats in plural constituency for those minorities that cannot otherwise secure personal representation or grant communal electorates. Both have their usefulness so far as the representation of the Mohammedas is concerned, it is highly desirable that they should participate in a general election with seats reserved for them is plural constituencies.

“The new consciousness insists on dividing the touchable group into Brahmins and non-Brahmins each with the own separate interests separate electorate or reserved seats in mixed electorates are demanded both for the

groups in which the Hindus are divided. Before drawing with the problem of the representation of the untouchables something will be said on the question of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins”. “That the non-Brahmins are backward in educational matters cannot be said in any way to be their special interest. It is the general interest of all even of those Brahmins who are educational backward. The intellectual and social domination of the Brahmins is not a matter that affects the non-Brahmins alone. It affects and it is therefore the interest of all what remains then as a special interest for the non-Brahmins to revise their protection? The case for separate representation for non-Brahmins fails because they cannot prove to how a common non-Brahmin interest.

¹ <https://www.google.co.in/#q=ambedkar>

² Ambedkar, B.R. “Speech delivered at Gurudaspur”, 27-10-1951.

³ Susarshan Agarwal, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, “The man and his message”, Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi, 1991.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.27.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.27.

⁶ Sudarshan Agarwal, “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar The man and his Message”, Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi, 1991, p.38.

⁷ G. Ganni Raju, The life of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Hyderabad, Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Society, 1979, p-24.

⁸ Ghurye, G.S. “Caste and Class in India”, Chapter-I

⁹ Srinivas, M.N. “Caste in Modern India and Other Essays”, p.44.

¹⁰ B. Kuppeeswami, Social change in India.

¹¹ M.N. Srinivas op cit. P-49-58.

¹² *Ibid*, p-91.

¹³ *Ibid*, p-105.



¹⁴ *Ibid*, p-19.

¹⁵ V.P. Varma, Modern Indian Political.

¹⁶ *Ibid*,

¹⁷ *Ibid*,

¹⁸ Bombay University Ambedkar collections.

¹⁹ *Ibid*.

²⁰ Hurye, G.S.G. "Caste and Class in India", p.201.

²¹ Keen, *Op. Cit.*, pp341-350.

²² Srinivas, M.N. 'Castes in Modern India one other essays', pp.20-23.

²³ Khairmady, Vol. II, p.193.

²⁴ *Ibid*, pp.14-40.

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp.227-228.

²⁶ Ambedkar, Paksitan, p.128

²⁷ *Satyashodhak*, December, 1950.

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