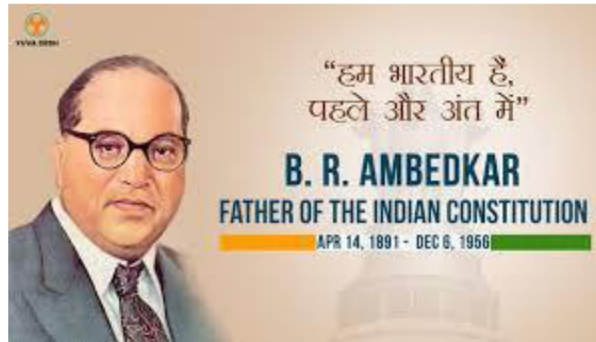


**Volume 4, Issue-3(5), March, 2017
International Journal of Academic Research**

Special issue on
AMBEDKAR AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY



Published by

Sucharitha Publications
Visakhapatnam – 530 017
Andhra Pradesh – India
website : www.ijar.org.in

Office Address

Dr.T.V.Ramana, (9948440288)
46-8-10/B,Near Aditya School
Jagannaickpur, Kakinada- 533002
Andhra Pradesh-India
e-mail: drtvramana@yahoo.co.in

Design by

SS Xerox, Visakhapatnam

Special issue on
AMBEDKAR AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY

Edited by

P. Aruna
G.A.K. Nehru
K. Radha Pushpavathi

UGC Sponsored
Two-day National Seminar on
AMBEDKAR AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY

30th & 31st March, 2017



ज्ञान-विज्ञान विमुक्तये

UGC

University Grants Commission

University Grants Commission
New Delhi

in collaboration with

Center for Ambedkar Studies, University of Hyderabad
&
Andhra University Campus, Tadepalligudem

Organized by
The Department of English



S.K.S.D. Mahila Kalasala (UG & PG) (A)
Tanuku, W.G. Dt. – 534211, A.P

Affiliated to Adikavi Nannaya University, Rajahmundry

Re-accredited by NAAC with 'B' Grade

Website: www.svke.net

Estd. 1982

Seminar Organizing Committee

Chief Patron

Sri Chitturi Subba Rao, Founder, Secretary & Correspondent, S.K.S.D. Group of Colleges

PATRONS

Sri K.V. Subba Rao, President, S.V.K. Educational Society

Sri Nandigam Sudhakar, Treasurer, S.V.K. Educational Society

Advisors

Prof. Rajendra Karmakar,

Special Officer, Andhra University Campus, T.P.Gudem

Dr. D. Subba Rao, Administrative Officer, S.K.S.D. Group of Colleges

Dr. J. Chandra Prasad, Director, SD College of IT, Tanuku

Chair Person

Dr. P. Aruna, Principal

Convener

Sri G.A.K. Nehru, Lecturer in English

Co-Conveners

Dr. B. Naga Padmavathy
Vice-Principal

Dr. K. Radha Pushpavathi
Vice-Principal

Members

Dr. D.M. Neeraja, Reader in Commerce

Smt. G. Kusuma Kumari, Lecturer in Physical Education

Smt. K. Vani, Lecturer in Commerce

Smt. G. Indira Kumari, Lecturer in Commerce

Smt. D. Durga Kalyani, Lecturer in English

Kum. S. Durga Bhavani, Lecturer in English

Dr. G. Amrutavalli Tayar, Lecturer in Sanskrit

Smt. K. Syamala Devi, Lecturer in Hindi

Sri P. Siva Prasad, Lecturer in Telugu

Sri K. Rama Krishna, Lecturer in Zoology

Smt. U. Lakshmi Sundari Bai, Lecturer in Mathematics

Sri K.V. Rama Krishna, Lecturer in Chemistry

Smt. K. Padmaja Rani, Lecturer in Physics

Sri V. Venkateswara Rao, Lecturer in Statistics

Sri N.S.V.N.A. Kumar, Lecturer in Computer Science

Smt. G. Aruna Kumari, Lecturer in Economics

Sri A. Naganna, Lecturer in History

Sri B. Samson, Lecturer in Politics

Sri A.V. Satyanarayana, Lecturer in Law

EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE JOURNAL

Editor-in-Chief

Dr. T. V. Ramana

Andhra University Campus, Kakinada - Andhra Pradesh, India, 533 005

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Prof. M. SundaraRao, Chairman, Board of Studies, Dept. of Economics, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam

Prof. R.Sudarshana Rao, Dept. of Economics, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam and member of State Finance Commission, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh

Dr.P.Subba Rao, Director (i/c), Centre for Study of Social Inclusion and Exclusive Policy, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam

Prof. Y.Somalatha, Special Officer, Andhra University Campus, Kakinada, AP

Prof.B.Kuberudu, Dept. of Management Studies, Andhra University Campus, Kakinada

Dr.V.Mahipal, Formerly Executive Director (plg) & Associate Professor, Assosa University Ethiopia

Dr.K.Victor Babu, Guest Faculty, Department of Philosophy, Andhra University – Visakhapatnam; Chief Editor of IJMER and Associate Editor of IJAR

Dr.J.Chandra Prasad, Director, S.V. Institute of Technology, Tanuku, West Godavari District, AP

Dr.K. Radha Pushpavathi, Dept. of Economics, S.K.S.D.Mahila Kakalasalala Tanuku, West Godavari District, AP

Dr. Zoran Vu, ISI, Rector, St. Gregory Nazianzen Orthodox Institute Universidad Rural de Guatemala, GT, U.S.A

EDITORIAL COUNCIL FROM ABROAD

Prof. Roger Wiemers, Professor of Education, Lipscomb University, Nashville, USA

Dr.A.Heidari, Faculty of Chemistry, California South University (CSU)Irvine, California, USA

Prof. Josef HOCI-ITL, Department of Political Economy University of Vienna, Vienna & Ex. Member, Austrian Parliament, Austria

Prof. Alexander Chumakov, Chair of Philosophy Department Russian Philosophical Society, Russia

Prof. Fidel Gutierrez Vivanco, Founder and President Escuela Virtual de Asesoría Filosófica

Prof. Igor Kondrshin, Member of the Russian Philosophical Society, the Russian Humanist Society and Expert of the UNESCO, Moscow, Russia

Dr. Zoran Vu, ISI Rector, St. Gregory Nazianzen Orthodox Institute Universidad Rural de Guatemala, GT,U.S.A

Dr Leo O.N. Edegoh, Department of Mass Communication, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University, Uli, Anambra State, Nigeria

Dr.V.V. Ratnaji Rao Chowdary, Dept. of Business & Economics, Wollo University Dessie, Ethiopia

Dr.K.Chaitanya, Department of CHEMISTRY, Nanjing University of Science and Technology, China

Dr.I.Ketutdonder, Depasar State Institute of Hindu Dharma, Indonesia

M.Ebrahimi, M.Ebrahimi, Department of Industrial Engineering, Amirkabir University of Technology, 424 Hafez Avenue, 15916-34311, Tehran, Iran

EDITORIAL COUNCIL FROM INDIA

Prof. M. SundaraRao, Chairman, Board of Studies, Dept. of Economics, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam

Prof. J.V.K.V. Pandit, Dept. of Political Science &Public Adm, Andhra University Campus, Kakinada

Prof.P.Dakshina Murty, Prof.in Physics, University College of Engineering, Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University, Kakinada

Dr. T.Ashok, Dept. of English, Andhra University Campus, Kakinada, AP

Prof. D. Satyanarayana, BVC Institute of Technology & Science, Amalapuram, AP

Dr. B. Naga Padmavathy, Dept. of History, S.K.S.D.Mahila Kakalasila Tanuku, West Godavari District, AP

Dr. Sudhansu Ranjan Mohapatra, Centre for Juridical Studies, Dibrugarh University, Dibrugarh, Assam

Santanu Kumar Das, Department of Business Administration, Kalam Institute of Technology, Berhampur, Odisha

Dr. Vidya. H.N., Department of History, Government Arts College, Hassan, Karnataka

Dr. C. Jaya Subba Reddy, Department of Mathematics, SVU College of Sciences, Tirupati

Dr.K.John Babu, Department of Journalism & Mass Comm. Central University of Kashmir, Kashmir

Dr.J.Ratna Prabhakar, Dept. of Commerce, 1. Government City College,(aff) Osmania University, Hyderabad

Dr. A. Srinivas, Rajiv Gandhi Institute of Law College & Dept. of Humanities, JNTUK

Dr. Kompella Venkata Ramana; Dept. of Computer Science and Systems Engineering, Andhra University; India

Dr. K. V. Ramana Murty, Dept. of Management Studies, Andhra University Campus, Kakinada

Dr.P.V.Subba Rao, Dr. C.S.Rao PG Centre, Dept. of political science, Sri Y.N.College, Narsapur, West Godavari District, AP

Dr.V.V.S.Rama Krishna, Dept. of Economics, Andhra University Campus, Kakinada, AP

Dr.D.Thirupathaiah, Dept. of Economics, S.K.R.B.R College, Narasaraopet, Guntur, district, A.P

Dr. E. Ashok Kumar, Department of Education North- Eastern Hill University, Shillong

Dr. R. Dhanuja, PSG College of Arts & Science Coimbatore

Dr. Bipasha Sinha, S. S. Jalan Girls' College University of Calcutta-Calcutta

Prof. S. Mahendra Dev, Vice- Chancellor, Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research Mumbai

Dr.D.K.Prabhakar, Department of Telugu, Jnanabharathi Campus, Bangalore University, Bangalore

Prof. (Dr.) Sohan Raj Tater, Former Vice Chancellor, Singhania University, Rajasthan

Editor-in-Chief, IJAR – March, vol.4, issue 3(5), 2017

Typeset and Printed (Sucharitha publications) in India:

IJAR, concentrates on critical and creative research in Multidisciplinary and multiple languages Academic Research. This journal seeks to promote original research and cultivate a fruitful dialogue between old and modern thought. Views expressed in the articles is exclusively of the authors, thus, journal is not responsible of it in any case

Visit: www.ijar.org.in
E mail: drtvramana@yahoo.co.in
March, 2017

C O N T E N T S

Volume 4

Issue 3(5)

March, 2017

Sl. No.	Paper Title	Page
1	Ambedkar's Economic System, Development and Planning – A Prospects : M.Bala Swamy	1
2	Ambedkar's notion of Social Justice and Equity: V.V.S.Rama Krishna	6
3	Social Democracy - Need of the Hour: K. Sudha	14
4	Views of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar on Democracy and Its Relevance in Contemporary Indian Scenario - A critical Analysis: T.Y.Nirmala Devi	16
5	Equality of Status of Women Recognized under Constitution of India: V.Vijaya Lakshmi	22
6	Dr. B.R.Ambedkar and Women Empowerment in India: B. Jyothi	30
7	Ambekar Views on Democracy and Human Rights: Kota Pallavi	35
8	Dr B.R. Ambedkar's Ideas on Social Justice in Indian Society: M.V. Devanand and G. Indira Kumari	46
9	Dr. B. R. Ambedkar - The Champion of Women Rights: Ch. Rama Devi	49
10	Socio-Economic and Inclusive Democracy – The Dream of Dr B R Ambedkar: A.B.Saraswathi, Satyanarayana Kanakala and K Venkatalaxmi	57
11	Ambedkar and the Constitution of India: Ujjwal Ashutosh and Sushree Sunanda Sahu	65
12	Integrated tribal development agency on constitution, Autonomous state: Pallala Rajakumar Reddy	76
13	Indian Constitution and Women Rights: R.J.L.P.Priyanka	79
14	Ambedkar and Social Justice in Contemporary India: K. Gowtam Kumar	83
15	Some Reflections on Ambedkar and Democracy and on Need to Transform Ourselves: M. R. Raju	86

16	Dr. Ambedkar's Thoughts on Democracy: K. Vani and G. Aruna Kumari	88
17	Women Empowerment in the era of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: N.Bhagya Lakshmi	<u>92</u>
18	Human Rights and Caste Atrocities Against Dalits: K. Sumitha	97
19	Electoral Reforms in India : K. Durga Prasanna	100
20	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his Contribution to the Indian Constitution : L.V.K.Prasad	110
21	The Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in Women Empowerment: S.M.Maheswari	115
22	Justice and Equality in Dr.Ambedkar'svision of India: D. Durga Kalyani	120
23	Human Rights of Dalits: B. Satyanarayana	122
24	Movements and Bahujanisation Process in India: P.Y. Krupavaram	131
25	Indian Democracy and Political Process: G.N.Subbarao	140



**Prof. M Mutyalu Naidu, MBA,Ph.D.
Vice Chancellor, Adikavi Nannaya University**

MESSAGE

I congratulate the Department of English, S.K.S.D. Mahila Kalasala UG & PG (A) Tanuku, for organizing a National Seminar on "***AMBEDKAR AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY***" on 30th & 31st March, 2017.

My best wishes to the organizers, participants and faculty Members of the institution. I wish the seminar a grand success

- M Mutyalu Naidu



Sri Chitturi Subba Rao

Founder, Secretary & Correspondent, S.K.S.D. Group of Colleges

MESSAGE

I am immensely pleased to note that the Department of English are organizing a two day UGC sponsored National Seminar focusing the theme "**AMBEDKAR AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY**" on 30th & 31st March, 2017. The present seminar is a timely gesture and provides an academic forum for meaningful discussions and spread. I congratulate the convener of the seminar, faculty and the principal for their academic Endeavour. I wish the seminar a success with a hope that the deliberations and the seminar will definitely enlighten the stake holders.

- Chitturi Subba
Rao



Dr.D.Subba Rao, M.Com.,Ph.D
Administrative Officer,
S.K.S.D. Mahila Kalasala UG & PG (A), Tanuku

MESSAGE

I congratulate the Department of English, S.K.S.D.Mahila Kalasala UG & PG (A) Tanuku, for organizing a National Seminar on "**AMBEDKAR AND INDIAN DEMOCRACY**" on 30th & 31st March, 2017.

My best wishes to the organizers, participants and faculty Members of the institution. I wish the seminar a grand success.

-D.Subba Rao



Ambedkar's Economic System, Development and Planning – A Prospects

Dr.M.Bala Swamy, HOD of Economics, S.K.B.R.College, Amalapuram.

Abstract: Ambedkar was attributed the key role to industrialization, favoured economic planning, particularly infrastructure and social service sector, progressive labour laws and planning with a focus on labour and downtrodden. In his written book the slate minorities, that calls for 'State Socialism' involving rationalization of basic and key industries such as insurance and of agricultural land and its working with collective farms with peasants treated as tenants of the state. And he was criticized the capitalism was mainly drawn from Marx but not the whole of it; although he agreed with the basis of it. And he was observed in 1956 on the relevance of Marx, 'what remains of Karl Marx is a residue of fire, small that still very important. The residue, in his view, consists of four items.

Key words: economic issues, Legislative Assembly, harsing, clothing, education, good health

Introduction

Babasaheb Ambedkar began his academic career as a professional economist. He obtained his Ph.D., in Economics from Columbia University(USA) during 1913-16, and D.Sc., also in Economics from London School of Economics (UK) during 1917-18. Both the Ph.D., and D.Sc., thesis are published in the early 1926's. As an academic economist Ambedkar has made significant contributions to the various fields of Economics. In the early period of his academic career (1915-25) the focus of his writings was mainly centered on themes like public finance, monetary and international economics, particularly during the colonial period. In later period the finances shifted the other economic issues. Later periods economic writings covered a wide range of interrelated issues, varying from prospective on economic development and planning, economic systems, the political economy of caste system and others. Besides academic writings he was also involved in actual process of policy

making and economic planning, particularly as a minister (in charge of labour, irrigation and power portfolio) during 1942-46. Ambedkar also expressed his vices on several policy issues in Bombay Legislative Assembly and in the parliament as a member of these bodies, particularly on the issues related to water and power development and labour. In this paper, I propose to discuss Ambedkar's economic thoughts, particularly on economic systems, economic development, planning, agriculture development and political economy of caste system and issues related to water resources development, labour and others. In doing this I shall follow the writings in sequence of time in which Ambedkar has written and also attempt to capture the changes that had occurred in his economic thinking over a period of time.

View on economic development:

Ambedkars view on the problem of small holdings, it began with a discussion on small holdings, went on to



an economic analysis of agricultural backwardness and ended with its solution in industrial development. The underlying assumption in the academic discussion was that the small and scattered landholdings were economically inefficient. But how to consolidate these small, scattered and economically inefficient holdings and, on the consolidated, how to maintain the size at an economically viable? In this connection, the academic economists was proposed time-fold solution, namely, the voluntary exchange of owned land to reduce the parceling and to increase the size; and, compulsory consolidation by the Government of farms of the village, including restricted sale of right of occupancy.

According to Ambedkar, the problem of small holdings was not fundamental but derived from the parent evil of maladjustment in the social economy. The household with a small holdings was unable to acquire and use factors of production in the right combination. In his view, the remedy was to siphon off the surplus labour to non-agricultural production. You short, in Ambedkar's view, industrialization of India was the best remedy for its agricultural problems, as it would reduce the surplus labour in agriculture. The cumulative effects of industrialization would lead not only to an increase in labour productivity and capital investment in agriculture but would also cater to the economic necessity of enlarging landholding.

View on economics planning: post war economic plan.

Ambedkar's entry in to the Central Cabinet as Minister-in-charge of the labour portfolio in 1942 coincided

with the formulation and implementation of the post war economic plan for India's reconstruction and development. He contributed significantly to the formulation of the objectives of the plan, in general, and the formulation of policy for labour, irrigation and electric power development, in particular, leaving his district impact on India's post-war economic planning and development.

The development of infrastructure, such as roads and communication and transport services, irrigation and electric power in the development of which Ambedkar had played a pioneering role, was treated as prerequisites for industrial development. It was believed that this would bring a relatively higher rate of growth in industrial production and employment and help absorb the surplus labour from agriculture.

Economic planning, labour and downtrodden

Ambedkar was personally involved in formulation of the objectives and strategy, and more specifically the labour policy and planning of water and power resources of India's post-war economic plan. He are particularly of the view that planned economic development should not only develop programmes but also translate them in terms which the common man could understand, namely, peace, harsing, clothing, education, good health and above all, the right to work with dignity. Ambedkar was also in favour of improvement in productive efficiency. But, unlike Jawaharlal Nehru, he was not merely a growth – maximiser of National Income.

Economic system



Ambedkar was attributed the key role to industrialization, favoured economic planning, particularly infrastructure and social service sector, progressive labour laws and planning with a focus on labour and downtrodden. In his written book the slate minorities, that calls for 'State Socialism' involving rationalization of basic and key industries such as insurance and of agricultural land and its working with collective farms with peasants treated as tenants of the state. And he was criticized the capitalism was mainly drawn from Marx but not the whole of it; although he agreed with the basis of it. And he was observed in 1956 on the relevance of Marx, 'what remains of Karl Marx is a residue of fire, small that still very important. The residue, in his view, consists of four items.

- That the function of philosophy is to reconstruct the world and not to waste its time in explaining the origin of the world.
- That there is a conflict of interest between class and class.
- That private ownership of property brings powers to one class and sorrow to another through exploitation.
- That it is necessary for the good of society that sorrow be removed by abolition of private property.
- View on political economy of caste system.

Another sphere where Ambedkar made a significant contribution is the economic analysis of the caste system. Ambedkar examined in greater detail economic principles underlining the caste system and the role of social and religious ideologies in the origin, perpetuation and

sustenance of the caste system and captured the nature of interaction between economic structure involved in the caste system and the role of Hindu social/religious philosophy in mutually enforcing each other. He also analyzed the economic consequence of the caste system on economic development and income distribution (or equity). The relevant economic attributes of the caste system, which make it a peculiar system of producer's organization and a scheme of distribution, are

- a) Assignment of economic, civil and cultural rights, particularly the property rights for each caste by birth and continuance thereof by heredity.
- b) Unequal distribution of economic and property rights among the caste groups.
- c) Hierarchical arrangement of occupations in terms of status and dignity – same occupations being treated superior and the others as inferior with a stigma of purity and impurity.
- d) Provision for a comprehensive system of social and economic ostracisms and penalties to enforce the caste-based economic and social order and
- e) Support and justification from the Hindu religious philosophy.

The foremost principle of caste-based fixation of occupation (or property rights) and continuance thereof, by heredity and birth implied that every member must follow the occupation assigned to the caste to which he belonged. It left no scope for change, individual choice and inclination.



The second principle on which the caste system is based that occupations and economic rights are not only pre-determined by birth but their division (across the castes) is highly unequal.

In brief view of Ambedkar's economic characterization of caste system is based on three interrelated elements, namely, fixed and hereditary occupation and economic rights by birth, unequal and hierarchical (or graded) division of these economic/property rights across caste groups and provision of strong instrument of social and economic ostracism to sustain the rigid system with ideological support from the Hindu religion.

Economic and social consequences

Ambedkar argued that the manner in which the customary rules regarding the occupation, property rights, employment, wages, education, dignity of labour etc., are devised under the caste system, it could not but produce vast economic inefficiency and income inequalities.

Ambedkar recognized that the caste systems basic feature of ascribed occupations for each caste implies exclusion of our caste from undertaking the occupation of another caste. Exclusion and discrimination in occupation, and unemployment of labour, is they internal to the system and necessary outcome of its economics. And he observed immobility of labour and capital, under caste-wise division, essentially means occupationally segregated, and imperfectly immobile market situations.

In this context, Ambedkar observed, that there are many occupations in India which on account of the fact that they are regarded as degraded by Hindu provoke those who are engaged in these occupations and stigma casting on them by the Hindu religion.

Conclusion

The brief synthesis of Ambedkar economic ideas, provides insights into his thoughts are economic development, planning, role of the state, alternative economic system and political economy of the caste system. This also brings out the evolution in economic thinking of Ambedkar since the early 1920's to the mid 1950's. The discussion on above issues are clearly indicates that although Ambedkar had written at different point of time in his political career, nevertheless, there is a common approach and thread which runs through his economic writings and thus present on internally coherent economic vision and perspective.

References:

1. Ambedkar's (1920), "M.A. dissertation on Administration and Finance of East India Company" Vol.6, pub. Edn.Dept. of Maharashtra (1989).
2. Ambedkar(1925),"Ph.D thesis on "The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India", London:King and Sen pub.
3. Ambedkar (1923),"D.Sc., dissertation on " The Problem of Rupees" London: King and Sen publication.
4. Ambedkar (1918), "Small Holdings in India and their



Remedies", Journal of Indian Economic Society, Vol.I.

5. Ambedkar(1943), "First Session of the Plenary Labour Conference, Dr.Ambedkar on Social Security," Indian Information, Sept.15, p.105.
6. Ambedkar (1945), "Multipurpose Development of the Damodar Vally, "Aug.23, 1945, Indian Information, Delhi, Oct.10.
7. Ambedkar (1947), "State and Minorities," Vasant Moon (1979), vol.1 Dept.of Edn., Maharashtra, Mumbai.p.408.
8. Ambedkar (1956) "Buddha and Karl Marx" Vasant Moon (1987), vol.3 Dept., of Edn., Maharashtra, Mumbai.p.441
9. Ibid., p.411
10. Ambedkar(1936), "Annihilation of Caste," Vasant Moon (1979), Vol.1, Dept.of Edn., Govt.of Maharashtra, Mumbai, p.60.
11. Ibid.,p.61.
12. Sukhadeo Thorat & Aryama(2007)"Ambedkar in Retospect" by Indian Institute of Dalith Studies, ISBN.81-316-0047-5.



A Study on Ambedkar's notion of Social Justice and Equity

Dr. V.V.S.Rama Krishna, Asst. Professor, Dept. of Economics, Andhra University
Campus, Kakinada

Abstract : *The analysis of Ambedkar's social and political philosophy is very tough job even though the researcher would like to make an attempt of his notion of social justice as a different perspective. Most of us only knew that Dr.B.R.Ambedkar was an architect of Indian Constitution and he is also a great teacher, educationist, lawyer, economist, anthropologist, sociologist, author, orator, politician, trade union leader, preacher and above all social revolutionary. In India so many social reformers emerged to fight against injustice in favour of dalit communities, however a few leaders successfully communicated their own ideas to societies towards the welfare of depressed society. Particularly, Ambedkar worked for the Dalit rights, women rights, backward castes, minorities and working class people and struggled all his life for the minimum dignity of all human beings irrespective of caste or class. The main objective of this paper is to discuss on Ambedkar's perspective of Hindu social system and his notion of social justice and equity.*

Key Words: *Discrimination, Hindu Social System, Inequality and Social Justice*

1. INTRODUCTION:

State has a fundamental role to play to construct a just society. India has been implementing social justice programmes through its reservation policy which is in reality a problematic one from its very inception. Since ancient times, the Hindu social system based on caste has proclaimed a social order which was the main cause of injustice in Indian society. All human beings are equal by birth but few people constructed caste system based on occupations which contributed to the evil practice of untouchability. Certain sections of society whom we call dalits were denied access to the natural resources and denied right to livelihood, this practice excluded them from the mainstream political participation which further added to vulnerability. Later, Ambedkar, the great

social reformer had addressed these issues in a different way during the independence movement period and thereafter Ambedkar's leadership provided a fresh path for over all development of scheduled castes and his whole life was a constant struggle against injustice in society. He addressed the problem of untouchability and came out with concrete proposals for the removal of untouchability and the upliftment of the marginalised and the excluded. Ambedkar's contribution is now in a critical juncture to create the just and casteless society. He believed that the root of untouchability lies in the caste system and caste in the hands of the orthodox has been a powerful weapon for persecuting the reformers and for killing all reforms. He felt that no socio-political reform movement could be successful without the annihilation of caste. He



wanted justice for untouchables as well as the weaker sections of the society by making provision in this regard in the Constitution itself. Ambedkar's just society is based on three fundamental principles viz., Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. But the present scenario shows us a gloomy picture of Ambedkar's idea of dealing with the weaker sections in the society. The ideas enshrined in our Constitution are not addressing the issue properly even after the 64 years of independence.

He brought dignity to the lives of the so-called untouchables what other social and religious reformers tried and failed to bring for centuries. He was one of the most educated persons of all politicians of his time with multiple degrees from India and abroad and wrote several books and articles to put forth his theories for the problems facing India at that time. He also proved that intellect is not the property of any particular caste or class but given an opportunity the most despised on the earth can also surpass any other castes or classes. His two well known works - Who Were the Shudras? (1947) and The Untouchables (1948), has for the first time analysed in detail the 'Shudras' and 'untouchables' which created a stir in. Ambedkar advocated human dignity, liberty, quality, and fraternity through the legal provision. Jatava observed that Ambedkar is the prevailing ethical and political drawbacks sprang from a total misconception of the meaning of human relationship, and the problem of rights human relations was the key to his entire thought and action. It was in this conviction and with an optimistic faith in human goodness, love and truth, which he entered upon his sacred mission. The aim of his mission was to arouse in men

and women the passion for right relations. His purpose was practical rather than speculative and his philosophy of life was essentially a development and evolution under certain conditions and events prevailed in Indian society' (Lal 1998).

2 AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUITY:

Dr.Ambedkar's main object was to reconstruct the Hindu society into an egalitarian society based on the principle of justice, equality and fraternity. Being the Constitutional maker he was conscious of the prevailing unequal social order of India and therefore laid down the foundations of a socio-liberal welfare democratic state that can ensure a just and equal society for all. Ambedkar was all sound and fury against social injustice. His weaponry was legal-political, his anathema Hindu caste exclusivism and his ambition social democracy. As a social revolutionary he revolted against the social order based on Varna, caste and Untouchability. The Hindu social system is undemocratic not by accident. It is designed to be undemocratic. Dr. Ambedkar was not a mere Depressed Classes leader but a defender of human right, of weaker and exploited people. It was the Colonial British Rule in India that initiated the course of Constitution-making. Keeping equal pace with the arising aspirations, developed proficiency and ambitions of the Indians to govern themselves, the British Authority gradually introduced Constitutional Laws. It is interesting to note that Dr.Ambedkar was the only Indian who was involved in the Constitution-making and framing activities in each of these stages since January, 1919 when he gave evidence before the Southborough Reform (Franchise) Committee, claiming



political rights for the Depressed Classes of India.

Dr.Ambedkar further stated that claims of equality of opportunity have no meaning in Indian social conditions, which don't allow equality to prevail, and effort by untouchables to secure equal rights are vehemently opposed by the so called higher castes. Ambedkar insisted upon separate political representation through election and to adopt alternative franchise system. To liberate the Untouchable Indians, (the producer servile classes of India), Dr.Ambedkar at the first instance placed a lengthy memorandum in the Minorities Committee of The Round Table Conference. A scheme of political safeguards for the protection of the Depressed Classes in the further constitution of self-governing India, submitted to the Indian Round Table Conference. The Depressed Classes must be made free citizens entitle to all rights of citizenship in common with other citizens of the state. All subjects of the state in India are equal before the law and possess equal civil rights. After the protracted, a decade long struggle, it was finally decided that representatives of all Political Parties will be elected to constitute the Constituent Assembly to finalize the Constitution.

3. AMBEDKAR'S PERSPECTIVE OF HINDU SOCIAL SYSTEM:

Ambedkar was against the concept of Hindu social system and did not like Hindu religion. Ambedkar believed that conversion of religion to give social justice in the name Buddha religion and he observed that Buddhism is the best way to be adopted to promote peaceful social livelihood. To quote Ambedkar, by discarding my ancient religion which

stood for inequality and oppression today I am reborn, I have no faith in the philosophy of incarnation; and it is wrong and mischievous to say that Buddha was an incarnation of Vishnu. I am no more a devotee of any Hindu god or goddess. I will not perform Shradha. I will strictly follow the eighty-fold path of Buddha. Buddhism is a true religion and I will lead a life guided by the three principles of knowledge, right path and compassion (Larbeer 2003) and also he quoted that the world owes much to rebels who would dare to argue in the face of the polite and insist that he is not infallible. I do not care for the credit, which every progressive society must give to its rebels. I shall be satisfied if I make the Hindus realise that they are the sick men of India and that their sickness is causing danger to the health and happiness of other Indians. Ambedkar took decision for conservation to Buddha because of the following factors.

- The rational consciousness of assessing things for better life of human beings
- The freedom of choice in which man realise his individual dignity
- The realisation of the life by transcending the lower plane of human existence
- The revolt against suppression and enslavement of humanity
- The change of traditional pattern of society for providing physical facilities
- The emancipation of ignored humanity and the revitalisation of overlooked

The Hindu religion creates caste system based on occupation. Justice



Venugopal says that the religion based on social system assigned a hierarchical position to each caste giving rise to conflict and disharmony. The caste system with its differential treatment stood for negation of social justice (Venugopal 2005). Gopal Guru Quotes that Ambedkar's view of Hindu religion is that Hindu law is that law of the established order and was made by the touchables. The untouchables had nothing to do except to obey it and respect it. The untouchables have not rights against the touchables. For them there is no equal right, not justice which is due to them and nothing is allowed to them. Nothing is due to them except what the touchable are prepared to grant. The untouchables must not insist on rights. They should pray from mercy and favour and rest content with what is offered (Guru 2002). This is rightly pointed out that Hindu law is against the equal right among all communities. The touchable communities create untouchable community and were treated as slaves.

Ambedkar says that caste is an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units each one prevented from fusing into another group though the custom of endogamy (Larbeer 2003). He quotes Caste is the monster that crosses your path, you cannot have political reform, and you cannot have economic reform, unless you kill this monster (Kazeha1988). He believed that the root of untouchability is the caste system, the roots of the caste system is religion attached to Varnashram, the root of Varnashram is the Brahminical religion, and the root of Brahminical religion is authorisation of power (Lal 1998). Ambedkar said that the major discriminatory features of casteism are Hierarchy, Lack of social efficiency,

Social immobility, Responsible for disruptive tendencies and Excommunication.

According to Ambedkar, caste is religion and religion is anything but an institution. It may be institutionalised by not the same as the institution in which it is embedded. Religion is an influence or force suffused through the life of each individual mold his character determining his actions and reactions, his likes and dislikes. These likes and dislikes, action and reactions are not institution, which can be lopped off. They are forces and influences, which can be dealt with by controlling them or counteraction them. If social forces are to be prevented from contaminating politics and perverting it to the aggrandizement of the few and the degradation of the many them it follows that it will contain mechanism, which will bottle the prejudices and nullity and injustice, which the social forces are likely to cause if they were let loose (Vijayan 2006).The castes were enclosed unites and it is their conspiracy with clear conscience that compels the ex-communicated the make is merciless and it is in obedience to its force that some unfortunate groups find themselves closed out, with the result that new groups by a mechanical law are constantly being converted into castes in a wildering multiplicity. The research feels that the existing Hindu social system was against the just social order. Ambedkar argued that the Brahmins were dominated Hindu society who was said that the fundamental principles of Brahminism are -

- ❖ Graded inequality between the different classes
- ❖ Complete disarmament the Shudras and the untouchables



- ❖ Complete prohibitions of education of the Shudras and the untouchables
- ❖ Ban on the Shudras and the untouchables occupying power and authority
- ❖ Complete subjugation and suppression of women

He suggested that the following changes in the Hindu outlook:

- There should be one and only one standard work of Hindu religion acceptable to all Hindus and recognised by all
- Priesthood among Hindu should be abolished.
- No ceremony should be allowing to be performed by a priest who does not hold a legally valid same,
- Priests should be servants of the state and should be subject to disciplinary action and
- The number of priests should be legally limited according the requirements of the state (Lal 1998 & Sing 1997).

4. AMBEDKAR'S NOTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE:

Injustice is everywhere not only in western countries but also in India. At present one of the contemporary issues is that injustice and caste discrimination. Ambedkar did a movement amongst marginalised communities. His concept of justice generated from the French Revolution of 1789. Ambedkar's perspective of social justice is based on social democracy which consists of three concepts of justice namely liberty, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar addressed in constituent assembly that

the third thing we must do is not to be content with mere political democracy. We must make out political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life, which recognises liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separated items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy (Larbeer 2003). These principles are fundamental rocks of Just Society Order and were origin from France revolution. Raphael admits justice and liberty are the two basic ideas of all political thought. Every society needs some sort of concept concerning that structure. Justice is the basic concept of social values; it is what holds a society together (Raphael1986). His concept of liberty is a fundamentalism among political and philosophy thought.

According to Ambedkar, liberty has divided into two categories namely Civil Liberty and Political Liberty. Ambedkar's notion of civil liberty deals with three basic opinions; which are Liberty of movement, Liberty of speech and Liberty of action. Civil liberties are often formally guaranteed in Indian constitution but ignored in practice which came from Bill of Rights. Civil right is often used to refer to one or more of these liberties or indirectly to the obligation of government to protect dalits from violations of one or more of their civil liberties. Hindu Temples are continued to be spaces for oppressing and resistance and remain a major source of caste clashes in southern district of Tamil



Nadu. Dalits are at the receiving end in issues like enter to temples and rights to participate in festivals and they face stiff opposition and attack from caste Hindus (The Hindu, June 14, 2009). It highlights that dalit communities do not have accessing civil rights and they are not allowed inside temples. Dalit have little access to temples, kids made to sit separately in schools. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes in Chandigarh received 3-4 complaints daily. National Crime Record Bureau 2007 reported that there is an increase of 10.9% in crime against Scheduled Castes as 27070 cases reported in 2006 have increased to 30031 cases in 2007 under various crimes.

The political liberty consists in the rights of the individual to share in the framing of law and in the making and unmaking of governments. He believed that liberty is accompanied with social and economic equality and there must be knowledge (education) made available to all. These liberties are restricted by old Hindu social system but these are the part of the human liberty to crate just social order. (Massey 2005). What does fraternity mean? Ambedkar gives answer is that Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians, all Indians being one people. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life (Jatava 2006). He believed that democracy offers every individual achieve social equality, economic and political justice guaranteed in the preamble of the constitution. Liberty, equality and fraternity should be the only alternative to abolition caste society (Rajasekhriah & Jayaraj 1991). He argued that liberty cannot be divorced from equality; equality cannot be divorced from fraternity. With equality,

liberty would produce and kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things. It would require a constable to enforce them. We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian society. One of these is equality (Larbeer 2003). Political democracy gives equal rights for everyone which assures legal provision to all. Ambedkar believed One Man One Value which means the basic need of each person are well satisfied with freedom and dignity. Social and economic democracies are the issues of the fiber political democracy. The social and economic problem of our society seeks to envisage and whole-heartedly supports the system of fundamental rights of man in the constitution of free India. According to B.R.Ambedkar, combine individualism and socialism through the introduction of state socialisms, by means of the law of the constitution. Liberty retains the modified capitalist system of social economic, while it gives greater concessions to the poor, the fallen and the weak, under a parliamentary form of government (Jatava 1997). Ambedkar's concept of State Socialism is based on the following points.

- State ownership of agricultural and key industries to meet the demands of the poorer strata of society
- Maintenance of productive resources by the state and
- A just distribution of the common produce among the different people without any distinction of castes or creed (Jadhav 1991).

Ambedkar believed that all man have value capacities, which can be measured



easily by their coreligionists. Everyone has some value contribution in the civic order, in which he lives. Therefore, everyone must have an equal voice or share in the determination of the law of his land. He demands that the protection of law, equally and ethically, status be accorded to every member, without any regard to group moral status. State should allow participating in all democratic institution and be given their legal rights. Ambedkar believed that the rights are equal and common to all humans. He says that we are demanding equal rights which are the common possession of the entire humanity but due to inhibitions created by the shastras we have been denied these human rights (Larbeer 2003). He further says that rights are protected not by law but the social and moral conscience of society. If social conscience is such that it is prepared to recognise the rights, which law chooses to enact, rights will be safe and secure. But if the fundamental rights are opposed by the community, no law, no parliament, no judiciary can guarantee them in the real sense of the word. The political equality lies in that the poor masses become educated and can make themselves so conscious of their rights that the governing classes cannot usurp their productive labour values. The economic equality emphasises the quality of opportunity. It is a legitimate demand of the present generation worth and works. Ambedkar suggested that the state control through the law of constitution is work consideration; it can provide everyone with full equality of opportunity as one part of social justice. The state socialism is a worthy proposition, which envisage the placing of some economic restraints by the state upon the owners of the means of production.

5. CONCLUSION:

Ambedkar's notion of social justice is based on equal rights and human dignity through legal framework. As the result of his thought, Indian constitution guarantees equal right to all. He was the first person to demand separate electorates and reservation system in favour of dalits in round table conference even three round table conferences failed. Ambedkar realised that affirmative action is only way to improvement of dalit communities which safeguards through legal institutions. Ambedkar did not encourage the aspiration of caste system within India and Caste system generates inhuman practice among the communities. Ambedkar believed that economically dalits are very poor which they are lack access to political, social and economic power. Ambedkar's ideas are supported on sustainable development of dalit through legal and constitutional provisions and also by organising them for fighting for fundamental rights. These are banned by upper community in India and crime increased against them.

The execution body will be strengthening by the state through social democracy. Moreover, Ambedkar's socio-economic and political notion has accepted by everyone to address contemporary socio-political issues. Ambedkar did consider dalit representation into mainstream political arena which generates dalit movement in various Indian states for freedom and justice. He also believed that law is an important powerful weapon to fight against discrimination. This study observed that Ambedkar's notion of social justice could not achieve as a proper manner and his concept of justice will be propagated by institutions



through civil society. Dalit and non-dalit community shall come forward to understand of his idea. Ambedkar concerned about overall development of vulnerable section of the Indian society and demolished exerting castes discrimination by enacting constitution. Therefore, Ambedkar's notion of social justice is relevant in contemporary Indian society to accomplishing just society within framework of constitutional and legal methods.

REFERENCES:

Gopal Guru (1998), Understanding Ambedkar's Construction of National Movement", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 4, January 24-30, pp. 156-157.

Gopal Guru (2002), Ambedkar's Idea of Social Justice' in Ghanshyam Shah (ed), *Dalits and the State*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi.

Jadhav Narendra (1991), Neglected Economic Thought of Babasaheb Ambedkar', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. 15, April. 13, pp. 980-982.

Jatava D.R., (1997), *Social Philosophy of B.R.Ambedkar*, Rawat Publication, New Delhi.

Kazeha K.S., (1998), B.R.Ambedkar; The Architect of the Constitution', in Shymlal & Sazena K.S. (ed), *Ambedkar and National Building*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur.

Mohan Larbeer, P. (2003), *Ambedkar on Religion: A Liberative Perspective*, ISPCK, New Delhi.

Rajasekhriah A.M. & Hemalata Jayaraj (1991), *Political Philosophy of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar*, The Indian Journal of

Political Science, Vol. 52, No. 3, July – September.

Vijayan P.P. (2006), *Reservation Policy and Judicial Activism*, Kalpaz Publication, New Delhi

Shyam Lal (1998), Ambedkar and Social Justice, in Shymlal & K.S.Sazena(ed), *Ambedkar and National Building*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur.

Sing Surendra (1997), *Dr.B.R.Ambedkar Contribution to Social Justice in Mohammad Shabbir (ed), B.R.Ambedkar Study in Law and Society*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur.



Social Democracy - Need of the Hour

Dr K. Sudha, Assistant Professor, Damodaram Sanjivayya National Law University,
Sabbavaram, Visakhapatnam District

Abstract: *The present paper explains the need of social democracy. Dr. Ambedkar was not being cynical. Being a person closer to reality, he was simply stating the obvious. It is a raw expression of his fears which are unfolding before us. This statement has still not lost its relevance. Whether we as a country have achieved social and economic democracy after 70 years of Independence behind us, is a much debatable question. A lot of introspection is necessary. Our Constitution has weathered several challenges, political, economic and social. The intensity of some events caused violent jolts in the body polity of India. Civil society should be prepared for this change. Without such a change the State would be pandering to the requirements of a political class which do not require State patronage.*

Key words: *Constitution, Civil society, equality*

Introduction

On 25 November 1949 in his last speech in the Constituent Assembly Dr BR Ambedkar, Chairman, Constitution Drafting Committee and an original thinker of our times with a lot trepidation in his heart had stated

“On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of

political democracy which this Assembly has laboriously built up.”

Dr. Ambedkar and Social Democracy

By saying this Dr. Ambedkar was not being cynical. Being a person closer to reality, he was simply stating the obvious. It is a raw expression of his fears which are unfolding before us. This statement has still not lost its relevance. Whether we as a country have achieved social and economic democracy after 70 years of Independence behind us, is a much debatable question. A lot of introspection is necessary. Our Constitution has weathered several challenges, political, economic and social. The intensity of some events caused violent jolts in the body polity of India. The downtrodden of this country had to wake up to a rude shock when Kilvenmani, Karamchedu, Chundurur, Khairlanji, Una and other massacres took place throughout the length and breadth of the country. Young adults who want to cross the frontiers of caste are lynched to death by the vanniyaars of Tamilnadu and jats of Haryana. Khappanchayats



still take place while this country is marching towards modernity or something beyond it. When a girl claiming her family's title over a piece of land in Khairlanji and when a dalit boy wants to marry a vanniyar girl of his choice in Dharmapuri die, they do not die with dignity. Dignity is something which is elusive in their lives and in their deaths. These are the fears of Dr Ambedkar come true. We achieved political democracy but failed to attain social democracy. This contradiction is leading to turbulence in the society.

People are drawing different conclusions from these incidents. Some tend to simply brush them under the carpet. They consider themselves too faint hearted to allow these incidents to prick their conscience. Some feel that by raising such issues or allegedly 'blowing them beyond proportions' we are actually causing harm to the downtrodden. The toiling masses ought not to be divided on the basis of caste, creed or religion. This would amount to divisive politics. Such divisions would further strengthen the hands of the oppressive sections of the society. Some try to rationalize it by saying that these are ordinary village faction fights which are unnecessarily portrayed as atrocities against the dalits and that they are being blown out of proportion. They are in a denial mode to accept things. Some do not stop there. They give it a spin of grave and sudden provocation by the victims of such crimes and start empathizing with the perpetrators of such crimes. A dalit youth trying to sexually abuse a *savarna* woman is the regular story. The story is on such predictable lines. The most disturbing thing about these stories of massacres is the frightening similarity.

Conclusion

People through such reactions are simply trying to understand the symptoms but are failing to grasp the underlying causative factors. This failure to understand stems from deep seated prejudices prevailing in our society which we are not prepared to admit. This is what Dr. Ambedkar had tried to address through his writings and speeches. Though we could achieve 'one man one vote' in principle we failed to achieve 'one man one value', the core essence of our constitutional morality. Achieving this noble objective is possible only if people are prepared to look into the face of the sinister looking features of our social lives, accept the truth and try to figure out what has to be done. Civil society should be prepared for this change. Without such a change the State would be pandering to the requirements of a political class which do not require State patronage.

We lack political imagination in addressing these issues. It is time that we sit up and reformulate are ideas and come up with convincing arguments to make this country a better place to live in.



Views of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar on Democracy and Its Relevance in Contemporary Indian Scenario -A critical Analysis

Ms.T.Y.Nirmala Devi, Faculty in Political Science, DamodaramSanjivayya National Law University, Visakhapatnam

Abstract: *Democracy is not merely a form of government. It is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards the fellow men. Indians today are governed by two different ideologies. Their political ideal set in the preamble of the Constitution affirms a life of liberty, equality and fraternity. Their social ideal embodied in their religion denies them. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. From layman's perspective is nothing but freedom, liberty. However, to understand the true meaning and importance of the concept of Democracy through the lenses of legal luminaries like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. This research article is an attempt to analyze the views of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on Democracy and to study its reflection in Indian Constitution and its relevance in contemporary Indian scenario.*

Key words: *Political democracy, liberty, equality, fraternity*

"Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organization."-
Dr.B.R.Ambedkar

Introduction

DR B.R. Ambedkar, the architect of the Indian Constitution, had famously said that "*democracy in India is only top dressing on an Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic*". Abraham Lincoln says: "*As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy.*" A relentless champion of human rights and staunch believer in democracy, Dr. Ambedkar says: "*Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organization.*" A form and a method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the social life are brought about without bloodshed. That is the real test. It is perhaps the severest test. But when you are judging the quality of the

material you must put it to the severest test.

Democracy and Its Relevance in Contemporary Indian Scenario

Dr. Ambedkar was the champion of human rights and democratic form of government. The idea of democracy he put forth had much broader perspective than the generally perceived idea of political liberty, equality and fraternity. Dr. Ambedkar emphasized the social and economic dimensions of democracy and forcefully argued that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy. Recalling the definition of democracy given by his predecessors or contemporaries he could not be satisfied with these conceptions of



democracy. In particular he recalls Walter Bagehot when he defines democracy as a 'Government by discussion' as well as propounded by Abraham Lincoln as 'a Government of the people, by the people and for the people.' Deviating from these oft-repeated notions, however, Ambedkar defines democracy as "a form and method of government, whereby, revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed". Dr. Ambedkar further added in effort of explaining democracy that democracy could not be equated either with Republic or Parliamentary Government. The roots of democracy lay not in the form of Government, parliamentary or otherwise. According to him, "Democracy is a mode of associated living. The roots of Democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in terms of associated life between the people who form the society."

Ambedkar viewed democracy as an instrument of bringing about change peacefully. Democracy does not merely mean rule by the majority or government by the representatives of the people. This is a formalistic and limited notion of democracy. We would understand the meaning of Democracy in a better fashion if we view it as a way of realizing drastic changes in the social and economic spheres of society. Ambedkar's idea of democracy is much more than just a scheme of government. He emphasizes the need for bringing about an all-round democracy. A scheme of government does not exist in vacuum; it operates within the society. Its usefulness depends upon its relationship with the other spheres of society. Elections, parties and parliaments are, after all, formal institutions of democracy. They cannot be

effective in an undemocratic atmosphere. Political democracy means the principle of 'one man one vote' which indicates political equality. But if oppression and injustice exist, the spirit of political democracy would be missing. Democratic government, therefore, should be an extension of a democratic society.

In the Indian society, for instance, so long as caste barriers and caste-based inequalities exist, real democracy cannot operate. In this sense, democracy means a spirit of fraternity and equality and not merely a political arrangement. Success of democracy in India can be ensured only by establishing a truly democratic society. Along with the social foundations of democracy, Ambedkar takes into consideration the economic aspects also. It is true that he was greatly influenced by liberal thought. Still, he appreciated the limitations of liberalism. Parliamentary democracy, in which he had great faith, was also critically examined by him. He argued that parliamentary democracy was based on liberalism. It ignored economic inequalities and never concentrated upon the problems of the downtrodden. Besides, the general tendency of the western type of parliamentary democracies has been to ignore the issues of social and economic equality. In other words, parliamentary democracy emphasized only liberty whereas true democracy implies both liberty and equality. This analysis becomes very important in the Indian context. Indian society was demanding freedom from the British. But Ambedkar was afraid that freedom of the nation would not ensure real freedom for all the people. Social and economic inequalities have dehumanized the Indian society. Establishing democracy in such a society would be



nothing short of a revolution. This would be a revolution in the social structure and attitudes of the people. In the place of hereditary inequality, the principles of brotherhood and equality must be established. Therefore, Ambedkar supported the idea of all-round democracy.

There should be a Constitutional law which would make Government responsible to the people and to prevent the tyranny of the people by the Government. Consequently, almost all Laws of Constitution which relate to countries which are called Democratic stop with Adult Suffrage and Fundamental Right. They have never advanced to the conception that the Constitutional Law of Democracy must go beyond Adult Suffrage and Fundamental Right. He was of the view that it was equally essential that the constitution should also prescribe the shape and form of the economic structure of society, if democracy is to live up to its principle of one man, one value.

As per Ambedkar views the present situation in India cannot be said democratic neither in terms of political, economic or social. There are great disparities both between the classes, castes and individuals. India's economic arena is much more discriminated than expected. The economic structure adopted has been responsible to have widened the gap between the haves and have-nots. Therefore Democracy in India cannot be accepted functioning with merits.

Dr. Ambedkar warned the countries like India not to merely make copies of the copies of the Constitutions of other countries and proclaimed to make the most of experience of their predecessors. Dr. Ambedkar stated that the principle of

one man one value on which democracy rests can be protected and preserved by securing liberty of individuals from invasion by other individuals which is the object of enacting fundamental Rights. The connection between individual liberty and shape and form of the economic structure of society may not be apart to everyone. None the less the connection between the two is real. Political Democracy, according to him, rests on the four premises which may be set out in the following terms:

1. The individual is an end itself.
2. That the individual has certain inalienable rights which must be guaranteed to him by the constitution.
3. That the individual shall not be required to relinquish any of his constitutional rights as a condition precedent to the receipt of a privilege.
4. That the state shall not delegate powers to private persons to govern others.

Dr. Ambedkar's vision of democracy and socialism has failed to get materialized. Political democracy has survived, but economic democracy remains a distant goal, and therefore, democracy remains incomplete and lopsided. In fact, even political democracy is not in very good health. Further, Indian democracy is confronting new challenges, including the Hindutva movement, growing economic inequality, the rise of militarism, and the brazen misuse of power by political parties (including those purporting to represent the underprivileged). A startling variety of social movements have flourished in India, and creative initiatives keep expanding the boundaries of political democracy year after year. Many new tools of democratic practice



have emerged, unforeseen by Dr. Ambedkar: the right to information, the panchayati raj amendments, modern communication technology, transnational cooperation, to name a few. The quality of Indian democracy is also gradually enhanced by a better representation of women in politics, wider opportunities for people's involvement in local governance, and the spread of education among disadvantaged sections of the society. The most powerful and promising trend is the growing participation of the underprivileged in democratic processes.

Dr. Ambedkar had a visionary conception of democracy, which needs to be "rediscovered" today. But going beyond that, we must also enlarge this vision in the light of recent developments. While Dr. Ambedkar was far ahead of his time in stressing the link between political and economic democracy, perhaps he failed to anticipate the full possibilities of political democracy itself. He thought that in the absence of economic democracy, ordinary people would be powerless. Also, he thought of political democracy mainly in terms of electoral and parliamentary processes. In both respects, his assessment was highly relevant at that time. Today, however, we are constantly discovering new forms of democratic practice, in which people are often able to participate even if economic democracy is nowhere near being realized. This ability to participate arises from the fact that economic privilege is not the only basis of advantage in democratic politics. Money power certainly helps, but this advantage is not always decisive. Much depends also on organisational activism, the weight of numbers, the strength of arguments, the force of public opinion, the use of communication skills, and other sources of bargaining power. Aside from

bargaining power, social ethics can also come into play in a democracy where there is room for what Dr. Ambedkar called "morality".

None of this detracts from the importance of striving for economic democracy. But the fact that this goal has proved more elusive than Dr. Ambedkar anticipated should not prevent us from pursuing other "revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people". The abolition of caste inequalities, for instance, is a perfectly reasonable goal of democratic practice today. So are gender equality, peace in Kashmir, the eradication of corruption, universal education, world disarmament, and the end of hunger, among other revolutionary changes that we might aspire to. It is also worth noting that economic democracy itself may not be as distant as we think. Indeed, it is an interesting paradox of contemporary politics that even as economic power has become more concentrated, it also looks more fragile. That is one lesson from the recent collapse of Enron, the defeat of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, the WTO Debacle, and the growing sheepishness of the Bretton Woods institutions. What looks "Politically infeasible" at one point of time often turns out to be within reach much sooner than expected. In practical terms, the best course of action may be to revive the Directive Principles of the Constitution and to reassert that these principles are "fundamental in the governance of the country" (Article 37). Indeed, in spite of much official hostility to these principles today, there are unprecedented opportunities for asserting the economic and social rights discussed in the constitution - the right to education, the right to information, the right to food,



the right to work, and the right to equality, among others. Dr. Ambedkar's advice to "educate, organize and agitate" is more relevant than ever.

Conclusion

It is thus clear that democracy in India faces certain serious challenges. These are causes of serious concern to all. In fact, the leadership of the freedom movement and especially the framers of the Indian Constitution themselves were very much aware of these issues. They made a number of constitutional provisions to address the same. Since independence governments have taken various measures to respond to many of these challenges. There have been significant improvements in some of these.

However, lots still have to be done. For that, efforts have been going on. There is need for collaboration among governmental agencies, political parties, civil society and citizens in general. Certain significant corrective measures that have been adopted and can be initiated. The corrective measures that are needed to meet the challenges to Indian democracy are focused around the issues and concerns like universal literacy i.e. education for all, poverty alleviation, elimination of gender discrimination, removal of regional imbalances, administrative and judicial reforms and sustained economic, social and environmental development.

However, Indian democracy can be successful and vibrant only when its citizens imbibe and reflect in their behavior the basic democratic values like equality, freedom, social justice, accountability and respect for all. Their mindset, thinking and behavior are expected to be in tune with the essential

conditions of democracy. They have to appreciate the opportunities for their desired roles like participation, making the system accountable, fulfilling obligations, and playing proactive roles to actualize the goals of democracy.

References :

1. Kshirsagar Ramchandra Kamaji, *Political thought of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar*, Intellectual publishing house, New Delhi, 1992.
2. Lewis, I.R., *Democracy the theory and practice*, Allman and Sons, London, 1966.
3. Shashi S.S. (Dr.) (Editor), *Ambedkar and social justice, volume I, Director, Publicationsdivision, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New India, 1992.*
4. Ambedkar B.R. (1989), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and speeches Vol. 1*, Government of Maharashtra Publication, Mumbai.
5. Bernard S. Cayme (1988), *Lexicon Encyclopedia*, Lexicon Publication Inc. New York, N.Y.
6. Das Bhagwan (1969), *Thus Spoke Ambedkar Vol. II*, Buddhist Publishing House Jalandhar, Punjab.
7. Jatava D.R. (2001), *Political Philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar*, National Publishing House, Jaipur and New Delhi
8. Keer Dhananjay (1963), *Life and Mission of Dr. Ambedkar*, Budhbhoomi Prakashan Nagpur.



9. Patrika, the Hindi daily newspaper dated 5-8-2011, published from Indore M.P. India.



Equality of Status of Women Recognized under Constitution of India:

V.Vijaya Lakshmi, Research Assistanat, Damodaram Sanjivayya National Law University, Visakhapatnam.

Abstract : Women deserves to be conferred supreme status for the reason, she is not only creature of the world but also instrumental for growth and development of the family including the progress of her husband in particular. The role of a woman as a model and ideal housewife contributes a lot for building a progressive nation tomorrow. It is to be noted that, only woman as a housewife attends all her duties regularly and punctually throughout the year for 365 days without aspiring for a single day as a holiday. The problem is, needs to be examined in the context of rights for establishment of a just and equitable social order, where nobody can be treated or exploited by another as unequal. No law, custom, tradition, culture or religious consideration should be invoked to excuse discrimination against women.

Introduction

I measure the progress of community by the degree of progress of women have achieved.Dr.B.R.Ambedkar.

Ambedkar's view on women's oppression, social democracy, caste and Hindu social order and philosophy significant modern Indian feminist thinking although Ambedkar proved himself to be a prolific writer, social activist and critic and strode like a colossus in the Indian socio political scene unto his death, he thoughts never received adequate attention in the generality of Indian society just because born on a untouchable. However, the contemporary social realities, warrant close examination of the wide range of his topics, the width of his vision, the depth of his analysis, and the rationality of his outlook and their essential humanity of his suggestions for practical action. Hence, for Indian women's movement Ambedkar provides a powerful source of inspiration to formulate a feminist political agenda which simultaneously address the issues of class, caste and gender in the contemporary socio -

political set up, which still keeps conservatives and reactionary values in many respects, particularly on gender relations. The writing and speeches of show what values India should develop and how they would modernize its social and political institutions. Ambedkar saw woman as the victims of the oppressive, caste based and rigid hierarchical social system.

The status of women in almost all parts of the world is discriminatory and prejudicial because of male dominated society's practical inequality between men and women everywhere. Women in fact, not only in a primitive society, but also in this modern global world in certain places, irrespective of rural or urban, rich or poor has been treated as a tool in kitchen room and toy in the hands of her husband and collaterals. Since the time immemorial, women as a whole in this universe were placed inferior to men as the women could not act



independently and had to rely on a man for doing anything. In other words, she had to take the consent of her father or husband for taking any decision. It is an admitted fact that ours is a civilized society, and in our society, human relationships play a very important part. These relationships necessarily involve mutual trust, regard for each other, because without them, human relations cannot come into existence, nor they can be perpetuated with benefit to both the parties. The global problem of the present day is, gender injustice or gender inequality. There has been discrimination between men and women, male domination and suppression of women since pre-historical times. Women, who constitute half of the world's population, work 2/3rd of the world's working hours earn just 1/10th of the world's property and remain victims of inequality and injustice. Consequent to these discriminatory practices, social, economic and cultural resulting in cumulative inequalities in both the developed and developing countries, the ideas and goals enshrined in various social legislations and international conventions invoking/envisaging women's equality/welfare remain unfructified. As human development moves centre stage in the global development, debate, gender equality is emerging as a major global challenge.

Status of Women in Ancient Period:

Life begins from a lady's womb. The sole privilege and power to create – srijan -is what makes her lord of this world in the true sense. She is the force behind every man in one form or the other –mother, wife, sister, and daughter and so on. But all these sound mere rhetoric and speechifying when the majority suppress and downgrades its

better half, making them no more than a better half. Hinduism defines women to be a man's half-batsman. It is a clearly and symbolized through "shiv- shakti" that a man is incomplete without a women. Holy books have preached equality of both sexes. But even today's ultra-modern India the situation remains the same as it was centuries ago. Women have unique position in a every society whether developed, developing or under developed. In spite of her contribution in the life individuals human begin; she still belongs a class or group of society which is in disadvantaged position on account several social barriers and impediments. The face and style of women's exploitation has changed from visible to invisible. However, the cruelty and extent is unchanged. The status of women in ancient period was considered more powerful than man and treated as goddess of "Adi Shakti". The birth of a girl child in the ancient society was heralded as the arrival of Goddesses Lakshmi. Ancient texts of all religions prescribe what should be the qualities of women. Any women who do not possess those qualities are not "good" and social sanctions may be invoked against her. Manu states that where woman are worshipped, God dwells there. In order to be worshipped, she must possess worship-able qualities but these qualities are understood and imposed from the point of view of the society and not the woman herself. The image building begins even before birth. She should be virtuous as defined by the society; she should be tolerant, renunciate and sacrifice to the extent the society demands of her. In other words, the woman's individuality and personality cannot blossom on its own naturally; she is cast into a mould--- an image approved by the society. This image forming process has led to socio-



economic deprivation and oppression. According to Rig Veda woman is the queen of house. SatpathaBrahmana says that the wife is her co-equal with each other. It was believed that she is her husband's ardhagini. This epoch still retained a certain liberty of expression for women's religious aspirations. Women were glorified as "the lamp of home" and it is laid down that a home is void without a woman to run it. It is also said that a virtuous wife gives a good status to her house.

The status of woman decreased during the medieval period. Women completely lost their glory. During this period there were main customs such as sati, ban on widow remarriage, child marriage she had no choice selection of life partner. In purely Indian context, Indian women have come a long way from the Vedic ages. There have been changes in every aspect of her life, yet she has miles to go before she rests. With invasions of India by Alexander and the Huns, the position of women was further degraded. Their education and training came to a sudden halt. For reasons of security, movement outside was restricted which in turn denied opportunities in community affairs. With invading armies roaming the countryside, women were put behind the veil.

Struggle for Women's Freedom in 18th & 19th Centuries:

The Indian setting in the late 18th and 19th century was incontrovertibly much more complex than this due to its colonial antecedents. To begin with, it must be mentioned that even a partial authentic account of the initiatives and role of women activists or reformers on this issue is yet to be documented as far as India is concerned. A fragmented

version attests that the social reformers of the 19th century sought legal changes from British colonial administration with a view to improving the status and conditions of women. The woman question was definitely as part of a broader agenda of social and political reform, need and expediency of the day. For the colonial regime it was part of a 'civilizing mission' to liberate Indian women from the indigenous 'barbaric and degenerate' tradition. In that Century, especially after the emergence of Raja Ram Mohan Ray on the socio-political scenario with SwamyDayanandaSaraswathi, Justice Ranade, Sister Nibedita, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Swamy Vivekananda, Annie Beasant, Pandita Rama Bai, Mahatma Gandhi, Kasturba, Mira Ben with long struggles, attention of Government could be drawn to the said plight and exploitations of women and new legislations were enacted to save women from the victimization of crimes. The centuries have been passed but women's conditions are not changed yet. Time is a witness of all this. Helpless women are suffering in the form of discrimination, exploitations, degradation, aggression and humiliation.

International and Constitutional Protection for Women:

The intensification of women's issues and rights movement all over the world is reflected in the form of various Conventions passed by the United Nations viz. Convention on the Political Rights of Women, 1953., Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, 1957., Declaration on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, 1967., Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979, Declaration on the Elimination of



Violence against Women, 1993, Vienna Conference, Beijing Conference etc.

The Constitution insists on equality of status and it negates gender bias. The framers of the Indian Constitution were well aware of the inequality between men and women (gender discrimination) and incorporated certain specific provisions for upliftment of the status of women i.e, Article 14, 15(3), 16, 21, 21-A, 23, 24, 25, 39, 39-A, 42, 44, 51-A (e), 243-D and 243-T. Though the Indian Constitution provides equality of status and of opportunity to women, discrimination is persisting in one form or the other. The reason is the women's physical structure and the performance of material functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence and her physical well becomes an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race. Discrimination against women continues to exist even today as it is so deep-rooted in the traditions of Indian society. The root cause for the discrimination of women is that most women are ignorant of their rights and the position of equality assured to them under the Indian Constitution and legal system. Enlightened women should fight to bring awakening in other women regarding their rights by bringing awareness about their status in society as they constitute half of the Indian population. In tune with various provisions of the Constitution, the State has enacted many women-specific and women-related legislations to protect women against social discrimination, violence and atrocities and also to prevent social evils like child marriages, dowry, rape, practice of Sati, etc. ---the problem, however, is in non-implementation of such laws and the lack

of sensitivity of the society to deal with such issues. In particular, provisions in the criminal law, in favor of women, or in the procedural law discriminating in favor of women, have been upheld.

Crimes against Women:

A woman plays different of roles during her life time. At the work place she is a labour, farm worker, employee, sometimes employer, scientist, educator, academician and professional. She is also activist, policy maker and law maker at the social and community front. Today's women are playing multi-tasking roles. A working women nevertheless has to be all rounder she has to constantly keep in mind home, fulfill its requirements first before she is leaves her house. In India nearly half of the population comprise of women. Yet, they are dominated, suppressed, harassed, ill-treated, subjected to mental and physical violence and sometimes even denied of their basic human rights. They are the ones who are made to sacrifice and suffer without any right of complaining for it. Females are brought up in that manner. There are different kinds of violence or crimes committed by males in the male dominated society. Violence against women is rampant in all corners of the world. Such violence is a human rights violation that manifests itself in a number of ways including violence against women in custody, Acid attack, Bride burning, Physical, Emotional, Economic and Psychological abuse, Domestic Violence, Female genital mutilation, Human trafficking, Dowry death, Honour killing, Human rights violations based on actual or Perceived Sexual Identity, Sexual Assault and harassment at work places, Rape, Kidnapping and Abduction, Molestation, Gender Based Asylum, Importation of



girls, etc are rampant not only in India but at global level. A central theme the women's movement all over the world has been violence against women both in their homes and outside. This is directly linked to their unequal position in a patriarchal society cutting across both class and community. The first categories of violence focused on were rape and murder of young brides for dowry. Rape is a crime, not only against the person of a woman; it is a crime against the entire society. Dowry in the sense of the bride's price or the bridegroom's price, spread like a contagious disease and ultimately became regular practice. It was released that there were other more brutal expressions of the widespread phenomenon of domestic violence which included wife beating, cruelty, torture and humiliation. This realization made women's groups demanded that wife abuse be treated as an offence too. It is then that the real picture emerges and we realize that the whole bulk of this protective legislation is a very modest attempt to combat the deep-rooted and all pervasive evil of horrendous crimes that are committed against women every day. The list of crimes that are committed against women seems amaranthine, varying from simple harassment, physical and mental torture to even denying them the very right to exist. Scientific techniques are misused to kill girls even before they are born or else crude methods like feeding them the juice of berries are used to sniff out life soon after they are born. The places where these crimes are committed and the persons by whom they are committed are also endless. These are crimes that are committed within the four walls of the house, those that are committed at public places right in the glare of the public. In spite of the plethora of protective laws

the index of these crimes touching dizzying heights. The incidence of these crimes is very high, it knows no barriers of caste, class, religion or socio-economic strata. Earlier, it was thought to be the preserve of the uneducated people of lower castes but now-a days women from all social strata and professions are victims of these crimes. Professionals like doctors and judges, executives and lawyers etc. Most of the women are still treated as second class citizens. The media exposure and the laws have very little impact; they are themselves contradictory and often betray the pro-male bias. Crimes against women are as old as civilization and equally ancient are the efforts to combat and arrest them. These efforts have not succeeded and crimes are still maintaining their upward trend. There are records of women being raped, abducted, beaten and subjected to humiliating treatment. Women have been subjected to socio-economic and cultural deprivations for such a long time that there is a general indifference and lack of awareness for crimes against them. Women are reared in an atmosphere which slowly but positively helps in the development of a feeling of inferiority, they become used to the institutional legitimating of their low status and find nothing wrong in some of the crimes that are committed against them. Most of the protective laws fail because of defective enforcement; proper implementation of these laws will go a long way in curbing crimes against women.

Patriarchal system impact on Women:

Indian society is male dominated. Man occupies a superior status and the women are merely his appendages. A woman is never an entity in her own right, she is "first the daughter, next the



wife, and last the mother of a man". Men are consciously taught to be aggressive and tough while women are conditioned to be submissive and docile. In Indian sub-continent there have been infinite variations on the status of women diverging to cultural malice's, family structure, class, caste property rights and morals. Patriarchy is a popular system all over the world. In literal sense it is the dominance of the father, which in turn means domination of the male gender. Such domination was not on women. It included the vulnerable comprising of children, slaves, etc. Therefore the patriarch could dominate over other men as well if they were in a lesser status and a vulnerable situation. At the core of patriarchy lies a relative power equation. Patriarchy, therefore, is not class or caste specific. In the male dominated society, a female, right from her birth is treated unequally. Amongst the large sections of the Indian population and especially weaker sections of the society, a female child is unwelcome and is treated as a liability. Killing of female child and even female fetus is still prevalent in India. One of the reasons why a female child is unwelcome is, the parents dread the cost of marrying a daughter as notwithstanding enactment prohibiting the system of dowry in India, dowry is still prevalent in India either directly or indirectly not only amongst the poor, but even amongst the middle classes and rich families also. The girl child, a perpetual burden to the family, particularly in the rural areas, has to work from the morn to night on and do every duty possible. The routine of work of a girl of poor rural families and of lower-middle class urban families is simply staggering. Even a not too exhaustive list of their work is sure to take one out of the one's breath. But, unfortunately, discrimination goes on

unabated whether it is in the field of survival, health, education, employment or in other broader perspectives of social life. All these are culturally determined as culture demands that a boy is more valued than a girl. This psychology is very much prevalent even in times of natural calamity and / or disaster. Even if the infant mortality rate in India today is not alarming, the survival of the girl-child still remains very precarious. Owing to the deliberate neglect of the girl in respect of food, nutrition and education, her inability becomes very much constrained. Growing up in such an atmosphere of discrimination the personality of a female child often is affected and being subjected to further discrimination when she goes out and faces the outside world. Her personality often becomes totally impaired and she starts believing that being a female she is inferior to a male and accepts the act of discrimination as quite normal and obvious.

But that is not the only reason why a female right from her birth and childhood has to suffer discrimination. The other most important reason for which a female has to suffer such discrimination not only in the Indian society but all over the world including in the so-called developed countries is a preconceived notion that a female is inferior to a male both physically and intellectually although there is no medical and scientific basis of such a notion. At home a female child is not treated equally to male child and is discriminated against in the matter of food, clothing, education and other matters. In this realm of the patriarchal domination, women are treated as chattels and upon marriage dominion over them was transferred from the



father to the husband within the confines of perpetual tutelage. This discrimination very often arises from the traditional mind-set that the real life for a female starts after her marriage and it is the duty of the parents to rear up the daughter till she is given in marriage. Because of such deep-rooted pre-conceived notion a female not only suffer discrimination at her parental home, but also suffers the same outside the home when she goes out and faces the outside world in various spheres of life, including the educational institution. Later on, even in the work place, she suffers such discrimination. She is not only subjected to sexual abuse but she may also be subjected to ridicule, apathy, and sensitivity. The unkindest cut, because of such discrimination by the society, a woman suffers, if she is a victim of sexual harassment and rape. She, although is the victim and not the accused, she suffers further humiliation from the society and in fact she is ostracized by the society. Women's health is affected by many factors, including biological differences and social conditions, discrimination and lack of access to and inadequate health care and other services. Lack of food, deficient housing and inadequate access to safe drinking water pose a threat to rural and other women's health. Morbidity and mortality rates of women, due to inadequate to reproduction health, are still high.

Conclusion:

Since women comprise the majority of the population below the poverty line and are very often in situations of extreme poverty, given the harsh realities of intra-household and social discrimination, macro-economic policies and poverty eradication programmer's will specially address the

needs and problems of such women. There will be improved implementation of programmes which are already women oriented with special targets for women. There is a need for targeted efforts to ensure that rights of women in difficult circumstances who include destitute women, women in conflict situations, women affected by natural calamities, women in less developed regions, the disabled, widows, elderly women, single women in difficult circumstances, migrants, women heading households, those displaced from employment, women who are victims of marital violence, deserted women and prostitutes, etc. For the emancipation for women in every field, economic independence is a paramount importance. Along with economic independence, equal emphasis must also to be laid on the total development of women---creating awareness among them about their rights and responsibilities---the recognition of their vital role and work they do at home. It is unfortunate but true that discrimination against the female starts when she is still in the womb, through female feticide. Apart from feticide, there are many other issues and one of them which is a cause for anxiety, is trafficking of women and girls. It is a gross violation of their human rights. Women are being treated as chattels and commodities. Crimes in the form of trafficking of the girl child, prostitution, domestic violence and incest are on the increase. Take integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women. Provide women with access to saving and credit mechanisms and, institutions. Study the causes and consequences of violence against women the effectiveness of preventive measures, legal literacy of women by creating awareness of rights among women through media, published



literature and voluntary agencies. In tune with various provisions of the Constitution, the State has enacted much women-specific and women-related legislation to protect women against social discrimination, violence and atrocities and also to prevent social evil like child marriages, dowry, rape, practice of Sati, etc. Let us resolve to empower women, for in that alone lies the progress of the society.

A girl child is not a burden but an essential constituent of the society. The key to her empowerment lies not in her being killed in the womb but in her receiving education and becoming economically independent. Most of the women in our country are illiterate, and in comparison to males, are ignorant of basic law. Most of the times, they do not register a case against those persons who violate their persons or commits crimes against them. Lack of awareness, political participation, poverty, traditional oppression and customs, place an Indian women at a receiving end. Though violence stalks women's lives everywhere, law can do little unless present cultural and social perceptions change. This calls for a resolve from all of us. Awakening of the collective consciousness is the need of the day. Change of heart and attitude is what is needed. If women were to receive education and become economically independent, the possibility of many pernicious social evils dying a natural death may not remain a distant dream. Laws are not enough to combat the growing menace of gender injustice. A wider social movement of educating women of their rights is what is needed. Human rights for all must be made the focal point in good governance. To ensure progress of the nation and usher in a just and caring society. There can be no

doubts about the inevitability of the human rights regime as the foundation of a good value based society---For human rights take a backward step, if gender justice is not achieved. Women's equality in power sharing and active participation in decision making, including decision making in political process at all level will be ensured for the achievement of the goals of empowerment. The society must respond and change its attitude. Gender equality concerns each and every member of the society and forms the very basis of a just society. Human rights issues, which affect women in particular, play a vital role in maintaining the peace and prosperity of a just society.

References

- The *upnayan* is regarded as one among twelve *samskaras* prescribed in the *Dharamshastras*. It is regarded as a second or spiritual birth and a person thus initiated is known as *dvija* or twice-born.
3. *Shrauta Shutra* refer to Brahmanic Vedic ritual manuals. *Shrauta* derives from *shruti* which means revealed texts, passed on orally. It belongs to the early late -Vedic period and pre-dates the *Smritis*.
4. Patanjali was a Sanskrit grammarian (of second century CE).
5. Ambedkar, B.R. "Women and Counter Revolution", "Riddles of Hindu Women" in Dr.Baba Saheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches (1987), Vol.3, Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra.



Dr. B.R.Ambedkar and Women Empowerment in India

Dr. B. Jyothi, M.Sc., M.Phil, Ph.D. Lecturer in Mathematics, D.N.R.(A) College, Bhimavaram – 534202

Abstract: *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar – the determined fighter and a deep scholar has made significant efforts to lead the society on the path of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. He was first Indian to break down the barriers in the way of advancement of women in India. He laid down the foundation of concrete and sincere efforts by codifying the common civil code for Hindus and other sections of the Indian Society. In January 1928 a women's association was founded in Bombay with Ramabai, Ambedkar's wife as its president. In the round table conference hundreds of women were present for the committee meeting. At various places depressed classes women's conferences were held and they began to present their demands assertively. The encouragement of Ambedkar empowered women to speak out boldly their feelings. Dr. Ambedkar was well known about status of women, as the chairman of drafting committee, he tried to adequate inclusion of women's rights in the Indian Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar believed in the strength of women's and their role in the process reform. The present paper is an attempt to highlight Dr. Ambedkar's view on women problems in pre and post independent India and its relevancy in present scenario.*

Dr. Babasaheb spent his life for the betterment of women even involved in bad practices and professionals like prostitutions. Ambedkar created awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devadasi system. Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women's right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. He insisted on Hindu Code bill suggesting the basic improvements and amendments in assembly. Thus his deep concern and feelings for all round development of women is expressed from his each sentence and word.

Keywords: *Women empowerment, Hindu Code bill, perfect equality.*

I INTRODUCTION

Dr. B.R.Ambedkar was among the most outstanding intellectuals of India in the 20th century in the word. Paul Baran, an eminent Marxist economist, had made a distinction in one of his essays between an "intellectual worker" and an intellectual. The former, according to him, is one who uses his intellect for making a living whereas the latter is one who uses it for critical analysis and social transformation. Dr. Ambedkar fits Baran's definition of an intellectual very well. Dr. Ambedkar is

also an outstanding example of what Antonio Gramsci called an organic intellectual, that is, one who represents and articulates the interests of an entire social class.

Dr Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He stated "We shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persuaded side by side with female education..." He started fierce propaganda against the Hindu social order and launched a journal Mook Nayak in 1920 and Bhishkrut Bharat in 1927 for this purpose. Through its issues



he put due stress on the gender equality and need for education and exposed the problems of the depressed as well as women.

Ambedkar was not only the father of Indian Constitution; he was a great freedom fighter, political leader, philosopher, thinker, economist, editor, social reformer, revivalist of Buddhism and was first Indian to break down the barriers in the way of advancement of women in India. He laid down the foundation of concrete and sincere efforts by codifying the common Civil Code for Hindus and other sections of the Indian society. He stated that women should be given all round development more importantly social education, their well being and socio-cultural rights. He emphasized that each and every section of Indian women be given their due share and it is a must to maintain and protect dignity and modesty of women (Shukla 2011).

Women's development is a much discussed subject but sensitization about this issue is grossly neglected at gross root level. While we must try to build alternative system of health care, we must also expose the responsibility of the system for the neglect of Women. Women constitute about one half of the global population, but they placed at various disadvantageous positions due to gender difference and bias. They have been the victims of violence and exploitation by the male dominated society all over the world. Our society is a tradition bound society, where women have been socially, economically, physically, psychologically and sexually exploited from times immemorial, sometimes in the name of religion, sometimes on the pretext of the writing in the scripture and sometimes by the social sanction.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar always believed in movements led by women. He also added that if the women from all walks of life are taken in to confidence, they may play a significant role in the social reforms. They have played very massive and active role to eradicate the social abuses. He insisted that every married woman must participate in her husband's activities as a friend. But she must show the courage to deny the life of slaves. She should insist on the principle of equality. If all the women follow it, they will get the real respect and their own identity (Gunjal 2012).

II OBJECTIVES, METHODS AND MATERIALS

The present paper is an attempt to highlight Dr. Ambedkar's view on women problems in pre and post independent India and the relevancy of his ideas in present political and social scenario of India.

Secondary data collected from internet, Government documents, newspapers, published papers, books and speeches delivered by Dr. Ambedkar in Parliament, various conferences and meetings in pre and post independent India.

III ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Dr. Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He stated "We shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persuaded side by side with female education..." He started fierce propaganda against the Hindu social order and launched a journal Mook Nayak in 1920 and Bahiskrit Barat in 1927 for this purpose. Through its issues he put due stress on the gender equality and the need for education and exposed



the problems of the depressed as well as women.

Ambedkar's perception of women question, emphasizing their right to education, equal treatment with men, right to property and involvement in the political process resembled the global feminists demand. As J. S. Mill expressed in the Subjection of Women, the legal subordination of one sex to the other is wrong in itself and one of the chief hindrance to human development; and ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting no privilege or power on the one side, nor disability on the other, Ambedkar also holds the same views on work for women (More 2011).

He strongly advocated for family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative Assembly. In 1942, being a Labour Minister of Executive Council of Governor General, he introduced a Maternity Benefit Bill. He provided several provisions in the constitution for protecting the welfare and civil rights of women. He introduced the Hindu Code Bill in the Parliament and highlighted the issues about women's property right. The bill received strong opposition from many political leaders. In turn, Dr. Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet expressing his discontent over non acceptance of woman's right by the parliament. Besides, he highlighted the issues of Muslim women. His secular perspective is known through his thoughts on 'Purdah' (Veil) system, religious conversions and legal rights for Muslim women. In short, along with the depressed class women, his thoughts for emancipation of all the women are expressed with same allegiance.

Gaining inspiration from Ambedkar, many women wrote on

various topics. And Tulsibai Bansode started a newspaper 'Chokhamela'. This shows how Ambedkar created awareness among poor, illiterate women and inspired them to fight against the unjust and social practices like child marriages and devadasi system.

Dr. Babasahed Ambedkar exclaimed, "I strongly believe in the movements run by women. If they are truly taken in to confidence, they may change the present picture of society which is very miserable. In past, they have played a significant role in improving the condition of weaker section and classes". He always honored women for their work and hardships.

In the Manu Smriti, Manu not only shows contempt for women but goes on to degrade them as slaves, devoid of intellect; denies them the right of education and the right to property; and forbids them from performing sacrifices. Being India's first Law minister and chairman of drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar thought it appropriate, rather his duty, to free women from the age old thralldom by reforming the Hindu social laws created by Manu. He, therefore, took initiative to draft and introduce the Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly.

Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women's right in the political vocabulary and constitution of India. i.e.,

Article 14 – Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.

Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex.

Article 15 (3) enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.



Article 39 – Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.

Article 42 – Human conditions of work and maternity relief.

Article 51 (A) (C) – Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women.

Article 46 – The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Article 47 – The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.

Article 243 D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System.

The Hindu Code Bill, the most formidable legislative measure of modern India, sought among other reforms, to put an end to a variety of marriage systems prevailing in India and legalise only monogamous marriages. The Code also sought to confer on women the right of property and adoption which had been denied by Manu. It put men and women on an equal level in all legal matters. Dr. Ambedkar said, "I should like draw attention of the house to one important fact. The great political philosopher Burke who wrote his great book against the French Revolution said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair. And all I am asking this House is: If you want to maintain the Hindu system, Hindu culture and Hindu society, do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than to repair those parts of the Hindu system which have become dilapidated".

The Hindu Code Bill was later split in to four Bills, and the same were put on the Statue Book by Parliament. The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956 and The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 are the four enactments which incorporate the ideas and principles of Hindu Code Bill formulated by Dr Ambedkar. They give independent status to women and endow them with the right of adoption, succession and property, so completely denied by Manu. Therefore, it is truism to say that it is due to Dr. Ambedkar that a large part of the Hindu social law is now on par with the legal system prevailing in advanced western countries (Ahir D.C. 1990).

IV CONCLUSIONS

In the condolence message, on Ambedkar's death in parliament, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a symbol of revolt against all oppressive features of Hindu society". His dream of society, based on gender equality is yet to be realized and therefore his thoughts are important for the social reconstruction that favors women empowerment.

Dr. Babasaheb expressed his views on the state of life of all women. He stated that women must be treated equally and given equal prestige. He insisted on Hindu Code bill suggesting the basic improvements and amendments in assembly. He also insisted and evoked all the parliamentary members to help to pass the bill in parliament. Eventually, he resigned for the same. The teachings and thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar are useful not only women but also all the Indian even today. His deep concern and feelings for all round development of women is



expressed from his each sentence and word. In his last speech in Indian Parliament we can know his feelings and respect showed towards women. He quoted the famous thoughts of an Irish Patriot Daniel O Connal as, "No man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity. And no nation can be grateful at the cost of his liberty".

In his famous book 'Pakistan and partition of India' he expressed his views about Muslim women and their religious traditions, about wearing veil, their marriages and so on. Muslim women were suppressed under various religious traditions. Towards all the women, irrespective of their religion, casts and class, Babasaheb had a particular humanitarianism view. He frequently raised his voice against all sorts of injustice towards women.

REFERENCES

1. Ahir, D.C (1990) "The Legacy of Dr. Ambedkar" B.R.Publishing corporation, New Delhi.
2. Ambedkar, B.R. (1987) "Women and Counter Revolution" Riddles of Hindu Women" in Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol. 3, Department of Education, Govt of Maharashtra.
3. Arya, Sudha, (200) Women Gender Equality and the State, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi.
4. D. Keer, 1987. Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission, Bombay.
5. Gunjal V.R. 2012. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Women Empowerment, Social Work, Vol. XI (1), PP 84-84.
6. Singariya M.R., 2013 "Dr.B.R. Ambedkar: AS an Economist" International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention, Vol. 2, Issue (3), pp 24-27. Online available www.ijhssi.org Volume 2 Issue 3 || March. 2013 || PP. 24-27



Ambekar Views on Democracy and Human Rights

Dr. Kota Pallavi, Asst. Professor, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar College of Law, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam

Abstract: *Dr. Ambedkar's contribution in the framing of democratic Constitution of India is enormous and long lasting. Dr. Ambedkar's notion of "democratic government" went back to the fundamental idea of "government of the people, by the people and for the people". But "democracy" meant much more to him than democratic government. "Democracy is not merely a form of government. It is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience. It is essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellowmen." Another crucial feature of Dr. Ambedkar's conception of democracy is that it was geared to social transformation and human progress. Conservative notions of democracy, such as the idea that it is mainly a device to prevent bad people from seizing power. In one of the most inspiring definitions of the term, he defined democracy as "a form and a method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed". Dr. Ambedkar is one of the world's greatest defender and promoter of human rights. He was a true visionary, contributing to a global evolution of this idea, to the legal enshrinement of rights, and to this day, he continues to inspire human rights defenders. He is always remembered by mankind for his greatest contribution to human rights movements putting human dignity and self respect in centre and enforcing the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity in public life.*

Key words:- *Democracy, Human Rights, Indian Constitution, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Principles of life, Rule of Law, Social Order, Social Democracy and Economic Democracy, Directive Principles, Democratic Institution*

Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes Liberty, Equality and Fraternity as the principles of life..... Dr. AMBEDKAR

Introduction

The preamble of the Indian Constitution declares India as a "democratic republic". India has opted for parliamentary form of government and representative institutions. The Supreme Court observed that the principle of free and fair elections is an essential postulate

of democracy and democracy is a part of the basic structure of the Constitution¹.

Dr. Ambedkar said:

¹ Vikrant Sopan Yadav Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's views on Democracy and Indian Constitution: An Analytical Appraisal; International Journal of Applied Research 2016;2(4):308-310.



“There is one thing which I think is very necessary in the working of democracy and it is this that 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 morality is not being hurt, or the minority is not being hit below the belt.”

He further stated that Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organisation. Dr. Ambedkar always had the socialistic approach which is clearly visible in his statements about democracy. He believed that, Democracy essential in imparting social justice. He laid down certain conditions in this regard.

They are as follows²;

- (1) there should not be glaring inequalities in society, that is, privilege for one class;
- (2) the existence of an opposition;
- (3) equality in law and administration;
- (4) observance of constitutional morality;
- (5) no tyranny of the majority;
- (6) moral order of society; and
- (7) public conscience.

The future of Indian democracy depends on a revival of Dr. Ambedkar's visionary conception of Democracy. Democracy is seen as one of the ultimate ideals that modern civilizations strive to create, or preserve. Democracy as a system of governance is supposed to allow extensive representation and

²

<http://www.sjsu.edu/people/ken.nuger/courses/pols120/Ch-3-Principles-of-Democracy.pdf>

inclusiveness of as many people and views as possible to feed into the functioning of a fair and just society. Democratic principles run in line with the ideals of universal freedoms such as the right to free speech³.

Democracy serves to check unaccountable power and manipulation by the few at the expense of the many, fundamentally democracy is seen as a form of governance by the people, for the people. This is often implemented through elected representatives, which therefore requires free, transparent, and fair elections, in order to achieve legitimacy. Human welfare is defined not only in terms of freedom from hunger and poverty but also respect for individual dignity⁴.

As India's tryst with democracy continues it would be pertinent to look at Dr. Ambedkar's views on democracy in theory and in practice. His views were quite prophetic in nature and on a careful reading one would always find its relevance even now. After more than six decades it is necessary to not only take a re-look at the way democracy has been practised but perhaps there is also a need to re-visit the concept of democracy as propounded and initiated through a modern Constitution based on the egalitarian principles of liberty, equality and fraternity⁵.

³

<http://www.countercurrents.org/umakant080414.htm>

⁴ <https://www.usaid.gov/democracy-human-rights-and-governance-strategy>

⁵

<http://www.countercurrents.org/umakant080414.htm>



Dr. Ambedkar as we all know played an extra ordinary role in not only drafting the Constitution but also in piloting it clause by clause in the Constituent Assembly. On 25 November 1949 when the members in the Constituent Assembly were getting ready to give their seal of final approval, Dr. Ambedkar spoke in an impassioned yet rational way about Indian democracy and the need for strengthening it in future. While thanking the members he expressed his frank opinion on several issues. In his own words he expressed his gratitude to them in following words:

"We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which elevation for some and degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty"⁶.

"On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of

⁶

<https://drambekarbooks.com/category/constitution-of-india/>

contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

A democratic India in its true sense of the term is the only guarantee for a meaningful life and politics in a Socialist, Secular and Democratic Republic called India. It is also a reminder to people who are engaged in promoting and protecting all human rights for all that we need to re-strategies and carry forward the struggle for justice, human rights and accountability and not remain a mute spectator⁷. Dr. Ambedkar is very much needed not only in the present time but also for building a strong foundation for future. It should be emphasised in a loud and clear terms that no social group, let alone Dalits, could fight in isolation. The need of the hour is to forge solidarity links with different groups of discriminated and

⁷ S.Chinnammai;Relevance of Socio-economic Thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar Today; Serials Publications; New Delhi;2011.ISBN978-81-8387-329-1.



disadvantaged people who are struggling in different parts of the world.

Ambedkar's Human Rights and Democracy

Human rights are natural fundamental rights of every human being which must be respected by the state. democracy is a popular form of governance wherein all citizens participate through their representatives in managing their own affairs. the democratic form of government that is so essential to the fulfillment of human rights in any society.

Dr. Ambedkar is one of the world's greatest defender and philosopher of human rights. He was a true visionary, contributing to a global evolution of this idea, to the legal enshrinement of rights, and to this day, he continues to inspire human rights defenders. Ambedkar is always remembered by mankind for his greatest contribution to human rights movements putting human dignity and self respect in centre and enforcing the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity in public life⁸.

Human rights cannot exist without rule of law. rule of law visualizes a democratically elected government. for a democratically elected government free and fair elections on the basis of adult suffrage is a pre-condition. this has been thus expressed by the Declaration, of Human Rights. Everyone has the right to take part in the Government of his country, directly and through free elections, [Article21(1)].

⁸

<https://talkinghumanities.blogs.sas.ac.uk/2016/04/13/dr-ambedkar-a-visionary-for-human-rights/>

The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall universal and on the basis of equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or equivalent free voting⁹.

Article 25 of the Covenant of Civil and Political Rights lays down:

Every citizen shall have the right and opportunity-

(a) to take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;

(b) to vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of electors.

Democracy in India

India is the biggest and one of the most important democratic country on earth. Indian democracy today is as old as sixty-seven years and it has survived despite many countries have yielded to dictatorship and military rule. The success or failure of democracy means a lot for the future of democracy not only in India but in other countries as well.

A democratic form of government is run by the elected representatives of the common people. Hence, public opinion is the essence of democracy. Such form of government ensures good opportunity for the overall growth and well-being of its citizens¹⁰. Indian

⁹ Akhilesh Das; Human Rights Democracy and Globalised World Order; Swastik Publications; New Delhi 2011; ISBN 978-93-80138-66-4

¹⁰ Karin Hansson, Kheira Belkacem, and Love Ekenberg; open Government and



democracy is characterized by peaceful coexistence of different ideas and ideals. There is healthy cooperation and competition among exiting political parties. Since, ballot and not bullet is the essence of democracy, there exists multiple political parties and each parties have their own ideal.

After gaining independence in 1947, India had chosen Parliamentary democracy. Actually, India had no option than to choose it because of freedom movements and sociopolitical awakening through-out the globe. Most of the people of our country are illiterate and belong to extremely low-income groups. Unless the country is economically and educationally advanced, it will be wrong to think that the electorate will use their franchise to the best interests of themselves and the country.

Democracy stands in danger when the personal rule of a democrat assumes dictatorial dimensions. When a national leader attempts at a dynastic rule, there is the signal of danger for democracy. Democracy fails when such system becomes a boon only to a handful of people consisting of capitalist business magnets, legislators, and bureaucrats. Successful democratic government never ignore the masses that work at fields and factories. Right to hold opinion is never suppressed in a true democracy. The laws are framed according to democratic ideas and ideals. Democracy avoids conflict and confrontation and creates a peaceful

atmosphere for discussion and compromise¹¹.

Colonnade of Democracy

In a democratic government key principles include free and open elections, the rule of law, and a separation of powers, typically into the following¹²:

- Legislature (law-making)
- Executive (actually governing within those laws)
- Judiciary (system of courts to administer justice)

Not all countries have or need such a complete separation and many have some level of overlap. Some governments such as the US have a clear separation of powers while in other countries, such as the United Kingdom, a parliamentary system somewhat merges the legislature and executive.

The Separation of Powers noted that "Sometimes systems with strong separation of powers are pointed out as difficult to understand for the average person, when the political process is often somewhat fuzzy. Then a parliamentary system often provides a clearer view and it is easier to understand how 'politics are made'. This is sometimes important when it comes to engaging the people in the

Democracy: A research Review;social science computer Review;2014

11

<http://www.globalissues.org/article/761/democracy>

12 Michael.J.Perry; Human Rights Theory,3: The Three Pillars of Democracy; The Human Rights to Democratic Governance, Intellectual Freedom, and Moral Equality;Emory Legal Studies Research Paper No.15-354.



political debate and increase the citizen's participation¹³."

It is therefore unclear if what is determined as best practice for an established democracy is necessarily, or automatically, the recipe for a newly emerged democracy. For example, a country coming out of dictatorship may require a strong leadership to guide a country towards further democracy if there are still elements in the society that want the old ways to come back.

This might mean more integration of powers, to prevent instability or the old rulers attempting to manipulate different branches of government, for example. However, in this scenario, there is of course a greater threat that that strong leadership would become susceptible to being consumed by that power, and it may become harder to give it up later.

In addition to those formal aspects of a functioning democracy, there are other key pillars, for example,

- Civilian control of the military
- Accountability
- Transparency.

Civilian control over the military is paramount. Not only must the military be held to account by the government, but the military leadership must fully believe in a democratic system if instability through military coups and dictatorships are to be avoided. Indeed, some nations do not have full-time

professional armies for the reason that coups and military take-over is less likely. Others, notably the more established powers, typically do have it, because they have had a recent history of war and their place in the world stage may make it seem to be a necessary requirement.

To achieve the openness that transparency and accountability gives, there is an important need for a free press, independent from government. Such a media often represents the principle of the universal right to free speech. This combination is supposed to allow people to make informed choices and decisions thereby contributing to political debate.

Transparency and accountability also requires more bureaucracy as decisions and processes need to be recorded and made available for the general public to access, debate and discuss, if necessary. This seems easy to forget and so it is common to hear concerns raised about the inefficiency of some governmental department.

Rule of Law

In a democracy an elected representative participates in making laws but is still bound by the law. once passed the law is supreme not those who made the law¹⁴. Representatives can participate in changing a law, but it is changed they along with everyone else must obey it. It was the one of the basic principles demanded in the early conflicts that lead to the establishment of democratic institutions. the principle involved is that a society should be able to bind itself by

13

<http://www.sjsu.edu/people/ken.nuger/courses/pols120/Ch-3-Principles-of-Democracy.pdf>

14

<http://www.sjsu.edu/people/ken.nuger/courses/pols120/Ch-3-Principles-of-Democracy.pdf>



the rules it collectively has chosen and no individual or institution should be outside the rules so chosen.

Ambedkar and the Indian Constitution

Constitutionalism is not all about governance as it also provides contested ideas and practices concerning justice, rights, development and associated autonomy¹⁵. It is commonly conceived to be the idea that there are legal restraints on the exercise of political authority. It places limits on the state action and conformity with the constitution becomes a guiding principle.

Ambedkar believed that Constitution is not just a written text but it can be an effective tool to ensure justice and equality to all the sections of society especially to the down-trodden sections of society. He wished to achieve several objectives with the help of constitutional provisions and, infact, certain provisions can be traced which clearly reflects the influence of his vision on the Indian Constitution.

Ambedkar and Democracy

Ambedkar held that social union is a necessity to blossom and flourish the democracy in true sense. For that, he suggested the safeguards for the minorities are vital. In democracy, minorities must feel safe. Ambedkar noted that the suppression and exploitation of minorities in any form is the negation of democracy and humanism. If suppression is not stopped, then democracy degenerates into

tyranny. Therefore, Ambedkar gave so much importance to education. He believes that education is essential to moralize and socialize the individuals, especially the backward classes to have a cognizance of self. For him, education facilities should be provided to those who are illiterate and backward, and on the other, to those who want to wipe out the roots of caste system in order to realize the ethos of democracy at the grass-root level.

Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Indian Constitution, played a significant role in the process of constitution-making. He raised the voices of those who had been long remained unheard, and had an intense commitment for the social cause and upliftment of depressed, suppressed and down-trodden sections of the society. Indian Constitution does incorporate the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar which is most noticeably evident in the various provisions of the Constitution. The Preamble, Part III, Part IV, and Part XVI among others are determined to establish a —just society by upholding the trinity of liberty, equality, fraternity and safeguarding the unity of the country. As argued earlier, Ambedkar gave much priority to the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. For him, it is necessary to ensure equality in our social and economic life at the earliest possible to solve the problem of Hindu society¹⁶.

Fraternity meant a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians. Ambedkar was aware of the fact that

¹⁵ Ishita Aditya ;B.R.Ambedkar's idea on equality and freedom: An Indian Perspective;American Journal of Social Sciences 2014;2(1); 7-15

¹⁶ <https://scroll.in/article/802495/why-br-ambedkars-three-warnings-in-his-last-speech-to-the-constituent-assembly-resonate-even-today>



people divided into several thousands of castes could not be a nation thus empathized on social union. These all three principles got significant place in the preamble of the Constitution¹⁷. Part III of the Constitution guarantees a series of fundamental rights to the citizens and some specific provisions have been made to safeguard the special rights and interests of depressed classes. Most importantly, Article 17 is unique in the sense that it has given a blow to the age-old practice of untouchability. It reflects the spirit of the Constitution the determination to restore the dignity of the individual and assure fraternity. Untouchability is not only prohibited but it is made punishable by law. Part IV also reflects the conceptualization of .Ambedkar on democracy that is to say, a political democracy should be accompanied with the social and police democracy. Part XVI reserves certain number of seats in the legislature in order to provide political representation to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The neglect of economic democracy was, in his view, one of the chief causes of "the failure of democracy in Western Europe". As he put it: "The second wrong ideology that has vitiated parliamentary democracy is the failure to realize that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social or economic democracy... .Democracy is another name for equality. Parliamentary democracy developed a passion for liberty.

Morality and Social Order

¹⁷

<http://www.boloji.com/index.cfm?md=Content&sd=Articles&ArticleID=12416>

One of the most interesting features of Ambedkar's political philosophy is his stress on the ethical dimension of democracy, or what he called "morality". One aspect of this is the importance of "constitutional morality", that is, of abiding by the spirit of the constitution and not just its legal provisions. Going beyond this, Ambedkar felt that "morality", in the sense of social ethics, was indispensable for the realisation of liberty and equality. In the absence of morality, there were only two alternatives: anarchy or the police. Dr. Ambedkar's emphasis on morality was well integrated with his commitment to rationality and the scientific spirit. In particular, he considered that morality was always subject to rational scrutiny. Further, his notion of morality was quite close to what might be called "social rationality"¹⁸.

Ambedkar's devotion to the Buddha's teachings occasionally jarred with his commitment to critical enquiry and independence of mind¹⁹. Having said this, his recognition of social ethics as an essential ingredient of democracy has not lost its relevance.

If democracy is just political competition between self-interested individuals, it will never succeed in bringing about liberty, equality and fraternity. In particular, it will never do justice to minority interests. To illustrate the point, consider the problem of urban destitution in India – the plight of wandering beggars, street children,

¹⁸ Jean Dreze;Dr. Ambedkar and the Future of Indian Democracy; Indian Journal of Human Rights;2005.

¹⁹ Ambedkar, B.R. (1957), The Buddha and His Dhamma (Bombay; People's Education Society).



leprosy patients, the homeless, and others. These political power whatsoever. Nor are they likely to have any in the foreseeable future. This is the main reason why the problem remains almost entirely unaddressed. If this problem is to come within the ambit of democratic politics, it can only be on the basis of ethical concern. This illustration pertains to a relatively confined aspect of India's social problems, but the potential reach of ethical concerns in democratic politics is very wide. If social ethics acquire a central role in democratic politics, a new world may come into view.

Democracy and Socialism

Ambedkar himself warned that the whole process of democratic practice in an unequal society was vulnerable to being derailed by vested interests. There is a hint of a chicken-and-egg problem here: what comes first, democracy or socialism? At one stage, it seems that Ambedkar envisaged that socialism would come first, and set the stage for democracy. His hope, at that time, was that "state socialism" would be enshrined in the Indian constitution²⁰.

A socialist constitution, as he saw it, was the key to reconciling democracy and socialism. Without constitutional protection for socialist principles such as state ownership of land and key industries, socialism in a democratic society was likely to be derailed by vested interests. Dr. Ambedkar's blueprint for a socialist constitution was presented in States and Minorities, an early memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly.

²⁰ Dreze J.P; and Sen, A.K (2002), India; Development and Participation (New Delhi;Oxford University Press)

Ambedkar's proposal for a socialist constitution was something of a political non-starter. It had little chance of being accepted by the Constituent Assembly, where privileged interests were well represented. However, Ambedkar did not abandon the idea of constitutional safeguards for socialist ideals and economic democracy. Ultimately, these were embodied in the Directive Principles" of the Indian constitution, which deal with a wide range of economic and social rights. The Directive Principles are indeed far-reaching, if one takes them seriously: "In my judgment, the directive principles have a great value, for they lay down that our ideal is economic democracy... The object in framing this Constitution is really twofold: (1) to lay down the form of political democracy, and (2) to lay down that our ideal is economic democracy and also to prescribe that every government... shall strive to bring about economic democracy."

As it turned out, however, the Directive Principles were not taken seriously in independent India. They were not enforceable in a court of law, and nor did electoral politics succeed in holding the state accountable to their realisation, as Ambedkar had envisaged. We are left with a half-baked democracy, where reasonably sound democratic institutions coexist with social conditions that threaten to make parliamentary democracy.

The Future of Indian Democracy

Political democracy has survived, but economic democracy remains a distant goal, and therefore, democracy remains incomplete and lopsided. In fact, even political democracy is not in very good health. Further, Indian democracy



is confronting new challenges, including the Hindutva movement, growing economic inequality, the rise of militarism, and the brazen misuse of power by political parties .

Having said this, there are also counter-trends, in the form of a growth of democratic space and democratic spirit. A startling variety of social movements have flourished in India²¹, and creative initiatives keep expanding the boundaries of political democracy year after year. Many new tools of democratic practice have emerged, unforeseen by Ambedkar: the right to information, the panchayati raj amendments, modern communication technology, transnational cooperation, to name a few. The quality of Indian democracy is also gradually enhanced by a better representation of women in politics, wider opportunities for people's involvement in local governance, and the spread of education among disadvantaged sections of the society. The most powerful and promising trend is the growing participation of the underprivileged in democratic processes²². Ambedkar had a visionary conception of democracy, which needs to be "rediscovered" today. But going beyond that, we must also enlarge this vision in the light of recent developments.

In practical terms, the best course of action may be to revive the Directive Principles of the Constitution, and to reassert that these principles are "fundamental in the governance of the

country" (Article 37). Indeed, in spite of much official hostility to these principles today, there are unprecedented opportunities for asserting the economic and social rights discussed in the constitution - the right to education, the right to information, the right to food, the right to work, and the right to equality, among others. Ambedkar's advice to "educate, organise and agitate" is more relevant than ever.

The future of Indian democracy depends a great deal on a revival of Ambedkar's visionary conception of democracy. This vision also needs to be enlarged and updated in the light of recent experience. Revolutionary Democracy Ambedkar's vision of democracy was closely related to his ideal of a "good society". He did not leave room for any ambiguity regarding the nature of this ideal. On many occasions, he stated that he envisaged a good society as one based on "liberty, equality and fraternity". Democracy, as he saw it, was both the end and the means of this ideal. It was the end because he ultimately considered democracy as coterminous with the realisation of liberty, equality and fraternity. At the same time, democracy was also the means through which this ideal was to be attained.

For this to happen, it was essential to link political democracy with economic and social democracy. Indeed, Ambedkar's vision of democracy was inseparable from his commitment to socialism. Sometimes he referred to this combined ideal as "social democracy", in a much wider sense than that in which the term is understood today.

Conclusion

It is important to note that the success of democracy depends largely on

²¹ V.Ragupathy, Vasundara Mohan; Secularism and Pluralistic Democracy in India; Concept publications ISBN-13:978-81-8069-865-1.

²² Ambedkar B.R (1936), Annihilation of Caste; reprinted in Government of Maharashtra (1979-98), vol 1.



enlightened masses, honest and patriotic citizens. Indian democracy vests supreme power in the hands of entire community. It aims at the common welfare of the common people. It ensures universal suffrage, popular control, popular responsibility, and the elected government remain accountable to them. If we want our democracy to survive, we should be much more vigilant and the people should be much more educated to realize the importance of democratic values¹⁰. We must enlighten the masses so that they may be in a position to assert their democracy in the real sense of the term. The ideals of democracy are so appealing to citizens around the world, that many have sacrificed their livelihoods, even their lives, to fight for it. Indeed, our era of "civilization" is characterized as much by war and conflict as it is by peace and democracy.



Dr B.R. Ambedkar's Ideas on Social Justice in Indian Society

Sri M.V. Devanand, Lecturer in English, SMVM Polytechnic College, Tanuku

Smt. G. Indira Kumari, Lecturer in Commerce, SKSD Mahila Kalasala UG & PG (A),
Tanuku

Abstract: Social justice is the spirit and vision of the Indian Constitution. It is the duty of the state to secure a social order in which the legal system of the nation promotes justice on the basis of equal opportunity and, in particular, ensures that opportunities for securing justice are not denied to any citizen by reason of economic or other disabilities. This article makes an attempt to explore Ambedkar's ideas on social justice. Thereafter, it focuses on Ambedkar's struggles and ideas on social justice in the Indian context and it finally explores the relevance of his mission for social justice in the present times.

Key words: opportunities, promotes justice, hierarchical caste system

Introduction:

In the ancient Indian approach, justice was concerned with the performance of duties, not with the notion of rights. In ancient Indian tradition, there were two approaches 'Dandaniti' and 'Dharma', which were concerned with justice. 'Dandaniti' was very close to the modern notions of justice (law and punishment). It suggested the legal aspect of justice. Dharma was another name for the code of duties and justice was nothing but virtuous conduct with dharma. Thus, like Platonic justice, the Hindu tradition linked justice with performance of duties prescribed by dharma.

The Hindu dharma, sought to be maintained by the ancient Hindu legal system, fully supported the four *Varnas* (Varna is a Sanskrit word which means color or class. Ancient hindu literature classified all humankind and all created beings into four varnas- The Brahmins, The Kshatriyas, The Vaishyas and The

Shudras) and the caste system. The Hindu legal system refused to recognize the basic fundamental right that all humans are born equal. The glaring inequalities and dehumanization based on the hierarchical caste system, with its graded disabilities from birth and humiliating and degrading occupations assigned to certain designated low castes to be followed by them till their death, were the greatest bane of the Hindu society. There was no scope for moulding a new social order that could guarantee social justice. The caste system founded on Varnashrama dharma was the very negation of social justice. The Hindu

Varnashrama dharma and the caste system pushed forth Brahmins as the highly privileged caste with a high hereditary social status and stamped the vast majority of the people as 'sudras' and 'untouchables' fit for only manual labour. They were deprived of educational opportunities and were condemned to a low social status. In course of time, the privileges for the



privileged class increased and the other classes became more and more oppressed and depressed; such a social structure bred inequality in status and denial of equal opportunities for all. It ushered in an unjust social order in the country. Social justice in India seeks to remove the glaring inequalities in society based on such a hierarchical caste system, with its graded disabilities from birth imposed on a large section of Hindu society and the conferment of privileges and position of dominance of Brahmins, which is a small section of the society.

Ambedkar's concept of social justice stands for the liberty, equality and fraternity of all human beings. He stood for a social system that is based on right relations between man and man in all spheres of his life. As a rationalist and humanist, he did not approve of any type of hypocrisy, injustice and exploitation of man by man in the name of religion. He stood for a religion that is based on universal principles of morality and is applicable to all times, to all countries and to all races. It must be in accord with reason and must be based on the basic tenets of liberty, equality and fraternity. He considered the caste system as the greatest evil of Hindu religion. The varna system according to him is the root cause of all inequality and is also the parent of the caste system and untouchability.

Relevance of Ambedkar's Concept of Social Justice in the Present Scenario:

Dr B.R. Ambedkar's thoughts on social justice were progressive. He did not believe in violence; he considered the press to be a powerful tool for social changes for justice and freedom. He published *Mook Nayak*, *Janata* and *Samata* magazines, but these magazines

remained largely unsold, perhaps because of the progressive and unconventional thoughts expressed therein. If there are prohibitions on the social evil of untouchability in the Constitution, then this credit goes to Ambedkar to a great extent. Ambedkar's greatest achievement was that he made the downtrodden of India feel their separate powerful existence; the credit goes to him that he brought all the downtrodden, untouchable castes under the one name of SCs. If Ambedkar had not pursued special reservation facilities for the SCs/STs in the field of education and government services of the central and states governments, their conditions would have remained as before—laden with sorrow and sufferings. It is the result of Ambedkar's constant efforts that today there are members of parliament (MPs), members of the legislative assembly (MLAs), The Indian Administrative Service (IAS)/The Indian Police Service (IPS), professors and doctors from among these castes.

He enshrined the principles of reservation for improvement of SCs/STs to enable them to progress educationally, economically and socially, by providing extra support to them in the form of reservation and concessions to uplift them to the level of the advanced classes. It is clearly seen at present that many legal provisions have been made to give social justice to all classes. In this way, many schemes and programmes have been started for the all-round development of the country and a measure of development has been achieved through it.

Today Ambedkar is not with us, but in his free India, social and economic differences have increased manifold. As a result, where on the one hand, there are



buildings touching the sky and 5-star hotels are found in the cities, on the other hand, there are dirty drains, places full of mud and there are the huts that speak of a hellish life, even worse than the life of animals. In such a situation, the thoughts of establishing a society based on equality appears only like a dream.

Conclusion:

Resting on Ambedkar's thoughts, the Indian Constitution guarantees equal rights to all, based on social justice and human dignity. It is observed, however, that Ambedkar's ideas of social justice could not be realized in a proper manner over the years. As such, his concept of justice will have to be propagated by institutions through civil society. Ambedkar was concerned about the overall development of the vulnerable sections of the Indian society and he chose to demolish existing caste discrimination by enacting the Constitution. Therefore, Ambedkar's ideas of social justice remain relevant in contemporary Indian society in promoting constitutional and legal methods for upholding the rights and dignity of the vulnerable sections.

References:

Agarwal, R.N. (2014, October 10). Six dalit women gang raped in Bhojpur village, 3 held. The Times of India.

Retrieved from
<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/Six-dalit-women-gang-raped-in-Bhojpur-village-3-held/articleshow/44777796.cms>

Mallik, C. (2011). Justice and equality in Dr. BR Ambedker's vision of

India. Doctoral dissertation, Jadavpur University, Kolkata.

NCERT. (2010). Social justice. In Political theory. New Delhi: Publication Division.

Vishwanathan, S. (2010, August 30). Khairlanji: The crime and punishment. The Hindu. Retrieved from [http://www.](http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/khairlanji-the-crime-and-punishment/article588920.ece)

[thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/khairlanji-the-crime-and-punishment/article588920.ece](http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-opinion/khairlanji-the-crime-and-punishment/article588920.ece)



Dr. B. R. Ambedkar - The Champion of Women Rights

Dr. Ch. Rama Devi, *Guest faculty, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Law College, Andhra University, Visakhapatnam.*

Abstract: *Dr. Ambedkar had discovered the truth of life and wanted to share it with the depressed sections in the world. He has been interpreted as liberator, law maker, constitution framer, human rights upholder, a keen journalist, Jurist and finally an institution builder. Ambedkar made his own view for the women rights and that has been reflected in Indian constitution. His goal was to make a society based on social justice. To secure this goal, Ambedkar has given equal status to women on par with men by providing many provisions in the Indian constitution. To him, sexual discrimination should be root out from the society and everybody should get equal opportunity in the society. It may be noted that Dr. Ambedkar was not against Religions, he was against un-religious acts in the name of religion, by the orthodox clergies and he always opposed the unreligious act of differentiating between humans (woman & Child included) on the basis of castes, sects, sex, color or place/ status at birth.*

Key words: *Indian constitution, women, social discrimination*

Introduction

Gautama Buddha was the first preacher who revolted against the discrimination against the women in society.¹ In independent India Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was the first Law Minister and he was the architect of the Indian constitution. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar being one of the most influential names to be working against social discrimination, he inspired the Modern Buddhist Movement in India.² He was also popularly known as Babasaheb, the Indian jurist, politician, economist and social reformer, who was born in 1891 in Mhow, Madhya Pradesh,

was known for his campaigns against social discrimination against dalits, women and labour in India.³ Dr. Ambedkar again restored equal status of women through Supreme law of the land that is Constitution.

"We shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if male education is persuaded side by side with female education"⁴ are the words of young Ambedkar during his studies at New York which came out while writing a letter to his father's friend. Interestingly Dr. Ambedkar's First Academic Paper "Caste in India: their mechanism, Genesis and development" also begins with his

¹ *D-Mag March 2001, Edition - Ambedkar, ambedkar.org/D-Mag/D-MagMar.htm*

² *Dr BR Ambedkar: 7 Facts You May Not Have Known About Him, http://www.huffingtonpost.in/2015/04/14/b-r-ambedkar_n_7059506.html*

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Dr. Ambedkar On Women Liberation By Ratnesh Katulkar, <http://www.countercurrents.org/katulkar310808.htm>*



concern towards women.⁵ Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar the principle Architect of the Indian constitution and as an emancipator of the poor and deprived. He was not only crusader against caste system and a valiant for the cause of the downtrodden but also an elder statesman and a national leader Dr. Babasaheb was the beacon of light for the millions of depressed, oppressed and exploited people of India.⁶

Ideology of Ambedkar on women

Dr. Babasaheb's mission in his life was to challenge the ideological foundation of graded system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to woman in Hindu society. But his drown documents as the lining documents i.e. Indian constitution brings the equality by the rule of law in this nation. Dr. Ambedkar was fully aware that a large population in India was in deep darkness or was placed into darkness and all the doors were tightly closed for any light to sneak in to. He himself underwent through that horrific experiences and could manage to get the light he was desperately looking for. But he was not confined to his own well-being but wanted to extend it to all those who were under perpetual darkness, ignorance, servitude, independence and grief. As Buddha said that "I am not a liberator but a path-finder, emancipation is your individual effort". Following the same tradition, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar set himself as path-finder to millions of people for liberation and light.

Dr. Babasaheb had discovered the truth of life and wanted to share it with the depressed sections in the world. He

has been interpreted as liberator, law maker, constitution framer, human rights upholder, a keen journalist, Jurist and finally an institution builder. For progress and upliftment of this society Dr. Ambedkar said my final words of advice to you is "Educate, Agitate, organize, have faith in yourself. With justice on our side, I do not see how we can lose our battle. The battle to an individual is a matter of joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritually. There is nothing material or social in it. For ours is a battle not for wealth or for power. It is a battle for freedom. It is a battle for reclamations of the human personality."⁷

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had a strategically thought and well-defined process for his mission to be successful. Dr. Ambedkar wanted the people to cultivate the values of freedom and equality among themselves. It is possible only through education. He regarded education as means to reach the doors of light and perception to remove the regions of darkness and ignorance. Ambedkar emphasized on secular education for social emancipation. Following the above said order, can positively result in achieving more outcomes that are beneficial not only for our community but for the society as a whole.

Women's position in pre independent India

In India, the history articulates that the women are considered as a divine force but the multi-cultured Indian society placed the women at different positions.

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ *Dr.Br.Ambedkar: Educate, Agitate And Organise... Aibheemyvasena.Blogspot.Com/2010/11/Educate-Agit...*



It is evident from Indian history that there is no uniform status of women in the society. The Indian philosophy poses the women with dual character.⁸ On the one hand, she is considered fertile, patient and benevolent but on the other hand she is considered aggressor and represents 'shakti'.⁹

To study the position of women in this country it is necessary to discuss the position of women during the

- Vedic Period
- Post Vedic Period
- Medieval Period

1. Vedic Period

It is revealed from the available documentation that during the Vedic period women enjoyed a fair amount of freedom and equality with men in all aspects of life.¹⁰ The rights and obligations of a Hindu are determined by ancient Hindu law, which is a branch of dharma. The main source of ancient Hindu law is smritis. Dharma is an idiom of wide introduction of law which is an extract of rights, duties and obligations, which can be religious, moral, social and legal. The main source from which the Hindu law is derived is Dharma. From thousands of years people living in the Indian subcontinent have been leading their lives by following the guidelines and concepts given in the

⁸ Dr. S. C. Tripathi And Vibha Arora, "Law Relating To Women And Childern", Central Law Publications, 2010.

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Mishra, R. C. (2006). *Towards Gender Equality*. Authorspress. Isbn 81-7273-306-2. Archived 29 October 2010 At The Wayback Machine.

Vedas. These guidelines have evolved into rules followed by the people and enforced by the rulers and have thus become de facto law, origin of ancient Hindu law is believed that it is a divine law, it was revealed to the people by God through Vedas. Various sages and jurists have elaborated and developed the abstract concepts of life explained in the Vedas.

2. Post Vedic Period

The sources of Hindu law is divided into two types one is ancient and another is modern. Ancient sources of law are known as uncodified Hindu law and modern sources are codified law. The ancient sources of law further classified into four categories such as 1) shruti (it means what is heard and it includes the four Vedas i.e., rig, vajur, sam, and athrava.) 2) Smruti means what is heard (it is further divided into two – early smrutis known as dharma sutras (they were mostly written in prose form and verses) and later smruthi known as dharmashastras (they were based on dharma sutras and mostly in metrical verse. They dealt with aachara, vavahar and prayschitta), 3) commentaries and digests, commentaries were work done to explain a particular smriti is called a commentary. Digests were mainly written after commentaries and it mainly incorporated and explained from all the smrutis. 4) Custom based on practices followed by all the people of this country and it is also known as transcendent law (there are four types of customs such as local, family, caste and community, and guild)¹¹. Since from the region of 500 BC the status of women gradually declined with the Smritis and other religious texts giving *diktats* which adversely affected

¹¹ Sources of Hindu Law - Hanumant, hanumant.com/SourcesOfHinduLaw.htm



women's freedom and rights.¹² Manuscript provides a woman with property rights to six types of property. These include those she received at her marriage or as gift when she eloped or when she was taken away or as token of love before marriage, or as gifts from her biological family, or as received from her husband subsequent to marriage, and also from inheritance from deceased relatives.¹³ In the Manu Smriti, Manu not only shows contempt for women but goes on to degrade them as slaves, devoid of intellect; denies them the right of education and the right to property.

3. Medieval Period

In medieval period women's position in the society subjected to further deteriorated, this was a period when important scriptures propagated the idea that women were unfit freedom and independence.

In the modern India, the status of Indian women can be divided into two different periods, Pre-Independence India (the British Rule) and Post-Independence India.¹⁴ During 18th century some drastic changes brought in political orderliness, but the social structure, customs, and practices in the Indian society remained unchanged. It was during the 19th Century eminent leaders of Indian society understood the importance of women. Dr. Ambedkar-the great fighter and a deep thinker has made significant

efforts on the path of liberty. He was the first Indian reformer who roots out the barriers in the way of advancement of Indian society in general and of women in particular. Above all he was a pioneer of social justice.¹⁵ Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar was a great son of India. He was truly a man of social justice who believes in equality and humanity. He has played very important and constructive role in shaping the Independent India.¹⁶ Dr. Ambedkar is a leader of modern India. As it is because of him only we got the best constitution in the world. He laid down the foundation of concrete and sincere efforts by codifying the common civil court for Hindus and other sections of the Indian society. He established finance commission of India and RBI was conceptualized by the guidelines from his book "Problem of Rupee - Its origin and its solution" to empower women at that time and to give them all around development more specifically social education.¹⁷

Being India's first Law minister and chairman of drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar thought it appropriate, rather his duty, to free women from the age old thralldom by reforming the Hindu social laws. He, therefore, took initiative to draft and

¹² *Women in History*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090619085059/http://nrcw.nic.in/index2.asp?sublinkid=450>

¹³ *Patrick Olivelle (2005), Manu's Code of Law, Oxford University Press, ISBN 978-0195171464, pages 200-201, 746-809*

¹⁴ *Supra*

¹⁵ *Ambedkar and woman rights: An analysis Satyajit Das Asst. Professor, Dept. of Political Science, G.D.C., Dharmanagar, North Tripura.*

¹⁶ *Welcome to ambedkartimes.com, www.ambedkartimes.com/the_news.htm*

¹⁷ *What are the contributions of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar towards ...*, <https://www.quora.com/What-are-the-contributions-of-Dr-B-R-Ambedkar-towards-India>



introduce the Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly.¹⁸

Ambedkar's contribution towards women rights in India

In India, discriminatory attitude towards men and women has existed for generations and affects the lives of both genders. Although the constitution of India has granted men and women equal rights, gender disparity still remains. Gender discrimination violates not only human rights but also fundamental rights. Rights are given to all human beings not only for men but also for women. These are mostly seen in family land sharing among sisters and brothers. Baba Sahib Dr. Ambedkar worked with, dedication, zeal and conviction for the betterment of women on becoming Chairman of Constitution Drafting Committee and First Law Minister of independent Indian. He gave India a living and organic constitution, enshrining in it all those conditions which are necessary to promote fraternity among all citizens of free India, including women. Discrimination on the basis of caste, religion, sex, creed, place of birth was codified as illegal acts under the Statute book.¹⁹

Constitutional Rights and Women

Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women rights in the political vocabulary and constitution of India are²⁰

- Article 14 - Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres
- Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex.
- Article 15(3) enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women.
- Article 39 and 39(d) state Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work.
- Article 41 the state shall guarantee within its economic limits to all the citizens, the right to work, to education and public assistance in certain cases.
- Article 42 - Human conditions of work and maternity relief and maternity relief.
- Article 44, the state provides a uniform Civil Code to all the citizens throughout the territory of India.
- Article 46 - The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.
- Article 47 - The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on
- Article 51 (A) (C) - Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women.
- Article 46 - The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section

¹⁸ *Supra*1

¹⁹ *Dr. Ambedkar and Women Empowerment*, <http://dalitvision.blogspot.in/2013/02/dr-ambedkar-and-women-empowerment.html>

²⁰ *Dr. Ambedkar and Gender Equality*, <http://www.seu.ac.lk/researchandpublicati>

[ons/symposium/international/2013/Social %20Sci/Dr.%20Ambedkar%20and.pdf](ons/symposium/international/2013/Social%20Sci/Dr.%20Ambedkar%20and.pdf)



of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

- Article 47 – The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on.
- Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System.

But Ambedkar made his own view for the women rights and that has been reflected in Indian constitution. His goal was to make a society based on social justice. To secure this goal, Ambedkar has given equal status to women on par with men by providing many provisions in the Indian constitution. To him, sexual discrimination should be root out from the society and everybody should get equal opportunity in the society. It may be noted that Dr. Ambedkar was not against Religions, he was against un-religious acts in the name of religion, by the orthodox clergies and he always opposed the unreligious act of differentiating between humans (woman & Child included) on the basis of castes, sects, sex, color or place/ status at birth.²¹ Dr. Ambedkar said "If God does not recognize man or woman by caste or place of birth, the man made Orthodox and superstitious religions cannot/should not do so".²²

The Hindu Code Bill

To strike last in the coffin of discrimination against Indian women, Dr Ambedkar raised a new battle cry by finally submitting modified and revised

Hindu Code bill to Constituent assembly in October 1948, which was under consideration since 1941 this, gave a great shock to the reactionary opponents. But it has been supported by elite personalities such as Justice Gajenderagadkar, an eminent Sanskrit Scholar, jurist & Judge of the Bombay High Court he stated, "If Dr Ambedkar gives us Hindu Code Bill his achievement would go down in history as a very eloquent piece of poetic justice indeed".²³ The discussion on this historic Bill by the Modern Manu began on Feb.5, 1951 in the Parliament

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar not only ascertains constitutional guarantees to women but also introduced a Hindu Code Bill to strengthen the position of women in the society. Ambedkar's defense for women as the Law Minister of free India appeared in the form of the Hindu Code Bill in Parliament on 11th April 1947, the Bill could not withstand the opposition from the Hindu orthodoxy. Their major argument was that the Bill was an attempt at the "demolition of the entire structure and fabric of Hindu Society. In reality, the Bill was a threat to patriarchy on which traditional family structure, was bounded and that was the major reason behind the opposition. The Bill sought to abolish polygamy among the hindu's it proposed the right to property and the right to divorce for women. The bill tried to codify the Hindu Laws which were in a scattered form. He proposed to reform these laws on seven different matters,²⁴ viz.,

- i) the right to property of a deceased Hindu dying intestate to both male and female,

²¹ *Supra*19

²² *Ibid*

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*



- ii) the order of succession among different heirs to the property of a deceased dying intestate,
- iii) the law of maintenance,
- iv) marriage,
- v) divorce,
- vi) adoption, and
- vii) minority guardianship.

Despite the very moderate nature of Bill, Dr. Ambedkar could not get it passed due to opposition by many conservative personalities. This bill speaks about the legislative measure of modern India, sought among other reforms, to put an end to a variety of marriage systems prevailing in India and legalize only monogamous marriages. The Code also sought to confer on women's right to property, adoption and maintenance. It put men and women on equal level in all legal matters. While introducing the Hindu code bill Dr. B. R. Ambedkar addressed the house as follows:

"I should like draw attention of the house to one important fact. The great political philosopher Burke who wrote his great book against the French Revolution said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair. And all I am asking this House is: If you want to maintain the Hindu system, Hindu culture and Hindu society, do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than to repair those parts of the Hindu system which have become dilapidated".²⁵

But unfortunately this bill was not approved by the parliament; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar protested strongly and

²⁵ *Supra* 17

submitted his resignation to the then prime minister on 27 September, 1951, in his resignation he stated that

"For a long time I have been thinking of resigning my seat from the Cabinet. The only thing that had held me back from giving effect to my intention was the hope that it would be possible to give effect to the Hindu Code Bill before the life of present Parliament came to an end. I even agreed to break up the bill and restricted it to Marriage and Divorce in the fond hope that atleast this much of our labour may bear fruit. But even that part of Bill had been killed. I see no purpose in my continuing to be a Member of your Cabinet".²⁶ In protest against the failure of the Bill, Dr. Ambedkar resigned his seat in the cabinet. Although, his efforts did not, entirely, go waste. Later, the original Bill was split into four different Bills with slight changes. Those were passed as ²⁷

- ✓ the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955;
- ✓ The Hindu Succession Act, 1956;
- ✓ the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, 1956; and
- ✓ the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance

The Preamble of Indian constitution guarantees social and economic justice to women and that is because of Ambedkar contribution. In the preamble²⁸ it is mentioned: i) social, economic and political justice, ii) freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, iii) equality of status and

²⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ *Preamble to the Constitution of India*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Preamble_to_the_Constitution_of_India



opportunity and iv) fraternity assuring dignity of the individual and national unity to all the citizens of India without any discrimination of caste, creed or sex. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's main motto was for liberation and empowerment of Indian women. He framed many laws for Women in India as follows,²⁹

- 1) Dearness Allowance,
- 2) Women Labour welfare fund,
- 3) ESI,
- 4) Provident fund Act,
- 5) Women Labour Protection Act,
- 6) Maternity Benefit for women Labour bill,
- 7) Divorce Act,
- 8) Right over parental Property,
- 9) Leave Benefit to Piece Workers,
- 10) Revision of Scale of Pay for Employees,
- 11) Restoration of Ban on Women Working Underground in Mines etc.,
- 12) No marriage before age of 18 years,
- 13) Maintenance allowance from husband on getting legally separation,
- 14) Widow can adopt a child,
- 15) Mother can change guardian by will
- 16) Equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex.

Basing on the ideas championed by our founding father Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for women empowerment, many social, economic and political provisions were incorporated in the Indian Constitution. Women in India now participate in areas

such as education sports, politics, media, art and culture, service sector, Science and Technology. But due to the deep rooted patriarchal mentality in the Indian society, women are still victimized, humiliated, tortured and exploited. Even after seven decades of independence. Women are still subjected to discrimination in the social, economic and educational field.

Women of today have become powerful they have equal opportunities as men have in all the fields like education, marriage, Job, property etc. Women are now free to do everything according to their will. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar once stated that "I am a great believer in women's organization. I know that what they can do to improve the condition of the society if they are convinced. In the eradication of social evils they have rendered great services. I will testify to that from my own experience. Ever since I began to work among the depressed classes, I made it a point to carry women along with men."

At present the Indian women have progressed a lot in various part of their life although they are still suffering from various social evils like dowry, eve teasing, rape etc. It is a fact that in the glorious development of Indian society, the Indian women have march forward to the developmental process and somewhere treated equally with their male counter parts but it is yet to be verified by the people of India with women should have given the equal rights and opportunity with men so as to establish a shining India where women can live freely, equally irrespective of religion caste, creed and gender etc.

²⁹ *Supra* 17



Socio-Economic and Inclusive Democracy – The Dream of Dr B R Ambedkar.

Dr A.B.Saraswathi, Asst. Professor, KLU Business School, KL University, Guntur, AP

Satyanarayana Kanakala, Asst. Professor, Dept. of MBA, Pydah PG College, Visakhapatnam,

K Venkatalaxmi, MA English Previous, Dr VS Krishna Degree & PG College, Visakhapatnam,

Abstract : *Inclusive democracy is a process and frame work in order to include women and marginal social groups like SC's and ST's and minorities in a democratic dialogue and process.. What Ambedkari thought and dreamt about independent India was –'So long as you do not achieve social liberty, whatever freedom is provided by the law is of no avail to you' this vision and thought exactly fits into the present Panchayati Raj system, because ruling and planning starts from the roots. We have good systems but not holistic and realistic in implementing the real democracy. Democracy should not mean only voting. It is a poor substitute for democracy which requires direct by the citizens. There are most stakeholders from democracy in the present day. Democracy has become the politics of everyday life. It is concerned with problems closely related with people's daily lives. In this paper the writer wish analyze to what extent these Panchayats have emerged as institutions of self-governments, enabled people 's participation – particularly the marginalized sections of the society (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and women) For this study the secondary data / report prepared by the Ministry of Panchayati Raj has been taken for analysis. Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) was entrusted to prepare the devolution of policy during 2014-15. The 73rd Amendment helped the largest population of this nation under grassroots democratic management and governance. Panchayats at the micro level can do miracles to the villagers, provided they are holistic. They can do yeoman service to imbibe, inculcate and institutionalize the democratic local management in the country. In this respect let the state governments believe in their strengths to bring about transformation in the lives of the masses and give them full opportunity to empower grass root direct democracy in rural India, where the majority of the people will enjoy the fruits of democracy –what exactly the vision of Ambedkar. In this paper the writers wish to focus the vision, the dreams, the ideals and the ideas of the father of Indian Constitution. An attempt is also made to correlate the same with the father of our nation.*

Key words: *grassroots democratic, Social Sciences, self-governments*

Origin of the idea of 'democracy':

The idea of democracy took its origin as a classical institutional form in Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. All the Athenian citizen had an equal right to take part in person in discussions and

votes in the assembly on the laws and policies of the community, and also to share in their administration through jury service and membership of the administrative council, which were recruited in rotation by lot.



In the post Cold War world, democracy has become a universal ideal, wherein presently almost all the countries irrespective of their economic development aspire to follow, as it is the gate way for socio-economic development.

In the very good olden ancient period Indian Village Republics and the Greek city States, all the citizens of their respective villages /cities used to assemble together and decide directly issues of governance, which can be called as direct popular democracy. In this case both legal and political severity could be said to vest in the people.

Now as the size of population and the area increased a lot, all forms of direct democracy extent from all over the world except for a few Swiss cantons. The very recent referenda on a very important issue 'Brexit' is the example where people given the verdict vote. Modern democracy thus has of necessity to be indirect representative democracy. Wherein, the government will make the laws to suit the situations by the elected representatives of the people. Under this system where multiple political parties are participating, the best (majority out of minority) out of the worst are the decision makers.

Meaning and Definitions:

'Democracy' –the Greek word, literally means 'demos' meant 'the people' and 'Kratos' meant 'government' or 'rule'. Democracy therefore, meant government by the people as against monarchy or dictatorship. Like 'socialism' or 'secularism', democracy also meant different things to different people. Its basic things are that the sovereign power resides in the people, that irrespective of religion, caste, creed, color or sex and irrespective of the level of economic,

educational or professional background, all are equal in the eyes of law. In a democracy the people are supposed to be their own masters.

Churchill defined democracy as "the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried". According to Amartya Sen- "Democracy remains the only system of government that commands global respect"

Very old, universally known and simple definition of democracy, "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". This famous and simple definition of democracy becomes meaningful when democratic practices actually percolate to the grassroots level. The emergence and evolution of Panchayati Raj system in India has in fact given the way for further strengthening our democratic roots. Needless to say, decentralization is the key to attain better economic efficiency, accountability and overall socio-economic development with equitable distribution of income and wealth.

PRINCIPLES

Throughout our life at the micro or macro level, we take decisions/ are taken with the help from others or individually to suit the situations. Men being a social animal collective decisions are always preferred than the individual. It is nothing but the collective decision that seeds the democracy. It embodies the ideal that such decisions, affecting the association or the society as a whole represent the principle of democracy. Democracy, in other words, entails the twin principles of popular control over collective decision-making and quality of rights in the exercise of that control. Democratic principles are relevant to



collective decision making in any kind of association

People all over the world much talk about 'democracy', but the word tends to mean different things to different people, hence, there is lot of confusion about what democracy actually involves. It is a fact that those nations which has no competitive elections or universal suffrage, or where elected politicians have no effective control over the non-elected state officials, or where there is no guaranteed rights of associations, assembly or freedom of expression-will not come under democracy. It guarantees the basic freedoms. Once Ambedkar expressed that he likes the religion that teaches liberty, equality and fraternity. Democracy aims at treating all people equally. Jeremy Bentham, an English Legal theorist said 'Every one to count for one and none for more than one,' This principle of equality not only that of people's interests to be attended by the government policy, but also that their views should count equally

INTRODUCTION

Democracy has a very long history in the world. In India it got tremendous impetus in our struggle for Independence. We can learn lot of lessons taking the experiments still going with democracy. The structure of democracy itself does not guarantee real democracy to the society, as it demands equity in all respects. Irrespective of the level of development, with the existence of socio-economic inequalities – there will not be any real democracy. Civil society of any nation cannot claim to be democratic until it achieves equity in all respects – what exactly thought by Ambedkar. When majority of the people of any nation are suffering from socio-economic

inequalities and where there is a greater need for inclusiveness, how the nation is called as democracy in real.

Socio- economic Democracy:

Dr Ambedkar cautioned the people at large saying "we are going to enter into life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and social and economic rights, we will have inequality----We must remove this contradiction or else who suffer from this inequality will blow up the structure"

Democracy does not mean nearly political democracy or the people's right to vote and elect the representatives. Without social and economic democracy, political democracy has no meaning in the developing countries like India. the main aim of Dr. Ambedkar is social-economic democracy and the ultimate goal is to achieve socialistic pattern of society. He said that parliamentary democracy was meaningless unless it was geared to achieving the real economical democracy. Unless economic problems are not solved, the political structure tends to weaken and crack up. Hence, once should look for economic democracy which means "working for certain measure of equality of opportunity in the economic sphere."

This is very clear from our Preamble which speaks of securing to all citizens of the Republic "Justice, Social, Economic and Political." Founding fathers like Ambedkar, Nehru and many more leaders were quiet clear in their vision that political justice was meaningless without economic justice. In our society, having religious, caste and creed, regional discrimination even the economic justice was not enough unless it is coupled with social justice.



Dr Ambedkar had said – on 26-01-1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life we shall, by region of our social and economic structure continues to deny the principle of one man one value.

Opinion of AMBEDKAR

Constitution is the basic law of the land. The Supreme Court is not above the constitution and laws. It is also accountable to the sovereigns the people of India. Dr Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly did not favor the Panchyat systems. He harshly said they are dens of corruption, localism, backwardness etc. but respecting Gandhi thought as a compromise or concession to Gandhi's views, article 40 was included under the non- enforceable Part IV on the Direct Principles of State Policy. It is said that the state shall take steps to organize Village Panchayats and undo them with necessary authority "to function as units of self government"

At present, this system begin a new era of real representative and participatory democracy with nearly 3/2 million elected representatives- 1/3 of the women (in some states 50%) involved in the business of governance all over India, there by bringing power to the people at the village level where it belonged.

Inclusive Democracy:

The concept of inclusive democracy was conceived in late 1990's and mostly introduced in the practicing political discourse in the new millennium. Takis Fotopoulos has introduced the concept of

inclusive democracy in his book- "Towards an inclusive democracy: the crisis of the growth economy and the need for libratory project"

. Inclusive democracy is a process and frame work in order to include women and marginal social group in a democratic dialogue and process. This also can be called as politics of difference. In the democratic setup there has been displacement of power upward (transnational networks, international organizations and big global companies), downward (Local governance institutions) and outward (Communities and non- profit organizations, NGO and Civil Societies) It works when people from all sections of the society are empowered to participate in governance, raise objections, take decisions and ensure social and political accountability. This will require delegation of power from below and true devolution of power to the common man. This can be achieved in its true sense through implementation of 73rd Amendment in its true spirit, giving importance to the ideas and ideals of Ambedkar.

The concept of inclusive became a buzz word and is widely used in many subjects, including politics. Society will suffer, if some are excluded from economic inclusion. Like that, inclusive democracy presupposes the freedom to various social and religious groups to practice their faith without fear (a part of secularism). The structure of democracy needs the institutionalized values of freedom, equity, secularism and social justice. A number of legislative measures such as Right to Information, Right to Education, and Right to food MGNREG Act are some of the positive approach for inclusive democracy as viewed by our founding fathers of our nation.



Dreams of Ambedkar and Gandhi:

Ambedkar and Gandhi had many dreams to make India as one of the largest, truly democratic. The father of our Indian Constitution said that- "Men are mortal. So are ideas. An idea needs propagation as much as a plant needs watering. Otherwise both will wither and die". Replying a query on this "Dream for India" Gandhi wrote in his journal Young India, 10th September 1930. "I shall work for an India in which the poorest will feel it is his country, in whose making he has an effective voice' In this respect the dreams of both are same, but some feel that approach to reach and achieve may be different.

Professor Irving Younger of the Cornell University suggested that our judges should evolve the doctrine that "no law is validly enacted unless legislators voting for it have read". By this test 95 percent of the laws passed by the Indian Parliament and the State Legislatures would have to be invalidated.

Ambedkar and Gandhi thoughts are identical. Gandhi said that "my idea of village Swaraj' is that, it is complete republic independent of its neighbors for its own vital wants" matches with Ambedkar's ideas and ideals. The Panchayati Raj Institutional (PRIs) set up, especially mandated under 73rd Amendment to the Constitution of India is most appropriate manifestation of democracy envisioned as a system of good governance and inclusive development of the people, for the people and by the people. It is a right step towards empowering direct and inclusive democracy as against representative democracy system practiced under parliamentary and legislative systems of governance is a vision by Ambedkar. The

vital characteristics of democratic management ,viz. bottom up planning, participatory decision making , community led implementation of development programmes and welfare schemes involving all sections of the people to achieve equitable and inclusive and integrated growth can be seen under the empowered PRIs mandated under 73rd amendment.

Deepening Grassroots of Democracy:

The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution (hereafter referred to Central Act) which was passed about two decades ago and the enactment of the Provisions Of Panchayats (Extensions to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 to strengthen the Panchayat Raj System, thereby the deepening the grassroots democracy. The state legislatures have been given powers to decide on the composition of Grama Sabha and Grama Panchayaths. Therefore, powers and functions and compositions of Grama Panchayats determine state governments in line with local needs.

Grama Sabha is the basic foundation of Panchayati Raj System. A village with not less than 1500 population forms Grama Sabha and every adult becomes a member of it. If the population is less than that such villages are grouped to gather to form a Grama Sabha. The functions of Grama Sabha changes from time to time as prescribed by respective states. The basic difference between Grama Sabha and Grama Panchayat is that, while Grama Sabha constitutes each adult member of a village, Grama Panchayat is the Executive members elected by the Grama Sabha to work for the village development.

Observations:



The main features of this exercise is that it is based on examining the activity, mapping covering the transfer of functions, functionaries and finances to PRIs in the subject listed in the 11th Schedule of the Constitution and grassroots reality. This survey was done by the TISS taking all the states except Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Goa. A total sample of 41 District Panchayats, 39 PSs and 42 GPs have been taken for the field study by TISS.

It is observed from the table that from the point of view of DPo states like Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Sikkim and West Bengal are the better performers. About DPr the table shows Kerala stands out as the top performing state in this index It means there is no difference between the policy and its translation in the field from the point of view of decentralization. It is also observed that none of the states have achieved cent percent devolution. Kerala which tops the list has an index of less 80. From the point of view DPr which shows actual happening of decentralization, as much as 92 percent states not crossed the devolution index of 50.

In the table, devolution in policy (DPo) reflects the state government's policy commitment to devolve powers to the Panchayats. It includes functions, functionaries and finances officially allocated to the Panchayats and infrastructure and governance structure created for the smooth functioning of Panchayat operations. Devolution in practice (DPr) reflects actual devolution happening in the field and validates the data obtained from the state governments. This indicator shows actual control of Panchayats over transferred institutions, functions and functionaries, financial autonomy and utilization of

developmental funds and the status of infrastructure and administrative systems in place.

CHALLENGES

One of the major challenges that democratic practice has to face in India is to eradicate corruption at all levels and in all fields of civic administration and public life. We can find two way relationships between the practice of democracy and eradication of corruption. The former can help the latter, but the latter, he needs turn, can be of great value in extending the force and effectiveness of the former. Corruption can have a deeply adverse effects on equity. It is a major threat to democracy.

Democracies face considerable challenges from ethnic and religious and other divisions from unemployment and economic fluctuations; from a wide spread feeling among people of powerlessness over their own lives. Although we offer no solution to this problems as they are partly socio economic in nature we recognize the importance of survival democracy in the contemporary world including in India.

There are four chief components of functioning of democracy. They are also called building blocks of functioning democracy. They are free and fair elections open and accountable government, civil and political rights, democratic are civil society. This framework can be represented like a pyramid in which each component is necessary to the whole.

Suggestions:

The 73rd Amendment helped the largest population of this nation under grassroots democratic management and governance. Panchayats at the micro



level can do miracles to the villagers. They can do yeoman service to imbibe, inculcate and institutionalize the democratic local management in the country. In this respect let the state governments believe in their strengths to bring about transformation in the lives of the masses and give them full opportunity to empower grass root direct democracy in rural India, where the majority of the people will enjoy the fruits of democracy.

Standards of ethics and decency in public life are less easy to enforce by law than by public opinion (leaving democracy) obedience to values- which is enforced not by machinery of criminal justice but by the national ethos- is the ultimate guarantee of public life. You must not desert the ship because you cannot control the winds. It is better to try to do something and fail, rather than try to do something and succeed.

One of the basic features of our constitution is democratic polity which cannot be altered by any Constitution amendment. We have at present adopted and following representative parliamentary democracy. The founding fathers (Constitution makers) tried to provide for the fullest representation by giving voting power to all the adult population of the country without any literacy, property, race, creed, religion, region are sex criteria.

The success of "participatory democracy" depends on the people "choices" in preparing the programme. Democracy must not be confused nearly with establishment formality majority rule. It demands free and fair elections protection of human rights and political liberties, respect for legal entitlement, guarantying of free discussions and un

censored distribution of news and fair comment and very importantly wide spread actual participation of people including the marginalized.

Democracy has important instrumental role in enhancing the hearing the people get in response claims to political and claims of economic needs. The success of democracy can be judged by taking into account the fulfillment of its demands. Most of the desirable reforms are possible without amendments in the provisions of the Constitution.

Conclusions:

What India badly needs, and sadly lacks, is not political leadership but moral and ethical leadership, which can be lead to the true democracy and renaissance of true Indian culture. India as one of the largest and most vibrant democracies in the world enjoys a unique place among the comity of nations. All the time our democratic system has emerged from strength to strength over the last 69 years. In fact, for the newly emerging states/nations, India has become a role model as powerful and meaning full democracy. As we salute the founding fathers of our nation for the tremendous wisdom and foresight in laying down the guiding principles, we have equal responsibility to match ahead in the right path of democracy.

Finally what Ambedkar, the father of our Constitution and Gandhi, the father of our nation thought of inclusive democracy means a few social and economic concessions programme until inequalities in the distribution of income and wealth. Taking that into account the present government taking up many economic programs the biggest and widely implementing is Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee



(MGNREG) in addition to other economic programs to uplift the rural poor. It is very sorry that Gandhi was aware that the picture that he had towards India would be called Ethiopian. But, Ambedkar's thoughts are very practical and most realistic to implement. Thanks to the present developmental programs that are being implemented at the grass root level respecting the Gandhian approach and Ambedkar's dreams to build the modern India.

What Ambedkar expected is far away to the present. Their present generation feeling is values in all spheres and in all professions declining. Rampant corruption, terrorist activities going on increasing both in absolute and relative terms. Use of money and muscle power in elections at all levels- " the politicization of criminals " and " criminalization of politics " and the divisive tendencies like caste ism and communalism, religion, regionalism are raising their ugly heads hear and there, now and then giving the total opinion as dirty politics. What Ambedkar said, in any representative democracy – the root concerns are two namely stability and responsibility. The growth is not inclusive in nature though we completed 12th Five Year Plan.

In this respect- whether anything what expected by the founding fathers

Ambedkar, Gandhi, Nehru and other great leaders in working the Constitution to find out if any of the problems. We had to considered what changes- legal, administrative or economic socio economic and take necessary step through Constitutional amendments if they come across

References:

- 1) David Beetham and Kevin Boyle (1996) – "Democracy 80 questions and Answers", National Book Trust of India. Published in Association with UNESCO publishing p4,28,114.
- 2) Jeen Dreze and Amartyasen, (2002) - India development and participation- Oxford University Press, New Delhi p144,375,77.
- 3) Mahipal: Panchyat Raj in India: Deeping Grassroot Democracy, Kurukshatra, Nov, 2015, pg no 05
- 4) Subhash C. Kashyap, (2001) – Our Constitution- An introduction to India Constitution and Constitution law- National Book Trust, New Delhi p9,340.
- 5) Sudarshan Iyengar: Inclusive democracy A Gandhian Prospective, Yojana, Aug 2013, pg no 53



Ambedkar and the Constitution of India

Ujjwal Ashutosh and Sushree Sunanda Sahu

Semester-2 Damodaram Sanjivayya National Law University, Visakhapatnam.

Abstract: *The inception of the Indian Constitution in 1950 was a significant event not only in the political history of India but also in the history of 'social justice' and 'human rights'. At the same time, it has opened up new avenues of human welfare and development in the Indian subcontinent by providing equal rights and privileges to the citizens at large. The Constitution of independent India was meant more than a mere legal manuscript—that likely to structure the norms of governing as well as define the functions of various key institutions and political actors—for the whole society in general and underprivileged sections in particular. The latter were exploited in multiple ways over the centuries owing to the dominant social order of Hindu society, and perhaps this is why, they had a lot of expectations from the newly adopted legal document. The primary aim of the paper is to examine the fact that to what extent the Indian Constitution comprises the vision of B. R. Ambedkar and more specifically, to explore the ways in which the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar have influenced the development of constitution-making in India.*

However good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. -Dr. B.R.AMBEDKAR

Introduction

India gained the status of 'free and sovereign' nation-state in August 15, 1947 after a long struggle and countless sacrifices. It adopted Constitution on November 26, 1949 which came in enforcement on January 26, 1950. It is often considered as one of the gigantic constitutions in the world which establishes a democratic state. The inception of the Indian Constitution in 1950 was a significant event not only in the political history of India but also in the history of 'social justice and human rights'. At the same time, it has opened up new avenues of human welfare and development in the Indian subcontinent by providing equal rights and privileges to the citizens at large. The Constitution

of independent India was meant more than a mere legal manuscript— that likely to structure the norms of governing, define the functions of various key institutions as well as political actors—for the society as a whole and particularly for the underprivileged sections who were exploited in multiple ways over the centuries especially due to the prevailing dominant social order of Hindu society. The process of constitution-making during the 1940s was thus laden with various sets of expectations and requirements. In fact, it was assumed that the new Constitution would be effective enough to terminate the unending patterns of exploitation based on gender, caste and religion, and bring increasingly sought changes in the deeply hierarchical and unequal social



structure so one could live with dignity and possess equal civil rights. It was indeed the first moment in the lives of millions of people, particularly the depressed communities when they were likely to receive an equal treatment and entitlement after the adoption of new Constitution. Gary Jeffrey Jacobson (2010) insists that a nation's Constitution is more than a written legal document as it also entails the fundamental norms and principles of a particular society. Despite the fact that the Constitution of Independent India has borrowed several provisions from the varied Government of India Acts prepared by the Britishers during the colonial period, the Constitution reflects '*Indianess*'¹ But it is not the concern of this paper to trace the various sources which fashioned the constitutional development in India. The central theme of this paper is to examine the fact that to what extent the Indian Constitution comprises the vision of B. R. Ambedkar and more specifically, to explore the ways in which the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar have influenced the development of constitution-making in India.

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956) has been considered as the Chief Architect of the Indian Constitution. The text prepared by Ambedkar offered a wide range of constitutional safeguards and guarantees to all citizens, for instance, socio-economic rights, civil liberties, freedom of religion, the abolition of untouchability and the

prohibition of all forms of discrimination among others. He argued for extensive economic and social rights for the depressed classes. In addition to constitutional rights, he eventually won the Assembly's support for introducing a system of reservations of jobs in the civil services, schools and colleges particularly for members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These measures are popularly known as the '*Policy of Inclusion*' that makes endeavours to include the deprived and overlooked classes in the society. However it is very questionable that to what extent these measures have been succeeded in their teleological tasks. In this way, Ambedkar was a valiant fighter for the cause of social justice and social equality, and thus known as the leader, liberator, hero, emancipator, representative of the voices of the socially overlooked classes. He fought his entire life for the upliftment of the depressed classes. He stated in the Constitution Assembly, —I know today we are divided politically, socially, and economically. We are a group of warring camps, and I may go even to the extent of confessing that I am probably one of the leaders of such a camp. In this way, he explicitly mentioned his commitment for the depressed sections of society. This paper is concerned with the detailed study of Ambedkar's constitutional vision and its linkages with constitutional developments in India. However, before doing that, it is important to understand the idea of constitutionalism and the conceptualization of Ambedkar on the same in brief.

CONSTITUTIONALISM AND B. R. AMBEDKAR

Constitutionalism is different to the Constitution as it is merely not confined to the constitutional text. It talks about

¹The word '*Indianess*' here denotes the distinctiveness of the Indian context which forced the constitution-makers to evolve some provisions in the constitution to address the particularities of Indian situation.



past and future of its exercise. Constitutionalism is not all about governance as it also provides contested ideas and practices concerning justice, rights, development and associational autonomy. It is commonly conceived to be the idea that there are legal restraints on the exercise of political authority. It places limits on the state action and conformity with the constitution becomes a guiding principle. B. R. Ambedkar believed that Constitution is not just a written text but it can be an effective tool to ensure justice and equality to all the sections of society especially to the down-trodden sections of society. He wished to achieve several objectives with the help of constitutional provisions and, in fact, certain provisions can be traced which clearly reflects the influence of his vision on the Indian Constitution - the main task undertaken in this paper. However, it is not necessary that both Constitution and constitutionalism exist together, for instance, the Constitution of India gives great importance to Right to Freedom (Article 19-22). But an individual even does have right to choose their life partner freely which is most evident in the large episodes of honor killings. This fact can be further observed in the various prevailing religion-based, caste-based and lineage-based customs and practices which have been continued to violating the basic rights of an individual in the post-colonial society.

Constitution in India has been framed in such a way in the post-colonial period that it makes endeavour to fulfil those expectations which were created by its people while they were under the yoke of the Britishers. Post-colonialist constitutions therefore have an agenda of development and even stand for the social change. Perhaps, this is why Myron

Weiner, a well-known constitutional expert, says that —the Indian Constitution is more than a set of rules guiding behaviour; it is a kind of charter... a set of goals and expectations.... It is largely regarded a living thing which has continuously remained in the process of accommodating the necessity of time. Ambedkar, the principal drafter of Constitution, emphatically stated that —in a changing society there must be a constant re-evaluation of old values and the Hindus must realize that if there must be standard to measure the acts of men there must also be readiness to revise these standards. He thus strongly believed in the fluid concept of constitution. While presenting the Draft Constitution to the Constituent Assembly in 1948, Ambedkar maintained that —there was nothing to be ashamed of in borrowing because nobody holds any patent rights in the fundamental ideas of a Constitutional. Perhaps, this is why the creators of Indian Constitution took inspiration from both domestic and foreign sources. Ambedkar had very commitment for the social causes, and he remained committed throughout his life for the upliftment of deprived sections of society. He was known as the pioneer of the idea of 'social justice' in India. He succeeded to arrange certain provisions in the Indian Constitution for ensuring justice to the oppressed sections and creating the 'just societ'. In other words, the Indian constitution challenged the dominant conceptualization of justice, equality and welfare in the post-colonial Indian society which disregard a bulk of the populace who in fact needed it most. Also, it made an effort for transforming the hegemonic understanding of social-order in society as well as establishing the "just and equal" society. It can be



argued, the process of constitution-making in India was greatly shaped by the beliefs of Ambedkar. In fact, several provisions can be traced from the Indian Constitution which seeks to realize the vision of Ambedkar—which will be discussed in following section.

B. R. AMBEDKAR: SHAPING THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who chaired the Drafting Committee, is notably considered as the “Father of the Indian Constitution” and played a very pivotal role in the constitution-making. Though when the leadership in the Constituent Assembly selected him to be the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambedkar was very pleasantly amazed at the choice and said that —I came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interest of the Scheduled Castes greatly surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman. This section is divided into two parts. This part presents a detailed analysis of the provisions given in the Indian Constitution which are in a way or other shaped by the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar. The second and last part outlines the views proposed by Ambedkar that could not succeed to find their place in the final draft of the Constitution.

Caste-system in India assigns particular sets of functions and roles even before ones birth, and also provides specific economic, civil, cultural and educational rights to one without a freedom to change. It ignores therefore an individual capabilities, preferences and choices. In this regard, the social order prevail in the

Indian society provides no entailments, social and economic rights and freedoms to lower castes, and in contrary, gives manifold opportunities, —privileges and rights to the higher castes, particularly the Brahmins. Therefore, the fact was much known to the Constituent Assembly that the constitution was going to be introduced in a deeply unequal and discriminatory society. This is probably why its member greatly —debated and drafted the constitution with the explicit purpose of dislodging the status quo. B. R. Ambedkar, undoubtedly and noticeably, was the man who borne the responsibility to fight against the untouchability and exploitation based on Hindu caste system, and struggled for the untouchables’ rights and carved for them a place in the Republican Constitution of India.

Ambedkar though managed to include certain provisions in the Constitution of India for empowering lower castes, but the fact was much known to him that establishing equal human and civil rights for depressed classes was not sufficient in ensuring justice and welfare to them unless it would be accompanied by the legal provisions and safeguards to uphold those rights in the case of its violation and denial. He believed that providing rights to all citizens would not enough because the more powerful, the highly privileged higher classes might be able to deny them to lower strata of society. Law therefore should provide remedies against the invasion of fundamental rights. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that —all of us are aware that rights are nothing unless remedies are provided whereby people can seek to obtain redress when rights are invaded. Within this background, constitutional remedies have been arranged in the



Constitution of India. Article 32 provides the right to all citizens of the country to approach the Supreme Court, if their fundamental rights and constitutional privileges are violated by any state institution or individual. This is perhaps why Ambedkar considered this provision as the very 'soul' of the Constitution and the very heart of it. It is important to note, the Supreme Court later has declared that Article 32 is a part of basic structure of the Constitution.

He considered democratic politics as an effective peaceful means to emancipate untouchables from the diverse patterns of exploitation prevailing since the ages as well as to radically alter their way of life. Ambedkar thus defined democracy as a better form of government than all other forms. In this context, he observed, —You have now a way of bringing about change, an improvement in your life conditions. That way is through political actions, through appropriate laws... You can make government provide for you what are now denied - food, clothing, shelter, education... Hence instead of resorting to rosary counting or prayers you should now depend on the political path that will bring you liberation. He further explained in the Constituent Assembly on November 19, 1948 that —the reason why we have established in this Constitution a political democracy is because we do not install by any means whatsoever a perpetual dictatorship of any particular body of people. His strong faith in democracy can also be read in his other writings, for instance, once he argued that —we must not only be staunch in our faith in democracy, but we must resolve to see that in whatever we do, we don't help the enemies of democracy to uproot the principles like liberty, equality and fraternity. These

three principles got noteworthy place in the Preamble itself, which is known as the soul of Indian Constitution. The Preamble says, —Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all, Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation. The principles of liberty, equality and fraternity could not be divorced from each other. It can be argued that the Preamble of the Constitution of India undoubtedly enshrines the philosophy of Ambedkar.

In his writing, Ambedkar had strongly pointed out a "contradictory" nature of life in the Constituent Assembly, that is, political life possessed a non-discriminatory character whereas socio-economic life, similarly to the past, continued to retain an unfair and unequal nature. More specifically, he claimed that —in political life we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. Probably, this is why he incorporated the Directive Principles of State Policy' enumerated in part IV of the Indian Constitution from Article 36 to 51. This Part is said to promote the ideals of social and economic democracy by guiding the state to make effort for protecting the interests of deprived sections in society. For instance; Article 46 says that —the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.|| However it should be noted, unlike



Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles are merely a set of instructions to the various states to undertake particular line of actions for the benefits of weaker sections. This fact was also stressed by B. R. Ambedkar, —the Directive Principles are nothing but obligations imposed by the Constitution upon the various Governments in the country, though if the Government failed to carry them out, no one could ask for specific preformation.

Ambedkar had a staunch faith in the principle of 'secularism' that gives equal respect to all religions. In this respect, he argued that —the state shall not recognize any religion as state religion. This conceptualization of secularism proposed by Ambedkar was indeed borrowed by the constitutional makers as the Constitution of India gives complete freedom to its citizens to believe in any religion, and to manage their religious activities (Article 25-28). Furthermore, the word 'Secular' is included in the Preamble of Constitution by the Forty-second amendment. Yet, they are certain limits beyond which tolerance cannot go. For instance, the practices of caste and untouchability, economic exploitation and social tyranny, can no longer be permissible. In this way, Ambedkar vision of secularism is of a radical type, and rebel against any religious ill treatment, hatred and discrimination.

Ambedkar, the principal drafter of Constitution, imagined a society where all citizens would possess equal representation within the state institutions. While he failed to pass the provisions related to the 'Separate Electorate' in the Constituent Assembly, he sought to reserve a certain number of seats for untouchables in the State Legislature and the Parliament. In 1920,

he had posed the problem of representation faced by untouchable in India: —the right of representation and the right to hold office under the state are the two important rights that make someone a real citizen. But the untouchability of the untouchables puts these rights far beyond their reach... they (the untouchables) can be represented by the untouchables alone. In a bid to address the concerns of Ambedkar in this context, a certain number of seats have been reserved in the Constitution for the Schedules Castes as well as Scheduled Tribes in the legislature. Part XVI of the Constitution deals with the special provision for backward classes. Further, as per Article 330 and 332 certain numbers of seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of the People and Legislative Assemblies of the States respectively. The reservations of seats for these sections would have not been imagined in the absence of Dr. B R Ambedkar. This is probably why Alistair McMillan (2005) writes that —the retention of electoral reservation for the Scheduled Castes was due to the presence of a powerful spokesperson at the centre of negotiations: DrAmbedkar... was member of key committees which discussed special representation for the Scheduled Castes. Besides, the reservation has also been made in the central and state appointments in the favour of the Schedules Castes and Scheduled Tribes to ensure their adequate representation in the public services on the one hand, and on the other, to provide an additional platform to make their mark in the mainstream society.

Partha Chatterjee (2007) exhibits a contradictory nature of B. R. Ambedkar



in his essay entitled, *The Politics of the Governed*. He claimed that Ambedkar struggled for arranging the separate political representation of the Dalits, for preferential reservation or affirmative action in their favor in education and government employments, and at the same time, for constructing their distinct culture identity going as far as conversion to another religion - Buddhism. Simultaneously, he also advocated —the interventionist modernizing state and the legal perception of the modern virtues of equal citizenship and secularism... [Seldom has been the tension between the utopian homogeneity and real heterogeneity] played out more dramatically than in the intellectual and political career of B. R. Ambedkar. Chatterjee hence believes that contradiction is the heart of modern politics, but he fails to underline the pre-requisites of these measures to ensure the justice to the millions of people who have been living on the verge of social slavery and immeasurable exploitation.

Ambedkar held that social union is a necessity to blossom and flourish the democracy in true sense. For that, he suggested the safeguards for the minorities are vital. In democracy, minorities must feel safe. Ambedkar noted that —the suppression and exploitation of minorities in any form is the negation of democracy and humanism. If suppression is not stopped, then democracy degenerates into tyranny. Therefore, the provisions have been made to protect the cultural and educational rights of minorities, and to eliminate their fear from the dominance of majority. For example: Article 29 and 30 are proposed to protect the interests of minorities.

Ambedkar gave so much importance to education. He believes that education is essential to moralize and socialize the individuals, especially the backward classes to have a cognizance of self. For him, education facilities should be provided to those who are illiterate and backward, and on the other, to those who want to wipe out the roots of caste system in order to realize the ethos of democracy at the ground level. In this context, Ambedkar observed: —To give education to those who want to keep up the caste system is not to improve the prospect of democracy in India but to put our democracy in India in greater jeopardy. Article 46 further, as argued earlier, emphasizes his vision which directs the state to take steps to promote the education of the weaker sections—most impotently the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The credit also goes to Ambedkar for the illiteracy programmes and free education up to matriculation guaranteed by the different state governments. Later, the 'Right to Education' (Article 21 A) has become the internal part of the Constitution which is earlier part of directive principles as Article 45.

THE UNFULFILLED AGENDAS

Dr. Ambedkar was strongly in favor of "separate electorate" wherein only an untouchable (Scheduled Caste) voter would have right to cast their vote for untouchable candidate without being influenced from the higher castes. This electorate system was likely to empower untouchables more than any others since here they could choose their own representative from among themselves, thus —constituting themselves into a real political force, whereas the reserved seats left open the possibility of upper caste dominated parties co-opting



untouchables, handing out tickets during the elections and electing them, even when this ran contrary to the wishes of local untouchables. He succeeded to endow untouchables with a separate electorate at Second Round Table Conference (1931) held in London and this plan famously known as 'Communal Award', however it was later relinquished in the wake of extensive resistance from Gandhi. The demand for separate electorate was again raised in the Memorandum prepared by Ambedkar for the Cabinet Mission Plan, which later submitted to the Constituent Assembly in 1947. In this Memorandum, Ambedkar suggested separate electorate as a —fool-proffer and knave-proof method... to ensure real representation to the Scheduled Castes. Nevertheless, he could not be succeeded once again in arranging separate electorate for untouchables in the new Constitution of India which was finally adopted.

Besides fighting for the betterment of untouchables and tribal communities in particular, Ambedkar also sought to bring certain changes in the status of women as well. The fact was quite recognized by him, the situation of women in the Indian society had been more or less similar to, often more deteriorated than, the untouchables from the ages. According to Hindu religious scripts, they are assigned the inferior and subordinate place in the patriarchal Hindu society and the social evils like dowry, child marriage, forced marriage, and subjugation of women among others are extensively practiced.

During the deliberation in the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar questioned the excessive influence and control of Hindu religion, customs and usages into the private lives of an

individual. This too much interference gives one (men) privileges and power to control not just the lives of other (woman), but also offer the justifications to exploit the latter at the vary stages. He strongly stated in the Constituent Assembly, —I personally do not understand why religion should be given this vast, expansive jurisdiction, so as to cover the whole the whole life and to prevent the legislature from encroaching upon that field... We are having this liberty in order to reform our social system, which is full of inequities, discriminations and other things, which conflict with our fundamental rights. Hence, he was strongly in the favour to disentangle the private lives from Hindu customs, and strictly limit the role of religion and traditions in one life to the very limited extent. Subsequently, he widely criticized all those members of Constituent Assembly who wished to let the personal laws regulates the individual life. In this context, he also pursued to bring certain changes by replacing the prevailing Hindu laws with western-inspired Civil Code, which famously known as 'The Hindu Code Bill'. The main objectives of this Bill prepared by Ambedkar are worth to highlight here, —

Firstly, it seeks to codify the law relating to the rights of property of a deceased Hindu who had died intestate without making a will, both female and male.

Secondly, it prescribes a somewhat alerted form of the order of succession among the different heirs to the property of a deceased dying intestate.

But, unfortunately, Ambedkar could not succeed to make the Hindu Code Bill an integral part of the Indian Constitution owing to the growing and increasingly vocal opposition by the delegates. He just



managed to obtain a provision in the Part IV, that is, Article 44, which says that —the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory off India.

Moreover, in the context of marital relationship, it is imperative to recall article 42 maintained in the initial Draft Constitution, which is submitted to the constituent assembly in 1948 by Ambedkar, says that, —the State shall endeavour to secure that marriage shall be based only on the mutual consent of both sexes and shall be maintained through mutual cooperation, with the equal rights of husband and wife as a basis. The State shall also recognize that motherhood has a special claim on its care and protection. However this article was later dropped from the final draft of the Constitution, and eventually led Ambedkar to resign from the post of Law Minister in the Nehru Cabinet.² He held, despite the fact that the Indian society desperately need to reform widely, the Congress and its leadership seemed to maintain the status-quo.

CONCLUSION

Dr. B. R Ambedkar, the chief draftsman of the Indian Constitution, played a significant part in the process of constitution-making. He raised the voices of those who had been long remained unheard, and had an intense commitment for the social cause and

² Scholars though argue that were another reasons as well which forced Ambedkar to resign from the Nehru Cabinet, for a detailed analysis see, Christophe Jaffrelot, (2005), *Dr. Ambedkar: Analysing and Fighting Caste*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, pp. 114-120.

upliftment of deprived and down-trodden sections of society. He explicitly mentioned about swear which he took for the elimination of unjust and inhuman practices from the Hindu society, in the context of untouchables. He was the representative—in the Constituent Assembly—of all downtrodden sections in general and untouchables in particular, and also he proudly proclaimed himself the leader of the latter. He has been considered a pioneer of the notion of 'affirmative actions' and 'inclusive policies' in India and these concepts have emerged out of constant denial of equal rights to specific community in society. He took the responsibility to ensure justice and dignity to low-caste of society. Ambedkar's advocacy of the concept of constitutional morality further emphasized this fact by which he proposed to drastically change the extremely hierarchical and unjust social order whereby every aspect of life was controlled by the higher Hindu caste.

Indian Constitution does incorporate the social and political philosophy of B. R. Ambedkar which is most noticeably evident in the various provisions of the Constitution. The Preamble, Part III, Part IV, and Part XVI among others are determined to establish a —*just society* by upholding the concepts of liberty, equality, fraternity and safeguarding the unity of the country. As argued earlier, Ambedkar gave much priority to the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. For him, it is necessary to ensure equality in our social and economic life at the earliest possible to solve the problem of Hindu society. And fraternity meant a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians. Ambedkar was aware of the fact that people divided into several thousands of castes could not



be a nation thus empathized on social union. These all three principles got significant place in the preamble of Constitution. Part III of the Constitution guarantees a series of fundamental rights to the citizens and some specific provisions have been made to safeguard the special rights and interests of depressed classes. Most importantly, Article 17 is unique in the sense that it has given a blow to the century-old practice of untouchability. It reflects the spirit of the Constitution—the determination to restore the dignity of the individual and assure fraternity. Untouchability is not only prohibited but it is made punishable by law. Part IV also reflects the conceptualization of Ambedkar on democracy that is to say, a political democracy should be accompanied with the social and police democracy. Part XVI reserves certain number of seats in the legislature in order to provide political representation to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Indeed, the Constitution of India bears the imprint of his ideas.

On the other side, it is irony that the practices of exclusion—continual denial of constitutional rights and privileges, equality of opportunity and basic necessities—as well as the vicious exploitation of low-castes in multiple ways in the society has resulted into the large number of cases of dalit atrocities and violence against dalits in the post-colonial India. In this context, some of cases of dalit atrocities taken place after the independence are highlighted —In the case of discrimination against dalits, instances of collective violence have occurred at Kilvenmani (44 dalits burnt alive in Tamil Nadu in 1968), Belchi (14 dalits burnt alive in Bihar in 1977), Morichjhanpi (hundreds of dalit refugees

massacred by the state in Sunderbans, West Bengal, 1978), Karamchedu (six dalits murdered, there dalit women raped and many more wounded in Andhra Pradesh, 1991), Melavalavu (an elected dalit panchayat leader and five dalits killed in broad daylight in full public view, 1997), Kambalapalli (six dalits burnt alive in Karnataka, 2000), and Jhajjar (five dalits lynched near a police station in Haryana, 2003).

Even today, such incidents are continued to occur in the large numbers across the entire nation, and often reported in the daily newspapers. The Indian state and its institution have somewhat failed to live up to the ethos of its democratic Constitution in general, and the philosophy and vision of B. R. Ambedkar in particular. The social relations between the caste and sub-caste groups are still governed by higher Hindu castes' hegemonic principles which, in turn, keep excluding the depressed classes—particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes—sections from achieving the equal status and dignified place in the society. In addition, the rejection of basic necessities like food, water and shelter from the other dominant castes greatly restricts the very basic human right of these communities, that is to say *right to live*, in the Indian society. Certainly, the Constitution of India comprises the vision of B. R. Ambedkar, which is particularly devoted to the principles of social and economic justice, non-discrimination, liberty, equality and fraternity. However, keeping in mind the growing cases of caste-related violence and dalit atrocities, his vision is yet to be realized in the practice, and it is the task of the governing elite to make efforts to achieve it.



REFERENCES

- [1]. Ambedkar, B. R. 1956. *Prospects of Democracy in India*. New Delhi: Critical Quest. .
- [2]. Ambedkar, B. R. 1937. *Annihilation of Caste*, 2nd ed., Bombay: Education Department.
- [3]. Bhatia, K. L. eds. 1994. *Dr. B R Ambedkar: Social Justice and the Indian Constitution*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication.
- [4]. Bajpai, Rochana. 2011. *Debating Differences: Groups Rights and Liberal Democracy in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- [5]. Chatterjee, Partha. 2007. *The Politics of the Governed*. 2nd ed. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- [6]. Jatava, D R. 1965. *The Political Philosophy of B. R. Ambedkar*. Agra: Phoenix Publishing Agency.
- [7]. Jacobsohn, Gary Jeffrey. 2010. *Constitutional Identity*. London: Harvard University Press.
- [8]. Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2005. *Dr. Ambedkar: Analysing and Fighting Caste*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- [9]. Kashyap, Subhash C. 2010. *Indian Constitution: Conflict and Controversies*. New Delhi: Vitarta Publication.
- [10]. Kannabiran, Kalpana. 2012. *Tools of Justice: Non-discrimination and the Indian Constitution*, New Delhi: Routledge.
- [11]. Khosla, Madhav. 2013. *The Indian Constitution*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- [12]. Mohammad, Shabbir. eds. 2008. *Ambedkar on Law, Constitution and Social Justice*. Jaipur: Rawat Publication.
- [13]. Mukherjee, Mithi. 2011. *India in the Shadows of Empire: A legal and Political History (1774-1950)*, 3rd ed., New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- [14]. Revankar, Ratna G. 1971. *The Indian Constitution – A Case Study of Backward Class*. New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- [15]. Rodrigues, Valerian. eds. 2007. *The Essential Writings of B. R. Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- [16]. Sinha, Jogendra. 1993. *Dr. B. R Ambedkar: A Critical Study*. Patna: Vijay Publication.
- [17]. Sontakke, Y D. 2004. *Thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar*. New Delhi: SamyakPrakashan.
- [18]. Schwarz, Henry. and Ray, Sangeeta. eds. 2005. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- [19]. Shivakeri, Chandrakant D. 2004. *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Political Philosophy*. New Delhi: Anmol Publication.



Integrated tribal development agency on constitution, Autonomous state

Pallala Rajakumar Reddy, (Research Scholar), Dept. of Political science & public add, Andhra University campus, Kakinada, A.P

Abstract: *This paper highlighted the origin and socio-economic conditions of tribes in India through several articles has provided for the socio-economic development and empowerment of scheduled tribes, but in reality these groups are suffering from various problems like lack of education, employment, health, land etc. Scheduled Tribes were made poor by land alienation and displacement due to the establishment of towns, Industries big projects etc. For the purpose of STs government of India has launched number of alleviation and welfare programmes, but still they are backward educationally, and economically programmes on one hand is in the Universities, colleges, schools, and villages is government and NGOs should work to gather for the purpose of implementation of above programmes so that we can see full development of STs in future.*

Key words: *jangle jaw, economic development, materialistic instincts*

Introduction

The world Tribal or Adivasi (jangle jaw an) brings to our mind picture of half – naked men and women, with arrows and spears in their hands, feathers in their heads, and different speaking an unintelligible Tribes in different languages, their lives often combined with myths of savagery and cannibalism. Even when majority of the communities in the world kept changing their life-styles, competed with each other and developed materialistic instincts to keep pace with the tribal progress of the world, there were community still living in line with their traditional values, customs and beliefs? The values and ideals of these communities nor had the patience to understand their life styles in Andhra Pradesh. The main stream world branded them variously as native's uncivilized people, aboriginals, Adivasi's Tribal, jangle jaw an, indigenous people exc. In India we mostly refer them as Adivasi's/

Girijans. In spite of the merciless treatment by the civilized men and the socio-economic perils faced by these communities all over the world, the tribal continue to live in the continents of Africa, Asia, North and South America and Australia.

A detailed and comprehensive review of the tribal people's problem was taken up on the eve of the Fifth Five year plan period. The main objective of ITDA is socio-economic development of tribal communities through income generating schemes allied with Infrastructure Development Programmes and protection of the tribal communities against exploitation.

The ITDA project areas are generally contiguous areas of the size of a Tehsil or block or more in which the ST population 50% or more of the total. Andhra Pradesh and Odessa have opted for an Agency model under the Registration of Societies ACT and the



ITDAs there are known as ITD Agencies (ITDAs). Andhra Pradesh ITDA s established at 1974 in the Rampachodavaram. So far, 194 ITDPs /ITDAs have been delineated in the country. In Jammu and Kashmir though no ITDP has been delineated yet, the area having ST population in the state are treated as covered under the TSP strategy. In eight States having scheduled areas the ITDPs/ITDAs are generally co-terminus with TSP areas. The ITDP/ITDAs are headed by Project Officers though they may be designated Project Administrators or Project Directors.

The ITDPs function under the administrative control of commissioner, Tribal Development. Fifty percent officers of the IAS cadres/state cadres from other department are taken on deputation on the post of Project Administrator/officer in the major ITDPs and rest from the Tribal & scheduled Caste welfare Department. At ITDP level, project advisory Board have also been constituted under the chairmanship of local tribal MLA. The state has created monitoring system right from the state to Integrated Tribal Development Project Level. Quarterly review of Tribal sub-Plan programmes is also done by the directorate of Tribal Area Development Planning.

An overview of schemes / Programmes for scheduled tribes:

- 1) Development of Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) protection, survival and development of PVTGs spread over in 15 states /UTs.
- 2) Girls Hostels Boys Hostels for Scheduled Tribes to provide facilities to ensure more

enrolments of tribal students in Educational institutions.

- 3) Ashram schools in tribal sub-plan Areas living in remote areas.
- 4) Research, Information and mass Education studies holding seminars/workshops, Tribal museum, Exhibition, cultural programmes of artifacts on socio-economic development of Tribals.
- 5) G.I.A. under articles 275(1) of the constitution to meet the cost of development schemes /projects for promoting welfare of STs.

The Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Areas: Article 366(25) of the constitution of India refers to scheduled Tribes as those communities, who are scheduled in accordance with Article 342 of the constitution. Thus Article says that only those communities who have been declared as such by the president through an initial public notification or through a subsequent amending act of parliament will be considered to be Scheduled Tribes.

The list of scheduled tribes is a State /UT. Specific and a community declared as a scheduled tribe in a state need not be so in another state/UT. The essential characteristics, first lay down by the lokur committee. For a community to be identified as scheduled tribes are ..

1. Indications of primitive traits
 2. Distinctive culture
 3. Shyness of contact with community at large
 4. Geographical isolation, and
 5. Backwardness
- (Ex. Rampachodavaram division, Maredumilli Mandal, East Godavari



district, Chavadikota panchayat, in the village Aravalovva, Orias Current , road and water not provided but backwardness in the seven family's).

Scheduled tribes committees lives in about 15% of the country's areas, in various and forests to hills and in accessible areas. Tribal groups are of different stages of socio-economic and educational development. Will some tribal communities have adopted a main stream way of life, at the other and of the spectrum, there are certain scheduled tribes, 75 in number known as particularly vulnerable tribal groups earlier turned as primitive tribal groups, PVTGs characterized by.

- a) A pre- agriculture level of technology
- b) A stagnant or declining population
- c) Extremely low literacy and
- d) A subsistence level of economy

Conclusion:

This paper highlighted the origin and socio-economic conditions of tribes in India through several articles has provided for the socio-economic development and empowerment of scheduled tribes, but in reality these groups are suffering from various problems like lock of education, employment, health, land etc. Scheduled Tribes were made poor by land alienation and displacement due to the establishment of towns, Industriesbig projects etc. For the purpose of STs government of India has launched number of alleviation and welfare programmes ,but still they are backward educationally, and economically programmes on one hour is in the Universities, colleges, schools, and villages is government and NGOs should

work to gather for the purpose of implementation of above programmes so that we can see full development of STs in future. In the constitution Fifth scheduled and sixth scheduled Tribal areas development in government provided. ITDA Project officers not interested by the tribal peoples, 1/70 act ,education, tribal culture, economically development any tribal villages programmes in ITDA very poor. The central government Special status on tribal funding, Governor provide in the ITDA areas.

References



Indian Constitution and Women Rights

R.J.L.P.Priyanka, III BA, Govt Degree College, Ravulapalem, E.G.DIST., AP.

Abstract : *The constitution of India is a supreme law of the land. It is a sacramental document that reflects the very idea of India. The constitution of India confers special rights upon women. Dr. B.R.Ambedkar who is regarded as the chief architect of the constitution rightly observed that the progress of the country is measured by the degree of progress which women have achieved. The constitution of India guarantees the equality of rights of men and women. The constitution of India not only grants equality to women, but also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. In order to uphold and implement the constitutional mandate, the state has enacted various laws and taken various measures intended to ensure equal rights, check social discrimination and various forms of violence and atrocities on women. The most unfortunate thing is even women or not fully aware about their rights. It is also surprising fact that those who are familiar with these laws are mostly men. The main objective of this paper is to present some of the constitutional and legal rights available to women in India.*

Key Words: *Constitution of India, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Women in India, Constitutional Rights, Legal Rights*

Introduction:

Women rights are the rights and entitlements claimed for women and girls. Women rights are secured under the constitution of India. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who is regarded as the chief architect of the constitution rightly observed that the progress of the country is measured by the degree of progress which women have achieved. The constitution of India also guarantees the equality of rights of men and women. The constitution of India not only grants equality to women, but also empowers the state to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. In order to uphold and implement the constitutional mandate, the state has enacted various laws and taken various measures intended to ensure equal rights, check social discrimination and various forms of violence and atrocities

on women. The main objective of this paper is to present some of the constitutional and legal rights available to women in India. The rights available to women in India can be classified into two categories. 1) Constitutional Rights, 2) Legal Rights. Constitutional rights are those which are provided in the various provisions of the constitution. On the other hand legal rights are those which are provided in the various laws or acts of the parliament and state legislatures.

Constitutional Rights to Women:

The following are the rights and safeguards enshrined in the constitution for women in India.

1. The state shall not discriminate against any citizen of India on the ground of sex.
2. The state is empowered to make any special provision for women. In other



words, this provision enables the state to make affirmative discrimination in favour of women.

3. No citizen shall be discriminated against or be ineligible for any employment or office under the state on the ground of sex.
4. Traffic in human beings and forced labour is prohibited.
5. The state to secure for men and women equally the right to an adequate means of livelihood.
6. The state to secure equal pay for equal work for both Indian men and women.
7. The state is required to ensure that the health and strength of women workers are not abused and that they are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their strength.
8. The state shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief.
9. It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women.
10. One-third of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat shall be reserved for women.
11. One-third of the total number of offices of chairpersons in the Panchayats at each level shall be reserved for women.
12. One-third of the total number of seats to be filled by direct election in every Municipality shall be reserved for women.

13. The offices of chairpersons in the Municipalities shall be reserved for women in such manner as the State Legislature may provide.

Legal Rights to Women:

The following are the various laws and acts passed by the parliament and state legislatures for women.

1. Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (2005) is a comprehensive legislation to protect women in India from all forms of domestic violence. It also covers women who have been/are in a relationship with the abuser and are subjected to violence of any kind—physical, sexual, mental, verbal or emotional.
2. Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (1956) is the premier legislation for prevention of trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation. In other words, it prevents trafficking in women and girls for the purpose of prostitution as an organised means of living.
3. Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act (1986) prohibits indecent representation of women through advertisements or in publications, writings, paintings, figures or in any other manner.
4. Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act (1987) provides for the more effective prevention of the commission of sati and its glorification on women.
5. Dowry Prohibition Act (1961) prohibits the giving or taking of dowry at or before or any time after the marriage from women.



6. Maternity Benefit Act (1961) regulates the employment of women in certain establishments for certain period before and after child-birth and provides for maternity benefit and certain other benefits.
7. Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (1971) provides for the termination of certain pregnancies by registered medical practitioners on humanitarian and medical grounds.
8. Pre-Conception and Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (Prohibition of Sex Selection) Act (1994) prohibits sex selection before or after conception and prevents the misuse of pre-natal diagnostic techniques for sex determination leading to female foeticide.
9. Equal Remuneration Act (1976) provides for payment of equal remuneration to both men and women workers for same work or work of a similar nature. It also prevents discrimination on the ground of sex, against women in recruitment and service conditions.
10. Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act (1939) grants a Muslim wife the right to seek the dissolution of her marriage.
11. Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act (1986) protects the rights of Muslim women who have been divorced by or have obtained divorce from their husbands.
12. Family Courts Act (1984) provides for the establishment of Family Courts for speedy settlement of family disputes.
13. Indian Penal Code (1860) contains provisions to protect Indian women from dowry death, rape, kidnapping, cruelty and other offences.
14. Code of Criminal Procedure (1973) has certain safeguards for women like obligation of a person to maintain his wife, arrest of woman by female police and so on.
15. Indian Christian Marriage Act (1872) contain provisions relating to marriage and divorce among the Christian community.
16. Legal Services Authorities Act (1987) provides for free legal services to Indian women.
17. Hindu Marriage Act (1955) introduced monogamy and allowed divorce on certain specified grounds. It provided equal rights to Indian man and woman in respect of marriage and divorce.
18. Hindu Succession Act (1956) recognizes the right of women to inherit parental property equally with men.
19. Minimum Wages Act (1948) does not allow discrimination between male and female workers or different minimum wages for them.
20. Mines Act (1952) and Factories Act (1948) prohibits the employment of women between 7 P.M. to 6 A.M. in mines and factories and provides for their safety and welfare.
21. The following other legislation's also contain certain rights and safeguards for women:
 1. Indian Divorce Act (1869)
 2. Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act (1936)



3. Special Marriage Act (1954)
 4. Foreign Marriage Act (1969)
 5. Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act (1956).
22. National Commission for Women Act (1990) provided for the establishment of a National Commission for Women to study and monitor all matters relating to the constitutional and legal rights and safeguards of women.
23. Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act (2013) provides protection to women from sexual harassment at all workplaces both in public and private sector, whether organised or unorganized.

CONCLUSION:

Thus there are several constitutional and legal rights to women. Even though there are various constitutional provisions and legislations contain several rights and safeguards for women, it has been found that each and every right of women is being violated in one or another form. The crime against women in India is increasing at a faster rate. Few crimes which are recognised as crime against women are adultery, child marriage, female feticides, trafficking and prostitution, domestic violence, eve teasing, acid throwing, fraudulent marriage, exploitation at work place, rape, kidnapping and abduction for different purposes, murder, sexual harassment, dowry deaths, etc. The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) had predicted that growth rate of crime against women would be higher than the population growth by 2010, which was found to be true. A total of 3,27,394 cases

of crime against women were reported in the country during 2015. The crime rate under crimes against women was reported as 53.9 in the same period. Now the question arises whether the laws ensures that women get their rights? And that their human rights are protected? There is still a long way to go to answer such questions.

REFERENCES:

1. <https://edugeneral.org/blog/polity/women-rights-in-india/>
2. Crime in India-2015, NCRB, Ministry of Home Affairs



Ambedkar and Social Justice in Contemporary India

Dr. K. Gowtam Kumar, Reader in IRPM, K.G.R.L. Degree College (A), Bhimavaram

Abstract: *The life of Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (14 April 1891 - 6 December 1956) is a saga of his rise from dust to glory and from the lowest social hierarchical order to the position of the 'architect of Indian Constitution' for which the University of Columbia conferred on him the degree of LL.D (honoris causa) in 1952. It also provides insight into his long and often bitter struggle for breaking the tyranny of caste in Hindu society and raising the position of the down-trodden.*

Key words: *Hindu society, down-trodden, social system*

The life of Baba Saheb Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (14 April 1891 - 6 December 1956) is a saga of his rise from dust to glory and from the lowest social hierarchical order to the position of the 'architect of Indian Constitution' for which the University of Columbia conferred on him the degree of LL.D (honoris causa) in 1952. It also provides insight into his long and often bitter struggle for breaking the tyranny of caste in Hindu society and raising the position of the down-trodden.

Dr. Ambedkar's vision of Social Justice emanates from his quest for a 'Just Society', which is based on the idea of a casteless society. It was his constant search for a just social order, incredible hard work and unflinching belief in self help and self dependence that took him to the infallible heights where he had to be acknowledged and recognized by one and all as the crusader against the social evils, the liberator of the down trodden and also the architect of the Indian Constitution. The Indian society of Dr. Ambedkar's time denied equality by granting special privileges to Brahmins and other higher castes and denying the shudras the right to own property and to educate and protect them. They did not

have liberty to read, write, worship and also to pursue a vocation and own property. In the absence of freedom and equality, the social system encouraged confinement and compartmentalization. As a result, there was complete absence of fraternity besides equality and liberty - the trinity which constitute social justice in the views of Dr. Ambedkar. He firmly believed that justice couldn't be conceived in absence of any of the three.

In this special commemorative volume of 'World Focus' on Dr. B. R. Ambedkar & Social Justice: National and Global Perspective, an effort has been made to explore Dr. Ambedkar's ideas for bringing out the essence of his visionary conceptualization of social justice and their relevance in contemporary national and global scenario through an analysis of his various theoretical propositions, which are dispersed in his writings on caste system, Hindu social order, equality, liberty, fraternity, human rights, social democracy, law, religion, the State and the minorities. The aim is to locate these ideas on a systematic terrain as well as to critically assess them in the contemporary context.



Recalling Dr. Ambedkar's struggle for Social Justice, both in pre-Independent India, and in the Constituent Assembly and more importantly to ponder over its continued relevance today is always a rewarding and satisfying exercise. A modest effort has been made here to put together the immensely relevant yet highly comprehensive views of Dr. Ambedkar has brought out by the contributors to this volume so as to construct his vision of social justice in the contemporary national and global perspective.

The road to social justice in the opinion of Ambedkar was to be led by education. He firmly believed in the efficacy of education as a panacea for the social evils and injustice because the problem of social injustice in India is not only economic but also cultural. Here, it is not enough to house the untouchables/deprived sections of society, feed them and then leave them to serve the higher classes as was the ancient ideal of this country. It was even more necessary to remove from their minds/psyche that feeling of inferiority which has shunted their growth and made them slaves others and to create in them a consciousness of significance of life for themselves and for their country of which they have been cruelly robbed by the Indian social order. Ambedkar was convinced that nothing could achieve this better than the spread of higher education and the fact remains as true in present times as it was when Ambedkar wrote.

Social justice – a categorical imperative for establishing social harmony can be achieved only by a general development and empowerment of the masses of the underprivileged and deprived sections of our society, the

poorest of the poor as they are. For this, jobs and education are extremely important as Ambedkar emphasized. But, for justice Krishna Iyer, equality and homogeneity – the two pillars of social justice would remain a far cry if the landless Dalit is not given land, the penniless pariah is not given opportunity to start small scale factories, the bonded woman is not liberated from servitude so as to enable her to pursue a vocation and the Dalit youth, often illiterate and disorganized and drawn into delinquent and destitute situations, are given effective opportunities to enter the professional echelons and public services in large numbers.

Regarding Indian society, Ambedkar felt that, if the lower strata of the Indian society which is interested in blowing up the caste system is educated, the caste system will be blown up. Giving education to those who want to blow up caste system will improve prospect of Democracy in India and put Democracy in safer hands. To him, it is very important to educate the poor masses and develop in them a genuine sense of political consciousness and constitutional temper. Their education means the maintenance of democracy and political order in peace and justice'. He thought so highly of education that in his tri-worded slogan – Educate, organize, and agitate, he gave top priority to it.

Ambedkar fought against caste and injustice. He struggled hard to create human rights. He wanted to vitalize the conscience of the people and to mobilize the masses in India, for equal human rights. His ultimate aim of life was to establish a real social democracy. To him, 'A Democratic form of Government presupposes a Democratic form of Society. The formal frame-work



of Democracy is of no value and would indeed be a misfit if there was no social democracy'. The political leaders never realized that Democracy was not only a form of government; it was essentially a form of Society.

Reference:

[1] Novak, Michael, "Defining Social Justice," *First things*, 108. December 2000, p. 11.

[2] J.S. Mill, *Utilitarianism*, Chapter 5.

[3] Willoughby, *Social Justice*, p.7.

[4] See, for instance, J. Rawls, A Theory of Justice, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971, in which he talks indiscriminately about justice, distributive justice and social justice.

[5] Michael Novak, *op. cit*, p.11.

[6] See, for instance, J.Y. Calvez and J. Perrin, *The Church and Social Justice*, London: Burns and Oates, 1961, Chap. 6; and L.W. Shields, *The History and Meaning of the Term Social Justice*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1941, Chap. 3.

[7] See for details, Miller David, *Principles of Social Justice*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1999, pp.1-20.



Some Reflections on Ambedkar and Democracy and on Need to Transform Ourselves

Dr. M. R. Raju, Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Medical Trust, Pedaamiram, Bhimavaram

Analysis

I am pleased to learn that you are having a two day Seminar on Ambedkar and Indian Democracy. I find that we have a long way to go to fulfill the ideals of democracy globally. In the light of increasing number of democratic countries, the old saying "Yadha Raja Tatha Praja" needs to be restated as "Yatha Praja Tatha Raja". Hence the challenges before us, demand changes among ourselves to the extent that we expect from others. In earlier days, there was considerable stress on freedom and liberty as illustrated by the impressive Statue of Liberty in the East Coast of America presented by the French government.

Mahatma Gandhi stressed the importance of responsibility and he felt that freedom naturally follows with responsibility. Several American humanistic psychologists suggested the need to install a Statue of Responsibility in the West Coast of America.

Whenever I see a statue of Ambedkar, it reminds me the importance of education and relevance of Buddhist ideas since Babasaheb chose neither Hinduism nor Christianity but Buddhism. The root meaning of the word education is to bring out the best from us. And the heart of Buddhism is only to end the fishiness of selfishness which becomes possible by taking appropriate responsibility. Ambedkar had to work very hard under trying circumstances for his admirable

accomplishments. And having achieved, he dedicated himself for the wellbeing of all.

I am happy to see many bright students especially girls coming out from low income families. SKSD Kalashala is a good illustration of this. However, the condition of government Primary schools and high schools are in a sad shape and I feel that there is enormous brain drain taking place. This requires the need to educate parents as well. Unfortunately, the statue of Ambedkar is becoming increasingly political mainly due to ignorance of people at large instead of a constant reminder to improve the present situation and I hope that the Center for Ambedkar Studies would take an active role in improving the present situation especially in rural areas.

On responsibility, I find the saying of the poet Kalidas, "Own the world but disown yourself" is very appropriate. The atomic-like power that is inherent in all of us can be released only when we discover and disown the hidden self in all of us. Accomplished leaders like Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi, scientists like Salk who discovered polio vaccine, medical doctors like Albert Schweitzer are some of the examples of people that took responsibility for the world while most of us are preoccupied with our freedom without taking the proper responsibility.



Let me share a secret I found in myself. I found that I have opinions on every thing and judgmental on the actions of others. These are the signs of people that love their freedom without taking the needed responsibility. When once we take such responsibility, we find that we gradually dissolve our judgments and opinions on others. We need to watch ourselves and grow confidence. Ambedkar is a good example. We have to take this challenge.

I also hope that you would consider discussing the importance of Responsibility in democratic countries in general and India in particular during the present Symposium.



Dr. Ambedkar's Thoughts on Democracy

Smt. K. Vani, Lecturer in Commerce, S.K.S.D. Mahila Kalasala UG & PG (A), Tanuku

Smt. G. Aruna Kumari, Lecturer in Economics, S.K.S.D. Mahila Kalasala UG & PG (A), Tanuku

Abstract: *The main goal of the study is to analyze and evaluate critically the idea of B.R.Ambedkar, the great Indian constitution maker, regarding Indian democracy and to capture the position of Ambedkar on issues whose relevance is even felt at present. Analyzing the idea of democracy of Ambedkar in details, it can be found out that Ambedkar had unshakeable faith in democracy. In his conception of exploitation less society, democracy has an extra-ordinary role which he defined as 'one person, one vote'; and 'one vote, one value'. Democracy means empowerment of any person for participating in the process of decision-making relating to her/him, democracy means liberty, equality and fraternity - Ambedkar's definition of democracy had such a tone.*

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is known as staunch protagonist of Democracy in his belief and action. He was the emancipator of the untouchables, a champion of the Depressed and suppressed classes, a great scholar with highest intellectual integrity, a far sighted statesman a legal luminary with extraordinary acumen, a Constitutional expert of exceptional learning, a true nationalist with great ability and mettle and above all, a staunch protagonist of Democracy in true spirit.

Introduction:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar gave snuggle and channelized his all efforts to realize Democracy in India. Dr. Ambedkar revolted against Chaturvarnya, Caste and Untouchability system to establish democracy in India.

Dr. Ambedkar defines democracy as "a form and a method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed".

Dr. Ambedkar believes in constitutional way of life. In his concept of Democracy he wants the Government to be responsible for bringing revolutionary changes in economic and social life of the people without bloodshed whereas Marxism believed in bloodshed

against State. Dr. Ambedkar differed with Marx on the means of realizing the objectives and purposes enshrined entwined with socialism. He advocated democratic means and believed that though democratic means are slow far more enduring stable and permanent.

Historical evidences put fourth the truth that Chaturvarnya, Caste and untouchability system has adversely affected the Indian society. Vedas, Smritis, Shrutis, Upnishadas has propagated inequality. Since ancient times there was no associated life in Hindu society. As the theory of Caste and Chaturvarnya system is based on graded inequality. The Indian society was divided in many Castes. The downtrodden castes were treated inhumanly. People from Ati Shudra



castes were not allowed to live in the village's a long with upper castes. Their Shadows were considered as polluted one and they were treated as untouchables where as some animals were touchable for them and their were worshiped and considered as pious. Untouchables were

not allowed for access to water from village. Such inhuman treatment was given to untouchables.

Therefore it can be stated that there was no healthy social relationship amongst Indians since ancient times. Dr. Ambedkar being true democrat wanted associated life amongst the people in India n democracy.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had very explicitly stated the conditions which are very much

necessary for the successful working of democracy. They can be stated in brief as under.

- Equality
- Two party system
- Equality in Law and Administration
- Constitutional Morality
- No Tyranny of Majority
- Moral order
- Public Conscience

Dr. Ambedkar considered the condition but public conscience as essential condition for successful working of democracy because without public conscience democracy cannot be successful. It is the will of the people that makes healthy democratic atmosphere.

Dr. Ambedkar wanted Social democracy to cherish in India. He said very categorically

Political Democracy cannot be successful unless there lies at the base of it of Social democracy.

He warned the nation in this direction that, "on the 26th January 1950, we are going to enter into the life of contradictions. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man, one vote and one value. In our social and economic life, we shall by reason if our social and economic structure continue to deny the principle of one man, one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will bloro up the structure of political Democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

Dr. Ambedkar was of opinion that political Democracy must change its form to social Democracy in order to develop state socialism.

Ambedkar says, 'I have referred to the wrong ideologies which in my judgment have been responsible for the failure of parliamentary democracy. All political societies get divided into two classes – the rulers and the ruled. If the evil stopped here, it would not matter much. But the unfortunate part of it is that the division becomes stereotyped and stratified so much so that the rulers are always drawn from the ruling classes and the class of the ruled never becomes the ruling class. People do not govern



themselves, they established a government and leave it to govern them, forgotten that is not their government. That being the situation parliamentary democracy has never been a government of the people or by the people, and that is why it has never been a government for the people. Parliamentary democracy, not with standing the paraphernalia of a popular government, is in reality a government of a hereditary subject class by a hereditary ruling class. It is those vicious organization of political life which has made parliamentary democracy has not fulfilled the hope it held out the common man of ensuring to him liberty property and pursuit of happiness.'

Dr. Ambedkar was one of the admirers of freedom and self-government of India. And he stood for a democratic system of administration. Dr. Ambedkar preferred the elected rulers or the government to hereditary rulers for a good and democratic administration. He emphasizes that the administration must be free of corruption and dishonest ways of administrating things. He says, everyone must share the responsibilities for the successful working of the democratic institutions in the land, otherwise; the feelings of public welfare and co-operation would not be strengthened.

He says, "Democracy cannot function in the absence of basic civil liberties – which enables the community to vindicate itself against the state furthermore, the right to criticize, if it is to be effective, must include the right to organize opposition through political parties. Representative democracy is essentially procedural. It is characterized by free expression, free parties and free election." To Ambedkar, "Political parties are indispensable in parliamentary

democracy, for democracy without a party system is unconceivable. There should be a regular party system." Ambedkar preferred that at least two parties are essential in democracy for its fructification. "A party is necessary to run government. But two parties are necessary to keep government from being a despotic. A democratic government can remain democratic only if it is worked by two parties – a party in power and a party in opposition."

Conclusion:

A detailed analysis of his life and mission reveals that Ambedkar held the basic and fundamental norm, to be equality- social, economic and political, from which he proceeded to lay down a collection of 'ought' propositions; in this hierarchy of 'ought', the initial fundamental 'ought' on which the validity of all the other ultimately rests, the fundamental norm seems to be the social equality, the justification for the rest of the legal reforms and changes he persistently fought for. It was a society full of social inequalities in which Ambedkar was born. The humiliation he experienced in such an in egalitarian society bore on imprint in all thought his life. Thus, *Ambedkarism* is of great relevance to Indian society even today in achieving social justice, removal of untouchability, in establishing equality and freedom and true democracy. Democratic socialism is the key note of his political thought and constitutionalism is the only way to achieve it. In conclusion, it can be said that this research gives closer and analytical insight into the thoughts of Ambedkar and provides an answer to the question of whether we, the Indians, achieve religious tolerance, human equality and freedom, true democracy,



gender respect in the society, justice and peace in the light of political philosophy of Ambedkar whose memory will ever guide the nation on the path of justice, liberty and equality.

References:

1. B.R.Ambedkar: Writing and Speeches, vol-9 ,p-168.
2. Lokhande. G. S., *B.R. Ambedkar: A study in social democracy* p-23
3. *see, Dr. Ambedkar, article: Essential condition precedent for the successful working of democracy*
4. B.R.Ambedkar: Writing and Speeches, Vol-1 .p-409
5. Kshirsagar Ramchandra Kamaji, Political thought of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Intellectual publishing house, New Delhi, 1992, p.53.



Women Empowerment in the era of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar¹

N.Bhagya Lakshmi, LLM, pursuing PhD at Andhra University, Visakhapatnam

Abstract : *“Unity is meaningless without the accompaniment of women. Education is fruitless without educated women, and agitation is incomplete without the strength of women”. Baba Saheb. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar popularly known as Baba Saheb has enormous idea and personal experience on India’s social, economic and political structure. He is champion of women’s rights and he discussed a number of problems of Indian women and sought for their solutions in Bombay Legislative Council and made significant efforts to lead the society on the path of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. He was first Indian to break down the barriers in the way of progression of women in India². The encouragement of Dr.Ambedkar to empower women to speak boldly was seen when RadhabaiVadale addressed a press conference in 1931. He strongly advocated for family planning measures for women in Bombay Legislative Assembly. He laid down the foundation of concrete and sincere efforts by codifying the common Civil Code for Hindus and other sections of the Indian society. He emphasized that there could not be any progress without women. Maternity Benefit Bill was introduced by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in 1942, during his tenure as Labour Minister in Governor General’s Executive Council. While drafting the constitution of India, Dr.Ambedkar was the prime movers of the provisions related to the benefit of women. Empowering women is the main motto of the development department because an empowered mother with child makes the bright future of any nation. It is not merely a feel of greater extrinsic control, but also grows intrinsic capacity, greater self-confidence and an internal transformation of one’s consciousness that enables one to overcome external barriers to accessing resources or changing traditional ideology³. Women’s empowerment is very essential for the development of society*

¹ N.Bhagya Lakshmi, LLM, pursuing PhD at Andhra University; contact No.9849528129 e-mail: bhagyasri.n@gmail.com.

² <http://www.legalservicesindia.com/article/article/dr-b-r-ambedkar%C3%A2%E2%82%AC%E2%84%A2s-role-in-women-empowerment-1611-1.html> accessed on 09/03/2017

³Ibid Pg.162



Introduction:

Women empowerment is empowering the women to take their own decisions for their personal dependent. Empowering women is to make them independent in all aspects from mind, thought, rights, decisions, etc. by leaving all the social and family limitations. It is to bring equality in the society for both male and female in all areas⁴. Women empowerment is very necessary to make the brilliant future of the family, society and nation.

In India, to empower the women, first it needs to kill all the demons killing women's rights and values in the society such as dowry system, illiteracy, sexual harassment, inequality, female infanticide and domestic violence against women, rape, prostitution, illegal trafficking and other issues. Gender discrimination in the nation brings cultural, social, economic and educational differences which push country back. The most effective remedy to kill such devils is making women empowered by ensuring the Right to Equality mentioned in the Constitution of India⁵. Education to women is the most powerful instrument of changing their position in the society. Education also brings about reduction in inequalities and also acts as a means to improve their status within the family.

In order to encourage education of women at all levels and to dilute gender bias in the provision and acquaintance of education, schools, colleges and even universities were

established exclusively for women in the country. To bring more girl children, especially from marginalized BPL families, into the mainstream of education, Government has been providing a package of concessions in the form of free supply of books, uniform, boarding and lodging, clothing for hostilities, mid-day meals, scholarships, free by-cycles and so on.

Constitutional Provisions:

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was not only the father of Indian Constitution; he was a great freedom fighter, political leader, philosopher, thinker, economist, editor, social reformer, revivalist of Buddhism and was first Indian to break down the barriers in the way of advancement of women in India. He stated that women should be given all round development more importantly social education, their well-being and socio-cultural rights. He emphasized that each and every section of Indian women be given their due share and it is a must to maintain and protect dignity and modesty of women.

According to the provisions of the Indian Constitution, it is a legal point to grant equality to women in the society in all spheres just like male. Women are given a top place in India from the ancient time however they were not given empowerment to participate in all areas⁶. They need to be strong, aware and alert every moment for their growth and development. Empowering women is the main motto of the development department because an empowered

⁴ <http://www.merineews.com/article/the-rise-of-ambedkarism/15895702.shtml> accessed on 12/03/2017

⁵Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences Volume V, No 3. Quarter III 2014 ISSN: 2229 – 5313 <http://www.onlineresearchjournals.com/ajoss/art/157.pdf> accessed on 12/03/2016

⁶K. H. CHELUVA RAJU's Dr. B. R. AMBEDKAR AND MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION: A Case Study of Indian Federalism *The Indian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 52, No. 2 (April - June 1991), pp. 153-164 Published by: Indian Political Science Association



mother with child makes the bright future of any nation. It is not merely a feel of greater extrinsic control, but also grows intrinsic capacity, greater self-confidence and an internal transformation of one's consciousness that enables one to overcome external barriers to accessing resources or changing traditional ideology⁷. Women's empowerment is very essential for the development of society.

There are number of legislations conferring equal rights for both women and men. These Legislations have been guided by the provisions of the fundamental rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. Laws to improve their condition in matters relating to wages, maternity benefits, equal remuneration and property/succession have been enacted to provide the necessary protection in these areas. Ambedkar placed down the foundation of concrete and genuine efforts by codifying the common Civil Code for Hindus and other sections of the Indian society. For providing social justice to women, the most important step has been codification of some of the personal laws in India which create the major challenge in this perspective.

The most critical component of women's empowerment is found to be education. It leads to improved economic growth, low fertility rate, health and sanitation and an awareness of factors that disempowered women. Work participation rate and political participation also grows in women's education⁸. The expansion of the market economy and industrialization and

globalization brought increased inequalities, resulting in loss of livelihoods, erosion of natural resources and with it decreased women's access to water, fuel, fodder and traditional survival resources. It also brought new forms of exploitation-displacement, tourism, sex trade and retrenchment to mention a few. Women are being pushed into less productive sectors. Increased pressure on rural resources accelerated migration to urban areas in search of livelihood⁹. People from backward regions, tribal communities, disadvantaged castes and the displaced communities were being pushed against the wall. Women in such countries shouldered the brunt and this phenomenon was labeled feminization of poverty¹⁰. Part III of the Indian Constitution consisting of Articles 12-35 is the heart of the Constitution. Human Rights which are the entitlement of every man, woman and child because they are human beings have been made enforceable as constitutional or fundamental rights in India. The framers of the Constitution were conscious of the unequal treatment and discrimination meted out to the fairer sex from time immemorial and therefore included certain general as well as specific provisions for the upliftment of the status of women.

Dr. Ambedkar tried an adequate inclusion of women's right in the political lexis and constitution of India. i.e. Article 14 - Equal rights and opportunities in political, economic and social spheres.

⁷Ibid Pg.162

⁸Article: Indu Malhotra Empowerment of Women in Nyayadeep Journal

⁹ http://www.academia.edu/7670886/Ambedkarism-Relevance_in_Present_Indian_Society accessed on 12/03/2016

¹⁰ Arya, Sudha, Women Gender Equality and the State, Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi. 2000.



Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the ground of sex. Article 15(3) enables affirmative discrimination in favour of women. Article 39 – Equal means of livelihood and equal pay for equal work. Article 42 – Human conditions of work and maternity relief. Article 51 (A) (C) – Fundamental duties to renounce practices, derogatory to the dignity of women. Article 46 – The state to promote with special care, the educational and economic interests of weaker section of people and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 47 – The state to raise the level of nutrition and standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health and so on. Article 243D (3), 243T (3) & 243R (4) provides for allocation of seats in the Panchayati Raj System.

Like Ambedkar, The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women 2001¹¹, also admits, “The underlying causes of gender inequality are related to social and economic structure... and practices. Consequently, the access of women, particularly those belonging to weaker sections including Scheduled Castes/ Tribes Other Backward Classes and Minorities ... to education, health, and productive resources, among others is inadequate. Therefore, they remain largely marginalised, poor and socially excluded”. The Government of India has declared 2001 as Women’s Empowerment year. This policy¹² has set certain clear-cut goals and objectives. The policy aims at upliftment, development and empowerment in socio-economic and politico-cultural aspects, by creating in

them awareness on various issues in relation to their empowerment.

Judiciary Role:

It is observed from the various judgments that not only the legislature but judiciary also plays a very vital and important role in case of women empowerment. Judiciary empowers the women by its both traditional and by its activist role. The traditional role of judiciary is to provide justice through interpretation of laws. Some times through the wide interpretation of provision of various legislations and also the provision of constitution judiciary is able to empower the women. Another role of judiciary is the activist role which is popularly known as “Judicial Activism”¹³. Where there is no specific law for a specific offence in that case judiciary applies its activist power. As our society is dynamic, the need of the society is also dynamic. Because of the rigidity of law or because of the long and time taking procedure of enactments of laws by legislature, it is unable to keep pace with the fast changing society. There is always a gap between the advancement of the society and the legal system prevailing in it. This is sometimes causes hardship and injustice to the people.

In Govt. of Andhra Pradesh V P.B. Vijayakumar¹⁴ Supreme Court held that reservation to the extent of 30% made in the State Services by the Andhra Pradesh Government for women candidates was valid. The Division Bench of the Supreme Court emphatically

¹¹Government of India: The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women 2001, Department of Women and Child Development, Ministry of Human Resource Development, New Delhi, 2001

¹²Ibid

¹³Singariya M.R., 2013 “Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: As an Economist” International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention, Vol. 2, Issue (3), pp 24-27. Online available www.ijhssi.org Volume 2 Issue 3 || March. 2013|| PP.24-27

¹⁴1995 (4) SCC 520



declared that the power conferred upon the State by Article 15(3)¹⁵ is wide enough to cover the entire range of State activity including employment under the State. The power conferred by Article 15(3) is not whittled down in any manner by Article 16¹⁶.

Now women empowerment is a burning issue of our country. And this concept is in progress. So, there are so many areas of women empowerment where there is no law for the protection of women, in that case judiciary is the last hope. Because only judiciary can give justice by applying its activist power like Visakha¹⁷ case where the question regarding the sexual harassment of women in working places was raised and on this area there is no law at that time judiciary by judicial activism declared some guidelines for the protection of women from sexual harassment of women in working place. In case of compensation jurisprudence also judiciary is related need to compensate the victim but in criminal law there is no such specific law regarding the compensation jurisprudence. So, it is clear that through judicial activism judiciary is also able to provide progress in the area of women empowerment. The Supreme Court has understood the very fact that women empowerment is the most indispensable route to Country's development and cannot be ignored except at the stake of country's deterioration. If almost half of the population of country is suppressed and inactive, then, it is obviously foolish on the part of us to think that the country will ever develop in the next few centuries also. Therefore, the court is

trying its best to break and do away with all such traditional norms that look down upon women, has given judgments to prevent violence against women and to put them equally as men in the society¹⁸.

Conclusion:

Indian women have progressed a lot in various parts of their life although they are still suffering from various social evils like dowry, eve teasing, rape etc. It is a fact that in the glorious development of Indian society, the Indian women have march forward to the developmental process and somewhere treated equally with their male counterparts but it is yet to be realized by the people of India that women should have given the equal rights and opportunity with men so as to establish a shining India where women can live freely and equally irrespective of religion, caste, creed, gender etc.

¹⁵Constitution of India

¹⁶Ibid

¹⁷ AIR 1997 SC 3011

¹⁸ [Latest Judgments by Supreme Court of India on Rights of Women - iPleaders](http://blog.ipleaders.in/supreme-courts-on-womens-rights/#ixzz42gfOPeNe) <http://blog.ipleaders.in/supreme-courts-on-womens-rights/#ixzz42gfOPeNe> accessed on 22/03/2017



Human Rights and Caste Atrocities Against Dalits

K. Sumitha, *Junior Lecturer of English, S.K.S.D Mahila Kalasala Tanuku, West Godavari*

Abstract: Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings. Whatever our nationality may be, to which place we belong, our religion, gender, language, colour, or any other status. We are equally entitled to our human rights without discrimination. But who is giving authority of human right to a dalit. They are unpleasantly insulted with words and their works. The fault is invisible, in fact we can't even find a fault but at the end they are harassed because they are "UNTOUCHABLE". Being from depressed classes the dalits are cruelly treated. In spite of giving protection to their own national or ethnic origin dalits are beaten and punished harshly. Human rights can be seen in constitution rights. In human rights we can say about cast evaluation, equal rights for every human being, equal rights in the society with others but not by seeing "CAST". Is there any person who is standing for dalit when they are in trouble? For being untouchable they don't have human right in education. The financial background was one of the factors for untouchability; they do judge people by seeing their financial background. The dalits are asking for self-dignity, self respect is more important than anything else. Abolish the practice of untouchability. The positive way should be shown in Education system and in public services Untouchables still suffer from egregious cast Discrimination.. The various reforms movement did not pay much attention to countering cast system and untouchable.

KEYWORDS:- Untouchable, Financial, Self-dignity, Self-respected, Discrimination, Cruel.

INTRODUCTION:-

The history of human rights is a history of people's struggles for liberty and for enforcement of fundamental rights. In every sphere of life in country after country, these rights are being violated. Human rights can be defined as those rights, which are inherent in human nature and without which human being can't live with dignities as human beings

WHO ARE THE DALITS?

Dalits, literary meaning "BROKEN PEOPLE" or "OPPRESSED" in Hindi, are the lowest members of the Hindu caste, system in India. The caste system is

a Hindu hierarchical classes structure with roots in India dating back thousands of years. In descending order, the caste system is considered of Brahmins (priests), kshatriyas (warriors) vaisayas (Farmers), shudras (laborer-artisans) and the dalits who are considered so polluted they are beyond caste traditionally, caste determined by birth defined whom one could marry and the occupation one could pursue.

*Although Indian law contains extensive protections against such discrimination the government still fails to enforce its domestic and international obligation to ensure dalit right



*Dalits still "endure severe social discrimination" and face "inter-caste violence, bonded-labour and discrimination of all kinds".

DEGRADING DALITS:-

In the light even we have extensive constitutional provisions, plans policies, different safeguards like social, economic, educational and culture and service, still dalits are the victims of discrimination, murder, rape, mentally harassed.

There is no growth for a dalit because he belongs to lower class. And they are not benefitting from the fruits of growth.

1. All dalits are not equally the victims of cast atrocities. Their traditional low ritual status, along with appalling poverty and political disenfranchisement, are factors which added fuel to the fire.

2. The atrocities against the dalits are the result of a single cause but aren't caused by a host of factors such as land disputes, traditional low status, illiteracy, poverty, low wages, use of public facilities and so on.

3. Neelima(2008) Has listed four primary causes of atrocities against dalits:-

- a) Land disputes.
- b) Lack of civic facilities.
- c) Untouchable ability-related crimes.
- d) Self-assertion.

Because of being dalit untouchable was the main cause for the development of the lower class sections.

PREVENTION OF ATROCITIES:-

The Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 an [Act](#) of the [Parliament of India](#) enacted to prevent atrocities

against [scheduled castes and scheduled tribes](#). The Act is popularly known as POA, the SC/ST Act, the Prevention of Atrocities Act, or simply the Atrocities Act.

Article 17 of Indian Constitution seeks to abolish 'untouchability' and to forbid all such practices. It is basically a "statement of principle" that needs to be made operational with the ostensible objective to remove humiliation and multifaceted harassments meted to the Dalits and to ensure their fundamental and socio-economic, political, and cultural rights.

DR.AMBEDKAR PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN ABOLISHING UNTOUCHABLE:-

In 1948, Dr.Ambedkar published a book entitled the untouchable. In this book he makes a thorough study of untouchability using his knowledge of the customs and practices of different tribes and races in the world.

For eradication of untouchability Dr.Ambedkar suggested a four-pronged attack the first, one is should share in political power and in the administrative in proportion to their percentage in the population

Secondly, the fair share in the economic life of the country. Thirdly, there should be no criminal custom. Fourthly there should be a mass movement for encouraging intercaste marriages, because untouchability cannot be eradicated without abolishing the caste system.

A pragmatist to core, Dr.Ambedkar believed that establishment of a democratic society in India would be possible only when the untouchables and other weaker sections of society would be



given the opportunity to enjoy basic human rights.

Dr.Ambedkar opens his argument with the statement that the government is the most important field for the exercise of individual's capacities and so no person should be denied the opportunity of active participation in the process of government. He adds that the representation of opinions is not a sufficient condition for popular government there should also be representation of persons.

“CAST FEELING IS A BACKWARD THINKING, INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY IS IMPORTANT, NOT CAST BASED IDENTITY IS IMPORTANT”

He wants to see the personality growth to full extent. This doesn't mean the personalities of a few people will develop and other remain undeveloped, there will be a permanent class of masters and a permanent class of servants, he explains this by saying that the ideal government should be arranged in such a manner that every citizen can assume any role in the administration

UNTOUCHABLES had been suffering for ages. If one agree with a definition of slave as giving by Plato, who defines him as one who accepts from another the purpose which controls his conducts, the untouchables are really slaves.

CONCLUSION:-

Although India has made measurable progress in terms of protections afforded to dalits since independence, dalits still suffer invidious discrimination and mistreatment at the hands of upper cast members and law enforcement officials. Even legal protection is implementation the dalits remain India's "BROKEN PEOPLE"

1. Stop insulting dalits.
2. Change the mind set of higher castes.
3. Legal provisions should be implemented without any fear.
4. Penalize the village which observe social boycott against dalits.

REFERENCES:

1. Artatrana Gochhayat, (2013) HUMANRIGHTS VIOLATION AND THE DALITS.A Theoretical background with special reference to odisha.
2. Bina. B.Hanchinamani (2001), (American university Washington college of law) HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES OF DALITS IN INDIA.
3. Dr.P.V Rathnam SOCIO-POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF DR.B.R AMBEDKAR



Electoral Reforms in India

Kum. K. Durga Prasanna, Lecturer in Mathematics, SKSD Mahila Kalasala Ug & PG (A), Tanuku

Abstract : *Electoral reforms Have been an issue of intense debate in contemporary India, particularly in the last two decades. The recent growth in electoral malpractices and the fact that none of the serious proposals for electoral reforms have ever got implemented have kept the issue alive. This has been a cause for concern for the election authority, political parties and the public in general. In view of this, it is appropriate to examine the working, on the basis of experience, and ascertain the distortions and search for legal, administrative measures to eliminate them.*

Introduction:

The Constitution of India provides for a permanent and independent body, the Election Commission of India, and vests in it the 'superintendence, direction and control of the preparation of electoral rolls for the conduct of all elections to Parliament and to the Legislature of every State and of elections to the offices of the President and Vice-President' (Article 324). The Commission may have one or more than one member to be appointed by the President, i.e., the Executive. The Chief Election Commissioner enjoys a constitutional protection in manner of removal from the position, which requires parliamentary impeachment [Article 324(5)]. Apart from the Commission, the Constitution or the law does not provide for any other permanent structure to administer the elections. Administrative Officers at the State and district level are assigned additional charge to look after the elections; some of them are temporarily deputed to the Election Commission during the period of the general elections.

In balance, this semi-autonomous and technically weak institutional apparatus has served the Indian

democracy better than many other institutions (e.g. the office of the Speaker, the UPSC or middle rung judiciary). This is not to deny that there have been a number of serious complaints of irregularities and partisanship involving the Election Commission but merely to recognise that the Election Commission has norm or where corruption begins from the top. The district and lower level functionaries are, of course, a different matter. In a number of States the partisanship of the local functionaries has become a regular feature. The paper discusses the major areas of electoral reform, the measures taken by the Election Commission and various proposals that have been put forth in various forums for ensuring free and fair elections and representatives of the elected candidates.

Election Financing

In spite of the recommendations to curb the role of money power, the ground realities have defined a contrary movement, especially as regards the ceiling of expenditure. The Indian Electoral Law, under Section 77 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, requires that all candidates should disclose the correct account of all the



expenditure incurred in connection with the elections and that they are bound to submit the accounts between the day on which they have been nominated for election and the day of declaration of the result thereof. Furthermore, Section 123(6) of the Act defines incurring of excessive expenditure in elections as a corrupt practice. It also lays down a limit on expenditure on elections. The spirit of the above section can further be seen in Section 78(1) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951. The maximum amount of election expenditure, which may be incurred by the candidate in various States, has been laid down under Rule 90 of the Conduct of Elections Rules, 1961. It specifies that mere non-disclosure of expenditure is not a corrupt practice but becomes so as it amounts to an expenditure in excess of the prescribed amount and contravention of Section 77 (1 & 2) of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, which falls within the ambit of Section 123 Clause 6.

In addition, failure to furnish an account of election expenses within the time limit prescribed under Section 77(6) of the Act, 1951 can lead to disqualification of membership to the Parliament or State Legislature, which is enforced by the President of India after seeking the opinion of the Election Commission. The President here acts in his/her capacity of a constitutional authority, to discharge constitutional obligations. But, according to Section 10A of this Act, the Election Commission itself has the right to disqualify a candidate, if it is satisfied that s/he has failed to submit an account of the expenses incurred within the specified time limit and in the manner required by the Act. In fact, under Section 77 of the Act, the election returns are to be filed

within 30 days of the publication of results. All accounts of election expenditure and other expenses are to be filed by the candidate with the concerned District Election Officer (DEO), as stipulated under Rule 89(1) of the Conduct of Election Rules 1961 and each District Election Officer is required to send his/her report about the filing of such accounts to the Election Commissioner's office. On receipt of this report from the District Election Officer, the Election Commission scrutinises the account. In cases of default, it issues

notification to the candidates about their disqualification under section 10A of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, but before doing so, the Election Commission provides ample opportunity to the candidates to represent their cases. Valid for 3 years from the date of the order, the disqualification notification under Section 10A has to be published in the official gazette.

In the final analysis, one of the most pressing needs of Indian democracy today is a certain level of institutionalised funding of elections. But this should, as far as possible, be in kind, to assist better monitoring and implementation. Furthermore, it should be adequate, for its purpose would otherwise be defeated; as, the main purpose of state funding is not only to reduce the cost of elections but also to curb illegal ways of political financing of elections, which are at present rampant. In fact, state funding will certainly ensure a healthy democratic functioning of parties, however limited the extent may be (Kumar, 1999).

Democracy within the Party

While pronouncing his order in the Janata Dal symbol case on October 16, 1994, the Chief Election



Commissioner, T.N. Seshan, warned the political parties that if they failed to hold their organisational elections according to their constitution, necessary action would be initiated according to the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order. Thereby their status of being legitimate democratic parties could be in jeopardy.

Some of the political parties particularly the Communist parties had reacted sharply and questioned the authority of the Chief Election Commissioner to interfere in internal party matters. In any case, these parties, when in power, are not perceived as votaries of democracy and free elections. The fundamental purpose of holding national elections is to find a set of persons who can represent the people, make laws and govern the country democratically. Elections provide a legislature and a government that are representative and draw their legitimacy from the consent of the people.

A necessary concomitant of representative democracy is the institution of political parties. After the insertion of the 10th Schedule in the Constitution, political parties have also received constitutional recognition. It is usually the parties that fight elections and even after the electoral battle is over, the roles of the government and the opposition are assumed by the political parties. Governments in our democratic polity have got to be party governments.

The role of political parties in elections and thereafter certainly necessitates that any reforms in the political system or in the electoral processes would have to start with the political parties. No party should be eligible to participate in the democratic

processes of the nation's governance unless its own internal organisation and functioning are fully democratic. The provision of the respective party constitutions must be strictly followed and elections to constitute various party bodies should also be held regularly. The dismal record of almost all our parties in this regard dictates the need for regulating and disciplining by enforceable law with provision for deregistration of defaulting parties.

However, democratic principles and proprieties apart, it would be necessary to examine whether the Chief Election Commissioner had exceeded his authority in this case or whether his warning can be upheld at the altar of legality. Article 324 of the Constitution vests the authority of superintendence, direction and control of elections in the Election Commission, which in fact is very wide and comprehensive.

Section 29A of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, provides for the registration with the Election Commission of political parties on application. The application for registration has to contain inter alia the names of party officer bearers, the numerical strength of party membership, memorandum or rules and regulations (or the Constitution) of the party. The Commission has been authorised to call for 'such other particulars, as it may deem fit'. The decision of the Commission in the matter of registration 'shall be final'. Under Section 170 of the same Act, the jurisdiction of the civil courts to question the legality of any decision has been barred. The conduct of Election Rules, 1961 issued under the Representation of, the People Act'1951, provides for the Election Commission specifying and assigning the symbols



under Rules 5 and 10. The Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order 1968, as modified by the Election Commission in exercise of the powers under Article 324 of the Constitution, Section 29A and of the Representation of People Act the 1951 and Rules 5 and 10 of the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961 inter alia lay down the regulations for recognition of political parties for purposes of allocation of symbols.

Since the 1990s, the Commission has donned a proactive role in its efforts to cleanse the electoral system. The Commission has ordered repolls at polling stations and whole constituencies, if the original poll were vitiated. The Model Code of Conduct was strictly enforced and scheduled and bye-elections to the Legislative Assemblies of some of the States were postponed for breach of Code by the party in power in the concerned State. The election law was also implemented effectively for disciplining the candidates and parties. The effective enforcement of election law and Model Code of Conduct by the election authorities had salutary effects in the conduct of elections in the mid-nineties. Elections were more peaceful and less expensive, compared to the elections held during the eighties. Seshan deserves the full credit for improving the functioning of the election machinery in the country. He was regarded by the common man as having interest, beside power and position in cleansing the electoral process and setting up conventions in the interest of free and fair elections. His example deserves emulation by his successors.

Criminalisation of Politics

Criminalisation of politics is one of the most urgent issues for the

Parliament to consider and legislate to tackle the problem. The Commission, in its declared statistics of August 1997, revealed that nearly 40 Members of the Parliament present were involved in criminal cases pending against them, whereas nearly 700 Members of the Legislative Assemblies, out of the 4072 members, were involved in criminal cases and trials were pending against them (The Tribune, 21 Aug. 1997). The Election Commission suggested a series of steps including the filing of declarations by political parties with the Commission that they would not field candidates and give tickets to those who were convicted as criminals, even if imprisoned for a period less than five years for a cognizable offence, in any election. Another suggestion to enable the Commission to crack the whip was that powers be given to it to de-recognise and de-register political parties, which were found to field such convicts, who were imprisoned for five years or more, as candidates for the Parliament or Assembly elections, after giving them an opportunity to be heard. The Commission felt that the nomination form should contain a column seeking information if the candidate had ever been jailed and its duration, criminal cases pending against the persons, and, if the person had been charge-sheeted for any offence. In the event of any person providing false information or suppression of any information, not only should the election be set aside, but it should be cancelled as well, and the person should be punished with imprisonment up to 5 years or fine or both.

In a significant order to curb the criminalisation of politics, the Election Commission on 28th August 1997 passed an order, which prohibited convicted



persons, regardless of whether an appeal was pending in a higher court, from contesting elections. The Election Commission felt that though Section 8 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 provided that any convict would stand disqualified from contesting elections to the Parliament and Legislatures for six years, those on bail or with an appeal pending were being allowed to contest. The Commission had referred to Article 324 of the Constitution and judgements of High Courts (Madhya Pradesh High Court in the Purshottam Kaushik v. Vidya Charan Shukla Case, the Allahabad High Court in Sachindra Nath Tripathi v. Doodnath Case and the Himachal Pradesh High Court in Vikram Anand v. Rakesh Singh Case) on Section 8 of the Representation of the People Act. It had directed the States, Union Territories and Chief Electoral Officers that disqualification of candidates under section 8 of the Representation of the People Act would commence from the date of conviction, irrespective of whether the person was out on bail. The Election Commission had asked the Returning Officers to get affidavits from candidates mentioning whether they were convicted by a court of law, beside the date of conviction, the nature of offence, the punishment imposed and the period of imprisonment, on a prescribed form (The Indian Express, 29 Aug. 1997).

The Commission, in continuation of its desire to curb the menace of criminalisation, recommended to the Government sweeping changes in the election laws, suggesting that a person sentenced for more than six months should be debarred from contesting in elections for a period of six years and above. It further suggested that by clubbing Sections 8(1), 8(2) and 8(3) of

the Act, it would make it mandatory for a person convicted by a Court of Law and sentenced to imprisonment for six months or more to be debarred from contesting elections for a period totaling the sentence imposed plus an additional six years (The Indian Express, 4 Sept. 1997).

Recommendations on Electoral Reforms: The Law Commission and the Election Commission

The Law Commission of India, in its 170th Report, came out with several proposals relating electoral reforms, which are worth considering. One of the proposals relate to the introduction of the List System to cover the 138 additional seats to be created in the Lok Sabha, taking its total strength to 688. The suggestion made was to allocate the 138 seats to various States or territorial units and fill them from previously published lists of candidates nominated by recognised parties, in proportion to the total number of votes polled by each party in a State/territorial unit. The object was twofold: (a) to secure representation for a party which secures a large number of votes, but fails to win a proportionate number of seats and (b) to enable eminent persons who do not like to contest to be thus elected.

It is not uncommon that a party secures a large number of votes polled in a State but still does not win a single seat in the general election. The List System helps such a party to some extent. It will benefit the leading parties, more than the smaller ones. Although the List System is desirable, the suggestion to increase the strength of the Lok Sabha needs to be carefully considered.



The Law Commission's suggestion for amending the Tenth Schedule of the Constitution to checkmate unprincipled defections and desertions under the guise of a 'split' is most welcome. The Commission suggests that once a candidate's elected to a party, s/he will remain thus till the dissolution of the House or the end of his/her membership and the concepts of 'split' and 'merger' should have to be given up. If one or more members decide to leave a party and join another, they should resign their membership of the House forthwith, and seek a fresh mandate on the ticket of another party. Another suggestion that the disputes arising under the Tenth Schedule be decided by the Election Commission under Article 103 or 192 as the case may be, and not by the Speaker/Chairperson of a House is equally good, as some of the Speakers have exercised their power under para 6 of the Tenth Schedule in a partisan manner.

Yet another important suggestion made by the Law Commission is the amendment of the Representation of the People Act, 1951, which now provides for disqualification on the grounds of conviction, for certain offences. The proposal is that on the framing of charges by a criminal court for any of the specified offences, the accused should remain disqualified till s/he is acquitted. The Election Commission holds the same view. There are few connected suggestions aimed at checking the entry of criminals into Legislatures, which are good but not sufficient.

The need for a law mandating the political parties to maintain regular accounts of income and expenditure and have them audited every year and to have an authority to oversee the

functioning of every political party has been long felt. In 1994, the Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer Committee suggested a law for the regulation of political parties. The Supreme Court has, in several decisions, pointed out the futility of prescribing a ceiling on election expenses, without removing the existing loopholes in the law (Law Commission of India, 1988).

The Commission suggests the deletion of explanation-I to sub section (1) of Section 77, which permits a political party or any other person interested in a candidate to spend any amount of money on his/her election and recommends the insertion of a new section, Section 78-A dealing with the maintenance of accounts by recognised political parties. It favours a partial state funding of the election expenses incurred by the parties and for this purpose suggests the insertion of Section 78-B, providing for the free supply of copies of the electoral rolls, diesel and petrol and reimbursement of the expenditure on microphones and loudspeakers. Although state funding to a much larger extent is desirable, financial constraints stand in the way (Rap, 1998).

The Election Commission is in favour of the expenditure incurred by a political party to be included in the election expenses of a candidate, for purposes of ceiling on election expenses. In fact, the Commission has been insistently pressing for such a reform, right since the mid-seventies. The Supreme Court of India has also, time and again, commented on the inadequacy of the existing provisions in this regard. The role of money power definitely, disturbs the level playing field in the election process between contesting candidates and contesting political parties. There is a great need to ensure



that the role of money power in elections and in the election arena is curbed significantly, if not, totally eradicated.

The Election Commission is in favour of empowering itself to fix a ceiling on election expenses before every general election. The Election Commission, which is in touch with the ground realities, with the political system in the country and with the elections and electioneering that takes place in various constituencies, is best equipped to fix a ceiling on election expenses for various constituencies, before every general election.

In 1998 the Election Commission came out with a proposal that the procedural delay in invoking Section 8A, the automatic disqualification of a person found guilty of corrupt practices, should be plugged through suitable amendments to the Representation of the People Act, 1951.

The Commission felt that Article 324 of the Constitution should be amended to provide that (a) there should be a maximum of two Election Commissioners, along with the Chief Election Commissioner; and (b) the method of appointment and the constitutional protection after appointment, should be the same for the Chief Election Commissioner and other Election Commissioners. The Election Commission reiterated and urged early action on the need to have an independent Secretariat on the lines of the Lok Sabha and the expenses of the Commission should be 'charged' to the Consolidated Fund of India.

The Election Commission reiterated its proposal that the Commission should be specifically empowered under the statute to frame

rules for disciplinary proceedings and impose suitable penalties on Election Officers, who are on deputation to the Commission and subject to its control, superintendence and discipline, if found guilty of acts of omission and commission while performing election duties, as mentioned in Section 13 CC of the Representation of the People Act, 1950 and Section 28 A of the Representation of the People Act 1951.

Government vs Election Commission

In an effort to curb the growing menace of criminalisation of politics, the Delhi High Court, in a landmark judgement (November 2000 and as a result of a Public Interest Litigation filed by a group of committed individuals, under the aegis of Association for Democratic Reforms), has reinforced and strengthened the Election Commission's desire to cleanse the political system ridden with criminal elements. The Court has asked the Election Commission of India to inform voters about the criminal background of candidates contesting elections to the Parliament and Legislative Assemblies. The Court observed, "The Election Commission shall secure to the voters information whether a candidate is accused of any offence punishable with imprisonment" (Judgement of the High Court of Delhi, C.W.P. No. 7257 Of 1999, dated 02nd November on Criminalisation of Politics).

When the Union Government appealed against the judgement to the Supreme Court, the latter upheld the Delhi High Court's verdict. The Supreme Court's judgement is based upon two premises: the citizen's right to know and of informed voting under Article 21 and the Election Commission's power and duty under Article 324 to superintend



elections. What Court has done is to merely fill "the void in the absence of suitable legislation" pending action by the legislature. The Supreme Court has merely reminded the Election Commission that the Constitution gives it wide-ranging powers. Unfortunately, the present controversy is being construed as a fight between the Supreme Court and the Election Commission on the one hand, and Parliament on the other, over who has the right to legislate on electoral reforms. Pursuant with the Court's Judgement, the Election Commission issued its order requiring each candidate to furnish information to the Returning Officer on (i) past criminal convictions, (ii) pending criminal cases carrying a conviction of more than two years, (iii) assets, (iv) liabilities (especially public dues) and (v) educational qualifications.

Subsequently, the government prepared a draft poll bill which when passed by the Parliament could override the Election Commission's guidelines. The draft bill is silent on the need for candidates to declare their assets, liabilities and educational qualifications. This bill also provides for "disqualification of those candidates against whom there are two separate criminal proceedings concerning heinous offences charged by a court at least six months prior to filing the nomination". It further stipulates that a candidate will have to furnish information as to whether he/she has been accused of any offence punishable with imprisonment for two years or more in a pending case in which a charge has been framed by a court.

The bill is a complete dilution of what the Supreme Court had pronounced. In fact, the government was forced to come out with this draft bill

(likely to be passed in the monsoon session), lest the Election Commission's guidelines which are far more stringent be implemented. It is thus perceived that though the ostensible purpose of the legislation is to implement the Supreme Court judgement, there is reason to worry that the actual object of the proposed law would be to dilute it in a manner which negates its impact. The reform bill doesn't address many other issues such as election financing and corruption, anti defection laws, reforms in electoral machinery, which have been long debated and call for urgent reforms. Unfortunately, the political elites don't seem to be serious with the agenda for pursuing serious electoral reforms. In the absence of such initiative and vigour, the institution of civil society alone can bring about a sea change by electing representatives whose efforts find fruition in validating a vivacious democracy (Kumar, 2002).

Conclusion

The Commission continues to carry forward the mantle of activism which it had donned during Seshan's era. Among the notable achievements in recent times have been the raising of the expenditure limit to Rs. 15 lakhs for a Parliamentary Constituency and Rs.6 lakhs for an Assembly Constituency, ensuring inner party democracy among all the recognised political parties, issuing the order on breakaway factions and awarding national and State recognition to breakaway groups, effectively enforcing the Model Code of Conduct, from the day of the announcement of the elections by the Election Commission, barring the entry of criminals in the electoral arena . It is, therefore, worth observing that the Commission has in the last decade moved largely from being a



'procedural' institution to a 'proactive' one, thereby discharging the onerous responsibility that has been entrusted to it by the Founding Fathers of the Constitution and the people of India.

The role of the Election Commission of India in conducting free and fair elections, has become more crucial for the consolidation of India's democracy. This could be realised by strengthening the hands of the Election Commission and plugging those loopholes that permit the Executive to interfere with the working of the Commission. An Election Commission that is able to assert its role and stand up to the political pressures exerted by the Government of the day would significantly contribute to enriching the quality and content of Indian democracy. In the light of the four decades of experience and experimentation with parliamentary democracy and with a view to strengthening the commitment of the system to democratic values and principles, a review of the organisation and functions of the Election Commission has today become necessary.

Political Institutions encompass three kinds of entities – elected institutions of the state such as Parliaments, non-elected institutions of the state, such as the bureaucracy, police, judiciary and armed forces and the organisations of civil society, such as the press and myriad professional and other associations. In the final analysis, it would appear that the process of institutional decay is ending and a phase of institutional reinvigoration has begun, especially because India's civil society has become much more powerful than it was before. Additionally, the institutions with overseeing responsibility, namely the Election Commission and the Judiciary,

have begun to represent the urges of civil society much more effectively than before.

Finally, the success of the reform(s) would depend upon the working of and adherence to the system on the part of the electoral machinery at all levels – the political parties, the candidates and the electorate. An independent press and enlightened public opinion have no substitute and their role is crucial in pushing through reforms.

REFERENCES

- Basu, Abhijit (1994). 'Process of Elections under Seshan', *Democratic World*, 33(22), pp. 6-7.
- Baweja, Harinder (1994). 'Assembly Elections: Crisis on the Cards', *India Today*, 19(19), October 15, pp. 114-5.
- Bhandari, Kusumlata (1988). *Indian Electoral Reforms*. New Delhi: Election Archives,
- Butler, David (1991). *India Decides Elections 1952-1991*. New Delhi: Living Media India Limited.
- Ganesan, K. (1991). 'Making a choice: On Some Alternative Electoral Systems', *Frontline*, April 27 - May 10, pp.45-48.
- Gill, M. S. (1997). 'Role and Functioning of Election Commission of India', *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 43(3), July - September, pp. 416-20.
- Jain, Kiran and P.C. Jain (1998). *Chawla's Elections: Law and Practice*. New Delhi: Bahri Brothers.



Kashyap, Subhash C.(1992). 'Urgent Need for Electoral Reforms', Monthly Public Opinion Survey, 37(10), July, p. 21.

Kaviraj, Sudipta (1997). 'General Elections in India', Government and Opposition, 32(1), pp.3-24.

Kumar B. Venkatesh (1999). 'Funding of Elections (Case for Institutionalised Financing)', Economic and Political Weekly, 34(28), pp. 1884- 1888.

Venkatesan, V.(1994) 'Positive Bill: For Elections Free', Frontline, 11(24), December 2.

Venkatesh, V.(1996). 'Step forward: Promise of Change in the Electoral System', Frontline,13(16), pp.29-30.

Yadav, Yogendra (2002). 'Free and Fair (EC shows the way in Gujuart)', Times of India, August, p. 12.



Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his Contribution to the Indian Constitution

Dr. L.V.K.Prasad, Asst. Professor, Dr. B.R.Ambedkar College of Law, Andhra University

Abstract: Ambedkar occupied a towering position as a leader of the backward classes. But he was also one of the makers of modern India and the architect of its present constitutional order. His observations on constitutional morality, made at a critical juncture in India's social and political life, were of the utmost significance not only for the backward classes or the minorities, but for all Indians. The Constitution was designed to serve the needs of a modern society. It looked to the future rather than the past. Ambedkar did not wish to take India back to its past, but to take its place to the forefront of the comity of free and independent nations of the modern world.

Introduction: The Indian Constitution was adopted by the Constituent Assembly on that day in 1949. The Constitution was adopted on 26th January 1950, when India was declared a Sovereign, Democratic Republic. In 1976, by a Constitutional Amendment, India became a Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic. The Constituent Assembly was inaugurated in December 1946. The Draft of the Constitution was published in January 1948. Over eight months, the Constitution was widely discussed at different forums in India, after which the draft was discussed within the Constituent Assembly, article by article, between 15th November 1948 and October 1949. There were a total of 7635 amendments, of which 2473 were discussed inside the Assembly before the Constitution was adopted. The Constituent Assembly had more than 300 members, including nine women. As many as 12 members had law degrees, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, and Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. The most crucial member of the Assembly was the brilliant

lawyer Ambedkar. He was law minister in the Interim Union government, and also Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution.

Ambedkar said that he came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes. "I had not the remotest idea that I would be called upon to undertake more responsible functions. I was therefore greatly surprised," he said, "when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman".

Ambedkar occupied a towering position as a leader of the backward classes. But he was also one of the makers of modern India and the architect of its present constitutional order. His observations on constitutional morality, made at a critical juncture in India's social and political life, were of the utmost significance not only for the backward classes or the minorities, but for all Indians. The Constitution was



designed to serve the needs of a modern society. It looked to the future rather than the past. Ambedkar did not wish to take India back to its past, but to take its place to the forefront of the comity of free and independent nations of the modern world.

B.R. Ambedkar and Drafting of the Constitution

On 29th August, 1947 passing one resolution the Constituent Assembly appointed a 'Drafting Committee' with the seven members including Dr. Ambedkar for preparing a draft of the Constitution of the independent India. It is said when drafting of the Constitution of India was embarked upon, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel thought of inviting and consulting Sir Guor Jennings, as internationally known constitutional expert of those times. When approached for advice in the matter Gandhiji is reported to have told them why they should be looking for foreign experts when they had the right within India an outstanding legal and constitutional expert in Dr. Ambedkar who ought to be entrusted with the role which they badly need as he so richly and rightly deserved. The Law Minister Dr. Ambedkar was appointed the Chairman of the Drafting Committee. The seven members, including the Chairman of the 'Drafting Committee' were as follows:

- 1) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Chairman
- 2) N. Goipalswami
- 3) Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyas
- 4) K.M. Munshi
- 5) Saijio Mola Saadulla
- 6) N. Madhava Rao and
- 7) D.P. Khaitan

Dr. Ambedkar was honoured step by step. At the first step he was honoured as the member of the Constituent Assembly. At the second step he was honoured as the first 'Law Minister' of the independent India and at the third step he was honoured as the chairman of the 'Drafting Committee'. Because of his bright characteristics, as his deep and vast study, tremendous knowledge, amazing command of an English language, expertness in explaining the subject and ideal patriotism, he had got these pleasant honours. "Thought provoking and provocative, his life is highly, instructive to everyone who yearns for human dignity and equality in human relation in society." These words of one of his biographers describe essence of what he stood for and what he achieved.

Dr. Ambedkar had a charismatic personality. He was pragmatic par excellence, who never allowed himself to be swayed by abstract ideas and ideals. He strongly believed that political independence cannot assure either social solidarity or national integration in the absence of social justice. Being a democratic socialist, he propagated that fundamental rights have little meaning to people in the absence of social democracy.

Dr. Ambedkar was one of the very few Indian Statesmen-politicians who actively participated in the discussions on Constitutional matters from the Monsford Reforms (1919) to the Cabinet Mission (1946) proposals. He was the first and foremost leader of the depressed classes, and the struggle of the depressed classes for Human Rights and socio-political equality from the twenties to the fifties of the 20th century is woven round his name Being elected Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Dr.



Ambedkar played a key role in viewing the structure of the government and the forms of the Constitution.

The Round Table Conference

The Round Table Conference was a landmark in the history of the Indian Constitution. Being invited to discuss on constitutional matters Dr. Ambedkar demanded independence and hoped that the people of India would be able to redress their grievances by political power and this political power will come to them under the 'Swaraj' constitution.

At the first session of the Round Table Conference, he gave a clear warning to the British Government, saying: "I am afraid it is not sufficiently realised that in the present temper of the country, no Constitution will be workable which is not-acceptable to the majority of the people. The time when you were to choose and India was to accept is gone, never to return. Let the consent of the people and not the accident of logic be the touchstone of your new Constitution, if you desire that it should be worked..."

He advocated for a government which was a responsible government formed by the representatives of the people. Dr. Ambedkar did not want to impose a Constitution on the Indians, but he submitted that the opinion of the people about the manner in which they desired to be governed must be accepted.

"The best government rests on the people, and not on the few on persons and not on property, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority. In the constituent Assembly Dr. Ambedkar played a very significant role with a lofty responsibility of drafting the Constitution. He examined the functioning of a democratic government

on the basis of stability and responsibility. However, the Draft Constitution he recommended that the parliamentary of executive must have more responsibility to stability. As regards the character of the Constitution, it was Federal in form and Unitary in Spirit". It established a dual polity with the Union at the Centre and the States at the periphery, each endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution.

Concept of Federalism

His concept of federalism meant that the State was a federation in normalcy, but unitary in emergency.

Centre Was Made Strong

In the Draft Constitution Dr. Ambedkar offered more powers to the Centre and made it strong. Some members of the constituent assembly criticised him on the ground that since Dr. Ambedkar postulated – the rights and values of each individual and the development of each province and each-village, it was contradictory of his part to make the Centre strong. Justifying the provisions for a strong Central authority Dr. Ambedkar said that he made the centre strong not only to 'save minorities from the misrule of majority' but also "for it is only the centre which can work for a common end and for the general interests of the country as a whole."

Equality of Opportunity

In the Draft Constitution the "Fundamental Rights", prescribed were justifiable in the Court of Law. Of all the rights, Dr. Ambedkar observed "Equality of Opportunity" as the most important one. Regarding the constitutional remedies, he characterize



Article 32 as the very soul of the Constitution and the very heart of it. To him, fundamental rights would mean establishment of equality and liberty in order to reform our social system, which is so full of inequalities discriminations, and other which conflict with our fundamental rights.

Directive Principles Of State Policy

The Directive Principles of State Policy contained the positive obligations of the state towards its citizens. The Directives were meant to ensure social and economic democracy which was secured by the provisions of fundamental rights in a written Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar said: "What are called Directive Principles is simply another name for Instruments of instructions to the legislature and the executive...as to how they should exercise their power."

Constitution: A Dynamic Document

The Constitution is a dynamic document it should grow with the growth of the nation and should suit the changing needs and circumstance. So Dr. Ambedkar urged the necessity of amendment. "The Draft Constitution has eliminated the elaborate and difficult procedures such as a decision by a convention or a referendum. The power of amendment lies with the legislatures, Central and Provincial ..." Dr. Ambedkar was doubtful on the Constitutional mortality of the legislatures. So he wanted to incorporate the forms of administration in the Constitution.

National Integration

In the Draft Constitution Dr. Ambedkar prescribed single citizenship, a single judiciary and uniformity in fundamental Laws to integrate Indian society which was not only divided into

caste and class, but also into regions, religions, languages, traditions and cultures. Therefore, a strong Centre was indispensable to maintain territorial integrity and administrative discipline. However, in the Draft Constitution he suggested the acceptance of Hindi in the 'nagiri' script as the National Language of India. A pragmatist to the core, Ambedkar believed that in the absence of economic and social justice political independence would not bring about their social solidarity or, national integration. He advocated the abolition of privileges on the basis of caste or status and vigorously fought for the liberty and dignity of the individual. At the same time, he was equally force-full in his advocacy of the unity of the nation.

Conclusion:

The contribution of Dr. Ambedkar in Indian Democracy is not to be forgotten. As a chairman of the Constitutional Committee he gave a shape to our country of a complete Sovereign, Democratic and Republic based on adult franchise. Baba Saheb Ambedkar's name will be written in golden letters in the history of India as a creator of social justice. This fact is doubtless. He was not only the man of age and builder of the Constitution but also the creator of social justice and betterment of the downtrodden. He was one of the few sons in the History of India that he can be said to the gift of Indian freedom movement. If Mahatma Gandhi gave direction and lesson of morality then Baba Saheb gave shape to social aspect without exploitation. In true sense of the word, he gave democratic and anti caste aim. He spent his whole life for the betterment of the poor, exploited, untouchables and troubled classes. Thus, Dr. Ambedkar's



contribution to the Indian Constitution is undoubtedly of the highest order. Indeed he deserved to be called the “father or the Chief Architect” of the Indian Constitution.

References

1. Dr. Dhyaraj Kashinath Gaikwad 'Rajwansh' – The Miraculous Great Man' – Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar.
2. Lalit. K. Sahay – Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: Man of Millennium.
3. B.J. Bhandutia – Champion of Human Rights. B.R. Ambedkar.
4. Veridemder Grover, Bhimrao Ramji Ibid., Mirac.: A Biography of his vision and ideas.
5. G.S. Lokhande, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar – A Study in Social Democracy.
6. S.N. Mandal, “B.R. Ambedkar: His Thoughts and Observations”
7. Dr B.R. Ambedkar Biography—Life and Profile, <http://www.culturalindia.net>, accessed on February 5, 2011.
8. Jatava, D.R., (2001), Dynamics of Ambedkar Ideology, Sublime Publication, Jaipur.
9. Ambedkar, B.R., <http://www.mapsofinda.com/htm>, accessed on January 25, 2011.
10. Ambedkar: the Architect of the Indian Constitution, <http://www.sankalpindia.net>, accessed on February 5, 2011.



The Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in Women Empowerment

S.M.Maheswari, Lecturer in English, Sri.Y.N.College (A), Narsapur

Abstract : *Women constitute about one half of the global population, but they placed at various disadvantageous positions due to gender difference and bias. They have been the victims of violence and exploitation by the male dominated society all over the world. Our society is a tradition bound society, where women have been socially, economically, physically, psychologically and sexually exploited from times immemorial, sometimes in the name of religion, sometimes on the pretext of the writing in the scriptures and sometimes by the social sanction. Dr. Ambedkar started his movement in 1920. He stated "We shall see better days soon and our progress will be greatly accelerated if female education is persuaded side by side with male education..." He started fierce propaganda against the Hindu social order and launched a journal Mook Nayak in 1920 and Bhishkrut Bharat in 1927 for this purpose. Through its issues he put due stress on the gender equality and need for education and exposed the problems of the depressed as well as women. The encouragement of Ambedkar empowered women to speak out boldly their feelings. As the chairman of drafting committee, Dr. Ambedkar, who knew a lot about the status of women in the Indian society, was responsible for the inclusion of women's rights in the Indian constitution. Dr. Ambedkar believed in the strength of women and their role in the process of reform. He said that the progress of a community is measured by progress which women had achieved. He gave a slogan. "Educate, Unite and Fight." Exhorted every girl to enjoy equal status with her husband, claim to be her husband's friend, and refuse to be his slave. He believed that society should be based on reason and not on atrocious tradition of caste system. He wanted Hindu Society to be reconstructed along modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity and his mission was to challenge the ideological foundations of graded system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to women in Hindu Society.*

In ancient India, women enjoyed a very high position but gradually their position degenerated into merely objects of pleasure meant to serve certain purpose. They lost their individual identity and even their basic human rights. Empowerment is a multi-faceted, multi-dimensional and multi-layered concept. Women's empowerment is a process in which women gain greater share of control over resource material, human and intellectual like knowledge,

information, ideas and financial resources like money - and access to money and control over decision-making in the home, community, society and nation, and to gain 'power'. But, from time immemorial, the women in this land of ours were treated as a sort of property. She has no identity of herself. She is an individual without individuality. She can do nothing at her will. In 'Manusmriti' the ancient Hindu Code-book, the status granted to women is quite visible and she



was not treated as a human being, but as a slave or a 'thing' under somebody's care. That is why Dr. Ambedkar, the father and architect of Indian Constitution, was of the firm opinion that until and unless, we defy the Hindu Dharma-Shastras, nothing much can be changed. They are also responsible for inculcating certain wrong notions learnt through baseless traditions and preaching of the Shastras, in the budding minds of their off spring.

Ambedkar proved, himself to be a genius and was known as a great thinker, philosopher, revolutionary, jurist, prolific writer, social activist and critic and strode like a colossus in the Indian sociopolitical scene unto his death, his thoughts never received adequate attention in the generality of Indian society just because he was born as an untouchable. For Indian women's movement Ambedkar provides a powerful source of inspiration to formulate a feminist political agenda which simultaneously addresses the issues of class, caste and gender in the contemporary sociopolitical set up, which still keeps conservative and reactionary values in many respects, particularly on gender relations. The writings and Speeches of Ambedkar show what values India should develop and how they would modernize.

Literature survey reveals that times immemorial women in our land were not given proper treatment. Her societal positioning was never on par with men. She was not given even the basic rights. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar fought for woman's economic liberation and for securing woman's social rights. He stressed the need to safeguard the dignity and to respect the modesty of the women folk. He studied extensively the Hindu

Shastras and Smritis to find out the root cause of degraded status of women in India. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's approach to women's empowerment was entirely different from other social reformers like Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mahatma Gandhi who tried to reform certain outdated customs and practices of the Hindu Society without questioning the hierarchical social order. Ambedkar believed that society should be based on reason and not on atrocious tradition of caste system. He wanted Hindu Society to be reconstructed along modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity and his mission was to challenge the ideological foundations of graded system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to women in Hindu Society. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the principal architect of the Indian constitution and the emancipator of the poor and deprived. He was not only a crusader against the caste system and a valiant fighter for the cause of the down trodden but also a great statesman and a National Leader. Dr. Babasaheb was the beacon of light for the millions of depressed, oppressed and exploited people of India.

In the *Manu Smruti*, *Manu* not only shows contempt for women but goes on to degrade them as slaves, denies them the right to education and the right to property; and forbids them from performing sacrifices. Being India's first law minister and chairman of drafting committee of the constituent Assembly, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar thought it appropriate, rather his duty, to free women from the age old traditions by reforming the Hindu social laws created by *Manu*. He started his movement in



1920 and believed in the strength of women and their role in the process of Social reform and progress of the society which can be achieved by accelerating female education side by side with male education. He started his own newspaper Mook Nayak in 1920 and Bahishkrit Bharat in 1927 to strengthen his movement; to raise the voice for liberation of women and promoting the need for women's education; to upgrade the social status and to motivate women to participate in social reform movements against social evils. The content of all issues used to be on gender equality, women education and exposed the problems related to women and other depressed classes. Dr. Babasaheb's mission in his life was to challenge the ideological foundation of graded system of caste hierarchy that denied equality, freedom and human dignity to women in Hindu Society. Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar took initiative to draft and introduce the Hindu Code Bill in the Constitution Assembly to give equal status to women on par with men by providing many provisions in the Indian constitution. He raised his voice against the Hindu social order and social system through renowned journals Mook Nayak and Bahishkrit Bharat.

Hindu Code Bill:

Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar resigned from the post of the first Law Minister of India when his noble 'Hindu Code Bill', Women's Rights for Indian Women dropped by the then Prime Minister Nehru. The contribution of Dr.Babasaheb for women empowerment in India is totally ignored and unnoticed. For three years, he fought to get the Bill passed. It was the greatest ever social reform in India. It is nothing but declaration of women rights. It spoke of

giving back dignity to Indian women and giving equal rights to men and women. They are Rights to property, Order of succession to property, marriage, divorce, guardianship. It was by any time a revolutionary measure and first step towards the recognition and empowerment of women in India. By these a women will have property right and be able to dispose of her property. Unfortunately this revolutionary bill was partially dropped by the then Prime Minister Nehru because of the orthodoxy Hindu members. The orthodoxy in the ruling party led by *Shyama Prasad Mukherjee* didn't allow this bill to be passed. Even the women member *Sarojini Naidu* was also against these women rights. Although Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar could not succeed in getting passed the full Hindu Code Bill, he successfully laid the foundation of equality for the women of India in all spheres of life. Due to Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar efforts the women are now holding high positions in all fields including Engineering, Medical, Army, Air Force, Navy, Police, Administration, Politics etc.

Maternity Benefit Act:

Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar played a major role in presenting the Maternity Benefits Bill for the factory women workers in the Bombay legislature in July, 1928. In fact it was the first Maternity Benefits Act passed in India in 1929 by the Bombay legislature. On that occasion he said, "I believe that it is in the interest of the nation that the mother ought to get a certain amount of rest during the pre-natal period and also subsequently. I am prepared to admit this fact because the conservation of the people's welfare is primarily the concern of the Government. And in every country, therefore, where



the maternity benefit has been introduced, you will find that the Government has been subjected to a certain amount of charge with regard to maternity benefit. I think, therefore, the benefits contemplated by this bill ought to be given by this Legislature to the poor women who toil in our factories in this Presidency." Subsequently the Madras Maternity Benefit Act was passed by the Madras Legislature Council in 1934 and subsequently in other provinces of India

As a Labour Minister in the Viceroy executive council between 1942 and 1946, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was instrumental in bringing the Mines Maternity Benefit Bill for women in all over India. Under this act, a woman working in the mine is entitled to maternity benefit for a period of 8 weeks. This period of 8 weeks is divided into two parts of four weeks each, one part preceding delivery and another part succeeding delivery. Later all the acts of Maternity Benefit of various states were repealed and a common Maternity Benefit Act-1961 was adopted by the Central Government for all states in India.

Equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the first person who brought the revolutionary "Equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex" in India in terms of Industrial workers as a Labour Minister in the Viceroy Executive Council.

"Right to Vote" :

Right to vote is equal for all Women and Men in India. ie 'Adult franchise' was an achievement of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Our constitution granted voting rights to all Indian women as a

right because of him. But before Independence, 'right to vote' was not an easy task for Indians, even for men also. Mostly the Right to vote was given only to those the rich, the landed and the tax payers.

Equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the first person who brought "Equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex" in India in terms of Industrial workers as a Labour Minister in the Viceroy executive council. While drafting the Indian Constitution, Dr. Babasaheb played major role for the inclusion of the Article 39(d) which relates the state to strive for securing equal pay for equal work of both men and women in the Part IV of the directive principles of the State Policy.

Dr. Babasaheb framed many laws for Women Labourers in India:

1. Mines Maternity Benefit Act,
2. Women Labour welfare fund,
3. Women and Child, Labour Protection Act,
4. Maternity Benefit for women Labour,
5. Restoration of Ban on Employment of Women on Underground Work in Coal Mines,
6. Equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex: On this regard he said, "We have also taken care to see, and this is an important point, that women shall be paid the same wages as men. It is for the first time that I think in any industry the principle has been established of equal pay for equal work irrespective of the sex."

While drafting the Constitution of India, Dr. Ambedkar was the prime mover of the provisions related to the welfare of women. On the question of civil rights, Dr. Ambedkar made provisions in



Articles 14-16 of the Indian Constitution, which provided equal status to women and also banned the sale and purchase of women prevailing in Hindu India. Further to ensure women's status Dr. Ambedkar introduced an emancipatory bill (the Hindu Code Bill) in Parliament which intended mainly (1) to abolish different marriage systems prevalent among Hindus and to establish monogamy as the only legal system; (2) Conferment of right to property and adoption on women; 3) restitution of conjugal rights and judicial separation; attempts to unify the Hindu Code in tune with progressive and modern thought. Hindu Code Bill was about widow remarriage; women's right to seek divorce and remarry if she wishes to; and woman's right to property. The Bill invited a lot of opposition from the orthodox sections of society and ultimately Dr Ambedkar had to resign on that account. In the history of India, perhaps that was one sole instance when a man tendered resignation for the cause of women. Dr. Ambedkar raised his voice for the liberation of women through his newspapers '**Mook Nayak**' and '**Bahishkrit Bharat**'. Through his writings he discussed issues like **gender inequality** prevalent in Hindu society and the need of **women's education** to raise their social status. He strongly believed in the fact that if "a woman is educated a family is educated". He not only encouraged them to get educated themselves but also encouraged them to educate their children and keep them away from all kinds of vices. He strongly opposed taking of intoxicants that was because he realised that most cases of domestic violence occurred under their influence. He involved women in his social reform movements against wrong social practices and demanded socio-

economic and political rights for the depressed classes and women. As he said, "with political democracy we need social democracy too."_Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar was a path-maker of all the women irrespective of religion, caste, creed, gender and brought a new trend for uprising the women through his thoughts and beliefs. Along with women all the people of India should be proud for the tremendous and everlasting steps for the empowerment of women in Indian society carried by Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar.



Justice and Equality in Dr.Ambedkar's vision of India

D. Durga Kalyani, [Lect in eng] S.K.S.D. Mahila Kalasala UG & PG TANUKU

Abstract: *Dr.B.R.Ambedkar is one of the greatest figures of modern India who liberated a vast section of the Indian people from the debased,dehumanized condition of divine slavery.His forecast concern was equality.His emphasis on morality and his effort for the establishment of an egalitarian society on the principle of justice,equality and fraternity also discussed.The true assessment of Ambedkar's movement is that it has shown how a social impossibility in the frame work of a very rigid social system,can have success in altering the socio-political set-up with in such a small span of time.*

Key words:Equality,justice,fraternity,socio-political setup

Introduction:

Dr.B.R.Ambedkar was popularly known as Baba Saheb,was an Indian jurist,economist,politician and social reformer who inspired the Dalit Buddhist movement and campaigned against social discrimination against untouchables,while also supporting the rights of women and labour.He was an uncompromising rebel against social injustice and inequality.He worked relentlessly for the regeneration of humanity,for the well-being of mankind,for the transformation of man and society.He was a great social liberal.He observes social democracy as a way of life which recognizes liberty,equality and fraternity as the principles of life and these principles are the other name of democracy.

Concept of justice in western and indian thought-role of morality:

Justice,though being considered to be individual virtue but social in its application with certain obligations,rights and duties.Justice is grounded not only in morality and religion,but also in law and constitution order.generally it means 'joining' and

'fitting together'. It is the principle of order in political society. Without justice there can be no peace,because where there is no justice there can be no law. In western concept justice means the existence of Ideal relations among men and between men and the state. To sum up, Ambedkar believes that the religion which is not based on truth, on justice and on strong principles, doesn't last long. Ambedkar's concept of justice is nothing but social humanism which he envisioned for the well beings of all citizens of India.

Dr.Ambedkar's attempt to embody justice and equality in the constitution of India

Dr.Ambedkar's main object was to reconstruct the Hindu society into an egalitarian society based on the principle of justice,equality and fraternity. Being the constitutional maker he was conscious of the prevailing unequal social order of India and therefore laid down the foundations of a socio-liberal welfare democratic state that can be ensure a just and equal society for all. As a social revolutionary revolted against the social order based on varna,caste and



untouchability. The Hindu system is designed to be undemocratic. He strived hard for the inclusion of the Directive principle of state policy in the constitution as a great measure for justice and equality. The constitution also provides mechanism to ensure protection of the constitutional rights with a view to creating an egalitarian social order. The constitution is the core of our national life. Dr.Ambedkar, the builder of modern India, was created an integrated society through the constitution.

A National approach to the fulfillment of Ambedkar's vision of India

There are various famous forms of government known to the history-monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy to which may be added Dictator ship. But the most prevalent form of government at the present time is 'democracy'. Dr.Ambedkar considered democracy as a historical movement. If society is not democratic, government can never be. If the mental disposition of the individuals is democratic then the democratic form of government would produce good government. If not, democratic form of government may easily become a dangerous form of government. It will be a government by a class for a class. It is more than a political machine. The distributive justice in democracy insists on absolute equality. Fraternity is also another name of democracy. The foundation of democracy would be feeble and shaky if the contradictions between political democracy, enshrined in the constitution, social and economic inequalities existing in our society, are not resolved. He was the pioneer of democracy of India. He was of the opinion that free India should be made safe for democracy. It was his glorious fight for

ushering in India a social economic democracy. He envisaged the cohesive social order based on equality and justice i.e., social, economic and political.

Conclusion:

During the decisive phases of India's freedom struggle, Dr.Ambedkar had fought for a correlated but different freedom struggle, one for the liberation of the most oppressed sections of Indian society. His fight was against inhumanity – the demon that has emerged out of the traditional textual interpretation of Manu Samhita whose essential power bases were inequality and injustice. He interpreted justice and social equality as inalienable human right that a state must ensure for its citizens. Ambedkar's sole emphasis was on the equal treatment of all human being in terms of law, religion and morality. The true assessment of Ambedkar's movement, is that it has shown how a social impossibility, in the framework of a very rigid social system, can have success in altering the socio-political set-up within such a small span of time.

References:

1. Ambedkar B.R. [1936], Annihilation of caste; reprinted in government of Maharashtra [1979-98] volume1
2. Justice and equality in Dr.B.R.Ambedkar's vision of India by CHITTARANJAN MALLIK.
3. Ambedkar, B.R.[1948] "states and Minorities", Memorandum submitted to the constituent assembly; reprinted in government of Maharashtra [1979-98] volume5



Human Rights of Dalits

B. Satyanarayana, Lecturer in English, SRI Y.N College, Narsapur

Introduction:

The term Dalit which was used in the nomenclature of dalit literature was suggested by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the most outstanding leaders of the anti-caste movement in India. Defying the term like Asprushtha suggested by a conservative thinker M S Mate and Harijan suggested by M.K. Gandhi, Ambedkar preferred the term Dalit which means Down trodden. Ambedkar wrote Dalit hood which is a kind of life condition that characterizes the exploitation, suppression and marginalization of the lower castes by the social, economic, cultural and political domination of the upper caste Brahminical order. The term was not used to refer to a particular caste according to Raosaheb Kasbe, the term Dalit refers to all those sections of the society, which are oppressed for various reasons. He argues that the term has universal connotations. The term neither exclusively refers to caste nor can it substitute the term caste system which is a defying characteristic of the Indian society. The term Dalit refers to all the exploited people belonging to various lower castes in India.

From the beginning the dalits are suppressed and depressed in our society. A central feature of caste discrimination is due to the untouchability practices. Stemming from the notion the different caste groups present are considered to be impure and polluting to other caste groups. Consequently due to this the caste system leads to social exclusion and systematically the denial of basic rights of Dalits at all levels in the society. Although India has an impressive range of constitutional provisions and laws that can ban caste discrimination and untouchability but the lack of implementation remains a chronic problem. UN human rights bodies including



the treaty bodies and special rapporteurs have made extensive recommendations on the need for the government of India to take effective measures to prevent and address violations stemming from the need discrimination. 13th Session of the universal periodic review of human rights council in India when the formation of human rights commission the rights of the Dalits protected strongly key human rights violation for Dalits in India.

Impurity and non implementation of laws for the protection of Dalits, as noted by the UN special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders in her 2012 mission report impunity for atrocities against Dalits is a chronic problem in India. Though there are series of laws in place, the conviction rates of the SC/ST act 1989 which aim to eliminate against SC's are shockingly low. More over special provisions are not implemented properly by the state missionary. For example while the special component plan did bring the benefits to Sc's, the overall record on factual findings found that many states had failed to allocate funds as per the normative SC population percentage.

There is an urgent need to check whether these laws ensure the protection and promotive aspects of Dalits, and to amend it where necessary. Exclusion in access to basic services and extreme poverty, exclusion segregation, and discrimination against Dalits in the education and health sector remains a widespread problem in India. Out of India's 37.2% poor population the minority of them are Dalits. Diversion of economic benefits allocated for dalits, allocations for special compound plan for SCs has been inadequate at national level and that many states have failed to allocate as per the normative SC population percentage. The amount denied to SC's from 2005-2009 amounts to US dollars 20.8 billion. This means that annually around US \$ 5.2 billion have been denied through non implementation as per the policy requirement of the special component plan for the SC's. Lack of political participation Dalits is often limited from equal and meaningful political participation. While legal



mechanisms to protect Dalits are in place, implementation remains very weak. Dalit women trafficking and forced prostitution. A significant proportion of India's Dalit women suffer multiple forms of discrimination, incl. verbal abuse, physical assault, sexual harassment and assault, domestic violence, naked parading, and rape. Some young Dalit girls are even exposed to a form of forced prostitution in temples, serving as sex workers for men from dominant castes. Manual scavenging and Bonded Labour: An estimated 1.3 million Dalits in India make their living through the inhuman and outlawed practice of manual scavenging. The use and abuse of Dalit bonded labourers remains endemic within the range of occupations. In this aspect, Dalit children are particularly vulnerable.

During disasters, Dalits are systematically excluded in rehabilitation measures. The existing laws, policies and guidelines of the national and state government are not comprehensive enough to capture the sensitive issue of caste-based discrimination in emergencies.

Discrimination in Education: 50% of all SC children and 64% of girl students drop out due to discrimination being practiced against them in school. The difference in dropout rates between SC youth and all Indian youth has actually grown from 4.39% in 1989 to 16.21 in 2008. Faster Growth, Faster Exclusion: As India is taking a lead in economic development; Dalits are paying a price for it. Infrastructure inaccessibility, demolition of houses, displacement is some of the problems.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UPR-1 RECOMMENDATIONS:

Recommendation No. 1: Ratification of the Convention against Torture (UK, France, Mexico, Nigeria, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden) and its Optional Protocol (UK)



Currently, the prevention of Torture Bill 2010 in its amended version has yet to be tabled before both Houses of Parliament. In 2008, a series of People's Tribunals on Torture covering 47 districts across 9 states clearly revealed that more than 60% of the victims of torture belonged to Scheduled Castes or were religious minorities. The adoption of the Bill(2010) should be given immediate priority, even prior to ratification at UN level.

Recommendation No.5: Maintain disaggregated data on caste and related discrimination(Canada, Belgium, Luxembourg)

Despite early strong resistance from the GOI, the 2011 nationwide census of caste-wise enumeration has been done, but with serious lacunae: (i) Disaggregation of data by caste, gender, religion, status and religion is missing; (ii) There is no data available on education, health, civic amenities, employment, entrepreneurship, and other important social indicators. Secondly the national Crime Record Bureau Report of the GOI does not provide disaggregated data on crimes against SC and ST women and children, which is essential for proper policy intervention. Besides, there is neither proper analysis, nor mention of the extent of crime complaints of SCs unregistered by the police. Social audit is seriously missing regarding implementation of special protective unregistered by the police. Social audit is seriously missing regarding implementation of special protective legislation and policies although in place for these communities.

Recommendation No. 7: Consider signature and ratification of the ILO Conventions No. 138 and 182 concerning Child Labour(Brazil, Netherlands, Sweden)

Across social groups, the incident of child labour was 1.6% for SCs while it was 0.36% for others in India. Similarly, in the age-group of 10-14 years, the incidence of child labour was the highest i.e., 15% for SCs compared to others.



Given this strong data weightage against SC Children, it is imperative for the GOI not only to give urgent priority to ratifying the ILO conventions, but also bring consistency and coherence in the formulation and implementation of all child-related laws and policies.

Recommendation No.8(accepted): Share best practices in the promotion and protection of human rights taking in to account the multi-religious, multicultural and multi-ethnic nature of Indian society(Mauritius).

Several governments and UN experts have called for the sharing of good practices to eliminate caste-based discrimination. During a visit to India in 2009, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights noted that the Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has strongly condemned the practice of “untouchability” associated with caste-based discrimination and has compared it with apartheid. The High commissioner stated that “This is an area where India cannot only address its own challenges nationally, but show leadership in combating caste-based discrimination globally. “The GOI should take a global lead by sharing example of the range of laws and provisions enacted for the protection of Dalit rights in the country, by engaging in substantive discussions on the topic.

Recommendation No.11: Take into account recommendations made by treaty bodies and special procedures, especially those relating to women and children, in developing a national action plan for human rights which is under preparation(Mexico)

Although the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has been tasked with drafting a national action plan (NAP), there is still no NAP. The GOI should give immediate priority to design, develop and implement a NAP to eliminate all forms of discrimination, including caste- and gender-based discrimination, applying the CERD General Recommendation No. 29 on



descent, the Durban Review Conference Outcome Document (2009), the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (2001) where appropriate. The draft UN principles and guidelines for the Effective Elimination of Discrimination based on Work and Descent can serve as a useful tool in developing a NAP to prevent and eliminate caste-based discrimination. This exercise should begin with a State policy instrument, and should integrate Human Rights Education and Training at all levels.

Recommendation No.13: Strengthen human rights education, specifically in order to effectively address gender and caste-based discrimination (Italy)

With the World Programme on Human Rights Education already in its second phase, together with the Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training, the GOI is strongly recommended to come out with a coherent plan that will include, among others, focused training for officials and professionals, including law enforcement personnel on anti-discriminatory approaches to policing. State and non-state actors should take active part in this reform process. Those involved in the judicial system should also be given training in the prevention of discrimination in the administration and functioning of the criminal justice system.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS:

In accordance with the provision in CERD General Recommendation XXIX (2002)

Besides implementing the recommendations from UPR-I, the GOI is requested to take action on the following:

1. The GOI should take effective measures to address impunity of the State and dominant castes and prevent and eliminate atrocities against Dalits by ensuring that the Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment brings in



amendments to the SCs & STs (PoA) Act, as per the recommendations from Dalit Civil Society Bodies.

2. The GOI should recognize the caste-based discrimination is a violation of international human rights law, as reaffirmed by several UN human rights bodies and experts, and show global leadership in promoting and exchanging views on best practices to eliminate caste-based discrimination in a constructive dialogue with the national and state governments, relevant UN bodies and experts, the private sector, local authorities, national human rights institutions, CSOs and academic institutions for Dalits and other excluded groups in India. In the process, the GOI should consider the draft UN principles and Guidelines for the effective Elimination of Discrimination based on Work and Descent as a comprehensive, voluntary framework to eliminate caste discrimination.
3. The GOI should take concrete steps to follow up and implement UN recommendations on caste-based discrimination by Treaty Bodies and UN special procedures. In the implementation process, the GOI should ensure proper and active coordination of line ministries and National and State institutions, and should actively involve NGOs/CSOs. The GOI should comply with its reporting obligations as a signature to international conventions and prevent further delays in the submission of reports to Treaty Bodies.
4. The GOI should ensure that a national action plan is developed and implemented without further delays, giving immediate priority to design, develop and implement a NAP to eliminate all forms of discrimination, including caste- and gender-based discrimination.
5. The GOI should take effective measures to prevent atrocities and multiple forms of discrimination against Dalit women as recommended by CEDAW, CERD, and the UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women. Specifically, the GOI should take steps to eliminate the culture of



impunity for perpetrators of violation, incl. physical assaults, sexual harassment, rape, naked parading, and forced prostitution.

6. The GOI should extend disaggregated data to caste and gender, religion, status and region to ensure effective policy formulation and implementation for Dalits and other vulnerable groups. Data should be made available on social indicators such as education, health, civic amenities, employment, entrepreneurship, and the National Crime Record Bureau Report of the GOI should provide disaggregated data on crimes against SC & ST women and children.
7. National and State governments should enact equal employment opportunity and equality laws and other measures that prohibit discrimination against Dalits in capital market, labour hiring, work place, private enterprises, etc.
8. The GOI should extend reservation measures to Dalits of all faiths, including Dalit Christians and Muslims, who are presently excluded from the reservation benefits owing to religion-based discrimination.
9. The GOI should adopt the unorganized workers social security Bill without any further delay. Equal attention should be given to Dalit women domestic workers by giving due consideration of the ratification of the recent ILO Convention on domestic workers and rules, 2011. The GOI should enact and ensure cross border monitoring mechanisms to stop the flow of trafficking of Dalit women and children.

Conclusion: The establishment of Human Rights Commission for the need of protecting the rights of people of the world and the people of Dalits strongly.



Rererences:

1. Anand, Reema, 1993, 'A Dalit cannot Be a Reformist Times of India. 16 Jan.
2. Dangle-89
3. Chedwankar, Prahlad 1992, empty advice. In an Anthology of Dalit Literature ed.
4. Mulk Raj Anand Eleanor Zelliot, New Delhi. Gyan Publishing House 37.
5. Dr. B R Ambedkar Memorial Trust.



Movements and Bahujanisation Process in India

P.Y. Krupavaram, M.A., Lecturer in English, S.V.K.P & Dr.K.S. Raju Arts & Science College, PENUGONDA, W.G.Dt.,

Abstract : *Bahujanisation has a new dimension to the process of suppression and the exploitation which has been taking place in different layers of the society. Earlier we discussed that the suppressed and oppressed sections of people are called Dalits but that definition confined to only untouchables. Though the Dalit panthers of Maharashtra and Dalit Mahasabha of Andhra Pradesh used that term to include all exploited castes, the scholarly literature did not treat it that way. Hence a new term Bahujan is being used to refer to the other lower castes. The concept of Bahujanisation came into use in the 1990's. In a way Bahujanisation was provoked by Joti Rao Phule (Sudras, Ati-sudra) and developed by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (oppressed classes) even without achieve saying the concept Bahujanisation.*

It is only from the 1990's that in the process of Mandal and post-mandal commission period that intellectual who starved developing the concept of Bahujanisation. Prof. Kancha Ilaiah used the concept Dalitism and analysed how Dalitism has come to stay as the only alternative to the contending theories of Gandhi and Marx. He also used the concept Dalitization to establish a relationship between different classes and castes and between men and women.

Key Words: *ideology, identity, Collective Mobilization, Organization, Leadership etc..*

INTRODUCTION

Dalit-bahujans have been winning their battle against designator and gaining in form of reservation benefits from the days of British rule of India. By 1980s the dalits included Sudras in their camp and began united fight against Casteism with identity and demanding proportionate share in various fields. This is turn triggered sub-caste identity movements demanding responsible identity and equal share in fields of education employment and politics in India. In this article an attempt is made to discuss Dalit-bahujan movement, its growth in the state of Andhra Pradesh. It is worth to note that bahujan Movement in Andhra Pradesh is shaped and guided by some of that most distinguished Leaders of the Backward Classes

.Deprived sections of society in different parts of the world have organized themselves into protest movements to fight against discriminations of various kinds based on colour, religion, Caste and tribe. Their problem has been one of establishing a new identity, the kind of image that they want to protest in order to gain self-respect, honour and status. while question of identity has been common to all the deprived sections, the answers that they have sought to provide have been different but homogeneous.

MEANING OF BAHUJAN

The term 'Bahujan' was coined many years ago Goutham Buddha used it first. He used the concept 'Bahujana Hithaya and Bahujana Sukhaya'. He advocated total Bahujan happiness and not just the happiness of a few people. The present attempts of Bahujanisation



reflect the advocacy of Buddha and are more relevant. The concept Bahujanisation has its roots in the Buddhist era with the objective of establishing a society based on the values of equality, including that of women's equality. This term was used occasionally by Mahatma Jyoti Rao Phule.

As pointed out earlier, the concept 'Bahujan' indicates the majority in the society. After Kanshiram popularized the term Bahujan by naming his party Bahujan Samaj Party. The concept Bahujan became popular as it includes the minorities in addition to the SCs, STs and OBCs.

The caste identity movements like the Madiga Dandora Movement and its influence on other caste identity movements. An attempt is made to analyze caste identity movements in Telangana the trends and limitations of these and the role of political parties and non-political organizations in the mobilization of Bahujans. In addition, focus is laid on how these movements aligned with each other and led to the process of 'Bahujanisation'.

The Madiga Dandora Movement which started during the 1990s in caste identity movements in Andhra Pradesh in general and Telangana in particular, led towards 'identity establishment' and also once again brought awareness among other Dalitbahujan communities. This movement brought about sea changes amongs lakhs of Madigas and led them to realise their rights, as a consequence, it occupies a unique place in the history of caste identity movements in Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The Madiga Dandora Movement significantly contributed to strengthen and increase

caste awareness among Dalitbahujans. The era of caste identity movements which received inspiration from Madiga Dandora Movement realized the significance of an organized articulation of their specific demands, and more often, for their space in the socio-political scenario. The *Erukala* community started the '*Erukala Kurru*' demanding categorization among STs. On the same lines, several Other Backward Castes (OBCs) made efforts to start their respective caste identity movements. The major caste based organizations which emerged are the 'Dolu Debba' of the Golla-Kurumas (Yadavas), 'Poosalakeka' of the Pusala community, 'Chakirevu Debba' of the Chakali (washerman), Moku Debba' of the Gouda Community, Sammeta Debba' of the Vishwabrahmins, the Kummaris (potter), 'Tudum Debba' 'Nangara Bheri' of Lambadas and so on. These caste based organizations besides asserting their caste identities by organizing their communities, also articulated their concerns towards a number of socio-economic demands due to their respective occupational or caste groups.

During the post-Mandal period, growing consciousness among BCs raised several questions relating to their socio-political rights from all over the country. BCs being the majority, consider themselves the creators and producers of all wealth. They started articulating, 'Votes are ours, seats are yours'. Such questioning was influenced by the ideological postulations of their leaders, including Mahatma Jyoti Rao Phule, Periyar Ramasami Naikar and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. During the same period in Andhra Pradesh, an OBC movement was emerging and gaining political importance. Identifying with movements



led by Phule, Periyar and Ambedkar, this OBC movement attempted to assert its identity and voice its demands. It has emerged as another significant identity movement after the Madiga Dandora movement.

With the influence of the Dandora movement, Dalits and Backward Caste people began adding their caste titles to their names such as Madiga, Mala, Mudiraj, Goud, Yadav and Nayak, similar to upper castes, which suffix Reddy, Chowdari, Rao, Sastri, Sharma, etc. This was an international form resistance and assertion of caste identity to assert identity and self-respect. The leadership of these caste movements perceived it as an attempt to shed the inferiority attached to these social groups which were classified as pollutant castes. In the process, these movements also highlighted the cultural injustice of OBCs.

MADIGA DANDORA-STRATEGIES AND ARTICULATIONS

The effort of the Madiga Dandora in building a caste based mass movement is in an important milestone in Indian political history. Its success lies in its strategy in bringing self-respect to a caste which hitherto, was neglected in society. The idea of identifying with their caste name itself was an innovative strategy. It all started with a few people taking of a Padayatra, earlier, the movement was confined to Dharnas, Meetings and public rallies etc.

The identity of a caste depends upon its consciousness in turn, it also enlightens other downtrodden castes. The idea of having a militant group for each of these lower castes emerged with the influence of the Madiga Dandora. The leadership of Manda Krishna Madiga

inspired many other caste leaders. The need for fighting for their own problems and building leadership within caste ranks evolved among these lower castes. These castes understood that there was no necessity for other political parties to lead them. Gradually they started questioning the mainstream political parties on various issues. Thus, for the rightwing movements and Communist parties in Telangana region, it became necessary to build affiliations with Dalits and BCs.

The important implications from the above theoretical framework are that caste identity movements are the instruments of organization, mobilization, and articulation. They are instruments to train leadership as also the instruments for spreading ideas through its publications. In the line of these implications, the changing profile of caste identity movements in Andhra Pradesh in general and Telangana in particular is examined. For this purpose, four caste identity movements are chosen for analysis, the Dolu Debba, Nangara Bheri, Chakirevu Debba and Moku Debba. There are, of course, many caste identity movements like the Erukala Kurru, Pusalakeka, Thudum Debba, Sammeta Debba, etc.

DOLU DEBBA MOVEMENT (YADAVAS)

Ever since the Dandora Movement started, the Golla-Kuruma, one of the leading backward castes and an important occupational community in Telangana Region. It has been organizing and consolidating itself. In 1997, the Golla Kurumas organized themselves under the name "Dolu Debba" under the leadership of Belli Krishna, Belli Lalitha and Gunda Ravi.



They conceived the movement to align with other caste identity movements and subsequently build their 'own caste movement and articulate their specific demands.

IMPACT OF DOLU DEBBA MOVEMENT

The impact of this movement is seen more in the Telangana, where they have united all members of the caste and established caste societies and unions at different levels. This movement may be viewed as a movement of self-respect, state government after viewing the Dolu Debba movement in Telangana. The Dolu Debba movement has emerged as an important caste movement. For them, caste struggle means to rebel against Brahmanism, question upper caste domination and deny the customs and traditions of Hindu caste system. They considered the caste identity as a weapon against exploitation by upper castes and upheld caste identity with pride and the movement as the vehicle to express their assertion.

NANGARA BHERI (LAMBADAS)

Inspired by the Dandora Movement the *Nangara Bheri* (which means the sound of the conch in Lambada language) movement has come to the forefront in early 1998. This movement was started for realizing the rights of Lambadis, who are a scheduled tribal group in Andhra Pradesh. We should get our share as per our population' is the slogan of the Nangara Bheri, which was initially to be known as the Lambadi Hakkula Porata Samithi (LHPS). In order to achieve their rights, they felt that a movement should be built within Lambadis and consequently a united oppressed caste front can be formed. They recognize that such a front

may lead to the Bahujanisation process. The mutual understanding between the Lambadi Hakkula Porata Samithi (LHPS) and the people of Dalit-Bahujan movements is to initiate a common platform for the organizations and protect their rights under the banner, 'Ummadi Hakkula Porata Samit'.

The Lambadas have started 'Nangra Bheri' under the leadership of Bellaiah naik, with the slogan hapan thanda hapan raj (self-rule in our thandas) this movement has raised many questions particularly that of the failure to realize, despite constitutional guarantees rights and entitlements pertaining to schedule Tribes.

DEMANDS OF NANGRA BHERI

Some of the important demands put forth by the Nangra Bheri are as follows. Government should bring out a law to recognize Lambada thandas as special gram Panchayats. Reservations should be implemented in the private sector. Backlog posts should be filled immediately. All political parties should extend cooperation to realize the Demand of recognizing thandas as separate Panchayats. Government should not amend the rules of Act 1/70 which protects the rights of tribes on lands and other resources.

CHAKIREVU DEBBA (WASHERMAN)

The Chakalis (Washerman) traditionally known as Rajakas. Render services of washing clothes to people. They wash clothes of people of all castes. Except of the Mala and Madigas communities. Their livelihood is linked with the village as they are paid either in cash or in kind. Due to the collapse of the agriculture based village economy



after urbanization, traditional occupational groups were also affected adversely. Chakalis left their traditional occupation and migrated to nearby towns often change their occupation.

The Chakirevu Debba movement was inspired by other caste identity movements. This movement felt that at first the caste should organize within and then join other Dalit-Bahujan castes to come under one umbrella. The Chakirevu Debba movement identified that each caste has specific problems and differentiated such problems as per caste hierarchy to solve them. The Chakirevu Debba movement came forward with the slogan 'share as per population' and informs government about financial and social problems on a regular basis.

MAJOR DEMANDS OF CHAKIREVU DEBBA

Some of the important demands put forth by the Chakirevu Debba are as follows.

In India, the Chakali (Washerman) community is included in the Scheduled Caste list in 16 states, whereas in Telangana State, they are in the B.C. list. Hence they demand inclusion in the S.C. list. This is the major demand of the Chakirevu Debba. The Chakali are economically, educationally and politically backward and should be protected against such treatment. Separate and residential schools for Chakali children must be established.

MOKU DEBBA (GOUDS, TODDY-TAPPERS)

In Telangana one more major population in the backward class community. The Gouds are facing similar problems as are the Lambadas, Golla-Kurmas, Chakali and weavers, but

it in different form, most Gouds depend only on their occupation. Their main livelihood is to draw toddy and sell it. Gouds toil to draw toddy thrice a day. They usually climb the toddy trees even in the rainy season, though it involves rick, their back and limbs become as hard as stons. With the new economic policies and modernization, Gouds are losing their identity and occupation in the era of 'globalisation'. The occupation should be protected and modernized, cooperative societies developed and plantation of toddy trees developed. As well development and preservation of toddy technology. Not only Madiga, Mala, tribal, Yadava, Chakali and Gouds, all Bahujan Communities are facing similar problems in Telangana state.

Caste identity, polarizations self-respect all these have contributed in a professional based unity among BCs, SCs and STs and laid a bridge for Bahujanisation process. They have conveyed a message that caste awareness is not enough; it is the awareness of Dalit-Bahujans that can enable them to make inroads into the political arena. This is the background for the various caste identity movements which began struggles in the name of caste and professions. Among these identity movements. The Madiga Dandora stood in the forefront and inspired Bahujans belonging to different castes.

Today no single caste can achieve political power. But only when the unity of a single caste takes place that the process of Bahujanisation will start. There is a close relationship between these castes if one sees their work culture. There may be differences which can be resolved. So long as the upper caste high-handedness exists, the upper and lower caste differences exist. Phule,



in order to rescue Shudras and ati-Shudras from the supremacy of Brahmanism, started Satya Shodak Samaj. Shudras and ati- Shudras means Dalit-Bahujans. These kinds of movements helped to evolve a process of Bahujanisation.

BCs Population – 1931 Census in Telangana

V. Satyanarayana estimated the population figures of Telangana on the basis of 1931 Census (see table-1). The Backward Castes constituted a very large proportion of the population in the ten districts of Telangana constituting 46

percent in 1931. Backward Classes were unevenly distributed, and divided into a large number of small groups. The most populous among them, the Munnurukapus & Muttra’s (23.9 percent) were spread more or less evenly in the Telangana region. Among BCs Yadavas constituted 12.1 percent followed by Goudas with 10.4 percent Padmashalies (Weaver community) occupy fourth place with 8.6 percent followed by Chakali (Washer men) with 5.9 percent. All other BCs communities constitute ranging from 0.52, 10.3, and 3.4 which are numerically significant.

BCs Particulars in Telangana – 1931 Census

Table -1

S. No	Caste	Population	%	S. No.	Caste	Population	%
1	Munnurukapu & Muttra’s	9,43,712	23.9	16	Arekatika	71,953	1.8
2	Yadav	4,76,825	12.1	17	Satani	55,564	1.4
3	Gouda	4,09,742	10.4	18	Darji	44,850	1.1
4	Padmashli	3,36,761	8.6	19	Waddera	44,712	1.1
5	Chakali	2,33,448	5.9	20	Baliya	43,219	1.1
6	Kuruma	1,36,113	3.4	21	Uppara	32,138	0.8
7	Noobhasrladdaf,Dud ekula,Mehtar, etc.	1,53,000	3.9	22	Perika	29,264	0.7
8	Bestha	1,39,582	3.5	23	Viswabrahman	27,704	0.7
9	Magali	1,07,132	2.7	24	Gandla	26,268	0.7
10	Vaddera	1,03,106	2.6	25	Medera	24,503	0.6
11	Kumari	98,643	2.5	26	Kanchara	20,805	0.5
12	Kamsali	94,791	2.4	27	Bhatraj	12,715	0.3
13	Vadla	88,099	2.2	28	Others Ramgreji, Hatkar, Male, Parthi, Veera Musti	35,158	0.9
14	Kammari	68,128	1.7				
15	Jangam	79,926	2.0		Total	39,37,861	

Source: Samajikanyayam – Andariki Adikaram, Author: K.V.Satyanarayana



Estimation of Population in Telangana

According to the Telangana region estimation itself, the BCs population is 48.68% SCs 15.85% STs 8.87% Reddys 4.5% and, Kammas 3% Christians 1.24% Muslim BCs 12.43% others 9.95%. Official caste census statistics in India are available only up to the year 1931 and later only after several years an organized effort has been made by Mandal Commission to assess the strength of backward castes. Census statistics during the post-independence period cover only details about the populations by region and especially data relating to SCs and STs. Mandal Commission has relied mainly on the 1931 census data has the base and worked out projections of population growth of OBCs on all India bases while

Muralidhar Rao commission did the same for the data relating to Andhra Pradesh

Another organized estimate of caste projections has been made by the government of Andhra Pradesh to conduct the local body elections based on caste reservations of elected positions in both rural and urban local bodies. Both Mandal and Muralidhar rao Commissions estimated the BC (OBC) population at 52 percent, while the government of Andhra Pradesh estimated exclusively for the purposes of local bodies' elections at 48 percent. The Sri Krishna committee (2010) on Telangana while quoting the government sources put the BCs population figure at 44.5 percent in the state. Provides the details relating to the general caste composition of the state as estimated recently

**Estimate Population in Telangana
Tabel-2**

	SC	ST	Christians	BC	Muslim BC	Others
Adilabad	18.54	16.74	0.59	45.94	2.85	6.87
Nizamabad	14.84	7.7	0.69	53.04	4.32	10.12
Karimnagar	18.62	2.60	0.59	60.51	1.80	4.32
Medak	17.58	5.4	1.30	53.63	3.33	7.77
Ranga Reddy	14.55	4.09	2.51	47.07	3.43	8.00
Mahabubnagar	17.10	7.93	0.54	55.11	2.54	5.91
Nalgonda	17.73	10.55	1.00	51.11	1.58	3.67
Warangal	16.99	14.10	0.95	52.26	1.64	3.82
Khammam	16.5	26.47	1.19	31.00	1.61	3.77
Hyderabad	8.21	0.90	2.43	37.70	8.23	32.94
Total	15.85	8.87	1.24	48.68	12.43	9.95

Source: Samajikanyayam – Andariki Adikaram, Author: K.V.Satyanarayana

According to the state estimation itself, the BCs population Census statistics during the post- independence period cover only details about the populations by region and especially data relating to SCs and STs. Mandal

commissions has relied mainly on the 1931 census data as the base and worked out projections of population growth of OBCs on all India basis while Muralidhar Rao commission did the same for the data relating to Andhra Pradesh .So the



figures presented here have been obtained by projections of the 1931 data and can only be taken as estimates.

**Population of BCs in Andhra Pradesh
Distribution of Social Groups by State and Region (percentage)**

Table - 3

Region	SCs	STs	Muslims	Other Minorities	OBCs
Andhra Pradesh	16.2	6.6	9.2	1.7	44.5
Telangana inc Hyderabad	15.8	8.9	12.4	1.5	50.7
Telangana [ex. Hyderabad]	16.9 8.0	10.0 6.9	8.4 41.2	1.2 3.2	53 35
Royalaseema	16.7	2.9	12.5	0.9	43
Costal Andhra	16.3	6.0	1.5	2.2	39

Source : Census 2001 and NSSO 64th round. Sri Krishna Committee Report

Table - 3 also indicate that there is variation in the formation of social groups between various regions within Andhra Pradesh. The upper castes constitute only 10.7 percent of the total population of the Telangana region, while in Rayalaseema and Costal Andhra it is 24.2 percent and 32.0 percent respectively. BCs constitute 44.5 percent in the State of Andhra Pradesh while the Telangana region excluding Hyderabad holds 53.00 percent of population. In Coastal Andhra, BCs constitute 39.0 percent (Srikakulam, Vijayanagaram and Vishakapatnam districts cover a large majority of BC population), while in Rayalaseema, it is 43.00 Andhra Pradesh has very nearly the same distribution of SC population as in the rest of the country in general and from within its various regions.

However, the minorities especially Muslims constitutes 41.2 percent in Hyderabad city alone, while in Telangana excluding Hyderabad it has been 6.9 percent. Tribal population in Telangana excluding Hyderabad

constitutes 10 percent. In the overall sense in Telangana BCs, SCs, STs and Minorities constitute slightly more than 89 percent, while in overall in Andhra Pradesh it was 78 percent, while BCs in the whole of Andhra Pradesh constitute slightly more than 44.5 percent. This data clearly indicates that the upper castes or dominant castes constitute less than 11 percent in Telangana and only 22 percent in the whole of Andhra Pradesh. This makes very clear that BCs consisting of 140 different castes together with common interests and common problems constitute the single largest group of population as well as voters and spread over in almost all constituencies ranging from a maximum of 85 percent to a minimum 35 percent

CONCLUSION

In Telangana State the Dalit Bahujan caste consciousness was growing, even before Telangana merged in to Andhra Pradesh. Because of the Telangana Armed Struggle a class consciousness was formed. But subsequent particularly in the 1980s and



90s. The Dalit Bahujans who organized themselves in to the independent caste identity movement slowly created a consciousness of communing identity and spread the consciousness about the need for reservations. By various of the Muralidhar Rao and Mandal Commission Dalit Bajujans started to think on Bahujanizing themselves by referring of 60th SC, ST, OBC as Bahujans. The Madiga Dandora movement has significantly contributed to strengthen and increasing the caste awareness among various Dalit-Bahujans.

REFERENCES

1. Ghanshyarn (Eds.), *Dalit Identity and Politics, Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge*, Vol.2, Sage, New Delhi, 2011, p.118.
2. Ravinder, D., *Rajyadhikaramkosam Udhymisthunna Gollala Vartha*, 28th November, 1999.
3. Srinivasulu, K., (1994), '*Andhra Pradesh: BSP and Caste Politics*', EPW.
4. Srinivasulu, K. and Prakash Sarangi, (1999), '*Political Realignments in Post - NTR Andhra Pradesh*', EPW.
5. Suri, K.C., (2001), '*Andhra Pradesh: Setback for the TDP in Panchayat Elections*', Economic and Political Weekly, 13th October, 2001.
6. Satyanarayana, G., (1992), *Changing, Agrarian Structure and Labour Relations*, Delhi Rawat Publications.
7. Shah, Ghanshyam, (1975), *Caste Association and Political process in Gujarat: A Study of the Kshatriya Mahasabha*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan.
8. Venkateshu. E., *Backward Castes and Mobilization Process in Andhra Pradesh*, the Indian journal of Political Science.
9. Vidhyasagar. R. and Suresh, V., (1990), *Backward Classes and Reservations*, EPW.
10. Christophe Jaffrelot, (2000), *The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt*, The Journal of Asian Studies.
11. Marc Galanter, (1988), *Competing Equalities: Law and the Backward Classes in India*, Werner Menski Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 51.
12. The First Backward Classes Commission (1953), (Chairman: Kaka Kalelkar), Government of India.
13. The Second Backward Classes Commission (1980), (Chairman: B.P. Mandal), 12 Volumes in two parts, Government of India.
14. Anantharaman Commission Report (1970), on Backward Classes, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
15. Muralidhar Rao Commission Report (1982), on Backward Classes, Government of Andhra Pradesh.
16. Kancha Ilaiah, (1969), "*Why I am not a Hindu*", (Samya, Calcutta).



Indian Democracy and Political Process

Dr.G.N.Subbarao, Research Associate, Centre for Ambedkar Studies, University of Hyderabad.

Abstract : *Most Indians speak with great pride as though their country was already a democracy. The foreigners also, when they sit at a dinner table to do diplomatic honor to India, speak of the Great Indian Prime Minister and the Great Indian Democracy. From this, it is held without waiting to argue that where there is a Republic, there must be democracy. It is also supposed that where there is Parliament which is elected by the people on adult suffrage and the laws are made by the People's Representatives in Parliament elected after few years, there is democracy. In other words, democracy is understood to be a political instrument and where this political instrument exists, there is democracy. Is there democracy in India or is there no democracy in India? What is the truth? No positive answer can be given unless the confusion caused by equating democracy with Republic and by equating democracy with Parliamentary Government is removed.*

Key words: roots of Democracy, Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, social relationship

Introduction

According to Dr.B.R.Ambedkar Democracy is quite different from a Republic as well as from Parliamentary Government. He says "The roots of democracy lie not in the form of Government, Parliamentary or otherwise. A democracy is more than a form of Government. It is primarily a mode of associated living. The roots of Democracy are to be searched in the social relationship, in the terms of associated life between the people who form a society." From the above definition we can understand that democracy is to be found in social relationship in terms of associated life. India is known for its divers nature. We have thousands of castes, religions, different races and millions of languages. Despite having so many differences and diversified culture, we are considered to be united nation. And more over a strongest developing democracy of the world.

Here, to make any democratic constitution a successful one, the countrymen must live a harmonious life and loyalty to public ends and mutuality of sympathy and co-operation. The question raises in mind that do we really have the above mentioned qualities in among us ? do the countrymen live a harmonious life without any social, political, economic and religious differences ? from the ages India consists of an innumerable collection of castes which are exclusive in their life and have no common experience to share and have no bond of sympathy. Given this fact it is not necessary to argue the point since we come across the caste hatred and atrocities in our day to life. The existence of the Caste System is a standing denial of the existence of those ideals of society and therefore of democracy.

Several eminent personalities have defined democracy. The dictionary meaning of the democracy is "government by the people in which the supreme power is vested in the people



and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system". Walter Bagehot defined democracy as "Government by discussion". According to Mr. Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a government " of the people, by the people and for the people". Democracy is indeed the form of government elected by the people for them. But we have to understand that democracy is a set of ideas and principles about freedom. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar defines democracy in a unique way as thus "Democracy is a form and method of government whereby revolutionary changes in the social life are brought about without bloodshed."

Among the above said few definitions Dr.Ambedkar's definitions stands apt. the real test of democracy is to be analyzing the change in social life. Democracy is not just a form of government; it is mode of associated living, an essential attitude of respect and reverence towards our fellow men. But we can see that, in our day to day life, due to the different castes, religions, traditions and various faith each caste tends to dislike others just because they belong to different caste. But the greatest contribution of Indian Constitution is despite the differences, India is still going strong without any internal disbursement unlike our neighboring countries!

Let's turn towards the main topic i.e. Opposition Party: The Basic Pillar of Democracy! in any democracy the opposition party plays a vital role. In politics, the opposition comprises one or more political parties that are against the ruling government. Ideally the opposition party goes against the ruling party in any government.

The main role of the opposition party is to check and question the policies made by the ruling party and draw attention on the real causes of the nation and to stop ruling party from over powering people. It has to question the government of the day and hold them accountable to the public. The opposition is equally responsible in upholding the best interests of the people of the country. They have to ensure that the government does not take any steps which might have negative implications on the people of the country Basically, the opposition party have to check the excesses of the ruling or dominant party and not to be antagonistic. There are actions of the ruling party which may be beneficial to the masses and oppositions are expected to support thing. They should raise immediate protest and voice against the deemed injustice and wrong motions run by the ruling class in the parliament. The leader of opposition should always bear in mind that they are representing the people of India and fighting for justified demands and defending all the unlawful and unfair practices by the ruling classes.

The opposition party has to highlight the failures of the ruling government so convincingly that the common public gets to know the facts behind the failure and understand that the failures were because of the apathy of the government. In the event of a weak opposition party, the ruling government and its representatives may become complacent and insensitive for duration of their rule. Just have a glance through our history of past 15 parliaments and current one India has seen, we will understand that the strong opposition party is needed to safeguard the rights of the common people and for a strong democracy.



But, unfortunately in India, the ruling class and opposition party have become two sides of the same coin. One loot the country after another and without any morale ! In India, the opposition party is not performing its duty and stands as the People's Voice. Both ruling and opposition parties have joined hands in sucking blood of common man abruptly and unseemingly. Corruptions after Corruptions, scams after scams but nothing has turned legally against any of the person who are involved in multi crore scams. The agitations and uproar is only to mislead the masses and divert the attention so that everything is fixed meticulously. And this has resulted in threat to the very basics of Parliamentary Democracy and Constitution as a whole.

After the Opposition Parties, Media is considered to be the Fourth Pillar of the Democracy. The role of media is to highlight the day to day issues and enlighten people over all the irregularities of the administrative and political branches of the country. These days media is playing very important role in curbing the crimes and wrong doings. Because of technology, people are being aware of all the national and international issues at their very homes. However, what we see that the media has also become the puppet of strong politicians and political parties. Therefore, expecting any news without any undue influence, pressure and impartial and unbiased news is a matter of yesteryears now. The media neither speaks on the issues nor highlight the problems of the common man. I would dare to say that the fourth pillar of democracy has collapsed under the feet of corrupt politicians.

Conclusion

It is evident that, rational authors, writers, social activists, poets have undertaken the social responsibility and portraying the role of opposition party now. They raise voice against injustice from time to time. But then, those so called activists too could not dare to come out of their caste and religious notions. They do speak on the issues aptly, but rarely seen speaking against the real problem of India i.e. Caste and Religious inequalities, Gender Discriminations, Communal genocides which happens almost everyday at all the parts of India. The time has come to understand the spirit of Constitution and importance of parliamentary democracy. As I mentioned in the beginning of this article is democracy is a social unity. Every member of the society should feel the pain of others; every citizen should understand the meaning and importance of fraternity and brotherhood. Then only we can think of a strong democracy and can achieve the goals enshrined in the constitution i.e., Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and Justice. If we all perform our duties well then I am sure, India will be a superpower in the days to come.

References:

1. "Cabinet Secretariat - Government of India". Cabsec.nic.in. Retrieved 10 July 2013.
2. "India should redirect subsidies to those who need them". The International Herald Tribune. 2005. ^[dead link]
3. "Indif_real_GDP_per_capitaa says 21 of 29 states to launch new tax". *Daily Times*. 25 March 2005.
4. Adv Mahendra Jadhav : Online Blog



5. Bakshi; P M (2010). *Constitution Of India, 10/e*. Universal Law Publishing Company Limited. pp. 48-. ISBN 978-81-7534-840-0. Retrieved 10 May 2012.
6. Bernardi, Luigi and Frascini, Angela (2005). "Tax System And Tax Reforms In India". Working paper n. 51.
7. Brainy Quotes
8. Cabinet Ministers (as on 26.05.2014). Cabsec.nic.in. Retrieved on 6 December 2013.
9. CIA World Factbook
10. Datt, Ruddar & Sundharam, K.P.M. "55". *Indian Economy*. pp. 943-945.
11. Dr.B.R.Ambedkar speech in the Constituent Assemblé on 26th November 1949.
12. Kumar; Rajesh. Universal's Guide to the Constitution of India Pg no. 72.
13. Oldenburg, Philip (31 August 2010). *India, Pakistan, and Democracy: Solving the Puzzle of Divergent Paths*. Taylor & Francis. p. 71. ISBN 978-0-415-78018-6. Retrieved 3 May 2012.
14. Pratiyogita Darpan (March 2007). *Pratiyogita Darpan*. Pratiyogita Darpan. p. 60. Retrieved 10 May 2012.
15. Service tax and expenditure tax are not levied in Jammu and Kashmir; Intrastate sale happens when goods or the title of goods move from one state to another.
16. Washington Post:When the Little Ones Run the Show (quote from the New Delhi based Association for Democratic Reform) retrieved 14 May 2009
17. What are the prospects of democracy in India? - By Dr. B. R. Ambedkar



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ACADEMIC RESEARCH (IJAR)
 VOICE OF INTELLECTUALS
 MONTHLY JOURNAL
www.ijar.org.in **ISSN: 2348-7666 (print Book)**
 Indexed, Refereed, Peer reviewed, Multidisciplinary
 (All Subjects) & Multiple Languages Journal



IMPACT FACTOR: 3.075



Dear Sir/Madam, Greetings from ijar:
IJAR covers all the subjects like:

Economics, Rural Development, Entrepreneurship, International Finance & Business, Commerce, Management: Marketing, Finance, HR Retailing, Advertising, Production/Operations Management, Science & Technology, Engineering, Computer Science, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Technology & Innovation, Library and Information Science, Philosophy, psychology-Meteorology, Marine, Education, Organizational Development, Financial Institutions & Markets Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure, Corporate Finance, Transportation, Geography, Public Administration Political Science, Anthropology, Mathematics, Physical Education, Journalism & Mass Communication, Social Work, Languages- Literature, (Any other discipline)

Mail articles to : drtvramana@yahoo.co.in
 Dr. T.V. Ramana, M.A., MBA., PGDCA, PGDIM, PGDHRM, (BL), Ph.D
 Andhra University Campus, Kakinada, 533005, Andhra Pradesh, India,
Office : 46-8-10/4 Opp. Aditya School, Jagannaikpur, Kakinada-2, AP, India

INDEXED IN			
			
			
			
			
			
			



**Guidelines to the Authors : These give credentials to your paper.
Plagiarism is strictly prohibited. Authors are jointly and severely
responsible for any sort of plagiarism**

1. **Manuscript** must be on a standard A4 size paper setting and *less than 12 pages* prepared on 1.5 spaces and typed in 12 point Times New Roman Font.
2. **Author Name(S) & Affiliations:** The author (s) full name, designation, affiliation (s), address, mobile/landline numbers, and email/ address should be underneath the title.
3. **Abstract:** Abstract should be in fully italicized text, not exceeding 300 words. The abstract must be informative and present overall idea (explain background, aims, methods, results and conclusion) of the paper.
4. **Keywords:** Abstract must be followed by list of keywords, subject to the maximum of five. These should be arranged in alphabetic order
5. **Introduction :** A short introduction of the research problem followed by a brief review of literature and objectives of the research
6. **Objectives and Methodology:** Describe the materials used in the experiments and methods used for data collection, statistical tools used in data collection
7. **Results/findings and discussion:** This segment should focus on the fulfillment of stated objectives as given in the introduction. It should be contain the findings presented in the form of tables, figures and photographs.
8. **Conclusion:** Analysis conclude with suitable and effective suggestions (if any)
9. **Style of Referencing:** The list of all references should be alphabetically arranged. It must be at the end of the manuscript. The author (s) should mention only the actually utilized references in the preparation of manuscript and they are supposed to follow Harvard Style of Referencing. The author (s) is supposed to follow the references as per following:

Books:

Sundara Rao M., (1996), "Tribal Development." Tata McGraw, Hill, New Delhi, page. 250

Contributions to books:

Ramana T.V (2008) ," Education- A multi-Dimensional weapon for all-round Development: Edited by D.Pulla Rao, Development of Education-Emerging Dimensions in 21st Century, Chapter 13, pp.190-202.

Journal and other articles:

Schemenner, R.W., Huber, J.C. and Cook, R.L. (1987), "Geographic Differences and the Location of New Manufacturing Facilities," Journal of Urban Economics, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 83-104.

Conference papers: Chandel K.S. (2009): "Ethics in Commerce Education." Paper presented at the Annual International Conference for the All India Management Association, New Delhi, India, 19–22 June.

Unpublished dissertations and theses:

Kumar S. (2006): "Customer Value: A Comparative Study of Rural and Urban Customers," Thesis, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

Online sources: Always indicate the date that the source was accessed, as online resources are frequently updated or removed.

Website: Kelkar V. (2009): Towards a New Natural Gas Policy, Economic and Political Weekly, referred on February 17, 2011 <http://epw.in/epw/user/viewabstract.jsp>

Note: *Papers relating to the Languages may be followed as their research (Ph.D/M.Phil) style*
