

Dr B. R. Ambedkar's Writings & Speeches and The Subaltern Studies

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Abstract - This study introduce the term of Subaltern. The term Subaltern shows the study of marginalized people . The first Subaltern writer in India is Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar. In this paper there have studied the concept of Subaltern through the views of Dr Ambedkar. Also the speeches and writings of Dr Ambedkar have been studied with the view of Subaltern.

Index Terms – Hierarchical, Radical, Transformations, Milieu, Ostracized

Subaltern thoughts is the mode of explaining history also known as 'History from below' aims at constructing the paradigm of Subaltern. consciousness manifesting different form at different places, and at different times. The subalterns are the masses who constitute the composite culture of resistances to and acceptance of domination and hierarchy and who with their socio-cultural milieu are instinctively traditional religious, conservative, Orthodox and caste and community oriented. But by no means archaic in the sense of being outmodel of irrelevant so far their action is concerned. The Subaltern school participates in this historiographical contest with a single aims of highlighting the common sense of the masses of their specific folk consciousness, wisdom and action. Subaltern studies in India means an Indian history of Peasant struggles as this kind of picks up the Peculiar nature of Peasant's issues, their peculiar mode of perceiving and conceiving or a social phenomenon. Their peculiar life style, their peculiar way of dealing with the socio-economic and political questions. Here "peculiar" means subaltern ways and methods.

The founder of the subaltern studies is Ranjit Guha, who was Indian. Sumit Sarkar employs the term Subalterns for tribal and low caste. The theoretical roots of the subaltern studies planted by Ranjit Guha are located by Dhanagare in the synthesis of four major stream within contemporary Marxism.

- 1) The subaltern studies have learnt to recognize and emphasize the role of spontaneous action of the subaltern from Gramscian Marxism.
- 2) These studies following Trotskyite Marxism regard the role of party.
- 3) The subaltern studies have learnt from the Marxist stream of Eric Hosbwam.
- 4) The subalter studies tend to model their arguments.

The practitioners of this subaltern model like Shahid Amin, Gyan Pandey, Parth Chaterji, David Arnold, David Hardima, Gyandra Panday, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Ramchandra Guha, Swapan Dasgupta, Tanika Sarkar, Guatam Bhandra, Sumit Sarkar. The aims of positive philosophy was to liberate history from the hold of theology and metaphysics and to make history stand on its own base of historical laws. Men have given scientific method to history.

In this research paper an attempt the synthesis of the system of positive philosophy. Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy emerged from his historical study of the progress of the human mind which passed through three stages, namely caste system of India. How to Anihilate caste, established quality into

Socio-Eco position.

In the reconstruction of society, he laid the basis for social history through his emphasis on the social conditioning of human actions and motives. Dr. Ambedkar underwent the agonizing experience of being socially despised and ostracised. In many ways he is considered a postle of rights of the depressed classes in India. He endeavoured to bring about a radical transformation of the consciousness of the downtrodden. Dr. Ambedkar's historical methodology is remarkable novel. Dr. Ambedkar not only had a theoretical understanding of the social problems but also initiated steps to bring about a solution. But the strife for social democracy was not an easy task. He mobilized masses (*untouchables and Shudras*) to protest against the de-humanising practices of untouchability. Mahad satyagrahs launched in 1927 to draw water from a public tank exemplified his commitments to guarantee civic rights to the untouchables. He given long address to attendences. He also wanted political revolution in this country. But before it social and cultural revolution should be complete in this country. Due to this reasons he setting up Independent labour party of India in 1936. Then he established the Schedule caste federation in 1942 and lastly established Republican party of India. It was aimed at ameliorating the conditions of the downtrodden is general and depressed classes in particular.

His role as the labour member in the viceroy's executive council during July 1942 and June 1946 speaks volumes on his significant contributions to better the condition of labour in the country. Some of momentous legislations relating to labour welfare were initiated by him. He was instruments in creating a national employment service, Coal mines labour welfare fund and mica mines worker's fund. To enlarge the scope of the definition of workman provided in the workmen's compensation act 1923, he introduced a bill to amend the Act. Some of the most significant steps taken by Dr. Ambedkar as the labour member were the introduction of the minimum wages bill and amendment of factories act to provide for paid leave, reduction in the hours of the work and payments of overtime at double the normal rate.

He entered constituent Assembly was to protect the interest of the downtrodden. In conformation to this objective he incorporated in the list of fundamental rights the abolition of untouchability. Affirmative action for the scheduled caste and tribes was also provided to better their existing socio-economic conditions. The extension of this provision to the neo-Buddhist was also a steps in the direction of fulfilling the dream of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar. His aim of democratizing society and polity has found expression in various provisions of the constitution. True to this ideals and convictions he provided various legal bases which have set and irreversible trend for a human social order.

According to Ambedkar India's aboriginal stock had common ethnic roots which he indentified as Naga subjugated by the Aryan the Nagas become Buddhist in large numbers. They were progressively excluded from the mainstream of society and eventually cast out as the ancestors of the untouchables. Before their extreme degradation these people became patrons and disseminators of Buddhism. In his conversion speech Ambedkar pointed out to Nagas as chief propagators who spread the teachings of bhagwan Buddha all over India. Many of his followers see a symbolic significance in the choice of Nagpur city of the Nagas for the mass conversion of 1956. Basically, Dr. Ambedkar was a social visionary and reformer. He raised his voice against the compartmentalization of the Indian society in to classes and caste. He advocated a democratic society based on the principles of natural justice.

Dr. Ambedkar saw a vast difference between a revolution and real social change. A revolution transfer political power from one party to another or one nation to another. The transfers of power must be accompanied by such distribution of power that the result would be a real social changes in the relative strength of the forces operating in society. Dr. Ambedkar's last attempt was to bring about some changes under law in the framework of Hindu society on more liberal patterns suited to modern conditions and times through the Hindu code Bill. The horizon of Hindu religion was also proposed to be broadened in this Bill. Dr. Ambedkar's Hindu code Bill was the first attempt to persuade Hindu society to accept its own power and its own responsibility in moulding its own destiny. But it led to a big battle, and even

the Hindu intelligentsia was driven into warring camps. The traditionalists got the upper hand and even the 'The Truncated Bill' was later led down in a tragic manner. In great agony Dr. Ambedkar then resigned from the union cabinet in protest.

Dr. Ambedkar was justifiably bitter and lastly who left Hindu religion and embraced Buddhism with Lakh's people. Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism shortly before his death in 1956 raised some controversy which has still not subsided. By this action he, however, chose only the least harmful way for the country. As he himself said, "That is the greatest benefit. I am conferring on the country by embracing Buddhism, for Buddhism is a part and parcel of Bharata's culture. I have taken care that conversion will not harm the tradition of the culture and history of this land." He with lakhs of his followers adopted Buddhism. Because according to him Buddha was first teacher who made morality the essence and foundation of religion. Dr. Ambedkar was also great advocate of the liberation of women in India. While addressing a large meeting of women of the Depressed classes at Mahad in Kulaba District in 1927, he exhorted them to 'attempt more to the cultivation of the mind and the spirit of self-help. He said, 'Education necessary for females as it is for males, if you know how to read and write there would be much progress. As you are so your children will be. When a bill proposing maternity benefits for women labours was introduced in the Bombay legislative council in 1928. Dr. Ambedkar vigorously supported it.

Dr. Ambedkar was strong believer in women's organization was confirmed in his address to conference of the depressed classes women at Nagpur in 1942. According to him the progress of a community is measured by the degree of progress which women have achieved. He advised women "Do not be in a hurry to marry. Marriage is a liability. You should not impose it upon your children unless they are financially able to meet the liabilities arising from marriage. Those who will marry will have to keep in mind that to have too many children is crime. Above all, let every girl who marries stand by her husband, claim to be her husband's friend and equal, and refuse to be his slave." He led a peasants march to the council Hall in Bombay as early as 1938, and was developing into a great leader of the peasant workers and the landless. He was the first legislator in India to introduce a Bill for the abolition of the serfdom of agricultural tenants. His profound knowledge of labour matters was universally acknowledged and actually demonstrated during his term as labour member of the Viceroy's executive council from 1942 to 1946.

Justice to women :-

Dr. Ambedkar has given equal status to women on par with men by providing many provisions in the constitution. "The constitution quickened by social conscience has added invincible legal missiles for women's liberation." Our constitution forbids sexual discrimination and guarantees social and economic justice to women. The constitution in its preamble guarantees-

- 1) Social economic and political justice.
- 2) Freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship.
- 3) Equality of status and opportunity .
- 4) Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and national unity to all the citizens of India without any discrimination of caste, creed or sex.

A few articles i.e. 14,15,16,24,39(d) in the constitution help the women to improve their social and economic status.

Besides providing constitutional guarantees to women. Dr. Ambedkar introduced and got passed four Acts which strengthened the position of women in the society. These were incorporated in the Hindu code Bill. They are,

- 1) The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955.
- 2) The Hindu Succession Act, 1956.
- 3) The Hindu Minority and guardianship Act, 1956.

4) The Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956.

He has formed of peoples education society in Bombay to take education. The impact of his mentor Jotiba Phule is also revealed in the inauguration of Siddhartha college on 20th June, 1946. He thought equality between men and women. He taught ten parmitas are under-

- 1) *Dana* (Charity)
- 2) *Shila* (Morality)
- 3) *Nekkhamma* (Renunciation of the lustful desire)
- 4) *Pradnya* (Wisdom)
- 5) *Vidya* (Energy)
- 6) *Ksanti* (Forbearance)
- 7) *Sacca* (Truthfulness)
- 8) *Adhitthana* (Determination)
- 9) *Metta* (Loving Kindness)
- 10) *Upekkha* (Equanimity)

In giving '*Dana*', Dr. Ambedkar was very generous. Not only for the downtrodden but for the sake of the entire country he sacrificed his health, wealth and intellect. Dr. Ambedkar gave protection to each and every person in trouble. The poor and innocent masses were always seen around him as they not only got protection but also got inspiration the way he treated them.

On 23rd Oct 1929 during his tour of East Khandesh the people of Chalisgaon invited him to address a meeting from they station they wanted to take their leader in a *Tonga* but all the *Tonga* driver refused to carry the untouchables leader. After some persuasion, a *Tonga* should agreed on the condition that the *Tonga* should be driven by an untouchable. But the new driver being unaccustomed to this work, the horse bolted and Babasaheb was thrown out on the stone pavement severely injured.

In this paper, an attempt is made to examine and should historiography of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Subaltern school of thought.

As a first steps, he created a new awakening among the downtrodden masses and prepared them for struggle ahead. He fought many battle. The two most notable battles are Mahad in March 1927, when the untouchables asserted their right to drink water from a public tank and second at Nasik where he launched a temple entry Satyagraha in March 1930, which continued for more than five years.

Dr. Ambedkar cited that untouchability was unique in Inian society. Even the British government had not done any good to improvement of the untouchables. Dr. Ambedkar made the slogan "If I fail to achieve it , I will put an end to my life with a bullet" as his life goal. He established the Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha to improvement of the condition of untouchables. The common goals of the Sabha's are-

- a) Promote the spread of education among the depressed classes by opening hostels.
- b) Promote the spread of education among the depressed classes by opening social centers, study circles and libraries.
- c) Improve Economical conditions by opening agriculture and industrial schools.
- d) Represent the grievances of depressed classes. As well as for the improvement of shudras and untouchable community.

He was associated with –

- 1) The Act of 1919
- 2) Simon Commission, 1928

- 3) Round Table Conferences, 1930,1931,1932
- 4) Poona Pact, 1932
- 5) August Offer, 8th Aug 1940
- 6) Proposals for Sir Stafford Cripps
- 7) Cabinet Mission Plan, 1946
- 8) Constituent Assembly of 1946-1950
- 9) Indian Constitution of 1950

Dr. Ambedkar thoughts and actions may guide us for the solution of every problem. He wrote volumes articles, Editorials, letters etc. to bring about greater enlightenment and advancement of Dalits, women, peasants, workers and all other oppressed people. He carried on a relentless struggle against the social, political and economic segregation of these classes. He opened new methodology in Indian History as well as the world History.

Keywords –

Hierarchical	=	Arranged in order of rank
Radical	=	Relating to or affecting the fundamental nature of something
Transformations	=	Dramatic change in form
Milieu	=	A person's social environment
Ostracized	=	A group of people who have been Ridiculed, ostracized and persecuted For centuries.

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