



POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONALISM OF AMBEDKARISAM

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INTRODUCTION

Being a social democratic revolutionary Dr. Ambedkar stated “if you ask me, my ideal would be the society based on liberty, equality and fraternity.” In his opinion social democracy* (**Social democracy is a political ideology that advocates a peaceful evolutionary transition of a society from capitalism to socialism using established political processes. Social democracy shares common ideological roots with communism but rejects its militancy, totalitarianism and hegemony*) means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity (*Maitree* in Buddhism) as the principles of social life. They form a union of trinity and to divorce from one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. And according to the analysis of Dr. Ambedkar, social and economic democracies are the tissue and fiber of political democracy. In his view a democracy is more than a form of government but it is a form of the organization of society and there are two essential conditions which characterize a democratically constituted society. First is the absence of stratification or division of society into classes. The second is a social habit on the part of the individuals and groups which is ready for continuous readjustment or recognition of reciprocity of interests. For this there shoa. be social endosmosis. He calls this social endosmosis as fraternity which is the root of democracy. *Social democracy in his understanding is primarily a mode of associate living, of conjoint communicated experience and essentially an attitude of respect and reverence towards fellow beings.*

Thus social democracy forms the core content and basic essence of Ambedkarism. Dr. Ambedkar firmly believed that in democracy revolutionary changes in all walks of life of the people are brought about without bloodshed The conditions for that are as follows: “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 majority; 6. moral order of the society; and 7. public conscience.” While addressing the constituent assembly, he suggested transforming a political democracy into social democracy. In his talk given on voice of America he argued that “Democracy could not be equated with either republic or parliamentary form of government. The roots of democracy lay not in the form of government, parliamentary or otherwise. A democracy is a model of associate living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between people who form the society.” Hence at the time of adoption of

the constitution, Dr. Ambedkar warned: “on 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 *inequalities*. In politics we will be recognizing the principles of one man 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.”

Dr. Ambedkar investigated for the root causes of inequality and the lack of democratic value system in India. For these main questions he found simple answers. The Hindu religion does not teach fraternity. Instead it teaches division of society into classes or *Varnas* and the maintenance of separate class consciousness. He asks questions: “in such system where is the room for democracy?” Dr. Ambedkar also explains that “the Hindu social system is undemocratic not by accident. It is designed to be undemocratic. Its division of society into *Varnas* and castes and outcastes are not theories but are decrees. They are all barricades raised against democracy.” With this understanding he studied in depth about the caste system and Hindu religion and finally declares that “castes are anti national”, because the very principles of graded inequality, mutual repulsion, descent based discrimination and the theory of impurity and pollution of Hindu caste system are against the liberty, equality, fraternity and justice principles of democracy. He found that Brahmanism propagated this inequality, to be particular, graded inequality, as its official doctrine in India in his historical materialistic probing. Dr. Ambedkar with his righteous investigation found that there are two enemies to the working class in India; one is Brahmanism and the other one Capitalism, both being perpetuating inequalities and hegemony of one social class over other in a graded hierarchy in India.

This understanding of human sufferings led Dr. Ambedkar to formulate his antithesis of Brahmanism and Capitalism and to formulate a radical praxis of his own synthesis of ideas - which we now call it as *Ambedkarism*. Dr. Ambedkar, with his polemic writings and fiery action, subverted the hierarchy of the brahmanical philosophy and capitalistic hegemony.

Today Ambedkarism is a living and ever growing force in India. *The main ingredients and themes of Ambedkarism are 1. Annihilation of hegemonical Brahmanism (caste, untouchability, Patriarchal Hinduism and all forms of discrimination) with Buddhist samata ideology 2. Bahujan State to establish democratic State Socialism to counter exploitative monopolistic capitalism.*

1. Annihilation of hegemonical counter-revolutionary Brahmanism

(Caste, untouchability, Patriarchal Hinduism and all forms of discrimination) with Buddhist *samata* ideology

In his dialectical historical materialistic analysis Dr. Ambedkar found that Brahmanism as a hegemonical ideology played a counterrevolutionary role in India. He told that historically there have been three Indias, Brahmanic India, Buddhist India and Hindu India, each with its own culture. He also reminded us that the history of India

before the Muslim invasion is the history of a moral conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism. He narrates that there is only one period in Indian history which is a period of freedom, greatness and glory. That is the period of *Mourya* Empire. All other times the country suffered from defeat and darkness. But the *Mourya* period was a period when *Chaturvarna* was completely annihilated, when the *Shudras*, who constituted mass of people, came into their own and became the rulers of the country. Buddhism, with its *samata* ideology countered the Vedic Brahmanism. The struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism is a crucial factor in Indian history. The Buddhists rejected the Vedic-Brahmanic religion which consisted of *Yajna* and animal sacrifice, particularly of the cow. Because of Buddhism the Brahmins could do nothing except by giving up the *Yajna* as a form of worship and the sacrifice of the cow because the cow was a very useful animal in agriculture and agriculture being majority occupation.

ON BUDDHISM

Dr. Ambedkar studied Buddhist dialectics and found that Buddhism was a revolution and though it began as a religious revolution, later it became a social and political revolution. Buddha opposed caste and leveled up the position of women. Buddha was an equalitarian and a social democrat revolutionary. Buddha's method was to change mind of man: so that whatever man does, he does it voluntarily without the use of the force or compulsion. Buddha's main means to alter the disposition of men was his *DHAMMA* and constant preaching of *DHAMMA*. *DHAMMA* is nothing but morality based on liberty, equality, fraternity and justice.. It is for this reason that in the religion of Buddha, morality has been given the place of god. Dr. Ambedkar also found a great difference between Buddhism and Hinduism. Buddhism means casteless society based on equal rights to all men and women. Hinduism on the other hand is primarily based on caste system, a system which encourages aloofness, inequality and exploitation. (For a detailed discussion see 'Buddha and his Dhamma' in vol-11 of Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar writings and speeches) With the social revolution of Buddhism, Brahmins as a social class lost their superiority position and the first landmark in India's political history is the emergence of *Mourya Empire* in India. Emperor *Ashoka* Mourya adopted Buddhist *SAMATA DHAMMA* as the State policy and this was the greatest blow to Brahmanism because the elevation of the status of the *Shudras* and women was so much the result of the gospel of Buddhism.

BRAHMINICAL COUNTER REVOLUTION

The annoyed Brahmins through a coup overthrew Buddhist *Mourya* State and established Brahmanical State under the leadership of *Pushyamitra Shunga*, a Brahmin. It was a counter revolution against *Bahujan* masses of India. *Pushyamitra's* revolution was a political revolution engineered by the Brahmins to overthrow *BUD-DHIST SAMATA STATE* and to maintain Brahmanical supremacy over majority people (BAHUIJANS) (For a detailed discussion see 'Revolution and counter revolution in India' in vol-11 of Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar writings and speeches)

Triumphant Brahmanism wanted a sacred text infallible in its authority, to justify their misdeeds. A Brahmanical State Constitution *MANUSMRTI* was composed at the command of king *Pushyamitra*. And he also launched a campaign of persecution against Buddhism. The deeds and the misdeeds of this triumphant Brahmanism were brilliantly catalogued by Dr. Ambedkar under seven heads.

- It established the right of Brahmin to rule and commit regicide
- It made the Brahmins a class of privileged persons
- It converted the VARNA into caste
- It brought about a conflict and anti-social feeling between the different castes
- It degraded the position of Shudras and women
- It forged a system of graded inequality and
- It made legal and rigid the social system which was earlier conventional and flexible.

Under Brahmanism it is birth always wins and merit by itself can win by no means. Brahmanism dissociated merits from status of caste. Dr. Ambedkar also noted that the outcaste/untouchability is a creation of Brahmanism. It is a necessary coefficient of caste. Indeed once the Brahmanism was determined to create the caste system the law against the outcaste was absolutely essential. For only by punishing the outcastes can the caste system be maintained. Thus Brahmanism also gave birth to untouchability.

MANU SMRITI AS CONSTITUTION

The triumphant Brahmanism began its onslaught on both Shudras and women and did succeed in making them the servile class, Shudras the serfs to the three higher classes and women to the serfs to their husbands. For Brahmanism religion is a cloak to cover and hide its acquisitive politics. A striking feature of Brahmanical Constitution MANUSMRITI is that it not only makes CHATURVARNA the law of the land but it justifies and legalizes the subjugation of *Shudras*, women and the newly created caste system and untouchability. The triumphant Brahmanism also created a new socioreligious way of life called as Hinduism and also formulated many Laws (*Smritis* and *Dharma Shastras*) to subjugate Buddhists, *Shudras*, Women and outcaste (Untouchables).

Dr. Ambedkar was very critical about Manu Smriti because it legalized caste system, untouchability and gender discrimination. The laws of Manu regarding *Shudras*, women and Outcaste are devoid of justice and humanity. Manusmriti denied human rights and dignity to these Bahujan communities. Manu recognized slavery, but confined it to women and Shudras. Manu refused to give right to knowledge, right to property and other fundamental rights to Women, Shudras and outcaste. According to Dr. Ambedkar the principle of graded inequality runs through the whole of the Manusmriti. There is no department of life in which he has not introduced his principle of graded inequality. For this only reason as a symbol of protest Dr. Ambedkar burnt Manusmriti at Mahad on 25th of December. As he knows the importance of the fundamental human rights he incorporated them in the Part-3 of Indian Constitution and became champion of human rights in India. He says "the fundamental rights are the very basis of the preamble to the Constitution. The preamble says that this Constitution will have as its basis liberty, equality and fraternity. Those objectives of the Constitution are carried out by the fundamental rights." With this he rejects the hegemonical fascist Brahmanical *Manuvadi* ideology and protects the human rights of majority dumb masses in India.

ON PHILOSOPHY OF HINDUISM

In Dr. Ambedkar's opinion castes are building bricks of Hindu society. Caste and Hinduism are inseparable. And in his investigation on philosophy of Hinduism he came to conclusion that the notion of purity and pollution of Hindu religion gave birth to the untouchability. In his analysis he found that Hinduism, caste and untouchability are trinity. For this reason only he made a lot of critique about philosophy of Hinduism. (For this critique see 'Philosophy of Hinduism' in Vol-3 of Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar writings and speeches) In his probe about Hinduism he found both social inequality and religious inequality imbedded in its philosophy. *His findings about the philosophy of Hinduism are brilliant and some of them are:*

- Philosophy of Hinduism upholds privilege and inequality
- In Hinduism there is no choice of a vocation
- Illiteracy becomes inherent part of Hinduism
- Hinduism far from encouraging spread of knowledge is a gospel of darkness
- Hinduism is a direct denial of fraternity
- Hinduism is inimical to equality, antagonistic to liberty and opposed to fraternity
- Philosophy of Hinduism neither satisfies the test of social utility nor does it satisfy the test of individual justice
- The parallel to the philosophy of Hinduism is to be found in Nietzsche
- The philosophy of Hinduism is against humanity and human rights
- The philosophy of Hinduism is Superman's heaven and common man's damnation
- There can be no distinction between legal philosophy and moral philosophy in Hinduism
- Caste is the bad breath of Hinduism
- Hinduism prohibits inter dining and inter marrying, thus preaches separation than union
- Communalism is nothing but Hindu religious dogma in our country

ON CASTE SYSTEM

Ambedkar's study on caste is simply stupendous. According to him "society is always composed of classes. Their basis may differ. They may be economic or intellectual or social but individual in a society is always a member of a class. This is a universal fact and early Hindu society could not have been an exception to this rule, and, as a matter of fact we know it was not. So what was the class that first to make itself into the caste, for class and caste, so to say, are next door neighbours, and it is only the span that separates the two. A caste is an enclosed class." In his polemic writings he made astounding observations about caste system. They are

- Caste implies a system in which status and occupation are heredity and descend from father to son
- Caste disregards merit and have regards only to birth
- Prohibition of intermarriage and prohibition against inter dining are two pillars on which caste rests
- The superimposition of endogamy over exogamy creates caste
- A person can not be born in Hinduism unless he is born in a caste
- Caste divides labourers
- Caste dissociate work from interest
- Caste disconnects intelligence from manual labour

- Caste devitalizes by denying to him the labourer the right to cultivate vital interest
- Caste prevents mobilization. Caste system is not merely division of labour. IT IS ALSO A DIVISION OF LABOURERS
- Caste system is a hierarchy in which the division of labourers are graded one above other A caste may be defined as a social grouping having belief in Hindu religion and bound by certain regulations as to marriage, food and occupation and also a common name by which it is recognized
- A Hindu is born in a caste and he dies as a member of that caste. There is no Hindu without caste
- The 'idea of pollution' is a characteristic of caste only in so far as caste has a religious flavour
- Endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste
- *Sati, enforced widowhood and girl marriage are customs that were primarily intended to solve the problem of surplus man and surplus woman in a caste and to maintain its exogamy*
- A caste is an enclosed caste
- Classes have become castes through imitation and excommunication
- Caste system is a social division of people of the same race
- Caste has completely disorganized and demoralized the Hindus
- All are the slaves of the caste system but all the slaves are not equal in status
- Caste is a religion and religion is anything but an institution
- Caste is another name for separation and untouchability typifies the extremist form of separation of community from community
- Religion is the rock on which the Hindus have built their social structure

For Critique on caste see 'Annihilation of caste' and 'Castes in India' in Vol-1 of Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar writings and speeches)

ON UNTOUCHABILITY

He meticulously inquired about the genesis and important features and causes of untouchability He notes that "psychologically caste and untouchability are one integral system based on one and the same principle. If the caste Hindu observe untouchability it is because they believe in caste. Looked at this point of view, the idea of hoping to remove untouchability without destroying the caste system is utter futility...untouchability is only an extension of the caste system...the two stand together and fall together'

In his historical analysis on untouchability he states that the hatred of Brahmins towards Buddhists and continuation of beef eating by these people are the two roots from which untouchability has sprung.

His observations on untouchability are:

- Untouchability is the invention of Brahmanism
- The Hindu looks upon the observance of untouchability an act of religious merit and non observance of it as a sin
- The Romans had their slaves...the Americans their Negroes...and the Germans their Jews. So the Hindus have untouchables

- Untouchability is more than a religious system. It is also an economic system which is worse than slavery...in the system the Hindu takes no responsibility for the maintenance of the untouchable
- The root of untouchability is the caste system. The root of caste system is religion attached to *VARNASHRAMA DHARMA* and the root of *VARNASHRAMA DHARMA* is Brahmanical religion, and the root of brahmanical religion is authoritarianism and political power
- Untouchability will vanish only, when caste system and Hinduism are destroyed

(For a detailed discussion on the origin of untouchability see 'The untouchables' in vol-7 of Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar writings and speeches)

For the immediate political action to eradicate untouchability Dr. Ambedkar demanded adult franchise, separate village panchayats, separate electorates and communal representation to the untouchables of India and for these rights he fought against Congress and Mr. Gandhi. (For a detailed discussion on this topic and for the debates in Round Table Conferences, see Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol-2)

ON WOMEN

Dr. Ambedkar did a careful historical study on "The rise and fall of Hindu women". He also pointed out the dialectical relationship between caste and gender. In his "*CASTES IN INDIA: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*" paper presented at an Anthropology Seminar, Columbia University on 9th May 1916 he observed that *girl marriage, enforced widow-hood and SATI had no other purpose than that of supporting the caste system which Brahmanism was seeking to establish by prohibiting intermarriage.* In his article "The rise and fall of Hindu women" he noted that "under Buddhist regime she (woman) became a free person. Marriage did not make her a slave. For marriage under the Buddhist rule was a contract. Under the Buddhist regime she could acquire property. She could acquire learning." But the laws of MANU were against women. Manu starts with a low opinion about women. Manu's laws are cruel towards women. He denied social justice to the women and made 'injustice' a state law. Manu says "Anger, lie, betrayal were created for women (Manusmriti Ch. 9-5-59). An Infidel, immoral bad character husband indulging in adultery must be worshipped like god by his wife (Manusmriti Ch. 5-5-148). Woman must remain under the servitude of father in infancy, of husband in youth and of son in widowhood (Manu smriti Ch. 11-5-65). Killing woman or a *Shudra* is no sin". In his opinion "women are not to be free under any circumstances." Dr. Ambedkar brilliantly summarises the laws of MANU against women that

- Manu not only allows a man to abandon his wife but also permits him to sell her
- A wife was reduced by Manu to the level of a slave in the matter of property
- A woman under the laws of Manu is subject to corporal punishment and Manu allows the husband the right to beat his wife
- The study of *Veda* was forbidden to her
- The laws of Manu also explain the determined way in which the Brahmins proceeded to use their political power to degrade the *Shudras* and the women to their old status
- Offering sacrifices form very soul of Brahmanical religion. Yet Manu will not allow women to perform

them And why this hatred towards women? Dr. Ambedkar answers that Manu was greatest enemy of Buddhism and Buddhism treated men and women equally. So to crush the followers (i.e. women and Shudras) of Buddhism Manu imposed legal sanctions on women.

PIONEER OF WOMEN RIGHTS

Dr. Ambedkar was the pioneer in the field of human rights of Indian women and their social security. Rights of women are incorporated in the Indian constitution. In the Constitution of India, the assurance of equality is explicit in the preamble, the fundamental rights and the directive principles of state policy. The preamble assures of equality of status and opportunity and of social, economic and political justice. The constitution provides equal rights for its citizens under articles 14, 15, and 16. This was a departure from the Vedic and Puranic ages in which the position of the women was equal with cattle. Article 14 guarantees equality before the law and equal protection of the laws. Article 15 forbids discrimination on the grounds of sex. Ambedkar being the chief architect of the constitution recognized the unequal position of women by empowering the state under Article 15(3) to make special provision for women. This Article provides for affirmative action and for protective discrimination to the women by the state. Article 16 provides for equality of opportunity relating to appointment to any office and prohibits discrimination on grounds only of sex. Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings. Article 39 enjoins the state to direct its policy towards securing adequate means of livelihood for both men and women equally (in clause a), equal pay for equal work for men and women (in clause d). Article 42 directs the state to make provisions for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief. Never before in the history of India the "Brahmanical Manuvadi Hindu State" sanctioned these rights to women. The Brahmanical State treated them as second-class citizens. Dr. Ambedkar made women 'equal' citizens in India by incorporating above rights in constitution.

HINDU CODE BILL AND DR. AMBEDKAR

Dr. Ambedkar gave more of his time in working for the upliftment of the status and lives of the women in India. This was especially, in the case of Hindu women for their equal rights along with men. A select committee consists of Dr. Ambedkar and 16 others made a report to amend and codify certain branches of Hindu law. For this purpose "Hindu Code Bill" was suggested. Ambedkar strived for this Bill to enact as legislation in his tenure as Law Minister. The aim of the "Bill" is to codify "the rules of Hindu law scattered in numerable decisions of the High courts and of the Privy Council, which form bewildering motley to the common man and give right to constant litigation". The select committee report on "Hindu Code Bill" contained nine parts: Preliminary, Marriage and Divorce, Adoption, Minority and Guardianship, joint Family Property, Succession, Maintenance and Miscellaneous. This was presented to the constituent Assembly of India on 12-8-1948.

Prior to that bill another Bill prepared by Hindu law committee was introduced earlier in the legislative Assembly on 11-4-1947. This bill more or less resembled the report prepared by Dr. Ambedkar's committee. The house on 17-11-1947 had also adopted a motion for the continuance of the Bill Dr. Ambedkar remarked "I am an orthodox, but the right to divorce must be given to women". He knew how the Hindu women suffered under the laws of *Manu*, Brahmins and upper caste men. However, SC/ST women did not come under this bill Yet, Ambedkar was the only one to propose such a bill in Parliament, even though he was an 'untouchable'.

He even remarked later that none of prominent Hindu (women) leaders were really interested in the social progress of their women. Brahmanical politicians opposed the Hindu code Bill. It hung in the air by divided convictions.

The results of Dr. Ambedkar's endeavours ended in a terrible failure. A failure, not for Dr. Ambedkar's commitment and his kind towards women, but for the suffering Hindu women/ non-dalit upper caste women. Dr. Ambedkar's intention to reform Hindu religion was defeated. The bill was dropped (re-jected). This movement could have been a moment of sadness for Dr. Ambedkar, but actually it helped him to free himself, to serve his people in a better way by resigning from Nehru's cabinet.

Based on his ideals Dr. Ambedkar made his greatest sacrifice by stating "For a long time I have been thinking of resigning my seat from the Cabinet. The only thing that 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 the present Parliament come to an end. I have agreed to break up the bill and restricted it to marriage and divorce in the fond hope that at least this much of our labour may bear fruit. But even that part of the bill has been killed. I see no purpose in my continuing to be a member of your cabinet (statement in Parliament when resigned from Nehru's cabinet on 11-10-1951).

This resignation was because of the liberal Brahmanic approach of the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The reason for Dr. Ambedkar's behaviour was the result of his versatility and humanness. Dr. Ambedkar had in mind at all times, thought of the liberation of Hindu women.

After his resignation Dr. Ambedkar wrote a great article "The rise and fall of Hindu Women": In this article he established the fact that Buddhism strived for the women's liberation and to counter Buddhism Manu made his brahmanical law as 'Law of the State' to suppress women.

IN BUDDHA'S PATH

Dr. Ambedkar stood against every form of exploitation caused by Brahmanism in India because it is in the form of class, caste or gender form. He strongly believed and propagated that to counter the renegade Brahmanism one should adopt the social democratic revolutionary path showed by Buddha to mitigate human sufferings caused by Brahmanism in India. Dr. Ambedkar strongly advocated social democratic teachings of Buddha to reconstruct the unjust civil society in India to a just society based on firm foundations of Liberty, equality, fraternity and Justice Ideals.

Dr. Ambedkar thought Hinduism cherished wrong ideals and propagates wrong social life. He believed that inequality is the official doctrine of Brahmanism, so he inclined towards Buddhism claiming that Buddhism means casteless society based on equal rights, which encourages equality between women and men. That is why he made his famous statement in Yeola conference on 13 October 1935 that he was born in Hinduism and would not die as a Hindu. To fulfill his dream he had to wait for 20 years and on 14-15 October 1956, he publicly embraced Buddhism in Nagpur. By doing so he showed a path of liberation to women and dalits. According to Dr. Ambedkar Conversion is an act of liberation against Brahmanical Hinduism. The reasons why Ambedkar

embraced Buddhism can be summarized thus:

1. Buddha was nearer to untouchables and women. He preached equality and social justice.
2. Ambedkar tried to prove that the untouchables were Buddhists. In his thesis on the origin of untouchability he made it clear that today's untouchables were once Buddhists.
3. The religion of Buddha is morality and its found-ing pillars are justice, liberty, equality and fraternity.

By advocating conversion Dr.Ambedkar chal-lenged the spiritual fascism of Hinduism, its inequality doctrine and propagated social democracy for women, ATISHUDRAS (SCs and STs) and Shudras.

Bahujan State to establish democratic State Socialism to counter exploitative monopolistic capitalism As a social democratic revolutionary Dr.Ambedkar opposes private enterprises/ownership and monopolistic capitalism and proposes democratic State socialism. In his opinion “ownership of property is one of the greatest obstacles in free thinking and free application of free thought.” He points out and questions that “anyone who studies the working of the system of social economy based on private enterprise and pursuit of personal gain will realise how undermines, if does not actually violate, the last two have on which democracy rests. How many have to relinquish their Consti-tutional rights in order to gain their living? How many have to subject themselves to be governed by private employers?” Dr. Ambedkar also exam-ined caste economics in India. He points out that by not permitting readjustment of occupations, caste be-comes, a direct cause to the unemployment in our country and the principle of Hindu social order is “From each according to his need To each according to his nobility” He also notes about the “classcaste system”. He analysed the economic nature of caste system and states that “as economic system un-touchability permits exploitation without obligation. Untouchability is not only a system of unmitigated economic exploitation, but it is also a system of uncontrolled economic exploitation.” In his “Small holdings in India and their remedies” (See vol-1) he extensively deals with the social economy of India and its impact on small holdings, land tillage, superfluous and idle agricultural population, idle labor and capital and suggests remedies to the agrar-ian problem. He prefers soviet collectiveness of agri-culture.

PIONEER OF LABOUR WELFARE

Dr.Ambedkar was a strong supporter of labour. Earlier in his life he led struggles of agricultural labour under the banner of his Independent Labour Party (ILP). With his agitations he made the Bombay government to abolish exploitative Khoti feudal system and Mahar Vatan system in Bombay presidency in 1927. He supported freedom of association and fought against industrial dispute bill which prohib-ited the right to strike. He supported labour trade unions and as a labour member and Law minister proposed many labour welfare legislations and social security schemes. Dr.Ambedkar was the pioneer in the field of welfare of labour and their social security. The “Labour Charter” propounded by him in Viceroy Executive Council on 2nd September, 1945 later on became the basis and guiding principle of the labour welfare schemes in this country. Dr. Ambedkar be-came the labour member of the Viceroy Executive Council on July 20, 1942 and resigned in June 1946. In November 1946 he was elected to constituent assembly from Bengal. In August 1947 he was appointed by the constituent assembly on the drafting committee, which elected him as its chairman. Dr.Ambedkar was chosen

a Minister for Law in independent India's first cabinet on 15 August 1947. On 11 November 1951 he resigned from the Nehru Cabinet accusing the government of apathy towards women, SCs and BCs). Four years as a labour member and four years as a Minister of Law he strived for the welfare and social security of labour and particularly women labour.

It was during his service as labour member (1942-46) that the Factories Act was amended to ensure holiday with pay and shorter hours of work, Indian Mines Act and Mines Maternity Benefit Act were amended to provide larger benefits and better facilities. It was the same period an important piece of legislation passed to reduce to writing the terms and conditions of employment. It was also the period of constituting statutory welfare funds in the field of social insurance.

Tripartite approach, which today, is playing such an important role in the evolution of labour policy and formulation of schemes emerged and took institutional shape during the period Ambedkar was in office. Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund ordinance was promulgated on January 31, 1944 and the ban on underground employment of women was imposed on February 1, 1946 on persistent insistence of Ambedkar. A Bill to establish a fund to finance welfare activities of the labour in Mica Mines Industry was introduced by Ambedkar in the central Legislative Assembly on 8-4-1946. During the period Dr Ambedkar was in office The Indian Mines Act 1923 was amended twice to construct and maintain crèches for the use of children where their mothers were employed and also to provide separate bathing places for women labour.

During his tenure social security benefits for women were raised. Factories Act, 1934 was amended thrice for holiday with pay and reduced working hours. The measure enacted on 4-4-1946 provided for 48 hours a week and 9 hours a day in lieu of then existing 54 hours weekly and 10 hours daily for perennial factories and 50 hours in place of 60 hours a week and 10 hours a day in place of 11 hours a day for seasonal factories. The work in excess of that was to be treated as overtime and payment made at double the normal rate (Remember those are the world war days!).

A Bill was suggested for a unified (Social Security) scheme comprising Workmen's Compensation, Maternal Benefit and Sickness Insurance at that period on 6-11-1946. It was passed on 19-4-1948. Dr. Ambedkar in the central Assembly introduced the Industrial Employment (standing orders) Bill on 8-4-1946. A bill to constitute wage fixing machinery for fixing and upwardly revising minimum wages in certain industries where labour was unorganized was moved by Dr. Ambedkar on 11-4-1946 (The bill was enacted into law on 9-2-48 as Minimum wages Act 1948). All these legislations have much benefited labour, particularly women labour. *He always reminded that there were two enemies of the working classes in the country and they were Brahmanism and Capitalism.* He also points out that "the effects of Brahmanism were not confined only to social rights such as inter-dining and intermarrying. It also denied civil rights. So omniscient is Brahmanism that it even affects the field of economic opportunities." He strongly criticised the pure economism of labour and trade unions, however he was hopeful that "Labour is capable of giving to the country the lead it needs" and "A labour government can not be a government of *laissez faire*."

ON DEMOCRATIC STATE SOCIALISM

Dr. Ambedkar strongly advocated Democratic State socialism. In his famous memorandum 'States and Minorities' submitted to the Constituent Assembly, he demanded nationalization of agriculture, land key industries, health, education and insurance (See Vol-I). He explains that the scheme designed by him "is essential for the rapid industrialisation of India. Private enterprise cannot do it and if it did it would produce those inequalities of wealth which private capitalism has produced in Europe and which should be a warning to Indians." He further explains that only collective farms on the line set out in the proposal (i.e. States and Minorities) can help untouchable landless labourers...the plan has two special features. One is that it proposes State socialism in important fields of economic life. The special feature of the plan is that it does not leave the establishment of State Socialism to the will of Legislature. It establishes State socialism by the Law of the Constitution. And thus makes it unalterable by any act of the Legislature and the executive...But there is also another aspect of the plan which is worthy of note. It is an attempt to establish State socialism without leaving the establishment to the will of parliamentary democracy."

The main features of Ambedkar's State Socialism are:

- All key industries and services shall belong to the Nation
 - Nationalisation of land and promotion of collective farming on a cooperative basis
 - Insurance industry shall be in public sector and insurance will be compulsory for every citizen
- FIGHT WITH CONGRESS AND GANDHISM

He estimated Congress party as a Brahmanical Capitalist party and criticised its policies. He was also very critical of Mr. Gandhi and his backward sociopolitical economic ideas (For Dr. Ambedkar's Critique on Gandhism and Congress see "Annihilation of Caste in vol-1, What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables?, Mr. Gandhi and emancipation of un-touchables in vol-9, Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah in vol-1 ..." by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and particularly the Round Table Conference Debates in Vol-2). Ambedkar rejected the ideas of *Ramrajya*, *Varnashrama Dharma*, village republic, trusteeship...proposed by Mr. Gandhi and openly fought battles with Congress and Gandhi since 1929. He equates Gandhism with Hinduism and comments: 'What is there in Gandhism which is not to be found in orthodox Hinduism? There is caste in Hinduism, there is caste in Gandhism. Hinduism believes in law of hereditary profession, so does Gandhism...Hinduism accepts the authority of Shastras. So does Gandhism...All that Gandhism has done is to find a philosophical justification for Hinduism and its dogmas.'

ON BAHUJAN POLITICAL POWER

Dr. Ambedkar as a political economist knew that 'political power is the master key' to establish democratic State socialism. He gently reminded that "political power is the key to all social progress and the Scheduled Castes can achieve their salvation if they captured the power by organizing themselves into a third party and holding the balance of power between the rival political parties of the Congress and Socialists". For achieving political power he also started at first Independent Labour Party (ILP) and later, All India Scheduled Caste Federation (AISC) parties. Before death he wrote manifesto of Republican Party of India (RPI). In many forums he appealed to the Bahujan masses to "organize under one party, one leader, one programme". He wanted the

Scheduled Caste people to be command force in balancing political power. He said:” we must organize into a third party so that in case the Socialists and the Congress do not command an absolute majority, they will come to our feet to beg for our votes and we can, then, hold the balance of power and dictate our own terms to them for giving our political support.” *The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) follows this political tactic of Dr. Ambedkar.*

Dr. Ambedkar wanted to forge an alliance of the exploited majority social classes (BAHUVANS) of Indian society. He wanted a common political platform of the oppressed majority people (BAHUVANS). He said:”The backward classes had suffered because of their aloofness. They must forge a united front in order to wrest political power from the higher classes. The system of adult franchise had brought political power to the masses and in my opinion if one and half crore Scheduled Castes and one crore Backward Classes people in the U.P. join hands against a common target they could return 50% of their members to the legislature and capture political power.” Dr. Ambedkar surely propagated the united front of the SCs, STs, BCs and Muslims (more than 95% of these social classes are workers, agricultural labourers and artisans and poor in class terms and they form more than 80% population of India) who are socially, economically, politically and culturally oppressed majority masses BAHUVANS in India. He hoped that this united political front of majority social groups will only fight against their common enemies i.e. BRAHMANISM and CAPITALISM and could achieve democratic State socialism and pave way for a SAMATA society based on the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Ambedkar, a multifaceted personality, is a man with integrity and combination of both theory and practice. He contributed to the world philosophy through his explorations in the fields of history, economy, political science, sociology Anthropology, philosophy, theology, psychology, His interrogation of Caste and Hinduism informed us about Graded Inequality and need for a Social Democracy in India. *This discovery was an additional contribution to the world philosophy of dialectical materialism and particularly his brilliant works and studies reminds us the studies of Marx’s ‘capital and labour exploitation; Lenin’s ‘state and Imperialism; Mao’s ‘Contradictions’ and Gramsci’s ‘civil society: Like Castro he also fought for equality in socio, economic and political fields. For millions of downtrodden Dalits, Adivasis, BCs, Religious Minorities and women he is a NAVA BUD-DHA who strived for their fundamental, civil and human rights and worked relentlessly for their emancipation.*

Dr. Ambedkar’s Praxis informs us about two goals i.e. ‘Annihilation of caste and untouchability by propagating Buddha SAMATHA DHAMMA) and State Socialism (by capturing State power by Bahujans)’. His egalitarian Socialism consists ‘1. one man one value in all walks of life, 2. to achieve state socialism without dictatorship in democracy and to prescribe State socialism by the law of the Constitution, 3. to achieve social democracy through bloodless revolution”. For this, one has to annihilate Brahmanism and Capitalism. Like a prophet, he also warned us about international Brahmanism i.e. today’s Globalisation. As a one man army in his whole life he fought against *Brahmanical Social Order (BSO) and Capitalistic Economic Order (CEO) for the liberation of majority dumb.*