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Influence of White Western Christianity on *Mahatma Jothibha Phule* and *Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar* in Founding of Modern Civilization in the History of India

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Abstract:

Mahatma Jyotiba Phule and Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar are the universal philosophers and founding fathers of Indian civilization in the history of modern India. They have initiated social change in the nineteenth and twentieth century India especially in Maharashtra through their egalitarian philosophy which was highly influenced and nurtured by Christianity. The modern civilization in India was started with the arrival of Christians from the west which witnessed a deep rooted uncivilized practices of Hindu castes on the civilized Untouchables who are waiting for bringing social and economic justices to the victims of Hindu religion. Mahatma Jothibha Phule and Father of Indian Civilization Dr. B. R. Ambedkar have emerged as greatest fighters for the social equality in India with the greatest influence of Christian philosophers and intellectuals. All major fights for human rights of Untouchables/Shudras as well as for the unskilled higher caste Hindu women were taken up by these Christian social reformers were connected with many issues such as untouchability, caste inequalities, annihilation of caste and its mother Hindutva, female infanticide, child marriages of higher caste Hindus, ban on Untouchables/Shudras/and women's education by the Hindu Brahmins, Sati, tonsuring of widows, ban on widow remarriage by the Hindu scriptures and its religion. At the same time, Mahatma Jothibha Phule and Father of Indian Civilization Dr. B. R. Ambedkar were concentrated more on annihilating Hindu religious uncivilized theories and practices which benefited Hindu castes. Jotiba took up the issue of providing education for the Untouchables/Shudras and non-meritorious higher caste Hindu Brahmin women and caste. Whereas Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar took up the cause of Untouchables/Shudras as well as non-meritorious higher caste Hindu women to educate as well as to agitate against tyranny of Hindu religion. Both were revolted against the unjust uncivilized Hindu religious sponsored caste-system under which millions of people particularly Untouchables/Shudras and women had suffered for four thousand years till the arrival of civilized Christians from west in the sixteenth century. Their revolt against the barbarian practices of Hindu religion and its caste system integrated social and religious reform with equality, liberty and fraternity. They emerged as the champions of the civilizations with the inspiration of Christian philosophers in India and were recognized as a messiahs of civilized Untouchables and uncivilized-non-meritorious Shudras and women in oppressed Hindu India. Mahatma Jothibha Phule and Father of Indian Civilization Dr. B. R. Ambedkar were highly influenced by the white western Christian thinkers Thomas Paine's ideas of Rights of Man as well as Ambedkar's staying and studying at the world renowned Christian Universities at Columbia University in the USA and at the London School of Economics in the Great Britain and at the Bann University in the Germany.

1. History of Christian Philosophy in the Creation of Civilization in the History of Mankind

The history of 'white western Christian modernity'¹ has begun with the Son of God Jesus Christ and it nurtured through the ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary Christian philosophies: Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; Ancient philosophy after Aristotle (including the Cynics, Sceptics, Epicureans, Stoics and Plotinus); Modern philosophy from the Renaissance to Hume (including Machiavelli, Erasmus, More, Bacon, Hobbes, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, Locke, Berkeley and Hume), from Rousseau to present day (including Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Byran, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche); Utilitarian's Marx, Bergson, William James and John Dewey. The Ancient Empires, medieval, Renaissance, American Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution (inspired by John Locke's and Montesque's "Liberalism", Rousseau's "democracy") and the Marxist theory of class were born out

¹ See Bertrand Russell's *A History of Western Philosophy* for further studies on civilization thought

of scientific reasoning and empirical observation of working class exploitation by feudal and capitalist societies. Whereas the civilization of Dalit modernity for the equality, liberty, freedom and fraternity had been raised with the arrival of western civilization through the Christianity are essentially rooted as a movement against caste and barbaric Hinduism in South Asia and here there is oppression on the basis of caste that is imposed by the uncivilized Hindu religion.

The above white western Christian political philosophers wanted to discover social phenomena and political performance, (over and over again in a historical context) as well as to explain awkward concepts, assess open institutions, and fight for social model. Political attitude is about the serious reflection of political principles and its practices. It is about the understanding of the central philosophy of a society in a much more critical way. It tries to philosophize the values, main beliefs, practices and institutions, which rule the society. Philosophers gave diverse interpretations about the meaning of public life and leading principles of high-quality society. Socioeconomic developments and the resulting conflicts in the social order offer situation for the coming out of novel societal and political theories. Political thinking seems to jump from the political understanding of both the thinker and his society. Political hypothesis are enriched by the authority of both outside and inner developments in society. Although the system and the institutions survive, human beings as aware agents have the capacity to making choices either by meeting the requirements or of changing them. Regulations of politics are varied. We have to consider on what basis, these rules are laid down. Political speculation is nothing but the systematization of ethical and political judgments of our activities. Political activity is a decision-making activity, which seeks to put in order or make peace diverse welfare, claims and stress of various wholes in a society of supervising its creative and distributive equipment. Conventional political speculation is a combination of diverse kinds of investigation or theory. One can differentiate three different impulses: truth-seeking, sociological and ideological. In case of traditional thinkers like Plato, Hobbes, Locke and Hegel², their political assumption is philosophical. Every of these thinkers had tried to connect their conclusions about political association or about the 'ends' of political life, with a wider theoretical structure.

They tried to develop political and social conclusions from more widespread thinking about the nature of reality. In other words, political conclusions follow from or are supported by more general, metaphysical values. The conventional link between idea and politics starts from the beginning, that it is the task of philosophy to reveal what is common between social and other 'spheres' of truth. Social opinion becomes ideological when it considers the ethical disagreement about the ends and behavior of life and about the institutional situation of good life. An ideological thought tends to take on worldwide views of social construction and political stroke. Ethics of the society and the ways of performance of institutions serve up as a source in deriving political speculation. Political values inquire into the ends of the State. What is ethically essential or the decently justified ordering of political society? In this sense political attitude has considered as an additional room of ethical speculation. Political thinking deals with the truthful and expressive accounts of political institutions and behavior. It makes recommendations about the model ends that political action should follow and concerning the way political institutions should be considered in order to provide these ends, which may be called philosophy. Political attitude maintains scrutiny of substantive political discourses related to the truthful statements of political discipline and the evaluative assertion of ideas. The essential notion of political discipline is that of the State. Correlative with the state is law. Constructive law has to have a state or autonomous as its basis and it is the first responsibility of a state to create and uphold the law. Adequate accounts of the natural world of law have to draw its difficult relations to ethics, which serves both to provide law with comfortable and to be a normal for criticism of it. The convention accepted speculation is an effort to develop this affiliation.

White western Christian social and political philosophers, since its early stages, in the writings of Plato and Aristotle³, have been chiefly disturbed with a set of essential questions about the nature of power and political responsibility, the idea of freedom and its appropriate restrictions, conceptions of the just and good society, and the best form of rule. These evils, of course, happen when the professed interests of individuals, groups, or institutions came into clash, mainly in the times of general social change and political unsteadiness when people became more and more aware of new potential. Folks, groups, or nations will demand more autonomy, appreciation of human rights, superior justice in the allocation of commodities, or a better share in political executive. For the social contract theorists of the early modern period- Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau⁴ and others- the problem of politic, was basic. They meant to give a general account of why individuals are gratified to follow the laws of assuring governments, at least under some conditions. The ground of responsibility is its ethics, wisdom or common good? Liberty of an individual is a basic word and many thinkers tried to make clear the limit on liberty. Christian Philosophers such as J.S. Mill⁵ has tried to give an account of -what makes liberty, precious, under what conditions. An enough assumption of this type can serve as the basis for balanced and principled control when freedom conflicts with other basic values. Justice is now and then thought to be the chief good quality of public institutions. It is one of the most important compliments in which lawful and political preparations, as well as financial systems and social hierarchies might be evaluated. Discuss over the questions of distributive integrity, especially-i.e. Who is at liberty to what share of the benefits of social assistance, and who have to tolerate what burdens has forever been in the front position of western political thinking.

Libertarians such as Nozick follow traditional liberals (particularly Locke) in defensive a accurate to private assets based on conceptions of legitimate acquisition and voluntary transfer⁶. The representative thinkers of egalitarians like Rousseau, Rawls and Ronald Dworkin highlight the unpredictability and deficiency, which come into view to be a essential part of such a scheme of

² Ibid

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Kymlicka, Will. *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Introduction*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, pp.95-155

accepted freedom. They argue for more equivalent distributions of means and chance throughout political resources, based on conceptions of equivalent value of human beings⁷.

Traditionally, Greek thinking followed the Christian normal commandment⁸. In the west, the Christian natural law was destabilized by the individualism of the seventeenth century. This era was educated by the innovative idea of development and liberty. Knowledge had revolutionized people's life and thinking. Industrial inventions brought in latest wealth to the world. Federal and well-organized nation states emerged in the globe. Colonizing labors of Europeans were occurrence in great size. The connection between an entity and deity was replaced by the association flanked by an entity and an entity as the base of societal enquiry. This individualism becomes the fundamental feature of the following moderate practice. The thought of social idea and social control surrendered to the idea of individual proposal and individual have power over. In simple terms, carve fabric circumstances gave labor to novel social relations and new thinking was evolved to afford a sane good reason for the new humankind which had come into being.

This new way of life became known as liberalism. Liberalism acquired diverse flavors in dissimilar national cultures. Several non-western countries from 1950s onwards, have their own versions of mixed liberalism, not only borrowed from the west but also blended with their own cultural practices. Later theories of politics tried to articulate from the point of society or entity in relation to community. The individualist situation is 'radical' because of the understood assurance to theme all beliefs and institutions to evaluate, according none a advantaged rank of significant resistance. The communitarian place is conventional in the sense that it accepts the authority of essential categories of ethical self-description that are well-established within the practices and institutions of society. Various sets of philosophical customs have justified the liberal conception of man and society. Individualism as a fundamental hypothetical position starts, at least as far back as Hobbes. Even though his conclusions are barely being called moderate, his postulates are extremely individualistic. He redundant the conventional concepts of society, fairness accepted law. He deduced the political rights and obligations from the interests and the will of dissociated individuals. Individualism of another kind emphasizing the equal ethical value of every human being was clearly basic in puritan political philosophy. This individualism in a different way was developed by John Locke⁹. On Locke's theoretical method individual is somewhat placed as an ethical being to a certain extent than a rudimentary individual. All these theories are related to the struggles for a more liberal state. The doctrines of utilitarian theories in eighteenth and nineteenth century were the restatements of individualist philosophy that were previously worked out in the seventeenth century. Bentham's utilitarian theory built on Hobbes. The Benthamite statement that man in his political dealings was and should be treated as a calculator of his own wellbeing and that this dog-tired his natural world as political man, has been professed as a falsification of the deep-seated liberal imminent of a past institution. JS Mill also attacked the Bentham's utilitarianism from this vantage position¹⁰.

The liberal individualism of Bentham recognized itself with barely selfish and intently rational teleology. There was an effort to representation the failing of tolerant individualism. It is accurate that one would not wait for primary political values of the seventeenth century to be complete enough for distorted and more multifaceted twentieth century humankind. Still, one could construct ahead the previous values if they corresponded to the wants, aspirations and capacities of contemporary man. On the other hand, this is measured as a grave crisis with the liberal theory of previous description. This hypothesis fails to distinguish the wisdom of the ethical value of the individual and the requisite to unite it with wisdom of the ethical value of society. In some evaluate this has been obtainable in Puritan and Lockean theory. Locks reject to diminish all social relations to market relations and all morality to market morality. He would not completely allow go of the traditional accepted law. There are numerous attempts to believe the attractive principles of individualism and by dumping its excess. J.S. Mill and T.H. Green's idealism are examples in this way. The difficulties in moderate theory lounge in its essential fundamentals of the seventeenth century individualism and its excellence of possessiveness. The controlling superiority had been deceit in the configuration of the individual as essentially the owner of his own person or capacities owing nothing to society. The individual was seen neither as an ethical intact, nor as a part of a better social whole, but as an owner himself. The fundamental statement of possessive individualism—that man is free and humane by high merit of his individual proprietorship of his individual person, and to facilitate human society is fundamentally a sequence of market associations, were intensely entrenched in seventeenth century foundations.

This theory may communicate with the market society of the seventeenth century. In this relation of ownership, the genuine liberty and genuine vision of realizing their full potentialities guide backwards to recognizing the character of the individual. The individual, it was considered, is free in as much as he is proprietor of his person and capacities. The individual spirit is freed from confidence on the wills of others, and freedom is the meaning of possession. Society becomes the trap of free identical individuals related to each other as proprietors of their own capacities. Society consists of relations of exchange between the proprietors. Political civilization becomes a calculated machine for the defense of this property and for the preservation of an arranged relation of exchange. We could not say that seventeenth century concepts of liberty, civil rights, responsibility and fairness are all completely resulting from the concept of custody. But it can be shown that they were strongly bent by it. The unpredictability lies intrinsically in the market society itself. Market society mechanically brings the division differentiations. The propertied division would like to hold authority greater than the secondary classes. Men no longer saw themselves essentially equivalent in a predictable incapacity to the willpower of the market. Alternatives emerged in the market system. The enunciation of grassroots

⁷ Knowles, Dudley. *Political Philosophy*. London: Routledge, 2001. pp.177-237

⁸ See Bertrand Russell's *History of Western Philosophy*

⁹ Gough, J.W. *John Locke 's Political Philosophy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974

¹⁰ Sabine, George H. *A History of Political Theory*. New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing Co, 1973, pp.608-680

politics gave a serious rage to the moderate politics. There are in total dissimilar assumptions about man and society. The society has replaced individually. Marxist theory aims at the deep-seated change in humanity and its human relations. Human civilization has seen from the standpoint of the division considers human being as primarily a creator. His relations are strong-minded by his participation in communal construction. Supplementary than the Marxist concept, there is a conventional political speculation would like to see society from the point of view of community. Conservatism has admiration for custom, faith and age old tradition. Edmund Burke¹¹ is the one of the examples for traditional practice. Burke more than any thinker of eighteenth century approached the political convention with a sense of spiritual worship.

Rousseau's melancholy for city state and Burke respect for the national convention can be measured in the phases of growth of an innovative sect of culture which was replacing the old sect of the individual. The conventional sight of politics is known as the politics of convention. The state in particular and society in general have to function with admiration to civilization and traditions. The civil liberties of the groups are recognized in that exacting society. The conventional outlook mechanism is within the limits of the given order tolerant forms of political achievement within the structural construction of accessible institutions. Conventional speculation of politics is known as the politics of deficiency. It finds boundaries with human beings and believes that human beings will be not capable to generate a public order during their own natural labors. People are intrinsically insatiable and self-centered. To hold down them there is a call for a state. The authority is started. The state plays a innermost role in conventional thinking. It is the moral fiber of social order and power, the sponsor of social ladder. As per the traditional views, the intrinsic imperfections of human natural history make a physical powerful state essential. It is wanted to manage the disruptive impulses of the individual. The state has been seen as a vital institution essential to avoid the social order from dissolving into disorder and anarchy.

The conformist thinkers judge the forms of variation and freedom as impossible to remove and essential rudiments of society. Disparity of task, responsibility and authority is as essential to the social order as a whole as to the family'. According to conventional reflection without hierarchical configuration no society can live on. As per the established conventional viewpoint, social order is not and can by no means be achieved of your own accord by the free play of individual activities as claimed by liberals and anarchists. The social order has to be maintained throughout the well-built control of those who grasp positions of political accountability. It does not mean that the state is the only organization which maintains social order. Conservatives pressure the significance of custom, ritual and of system of very old groups and relations, all pre- fundamentals of social order. In the late 1970s political scientist Fred R. Dallmayr reiterated the declaration of Peter Laslett, "the great tradition of theoretical literature stretching from Hobbes to Bosanquet had been broken and that for the moment, anyway, political philosophy is dead"¹². This is not accurately correct. But it shows there is no rupture in the development of political thinking, and accessible theories got some setbacks. Of course, there are struggles of 70s, student's revolt and Vietnam disaster tainted the reason and sense of public life. Political idea shares the suffering of philosophy. True philosophy makes us to study once more to see the world.

It seeks to cause to be political life comprehensible, political hypothesis has to stay behind thoughtful to the tangible sufferings and predicaments of people and cannot make believe too early to acquaintance or thoughtful. The disaster in political attitude may be understood with the changed socio- economic developments and the under relatedness of thinker to the politics. In the twentieth century, western political philosophy is noticeable with its protection of freethinking democratic system and heritage of civil rights in opposition to totalitarian or oppressive forces. The economic practices and scientific wisdom of the west got diverse sense in the developing nations. In current times, the termination of western science and economics leading towards supremacy over other parts of the world invites rivalry and quarrel at worldwide level. This state of affairs has forced the west to rethink and reformulate its central location of its philosophy, and its origin of 'reason'. And at the same time, there is a need to seriously understand what constitutes 'subjectivity' and its cognitive action. This predicament seems to be appropriately captured by Fred Dallmayr, 'In the domain of political thought, the contemporary dilemma can be phrased broadly in terms of the relationship between 'contract' and 'community'¹³. Society is of collectives and generates political community. Far from involving only the aspect of inter subjective or inter individual contracts, a review or revision of individualism in the light of shared bonds necessitates a general reconsideration of man's relation to the globe and nature-a reconsideration that unavoidably conjures up the threat of objectivism and naturalism. Modern political theory appears hazardously stuck at the annoyed roads of moderate individualism and post individualist communalism¹⁴. Christian Bay elaborates this in his article 'from contract to community', he links up the major predicaments of post-industrial society with the basic assumptions and preferences of 'individualistic contract liberalism' as inaugurated by Hobbes and Locke and it manifested in diverse forms. He comments that, liberals have 'persistently tended to cut the citizen off from the person', putting on their pedestal 'a cripple of a man' without a 'moral or political nature' and without 'moorings in any real community'¹⁵.

2. Influence of White Western Christian Civilization on History of Dalit Civilization in Uncivilized East

The formation of 'modernity' in the Asian society has been late due suppression of rationality and scientific thinking by its Brahmanical Hinduism. In reality, civilization has started with the arrival of Christian civilized colonial masters in Asia and Africa. It has not developed simultaneously with 'rigid' concept of homogeneous Hindu, Islamic, Jaina, Sikh and Buddhist groups,

¹¹ Bertrand Russell's A History of Western Philosophy

¹² Dallmayr, Fred R. 'Political Theory at Cross Roads' in From Contract to Community, Marcel Dekkar, Inc, New York, 1978. p.1

¹³ Ibid.p.9

¹⁴ Ibid p.9

¹⁵ Bay, Christian, "Thoughts on Liberalism and Post- Industrial Society" in From Contract to Community. P.29-45

families, communities, societies. Almost all societies of the Asian world are characterized by stratification. The Dalit philosophy in the south Asian societies has seeded the philosophical foundations for the origin of 'modernity' (referring to godless religion, caste-less and classless society, ritual free society) against the well-'established' (hierarchy, subverted people, purity impurity) Hindu ideas and thoughts in the form of resistance equally during the emergence of the egalitarian concept in the white western Christian thought and philosophy.

The history of egalitarian philosophy of Dalit is established based on the life experiences of the marginalized sections in the society with the establishment of modern English education by the colonial masters. The very nature of Dalit philosophy is a protest ideology that resists 'brahmanical' form of methods like purity, impurity and hierarchy, endogamy, which was justified by the Hindu religious scriptures like epics, Bhagavad Gita, marked the tradition of the Hindu society. Textual resistance became the prime step for the Dalit intelligentsia towards their journey of liberation of untouchability, and getting aware of the status to the depressed, whether or not the position of Dalit, was explicit or implicit in the Shastras. The instructions of these texts on the issue of don't touch ism, the hierarchy are still a pervasive influence on the minds of ordinary caste Hindus the Dalit thinkers deemed it as an important component of their cultural ideology, to attack the Shastras. For instance, Bhagavad Gita propagated the notion that those engaged in Karma (work) should not expect a value (wage) for it. The karmacharis must fulfill their karma, but the value must be left for the lord i.e the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Baniya and the dominant Sudra castes. This hegemonic theory of exploitation, control and manipulation of the Dalit masses was established in the Bhagavad Gita. Any revolt against phalarahita karma (work without wage) was defined as Dharma and was suppressed by killing the rebellious Sudras and Chandalas concerned¹⁶. This relationship between labor (karma) and wage (Palau) was established several centuries before the medieval kingdoms or the colonial administration were established. The Bhagavad Gita, the philosophical efflorescence of brahmanic Hinduism and its most popular and oft-quoted scripture, centers on the caste philosophy through its specious glorification of Karmayoga and swadharma. It much glorified (dispassionate activity) is embedded in the idea of unwavering performance of duty of the caste to which one belongs by birth. The word for duty used in the text is karma, which literally means action. The discerning reader can see that karma is used in the Gita to mean the duty as laid down in the system of caste. The 'natural' duty of the Brahmin is acquiring religious and intellectual perfection(XV111.42), while the Kshatriya is obliged to rule the masses(XV111.43); agriculture, tending to cattle and trade are duties of the Vaishya(XV111.44). However, it is on the 'natural' slavery of the Shudra that the Gita, like other brahmanical texts, lays the maximum and most merciless emphasis; 'Service is the natural duty of the Shudra'(XV111.44)¹⁷. According to the Hindu Law Code the 'Candala'(Untouchable) were originated in ancient time by Prathiloma marriage that was the progeny of a Sudra father and a Brahman mother, the offspring of the most condemned prathiloma marriage (Manu XI, XV1). But this theory of the origin of the untouchables is the product of the Varna conception of the orthodox Brahmins and was not based on historical facts. Every caste Hindu believed in the Vedas, the theory can be observed and propounded by Indian intellectuals and activists like Anne Bescent, and Balagangadar Tilak by giving a call "Go back to Vedas" towards revival of tradition. Much against Marx's beliefs, villages, in pre-British India was not shaped by a self-sufficient Asiatic mode of production¹⁸; they comprised a multi-layered exploitative society of castes, which according to Babasaheb Dr B R Ambedkar, were enclosed classes¹⁹. In other words, the Indian castes were classes²⁰ with an additional characteristic of immobility and were devoid of any scope for dynamic social intercourse. By hegemony, Gramsci meant the permeation throughout society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations. Hegemony in this sense might be defined as an 'organizing principle' that is diffused by the process of socialization into every area of daily life. To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the population it

¹⁶The Bhagavadgita is a later addition to the Mahabharata. The Gita was used by all Brahmanical nationalists to construct an ideology of Hindu nationalism. Several translations and interpretations of it were published during the freedom struggle. Ever since Gandhi began to use it as a prayer book, always carrying it in his hands, it became a nationalist text. Only Ambedkar attacked the Gita. According to him, it was an anti-Dalitbahujan text. He argued that with Krishna writing the Gita, a counter-revolution began in India. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches (Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1987), Vol 3; see (13) 'The Philosophical Defense of Counter-Revolution: Krishna and his Gita'. Also see vol. 4, App. 1, 'The Riddle of Rama and Krishna. I have taken this exertion from Kanche Ilaiah's Caste or Class or Caste-Class: a Study in Dalitbahujan Consciousness and Struggles in Andhra Pradesh in 1980s. Research in Progress Papers, Second Series, Number C, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, p. 1-2

¹⁷Braj Ranjan Mani (2008), Debrahmanising History, Dominance and Resistance in Indian Society, p. 69-60

¹⁸Thapar, Romila 2005, "Decolonizing the Past, Historical Writing in the Times of Sachin and Beyond, EPW, April 2, p. 1444

¹⁹Marx's opinion on India was expressed in contradictory statements. He sees the Indian pre-British system both as self-sufficient villages with Asiatic mode of production and also critiques the pre-British system as being stagnant and totally disconnected. A good assessment of Marx's writings on India is provided by Irfan Habib in his essay 'Marx's Perception of India' in his essays in Indian History (Delhi: Tulika, 1995), 14-58. I have taken this excerpt from Kanche Ilaiah's Caste or Class or Caste-Class: a Study in Dalitbahujan Consciousness and Struggles in Andhra Pradesh in 1980s. Research in Progress Papers, Second Series, Number C, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, p. 1-2

²⁰BAWS (Bombay): Government of Maharashtra, 1986, See 'Annihilation of Caste', Vol. 1, I have taken this paragraph from Kanche Ilaiah's Caste or Class or Caste-Class: a Study in Dalitbahujan Consciousness and Struggles in Andhra Pradesh in 1980s. Research in Progress Papers, Second Series, Number C, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, p. 1-2

becomes part of what is generally called 'common sense' so that the philosophy, culture and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural order of things²¹.

3. White Western Christian Influence in the Rise of Dalit Organic Intellectuals in Oppressive India

Intellectual history is closely related to the history of philosophy and the history of ideas. Its central perspective suggests that ideas do not change in isolation from the people who create and use them and that one must study the culture, lives and environments of people to understand their notions and ideas. Dalit intellectuals had launched a brave attack on the ancient Hindu law codes even to the point of publicly by burning copies of the laws of Manu, where "These Shastras had painted the untouchable as a sort of quintessence of evil"²². On the question of the caste and untouchability, the first faction recognized the caste and untouchability, as a part of tradition and culture, in terms of this; different contradictory ideas came into existence across in the notion of Indian liberation movement. "Aryan Theory of Race", "Non-Aryans Theory" and "Purity and impurity" giving importance to scriptural authority of tradition today.

4. Civilization Versus Uncivilization: Dalit Organic Intellectuals Versus Hindu Leaders in India

Traditional Hindu revivalists like Ram Mohan Roy to MK Gandhi extensively used this idea tradition²³. And the radicalist of lower caste reformers propounded and supported the non-Aryan theory and condemned the scriptural legitimacy by Christian converted Shudra intellectual Mahatma Jotiba Phule²⁴ and 'atheist' Periyar Ramasami²⁵ and Buddhist converted Dalit intellectual Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar²⁶ by questioning the complex system itself. Both the ideological factions had drawn their legitimacy from the scriptures.

In the beginning of late 18th century most colonial scholars of India constructed a sociology which sought to explain Indian caste identity as having originated in racial segregation. In her celebrated work *Interpreting Early India* Romila Thapar offers a wide-ranging account of that historic construction across the 19th century. The basis for that construction was located by such people as Max Muller, August Picket, Christian Lassen and others in comparative philology in an 'equation of language and race'. As relations were drawn between Sanskrit and Greek, Latin and other European languages, a common Indo-European root was argued. Thus the upper castes in India were seen as descendants of Aryans as an Aryan-Dravidian divide was stipulated, parallel to the Aryan-Semitic divide in Europe. Furthermore, the Aryans were now supposed to be superior to the non-Aryans since the former were seen as 'The initial conquerors who had founded civilizations in Europe and Asia'. Such a construction 'also became acceptable to the new middle class elite in India as it could call itself Aryan, differentiate itself from lower castes believed to be non-Aryan and even seek a connection with the British rulers who represented British 'Aryandom'.

The Rig Veda which has continued to be seen as a founding document on the Hindu social order furnishes references to an initial division of society into the 'Arya-Varna' and the 'Dasa-Varna', the latter described as short-statured and dark-complexioned (RV, 1.130.8; 5.29.10; 9.41.1., Thapar, *Interpreting Early India*, p.30)²⁷, further of the two terms most frequently used to define caste ('Varna' and 'Jati') Varna which is employed to categories the four groups ('Brahmana', 'Kshatriya', 'Vaisya', 'Sudra') derives from the root meaning 'Color'. Romila Thapar infers that "the connotation of color is symbolic since the four colors associated with the groups are white, red, yellow and black"; yet it remains a telling fact that the package has 'white' at the top and 'black' at the bottom. These deep rooted biases and want of being identified with the ruling class as such justified on a superfluous basis the oppression of Dalits and gave rise to a strong radical movement against this now inherent bias that crept into society.

5. History of Dalit Struggles from the Perspective of Movement

"The impulse oppose cultural norms appears as inarticulate revolt, as social criticism, as vision, as ideology, as completed revolution; It may spring from logic, disillusionment, or the experience of oppression. In short, it is part of the continuing dialectic of history, as much our cultural heritage as what it opposes. What I mean, then, by 'counter-tradition' is not 'that which opposes the tradition', 'the tradition which opposes'²⁸

²¹Boggs 1976, p39

²²H.L.Sneviratne, (ed), *Identity, Consciousness, and the Past, Forgoing of Caste and Community, in India, and Srilanka*, oxford publication, Delhi, 1997, p.183

²³ Tradition is an uncivilized activity of Hindus to uphold violence against civilized Dalits. Dalits are victim of this Hindutva tradition for the last 4000 years. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was a leader of this uncivilized Hindu religion during the period of colonial rule

²⁴ *Mahatma* Jothibha Phule, a Christian, was the Father of Social Reformation who fought against Hindutva and its barbaric practices in India

²⁵ Periyar Ramasamy, an atheist, was the first Social Reformer who fought against Brahmins and their uncivilized practices in Tamil Nadu

²⁶ *Baba Saheb* Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was the founding father of civilization in India with his strong opposition to uncivilized Hindu theories and praxis

²⁷ Raina Badri (2001), "caste and race: discrimination by any name, EPW, August 11, p.3025-6

²⁸ Louis Kampf, in Sheila Delany, ed., *Counter-Tradition: The Literature of Dissent and Alternatives*, 1971:4 (I have taken Louis Kampf's good assessment taken from Braj Ranjan Mani's *Debrahmanising History, Dominance and Resistance in Indian Society*, p.13

6. Influence of White Western Christian Philosophy on Mahatma Jotibha Phule²⁹-Founding Father of Civilization and the Very Beginning of the Dalit Movement in the History of 19th Century India

Among the many issues that are dominating the contemporary social and political discourse the most significant is the emergence of the Dalit identity. Constituting one fifth of the country's population, they occupy an important place in the resistance of its practice of untouchability. The first modern Dalit voice was perhaps that of Mahatma Jotibha Phule, a powerful exponent of social justice and gender equality, based in Maharashtra. Another significant voice, deeply influenced by the liberal values of the west was that of the Ezhava leader of Kerala, Narayana Guru. He attacked the institution of caste in a regional society. The principal argument that emerged from the teachings of Jotibha Phule and Narayan Guru was that the human society is made up of a vast community of individuals, all of whom are entitled to the same social status, rights and economic well being³⁰. Three factors were to assume importance for the growth of Untouchable movements as the 19th century progressed. The first was the attitude and influence of British officials. The second was the effect of missionary activities on local Untouchable communities. The third was a growing realization among all Indians, including Untouchables that in education lay the key to future political power, as the British government prepared to extend limited representative institutions to Indians themselves³¹. These were the factors for the start of the Dalit movement, but they were also the reasons or causes for the great Dalit leaders to emerge like Jotiba Phule.

In the biography of Phule written for his famous book "Slavery: In the Civilized British Government under the Cloak of Brahmanism" by Dr. Y. D. Phadke, Phule is described as: Jotibha Govindrao Phule occupies a unique position among the social reformers of Maharashtra³² in the nineteenth century. While other reformers concentrated more on reforming the social institutions of family and marriage with special emphasis on the status and right of women, Jotiba Phule revolted against the unjust caste system under which millions of people had suffered for centuries. In particular, he courageously upheld the cause of the untouchables and look up the cudgels for the poorer peasants. He was a militant advocate of their right³³. Phule was the first low caste Christian converted social reformist within India. The book we have indicated above was a book written in a drama style to inform the uneducated low caste population and it was published in 1873³⁴. Phule was born in 1827 as the son of a gardener in Poona. Originally Jotiba's family known as Gorhays, came from Katgun, a village in the Satara district of Maharashtra. Since Jotirao's father and two uncles served as florists under the last of the Peshwas, they came to be known as 'Phule'. Jotirao had to leave his education after finishing the primary school to help his family work. But by the encouragement of his neighbors who were also teachers, his father accepted to send him to a Scottish Missionary School to continue his secondary school education. He was married in the age as early as thirteen. It was in his this school that he met Sadashiv Ballal Govande, a Brahmin, who remained a close friend throughout his life. Both Jotirao and Govande were greatly influenced by Thomas Paine's ideas and they read with great interest Paine's famous book 'The Rights of Man.' Moro Vithal Valvekar and Sakharam Yashwant Paranjapye were two other Brahmin friends of Jotiba who in later years stood by him in all his activities³⁵. We can track the social changes in the Indian society just looking at the life of this reformist figure. The eye-catching things here are his education in a Scottish Missionary School and his Brahmin friends who shared same ideals with him throughout his life. During those days liberalism was also a trend within Brahmin society demanding a change in the Hindu social structure. As we have seen Rām Mohan Roy and Brahmin reformists following him were demanding to clean the society from the defections of the Hindu religious and social system. In it is not a surprise to see dozens of reformists emerging from every level of society during this period. Those reformists were the ones who build the base for the real social change throughout the whole 19th and 20th century.

The first period, in which the reformation movements began, Phule was not alone as a low caste member. As we have said he had close friends from the Brahmin caste. Naturally, those Brahmins who tended to become his friends or to work with him were not orthodox Brahmins. They were Brahmin reformers who also had interests for changing the society. This close connection made these two groups, Brahmin reformers and Dalit reformers to cooperate and sometimes work together. Phule himself protected those Brahmin reformers with his followers when they fell under orthodox pressure in various cases. Phule's main role was to be an educator before being a political leader. He established various schools, one after another to encourage education within the Dalits, a right that was prohibited by the Brahmins for thousands of years. He was also in favor of women whose position was much more problematic than the Dalit man. The first school he established was a school for girls in 1848. This school was followed by two others, which were established in 1851 and 1852. He established another school for the untouchables in 1852. During these educational efforts he saw an important help from those Brahmin reformers. But in time this support faded away with the rise of Hindu orthodoxy³⁶. Phule as a reformer stand against the cultural values of the Hindu society very clearly. Naturally his main concern was equality as a low caste member. As we have seen in the previous chapter the problem of equality was not same in the beginning when the first verses of Vedas were chanted long before the birth of Christ. This is not an exact knowledge but it is what we can understand from within the verses. What we know certain is the establishment of Laws of Manu a few centuries before the Christ. That was the turning point which defined the destiny of low castes as semi-slaves and cemented the structure of the Indian society. The caste problem became the very heart of the Indian culture from this point. And thousands

²⁹India's first Christian converted social reformer whose struggles for the upliftment of Dalits and women are unchallengeable

³⁰ It is a critique of Ambedkar's undelivered speech written in 1936 for the *Jat Pat Todak Mandal* of Lahore

³¹Barbara R.Joshi (ed.), *Untouchable voices of the Dalit liberation Movement*, (London: Zed Books,1986), p .17

³²A state of the Republic of India on the west coast with Mumbai as her capital

³³Jotirao Govindrao Phule, *Slavery: In The Civilized British Government Under The Cloak Of Brahmanism* (Bombay: Education Department, Government of Maharashtra Mantralaya), p.xxii

³⁴ ibid

³⁵ ibid

³⁶Gail Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non Brahmin Movement in Western India:1873 to 1930*, p.106

of years later this problem became the main point of political and cultural discussions and the whole reform movements. It was so well established in people's mind that the upper caste reformers who encouraged the destruction of caste system, could not stand the pressures forced on them by their own caste members. So 19th century is a period where we can observe this gradual change from liberalism to extremism within the Brahman and upper caste society.

From the point of view of equality, the entire caste system and the authoritarian family structure was to be condemned. From the point of view of rationality, the whole system of superstition and religious traditionalism was to be overthrown, the whole corpus of religious writings stripped of authority. With this as his beginning point, Phule was saved from a good deal of unnecessary arguments, qualifications, compromises and logical inconsistencies. He did not, for instance, waste much breath arguing over the relative merits of different parts of the Hindu sacred scriptures. He simply treated them as legends, which may offer some insight into past Indian history, and as products of a group (Brahmans, Aryans) seeking to establish control over the minds of the people³⁷.

As the caste system interpreted as the main factor of Hindu religion, there was no way for Dalit reformers to dismiss the dominant religious tradition. Although Phule accepted the assumption that something had to be put in its place: even a revolutionary culture required a moral-religious center. At that point we can observe the affects of Semitic religions Christianity and Islam. With the inspirations of Semitic ideas most of the 19th century reformers interpreted the Hindu religion once more to clean it from deficits. Phule was not an exception just like Rām Mohan Roy. In his efforts to rationalize the religion, Phule did not reject the idea of dharma but rather attempted to establish a universalistic one. Sarvajanic Satya Dhanrma (" Public Religion of Truth ") expresses this concept completely; the moral basis of society had to be centered on truth, or rationality, and it had to be one that unified all men and women as equals rather than fragmenting and dividing them into separate social groups with separate responsibilities and rights (as the traditional idea of dharma did in separating the castes). The world was seen as good and holy, in contradiction to the Vedantic idea of it as an illusion, because it is God's creation; and God as is seen in simple terms as the loving parent (in the Indian expression which avoids Semitic patriarchalism, ma-bap) of all humans who are thus equally valued as his children. Orthodox opponents claiming him to become Christian regarding his education in a missionary over expressed this point of Phule.

7. Influence of Christian Philosopher Mahatma Jothibha Phule in the Rise of the Untouchable's Movement for Equality, Liberty and Fraternity in Uncivilized Hindu Land

Phule was something more than being a mentor or philosopher. He was also a man of action, organizing the people and establishing a new movement. We have talked about the school he founded before, which are not his only efforts to build a new Dalit society. He also became the pioneer of Dalit political movement with the establishment of Satyasdohak Samaj in 1873. The breakdown of Indian intelligentsia under orthodox pressure, which saw the caste system as Baburao Bagul a Dalit writer criticized the very heart of religion:

The intelligentsia, that is the Indian national leadership, divided the national liberation movement... into two warring factions: a political movement and a social movement. They also declared those who organized social movements, those who theorized on agriculture and industry, to be stooges of the British and traitors. The national movement was turned into a form of mythological movement and ancestor worship... Those who propounded inequality and did not wish society to be democratic, started eulogizing and sublimating history, mythology and ages gone by because, in those mythological and historical ages, they were the supreme victors and leaders... The Indian intelligentsias do not wish to accept the present with its revolutionary potential³⁸. The revival of Vedic Hinduism within the minds of upper castes regarding a modern ideology, which is nationalism, concluded with a political movement that was nationalist, religious and of course anti-Dalit. It should be thought differently at the beginning of the reform movements that India should be a nation where equality between races, sexes and of course social classes was established. But in time it turned out to be totally different. But as the disillusionment with the British rule began to grow, the liberals lost their importance and militant nationalists like Tilak, Aurobindo and Lajpat Rai emerged as new leaders. Tilak or Aurobindo, unlike the liberals, drew inspiration from India's past. Not solely that. With the emergence of the militants, swaraj or self-governance became the primary agenda. Politics was becoming more and more intense. And finally, with the emergence of Gandhi (1869-1948), politics acquired an altogether different meaning. Gandhi succeeded in mobilizing various sections of the people – workers, peasants, capitalists, students, lawyers and above all, women- in the nationalist movement³⁹.

In this process of alienation within the reform movements between Dalit and upper caste intelligentsia Phule was the one who build a political movement to advocate lower caste rights. Other followers continued the movement he established where Dr. Ambedkar became a striking figure in the first half of the 20th century.

8. Impact of White Western Christian Philosophers on Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr B R Ambedkar's Philosophy of Human Rights

Ambedkar's philosophy is chiefly moral and spiritual. He methodically explored the Indian Hindu uncivilized practices and its theoretical systems in an exceptional method. He developed political concepts like democratic system, fairness, state and civil rights from his thoughts of Indian the social order and the performance of its institutions on the ethical foundation. He is very vital to the establishment of caste, which influences all the spheres of individual's existence and the Indian culture as an entire. He promotes discusses how a person to society and how individual's liberty is restricted by other communal forces. He is critical of

³⁷ Ibid., p.107

³⁸ Gail Omvedt, p. 88

³⁹ Avijit Pathak, Indian Modernity Contradictions, Paradoxes and Possibilities, p. 51

dictatorial Hindu communal arrangements and argued in favor of self-governing civilization. He probed into the ethical and communal basics of India and gave innovative sense to the lives of underprivileged communities. He was a motivation move toward. Reason plays a function in his writings and speeches. The style he has worn is very logical to a certain extent tentative. He was influenced by the assumptions of modernity. He is well-versed in many areas of Indian history, polity, culture, anthropology and philosophy. His speech marks many thinkers in his writings those who have influenced him. He was influenced by the thoughts of John Dewey, the realistic American and the teacher of him.

9. Influence of White Western Christian Professor John Dewey on Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar's white western Christian teacher in America was John Dewey, whose theory of inquiry aimed at producing independent thinkers, rather than imitators or mere repositories of information⁴⁰. Ambedkar underlined his teacher's stress on the need to disturb and unsettle pupils. In an analogous manner concerning education, Gramsci placed great emphasis on the support and encouragement of free, creative thinking among all citizens as vital to future society and government⁴¹.

10. Impact of White Christian Philosophers Paulo Freire, Antonia Gramsci on Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Adopting Education as a Weapon to Protest Hegemonic Groups

Paulo Freire, the famous Christian Brazilian educationist, borrowed the concept of developing a 'critical consciousness' and of 'banking education' from Gramsci⁴². Like Ambedkar, Gramsci advocated that the pupil should criticize the curricula and the disciplinary structure of the old system and thus participate actively⁴³. Both understood also the difficulties of the task the extra effort' that has to be made for self-discipline and self-control, in order for the subaltern to compete successfully with more privileged classmates⁴⁴. Gramsci also understood how education frequently endorsed structures of power, stating that the new type of school appears and is advocated as democratic, while in fact it is destined not merely to perpetuate social differences but to crystallize them⁴⁵. Thus, they sought only to ensure that a 'labourer can become a skilled worker. 'Gramsci, whose philosophy pivots on the significance of 'Praxis, ' deals extensively with the application and management of education in a future society⁴⁶.

In this, he moved from his inspirational tone to a thoroughly practical exploration of what constituted a more egalitarian and liberating system of schooling. He clearly recognized, though, that schooling constitutes only one form of social activity within a broader network of experience, history and collective struggle⁴⁷. The school is thus one important site of struggle, which will enable the subaltern to govern and not simply be governed.

11. Impact of White Western Christian Professor Fabian Edwin R A Seligman on Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

The Fabian Edwin R.A. Seligman had substantial impact on his thinking. He frequently quoted Edmund Burke, the conventional Christian thinker of British, though we can't brand Ambedkar as conservative. Ambedkar's notion of freedom comes close to T.H. Green.

It is very hard to fit him into a prevailing political civilization like liberalism, Marxism and conservatism. He himself finds complexity in amplification of his political position. It doesn't mean that there is no steadiness in his political philosophy. The trouble lies only in amplification of his reflection in existing political language. He seriously occupied with liberalism, Marxism and Gandhism. He describes himself as a progressive radical and infrequently as a 'progressive conservatively. One thing is clear that he would like to be a progressive, and differentiate himself from liberals and communists depending on the case. The idea of community is essential to his philosophy. To say that individuals make up society is unimportant; culture is always self-possessed of classes. It may be overstatement to declare the theory of class conflict, but the survival of denoted classes in society is a truth... an individual in a society is forever an associate of a class. A caste is a with this class. Brahmins shaped caste and it is comprehensive to other servile classes. Caste is endogamous component and also a collective component. His political hypothesis was premised on ethical society. It was as a model to 'be realized. Hinduism is not capable to be a society. He was very much serious concerning the Hindu social order. Buddhism was predictable as the perfect having the worth of community grounding on ethics. He argues that Buddhism attempted to establish civilization on the foundation of 'reason' and 'morality'.

⁴⁰Dewey as in Christopher Queen, 'Reflections in the light of Ambedkar's philosophy of Education, ' in Pravartan-Siddharth College at Fifty, Siddharth Collge Magazine (2000), p. 40.

⁴¹Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, pp. 31-3. Gramsci believes that children should first acquire and learn the basic tools of free intellectual thought and understand the cultural assumptions and systems necessary to express ideas in the society. Learning spelling, reading, arithmetic, basic history, and some common morals and ethics would equip each child with the fundamentals of intellectual inquiry.

⁴² Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, p. 30; Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York, 1970).

⁴³ Gramsci, Prison Notebooks, pp. 37, 42.

⁴⁴According to Gramsci there was a dynamic tension between self-discipline and critical understanding. For Gramsci, education was a prerequisite for anyone in the society, is a right for all its members, and does not truly occur unless the pupil is led to his own, free discovery of knowledge. For Gramsci this 'special' training/discipline is necessary for the disadvantaged. For further details see Prison Notebooks, pp. 37,41-43.

⁴⁵ Ibid,p. 40. Emphasis is mine

⁴⁶ Ibid,pp. 29-30. In describing how a school system should function, Gramsci details how the age of first attendance should be set and the various ages at which students should embark on the different phases of their education.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 29.

12. Influence of White Western Christian Political Thought on Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Writing the Constitution of India

This section consists of three sections. The first section deals with an impression of political hypothesis in the West with the detailed purpose of given that a context to understand the political viewpoint of Ambedkar. The second section entirely focuses on the political values of Ambedkar with exact stress on democracy, caste and religion. This study considers Ambedkar's pronouncement of these concepts as radical because he is the first person to seriously look at these institutions with a thorough understanding of western philosophical thinking. The third section tries to evaluate his contribution and application of the social justice in the creation of alternative sources for the discarded communities. The evaluation assumes critical importance in the context of forceful debates over the meaning of the Ambedkarite idea in the public sphere.

13. Influence of White Western Christian Political Thinking on Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in Shaping His Struggles for Equality, Liberty and Fraternity in Uncivilized Hindu India

Let me have a short look at the main philosophical background of political views before I carry on into the political thinking of Ambedkar. In his Gettysburg address of 1863, Abraham Lincoln characterized democracy in words that seemed to express its very spirit: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people". This means that democracy exists to the degree that there is an "open Society", in which the relation between the governors and the governed is consistent with the principle that the State is at the service of the citizens- the Government exists for the people, not vice-versa. In short, democracy implies that society takes precedence over the State, that *demos* precedes *crazy*⁴⁸. The Indian republic is qualified by the adjective "democratic". Aristotle characterizes "democracy" as having a "share for all". In modern sense, this means "a government in which everyone has a share" as observed by Seeley. And J R Lowell thinks of democracy as a social system and defines it as a form of society in which "every man has a chance and knows he has it" The noun 'republic' qualified by the adjective 'democratic' means that it must be a participating State, in which the have-nots must have their share in the government. And "government is politics plus administration"⁴⁹. In other words, the government must have representatives from the have nots, namely Dalits and Tribes. And this representation must be on two levels of government-(i) political and (ii) administrative. It is because of this that the reservation has been made at the political level by Article 330 and 332, that, is at levels of Parliament and State Legislatures. Reservation is also made at the administrative level by Articles 15(4) and 16(4)/(4A)/(4B). The above analysis shows that the Depressed Classes must participate in the decision-making processes of government, which have been controlled since 4000 years by the manuvite brotherhood, namely privileged classes. And the latter is running the government in the name of democracy. In this they have ignored the preposition 'of, in favor of the two other prepositions, "by" and "for"⁵⁰ But this is not a democracy. As observed by an American Citizen in a letter to the Spectator in 1940: I do not consider equal justice for all as denoting democracy, or even equitable political representation. Democracy must stand on a different basis from something which is grudgingly given by a conciliatory upper class to classes which are hard pressing it. Democracy must stand on the ground of the most common and least privileged of the people composing a country. It must first be of the people before it can be by it or for it⁵¹ Judged by the above criterion of democracy, it may be said that what passes for 'democracy' in India is government by the people only. Although it lays claim 'for' the people, it is really not so. And government 'of' the people appears only in name, for one or two representatives are taken from the Depressed Classes in the government run by the upper class. When the Depressed Classes press for something, it is grudgingly given by the ruling junta of upper classes. During these 67 years of independence, the same tradition continues to the detriment of the interests of the Depressed Classes-the "least privileged" of the country.

14. Influence of White Western Christian Dialectical⁵² Development on Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in His Intellectual Development in Uncivilized Hindu Land

The Indian Constitution envisages a dialectical development from caste-centric to caste-less society. It contends with the problem of reconciling the ideal of equality with the facts of inequality. And this contradiction between ideal and reality has to be removed. Here dialectics may be of help in the development of nature, society and thought. Aristotle differentiated the science of probable opinions from analytics, the science of proofs. Contradiction is the chief category of Dialectics. It reveals the motive force and source of all development. Herein lies the key to all other categories and principles of development. And this is a development by a passage from quantitative changes into qualitative ones, interruption of gradualness, leaps, negation of the initial movement of development and negation of this very negation and reputation at higher level of some of the features and aspects of "the original state"⁵³ Dialectics played a key role in Hegelian thought. According to Hegel pure thought requires a method of progression, known as oscillation. The concept posits itself constituting "the abstract moment". At once it goes over to its opposite and dissolves itself, constituting "the dialectical moment". But out of such affirmation which is also denial, being the concept of an object of its opposite, arises a third-the unity of these mutual dissolution as the truth of both, constituting, "the speculative or

⁴⁸ Sartori, G, Democratic Theory, 1965, p.26

⁴⁹ Finer, A, The Theory and Practice of modern government, 1956, p.7

⁵⁰ Dr Oneil Biswas, Dalits after Partition, p.52

⁵¹ Jennings, Ivor, The British Constitution, 1963, pp.202-3 (quoted)

⁵² The art of dispute and debate, that is, the art of debate by means of questions and answers and the art of classifying concepts, dividing things into genera and species.

⁵³ Rosenthal, M/Yudin, P, A Dictionary of Philosophy, 1967, p.120,122

positive rational moment"⁵⁴. These three stages are popularly called "Thesis", "Antithesis" and "Synthesis". Ordinarily a thing contains its own negation. In no sphere can one undergo a development without negating one's prior mode of existence. Usually negation is associated with 'no' that is, rejection of anything. But dialectic regards negation as a part of the development. Dialectical development is marked by two features: (1) it is a condition and factor of development, and (2) it is a factor in the connection between the new and the old. The first is positive negation which serves the second is the new that 'sublates' the old. And the effect of the law of the negation of negation is that development moves not in a straight line, but in a spiral. In other words, the spiral of development shows that the ultimate point coincides with the point of departure at a higher level⁵⁵. The process is a trinity has three stages namely, (i) the initial point of development (thesis); (ii) the first negation (antithesis); and the second negation (synthesis).

15. Influence of White Western Christian Egalitarianism on Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar had a lengthy discussion on self-governing form of administration in his writings. His formation of the democratic system is diverse from the parliamentary democratic system of Western Europe. Democratic system came with the philosophy of liberalism. His origin of democratic system makes diverse with parliamentary forms of in an important way. The Government of individual culture has undergone some very important changes. To change from dictatorship to the parliamentary democratic system, blood-spattered struggles were fought in the earth. It is whispered that each individual life form will have the right to freedom, material goods and quest of pleasure. The Parliamentary democratic system has all the characters of a accepted rule, a rule of people, by the people and for the people. Ambedkar well thought-out the evils and spoken dissatisfaction in opposition to the parliamentary democracy in the nations like Italy, Germany, Russia, Spain and some other European nations in proposing the parliamentary democracy in India.

Ambedkar finds reasons for the malfunction of parliamentary democracy that 'parliamentary democracy gives no complimentary hand to despotism and that is why it became a discredited establishment in the countries like Italy, Spain and Germany which willingly welcomed dictatorships'⁵⁶. The nations that are contrasting autocracy and pledged to the democratic system to find their dissatisfaction with the democratic system. First, the parliamentary democracy began with the fairness of political rights in the form of equivalent suffrage. There are a very small number of countries having parliamentary democracy that have not adopted adult suffrage. It has progressed by increasing the idea of egalitarianism of political rights to egalitarianism of social and economic chance. It has documented that corporations, which are anti-social in reason, cannot hold the state at woof. With all this, 'the reason for dissatisfaction is due to the understanding that it has unsuccessful to promise to the masses the right to freedom, possessions or the quest of happiness. The causes for this failure may be establishing whichever in the wrong ideology or wrong organization or in both'⁵⁷. He elaborated this point by pointing out the fault with both wrong ideologies and the bad organization in carrying the ideals of democracy. The idea of freedom of contract is one of the responsible factors for parliamentary democracy in terms of ideology. Parliamentary democracy took no notice of economic inequalities and didn't care to examine the result of freedom of contract on the parties to the contract, in spite of the fact that they were unequal in bargaining power. It didn't mind if the freedom of contract gave the strong opportunity to defraud the weak. The result is that parliamentary democracy in standing out as a protagonist of liberty has continuously added to economic wrongs of the poor, downtrodden and disinherited class⁵⁸. The second wrong ideology which has vitiated parliamentary democracy is the failure to realize that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy'⁵⁹. He illustrated this point by comparing the collapse of parliamentary democracy in the countries of Italy, Germany and Russia with England and USA. He felt that there was a greater degree of economic and social democracy in the latter countries than existed in the former. 'Social and economic democracy are the tissues and fiber of a political democracy: The tougher the tissue and the fiber, the greater the strength of the body'⁶⁰.

Democracy is another name of equality. Parliamentary democracy developed a passion for liberty. It never made even a nodding acquaintance with equality. It failed to realize the significance of equality and didn't even strike a balance between liberty and equality, with the result the liberty swallowed equality and has made democracy a name and farce. More than the bad ideology, bad organization is responsible for failure of democracy. All political societies get divided into two classes-the rulers and the ruled. This is almost stratified that rulers are always drawn from the ruling class and the class that is ruled never become the ruling class. This happens because generally people do not see that they govern themselves. They are content to establish a government and leave it to govern them. This explains why parliamentary democracy has never been a government of the people or by the people and why it has been in reality a government of hereditary subject class by a hereditary ruling class. It is this vicious organization of political life which had made parliamentary democracy such a dismal failure⁶¹.

Ambedkar is not a blind supporter of parliamentary democracy as a governing system. First of all, he critically evaluates the functioning of parliamentary democracy in European nations. In adopting this model in nations like India, he reminds the problems involved in the real functioning of parliamentary democracy. Historically, it is a fact that in every country there exists governing classes and servile classes and there is a continuous struggle for power in between these classes. The governing class

⁵⁴ Berolzheimer, F, *The World's legal Philosophers*, 1929, pp.219-22

⁵⁵ Rosenthal, pp.311-12

⁵⁶ Roudrigues, Valerian (Ed.) *The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar*, New Delhi : Oxford University Press, 2002, p.61

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.62

⁵⁸ Ibid, p.62

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.62

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.62

⁶¹ Ibid, p.63

finds it easy to maintain its supremacy over its servile class through its power and prestige. Adult suffrage and the frequent elections is not a hurdle for the governing class to attain power and authority. On the other hand the servile classes regards them members of the governing class as their natural leaders and volunteer to elect them as their rulers by considering themselves as inferior. It is wrong to believe that democracy and self government is automatically becoming realities of life. In fact, the existing governing class is inconsistent with democracy and self- government and made all its efforts to retain its power to govern. Ambedkar felt that self government and democracy become real not when the constitution based on adult suffrage comes into existence but when the governing class loses its power to capture the power to govern. In some of the countries the servile classes may succeed in ousting the governing class from the seat of authority with just by adult suffrage. In some other countries the governing class may be so deeply entrenched that the servile classes will need other safeguards besides adult suffrage to achieve the same end⁶².

Ambedkar fully inspired by the western writers that they are realistic and provided the realistic view of democracy. They touched the constitutional morality, adult suffrage and frequent elections as the be-all and end-all of democracy. Ambedkar proposed a written constitution for the effective democracy. The habits of constitutional morality may be essential for the maintenance of a constitutional form of government. He puts more emphasis on moral society and its custom than the written legal law in governing its people. He invested heavily on social morality for effective functioning of the democratic form of government. He reminds us very often, in devising the constitution one has to keep in mind that the principle aim of the constitution must be to dislodge the governing class from its position and to prevent it from remaining as a governing class forever⁶³ These philosopher's histories refer to the history of the working class and toiled communities, in the western world. In other words, least of the least, who create, discuss, write about, and in other ways propagate ideas to create a new nation where Depressed Classes can stay peacefully.

Baba Saheb Dr B R B R Ambedkar's theory and Praxis was concerning social revolution, meaning the transformation of the social order. Ambedkar struggles throughout to define Indian social and cultural life in rational, secular and materialist terms and to shape the contours of Indian society and polity with deeper humanist impulses informed deeply of the principles of social justice and equality. It is difficult to encapsulate the diverse facets of Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar dealt with his long and tedious sojourn from April 14, 1891, till he breathed his last on December 6, 1956, in Delhi. To put in a nutshell, Ambedkar is a prolific writer, a renowned economist, an assiduous Anthropologist and Sociologist, an eminent Constitutional Lawyer, a foremost social reformer, a profound thinker like Karl Marx and Rousseau⁶⁴ and that tribe, profound visionary and a nationalist to the core. All these nurtured in an abundant measure in Ambedkar. He had shown that birth in penury would stand no hard cap for anyone dedicated to scale the heights of intellectual excellence by dint of hard work, assiduity, courage of intellectual conviction, honestly and relentless pursuit.

16. Personal Experience Being an Untouchable on Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in Uncivilized Hindu Land

Born in an untouchable community and subjected to all disabilities due to the practice of untouchability, normally one would expect to settle into life at best as government servant or a teacher. But Ambedkar had chosen the path of thorns to fight on behalf of the 100 millions untouchables at that time, to emancipate them from sub-human conditions in a position of dignity of person in the society. He, therefore, charted out a relentless social reform movement with a missionary zeal, first to educate the Dalits of the human rights, to live a life of dignity and to organize among themselves to vindicate their rights, to self-confidence, self-help and to agitate for civil and political rights. He believed that by subservience one cannot regain the lost rights-people are afraid of a lion and not a lamb which is offered as a sacrificial being. One necessarily has to assert, right out and vindicate his rights. He, therefore, instills self confidence in the Dalits that lost rights can never be regained by subservience. His incessant fight on this behalf is a testimony to rekindle that faith in his fellow human beings of all hues, in particular, Dalits to encourage and educate people to tread in his path. He started and had run Mook Nayak and Bahishkrit Bharati, reassured faith in his people to fight for rights and had run them successfully.

Ambedkar was deeply moved by the plight and deplorable conditions of other subordinated classes in Indian society, namely, the criminal tribes who numbered about 20 million and the aboriginal tribes numbering about 15 million⁶⁵ then. The untouchables then numbered about 80 million. He called the existence of these classes as an abomination Without mincing words, he expressed concern and anxiety over the existence of these classes and unequivocally condemned the social practices which were buttressed and legitimized under the pretext of the glory of Hindu civilization. Ambedkar asserts that, "...it is a diabolical contrivance to suppress, and enslave humanity. Its proper name would be infamy. What else can be said of a civilization which has produced a mass of people who are left to live in full bloom of their primitive barbarism in the midst of civilization and a third mass of people who are treated as an entity beyond human intercourse and whose mere touch is enough to cause pollution?"

Ambedkar firmly believed that elsewhere outside India, such a practice of inflicting polluted status and consequent segregation would not have continued so long. It would have been abolished long ago under the pressure of liberal ideology, rationality and scientific temper. In India, this institution remained for so long, and even in the twentieth century, it had its fervent supporters only because of refusal of the Hindus to self-examine their conduct and make amends for their misdeeds, he felt. The Hindu sense of civilizational superiority and greatness was much deeper not easily rectifiable; he thought. He writes: " the Hindu does

⁶² Ibid. p.63

⁶³ Ibid. p .64

⁶⁴ Justice K Ramaswamy, B R Ambedkar: A Multi-Dimensional Personality, Ambedkar and Nation-Building, p.27

⁶⁵ S.P.Punalekar, Ambedkar and Social Praxis, Ambedkar and Nation-Building, p189

not regard the existence of these classes (meaning all these groups, the untouchables, aboriginal and nomadic tribes) as a matter of apology

Dr Ambedkar waged a war on the caste structure and became instrumental in abolishing untouchability and elevated the Dalits from the status of slavery to the level of equality. The conference, he had organized at Mahad to exercise a human right and an indispensable fundamental right-to drink potable water from a common chowder tank dedicated to use by the public, but was inaccessible to the Dalits-establishes his deep faith in the demographic process of the people to organize a congregation; to discuss the public issues in a democratic process, take a decision after full discussion and to act thereon. Under his leadership, direction and guidance, the Dalits had peacefully gone to the tank and drank the water. When it was resisted by the orthodox Hindus, but for his leadership, bloodshed would have occurred in the streets, but not even a single drop of blood was shed. His leadership to organize social movements in a democratic manner remains a torch bearer to the poor i.e the Dalits to congregate, discuss the problems pros and cons and to vindicate the rights peacefully. Though several leaders like Jotibha Phule, Narayanandas worked for abolition of untouchability, it was Ambedkar who rose like a sphinx from the Dalits, and succeeded in abolishing untouchability through the constitutional means of Article 17 of the Constitution. Therefore Ambedkar is the savior of the Dalits from the abominable practice of untouchability, unknown to human histories.

In pre-independence days Manuvites never clamored for justice and democracy on the ground that the Hindus were not prepared for such great radical changes while they followed their Sanatan Hindu religion. But Dr. B. R. Ambedkar flung their arguments back by asking them why they clamored for the independence of the country when the people as a whole were neither prepared for it nor deserved it⁶⁶. Yet even fundamental Hindu Tilak rose for their deliverance. Dr Ambedkar pointed out: If Tilak had been born amongst the Untouchables, he would not have raised the slogan, "Swaraj is my birthright", but the slogan would have been: "Annihilation of untouchability is my birthright"⁶⁷. But what does it mean? It means a Social system of Caste hierarchy. The beneficiaries are Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya (Apastamba-dharma-sutra. 1.1.1.4-5): "Each preceding one is superior by birth to that which follows it"⁶⁸. And the victims of the system are Shudras and Untouchables. Though it looks like social, it is more a political conspiracy to exploit the Shudras and Untouchables. The said social order is vertical and not horizontal.

The Depressed Classes demand social security in the shape of liberty, equality and fraternity at the hands of hostile Brahmin, Kshatriya and Vaishya who believe in the denial of liberty and equal opportunity to the Shudras and Untouchables so there is neither justice nor democracy in Tilak's Swaraj.

And there is a sea of difference between the freedom of a nation or independence and the freedom of the people in the nation. The words such as society, nation and the country are amorphous, if not ambiguous. There is no gainsaying that 'Nation', though one word, means many classes. Philosophically, it may be possible to consider a nation as a unit. But sociologically, it cannot but be regarded as consisting of many classes. In this context the freedom of the nation, if it is to be a reality, must vouchsafe the freedom of different classes comprised in it, especially those who are treated as servile classes. It may be noted here that the existence of a governing class is inconsistent with democracy and self-government. It is not adult suffrage that ensures government of the people, by the people, for the people; but it comes "when the governing class loses its power to capture the power to govern". Moreover, a State or Nation refers to 'Man'. But when men are divided on the basis of birth into caste groups, every such caste-group should be construed as an independent State or Nation. In this context observes Tocqueville "There is a multitude of castes in India; there is no nation or rather each caste forms a small nation of its own, which has its own spirit, its own usages, its own laws, its own government"⁶⁹

In this perspective the dominance of one caste-group over the other means the subordination or slavery for the latter. In India, the Brahmin, Kshatriya-Vaishya combine has kept the Depressed Classes under dominance. In other words, the former has ruled over the latter for 4000 years and even after independence continues to do so as of right. And this is reflected in the attitude of the government manned by Manuvites. India cannot be considered to be "independent" in the true sense of the term, when, after 67 years of transfer of power oppressed and exploited communities have no say in the governance of the country; they cannot participate in the decision-making process of government in proportion to their population⁷⁰

17. Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and His Social Justice Philosophy

Born in Untouchable community, Ambedkar used his intellectual capacities to understand the complexities and to organize the untouchables against the socially and politically iniquitous system. Ambedkar understood that his people suffered from a variety of hardships and disabilities. Disabilities were not only social and economic in nature; these were political and cultural too. While other tolerated or often compromised by these conditions, but Ambedkar decided to pursue the other, more militant and radical mode of action. He resolved to challenge the established norms of thinking and pedagogy⁷¹. Dr Ambedkar experienced that his untouchable⁷² communities in Maharashtra carrying of the dead cattle was the most obnoxious of their duties. All of Untouchables

⁶⁶ Keer, D-Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission, 1971, p.81

⁶⁷ Bahishkrit Bharat, editorial 29 July, 1927

⁶⁸ Dr Oneil Biswas, Dalits after Partition (Reservations and Constitution Review), p.ix.

⁶⁹ Encounter, May 1962, p.55

⁷⁰ BAWs- What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables (1945), pp.190, 201-204

⁷¹ S.P.Punalekar, Ambedkar and Social Praxis, Ambedkar and Nation-Building, p.188

⁷² Mahar, Mangs, Chamars, Dhors etc

lived away from the main village in settlements called wadas and there were unwritten, but well-defined rules of social conduct, behavior prescribed for all these untouchable castes. Savarna Hindus maintained physical and social distance from them⁷³

It is for this reason that Ambedkar concentrated his attention on Hindu shastras and began studying them and also the commentaries written on these shastras. That is why he wrote the book, *The Shudras---Who they were and How they came to be fourth Varna of the Indo-Aryan Society?*⁷⁴. This book was published in 1946 and was dedicated to the memory of Mahatma Jothibha Phule; a great thinker and Christian converted social reformer of Maharashtra and one of the three Masters of Dr B R Ambedkar. His basic objective was to uncover the roots of discrimination and iniquity⁷⁵

The term "Justice" is very comprehensive and it is not easy to define it. In the words of Dias, "The concept of justice is too vast to be encompassed by one mind. It is not something which can be captured in a formal a once and for all"⁷⁶

Social justice came into limelight during the French Revolution of 1789. It is generally explained in terms of liberty, equality and fraternity. Thus, the notion of social justice postulates that if the question of merit deserves attention, the demand of the need of the oppressed cannot be ignored. The justification behind meeting the needs of the oppressed is that they arise out of deprivation and exploitation of the system. The oppressed themselves are not responsible for their disabilities, backwardness and vulnerability⁷⁷

18. White Western Christian Civilization and Its Influence on Father of Indian Civilization Dr B R Ambedkar's in Archetecting Social, Political and Constitutional Thought

Wrote Henry James: "ideas are, in truth, forces. Infinite, too, is the power of personality. A union of the two always makes history"

Dr Ambedkar was a great dissenter against the unjust social order but the value of his dissenting voice for the construction of a just system where everyone had the freedom to assert his views, unafraid of defying tyrants. Cradled in the ideology of liberty propagated by Mill and surrounded by a social milieu where suffocating devotion to fuehrers in disguise deprived the people of their independent initiative, Dr Ambedkar was an individualist and never resigned himself to the abject surrender to the fuehrer syndrome. In the struggle for freedom Ambedkar was a rebel among the caste Hindu leaders and his fearless and outspoken criticism of the many who led the masses often reminded one of the famous statement of Mill: "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind".

Hindu community would have silenced the Panchama proletariat, and their lot would never have changed if they had not given battle to the large majority which worshipped the repressive social system. Ambedkar was a peerless and the fearless challenger of Hindu orthodoxy. Earl Warren says that "Mere unorthodoxy or dissent from the prevailing mores is not to be condemned. The absence of such voices would be a symptom of grave illness in our society". In tune with his spirit of militant democracy, so necessary in a feudal-colonial society which often genuflected before gods, political and religious, Dr Ambedkar reminded the Constituent Assembly: "The second thing we must do is to observe the caution which John Stuart Mill has given to all who are interested in the maintenance of democracy, namely, no "to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man, or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions". There is nothing wrong in being grateful to great men who have reminded lifelong services to the country. but there are limits to gratefulness. As has been well said by the Irish patriot Daniel O'Connell, no man can be grateful at the cost of his honor, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty. This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country. For in India, Bhakti or what may be called the path of devotion or hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequaled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other country in the world. Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul. But in politics, Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship"

White Western Christian civilized thought, Fabian and Marxist, had taught the Indian leadership that democracy was more than political freedom. It had dimensions economic which often conditioned itself. Economic democracy was integral to and the power behind political democracy. However, there were other graver attacks on democracy, even where the rule of life gave political and economic freedoms. Negation of social justice, suppression of social equality and crippling of cultural cultural personality dehumanized a people, even if they had the right periodically to go to the polls to choose their surrogates. Gandhi had these

⁷³ And Untouchable group included even the lower castes like teli, dhangar, bhoi, nhavi, luhar, shimpi and many others. In some villages, even Muslim households kept a distance from the untouchables. That was the situation which prevailed in most of the villages in Maharashtra around the turn of this country.

⁷⁴ Dedication itself is rendered in a moving language. It reads: "Inscribed to the memory of Mahatma Jothibha Phule, 1827-1890, the greatest Shudra of modern india who made the lower classes of Hindus conscious of their slavery to the higher classes and who preached the gospel that for India social democracy was more vital than independence from foreign rule"

⁷⁵ Two years later, he focused his attention on the study of the conditions of Untouchables and wrote a sequel to the above mentioned book with the title, *The Untouchables: Who Were They And Why They Became Untouchables*. This book brought out by Bheem Patrika Publications, Jalandhar, makes an important contribution to sociological understanding on the untouchables. In this book, Ambedkar had discussed in depth the rules and prescriptions as laid down in Manu Smriti. He critiques Hindu society for its ruthless end inhuman treatment meted out to Untouchables. This book amply reveals that Ambedkar was concerned with the broader spectrum of marginalization and marginal social groups.

⁷⁶ Dias, R.W.M., *Jurisprudence*, Butterworths, London, 1985, pp.65-66

⁷⁷ Singh, R G., *Social Justice in India and Development of Weaker Sections*, Bindeshwar pathak(ed) Inter-India Publications, New Delhi, 1997, p.69

perceptions and Nehru had appreciated the need for fuller indubitably and outstandingly brought the sharpest focus to bear on the issue of social degeneracy in society which paid lip service to universal divinity and human oneness but practiced for centuries graded inequalities and inflicted savageries on their own brothers and sisters whose misfortune was to be borne in antyaja wombs. Infuriated by this explosive genetic injustice, Ambedkar attacked this static deficiency in the Indian polity. He insisted that democracy would break down if it was not enlivened by social justice as its soul. In powerful yet controlled diction, Dr Ambedkar addressed the Assembly on this vital weakness vitiating the larger community of India: "The third thing we must do is not to be content with mere political democracy. We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. political democracy can't 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. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality, equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from the fraternity. With equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would 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. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which means 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. On the 26th January, 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 so laboriously build up"

19. Father of Indian Civilization Baba Saheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and His Philosophy on Annihilation of Caste and Religion

Annihilation of caste had a broader dimension than there extinguishment of distinction between Brahmins and Bhangis. It was the ideological imperative of the practical unity of man and the solidarity of humanity without which fraternity was rhetorical futility. Ambedkar explained its significance in his famous final address in the Constituent Assenly: "The second thing we are wanting in, is recognition of the principle of fraternity. What does fraternity mean? Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians-if Indians are being one person. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life. It is a difficult thing to achieve". Without fraternity, liberty and equality are no better than coats of paint. So to achieve fraternity, it is very much essential to forget the caste-differences. In India, it is difficult to reach the goal of achieving fraternity, because the caste phenomena is deeply rooted in Indian Culture. So efforts should be made towards achieving fraternity, then only India will be a nation in the social and psychological sense of the word. The peril to our national survival if social integrity is not established is emphasized by him in the same address made on 25.11.1949⁷⁸: "These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves. this urge for self-realisation in the down-trodden classes must not be allowed to devolve into a class struggle. It would lead to a division of the house. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For, as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a house divided against itself cannot stand very long. Therefore the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration, the better for the few, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance of its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. That is why I have laid so much stress on them" (From the concluding speech of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly on 25.11.1949).

Dr Ambedkar, with the power of a campaigner and perceptiveness of a dialectical activist, made a great contribution to the application of democracy in its social dimension to the squalid disparities and biting acerbities of Indian life. His speech in the Assembly states succinctly his conception of social contradiction in India and the urgent imperative of its eradication if democracy, with stability and harmony, were to be a reality.

When the history of Indian independence, in its many dimensions, comes to be written, Ambedkar's contribution will stand out as a fresh, fierce infusion of social democracy sans which political freedom stands on shifting sands. Not that he loved Swaraj less, but that he loved Dalit justice more. In his speech at the Round Table Conference he argued with the soul of social justice beyond brown-skinned Swaraj which slept peacefully with the status quo suppression of panchamas. More than any Indian it was Ambedkar who fought for the philosophy of social egalite and indictment, not merely of the caste system as an Indian phenomenon, but also of stratified systems of inequality everywhere. He was not content with bare equality before the law in Free India would be manipulated by caste-prone majority communities. This insistence on guaranteed human rights, was the basic reason behind Articles 12 through 18. To strengthen the hands of the depressed classes, he demanded special representation in Legislatures and Public Services. These protective producers were deserted because, as a Chamar himself, he knew the social potential of slave submission even if the country became free from foreign rule. Dr Ambedkar wrote: "Untouchables were treated as slaves because "(1) they were so socialized as never to complain of their low state; (2) they never dreamed of trying to improve their lot, by forcing the other classes to treat them with the common respect; (3) the idea that they had been born to their lot was so

⁷⁸ Justice V R Krishna Iyer, Dr Ambedkar and Dalit Future, p.36

ingrained in their mind that it never occurred to them to think their fate was anything to irrevocable;(4)nothing would ever persuade them that men are all made of the same clay, or that they have the right to insist on better treatment than that meted out to them”⁷⁹

Again , in his evidence before the Southborough Committee in 1919 he advocated the cause with clarity and power: “The exact description of the treatment cannot be attempted . The word ‘untouchable’ is an epitome of their ills and sufferings. Not only has untouchability arrested the growth of their personality but it comes in the way of their material well-being. It has also deprived them of certain civil rights. For instance, in Kokan the Untouchables are prohibited from using the public road. If some high caste man happens to cross him he has to be out of the way and stand at such a distance that his shadow will not fall on the high caste man. The untouchable is not even a citizen. Citizenship is a bundle of rights such as personal liberty, personal security, right to hold private property, equality before the law, liberty of conscience, freedom of opinion, speech, right of assembly, right of representation in a country’s government and right to hold office under the state. The British government by gradual growth may be said to have conceded these rights at least in theory to its Indian subjects. The right of representation and the right to hold office under the state are the two most important rights that make up citizenship. But the untouchability of untouchables puts these rights far beyond their rights. In a few places , they do not even possess such insignificant rights as personal security. These are the interests of the untouchables.And as can be easily seen they can be represented by the Untouchables alone. They are distinctively their own interests and none else can truly voice them.A free trade interest can be voted by a Brahmin, a Mohamedan or a Maratha equally well.But none of these can speak for the interests of the Untouchables because they are not Untouchables.Untouchability constitutes a definite set of interests which the Untouchable alone can speak for. Hence it is evident that we must find the Untouchables to represent their grievances which are their interests and secondly, we must find them in such numbers as will constitute a force sufficient to claim redress”⁸⁰

The cry was not for reforms here and there, but for radical restructuring, a revolutionary end to caste domination. Says Engles: “The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill-will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented, by outworn institutions, from satisfying itself”.There were Hindu reformers who worked for amelioration of the caste process, including untouchability would keep the caste system alive but make it acceptable. But as a dialectical student, Ambedkar was for the annihilation of caste. Why ? John Morley, writing on Compromise, explains it: “The fatal French saying about small reforms being the worst enemies of great reforms, is in the sense in which it is commonly used, a formula of social ruin. On the other hand, let us not forget that there is a sense in which the very saying is profoundly true. A small and temporary improvement , unless the first is made on the lines and in the direction of the second...The small reform may become the enemy of the great one”.

Dr Ambedkar was not a mere Depressed Class leader, but a defender of human rights, of weaker and exploited people. So he organized educational institutions to raise the level of consciousness of the serf like people. “Tell the slaves that he is a slave and he will revolt against his slavery” was Ambedkar’s argument. So he started journals and educational institutions for Dalits, fought for women’s equality and labour’s right to a fair deal. The broad impulse of B R Ambedkar was to wage bitter battle for human rights. To his fellow men he spoke in agony: “ My heart breaks to see the pitiable sight of your faces and to hear your sad voices. You have been groaning from time immemorial and yet you are not ashamed to hug your helplessness as an inevitability. Why did you not perish in the prenatal stage instead? Why do you worsen and sadden the picture of the sorrows, poverty, slavery and burdens of the world with your deplorable, despicable, detestable, and miserable life? You had better died and relieved this world if you could not rise to a new life and if you could not rejuvenate yourself. As a matter of fact, , it is your birthright to get food, shelter and clothing in equal proportion with every individual, high or low. If you believe in living respectable life, you should believe in self-help which is the best help”⁸¹

Again, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar even referred to French and American instances and urged: “ 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. I am telling you that wherever human rights were snatched away , there, battles and bloodshed and wars were fought and bloodshed was witnessed. In the case of France when the nobles denied the human rights to the lower class people, they massacred the nobles until they finally won the battle. The battle was continued for more than ten years. In America too, the American people fought the civil war, in order to emancipate the Negroes from slavery. During the civil war, those who died did so after doing certain noble deeds. Those who remained alive, enjoyed the happiness of free men. Such a kind of battle was required in order to reconstitute the lost human rights. But I do not understand how our people , even though they were put to injustice, mortification, and insults, still , how they could tolerate them like a dumb lot of humanity, and like a submissive cow. We never feel sorry, we never get annoyed and we never realize the insults. “We are self-satisfied, even though we have been kicked by the caste Hindu people. What are the reasons which made us dead in mentality and spirit? I find we don’t have sufficient knowledge and wisdom, and secondly, we don’t have economic, social and physical strength. Whoever has knowledge, wisdom and strength are capable of tyrannizing those who do not have either of them. Therefore, the particular Code of Conduct was assigned to us by those who had knowledge , wisdom and strength. I am very sorry to say because of the ignorance, gullibility and utter submissiveness, we are suffering these injustices. As we are not conscious of the heritage acquired by the humanity we made our position deplorable, helpless and hopeless and therefore, we are facing the difficulties of food, cloth and the place of shelter even though India is a country which is called a golden country. In the midst of plenty, we are poverty-stricken. I,

⁷⁹ BAWS:What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables-Page 194

⁸⁰ Lokhande, B R Ambedkar- A Study in Social Democracy,pp.162-163

⁸¹ G S. Lokhande, B R Ambedkar-A Study in Social Democracy,p.171

therefore, give you the clarion call not to be satisfied, that you should not be satisfied, self-complacent and be the worshipper of the old value. I do not want, whatever the ancestral deeds, we should do the same thing. We have to change the present situation. When we change the present situation I am sure, the Code of Conduct forced on us will also change. If you do not change, then it will be quite impossible for us to fight against the odd circumstances. Don't believe in accidents and coincidence. Believe that man is the creator of history, and he can come out successful, notwithstanding the odd circumstances"⁸².

Dr Ambedkar points out : History bears out the proposition that political revolutions have always been preceded by social and religious revolutions". Thus the religious reformation started by Luther was the precursor of the political emancipation of the European people. In England Puritanism led to the establishment of political liberty. Puritanism founded the new world. It was Puritanism, a religious movement that won the war of American Independence. The same is true of the Muslim empire. Before the Arabs became a political power they had undergone a thorough religious revolution started by the Prophet Mohammad. Indian history also supports the same conclusion. The political revolution led by Chandragupta was preceded by the religious and social revolution of Buddha. The political revolution led by Shivaji was preceded by the religious and social reform brought about by the saints of Maharashtra. And the political revolution of the Sikhs was preceded by the social and religious revolution led by Guru Nanak⁸³

The question is how to bring about "equality" in a society of "graded inequality". Dr Ambedkar gave his answer in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1927 thus: All these Depressed Classes are unequal in their status and progress. If they are to be brought to the level of equality, then the only remedy is to adopt the principle of inequality and to give favored treatment to those who are below the level. Economically speaking or socially speaking, Depressed Classes are handicapped in a manner in which no other community is handicapped. I, therefore, think that the principle of favored treatment must be adopted in their cases. This may be demonstrated mathematically. Thus, if P= the privileged classes, N=the non-privileged classes and R= the "favored treatment" or "reservation", then mathematically,
 $P=N+R$

In this context, "reservation" is a must to remove the existing inequalities. The privileged classes do not understand easily what "equality" is. Equality is a "protest-ideal". It aims at the least natural of all political forms-it is the ideal which calls for the extreme denaturalization of the political order. To achieve inequality all we have to do is let things take their course. Not action, but inaction is required. But if we are to achieve equality, we can never afford to relax. The claim for equality is a protest against unjust, undeserved and unjustified inequalities. We need not get lost in the labyrinth of liberty. Not so in the case for labyrinth of equality. Here we still are seeking Ariadne's thread. The problem has so many facets and implications that after we have examined it from all angles we are still left with the feeling of not having really mastered it⁸⁴

It may be noted here that more than 250 years ago Rousseau understood the implication of equality and demanded legislation to maintain equality. He observed in his Social Contract(1762) 11.11: it is precisely because the force of circumstances tends always to destroy equality that the force of legislation must always tend to maintain it. Tawney echoed Rousseau in his Equality(1931, Chapter.1): While inequality is easy since it demands no more than to float with the current, equality is difficult since it involves swimming against it. This harmonizes with Dr B R Ambedkar's formula for maintaining equality.

But the beneficiaries of inequality, that is, Manuvite Brotherhood derives their lineage from Manusmriti are opposed to equality. Here is manifest the Orwellian paradox: "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others"⁸⁵

In other words, they hold that $P=N$ and R is not necessary. This gives weightage to P as against N and makes P "more equal" than N, this is a case of inequality, not equality. The point to note that equality is expressible by the sign "=" and inequality is "more than" or "less than". Hence "reservation" is a must to bring about equality.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had gone through the literature of the Hindus and made his own comments and out rightly rejected the theory of "karma". He felt that Hindu upper caste people cleverly used this weapon against the lower castes to realize their own ends. He was also against worshipping the gods by Sheryl neglecting the welfare of mankind especially the downtrodden.

20. Post Phule and Ambedkar Dalit Movements

Phule and Ambedkar continued to inspire the Dalit movement in the post-independence period. Dalits and their organizations have gained strength from their legacy, and no great leader of comparable stature has been able to replace these stalwarts. Both Phule and Ambedkar put a lot of emphasis in education for Dalits as a central means towards their emancipation. I described Phule's battle to actually allow Dalits to have any access at all to education as the first-stage struggle. In this thesis, I have examined the ways in which Dalits has fought and won this battle, and then gone on to the second stage, which is that of obtaining an education on equal terms to that of the upper castes and classes. One of the leading questions that I have asked is to what extent has this whole experience brought about the hoped-for liberation of the Dalits, and Dalit women in particular, in a situation of continuing and evolving discrimination. It is clear that for many the liberation has been only partial. Low-quality education that is limited to only a few years of schooling has not helped many Dalits to better themselves in lives or assert themselves effectively against the higher castes. Education has failed to eradicate internal divisions among Dalits, as seen in the continuing rivalry between Mahars and Matangs or Chamars in Maharashtra or Malas and Madigas in Andhra Pradesh. For many Dalit women, their education has not brought any escape from a life of domestic drudgery under the domination of men. Nonetheless, significant numbers have managed to obtain a higher level of educational attainment and have benefited from the positive discrimination

⁸² Ibid.p.171-172S

⁸³ BAWS, Vol.1,pp.43-44

⁸⁴ Sartori, G, Democratic Theory, 1965,pp.326-27

⁸⁵ Orwell, G, Animal Farm, Chapter 10.

policies of the government. Often, this merely means joining the system and forgetting about the past and the discriminations of slum life. Even then, in joining the middle classes, and imitating high caste culture, Dalit women often feel more liberated than their less fortunate poorer 'sisters.' It is, however, a personal rather than community liberation. In all of this, the attempt to build a counter-be genomic ideology and practice that validates Dalithood appears often to become lost in the daily lives of those who are struggling to better themselves within a social system that continues to normalize upper caste and middle class mores and cultural values. Those in the mainstream of Indian life always talks in terms of 'we, Hindus, the nation, the state, the government is doing so much for you, but still the Dalits will not improve.' I am concerned with this social and cultural violence. Such engagements of equating the Hindu with India and 'othering' of minorities have been discussed in depth by scholars like Gyan Pandey, Tanika Sarkar, and others. However, I note that this debate has a history, in that Ambedkar wrote that, 'There is another form of discrimination which though subtle is nonetheless real. Under it a systematic attempt will be made to lower the dignity -and status of a meritorious Untouchable. A Hindu leader would be described merely as a great Indian leader. If a leader who happens to be an Untouchable he is to be referred to he will be described as so and so, the leader of the Untouchable. A Hindu doctor would be described as a great Indian doctor. If a doctor happens to be an Untouchable doctor, he would be referred to as and so, the Untouchable doctor [or the Tribal doctor. This means that Hindu is equal to India, while an Untouchable is not.

This Untouchable is an inferior people and however qualified, their great men are only great among the Untouchable. They can never be greater or even equal to the great men among the Hindus. This type of discrimination, though social in character, is no less galling than economic discrimination⁸⁶. Thus, Mekala Vijaya who married a Madiga Christian, rightly questioned, 'why is my mother [Mattimalla Suguna Yadav] called a 'Yadav Women who is an Individual Reformer', and not just a Great Individual Reformer Yadav Mother who married my father who is an Untouchable belonged to Madiga Christian community? Upper caste women are not called by their caste, unlike Dalit-bahujan social or family or individual reformers who are so marked. Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued that 'the poor and the oppressed, in pursuit of their rights, have to adopt every means at hand in order to fight the system that puts them down.'^{87*}

⁸⁶ Ambedkar, BAWs, Vol. 5. Chapter 13, p. 109.

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