

ISSN



2250-3412

THE

RNI No. DELENG/2012/48509

DISCUSSANT

Journal of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

Volume - IV

Number 2

APRIL-JUNE 2016

Rs. 300



Dr BR Ambedkar presenting the first draft of the Constitution of India to President of the Constituent Assembly Dr Rajendra Prasad in February 1948

**SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT ON
125th ANNIVERSARY OF DR BR AMBEDKAR**



THE DISCUSSANT

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Published and Printed by: Sidharth Mishra on behalf of

Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice

B-344, Nehru Vihar, Timarpur, Delhi -110054

and Printed at Om Printers, 324, Patparganj, Industrial Area, Delhi

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DISCUSSANT
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DALIT EMPOWERMENT: LOOK BEYOND QUOTA

Capitalism may have class-based problems but these are radically different from caste-based problems. A caste-based system is a system of humiliation. In capitalism, there is poverty of course but that is universal to everyone regardless of his birth. Anyone who is lazy, who doesn't want to compete, will face the problem of poverty but minus the humiliation.

As we celebrate 125th anniversary of Babsaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar, we are reminded afresh that some political leaders have found no better means to perpetuate his memory than extending the scope of the job quota in the private sector. The latest to join the bandwagon is Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar, who in the first week of April this year emphasised on increasing the reservation quota in jobs beyond 50 percent in view of the increasing population of Schedule Castes, and also advocated extending the provision in the private sector.

Pushing his point further Kumar, who was giving a vote of thanks upon receiving K Veeramani award, said, "In today's time of economic liberalisation if reservation is not provided in the private sector then it would be playing a joke with the concept of social justice." Kumar is the second leader from the state to ram for reservation in private sector. Before him, Union Minister Ram Vilas Paswan had been pushing along similar lines.

At a seminar on Constitutional Rights versus Human Rights earlier this year, I was asked why the media went to town with the Nirbhaya case but ignored the rapes of Dalit women on a regular basis in the countryside. The accusation brought against the media was that absence of women and Dalits at decision-making levels contribute to this trend. While there is no dearth of women in the media, even at positions of leadership, there indeed is the absence of Dalits in the right places.

While people may like to blame their absence on bias against Dalits, the fact remains that an industry woefully running short of competent individuals can hardly afford to lose on any good talent irrespective of their social and economic background. In my experience of 25 years, I don't recall any Dalit aspirant desperate for a job in a media house. They prefer the security of a government job, over the roller-coaster ride in the media industry.

There is another anecdote worth sharing before we come back to analyse Nitish Kumar's push. A group of students and teachers from Maharaja Agrasen College in the national Capital have undertaken a research project titled - Impact of Reservation Policy on Undergraduate Students since 1991 - A Case Study of Delhi University. The principal investigator of the project comes from a community which enjoys benefits of job quota though he made it to the faculty under General category. In their search for truth, these young

researchers decided to check on two friendly faces from the neighbourhood entitled for a job quota - the presswala (laundry-man) and the roadside cobbler. In most of the cases, it was found that the benefit of quota has not accrued to them for past four generations despite the job reservation being in place all this while.

What is it that's holding the Dalit community back from excelling and grabbing the opportunities which are brought their way? Addressing the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar had warned, "We are entering an era of political equality. But economically and socially we remain a deeply unequal society. Unless we resolve this contradiction, inequality will destroy our democracy." Job quotas for certain have not been able to resolve this social and economic inequality.

There is a group of Dalit intellectuals and entrepreneurs, who advocate financial empowerment to overcome caste inequalities. Led by prominent writer Chandrabhan Prasad, they say, "Capitalism may have class-based problems but these are radically different from caste-based problems. A caste-based system is a system of humiliation. In capitalism, there is poverty of course but that is universal to everyone regardless of his birth. Anyone who is lazy, who doesn't want to compete, will face the problem of poverty but minus the humiliation."

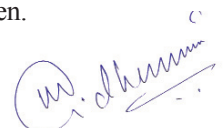
There is this Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (DICCI) of industrialist Milind Kamble, which is working towards achieving the goal of having 100 Dalit billionaires in the country. "Dalit billionaires will lead the charge of emancipation. This would be the beginning of a new era for Dalits, in which with very little education, they can be driving a BMW. Otherwise, they will be doomed to compete for a few government jobs through reservations," Prasad recently said in a newspaper interview.

This view is, however, countered by the Left of the Centre intellectuals like Professor Gopal Guru, who recently said, "Market reforms can touch the life of a few thousands of Dalits but it simply creates an island of prosperity amongst a sea of penury." This gives rise to the larger question of why prosperity among Dalits reside on islands and penury is part of the larger land mass.

For leaders like Sanjay Paswan, former Union Minister, such unfortunate situation prevails because of lack of initiative among the Dalit elite to extend a helping hand to the lesser-endowed in their community. Paswan pushes the adage - No More Four. He says such Dalit families, which have availed the benefit of reservation for three generations, should on their own volition withdraw their claim to the provision in the favour of the poorer persons in their own community.

This sounds similar to the Give it Up initiative of the Ministry of Petroleum, which has helped the exchequer reduce expenditure on the subsidies for the LPG cylinders. In the year 2013-14, the subsidies on the LPG had risen to Rs 40000 crore. This has now come down substantially and is being transferred to the beneficiaries in the rural areas. So the need of the hour is not to keep extending the quota net but to create that self-esteem in Dalit elite to make them accommodate their poorer brethren.

30 June 2016



Sidharth Mishra

secretary's desk

As I had mentioned in my report at the beginning of the last edition, the members of Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice including Centre president, self and other members have taken up academic activities in the right earnest participating seminars and deliberations of national importance.

In April this year CRDJ in association with Dr Ambedkar Foundation, Shaheed Bhagat Singh (Eve) College and Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) is organised a seminar on Dr BR Ambedkar's Timeless Legacy. We had valuable deliberations with eminent participants such as Union Minister Chaudhary Birender Singh, former Union Minister Dr Sanjay Paswan, Rajya Sabha Member Prof Narendra Jadhav and Prof KG Suresh, Director General of Indian Institute of Mass Communication making extra-ordinary contribution. We are also grateful to Professors Sushma Yadav, Sanjeev Sharma, Sangeet Ragi, Sri Prakash Singh, Sheela Reddy and Himanshu Roy for guiding the proceedings. My gratitude to Shri Rakesh Tyagi and Shri Narendra Yadav for whole heartedly supporting the seminar. Special thanks are due to Dr MA Sikandar, Registrar, Ambedkar University of Delhi for supporting the endeavour. We dedicate this edition to this seminar and are publishing select proceedings of the same in this issue.

In this time and era when publication industry is increasingly coming to be controlled by corporate bodies, I reiterate, it's no mean achievement for a think tank, still trying to get a toehold to have managed to publish the journal regularly. The Discussant has come to be recognized as journal of honest endeavour. It gives me great pride to present before you the April-June 2016 issue. This is the second issue of the fourth volume. Thus we successfully publishing for the fourth year as an RNI registered quarterly periodical. We had received the ISSN accreditation a year earlier.

I am happy to share with you that our online edition is crossing new frontiers and getting accessed from new territories, which gives our writers a global exposure unthinkable for any journal of our vintage.

With Warm Regards,

30 June 2016



Dr Sanjeev Kumar Tiwari

DR B.R AMBEDKAR'S TIMELESS LEGACY: A DISCUSSION

18 APRIL 2016, SEMINAR ROOM, IIPA, IP ESTATE, RING ROAD NEW DELHI

Organised by

Department of Political Science
Shaheed Bhagat Singh (Eve.) College
University Of Delhi

In Collaboration With

Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi



millenniumpost
A NO HALF TRUTHS

DR AMBEDKAR FOUNDATION

PRINCIPAL'S DESK

*DR PK KHURANA**

We have all known Dr. BR Ambedkar as Babasaheb Ambedkar, as one of the architects of Indian Constitution. He was a well-known politician and an eminent jurist. His efforts to eradicate the social evils like untouchability and caste restrictions have been without parallel. Throughout his life, he fought for the rights of the Dalits and other socially backwards classes. Dr. Ambedkar remains the shining skin of emancipatory struggles that aimed at creating a just, inclusive, pluralistic society, with equality for all, irrespective of caste, creed, colour and religion. The present seminar is very timely in the context of developments in the contemporary times when there is lot of attention from the policy-makers the world over on the issues relating to globalisation, modernity, constitutional rights, democracy in governance. I am sure we can draw up on the teachings of Babasaheb to find solutions to the vexed problems of today.

I take this opportunity to put on record my appreciation for the efforts put by my colleagues, Dr. Saurabh Dubey, Seminar Convener, Dr. Ajay Mehra, Teacher-in-charge, Department of Political Science, Dr. Sarad Kumar Yadav and Dr. Ranjit Kumar as Co-conveners, and other members of the Department for organizing this seminar. I also thankfully acknowledge the support received from Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of social Justice, Government of India and also Millennium Post daily newspaper, being the media partners for the seminar.

The publication of the select proceeding of the seminar would not have been possible but for the support from Indian Institute of Public Administration and Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice.

*Principal, Shaheed Bhagat Singh College University of Delhi

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

*PROFESSOR SHEELA REDDY***

Coming to the theme of today's discussion, why this 125th birth anniversary is so unique? It is because it has been recognized globally. Babasaheb's 125th birth anniversary was observed at U.N. for the first time with focus on combating inequalities to achieve sustainable development goals. A note circulated by the Permanent Mission of India to United Nations stated that, and I read on: "As India celebrates the 125th birth anniversary of the national icon, Babasaheb remains an inspiration for millions of Indians and proponents of equality and social justice across the globe. Although it is a matter of coincidence, one can see the trace of Ambedkar's radiant vision in the sustainable development goals adopted by the United National General Assembly to eliminate poverty, hunger and socio economic inequality by 2030."

Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar belonged to the rare class of great men who set standards of greatness for themselves and lived up to them. The greatness of Ambedkar lies not just in exposing the foundations of a suffering society and providing a way out, but by carrying out the mission of emancipation himself. He operationalised his ideas into action for reconstituting society as a pragmatic philosopher. In fact, we all know that Dr. Ambedkar heralded a cultural and psychological battle against the system causing de-humanisation, exploitation, coercion and suffering. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a tribute to Dr. Ambedkar, had said of him, and I quote: "The way he will be remembered most will be as a symbol of the revolt against all the oppressive features of society. He rebelled against something against which all of us ought to rebel".

The Constitution of India based on the impression of Dr. BR Ambedkar's thoughts is today a key instrument for national reconstruction. Speaking in the Constituent Assembly in 1946 which discussed the framework of future Constitution to underline the need to build a cohesive society, Ambedkar said, and I quote: "Our difficulty is how to make the heterogeneous mass that we have today to take a decision in common and march on the way which leads us to unity. Our

* Ambedkar Chair Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi

difficulty is not with regard to the ultimate, our difficulty is with regard to the beginning". So, he craved and aspired for a homogeneous India on the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Dr. Ambedkar also recognized the fact that the lofty ideals expressed in the Constitution would remain as they are, given the nature of contradictions inherent in the society. In order to establish an inclusive society, Ambedkar looks at democracy not as apolitical arrangement but essentially a form of society, a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. Citizenship requires a sense of belongingness, without which worst kinds of social and political detachment take place.

This was a very prominent view shared by Ambedkar when expressing his views on democracy. It is pertinent to raise some questions to reflect on Dr. Ambedkar's legacy.

Have his projects shaped out as he would have wished, has India moved in the direction that he thought optimal, have his inheritors embalmed his ideas in dogma or extended them while confronting new predicaments, how cohesive we are as a society, why there is so much unrest in the society, what have been our basic ethos, philosophy on foundational values of our Constitution, how far we have adhered to them, many such questions may be the discussion on which may come in the course of today's deliberations. What intellectual legacy we inherited and are we doing injustice to the legacy we inherited, how inclusive are our inclusive policies, did the Indian State and institutions live up to the ethos of its democratic on situation and philosophy and vision of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar?

Now, Prime Minister Narendra Modi, while observing the Constitution Day on November 26, said that "Dr. Ambedkar and Constitution of India should always be discussed and talked about in this country". I know you all would be eager to hear more on the theme from other distinguished guests on the dais and other eminent speakers in the course of the day. We have the opportunity to share different perspectives on Dr. BR. Ambedkar, one of the greatest icons of modern India whose contribution is spread across every field of national development.

I conclude by saying that Dr. BR Ambedkar's life is a saga of great struggles and achievements. His message to the people was, which appeals to me a lot, and I quote: "You must have firm belief in sacredness of your mission, noble is your aim and sublime and glorious is your mission. Blessed are those who are awake to the duty to those among whom they are born. If each one of us can rise up and realize our duty to our fellow brothers and sisters, we could find answers to many of our problems.

NEED TO LOOK BEYOND DALIT ISSUES

*SIDHARTH MISHRA***

I would say, today is a big day for Shaheed Bhagat Singh Evening College where I had the opportunity to serve for two terms on the Governing Body for not just having been associated with leading centres of learning like the Indian Institute of Public Administration for a seminar but for having mobilized the participation rising above caste and sectarian lines to commemorate the legacy of the icon of equality, Babasaheb.

It is no small measure of Dr. Ambedkar's contribution that the United Nations celebrated his 125th birth anniversary by examining the relevance of his legacy to its global development goals. Taking a cue from the UN deliberations, I am sure the intellectual interactions today would also help consolidate the ideas of taking the legacy of Dr. Ambedkar forward, beyond his contribution in the field of social reforms which is already very well known.

One of the areas where Dr. Ambedkar's contribution has been most understated is that of economics. As we all know, he was trained as an economist at London School and also Columbia University. Ambedkar, in fact, was a professional economist until 1921 when he decided to take a full-time plunge into politics. He wrote three scholarly books on Economics -

- Administration and the Finance of East India Company,
- Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India and
- The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and its Solutions.

The Reserve Bank of India, many of you may not know, was based on the ideas that Ambedkar presented to the Hilton Young Commission. The Reserve Bank was set up on the basis of the recommendations of Royal Commission of Indian Currency and Finance which was also known as the Hilton Young Commission.

*President, Centre for Reforms, Development & Justice New Delhi

**DR BR AMBEDKAR'S TIMELESS LEGACY -
NEED TO LOOK BEYOND DALIT ISSUES**

We, at the Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice work towards consolidating India's intellectual capital. We are proud to associate ourselves with today's deliberations and commit ourselves to publish select proceedings of the Seminar in the next issue of our RNI-ISSN-accredited journal, the Discussant.

Before I conclude, I must say that the book which Babasaheb gave this nation has been taken forward by subsequent governments and in our today's seminar's Chief Guest Ch. Birender Singh Ji's Ministry, the Panchayati Raj Ministry, is playing a big role in taking forward these ideals and goals. One of the latest programmes which he has conceived and which is going to be implemented in coming days is to free the woman Sarpanches from the stranglehold of their patis - Sarpanch patis. That is the empowerment at grass-roots, real empowerment of women, and I would say, Sir, in doing so, in encouraging your Ministry, your officers to do so, you are adding to the ideals of Babasaheb and you are bringing them a life.

A THOUGHT FOR VIBRANT RURAL SOCIETY

*CHAUDHARY BIRENDER SINGH***

The canvas of Dr BR Ambedkar's personality is so big that it would be very difficult to cover every aspect of his life in a limited time. Therefore I would be limiting myself only on two issues. One is the economic issue that relates to our country and the world as a whole.

Dr Ambedkar was the first Indian who did his PhD from abroad. Thus he is rightly called an icon; an icon not just of India but of the world. The second point which I would be concentrating on is what kind of society he was envisaging while drafting the Constitution of India.

If you go back to about 16-17 hundred years, the society, which is our society, had a way of living. Some call it Hindu way of living, some call this Indian way of living. This settled way of living however was stood steered when about 1600 years back. A man appeared on the scene, Adi Shankaracharya, about 1,400 years back. He brought the Indian way of life back on rail. That was the first time when society as such realized that we were going astray as far as our way of life was concerned.

What is our way of life? You know, there are certain basics for that. One is co-existence, the second thing is tolerance. These are the two main pillars of our ethos, of our culture, of our way of life, and that is why everybody who invaded us, everybody who had the chance to come to India, maybe, in the capacity of a merchant or an invader or you can call it anything, with the passage of time, settled here and became a part and parcel of our way of life, that is, the Indian way of life.

The second main event of history is when Mahatma Gandhi started realising that the only way out is the complete independence. From 1857 onwards certain intellectuals thought about how we can come up in life and felt that the time to say good-bye to the British was still to come. Gandhiji, however, realized the sentiments of the people that the basic principle of a way of life is independence and ultimately he launched the movement for Poorna Swaraj that is complete independence.

* Hon'ble Union Minister Govt of India

Talking of independence, I am often reminded of the 11 statues (Murti) on the intersection of Mother Teresa Crescent and Sardar Patel Marg; I look at every person in a different way. As per my attitude my attention goes to the last person sitting there and a man is giving a pep talk to him. He is telling the last man that the person walking holding a stick is trying to get freedom for him and let us join him in his pursuit. Ultimately freedom became a goal for all the countrymen, and we got independence.

The canvas of Independent India in 1947 did not look the way as it looks today. The country was divided into 560 odd States - maharajas, rajas, jagirdars, nawabs - and there was a man who thought that this cannot be the political freedom of our country. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was instrumental in bringing different states under the Indian Union, a powerful sovereign Republic as the views it today.

Professor Sheela Reddy in her opening remarks read out about Dr. Ambedkar's vision. He was assigned the job of framing the Indian Constitution and a lot of other intellectuals, lot of other political leaders such as Dr Rajendra Prasad were associated to support and guide with Dr Ambedkar in drafting the Constitution of our country, which would administer the country, which would protect the integrity and the unity of the country, which would give us certain rights, as we call it Fundamental Rights, or which could assign certain duties to the citizens of our country.

But one thing which is very important, and this is in the fourth line of the Concept Note of the Seminar. It says, "Babasaheb contributed enormously towards nation-building and shaping as well as reconstruction of the modern Indian society in several ways." This is the third salient feature of a nation: Are you a society, a vibrant society. Are you a society where there is a feeling that we are marching ahead? When Dr Saheb talks of sustainable development he means the same that is marching ahead.

The fourth important element of a vibrant nation is economic development. You know, only a year back, in the banking system of ours only 50,000 bank branches existed all over the country and the total number of accounts in the banks before May, 2015 was just 340 lakhs. If you count one family as a five-member family, then, of around 125 crore population, only 17 crore people were having their accounts in the banks. So, when I connect both these events of the history, Babasaheb's contribution is not only giving a Constitution, his contribution is giving vision of a vibrant society and how you are to judge a society which is vibrant, which is cohesive, which is totally unified. I give one example of my experience.

I was not a student of economics; I did my law graduation with Political Science and History. Once I was traveling in a metro train in England about 30 years back. There one bogie could accommodate 75 passengers. I just tried to make a distinction between all those sitting and standing as to who was rich and who was not rich or who was well-placed and who was not well-placed.

You will agree with me that it was difficult for me to make out who was from the middle-class and who was from the richer class. But here if you give me a chance in a DTC bus or in a metro or even in a Shatabdi, I can make out how the society is divided. That is my 45 years of experience as a political man. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar's target was how to change the society, but sometimes I feel the only impediment, the only bottleneck is our economics.

When I think of economics, I ask what is economics? Whatever is written, whatever are the principles of economics, we still go by that. We agree and we improve up on that. George Bernard Shaw once said that thoughts are always borrowed. There are very few people like Dr Ambedkar who had original thoughts. That is where people are called great. Everybody cannot be great. One can be a moneyed man, one can be a gold medalist in Rio Olympics, one can be an icon in any of the social activities, one can be a Bharat Ratna, but there are very few who have original thoughts, who are exclusively a separate, a distinguished, a rare personality, and Dr. Ambedkar was one of them. Why do I say this?

Constitution drafting was not the only ultimate aim of Dr. Ambedkar. It might have been the aim of the Constituent Assembly that we should have a Constitution, which came to be implemented on January 26, 1950. Dr Ambedkar's target was different that how there can be society which the Leftists call a classless society or the capitalists say that everyone is well off. But do you see this kind of society which he thought of, is it here in our country?

I would like to give another example, the population of the world touched the figure of 7 crore about one and half year ago; the day the 7th crore kid was born this appeared as a major news item in the papers, a survey also appeared along this news item. It

showed that 20 percent of the total wealth on earth was owned by just one percent of the world's population; another 23 percent population possessed 54 percent of this wealth. This represented a great paradox as three fourth of the population is holding one fourth wealth and one fourth population possess the three fourth wealth. Can we think of equality in such society?

The governments have been making claims of providing round the clock water and power in the villages like in the cities; I am also holding the charge of the Ministry of Rural Development. When a villager gets power bill he is in a fix and thinks how to make the payment. Will it not amount to clash with the system if he refuses to pay the bills? We in the villages are forced to mortgage property to buy tractor, manure, seeds and plough and harrow for the tractor. When we get loan from the bank for construction of the house at our fields, we have to mortgage the land. That is the system. And we talk of Rs. 3,40,000 crore which are NPA (non-performing assets). These are the latest figures available.

Presently an amount of Rs. 3,40,000 crore as the Non-Performing Assets is with the big industrial house; a few may be not so big and a few may be small; I would like to say that all industrialists are industrialist. Let me cite one more very recent example on this. You must have come across this news in the papers. When we talk of (Vijay) Mallya who is absconding, who is in another country, one component of his liabilities - we do not know how much total is but one component of that is Rs.9,000 crore, for which banks are after him.

One of the CAs made this comment that under the Companies law, if Mallya says no, nothing doing, I am totally pauper, I cannot repay any of the amounts, then the bank can recover only 7.2 per cent from Mallya's assets. That means, out of his share in the company, which runs into thousands crore of rupees, his liability is only to the extent of 7.2 per cent and that too legally because there is a provision in the Companies Act that the liability of any person and of the director will be limited up to the value of his shares; this is a paradox. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to overcome these paradoxes in the society.

The Prime Minister has come out with this vision that within the next five years, the income of the people who are living in villages would be doubled. It may look very simple to you but this is going to be a very daunting task as the prevailing economic system of the world works against such schemes.

Once I attended an international conference on the world economic order. I had no knowledge of the subject; I was a young man at that time and I represented the Youth Congress. I had an opportunity to say few words. I said that you may be right when you talk of world economic order, but the best solution of the world economic problems will be to call world economic order as world population order. I said that whatever is surplus in one country should be distributed and it would end economic disorder. They took it as absurd suggestion.

When we talk of Punjab, we talk about the creamy layer of Punjab. Try to understand as a sociologist that the creamy layer of Punjab is totally out of Punjab today. Those who aspire for a better life are all settled abroad and that is why the drugs menace is prevalent in Punjab. We are, I mean my state of Haryana, which borders Punjab not just geographically but also culturally and socially we have our relations with them, but are not facing the drug menace because here the migration is not of that level. So, these are very important factors which one should look into. Thus Dr Ambedkar's vision requires lot of brainstorming at all levels.

You as political science students or students of public administration, keep in mind what should be the public administration. These things are important.

I was talking to an economist on the Prime Minister's vision of doubling income in rural area. He said if the income of the villagers become double then the GDP growth would automatically be up by 3.5 per cent meaning Rs.40 lakh crores being pumped in a natural course in the rural life of India. That means everything gets changed. When I said Dr Ambedkar wanted a vibrant society, he had economic prosperity as one of the ingredients of such a society.

A vibrant society is supported by vibrant economy of the rural masses. It cannot be that you get electricity bill for round the clock supply and your income is not enough to pay the bill. If the government gives electricity for free in agriculture sector, the economists raise queries why it is free to the agriculture sector. One may get a pair of shoes at Rs 60 in a village whereas

the same is sold at Rs four hundred at the district headquarters and at Connaught Place it is priced at Rs four thousand and same with an international trademark of Gucci may be priced at Rs. Forty thousand; what sort of paradox is this? Dr. Ambedkar fought against this.

We have to go beyond providing cosmetic relief to the rural areas. If you want the villages to grow, you will have to grow beyond the cosmetic relief provided by the policy MSP (Minimum Support Price).

Delhi cried frantically when potatoes rate touched Rs. 40 per Kg and onion touched Rs. 60 per Kg. Today farmers are forced to sell these at the rate of just 30 paise. Has anybody cared to find out why it's being sold at just 30 paise per kilogram. You have to sympathise with the toiling masses which Dr. Ambedkar talked of.

I am apolitical person and I have much to say; if I say much you may interpret it in a different way. I have made a good attempt; you please synchronise my words and your own words like a remix of Punjab music and folk songs which has gained popularity.

UPHOLDING AMBEDKAR'S LEGACY: INITIATE SOCIAL CHANGE

*KG SURESH**

I do not claim to be an authority on Babasaheb, nor am I a scholar on Babasaheb. I am sure that in the papers that are going to be presented during the day, you will be quoting extensively from Babasaheb's writings and the Constitution.

My effort here would be to highlight or flag certain issues which, I believe, are very relevant even today. It is very unfortunate that when we are celebrating the 125th birth anniversary of Babasaheb, the discussion or the discourse in the country is about the battle for legacy. Babasaheb belonged to whom?

Everybody is claiming and the discussion in the media is that he is appropriating Babasaheb, he is appropriating. I would rather have preferred the headline that today we have come to a stage where everybody wants to own Babasaheb. That is something positive. But instead of that, we are accusing, one another of appropriating Babasaheb.

Look at the arguments. Somebody is accusing, say, the ruling BJP, of appropriating Babasaheb. It is a political party which has given maximum number of seats to Dalits and OBCs and you are saying they are appropriating Babasaheb! The Communist Parties are paying rich tributes to Babasaheb. They belong to a movement which was despised by Babasaheb. Babasaheb never had any sympathy for the Communists.

Babasaheb is being claimed by people who adore Yaqub Memon and Afzal Guru. Babasaheb was a nationalist to the core. Remember, his first concern after India attained independence was about the survival of the country. He talked about the Jai Chands and the Mir Qasims, he talked about how the Rajput princely States aligned with the Mughals to prevent or to fight Shivaji. These were his initial concerns, how do I survive as a country when this has been the history? He pointed out to several treacherous instances in our history and today those who adore such treacherous characters are claiming inheritance to the legacy of that very Babasaheb. Very strange! So, it is very unfortunate that it has become a political battle.

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What should be our approach when we talk about celebrating the 125th anniversary or paying tribute to Babasaheb? Babasaheb's life is his message, and I think that is very important to understand. Even today, when in Tirupur people ruthlessly kill a young man for marrying a girl from another caste, we have to really ponder over whether we, as a nation, have accepted Babasaheb? Today, when in the name of "honour killings" - I call them "dishonoured killings"- we kill somebody because they married in a different caste, then we have to really ponder over whether we as a people have accepted Babasaheb. I think the severe important issues which we need to talk about.

When somebody, some boy, is accused of theft just because he belonged to a particular community, the way he was beaten up, everybody saw a few days back on the television channels. The same system which harassed Babasaheb is there even today in many parts of the country. It is widely prevalent. It may not be that prominent but it is there.

I am talking about people who are educated. I am a bit religious person, when I first came to Delhi I used to bow my head on noticing any sign of the God be it of any Gurdwara, Temple, Mosque or Church. I was new to Delhi and had been putting up in Mayur Vihar, Kalyanpuri, and Trilokpuri; there I for the first time noticed Valmiki Mandirs. I said what type of temple is this; I have never seen such temple in our side. I was keen to learn about the temple. The persons accompanying me said we will visit later on, not now.

I replied that there is no wrong in visiting the temple; it is a temple of Mahrishi Valmiki, hence, I must visit. I visited and bowed my head in front of Valmikiji and came out. An interesting incident took place next day when a person from my staff came to me while I was sitting in the office and told me someone wanted to me. This person came inside and said she wanted to talk something personal. I asked my secretary to leave the office room and told that lady to carry on. She expressed pleasure over my visiting temple; as I expressed surprise she said that we both are from the same fraternity. I replied why you want to make it as a personal talk, we both are from same fraternity, in fact we all are from the same and we all Indians are from the same fraternity.

The lady replied that she felt very happy yesterday when she noticed me entering the temple and she felt proud. I felt sad that somebody was coming and telling this to me. Why should it be there? If our temples have a place for NAVGRAHAS and Sai Baba; why it cannot have a place for Mahrishi Valmiki? First bring Mahrishi Valmiki in our temple; this will be the true homage to Babasaheb Ambedkar. We have separated Mahrishi Valmiki from Rama that is why our society is divided today. I think that is very important that we bring him back.

The Minister has used a word GDP. I was reading an article by legal luminary Sr Upendra Baxi, which said no country in the world can match us in GLP (Gross Legislative Produce); we make so many laws; we keep on adding one every day. But everything doesn't happen as per law. Baba Sahib said that enact as many laws as you want; the laws will become meaningless if they are not acceptable in the society. Go on enacting the laws, we have enacted a law against manual scavenging. We have taken other initiatives also to end it. But has it ended? Chaudhry Sahib is making all efforts. Sidharthji talked about freedom from the husbands but nothing is going to move if the husbands refuse accepting it. You go on enacting laws; it will depend on the acceptability. Why a person like me with bones and flesh will carry the waste of the bathroom? When I cannot carry, why he will carry? When we understand it in the true spirit then can the law become operative and effective. I am sorry to say. You may enact any act like SC, ST and so many other and even a bit tokenistic and cosmetic but you cannot go beyond this. Sometimes I say certain points which are not liked by the people but this has become a part of my habit. We have cultivated more enemies than friends. That is why I want to tell you that we a few young friends who get agitated against reservation and stress upon the need of merit and criteria. It is better to think before raising such demand; the day reservation ends then please do not complain that people have converted to the Christianity and Islam.

The system of reservation has kept large number of people together. Let us face the facts. Bring a change in the

society; this is essential for all of us otherwise it will be difficult to keep the society together for a substantial duration with the help of the law and its provisions. Hence people will remain a part of the society because they are getting facilities and not due to faith in the system. We have to ponder over this. We are here to think and introspect over the future of the society that is the Indian society. We need to think.

Shaheed Bhagat Singh College invited me a few years ago over at an anniversary function of Swami Vivekananda. When I go through the books and papers on Baba Sahib I get some inspiration which I have been getting from the literature on Swami Vivekananda. Swami Vivekananda gave importance to only one word that is fearlessness; he further said that this is essence of all Vedanta and Upnishads. We get only one word from the books and papers on Baba Sahib and that is self-respect; this is imperative for the development of an individual and society. His thoughts continue to be relevant in respect of all subjects and issues. Today we talk of women empowerment and other related issues. He said at that point of time that the progress of any society depends upon the progress of the women in that very society; this is the criteria to measure the progress.

Friends when I was new to Delhi one of my staff members while returning home in evening asked me to spare a Gandhi; I could not get this. I thought that there is only one Gandhi and how I can give him that one. He repeated and requested for a Gandhi. I told him to at least say Gandhiji. He made it clear that his demand is for a Rs. hundred note. I was not aware that Gandhi ji will become a substitute of Rs100 currency note. When I read Baba sahib it reminds me of the words of Baba Sahib quoting Carlyle, "The great men have been reduced to currency notes".

I am afraid of that we may end up reducing Baba sahib to currency notes. This is disturbing and compels us to think. I think it is very important. So, introspection at the intellectual level is great but now it is time we take it to the grass-root level. That is very important and that is, believe me; he had also stated this that inter caste dining and interaction all are fine, we have to rise up to that level when we, as a country, start accepting people from the different regions, different communities, different castes as our sons-in-law, as our daughters-in-law. If we can accept a foreign lady as our bahu, as our daughter-in law, I am sure; we should have no problem accepting our own people as our bahus and damads. Hence, I am able to understand that change is not going to take place till we effect a change in our hearts and such workshops and seminars are not going to help in this direction.

When my father gave me a name he intentionally avoided to add the caste name. So I can tell only one thing, the rest I am not aware, that I have not become the DG, IIMC on the basis of my caste, that is the only relevant fact. My name includes name of my father and my village but it has no identification of my caste. The identification on this basis is prevalent in Punjab, they also add name of their village like Longowal and Barnala, and this is also identification. Why I am focussing on the caste, what I want to establish? We need to revisit this issue.

I know that the discussions session is going beyond the prescribed time, I would not like to say more and will like only to add one point that Baba Sahib was dead against hero worship. He had stated that the hero worship is of two kinds, the first where I take a personality as my hero and the other is that I continue to implement his saying without applying my mind. The latter is a problem of the hero worship and this also a minus point.

We may hero worship Baba Sahib by admiring him; we must have a critical appraisal on his thoughts and works. Nobody is perfect. Why we are all out to make him the God? Let us look at him as a human being and let us look at him as a great human being. I do feel that the only conclusion of the all thoughtful analysis should be that how we will be able to improve those anomalies of the society which were referred by Baba Sahib.

Baba Saheb was a nationalist to the core; He said that Indian sub-continent has no match in respect of its cultural unity. He focussed on this very fact. So, let us look at him that how that cultural unity can be transferred into social unity, political engineering; we call it social engineering; our media frequently writes that the social engineering is taking place. The social engineering has nowhere taken place only political engineering took place.

Aligning this with that and vice-versa has been taking place right from the beginning. This is called analysis of the political analysis. But what is important is actual social engineering and how to do that should be our focus area in the coming 125 years. It is very important.

So, let us brace up for a revolution, social revolution. Baba Sahib had stated that a social revolution is much necessary than a political revolution. We have now to prepare for the social revolution. We are not as a competitor of each other, this is being done under the political revolution; but the motivators of the political revolution are making us an enemy of each other but we have to work together. He talked about social and cultural unity; we have to move forward in this direction; there is no hate in that kind of unity.

In fact, there is no place of the hate in that unity. Baba sahib said that he believes in non-violence, he was a devotee of non-violence but there are evil forces in this; and its elimination is also a part of it. The evil forces which are dividing our country and the society are to be erased from our minds. We have to destroy it from our intellectual life. This is very necessary.

Friends, I think the greatest tribute to Babasaheb would be not just repeating what he said or reiterating what he said, quoting from his books and works but also implementing in your own life. The change should begin with us. We should be the agents of change at our individual level and the change should begin now, the change should begin today.

DALIT DEMANDS: NEED FOR GREATER RECONCILIATION

*DR SANJAY PASWAN**

The discussion in the current session commenced with a reference to the use of the surname or the caste-title. I will tell you about an incident. During childhood, as Professor Sangeet Ragi has decided to give up his caste name and calls himself Ragi, I gave myself the a name Baghi (rebel) ---Sanjay Baghi. People coming from the Dalit community have great liking for names related to rebellion and revolt. This is because these words allude to the anti-establishment nature of the Dalit community. Thus I gave myself the name of Bagji, the rebel.

The school I went to, collect fee fortnightly. On this fee collection day there would be some confusion every time as my name did not justify me belonging to the Dalit community and thus the allowance of fee exemption. So the teacher at the school found a way out. He decided to call me Sanjay Baghi Harijan and saved his job lest somebody charge him of not collecting fee from a non-Harijan. The name stuck and even my matriculation board certificate bears my name as Sanjay Harijan. I dreamed of being a Baghi that is being a rebel but the establishment marked me into a Harijan.

That's the difference when Professor Ragi decided to give up his surname and a Sanjay Baghi decided not to use his caste name. In the case of former it's considered affirmative action, in our case it's depicted as inferiority complex or action against establishment, which too an extent not incorrect also .

If a Brahmin deletes caste title, then he conveys his superiority. People say, "Look at this person. In spite of being a Brahmin and respected title, he wants to avoid his identity. This is a big thing." It matters who is deleting title, whether an upper-caste or a Dalit.

There is no risk or fear of loss among the upper caste when they deleting their title. However, a Dalit has to ponder whether such move would deprive him from caste-based reservation.

Some may argue that since a Dalit has not cared to identify with his caste he should be denied benefits of reservation. I

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want to start my conversation today from this point that castes are a reality, casteism is baseless and Hindu(ism) has the competence to overcome the challenge posed by casteism.

We have to search the truth, that's why we are talking on timeless legacy of Dr BR Ambedkar. If we want to have a relook to re-invent Ambedkar, or re-define it, then we have to delve deeper into what was his perspective.

We analyze all things related to Ambedkar; we use him when he suites us, and ignore him when he doesn't suits us. We have to search, what in Ambedkar was suitable for the whole society and the nation; that's the broader perspective.

On the 125th birth anniversary of Dr Ambedkar, we have to explore what can be beneficial for the country. I have read somewhere that like social conscience, individuals has also an identity. We have our own conscience, as every individual has its own psyche. What is conscience, and what is psyche? Psyche is subtle part of conscience or vice-versa. The student of philosophy can better explain it or psychology experts can better tell it.

Generally it happens that in an over-crowded bus if the foot of powerful presses the feet of weak, the weak never complains. If foot of strong is pressed by someone else, he will say that it is due to over-crowding. The weak suffer in silence. Only when the weak loses his legs, then he will argue that bus is over-crowded and ask for finding a solution.

When stronger person of society faces problem, then it becomes perspective, and when it happens to poor chap, then its different matter.

When we raise our hand in the class to say something, we have to raise our hand five times, then only there is a possibility of we getting a chance to say something.

Some students may get a chance to speak even if he or she raise their hands or not. Things have however changed. We have come to that position that we can ask others to raise hands and decide whether who should speak. However, while deciding on who should speak, we should not show reverse bias. This would otherwise become never-ending process. Since your fathers and grandfathers made us raise our hands, and we will make your grandsons and granddaughters raise hands and not give them a chance, this mentality would lead to sense of vengeance, and we have to resist it.

The era of Ambedkar was different from today's. Many issues that he raised at his time are still relevant in today's milieu. Some are eternal, some continuous truth, but some were relevant for that period of time. What he talked of his religion may be true for that epoch, but irrelevant in today's context.

So, we have to consider his viewpoints cautiously, especially future research scholars whose opinions create feelings, creates distance. Some of his views may have been relevant for that particular period of time, now the time has changed a lot. We have to have this clarity in our mind before understanding him. The views about upper caste, elite class are relevant in today's context, but we also have to examine the reality. We have to study afresh from today's scenario.

Once he (Ambedkar) said, "Change is the law of nature." There is universal truth, and we have to refrain from sticking to one view only. What was something meant at that time, and what it means today, we have to explore for clear understanding. He always emphasized on political and social---political narratives and social narratives. He was of the view that social narratives should have more impacts. We all notice the political matter. He quoted in his own book, quoted in many books, there used to be social meeting parallel to political meeting during annual convention of Congress party under the same roof. Dr Ambedkar was of the opinion that social discourses should be promoted so that the entire nation should know the social-ills, social obstacles and social narrations. He said that we should first address social problem, then it would be easy for us to address political problem.

In the eighth, a ninth and tenth annual meeting of Congress, WC Bonnerjee was the president. He wanted precedence to the political agenda and said, "To what extent, we have to wait for independence? Will we wait, till our widows get remarried?" He said in an unpalatable language, and it got huge support. There was a discussion going on the widow remarriage and the comment of Congress president was, "Will we wait till all widows get remarried. Will we wait till all girls attain 18 years of age? The priority is independence, and then we will address other issues."

Ambedkar developed a feeling of hatred towards the Congress since then. He felt there was difference between what Congress preached and practiced. Gandhi later emerged as sage (rishi) for the Congress. This country has the traditions of royal sages (Raj Rishi) and politics has no existence sans royal sage. A slogan in Bihar recently gained momentum -- make India Sangh Mukht (free India from RSS). Can king be free from rishi (sage)? It never happened in any corner of the country, as it is in our tradition and culture.

Friends, Rishi-free reign is not possible. We believe that sangh is like rishi. In the same vein, the Gandhi family is guiding Congress like rishi. Prashant Kishore in JDU is also playing the role of rishi. Every party has its own rishi to guide and motivate. It's okay if BJP has also has its own rishi. If rishi searches a suitable king, then it should be okay. This should not be a topic of discussion.

The right topic of discussion would be Jung Mukht (free of frictions) Bharat and not Sangh Mukht Bharat. We are fighting against poverty, corruption, casteism and terrorism. Friends, if we talk of Sangh-free India, then it means we want to distract our public mind from common problems.

We would have to examine whether social revolution as expounded by Dr Ambedkar has relevance today or there is need for change in its colour and flavour to make it more relevant. Some facts may be sacrosanct, but what he said was ultimate, it is not so. Social experiments are still going on in the country, as it was in past.

We are grateful to the United Nations as we have heard that 14 April has been declared as Knowledge Day. They have acknowledged the birthday of one of our most illustrious personality as world knowledge day. However, it's a different matter that large section of the society to which he belonged is still deprived of knowledge. Can we do something in ending the darkness of ignorance? As the representative of particular class to which he belonged, can we make it knowledgeable in time-bound manner? Can their illiteracy and ignorance be tamed and their skills sharpened to make it more powerful. There is need to equip this community in every manner to empower them.

Friends this society does want liberation or salvation. Some say, we will liberate them, while others argue we gave them salvation and some talk of freedom. This society doesn't want salvation or freedom. In fact, this society wants means of livelihood. Need power for earning. This society is searching for integration and empowerment, with no intention of liberation, no salvation.

The Dalit society aspires to come to the equal level of other communities in the society. We have to see what are their aspirations? We have to understand their pulse. When they talk of conscience, then some say there is science hidden in conscience. What is in the hearts of those who talk of psyche? Every community complains that everyone has gained, except us? You will find this complaint in every society.

Haryana is complaining that we have got less. Same is story in Maharashtra and Andhra. Everyone is complaining the something less has been provided to them. What should go downwards is going upwards. The number of those seeking reservation is increasing. The importance of this tool is diminishing. The tool itself is becoming weak. It seems that reservation is the solution of all world problems, the panacea of all ills, and nothing else. The fire of reservation can be seen in Gujarat, Haryana, Andhra, and Rajasthan. In Maharashtra, Marathas are demanding for reservation.

Dear friends, this is topic of research. Social research has come to standstill. So, there is deadlock, stalemate and revolt. So, a good research is the need of the hour. All of you research scholars. It is irony that research is sans realization. Realization is an integral part of research. The research should not be done in a hurry to submit in university, project or society. It should absorb all the problems of the society. This is the real essence of research.

Friends, it is really lamentable that our social scientists have become saleable. The literature is a little bit exception. The big institutional world is engaged in their own work as far as social science is concerned. It is working according to its will. The non-state actors in market, society and government have become bosses of state-actors. This is serious matter. The non-state actors have become guiding force in research, and twisting it as per it's on whims and fancies. That's why friends, it's a wake-up call to rise from our darkness of ignorance.

We are talking of timeless legacy, but some have become outdated. So, it needs revisit and relook from our side. What they talked of social intelligence, social capital is matter of debate today. What is social capital? What is social intelligence?

I was reading somewhere about a concept of social osmosis. There was a mention about exo-osmosis and endo-osmosis. The former was about something from outside coming inside, and something from inside going outside. I was confused on the difference between endo-osmosis and exo-osmosis. Area of lower consideration and the area of higher consideration, so when higher consideration is going towards lower, then it' sexo-osmosis, and when it is going from higher to lower, then it becomes endo-osmosis.

In TV, we watch reverse osmosis in an ad of RO water purifier. I think that is the reverse osmosis. Then, here it come exo-osmosis and endo-osmosis in the process of reverse osmosis.

Ambedkar discussed what was expected, he would never talked of any terms. Where is area of lower consideration? And, where is area of higher consideration? Now, we have to see who are the people?

Ambedkar pointed out that real meaning of democracy evolved only when this process starts. That is social movement should not be only from higher to lower but lower to higher should also be encouraged. There is neither full-off from either side or other totally bereft. Yes, there is difference of skill. The skill which exists in lower is absent in higher and vice versa. Someone believes in watching, while others believe in written. The write-up on paper is different from what one watches from eyes. Someone has knowledge of written material, while others have knowledge from seeing. Empirical, experiential and epistemology exists. There is realization, desire and there is knowledge and we are not giving something because the receiver is totally bereft. We donate something; we should talk of parity, not charity. The charity syndrome should be discouraged.

You noticed that I left my title. Every word has its own philosophy. The word 'Paswan' signifies guard. In Bihar, every guard is Paswan. Every matter has its own meaning. The Jha of Bihar is Jhamb in Kashmir. There is Mishr and Mishra also. The title has its own meaning. Look at the gotra, castes may be in thousands, but gotra are limited. What will you extinct, caste or gotra?

Friends, caste, gotra remained integral part of Indian society. However, some deformities, abrasion erupted that need to be studied. With great pride, I want to tell you that there are 18 shoe-shops in the name of Mochi in Delhi, and maximum footwear is sold from these shops. The same mochi (cobbler) that we found undignified and ignored in our day-to-day life, has found a place of pride. A shop is doing brisk business in the name of Mochi. In the name of Mochi, they are doing business of lakhs per day. The same cobbler is getting recognition that we ignored and insulted in normal way of life. That's why I say that who is the biggest chamar---the answer is Bata.

Who is biggest blacksmith----the Tata. Who is the greatest Valmiki----Bindeshwar Pathak. Who is greatest Udhbhat Bhandta---Dr Ambedkar. He can call him Brahmin, Bata, or call him Tata or Pathak. So, we shouldn't ignore them. That's why friends, there is importance of all these things. We have to look from new angle. We can't ignore all the time. When western rulers were in charge of our country, they were cursing our system. They made mockery of our mechanism. Let us keep it aside. Now, the entire world has admitted that our calculation system was best.

Dear friends, we have to follow Dr Ambedkar, and to look beyond social justice. We have to discuss on distributive justice. If benefits accruing to the Dalits are restricted to Chamars and Paswans only, the aim of affirmative action is not met. If the benefits have to percolate down from the upper castes to the backwards and the Dalit communities, within them too it has to move to the person at the last step of the social and economic hierarchy. It should be equally distributed in all directions. Some may complain that distribution leads to division in society. We have to examine what is our perspective---distributive or divisive? We have to seriously ponder over it, friends.

When reservation started after efforts of Dr Ambedkar, then some people started to complain about division in society. Some remained tight-lipped, while some Brahmins like Kaka Kalelkar said this is distribution. Friends, we have to explore where there is need for distribution and where division. We have to keep in mind the contemporary studies on Ambedkar in today's context. He was invited to attend a programme, but the invitation was withdrawn for some reasons. He had prepared his

speech. He wrote many things, showed extra-ordinary boldness to make many confessions and also made many admissions. If Jati-Pati Todak Mandal had heard his speech delivered at Lahore session in 1936, then distance and rift which we witness today would not have arisen.

But the invitation was withdrawn at the last moment. What would be his feelings at that time, when Jati Pati Todak Mandal with drew invitation saying it was not the right time for his address?If society of that time would had heard his speech, then today's society wouldn't have to listen so much. I personally feel that this incident has had much impact.

So, there is great need for fresh study. I have left few questions for you, as time is short. Do ponder over them.

I want to congratulate IIPA, Ambedkar Foundation, Millennium Post, Centre for Reforms, Development and Justice and Shaheed Bhagat Singh (Evening) College for coming together to organize this thought-provoking session on a burning issue. I am confident that refreshing inputs would emerge from this seminar from researchers who have emerged in large numbers.

Original work is always appreciated. There are three ways---destiny, manipulation and technical. I was fortunate to have been born as a schedule caste, became MP, later became minister and professor---all rolled into one. We did not have caliber for all big achievements, it's due to mere luck.

Since destiny is not in your hands, you are left with two options - manipulations and technical. The former seems to be easier, while later path is challenging. Friends, follow the more challenging path and act according to the needs of the society and nation. Thank you.

WAY FORWARD IS THROUGH CONSTITUTION

*SANDEEP MAHAPATRA**

Being an advocate and talking on Babasaheb, I would for sure get drawn to the Constitution. And when we talk about the Constitution, the Preamble of the Constitution says that we give ourselves this Constitution and we aspire to establish a State where liberty, equality and fraternity would prevail.

In almost 70 odd years of the Constitution in vogue, the experience that one has seen or one has studied, so to say, reveals that some of the provisions of the Constitution have got due attention and at times more than due attention than the other provisions. Just to give an example, we all talk about our Fundamental Rights, be it Right to Equality, be it Freedom of Expression, be it anything else.

And not surprisingly, these provisions like article 14, article 19 and article 21 of the Constitution have received the attention of the Supreme Court or, maybe, the various constitutional courts of this country, in larger proportion than various other provisions of the Constitution. If you start studying any book on constitutional law, the amount of case laws on articles 14, 19 and 21 would be surmounting and at times, as lawyers, we are also baffled if the Supreme Court held a view, say, in the 1950s regarding article 14, whether that view is still prevalent in today's time.

There are other articles or other provisions of the Constitution which I would like to expound and I would make my humble submissions here. One particular provision of the Constitution is article 17 which talks about untouchability. It says that from here on, that is 26th January, 1950, "untouchability" is abolished. If you read the constitutional text, untouchability is there in quotes. So, my submission here is, in today's time, whether we need to understand the term "untouchability" in the term that it used to be understood in the 1950s, or whether we need to expound.

I may be wrong in my submission but my submission is that, for example, the provisions of life and liberty in article 21 have been expounded in various judgements of the Supreme Court and of various High Courts where dignity to life

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now also includes a dignity to have a sound sleep. And mind you, this was a judgement which came out, if I am not wrong, of the Supreme Court in a particular situation where a person complained that because of X, Y, Z things, he is not having sound sleep, and the Supreme Court went on to expound that yes, sound sleep is also part of life and liberty.

Coming from there, may I submit here that when we talk about untouchability, are we not going through the right time frame where untouchability needs to be expounded and not kept in a limited time span -untouchability in any form, be it in academia, be it in judiciary, be it in any place where your views are looked down upon? In India, we know and the academics here and academicians that I have in front of me know more than me as to what untouchability means when we talk about academics here. Can we propound or can we make a submission that look, the scope of untouchability also needs to be enlarged so that we talk about in today's time? Likewise, there are various theories that are propounded. Whenever you talk about the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP), that is, Part IV of the Constitution, every time you are reminded that look, it is all good for you to talk about Directive Principles, but mind you, it is not justiciable, meaning thereby, you cannot knock the door of the courts to enforce the Directive Principles. But, at the same time, there are also views, and I will go back to the celebrated case of the *Minerva Mills* of 1980.

The Supreme Court, the Chief Justice at that point of time, Justice Gajendra Gadkar, if I remember correctly, had postulated that Directive Principles and Fundamental Rights are the two wheels of the same chariot, meaning thereby that there has to be a balance between the Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles. If that be the case, why do we go into a cocoon when we talk about various provisions that are made in the Directive Principles?

Just to give an example, talking about Uniform Civil Code, and when I talk about Uniform Civil Code, I do not want to limit myself for a particular community about whom Uniform Civil Code has been spoken about, debated about since ages. I would also like to touch upon Uniform Civil Code in the context of Parsi women. As you know, Parsi, I would say, are the miniscule of the communities of India. I think as of last, 2011, data, they do not exceed even a lakh or two lakhs of population. But the kind of social norms that they follow within their community are, if a Parsi woman gets married to somebody who is a non-Parsi, she loses all the rights.

Likewise, there are various other communities where women are being subjugated because of all these norms. So, when we talk about Uniform Civil Code, can we not say, going back to *Minerva Mills* case, and expound a theory or expound an argument saying that look, if you say that the Uniform Civil Code and the Fundamental Rights are the wheels of the same chariot, how can you not distinguish this fact that when you are placing the Fundamental Rights and DPSP on the same plain, you have to look into DPSP through the lens of Fundamental Rights where you have to do justice, and that would be social justice which Babasaheb predicted 60 years back or dreamt of 60 years back?

In conclusion, I am reminded of the speech that Babasaheb gave on 25th of November, 1949, my earlier speaker Patel Ji has touched upon that aspect. He made a very pertinent point. He said that look, we are entering into a phase where we will have political democracy, meaning thereby that one-vote-one-person would count, but in terms of economic democracy, in terms of social democracy, we are still unequal, even if we are individuals or citizens of this country. So, the challenge before us is to collate the various views that Babasaheb Ambedkar had propounded during his lifetime and in today's time also those views are relevant and the fact of the matter is, the challenge before us is how to achieve those goals which Babasaheb Ambedkar set for us as a country, whether it could be by clash or it could be in a harmonious manner? Mind you, in 25th November speech, which is oft repeated and oft quoted, Babasaheb had made a very pertinent point saying that satyagraha and all those things are good enough but now that we have a constitutional scheme of things, we should believe in constitutional methodologies when it comes to protests or when it comes to airing our views.

So, the bottom line is, going forward, if India has to progress, if India has to achieve the dream of liberty, equality and fraternity amongst all its citizens, it is the constitutional scheme of things which has to be held high, come what may.

BR AMBEDKAR - CONTENTIOUS ISSUES

*DR HIMANSHU ROY**

The last two lectures that I delivered on Ambedkar turned out to be quite contentious for different reasons and on different grounds. The propositions were contested by beneficiaries of caste-based reservations. It's normal that when one gets critical of reservations, there is instant opposition. Then there are other reasons too, largely of ideological intolerance. Thus any academic opposition to Ambedkar is fraught with opposition from these sections.

Since time is limited, I will focus on some of the issues which are not so highlighted in the seminars that have been going on since around 14th of April. The first issue is, should we reduce Ambedkar to a caste leader, which the different political parties and the movements have been doing, or should we project Ambedkar as a liberal thinker, as a liberal democrat or even akin to the revolutionary bourgeois of England because some of the ideas that he had taken, for example, nationalisation of land, that we find during the revolutionary period in 1648 in England. So, how to equate or present Ambedkar? Let me begin from his personal journey and then we will move till 1956.

To begin with let me share with you that 14th April is not his original date of birth; and nor was 1891 his year of birth. As far as I know and can make a calculation he was around 63 year old, one year and nine months short of 65 years when he passed away in 1956.

He got his surname from his village Ambewade. His family was Kabirpanthi and for generations had been serving in the British Indian Army. His father retired as a Subedar Major, rising to the highest rank as a Junior Commissioned Officer. Commission ranks were then not open to Indians. Thus irrespective of the caste he achieved the highest rank open for the Indians and was used to draw a salary of Rs. 150 per month in 1890. Doesn't this indicate that Baba Sahib did not come from a poor family? His family then possessed a Palki in the village. His father after superannuation was getting Rs. 50

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as monthly pension; his grandfather had risen to become a Havaladar. His ancestors from both sides had been deployed in the Mahar Regiment for two-three generations.

At the time of submission by given by Jyoti barao Phule before the Hunter Commission it was stated that a teacher got a monthly salary of Rs. 15 whereas school teachers were paid Rs. 12. While reading my paper I stated that Ambedkar was not a poor person; this generated sharp reactions.

He went to Columbia University on the basis of merit and struggle; he presented his paper there primarily as an economist. I have gone through Prof Narendra Jadhav's book. It is correct to say that he focused as an economist but his focused work had not been highlighted. It becomes imperative to understand the all issues related to his PhD including especially provincial relations of the centre and state.

The way he interpreted the Colonial history from 1792 to 1858 and from 1792 to 1858 and the way he interpreted the Company's history was remarkable purely dealing with the financial aspects -- On how the British ruled the colonial state and exploited us. Ambedkar's theory was different from the drain theory of Dadabhai Naroji.

The third focus which I would like to draw attention is that he did not like when in 1897 the social conference, which carried the agenda of social reforms was relegated into the background and the political conference came to the forefront in the national movement. During annual conferences of the Congress held customarily on 30th and 31st December there used to various conferences including Economic, Social and the Political conference. The Political conference preceded the Social Conference after 1897. This was initiated by none other than Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who especially introduced the political conference by superseding the social conference. Babasaheb resented this change in priority.

I want to take up the third issue which is highly contentious one. Ambedkar writes about Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah in his preface, "I hate Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah -- I dislike them" -These two words very strangely he wrote in the Preface, and Valerian Rodrigues in his book has quoted this preface in his compilation of collected works of Ambedkar. So, what I am saying is, he used the word "to hate Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah." This I am citing from the Preface of Ambedkar to the Track written in 1943, which Valerian Rodrigues is quoting in his book.

The fourth aspect is political representation, the focus of the political representation and their representation in the services. The basic idea was to seize the state power for representing the depressed classes. Why is representation required? What is its objective? It is because in the society, the dominance was of the upper caste, and the upper class and the untouchability. There is a point which is never highlighted in the seminars. There was untouchability practiced among the untouchables. We never discuss it. Untouchables are not one homogenous block.

There is untouchability practiced among the untouchables. For example, Muslim is not a homogenous bloc, Hindu is not a homogenous religious block.They are unhomogenised, including the Dalits. There are different castes among the Dalits and they practice untouchability among themselves. Babasaheb was aware of it and wanted to finish this untouchability, not only with upper castes but within the untouchables.

Then, the other important area was Uniform Civil Code. Babasaheb was very strongly in favour of Uniform Civil Code for which there is opposition from the Left or even from the Congress. What was his agenda of Uniform Civil Code? A nation must have a Uniform Civil Code.

When the Shariat law was enacted in 1936, at that time there was strong opposition from the Muslims saying, "We do not follow this Shariat Act." Then a way out was found that those Muslims who will voluntarily endorse the Shariat Act, will have to give it in writing to Government officers - BDO or the Collector. Only then the Shariat Act will be followed by that family. In the Constituent Assembly, Babasaheb had suggested that the same method which was adopted to enforce the Shariat Act, should be adopted, giving a gap of ten years. We give ten years, from 1947 to 1957, to the family which voluntarily wants the Uniform Civil Code, to sign and give it in writing. The method was the same as when the Shariat Act was implemented.

Another important aspect which has been neglected is his policy on education. When he gave representation in the Southborough Commission, he spoke in the Provincial Legislative Assembly of Bombay and finally in 1946, as a member of the law, he spoke on Education Policy. What did he speak on Education Policy?

His motto was, "Educate, Organize and Agitate." His focus was on primary education that means up to class IV, which was the focus of Phule also which he made his presentation before the Hunter Commission. He said up to class IV there should be free and compulsory education, higher spending on education, focus should be on scientific and technical education, particularly the skill development. He did not focus on law or social science.

Ambedkar was a professor of political economy in the Sydenham College and later on rose to become the Principal, Government Law College. At that time his monthly salary was Rs. 250 which was raised to Rs. 300 later. The suggestion he gave, being a principal and the professor, was that there should be an integrated cadre of the teachers. One who is teaching in the university, same teacher will teach in the college also, and one who is teaching in the college, will teach in the university also, not two different cadres, one for the college and another for the university.

His second suggestion in this transfer of the teachers should be ordered like transfers of the civil servants, the judges in the high courts; the transfer of the teachers should be in a similar manner to give a better exposure to them so that the teachers must know the wide differences prevalent in the students especially among the poor students.

What were the objectives of the higher education? What did he actually want? In Europe, the pattern of higher education is that after class X there are two streams, vocational and academic. Those interested in vocational proceed in that direction after passing class X and those keen to join academics go for higher education. It's not necessary there to join a BA course for becoming a clerk as mandatory in our system. Finally, apart from the character building in education, why we need reservation? Why do we need crutches? Why can't we compete? Ambedkar never needed crutches. For ten years he studied abroad, for 30 years he worked as a Principal, as a professor, as a legislator, as a Member (Law), as a Minister, and then finally, in Opposition. When did he need reservation?

It's the responsibility of the state government to spend on every poor child from whatever caste or religion he or she belongs; the maximum the government spends, it will be more beneficial to the society rather than creating categories rather than creating categories based on caste, which is not an affirmative action, in the name of which this policy is being formulated and perpetuated.

NATIONAL CONTRIBUTION OF BR AMBEDKAR

*PROFESSOR NARENDRA JADHAV**

At the very outset, let me say that the subject of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar is very close to my heart. In the last five years, I have written 20 books on Dr Ambedkar - eight in English, eight in Marathi, which is my mother tongue and now four in Hindi. They cover all the 500 speeches of Dr. Ambedkar. They are three volumes of Dr. Ambedkar's speeches classified by subjects for the first time. Then there are two books on Dr Ambedkar's writings, summarized in a manner that anybody can understand. And then, as a grand finale, there is the first ever intellectual biography of Dr. Ambedkar, how did his thinking evolve over a period of time and how did he take different stance at different points of time. So, that is an intellectual biography of Dr. Ambedkar that I have written. Of course on Dr. Ambedkar's economics, the first book I wrote was in 1991 to mark the 100th birth anniversary of Baba Saheb and on this 125th anniversary, I have produced a bigger one on Dr. Ambedkar's contribution as an economist.

Whenever we speak about Dr. Ambedkar, what is the image that we Indians or for that matter people at large, have? The obvious thing that is said is that Dr. Ambedkar was the messiah of Dalits. Of course, he was the messiah of Dalits but his greatness was not confined to Dalits alone. Then, the second image that comes to our mind is that he was the principal architect of the Indian Constitution. That also some people have questioned or raised questions on. Dr. Ambedkar was, of course, the principal architect of the Indian Constitution but again his contribution was not confined to being the principal architect of the Indian Constitution, it went much beyond that.

What I want to emphasise here is the national contribution of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar was the one who made a profound contribution in the run up to the Independence, and after our country became independent, it was Dr. Ambedkar who was the founding father, who laid the foundation of a modern republic. In fact, I would like to draw the character of Dr. Ambedkar not only as an intellectual colossus but Dr. Ambedkar was the one who awakened the social

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conscience of modern India. That is how I would like to characterize the contribution that Dr. Ambedkar made. But very little is understood about different facets of this intellectual giant, a genius. Therefore, what I want to do is to give you a rundown of different contributions that he made, including, of course, his contribution as an economist. Let me start with his contribution as an economist.

When we think about economics, until recently it was not even recognized that the most learned, most educated economist of our country was not Prof Amartya Sen but Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. If you look at all the degrees of Dr. Ambedkar, his Masters from Columbia University in 1915 was in economics, then he did the Ph.D in economics at Columbia University - the year was 1917. Then he went on to England and there in London School of Economics, Dr. Ambedkar wrote his Dr. of Science (DSc) Dissertation and got the degree of Doctor of Science. That was also in economics. And while working on his Doctor of Science degree, he also studied law and got the Barrister's degree. So, if you look at the degrees of Dr. Ambedkar, other than the degree of Barrister, all other degrees are in economics, which means that essentially he was an economist.

So, what was his contribution as an economist? He wrote two big books on economics. I would very briefly talk about that. For his Ph.D. Dissertation, the title was "The Evolution of Provincial Finances in British India?". What did that book do? Basically, for a long period of time, from 1782 to 1858, and then later on, he expanded that to 1900, Dr. Ambedkar talks about and analyses the relationship between the British Central Government and the British Provinces. What we call States, those days they used to be called Provinces. So, over this period of time, Dr. Ambedkar talks about and analyses the financial relationship between the British Central Government and the British States or Provinces. What is the importance of that today? Is it only a historical document? No. It is a very lively document which is very useful even today.

This document gives us first insight into the functioning of a modern day Finance Commission. Basically what Finance Commission does is to decide that the money that the Central Government gets, what is called 'divisible pool of resources' in terms of tax and non-tax revenue, how to assess that revenue between the Centre and the States and what should be the principles governing the share that will go to the States? Those are the recommendations which Finance Commissions make. So far in our country, fourteen Finance Commissions have given their reports. You will be surprised that the basic source for all the Finance Commissions' reports is the seminal work done by Dr. Ambedkar or his Ph.D dissertation that was The Evolution of Provincial Finances in British India.

That is one contribution. His Doctor of Science contribution, the dissertation that he wrote for the Doctor of Science degree, the title was The Problem of Rupee: Its Origin and its Solution. We all know that the problem of rupee continues even today. What is the problem that he talks about? He was talking about two things basically, again using a historical perspective, for a long period of time, he analyses how Indian rupee as a medium of exchange has evolved over a long period of time. Then towards the end, he deals with a problem which was the most important problem at that time. The problem was -- what is the ideal currency system for a developing country like India?

At that time people were talking about two extremes. One was called standard, the other was called exchange standard. Without going into the technical details, to put it very simply, over-simplified really is to say that under gold standard, gold coins are themselves used as a medium of exchange whereas under the gold exchange standard, it is the paper currency that is used, which is backed up by certain amount of gold with the Central bank of the country. This is the rough difference between the two.

Everybody who has studied economics knows the great economist of that time, that is, John May not Canes. Even today Canes' economics is taught in our schools and colleges. Now, Canes came out with the position that for a developing country like India, gold exchange standard would be preferable to gold standard, and the reason was that there would be flexibility available for the Government if there is a gold exchange standard. In other words, when there is a gold exchange standard, there are no undue restrictions set on creation of currency in the economy and, therefore, for a

developing country like India, this will be better. When Canes said that, you can imagine, every small and big economist of our country followed that. It was challenged by only one person and that was young, dynamic Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

He said that gold exchange standard has a desirable property of flexibility but he emphasized that flexibility is a double-edged weapon. It can be good and it can also be bad. He says that it can be good because it does not put, as Canes is saying, undue restrictions on the Government for generation of currency. But it can be bad because if the Government is irresponsible, then there would be a limitless creation of credit and with too much liquidity generation. This would lead to inflation, that would create a major problem for the poor of this country because inflation is the most iniquitous form of taxation and hurts the poor the most. That is why he recommended a modified form of gold standard. That was his recommendation which was ignored. None of you would know for sure.

Do you know that Dr. Ambedkar played a very important role in formation of the Reserve Bank of India? We do not associate him with the Reserve Bank of India. In 1926, the British Government had sent a Commission to India. It was called Hilton Young Commission. The job of Hilton Young Commission was to make recommendations about formation of the Reserve Bank of India as the Central bank of the country, and on the basis of their report, which came in 1926, the Reserve Bank of India was established eight years later on 1st April, 1935. Lot of experts gave testimony before Hilton Young Commission. One of them, a very important one, was Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. The language of his argument was different. Now the definition of economy has changed but what was the main argument that Dr. Ambedkar was making?

His argument was that whenever you create this Central bank for the country, the Reserve Bank of India, please make sure that there is some restriction on the amount of credit that would be extended by the Reserve Bank to the Central Government. That was ignored. Nobody took any cognizance of that. Sixty-five years later, in 1994, - I was working with the Reserve Bank of India at that time; I was the Secretary of the Central Board of Directors at that time - the record will show that there was an agreement between the Reserve Bank of India and the Government. The Governor was Dr. C. Rangarajan and the Finance Secretary was Montek Singh Ahluwalia. Both of them were my bosses at different points of time. There was an agreement between the two, between the RBI on the one hand and the Ministry of Finance on the other, to limit, to phase out the amount of credit that is extended by the Reserve Bank of India to the Central Government. So, it took us 65 years to recognize what Dr. Ambedkar was saying in 1926. And even when we did recognize it, we did not give credit to Dr. Ambedkar for making this argument at that time.

So, this was his contribution to academic economists. Dr. Ambedkar was not only an academician, he was a very practical man and he was a great economic administrator as well. In 1942, many years after, when Gandhiji had made the announcement about Quit India and all that and when the country was in turmoil, the British Government decided to induct some Indians into their Cabinet. They did not call them Cabinet Ministers, they called them the Viceroy's Executive Council. In that Viceroy's Executive Council, Dr. Ambedkar was taken as a member. They called it member, like I was a member of the Planning Commission. It was a ministerial kind of position. So, it was Viceroy's Executive Council. In Viceroy's Executive Council, Dr. Ambedkar was inducted as a minister. And what was the charge with him? Very interesting! First was Labour and Employment, second was Electricity, that is Oorja, the third was Public Works Department, fourth was Water Management and fifth was Minerals Management. Now, there are 15 ministries which are taking care of these things.

What is the contribution that Dr. Ambedkar made as an economic administrator?

All of you know about the employment exchange or at least the use, in my generation at least. Who started the employment exchanges in our country? It was Dr. Ambedkar as the Minister in the British Cabinet. Do we know that? Modi Ji is talking about Skill India. Lot of good work is being done under Skill India. Who started the first skill development programme in our country? It was Dr. Ambedkar as the Minister of Labour and Employment who created that. Even today we have a tripartite settlement mechanism between the Government, labour and the employer, this tripartite settlement

mechanism which is operational even today was established by Dr. Ambedkar. Not only that, you know, fixing the working hours, it was Dr. Ambedkar as the Minister who brought down the working hours from 12 hours to 8 hours. So, controlling the working hours, giving the minimum wages and also linking the wages and salaries or dearness allowance with the cost of living indicators, these are all the contributions made by Dr. Ambedkar.

Even about women, the leave for the purpose of delivery, the process was initiated by none other than Dr. Ambedkar. It is just that we do not know about it or we have not been told about it. That is the contribution that Dr. Ambedkar made as a Minister of Labour.

Let us take electricity where again he made a major contribution, laying foundation of power supply. Third on the water management. Do you know that many dams in India completely came about at the time of Dr. Ambedkar as a Minister? Hirakud dam is one good example and on the lines of Tennessee Valley project in America, he actually started Damodar Valley Project in India and made it successful in India. There was a big debate recently about connecting the rivers. Who started that? Lot of people took credit but nothing ever happened and nothing is likely to happen. But first time the concept of connecting rivers was actually conceived and, to some extent, delivered in Bihar and Orissa by none other than Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. So, even as an economic administrator, Dr. Ambedkar made a contribution par excellence.

But, to my mind, his major contribution is as an economist. After coming back to India, he returned with all the degrees in 1923, he wrote many books but did not write any book on economics. He wanted to but somehow he did not. But he wrote 22 very important books on different subjects. He not only wrote books, he wanted to write on economics. He could not complete those. And at the time of his sad demise in 1956, there were ten books which were lying incomplete at various stages. So, no other leader in our country has ever come anywhere even close to writing so many books and on so many different subjects. No other leader can come anywhere close to the scholarly contribution that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has made.

Although he did not write any book on economics in the later stage of his career, it is very important to understand that everything that he did after coming back has an imprint of Dr. Ambedkar as an economist. The kind of social movement that he ran against the Khoti system or against the Mahar Vatan to begin with and later on what he did, everything has an imprint of Dr. Ambedkar as an economist. Even if you compare Indian Constitution with the Constitutions of other countries in the world, you will find that Indian Constitution has proportionately far more economic and financial provisions than the Constitutions of other countries. The reason is that the principal architect of the Constitution was an economist. So, Dr. Ambedkar's role as an economist comes through all along. But that was not the only thing that he did.

Everything else that he did has so many different facets. I like to look at it this way. When he came back to India in 1923, first ten years he was in the social movements. In 1924 he started his first organization called Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha, the motto of which was quoted here as education, organize and agitate. This was the motto of the first social organization that he started. That was in 1924 and there were two major social initiatives that he took, social movements that he started. One was about taking water from a reservoir in Mahar. That was in 1927. So, that was the first move for social equality. That was followed in 1931 by Kalam Temple entry movement in Nashik and that again went on for several years.

In 1930, he suddenly got an opportunity to go to England again to represent the Dalits in India and the occasion was the Round Table Conferences. The British had decided to give independence to India and the process went on for a very long time. There were three Round Table Conferences. The first Round Table Conference which took place in 1930, for that, Congress had boycotted the conference.

Gandhiji had boycotted. So, nobody from the Congress went there. Dr. Ambedkar went there and made a phenomenal presentations and he got the world-wide attention. So, alarmed by that, what happened was in terms of political strategy that was taking place in our country at that time, Mahatmaji decided to withdraw the boycott and participate in the Second

Round Table Conference. Before the second Round Table Conference, my friend MA Sikandar mentioned about that meeting between Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi. There is a lot more to that meeting. It was an extraordinarily stormy meeting. Just imagine, this was a meeting on 14th August, 1931. In that meeting, Mahatma Ji had written a letter - postcard always- that I want to meet you. You come tomorrow or I will come to you. Please tell me.

And Mahatma Ji was 22 years older than Dr. Ambedkar. So, naturally, Dr. Ambedkar said, I will come to see you. That meeting took place in Mani Bhavan, very very important meeting, and it really laid the basis for the future struggle and conflict between the two, and final compromise too. In that meeting, when first of all Mahatma Ji made Dr. Ambedkar wait for half an hour. Ambedkar was a hurt hard and he was getting more angry and agitated waiting as Mahatma coolly demonstrated to a German reporter how to work on the spinning wheel. That may be part of the strategy which one does not know.

But by the time Ambedkar was about to explode, he was called in. The opening line of Mahatma Gandhi was "Dr. Ambedkar, I am told that you are speaking against me all the time and you have been writing against me. This is what I am told and I want you to know that I have been working against untouchability from the time when you were not even born." The immediate retort of Dr. Ambedkar was that all old people take refuge under their age when they have no other argument left. So, Gandhiji was completely shocked by that kind of a response. That meeting went on very badly. Then Mahatma Ji added that only last week he told Jawaharlal, that is, Pandit Jawahaarlal Nehru that Congress Party should be spending Rs.20 lakhs on abolishing untouchability. Ambedkar told him "Bapuji, this money will be a complete waste. You do not have to spend this money. This Rs.20 lakhs is going to go waste. You should do a very simple thing and see the difference."

Those days everybody was member of Congress. It was a national spirit. They used to call it four-anna member. Ambedkar said, you make it obligatory for every four-anna member that he or she will not become member of Congress Party or will not be allowed to become a member of the Congress party unless they take an oath that in their private life they will not practice untouchability. See how important that was. One is fundamental and the other one is show-off, spending money and creating show etc. Of course, Mahatma Ji did not agree.

Ambedkar stormed out of that meeting and his parting remarks in the meeting, was phenomenal. Nobody else could dare say that to Mahatma Gandhi who was a great national leader, and there is no doubt about that. What he said was, "Mahatmas like you are like fleeting phantoms. They only raise the dust and not the level." By level he meant, the level of people. This was the statement that Ambedkar made and he left.

After that when they met in the Round Table Conference, you should see this in original. You know the kind of debate that took place was unethical, unimaginable, Mahatma Gandhi could speak like that, it's unimaginable that Ambedkar spoke the way he did. They actually fought like - I cannot describe that; you have to read it. Basically what was the issue? The issue was whether there should be independent electors for Dalits or there should be joint electors with reservation for Dalits. Ambedkar was saying, there should be separate electors for Dalits. Gandhi Ji was saying, no separate electors for Dalits, and it should be joint electors, reservation in that. This was the debate. They fought mercilessly with each other and then finally it was decided that the final decision would be left with the British Government and everybody signed. Mahatma Ji also signed that whatever decision the Government of England takes, that would be acceptable to us, binding to us. Ambedkar did not sign that. Strangely because Mahatma Ji was hundred per cent sure that the verdict is going to be in his favour.

Six months down the line when the verdict came out, it was called Communal Award and that went completely in favour of Ambedkar rather than Gandhi Ji. Bapuji, Father of our Nation was in jail at that time, in Yarvada in Poona, and there he announced the very next day from when the Communal Award came that he is going to go on a hunger strike. He went on hunger strike, demanding that Ambedkar should withdraw his demand. I think this is very illogical and also,

in a way, immoral because you agree and give in writing that whatever verdict comes out, you will accept that and you sign it and when the verdict goes against you, you say that I do not accept this verdict and Ambedkar should withdraw his own demand, and therefore, convert that verdict to nothing.

There I think that the whole country went against Dr. Ambedkar. Ambedkar was called traitor at that time and it seemed as if the life of Mahatma was in the hands of Dr. Ambedkar. There was a lot of pressure put on him. Ambedkar conceded and Mahatma withdrew his fast.

Many years later when the time came to draft constitution, the Congress leadership finalized name of a British political scientist and went to Gandhi for approval. Who asked, "What about Dr. Ambedkar? When we have Dr. Ambedkar, where do you have to look for a foreigner to come and write our Constitution?" So, both of these great people, one mahamanav and other mahatma, knew that nation is bigger than individually what they were, and, therefore, this stands out for the greatness. In my opinion, what happens is that, and I have seen this happening, those who are followers of Ambedkar, they abuse or accuse Mahatma Ji, those who are followers of Gandhiji, they keep on saying wrong things about Dr. Ambedkar. You know, between black and white, there are various shades of grey and one has to understand that for both of them, nation was far more important.

Dr. Ambedkar as a national contribution I will just say one quote and stop. It was nobody other than Dr. Ambedkar who said that "I am Indian first, I am Indian in the last and nothing in between". I will repeat, "I am Indian first, I am Indian in the last and nothing in between". Now, this is the quote of not anybody else, it is the quote of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. But by putting him across as the leader of Dalits or as only the author of our Constitution, I think we have done to ourselves irreparable damage by not taking cognizance of the great vision, great thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. And that is where conferences like this are important, where different facets of Dr. Ambedkar are brought to fore and people come to know about him and understand the different facets of the great personality, the intellectual colossus that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was.

FROM CANNON FODDER TO A NEW CANON ORDER

*NEELAM PANDEY**

INTRODUCTION

TWO Indian states, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab -home to a relatively high proportion of Dalits in the population - will go to the polls in 2017. As the stakes are high for political parties, it is not surprising that the Dalit issue has taken centre stage in the national and regional political discourse alike. As per the data released by the union census directorate in 2013, Uttar Pradesh emerged first with 20.5% of the total scheduled caste (SC) population of the country. Punjab, on the other hand, has the largest share of Dalits in its population at 31.9%. Dalits constitute approximately 16% of India's population .

CELEBRATING THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF B.R. AMBEDKAR, A DALIT ICON

The period between April 2015 and 2016 marked the 125th birth anniversary year of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and the NDA government did not miss the opportunity to appropriate his legacy, with Prime Minister Narendra Modi laying the foundation stone of the Dr. Ambedkar International Centre in Lutyens' Delhi. The four-storey centre will come up on an area of 3.25 acres and boast of a public library, research and extension centre, and an exhibition on the life on Ambedkar. A press release issued by the government highlighted the fact that "the life and teachings of Dr. Ambedkar form the pivotal point around which the conceptual base for the 'Centre' is developed" .

Recent events point to a tectonic shift in the trajectory of Dalit studies and literature. Not so long ago, having a centre that would stock literature on Dalit studies was a difficult task to conceive, let alone achieve. The fact that the government is coming up with a centre that will have a national public library will mark a new chapter for Dalit studies and literature.

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In India, the bulk of book purchases are made by government-run libraries . Hence, any changes in grants given out to libraries affect small publishing houses such as those engaged with Dalit literature the most.

DALIT LITERATURE:QUESTIONING THE ESTABLISHMENT AND MAN-MADE HIERARCHY

As most of the works produced by Dalit activists and journalists were against the establishment, subversive and questioned the man-made hierarchy, they were naturally unable to find a place in the mainstream press, or in the state-funded libraries for that matter. Unable to express their concerns in the mainstream, Dalit writers, activists and journalists took to magazines such as Janata, Prabuddha, Muknayak of Dr. Ambedkar that published stories and poems related to the community, especially during the 1940s and the 1950s.

K Satchidanandan points out that it was the Dalit Panthers of Maharashtra (formed in 1972) and writers such as Baburao Bagul and Namdeo Dhasal who spearheaded the movement, and lent an impetus to Dalit writing in Marathi, following Ambedkar's famous statement addressed to Gandhi, "Mahatma, I have no country." The rest of the story, from the publication of Dhasal's Golpitha (1972) onwards, is history .

Right from B.R. Ambedkar, who started publishing his fortnightly journal called 'Muknayak' to communicate to the Dalit society and the world at large the terrible condition of the Dalit community, another journal,Yudharat AaM Aadmi, was started by Ramnika Gupta, which played a pivotal role in the recognition of Dalit literature .

POLITICAL INTEREST IN AMBEDKAR TO HELP DALIT LITERATURE BECOME MORE ACCESSIBLE

The political interest in Ambedkar might indirectly help Dalit literature become more accessible to the people as government intervention would result in bringing down the cost of books. A number of bookstores across the country had registered a rise in their sale of books by and about Ambedkar- in April when the 125th Ambedkar anniversary was being celebrated . Experts point out that not only has there been an interest in the books leading to a rise in sales, but Dalit scholars are deluged with invitations to speak on events related to Dalit studies, literature and Ambedkar. This is crucial as Dalit studies are still at a similar stage where women's studies were a few years back. Though not many degree or undergraduate programmes being offered in Dalit studies, a few institutes such as the Tata Institute of Social Sciences offer MA Social Work in Dalit and Tribal Studies and Action. Also, there are Dalit studies centres in select universities across the country and some departments have introduced papers on these in different disciplines, and others allow the awarding of M.Phil and Ph.D degrees on theses with a Dalit studies focus .

BIRTH OF THE ALTERNATIVE PUBLISHING HOUSES IN INDIA

Given the deep-rooted influence of traditional practices and knowledge systems, it has never been easy in the Indian context for marginalised sections of society to document and produce knowledge, which expresses their aspirations and even oppression. At the same time, the dissemination of this different knowledge, clearly not associated with the conventional, has been a difficult task for them as established literary circles have not acknowledged it in the way they did mainstream literature. Several agencies of power, such as established mainstream publishing houses, mainstream authors, their readers, and the political set-up, seem to have played a major role in obstructing the creation of alternative knowledge systems.

Taking note of the fact that a large number of texts written by those belonging to the marginalised sections of society were not favoured for publication and dissemination, the alternative press contributed towards the formation of a new canonical order, which was closely linked to the socio-political realities of our society. In a post colonial scenario of India, the examples of resistance can be explored in agencies Stree and Samya, Navayana, Ekalavya Prakashan, Vityial Pathipagam,Yuddharat AaM Aadmi and Critical Quest that have been constructing new identities and knowledge in relation

to the Dalit. The mainstream publishers have also woken up to the potential of the massive market represented by the sheer size of the Dalit population .

Owing to the efforts of the publishing houses listed above and many others the scope for books on the subject has expanded appreciably over the last decade or so, especially in colleges and universities. It also reflects how more academics are undertaking research on it. Many universities have promoted research in the area and they have also contributed towards developing a discourse by facilitating seminars, workshops and projects. A number of universities and colleges are also including Ambedkar as part of their syllabus.

WAY FORWARD

But many experts and publishers have a few words of caution to not be swayed by the sudden interest of the government in publishing Ambedkar or Dalit literature. They point out that once the copyright is with the government private players which arguably brings down the cost greatly but reduces their role too. For instance, there have been accusations by a number of researchers and experts working in the field of Dalit literature that whichever government is in power it is still less receptive to publish work by Ambedkar which critically analyses his views especially on Hinduism or Gandhi as it doesn't suit them politically .

The need for the alternative press is explained in much greater detail by the bookstore owner and publisher Sultan Singh Gautam, who had set up a store to protest the strategic exclusion of Dalit voices from the mainstream and to raise the concerns of the community. He points out that exclusion of Dalits from the mainstream discourse has been going on for thousands of years. The books in my store acknowledge the caste system as a social reality of India. The object of Dalit literature and publishing is to put this excluded community in the centre of the discourse . The bookstore has published over 400 titles in Hindi and English dealing with the caste system. These books include Dalit autobiographies, short stories, poetry, novels, non-fiction and even academic works. He also point out that the highest selling books are those by B.R. Ambedkar himself such as 'Annihilation of Caste', 'The Buddha and His Dhamma' and 'Who Were The Shudras'.

The production and dissemination of knowledge about and by Dalits, made possible by Dalit publishing houses, has helped writers to highlight issues about the community which did not have a platform earlier. It is important that they continue their struggle in bringing to the fore issues that are still ignored by the mainstream.

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DR. AMBEDKAR'S VISION OF INDIA'S WATER POLICY, AND ITS RELEVANCE IN 21ST CENTURY

*DEVI DAYAL GAUTAM**

It is wrong to think water in excessive quantity is an evil. Water can never be so excessive as to be an evil. Man suffers more from lack of water than from excess of it. The trouble is that nature is not only niggardly in the amount of water it gives, it is also erratic in its distribution—alternating between drought and storm. But this cannot alter the fact that water is wealth. Water being the wealth of the people and its distribution being uncertain, the correct approach is not to complain against nature but to conserve water” Bharat Ratna Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

The man who dreamed to change the face of the Indian society, the man who devoted his life in the reconstruction of the Indian economy; his vision of industrialisation and technological progress is now coming true. His ideas and vision reshaped industrialisation by making water management policies for electricity and irrigation in post independence India.

Eminent Scholar Sukhdeo Thorat on Dr. Ambedkar “Of great significance but less well known among[Dr Ambedkar’s contribution to the nation was his direct participation in the formulation of objective & strategy of post-war economic plan & planned development of water and electric power resources in the country. Dr Ambedkar was directly involved in framing of the objective and strategy of economic planning and water and electric power policy as a Viceroy Council Member in charge of the Labour, Irrigation and Power portfolio during 1942-46; though he made a substantial contribution to the economic planning and water and electric power resource development in this position, surprisingly, this aspect of his contribution has hardly been studied.”

Dr Ambedkar views on the conservation of natural resource, and its protection and sustainable utilisation, became known in a conference held at Cuttack In November 1945 on the developing rivers of Orrisa (Odhisra). He said: “If conservation of water is mandatory from the point of view of public good, then obviously the plan of embankment is a

*Research Scholar

wrong plan. It is a means which does not serve the end, namely conservation of water and must, therefore, be abandoned. Orissa (Odisha) delta is not the only area where there is so much amount of water and there is so much amount of evil proceeding from that water. The United States of America had the same problem to face. Some of the rivers like Missouri, Miami and Tennessee have given rise to the same problem in the U.S.A. Orissa must, therefore, adopt the method which the U.S.A. adopted in dealing with the problem of its Rivers. The method is to dam the rivers at various points to conserve water permanently in reservoirs”.

Dr. Ambedkar was the man responsible for: - The emergence of a definite all-India policy with regard to the development of water and electric power resources of India;

The creation of the Central Waterways; Irrigation and Navigation Commission, now known as the Central Water Commission and the Central Technical Power Board, now known as the Central Electricity Authority, as the administrative apparatus and technical bodies at the Centre to assist the States in the development of irrigation and electric power respectively;

Adaptation of the concept of River Valley Authority or Corporation for the integrated development of the rivers in their region;

Introduction of the concept of multipurpose development of river valley basin for the first time in India;

Initiation of some important present-day river valley projects, particularly in Damodar, Sone and Mahanadi river basins; and

Amending 'entry 74' in the Constitution and bringing part of it to the 'Union list' and introducing article 262 regarding the adjudication of disputes relating to waters of inter-State rivers or river valleys.

Dr Ambedkar was a firm believer of urbanization and industrialization that leads to a solution to eliminate arid social and economic problems of India. Anticipating Arthur Lewis, he also advocated shifting labour from agriculture to industry to solve the problem of rural poverty, low productivity and land problem. The development of infrastructures such as electric power, irrigation, roads, communication and transport services and technical manpower were treated as prerequisites for agriculture and industrial development and therefore received top priority in the plan. It was believed that development of infrastructure would bring a relatively higher growth in industrial output and employment than the growth in rural labour force and help to absorb the surplus labour from agriculture. In a policy Committee on public work and electric power, Dr. Ambedkar emphasised that the country needed, "not only cheap but cheapest and abundant electricity" without it, no effort for industrialisation could succeed. Development of irrigation and electric power were long-term projects involving large capital expenditure. The development of electric power (a transport, road and communication) was crucial for industrial and agricultural development. Improvement in irrigation facilities was expected to raise agricultural productivity. Planning and its implementation of irrigation and electric power" including "hydro-electric power" thus became the major concern of the labour portfolio in July 1942.

Opportunity came to shape his vision. As the labour member of the Viceroy's council, Dr Ambedkar actively participated and guided the development of the water policy, concept of the river valley projects and setting up of various technical and administrative bodies. He also dealt with the subtleties of the center-state relations in steering various such projects, which undoubtedly enriched his vision of the India's federal structure during framing of the constitution.

The efforts made by him, the sense of urgency and administrative acumen he brought with him and his broad view of the water policy laid the firm foundation of an integrated policy framework. He created two powerful technical organizations, namely the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission (CWINC), which were forerunners of the present day Central Water Commission and Central Electricity Authority.

Irrigation management has always been a major concern in India of the state since the ancient times. Considerable

emphasis was laid on the water use and irrigation of the cultivable land by the Indian empires and kingdoms. But the colonial rule presented a break to this time honoured state policy. Falling capital investment in the agriculture and irrigation projects was a stark feature of the colonial rule, which also extracted more and more from the sector to augment its resources for the Imperial adventures.

During the British rule, the first major initiative as regards water resources management was taken by the Military Board, which was also in charge of irrigation. In December 1830, a Canal and Embankment Department was created. In 1855, a new Department of Public Works came into existence, and the irrigation works were transferred to the Public Works Department.

The early twentieth century brought about two major developments in respect of water resource management. These were the setting up of the Central Water and Power Research Station in (CWPRS) at Pune in 1916 and the introduction of the Government of India Act, 1919, which placed irrigation under the purview of the provinces of British India. However, not much had moved in the sector till Dr Ambedkar assumed the charge as Member, Labour Irrigation and Power in the Executive Council of Viceroy in 1942. Three main administrative units looked after the development of irrigation and hydro power of the provinces:

- The Central Board of Irrigation,
- The Irrigation Advisor
- The Electrical Commissioner.

But the mandate and the administrative structure of this setup was unable to cope up with the growing demand of the irrigation and electricity generation in the country. They also had inadequate provision to enable a pro-active role for the centre as both irrigation and power were under the mandate of states and provinces. Therefore, creation of Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board was proposed. It goes to the credit of Dr. Ambedkar, who recognized the need for technical organisation both for Irrigation and Power development. The roots of this initiative, however, were to be found in the new water policy under the post war plan. Dr. Ambedkar approved the draft on the proposed Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the letters to the provinces on December 7, 1944.

In May 1945, when Dr. Ambedkar argued for a suitable size for the CWINC, he said prophetically : "I visualize that the growth of this body in course of time, into a very big organisation with its activities spread over the entire length and breadth of India, and its assistance and advice eagerly sought by all provinces and states, to the end that the natural resources of any region may be exploited for maximum benefit and unified development."

At about the same time, the Central Technical Power Board (CTPB) was set up. Functions of CWINC, CTPB, Electrical Commissioner and that of Consulting Engineer for Waterways and Irrigation were reviewed and Central Electricity Commission (CEC) and Central Water, Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission were created in 1948. In the year 1951, all were merged as Central Water and Power Commission (CWPC). During October 1974, the Ministry of Irrigation and Power was bifurcated resulting in creation of Ministry of Agriculture & Irrigation and Ministry of Power. The CWPC was accordingly bifurcated, one unit has today assumed the name of Central Water Commission, and the other is called as Central Electricity Authority.

Beside this, Dr Ambedkar also played an instrumental role in instituting the river valley projects in India. He presented the methods for need of the dams and its selections. That's mentioned as follows, "Coming now to the question of methods and procedure, we have to decide upon the following points which I am placing before you in order of priority :—

- (1) Selections of dam sites to be taken up first;
- (2) Further detailed investigations as to the selected dam sites before construction can begin ;

(3) The agency for such further preliminary investigations ;

(4) The agency for designing and construction of dams ;

(5) The creation of high grade administrative machinery to co-ordinate and push forward the vast amount of work, both technical and administrative, that will have to be done during the stages of investigations and construction that are to follow;

(6) A series of surveys relating to the best utilisation of water and power that will be eventually available in the developed areas.

Dr. Ambedkar was instrumental in ushering in the coordinated development of the Damodar basin by the Central Government. As a member in the pre-independence Cabinet, he pursued vigorously the development proposal for Damodar Valley. With this kind of groundwork, the Damodar Valley Scheme became the first river valley development scheme in post-independence India, with the Damodar Valley Corporation getting established by an Act of Parliament, in July 1948 with the primary objectives of flood control, irrigation and water supply, and electricity generation, transmission & distribution.

Damodar Valley Corporation's (DVC's) command area extends over 24235 sq. kms. spread across Jharkhand and West Bengal. Damodar was known as 'the river of sorrows.' It erodes soils in Jharkhand and floods Bengal and causes much distress and loss in both Jharkhand and West Bengal. The Government Bengal appointed a Committee, the Damodar Flood Enquiry Committee in 1944 to suggest permanent measures to control floods in the Damodar Valley, which construction of storage dams on Damodar River and its tributaries. It also felt, measures should be taken not only for controlling floods, but also for irrigation and electricity generation. The Central Government, under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar suggested the involvement of Bihar (Jharkhand was part of Bihar then) Government and also preparation of comprehensive schemes by a committee of experts involving the Central Technical Power Board and Central Waterways of Irrigation Board, covering not only flood control but also hydroelectric and thermal power from the coal fields, irrigation and development of agriculture, navigation and development of port, afforestation etc.

Dr. Ambedkar convened the meeting with the representatives of Bengal, Bihar and the Central Provinces as participants on January 3, 1945 to pursue the matter further and to debate about (i) the possibility of exploiting Damodar river for multipurpose use, and (ii) to collect necessary data for analysis.

Dr. Ambedkar wanted to evolve a policy which would utilise the water resources of the country to the best advantage of everybody and the Tennessee Valley Scheme of USA would be an ideal model to emulate. Dr. Ambedkar clearly emphasised that this would be possible only if the provinces offered their fullest co-operation and agreed to override the provincial barriers which had held up their progress and prosperity for so long. The Damodar river would be the first along this line. He said "Irrigation has been the only purpose of our waterways policy Further we have not taken sufficient account of the fact that there is no difference between railways and waterways, and if railways cannot be subjected to provincial boundaries neither can waterways at any rate those that flow from province to province. On the contrary we have allowed our constitution to make a distinction between railways and waterways, with the result that railways are treated as Central but waterways are treated as provincial.

The disadvantages of this error are many and obvious. To give one illustration, a province needs electricity and wishes to utilise its water resources for the purpose but it cannot do so because the point at which water can be dammed lies in another province which being agricultural does not need electricity and has no interest in it. or money to finance the project and would not allow the needy province to use the site. Complain as much as we like, a province can take such an unfriendly attitude and justify it in the name of provincial autonomy"

He stressed that the issue before us is whether we should be content with damming the river for the purpose of stopping the flood only or whether we should make it a multipurpose project so as to cover generation of

electricity and supply of water for irrigation and navigation also the consensus of the opinion should be that we go for the latter.

(Second Conference on the Damodar Valley Project (Calcutta, August 23, 1945)

Dr. Ambedkar argued that the constitutional problem could be overcome by establishing a cooperative undertaking in which the Centre and the Provinces of Bihar and Bengal would be partners. Both the Governments after detailed deliberation agreed to have a coordinated scheme for the multipurpose development of the project with flood control as a priority and to also undertake detailed surveys for establishing a multipurpose project. Dr Ambedkar also emphasized the employment creation potential of such river valley projects, both direct and indirect. He also persuaded the Bihar and Bengal government to resolve the serious differences over the location of the dam and accept the recommendations of the Experts Committee on the basis of economic benefits of the region, after taking into consideration the mutual interest of both Bihar and Bengal. He also ensured the active participation of the central government in ensuing staff and technical expertise and assured mobilisation of necessary engineering manpower including from Army.

Dr. Ambedkar went to the extent of providing initial funds, to be charged to the project, if it materialised or shared equally between the Centre and the Province if it did not materialise. Dr. Ambedkar, however, expected the states to ensure that the benefits of the project should go ultimately right down to the grass roots, i. e. everyone living in the valley and some of those in the vicinity and all had their share in the prosperity which the project should bring. Dr. Ambedkar also emphasised a need for proper rehabilitation and resettlement plan for the project affected regions.

Hirakund Dam: From 1928 down to 1945, a series of Committee studied the problem of controlling the destructive streaks of the Mahandi. The Orissa Flood Enquiry Committee (1928) was the first of these. In 1937, the enquiry was entrusted to M. Visveswarayya, the renowned engineer, who submitted two reports. Then followed the Orissa Flood Advisory Committee, which submitted a preliminary report in 1938, three interim reports, and the last report in March 1945. At this time, the Government of Orissa approached Dr. Ambedkar to consider the taming of the Mahnadi on lines of the Damodar Valley project. H. K. Mahtab, a nationalist leader from Orissa, also suggested him to pay special attention to the problem.

In response to Orissa's (Odhisia) request, the Labour Department arranged a conference on November 8, 1945 between representatives of the Government of India and the Governments of Orissa (Odhisia), the Central Provinces and Eastern States to discuss the possibilities of developing Orissa (Odhisia) rivers. Referring first to the economic problems of Orissa (Odhisia) Dr. Ambedkar chaired these meetings. He pointed out that its over simplification to say the the water problem of Orissa (Odhisia) was of flood. People in Orissa (Odhisia) are faced to many afflictions such as flood, draught and famine, deterioration in health and of internal communication and problem of under development and high poverty and the committees had not brought the right approach to bear on the problem. If water resources were to be conserved, embankments were a wrong solution. He suggested the same method which was followed to resolve the problems posed by the The Missouri, Miami and Tennessee rivers in the USA i.e. damming the rivers at various points to conserve water permanently in reservoirs and put it to multipurpose use. He brought clarity to the agenda of the project and guided the conference to formulate a detailed programme to implement the project beginning with thorough survey and investigation of the natural resources and physical feature of the region. Dr. Ambedkar stated "For a balanced appreciation of the situation it is necessary to carry out comprehensive surveys and investigations with a view to ascertain the possibilities of irrigation, navigation, power development and their facilities in delta as well as in the drainage as a whole. Investigations so far carried out have been mostly limited to the delta".

The preliminary survey would be completed by February 1946, he said, and construction of the first dam commence by October, 1946. Dr. Ambedkar felt that the project was technically feasible and assured all support to the Orissa (Odhisia) Government from the Central Government in speedy implementation of the project. The first survey had been conducted

in 1858, Sir Arthur Cotton visited the Orissa (Odhisia) Province with the specific object of giving advice on controlling the flood water of Mahanadi. He recommended the construction of a complete system of irrigation and navigation canals, on lines of the schemes for the Godavari and Krishna river .

A tentative scheme worked out by the CWINC after the survey with the help of the Government of Orissa (Odhisia) and the States comprised (a) the construction of three dams across the mainstream of the Mahanadi to store the surplus monsoon supplies with a view to flood control and their release during the dry weather for purpose of irrigation, navigation and power generation; (b) the construction of navigation locks at these dams and possibly at intermediate sites for making the Mahanadi navigable for a distance of over 500 km from its mouth at the sea; (c) a system of canals for perennial irrigation; (d) power plants at the three dams to provide cheap power for use in agriculture, industry and in exploiting the large mineral wealth of the area; (e) drainage and anti-malaria works; and (f) the provision of facilities for fish culture and recreation.

The three dams identified were Hirakud 15 km above Sambalpur, Tikarapara some 210 km downstream and Naraj near Cuttack.

The foundation stone for the Hirakud dam was laid by the Governor on March 15, 1946 and the foundation work on Hirakud was also completed before Dr. Ambedkar laid down office in the Central Cabinet three months later. The initiative taken by Dr. Ambedkar had given a definite shape in the shortest possible time of six months to Hirakud project. The Government of Orissa, immediately after independence on 28th August, 1947 resolved to implement the project for economic and industrial prosperity of Orissa (Odhisia). The Hirakud dam was finally completed in 1957 by ushering a new era of development for Orissa (Odhisia). Hirakud Dam is the longest dam of the world, which drains an area of 1,33,090 sq. km. more than twice the area of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

Sone River Project: The Sone River Valley Project was another multipurpose scheme, which the Labour Department initiated during 1944-45. River Sone rises in Madhya Pradesh and flows onward to Uttar Pradesh before merging with the Ganga in Bihar. On November, 1944 the Government of the United Provinces drew the attention of the Labour Department to the potentialities of development of Sone river. The Department responded favorably and summoned a conference on the project. In its letter dated December 8, 1944 it observed that the potentialities for multipurpose development and management scheme on the river Sone were immense. These included possibilities relating to increased supplies of water for irrigation, perennial Hydro power plant, provision of Hydro power for pumping from tube well or from rivers and for industrial development, supplies of water for navigation on the Ganga and improved flood control.

To bring together the parties concerned with the proposed Sone project and to make a preliminary investigation, the Labour Department organised an Inter- Provincial Conference in Delhi on March 10, 1945. In the conference, Dr Ambedkar emphasized that if Sone river's possibilities were to be fully exploited, it was necessary to make a regional rather than a local approach to the problem. He urged all parties to realize that ultimately there must be an agreement to set up an appropriate organisation to which they would give certain powers relating to the subjects which would be handled by this organisation, the principle of which would be to supply the bulk of electricity and water for irrigation and navigation.

It was during the time of Dr. Ambedkar, the Sone Valley Project was treated as a multipurpose river management scheme covering not only the potentialities for irrigation by canals and perennial hydro power for the area but also for increased utilisation of such power for agricultural development such as for pumping from the tube wells and increased fertility by dewatering in water logged area, provision of cheap power for industrial development, improved supply of water for irrigation on the Ganga and improved flood control. The concept of multipurpose use was to be linked with the regional development of the entire valley basin and called for regional planning of the basin as a whole.

All the participating provinces of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Central Provinces and the States of Rewa approved the proposal

for regional development of Sone basin, the establishment of a regional authority and to take steps for preliminary investigation and survey. However, development of Sone basin took a different course after Dr. Ambedkar laid down his office.

Framing the Constitution: Water and Electricity: The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Act, which was the first comprehensive constitutional reform, was introduced in 1919. Under it "irrigation canal, drainage, embankment and water storage including famine relief and agriculture and forest" became a Provincial but reserve subject, i.e. a State subject but coming under the control of the Central Government where so provided by the Indian Legislation. The problem with provision related to water in the constitution revolved around the different perspective of the Centre and the States. Centre had the all India outlook on the issue of water and rivers while states had more local priorities. Dr Ambedkar was the chairman of the drafting committee and his rich experience of evolving alternative ways for water policy within the framework of the provisions of the 1935 Act came handy when dealing with this issue. Under the 1935 Act, which introduced another set of constitutional reforms, Provincial autonomy was enhanced and the Provincial Governments got exclusive powers over "Water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power." The only items reserved for the Central list were "shipping and navigation on tidal waters", and for the Concurrent Legislative List, "shipping and navigation on inland waterways as regards mechanically propelled vessels and the rule of the road on such waterways; carriage of passengers and goods on inland waterways". The 1935 Act gave exclusive power to the provinces to control the water of all rivers and the Central Government was not concerned with the development of irrigation, there was no office at the Centre to look after the development of electricity in India and there was hardly any data on the production, distribution and administration of irrigation and electricity in India. This was the state of affairs when Dr. Ambedkar took charge of the Irrigation and Electric Power Department in July 1942.

Dr. Ambedkar argued in favour of treating waterways on the same footing as the railways or fostering a clear mechanism of centre-state co-operation. A similar alternative was also recommended for the development of electric power on inter-state rivers for integrated and regional development of the entire river basin. On the need of electricity Dr. Ambedkar said: "A Province needs electricity and wishes to utilise its water resources for the purposes but it cannot do so because the point at which water can be dammed lies in another Province with no interest in it (for various reasons), or money to finance the project and would not allow the needy to use the site. Complain as much as we like, a Province can take such an unfriendly attitude and justify it in the name of Provincial Autonomy".

The Draft Constitution included Articles 239-242 corresponding closely to Sections 130-134 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted in 1947. These articles used the earlier phrase "water from any natural source of supply." List I of the Seventh Schedule (viz. Union List) to the Draft Constitution, however, made a major departure from the 1935 Act and placed the development of "inter-state waterways" under the Union List, the relevant item being: "74. The development of inter-state waterways for purposes of flood control, irrigation, navigation and hydroelectric power."

On September 1, 1949, Dr. Ambedkar moved an amendment to entry 74 in the Constituent Assembly as follows – The regulation and development of inter-state rivers and river-valleys to the extent to which such regulation or development under the control of the Union is declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in the public interest. On September 9, 1949, Dr. Ambedkar made another amendment to insert article 242A as follows, in place of draft Articles 239-242: "Adjudication of disputes relating to waters of inter-state rivers or river valleys." In proposing this amendment, Dr. Ambedkar referred to various corporations being created (like the Damodar Valley Corporation set by Act No. XIV of 1948) and the need, therefore, of a body to deal with such disputes as might arise from the activities of such corporations.

He said that, "the original draft or proposal was too hide-bound or too stereotyped to allow any elastic action that may be necessary... Consequently I am now proposing this new article which leaves it to Parliament to make laws for the settlement of these disputes."

This draft article came to be adopted as Article 262. In accordance with this provision, Parliament enacted the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956 and the River Boards Act, 1956. The former provides, in the words of its preamble, "for the adjudication of disputes relating to the waters of inter-state rivers and river valley." The River Boards for the regulation and development of Inter-State rivers and river valleys, in terms of entry 56.

CONCLUSION

Dr Ambedkar laid the foundation for the development of infrastructure in India such as electric power, irrigation, communication, roads and transport services and technical manpower which were treated as prerequisites for industrial and agricultural development. He suggested interlinking of major south Indian rivers. He was man of vision and foresight. While drafting the constitution of India, he has not put water resources and management entirely in the state list but he had concluded this subject under the provision of central control. Dr. Ambedkar advocated the concept of River Valley Authority or corporation for integrated development of the rivers. He introduced the concept of multi-purpose development of river basin in the country and his efforts in this direction have culminated with multipurpose development of Damodar, Mahanadi and other rivers immediately after independence. He was the Instrumental in creating the Multi Purpose River Valley Projects and Large Dam Technologies in India.

Dr. Ambedkar laid the foundation for water resources and electricity development, the two sectors which are so crucial for the development of India when he was Member, Labour, Irrigation and Electric Power Department in the Executive Council of the Viceroy during 1942- 1946. His major achievement was the establishment of two technical organizations, presently known as 'Central Water Commission' and 'Central Electricity Authority', that have contributed for the development of irrigation and power in the country. The proposal for creation of Central Irrigation, Waterways Advisory Board was approved in September 1944. Subsequently, it became Central Waterways, Irrigation, and Navigation Commission (CWINC) and was approved in April 1945 by Dr. Ambedkar. It became Central Water Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission (CWPINC) on 16th January 1948 and subsequently it became Central Water and Power Commission (CWPC) in April 1951. It was bifurcated into Central Water Commission and Central Electricity Authority in October 1974. He created the Central Technical Power Board (CTPB) on 8th November 1944 for power system development, hydro power station sites, hydro-electric surveys, analyzing problems of electricity generation and thermal power station investigation which was subsequently merged with CWPINC and became Central Water and Power Commission (CWPC) in April 1951. Irrigation and power sector, which grew at a tremendous speed was visioned by the great man of india Dr. Ambedkar. He truly visualised and implemented his dream of making India in the field of irrigation and electric power generation.

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Book Review

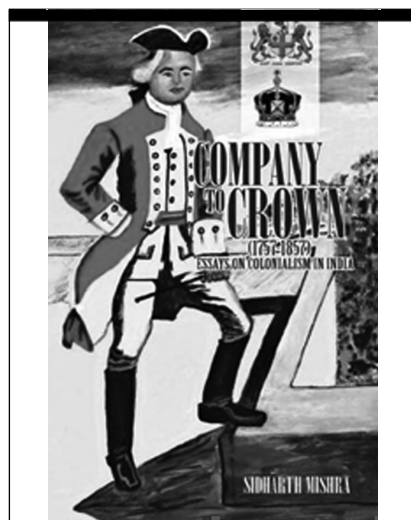
Himanshu Roy

ESSAYS ON COLONIAL MOSAIC

Colonialism in India, economic and non-economic, and its resistance by people in different forms has been the subject of analysis for more than two centuries. The Company Raj of the British East India Company which begun its rule from a part of Bengal in 1757 gradually acquired the entire territorial sovereignty of Mughal India by 1850. The 1857 rebellion, however, sealed its fate in India. It was replaced by the Crown. But in the period of a century, the Raj actuated a kind of social transformation that was rarely known in the pre-colonial Indian history in such a short span and at such a vast scale. It was a substantive break from the past which changed the elite structure, nature of state and ushered in new technology and economy. This book analyses this period of history spread over a century (1757-1857) admirably which is aptly captioned as Company to Crown with the logos of both on the cover page.

The Company, which was formed on 31st December, 1600 by 218 members, knights, aldermen and burgesses 'to trade with East in spices and in other products prized for their utility or beauty in the West', became the state since 1757. Interestingly, the Company had raised its first troops of approximately 250 sepoys only nine years ago, in 1748, at Madras. Yet, it could defeat a much larger Indian force within three hours at Plassey in the rainy season speaks volume about its nature and functioning. And it may be further added here that the Company had lost the battle just a year ago to the army of Nawab of Bengal.

The book contains eight chapters on diverse aspects of Company Raj contributed by young scholars teaching and researching in the field affiliated to different universities in Delhi. Almost all papers are of high quality. But the best, to my liking, is the chapter 'Educating the Colony' written by Sudipta Bharat and the best part in it is that he informs us that Voltaire had a strong liking for the Oriental knowledge so much so that he believed it to be the 'cradle of all arts and it is therefore to the East that the West owes everything' (p.134). Then, he argues that one of the primary reasons to destroy the Oriental education was the fear of the British Anglicists that the success of the French revolution may hamper their plan of expansion in India as the



Author: **Sidharth Mishra** (ed)
Publisher: **Sriav**
Pages: 191 (Paperback)
Price: **Rs 250/-**

Oriental knowledge system may acquire global/ European importance. It will be, then, difficult to suppress the Indian subjects.

Therefore, they persuaded the House of Commons to take active steps in educating the colonial subjects which was granted during the renewal of Company's Charter in 1813. The Company was forced to allot money for public education and chart a new education policy through which they subsequently destroyed the organic knowledge and minds of India.

Thematically related to it is another interesting chapter 'Culture and Society During Colonial Rule' written by Somaila Warsi. She cites and analyses the debates in the British parliament that took place in the aftermath of the 1857 revolt. This is an interesting and innovative approach to understand the 1857. Earlier, commentaries or the reports of the journalists covering the events live in the British / European press were cited and discussed. Russel's report, for example who was the Times correspondent in India and was the live witness of the battle is often cited. Warsi's method, on the other hand, facilitates a better way to peek into the minds of the rulers who were far away and not directly involved at the sites in India. Disraeli, for example, argued that the mutiny was a 'reflex of the national mind' which was a different analysis from the others who called it a sepoy mutiny ; secondly, the description 'national mind' also makes this rebellion a pan-Indian in dimension, while the sepoy mutiny makes the rebellion localised and army specific rather than treating it as a political revolution. Warsi also argues that to reestablish the legitimacy of the Raj, the rule of the Company was removed and of Crown was imposed to connect it with the Indian subjects and with the past traditions of the Mughal. The Raj was projected as an extension and continuation of the Mughal. It was, however, the Raj of the new British elite which had acquired the power in England in 1830s.

Another excellent paper is 'Evolution of Colonial Rule in India' in which the contributors explain, in simple, basic terms, the functioning of the different land tenure systems in different parts of India, and also, other aspects of administration of the Raj. Here, the novelty is that there is clarity in the presentation which makes the ordinary reader understand the nuances of the complicated laws. Even original source is being cited such, for example, as John Stuart Mill on Ryotwari System (p.65) to clarify the law. Actually, there is so much of unclarity about the different land tenure systems and their actual functioning in different regions / sub-regions in other books that this paper looks refreshing.

Let me now conclude the review with Sidharth Mishra's paper on 1857. The theme is so vast so contentious that writing an academic paper on it by a non-professional historian is risky. Yet, he has written an admirable paper that covers the gist of different arguments of causes of rebellion, of reasons of its failure, and the consequence of it. It may be added here that the 1857 rebellion was pan-Indian in dimension contrary to the popular perception of its being North-Indian centric. Its success could have provided India a liberal democracy long before 1947. But it was the elite of that time who betrayed it to protect their own interests. It was haunted by the fear that the success of 1857 would displace them from their economic and social position, that it would restore the pre-colonial social structure. And it was this fear that led to their active opposition to the 1857 rebellion or their support to the colonial state.

Written for specialized readers, the book serves the purpose admirably well. Its lucid style in narrative form contains interesting research material. The rare photographs of the era add further value to it. Its cover page, for example, with a rare portrait of Robert Clive surveying the battle field of Plassey is a treat to the context of the subject. The only weakness is the absence of a uniform, professional house style for the end notes. The end notes in each chapter are written in different styles which, however, can be overlooked.

(The reviewer is Fellow, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi)

Book Review

Sanjeev K Tiwari

EVALUATING BRAND MODI

Perhaps Brand Modi Ka Tilism is the first book which carries in depth analysis of Lok Sabha Election 2014 to Bihar assembly election 2015.

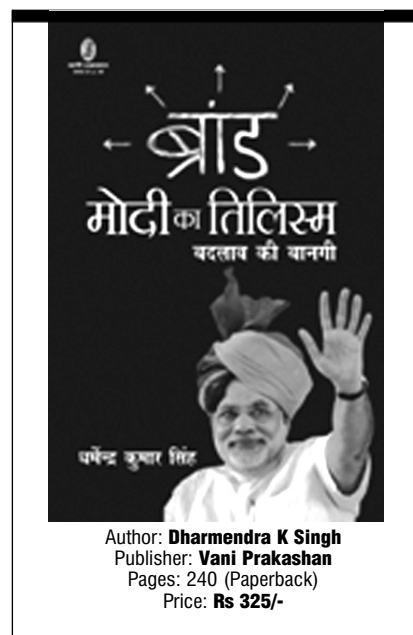
This book tries to bring out the truth explaining historic political changes in the country, their complexion, hidden and unhidden aspect of winning and losing of election. Why Modi won in 2014 Lok Sabha election? What were the main reasons? Why Modi's magic in Bihar and Delhi did not work? What were his strategies to win election, why he failed to perform in assembly election of Delhi and Bihar. Is he not able to deliver on the tall promises which were made during the Lok Sabha elections? Whether people are reading too much into the assembly election results of two states? The 13 chapters in the book are based on thorough research on different aspects.

The 2014 Lok Sabha Polls proved extra-ordinary for one single reason - a political party, which for long faced isolation, romped home to a thumping victory under a leader named Narendra Modi, who was considered a political pariah both nationally and internationally. However, soon thereafter questions have been raised on Modi wave. The query became stronger after BJP lost assembly elections Delhi and Bihar.

The milestone development in modern Indian politics has been variously explained, largely by journalists-turned-writers. This book however is different. Most of the tomes which appeared on post 2014 Lok Sabha elections are compendiums of news reports thinly disguised as research-based work. Though Dharmendra K Singh, author of Brand Modi too is a journalist but he has taken the pains to go beyond the jumble of daily reportage to give answers through diligently collected statistics.

In 240 odd pages, the writer has tried to build a systematic narration through 13 well-planned out chapters. The sub-title of the book covers five major issues, which according to the author dominated in the polls - The story of Changing mood of voters, why changing very fastely, Modi wave, Rise of 'Hindu' vote and Desire for Development, inspirational voters like middle class and impact of media. This subtitle gives indication of being introduced to a very complex narrative.

The 2014 polls were the first elections which witnessed both the polarization of the votes of the majority community and



their desire for development aggregate in support of the same candidate. Though a similar phenomenon was witnessed in 1984 too, when Rajiv Gandhi led the Congress to power but then he had the support of the largest minority group too.

The author opens the book with a background chapter, which is a ready reckoner for anybody try to have an understanding of Indian polity post-Independence. The next chapter deals at length with the building up of the personality of Narendra Modi and follows it up with the chapters which focus on the contributing factors like - Polarization of Hindu votes; Muslim voter and their representation; The support of the OBC, Dalits and Tribal voters for Modi; and The Support of Middle Class.

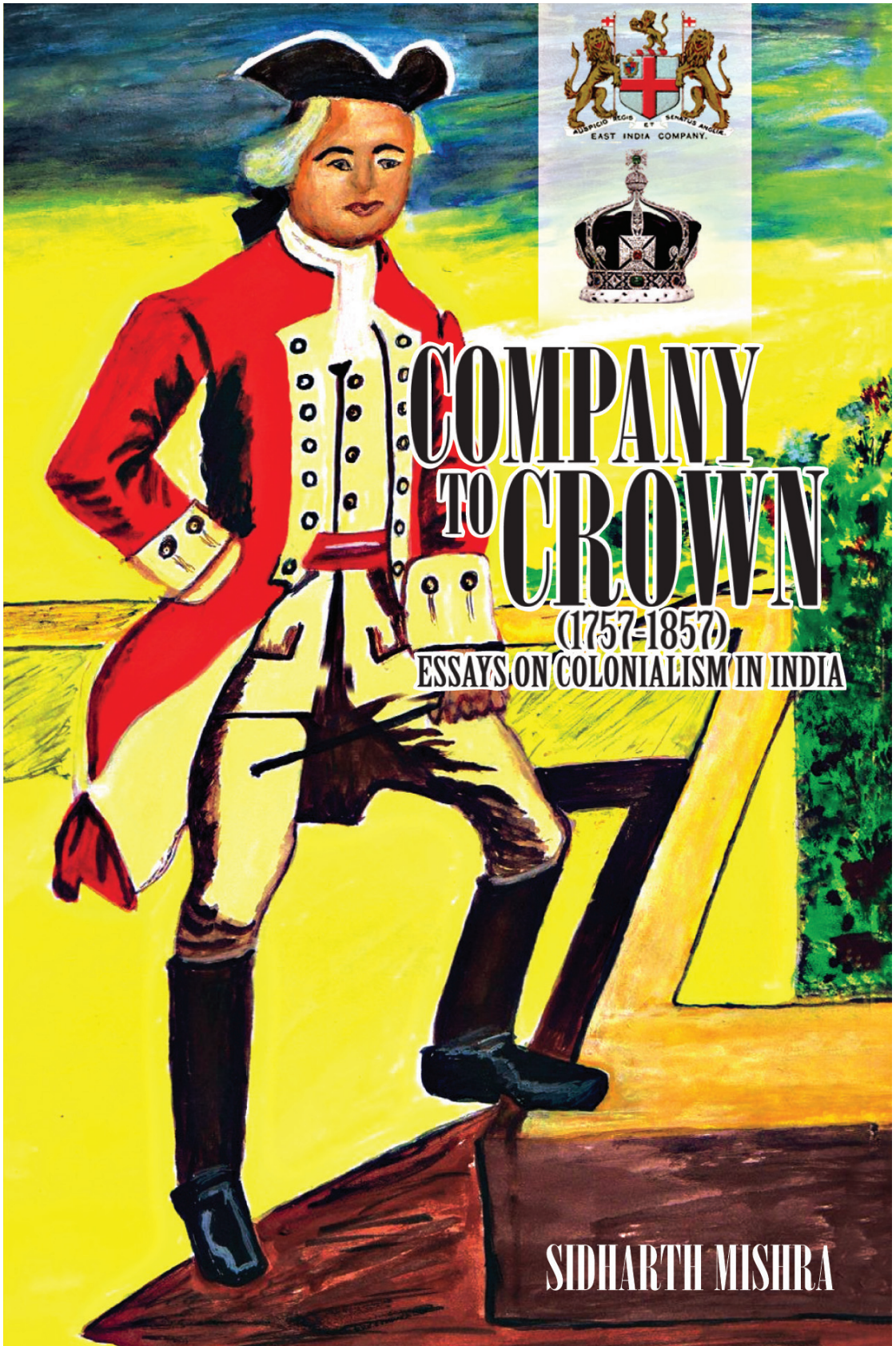
He does well to dedicate two separate chapters on the BJP's resounding victory in the politically significant states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. He complements this narration with a lucid commentary on the influence Anna Hazare's anti-corruption movement had on the polls results and the role played by the volunteers of Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) in achieving this extra-ordinary mandate. The cutting edge of this book is the authentication of the text with some intelligent use of the poll statistics. The book would have a long shelf life given its content which could be used for reference by any researcher on a future date.

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COMPANY TO CROWN

(1757-1857)
ESSAYS ON COLONIALISM IN INDIA

SIDHARTH MISHRA



अब पाइए ज़्यादा
poWer.
पहले से कम कीमत पर.

बेहतर एक्सेलरेशन
बेहतर परफॉर्मेंस



हाई-परफॉर्मेंस हमेशा

poWer

PETROL WITH ENERGY BOOSTERS