

**DYNAMICS OF IDEOLOGY
IN PHULE-AMBEDKARITE MOVEMENT**

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation titled -
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**Dedicated to
The Vision and Mission
Of
My
Mai *Tulsabai* and Baa *Onkar***

Contents

Particulars	Page No
Acknowledgement	1 - 2
Chapter I Introduction	3 - 28
Chapter II Movement and Ideology of Jotirao Phule	29 - 44
Chapter III Movement and Ideology of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.	45 - 69
Chapter IV Dynamics of Identity in Phule-Ambedkarite Movement.	70 - 80
Chapter V Conclusion	81 - 85
Chapter VI Bibliography	86 - 94

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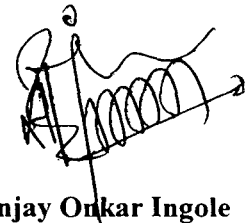
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Sanjay Onkar Ingole

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Going through the literature on social movements in India it is certain that we will be attracted towards the 'Phule-Ambedkarite movement'. There is a long history of Jyotirao Phule's (1848-1890) and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Movement (1917-1956) in India. During 1970s there emerged number of organisations established and run by the followers of Phule and Ambedkar, in which BAMCEF took the lead for establishing a linear and direct connection between Phule's and Ambedkar's movement. BAMCEF organisation described its movement as one with the name – 'Phule -Ambedkarite movement' (see booklet-BAMCEF: An Institution of Social Change, 2004, D.K. Khaparde Memorial Trust, Mumbai). We will be discussing the different aspects of this movement namely organisation, objective ideology, and leadership etc. in the present study "Dynamics of Ideology in Phule-Ambedkarite movement".

The study covers a period between 1956-2005. Ambedkar died in 1956 on 6th December. After his demise there was no leader who could provide leadership to his movement though his followers striving to assert and run the Phule-Ambedkarite Movement. Their efforts are visible with very little success. Therefore it is important to study this phenomenon after the demise of Ambedkar in 1956. That is why we want to take 1956 as the beginning of a new era in the Phule-Ambedkarite movement. Though the literature used here has the history of before 1956 but it has been taken into account for contextual analysis and, as a supportive material. But the major focus of the study remains on the ideology and events evolved in the Phule-Ambedkarite Movement during 1956 to 2005.

It is essential to note that during the period 1956 to 2005 there were attacks and counter attacks on Phule-Ambedkarite movement from different quarters. There including Brahmanical forces with the help of so called 'dependent Dalit leaders'

(dependent on Brahmanical forces), co-opted by their so called upper caste masters, to whom Mr. Kanshi Ram, a political follower of Phule and Ambedkar has termed as Chamcha meaning 'stooges'. He also termed the time as 'Chamcha Age' (*Kanshi Ram, 1982*). It is observed that dedicated followers of Jotirao Phule and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar are seriously engaged in fighting against the forces which are opposed to "Phule-Ambedkarite movement". This fight is not only an academic type but also has the dimension of organized mass conflicts resulting in bloodshed, many a time. To sight the examples we can remember the bloody nature of conflicts related to *Namantar Movement* led by Dalit Panther and Dalit Liberation Army in *Maharashtra* during 1980s in which many were killed in a series of anti Dalit riots (Zilliot 1996:182), *Gowari Hatyakand* on 23rd Nov. 1994 in which 450 were killed and more than 500 injured in a mass massacre before Assembly house at Nagpur (Mulnivasi Times, Jan 1995), *Ramabai Nagar Police Firing* on July 11, 1997 in which 15 were killed in the police firing on Eastern Express highway in front of *Ramabai Nagar Colony* at Ghatkopar, Mumbai (Human Rights Report, 1999, Chapter VI:135), *Anti-Reservation movement in Gujarat started on 18th March 1981* and continued for whole the year killing many at various places in Gujarat (The oppressed Indian, March 1981), *Alwar Riots* in Jahanabad District of Bihar in which hundreds were killed by *Ranvir Sena* and subsequent police actions (Bahujan Chetana, June 8th 1986) and *killing of BSP leaders and activist* by their opponents in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh on various occasions during 1990s and still continuing with the recent events like killing of BSP legislator Raju Pal of Allahabad on Jan. 25th 2005 (*The Indian Express*, Jan. 26th 2005) and the murder of P.P. Chaudhary, former president of Madhya Pradesh for the party, along with his son Hitendra on Dec. 21st 2005 (*The Indian Express*, Dec. 22nd 2005) respectively.

Though the followers of Ambedkar believe in peaceful movement for social revolution without any bloodshed but many a times they are forced to use violent means like physical power or arms in their defence to lead a respectful life. In this regard Ambedkar in his very famous and historic address at Mahad Satyagraha had argued that, "We wish to carry our movement as peaceful as we can. However, our determination to remain non-violent will to a large extent depend upon the attitude of our opponents (Kunte, eds. 1982:16).

All the moves in 'Phule-Ambedkarite movements' after the demise of Ambedkar can be seen as basis of the rapid changes (positive and negative), that took place and are ongoing in the national politics even today. To mention in short they are - social polarization of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes, mushrooming of regional political party's on large scale under the leadership of Backward Castes (SC, ST, OBC), emergence of BSP as a national party against Brahmanism, political instability at the centre, alliance politics, sharing of power formula – six months chief ministership alternatively by BSP-BJP alliance in UP, and appointment of OBC leader as Chief ministers in most of the states in India and elevation of “dependent Dalit leaders” at national levels to the higher power positions under the democratic institutions (Kumar 2005: 23). All these developments definitely have roots in the radical social changes that are taking place in the society at grass roots because of Phule-Ambedkarite movement. Therefore it becomes important to study; from sociological point of view the 'dynamics of ideology in Phule-Ambedkarite Movement and the dynamics of these events and the role of the ideology in it. It becomes evident as we analyse the events that took place during 1956 to 2005. Also it will be an important point to understand the dynamics of 'Identity' propagated by 'Phule-Ambedkarite' movement. It is well understood that identity is an important and integral part of any ideology therefore need to be studied in such context.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

It is observed that most of the writers and academicians relate 'Phule-Ambedkarite Movement' with Dalits (SC's) only. For instance, Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) describe itself as a party of 'Bahujan' (the majority) where Bahujan comprise scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward classes and converted minorities but the academia always described it as a 'party of Dalits.' Even today when the BSP has started describing itself as a party of Sarvajans (all people) but academia still continues to term it as party of Dalits. It may be consciously or unconsciously done but it leads to the same results i.e. it creates confusions in the society. Before BSP, Republican Party of India established in October 1957 after the demise of Ambedkar tried to have a mass base. In this context Gokhale, (1993:217-218) highlights that, “At its formation, (3 October

1957), the RPI took pains to establish itself as a non-communal party which was dedicated to the cause of social and economic equality. It defined clientele very broadly and avoided specific references to untouchability except in so far as it related to the larger problem of inequality of afflicting Indian society. It was to be the defender of the interests of the dalit classes, the adivasis or tribal peoples, the backward classes, the Nava Buddha society, the working class, the peasant classes and the landless labourers.” But it is observed that the same was termed as party of Mahars only by many academicians.

The contemporary writers and academicians of the above quality can be termed as infected/associated with “ideology in particular” from the Mannheim’s perspective (Mannheim 1968:49-96). Similarly, it is a fact that Dalit panthers movement also tried to mobilize schedule castes, schedule tribes, OBCs. Not only that the panthers tried to include women and economically and religiously exploited people from upper caste as well with the influence of Ambedkarite and Marxist ideology but it was also projected as the movement of untouchables (SCs) only, these are the kind of confusions about these movements based on Phule-Ambedkarite ideology.

There is another variety of confusions in the Phule-Ambedkarite movement. At the outset the researchers try to limit Ambedkar’s movement to Ambedkar’s religious conversion. They do not see his vision beyond conversion to Buddhism and over-emphasize the practice of meditation and other religious rituals. These varieties can be found both in academics as well as in the field of organizations and activism. There is another variety of confusions created by the politicians who call themselves as Ambedkarites. Kumar (2000:7) in his unpublished doctoral thesis on “Nature and Dynamics of the Dalit Leadership” has observed that: “In the contemporary period, the Dalit leaders as well as leadership as whole have left the social reforms in isolation. They are more oriented towards achieving political power and rights for themselves as well as for the Dalit masses.” That means they create a consciousness among the masses that social reforms cannot precede the political revolution or to lead social reform we have to have political power first. Kumar (2000), makes another important observation saying that, “In fact, the Dalit leadership has been lagging an ideology which can bind together first of all the Dalits, and then the OBCs and minorities both at regional and national

level and which, in turn, may provide it with political identity different from identity of general leadership in the country.”

Hence we can observe that there is a problem of unified ideology in the Ambedkarite movement as well. Further he mentions that, “the issue of a separate socio-cultural and political (an independent political entity/pressure group) identity is still unresolved.” According to him, “this is evident from the fact that some sections of Dalit claim to be the original inhabitants of the country and, hence, separate from the Hindus whereas others accept themselves as part and parcel of Hinduism.” He further states that, “Dalits are not comfortable with the various nomenclatures like Harijan, Untouchables, Schedule Caste, etc. which are given to them by others. Quite a few Dalits are not happy with the identity of Dalit coined by them. They are unhappy with their new religious nomenclatures of neo-Buddhist, neo-Muslim, Dalit Christians either. And nobody knows with what nomenclature the leadership would be able to organize all the Dalits under one banner in future.” He suggests that, “it is imperative to have one common identity if Dalit leadership wants to have politico-social unity.” He concludes that, “in more concrete sense the lack of one common dominant ideology is another form of crisis of the contemporary Dalit leadership (Kumar 2000:8)”.

Hence we can see that the Phule-Ambedkarite movement faces different types of problems. One the perception of the others about it. Second the problem of unified ideology and identity. Therefore while proposing to understand the meaning of the words- ‘Phule-Ambedkarite’ and ‘Mulnivasi Bahujan’ and produce the definitions of the same, we will have to look at the arguments in support of ‘Dalit identity’ and its terminology (as it is most popular in literature now a days) along with its relevance to its ultimate objective. Under these circumstances, few organisations like Backward And Minority Communities Employees Federation (BAMCEF), since 1970s, it is trying to propound a unified identity for the SCs, STs, OBCs, and converted minorities, that is ‘Mulnivasi-Bahujan.’ They are claiming that they are the original inhabitants of this land. The Aryans have come from outside and subjugated the ‘Mulnivasi-Bahujan’ and have divided them in thousands of Castes. Further, they have also tried to propagate a unified ideology in the name of ‘Phule –Ambedkarite ideology for an egalitarian social order (BAMCEF, 2004: An institution of social change, D. K. Khaparde Memorial Trust,

Mumbai). It will be interesting to probe their strategies how they have become successful in mass awakening and mass mobilization, under the system of democracy.

Understanding the Confusion of the Word Dalit:

There is wide spread confusion amongst the Phule-Ambedkarite masses about the use of term 'Dalit'. Some prominent organizers like Kanshi Ram and D. K. Khaparde (leaders of BAMCEF) have denounced and rejected the term 'Dalit' and tried to propagate Bahujan identity instead of Dalit identity. But even today a vast population, academicians and layman alike make use of it. They not only make use of it but also glorify it. While doing so they keep on mentioning that Ambedkar has used the term 'Dalit'. But it is a fact that, Ambedkar never used it as an identity to refer to the whole mass to which he intended to organise but it is only an intellectual guess that Ambedkar might have used in this context. But there is no written document that can prove the point. Also his Guru Jyotirao Phule had never used the term 'Dalit' while referring to the movement and the people, for whom he worked, rather he used the word-"original inhabitants" (*Phule1873:xii, in Slavery, translated by P.G.Patil, Education Department, Govt. Of Maharashtra*), the Hindi translation of the same is-"Mulnivasi"(Vimalkirti2002:27). But even then some scholars (academicians) have recently started arguing that Ambedkar had also used the term 'Dalit'. While saying so, they have not given the context and reference in which Ambedkar had used the term. It has been argued by the general masses that Ambedkar had used the term depressed classes which has been translated in Marathi as 'Dalit.' Though their interpretations can be studied for understanding of their arguments only, but we must refer to the original sources.

Secondly the movement and ideology of Phule and Ambedkar was not only for untouchable or scheduled castes. Phule and Ambedkar worked for the emancipation of a larger population, which included scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward classes and religious converted minority. This is a valid argument raised by BAMCEF.

Basic tenets of Phule and Ambedkar's movement

With the view to have a better understanding of the problem raised here it is essential to present in brief the basic ideological aspects of Phule and Ambedkar's movement.

Introducing the Ideologues

Jyotirao Phule (1827-1890):

Jyotirao Phule (1827-1890) is a person who had launched his crusade against Brahmanism in modern India (1848-1890). Thus, while laying down the foundation of his movement for the human (civil) rights movement in the modern India, he had diagnosed the root cause of downfall of 'Shudras-Atishudras' as the lack of education and knowledge. It is evident from the following piece of his organized thought, the first line of his book 'Cultivators whip-cord':

“Without education, intellect was lost;
Without knowledge (wisdom), morality was lost;
Without morality, mobility (Dynamism) was lost;
Without mobility, economy was lost;
Without economy (wealth) Shudras were degraded (sank),
Lack of education has caused all these disasters.”

- (Phadake ed., 1991: 253)

It is important to note here that even though he was not academician, his writings are worth studying not only under a single discipline but also under multidisciplinary discourses as his being the matter of multi dimensional movement.

Further Phule had also tried to highlight the aspects of ideologies prevailing in the society. The following excerpt from his poem explains his views about the prevailing nature of society.

All ideologies have decayed,
No one views comprehensively.
What is trivial, what is great?
Cannot be understood.

Philosophies fill the market,
Gods have become a cacophony;
To the enticements of desire
People fall prey.
All, everywhere it has decayed;
Truth and untruth cannot be assayed;
This is how people have become one
Everywhere.
There is a cacophony of opinions,
No one heeds another;
Each one thinks the opinion
He has found is great.
Pride in untruth
Dooms them to destruction -
So the wise people say,
Seek truth.

- (Quoted in Omvedt 2005:23, Dalit Vision)

The above poem attracts the attention of the philosophical minds especially of the sociological philosophers. Omvedt (2005:23) while reflecting on the above poem and relating it to the methodological aspect of research in sociology states that: "His response to the ideological confusions of his day sounds strikingly 'post-modern'... Phule's thought proved that socio-political struggles of the Indian people could generate universal criterion. Phule also talked about knowledge and power much before Foucault did. In fact, Foucault's postmodernist analysis comes at a time when Europe has literally seen the 'end of history' whereas Phule's efforts were to change the world/society with the weapon of knowledge... Phule's argument that knowledge, education and science were weapons of advancement for the exploited masses, was in contrast to all elitist theories that sought to link western science and eastern morals and argue that Indians could maintain their (Brahmanical) traditions while adopting science and technology from the west for material development. For Phule rather vidya or knowledge was in direct contrast with

the Brahmanic, ritualistic shastra and was a weapon for equality and human freedom as well as economic advance. He constantly stressed the need for Shudras and Ati-Shudras to stand forth and think on their own.”

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956):

Ambedkar, another mainstay of Phule-Ambedkarite movement who championed the cause of the oppressed Indians, has similar vantage point as Phule had. The whole world of academia is well aware about Ambedkar’s achievements in the academics. He was well verse in the subjects like philosophy, economics, sociology, political science, history, law etc. He had established his scholarship at world famous educational institutions where he studied and also at all the institutions in India where he fought for the civil rights of the people of India, who were leaderless and oppressed. Further he has worked as a statesman and laboriously drafted the constitution of India and gave a vision to all of its citizens to follow the path of parliamentary democracy for a peaceful revolutionary progress and prosperity. Recognising his academic credential Thompson, Edward wrote: “Ambedkar a master in his own very vigorous and individual fashion of the English language. He is a most exhilarating polemist, utterly fearless with a wide command of the unexpected and devastating illustration- historical or otherwise- and his energy files so swiftly that it produces by the way most effective results ... If anything by Ambedkar comes your way read it and you will understand why he often makes orthodox Hindus hopping mad. He is one of the dozen most astonishing men in India (quoted from cover page of ‘Thoughts on Pakistan, Moon, 1990, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches, Vol-8, The Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay’)”.

Moon (2002:17) has stated that, “during 1917 Dr. Ambedkar after his return from England wrote a critical review on Bertrand Russell’s book, ‘*Reconstruction of Society*’ and published it in ‘Indian Economic Society’. His essay ‘*Caste in India*’ was republished during the same period. The essay was considered as inestimable that the editor of the ‘*American Journal of Sociology*’ quoted most of it in a magazine called the ‘*World’s Best Literature of the Month*’.

As every one is aware that Ambedkar was not only an intellectual, who remained content with the books, rather he acted as a leader of the movement as well; Ambedkar was possibly the first leader who had raised the issue of access to water in the country. Ambedkar in his famous address on 25th December 1927 at Mahad Satyagrah, had expressed the objective of the movement he had started:

“Ours is a movement which aim at not only removing our own disabilities, but also at bringing about the social revolution, a revolution that will remove all man-made barriers of caste by providing equal opportunities to all to rise to the highest position and making no distinction between the man and made so far as civil rights are concerned. If we achieve success in our movement to unite all the Hindus in a single caste we shall have rendered the greatest services to the Indian Nation in general and to the Hindu community in particular. The present caste system with its invidious distinctions and unjust dispensations is one of the greatest sources of our communal and, National weakness. Our movement stands for *strength and solidarity, for equality, liberty and fraternity* (Kunte, eds., 1982:16)

Ambedkar's effort's to unite untouchable Shudra's (SC's) and touchable Shudra's (OBC's) can be seen through his sequence of writings along with his organisational endeavours. When the Indian National Congress was busy with the mission of independence, Ambedkar was engaged in writing two important books namely, '*Who were the Shudra's*'(1946) and '*The Untouchables*' (1948) to create an ideological base to unite them. While the former book is dedicated to his guru Jyotirao Phule (1827-1890), the latter is dedicated to Untouchable saints – Nandnar, Ravidas and Chokamela – jointly. Later on when Ambedkar established Independent labour party, he has tried to forge an alliance all the working class, the agricultural labour and the industrial labour. The manifesto referred to problem confronting the working classes as a whole rather than the Depressed classes in particular and mention of the peculiar problems of untouchables and the institution of untouchability was almost totally absent (Goghale 1993: 133-4).

Going through the above mentioned references we can comprehend both Phule and Dr. Ambedkar's intellectual capabilities and move further to know about the legacy of their leadership as presented below.

LEGACY OF LEADERSHIP

It is essential to mention here the fact that, the movement of human (civil) rights for establishing equality and justice in India was launched effectively under the leadership of Phule with the organization called 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' during 1848-1890 and after his demise it was lead by his wife Savitribai Phule (1890-1897) who was equally involved in Satyashodhak Samaj Movement. After her demise it was patronised by Shahu Maharaj and handed over to Ambedkar (1917-1956). In the *Mangaon Conference* held on 21st March 1920, in the princely state of Kolhapur state Shahu Maharaj while delegating the legacy of leadership to Ambedkar said, "You have found your messiah in Dr. Ambedkar. I am sure he will unshackle your fetters. Not only that but Dr. Ambedkar will be considered as one of the prominent leaders of India (Moon 2002: 20-21)". Ambedkar in his one of the historic speech delivered on Dec.7th 1951 at Nasik had asserted that, "I had never in the past and not at present any hesitations to say that I am a follower of Jyotiba, I can say with confidence that I am the only person who has remained committed to Jyotiba till the dates (Quoted in Khaparde1990: 1)" It is a well known fact that Shahu Maharaj also gave scholarship to Dr. Ambedkar for higher studies in England in the year 1921, along with a letter of recommendation in favour of Dr. Ambedkar to the London School of Economics, to which Sighting this letter of recommendation in proper context Jaffrelot (2005:29) argues that, "It reveals much about 'Anti-Brahmin' solidarity". It is produced below:

"He [Mr. Ambedkar] will explain you the difference between the Backward Caste and the Brahmin bureaucracy. Also he will tell you what suffering one who trys to sympathize has to undergo at the hands of the bureaucrat Brahmins who claim to have democratic ideas, wish to raise the backward caste but who really crave nothing better than and oligarchy for themselves. He intends to lay before you, the enlightened public of England, the view point of Non-Brahmin Hindus who are unanimous in the opinion that in asking for Home Rule, the real object of the Brahmins has been to regain and establish their long lost power."

On the basis of above facts we can ague that there was a close connection between Phule and Ambedkar's movement. Both were addressing the issues related to

masses belonging to SC, ST and OBCs, and the legacy of their leadership followed even after Dr. Ambedkar; D.K.Khaparde (Nagpur, Maharashtra) and Kanshi Ram (Hoshiarpur, Punjab) are the prominent amongst those who came after Ambedkar to follow the same line of ideology and organisations. Before we come to analyse the different theoretical issues, which have been in the study let us, see the key concepts in the study.

EXPLANATION TO THE KEY CONCEPT IN THE STUDY

Before we come to analyze the different aspects of the study we would like to discuss some key concepts used in this study:

Defining Social Movements

While defining social movements Rao (2002:1) argues, "...Social movements are mechanism through which men attempt to move from the periphery of a system to its centre. That is, movements are conscious efforts on the part of men to mitigate their deprivation and secure justice. Second while movements are conditioned by social – structural factors, it implies voluntaristic action: men create movement to achieve the goals they hold dear. Third, movements are perhaps the Chief mechanism through which the deprived categories demonstrate this power. United by an ideology, they create organizational devices to fight the evils and address grievances. Once a social category develops commitment to a movement's ideology and organization, their mobilization may be relatively easy. Thus, movements emerge when men committed to a specified set of goals participate in protest – oriented, purposive collective actions. Similarly quoting Wilkinson, Shah (1990:16) argues that, "A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian community' (Shah 1990: 16)."

According to Rao, (2002:2), social movement is generally oriented towards bringing about change, either partial or total, in existing system of relationships, values and norms, although there are efforts which are oriented towards resisting change and maintaining the status quo. The latter are more in the nature of counter attempts which

are defensive and restorative rather than innovative and initiating change. They are the organised efforts of an already established, routinised order to maintain itself.”

Classification of Social Movements

Sociologists have tried to clarify the social movements. On the basis of locus of a movement we can classify movement into Peasant Movements, Backward Castes/Classes Movements, Dalit Movements, Religious and sectarian Movements, Tribal Movements, Women’s Movements, Industrial Workers Movements, Student Movements, Middle-Class Movements (Rao 2002:3). Further Rao argues that, “on the basis of the criteria of the consequences of a movements, there are some movement oriented towards bringing about reform in some area of life or the other, involving new relationship, activities, norms and values. Other movements are oriented towards bringing about changes in super-ordinate and subordinate relationships which may be designated as transformative. Still others work towards bringing about revolutionary changes in all the spheres of life and in all basic values. (Rao 2002:3). It is in this context Rao emphasizes that classification of social movements only helps to identify the main feature of a movement it does not fully explain, its origin, growth, dynamics and consequences. Any classification is bound to remain inadequate, for a movement tends to acquire new features during its course and any course of development and any classification can only be relative to a particular place in its development.

Genesis of Social Movements

Social movements develop out of a deliberate, organized and conscious effort on the part of members of a society to construct theory of social movement (Rao 2002:5). This means social movements do not arise out of negative condition of relative deprivation and strain. According to Rao (2002:4), “Broadly speaking there are three main theories which try to explain the structural conditions and motivational forces which give rise to a movement: These are theories of relative deprivation, strain and revitalization.” Further, according to him the theory of relative derivation has developed on two different lines, social mobility and social conflict. In this context movements start when people think they are not getting enough or one group of people fees deprived in comparison to other group. Group may also thick other group is getting more at its

expense. Importantly Rao argues that relative deprivation theorist is that the structural conditions of relative deprivation provide only necessary conditions and not the sufficient condition. The, “sufficient conditions are provided by the perception of a situation and by the estimate of capabilities by certain leaders that they can do some to remedy the situation (Rao2002:5)

All social movements do not arise out of relative deprivation structural strain at different levels of norms, values, mobilization, situational facilities also give rise to social movements (Rao 2002:5). Quoting Smelser, Rao (2002:5) explains that, “While strain provides the structural condition, the crystallization of a generalized belief marks the attempt of persons under strain to asses their situation, and to explain the situation on by creating or assembling a generalized belief. Both strain and generalized beliefs require precipitating factors to trigger of a movement.”

What is important to note in the context of origin of social movements that these three elements or factors responsible for origin of movements are not exclusive, in the sense that if one exists the other two cannot. They are interrelated. In fact all the three factors can be found in most social movements, yes it is possible that in one movement one of these elements can be prominent and in any other movement any other factor can dominate. In examining the origins of social movement or have to try to locate the one factor which predominates, this is important for determining the nature and scope of the movement. What does the movement try to gain? Which interest does it represents. In the light of above we will try to analyse the Phule-Ambedkarite movement.

Social Mobilization

Social mobilisation refers to a process of change affecting substantial chunk of population in the society, showing sign of shift from traditional to modern views. It brackets together a number of specific processes of change, including the need for new patterns of group affiliation and new images of personal identity. Deutch argues that by this process, major cluster of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialisation and behaviour (Deutch 1961:453-514). But according to Weiner (1962), social mobilisation

in India is not likely to lead to homogeneity but it already seems to have aggregated some small groups into somewhat greater size. Social mobilisation, therefore, does not necessarily freeze the traditional system at the pre-existing level of social cleavage. It may reinvigorate a social cleavage at a high level of interest aggregation. Further, Rudolph and Rudolph (1987:24-28) have conceptualised the process of socio-political mobilisation of the people in India through the basic institution of caste. They also explain that the process of mobilisation is found in the three forms: vertical, horizontal and differential. These processes of mobilization have resulted in integration (fusion) as well as differentiation (fission) among the different caste and communities in India (Rudolph and Rudolph 1987:88-103)

In this context, Rudolph and Rudolph's (1987:144-145) analysis of political mobilisation of the Dalits reveal quite interesting facts. They visualise the use of horizontal and differential process of mobilisation by the Dalits in politics. According to them, "The Scheduled Castes Federation, founded by Ambedkar in 1942, contested the general elections in 1952 and 1957. It expressed in its name and politics a sense of communal separateness, and it pursued, for the most part, a strategy of horizontal rather than differential mobilisation by appealing to and organising Mahars (in Maharashtra). The more radical and ideological Republican Party of India, which Ambedkar established after the second general election of 1957, attempted to move toward differential mobilisation by combining appeals to the poor and dispossessed with efforts to broaden the party's community base". Further, they highlight that, "Most village untouchables remain subject to vertical mobilization by dominant castes upon whom they are economically dependent" (ibid 152).

Besides, Lelah Dushkin (1998) has also analysed the functioning of the processes of mobilization- vertical, horizontal, and differential given by Rudolphs (1987) in the sphere of Dalit mobilization in Indian politics. She explains, "If we apply these types or forms of mobilisation to the scheduled caste politics, the first would require the untouchable leaders to play the part of the loyal 'Harijan', analogous to the "Uncle Tom" of American parlance. Under this arrangement, locally powerful upper-caste notables mobilize the voters – both Dalits and non-Dalits to fill the reserved seats with their own

Dalit men or women whom they manipulate and control in regard to performing the political roles by the latter. These men and women are bound to the upper caste man through the traditional ties. But contrary to this, the legal model of the protective discrimination policy seems, in fact, to call for the second and third forms of political mobilisation of the voters". According to Dushkin, it suggests more or less a stage theory, as follows: Stage 1: the British created a category of the Scheduled Castes, which, through the horizontal mobilisation of its component groups, presses it for upward mobility en-bloc. The leadership skills called for here are those needed to turn the legal category into an organised bloc, no small task. The tactics would presumably include emphasis on the Scheduled Castes' communal loyalties, symbols and objectives overriding those of locality, party and birth in a particular caste. Stage 2: as the members move into new fields of endeavour and gain differentially economic prosperity, education including the higher one and more favourable links with a larger society. Thus, develops an 'elongated' structure, and with it a tendency to mobilise on the basis of economic, ideological, and personal interests through political parties and factions that cut across caste affiliation (Dushkin 1998:209).

As stated by M.S.A Rao (2001:xvi) in his introduction to the social movements in India: Studies in Peasant, Backward Classes, Sectarian, Tribal and Women's Movement: "If we consider a social movement to be an organised effort on the part of a section of population, involving collective mobilization based on an ideology, to bring about changes (either partial or total) in the social system, then we have to see the social processes as consisting of inter-related social activities, interactions and events as related to ideology on the one hand and, connected with social and cultural changes on the other... However, only when collective action is somewhat sustained as distinct from a sporadic occurrence, it does take the form of a movement. This collective action however need not be formally organised, but should be able to create an interest and awakening in a sufficiently large number of people. Hence, social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilisation through either informal or formal organisation."

Here it is important to mention that the concept of social mobilisation, to which we will be referring in this study shall adapt the explanation as given above to analyse the

extents and magnitudes of the ideological strategies used by the leadership at various point of time to give a live and vibrant form to their moments by testing their strength in the form of mass support. Here we would like to replace the word 'Collective mobilisation' with 'social mobilisation' simply for understanding it in a better manner.

Apart from social movement we have used the concept of ideology which needs some clarification.

Ideology

The Oxford dictionary defines it as, "a system of ideas and principles forming the basis of an economic or political theory". In other words it states that "it is the set of beliefs held by a particular group: bourgeoisie ideology". While discussing conceptual problems in the social movements, Rao states that, "the formulation of ideology is an important aspect of any social movement. The leaders work out different themes by which the concerned section in the movement attempts to improve its self-image, respect and honour (Rao 2001:7)". He further states that, "Ideology is a dynamic phenomenon - old identities are discarded and new ones are assumed. The self-perception of the group changes in the context of the current objectives to be gained and interests to be pursued." We will be keeping this interpretation of the dynamic nature of Ideology and Identity in mind while analyzing the facts and perceptions of the academic literature on the same. (ibid : P.192).

Gore, quoting Edward Shils (1993:28), describes ideology as, "one variant from those comprehensive patterns of cognitive and moral beliefs about man and society, and the universe in relation to man and society, which flourish in human societies" but Gore has given a his own definition as – "thus, a broader definition of 'ideology' as a system of ideas which gives legitimacy to an existing or proposed system of relationships, and correspondingly supports and action programme to sustain or subvert the prevailing system, may prove more useful". Mannheim (1936) who studied the concept of Ideology under the discipline of sociology with the view to establish a new field of study as 'Sociology of Knowledge' while explaining the concepts namely "Ideology in particular" and "Ideology in total". According to him this was with the aim of producing a thorough

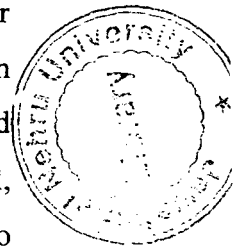
sociological analysis or understanding of the concept (Ideology). He states that, “the particular conception of ideology is implied when the term denotes that we are sceptical of the ideas and representations advanced by our opponent. They are regarded as more or less conscious disguises of the real nature of a situation, the true recognition of which would not be in accord with his interests. These distortions range all the way from conscious lies to half conscious and unwitting disguises; from calculated attempts to dupe others to self-deception” (Mannheim 1968:49). He further states that, “the particular conception of ideology operates primarily with a psychology of interests, while the total conception uses a more formal functional analysis, without any reference to motivations, confining itself to an objective description of the structural differences in minds operating in different social settings. The former assumes that this or that interest is the cause of a given lie or deception. The latter presupposes simply that there is a correspondence between a given social situation and a given perspective, point of view, or apperception mass. In this case, while an analysis of constellations of interests may often be necessary it is not to establish casual connections but to characterize the total situation. The interest psychology tends to be displaced by an analysis of the correspondence between the situation to be known and the forms of knowledge” (Mannheim 1968:51).

While defining the concept of ‘totality’ he clarifies that, “totality in the sense in which we conceive it is not an immediate and eternally valid vision of reality attributable only to a divine eye. It is not a self-contained and stable view. On the contrary, a total view implies both the assimilation and transcendence of the limitation of particular points of view. It represents the continuous process of the expansion of knowledge, and has as its own goal not achievement of super-temporally valid conclusion but the broadest possible extensions of our horizon of vision.” (Mannheim 1968:94). He further states that, “it may also be true that the very form of expression, in which we clothe our thoughts, tends to impose upon them an absolute tone. In our epoch, however, it is precisely the function of historical investigation (and, as we shall see, of those social groups from which the scholars are to be recruited), to analyse the elements that make up our self-assurance, so indispensable for action in immediate, concrete situations, and to counteract the bias which might arise from what we, as individuals, take for granted. This

is possible only through incessant care and the determination to reduce to a minimum the tendency to self-apotheosis.

Through this effort the one-sidedness of our point of view is counteracted, and conflicting intellectual positions may come to actually supplement on another.... the crisis in thought is not a crisis affecting merely a single intellectual position, but a crisis of a whole world which has reached a certain stage in its intellectual development. To see more clearly the confusion into which our social and intellectual life has fallen represents an enrichment rather than a loss... thought is a process determined by actual social forces, continually questioning its findings and correcting its procedure... the most promising aspect of present situation, however, is that we can never be satisfied with narrow perspectives, but will constantly seek to understand and interpret particular insights from an ever more inclusive context.” (Mannheim:1968:95)

For our own understanding we may define ideology as – “a set of ideas or thoughts arranged in a logical sequence to create the meaningful statements with intentions to represent perspectives or philosophy regarding social phenomenon’s related to any human society (life) regarding the roles, status, and patterns of relationship (social, economic, political, cultural and religious) under its structure with specific objectives to describe and convey the meanings of the social facts, reality and life conditions of the relevant society as understood by the observer to the other members of the society with the view to maintain or change the existing systems along with an ideal image/structure desired to be in existence or come into reality”.



Dynamics

Now we must seek to understand the meaning of the word ‘Dynamics’. According to the Oxford Dictionary (2003: 276) Dynamics is the branch of mechanics concerned with the motion of bodies under the action of forces or the forces which stimulate change within a process. Though this is a concept evolved in the material sciences/life sciences, but also is in use to understand the social phenomenon in its relative sense. Therefore we will be using this to explain the nature and characteristics of a social concept called ‘Ideology’.

Dynamics of Ideology

Here by combining the two concepts of ideology and dynamics we can drive the meaning of 'Dynamics of Ideology. Accordingly dynamics of ideology means, the study of nature and character of the social forces which stimulate development or changes within a system of ideas and ideals (ideology) or the set of belief and characteristics of a social group or individual forming the basis of theories (social, political, economic, cultural, religious) along with their origin and genesis.

Phule – Ambedkarite Movement

The study of Phule-Ambedkarite movement at this juncture will help us to understand the linearity of the two leader's ideology and movement. As we know though they belong to different caste groups i.e. Phule belong to OBC category and Ambedkar to SC category, yet they wanted the amelioration of same group of people i.e. S.C., ST, OBC. In this context the study becomes important in contemporary India, because the OBC's are projected as the neo-kshatriyas and are responsible for exploitation of schedule caste today. In every part of the country it is OBC who is involved in the conflict with scheduled castes today. That is why people agree that there cannot be unity between OBC and schedule caste can there be unity among the OBC's and SC's? If yes, then India will have a peaceful village society. Otherwise the violence and conflict in the villages destroy the peace. We can know some of these facts about the Indian society. Here, the study can also reveal the dynamics of identities of SCs, STs and OBCs can there be a united identity of the classes. We know that the unified identities can give certain groups a chance to assert. Here it is important to mention that "Phule-Ambedkarite movement" or "Mulnivasi Bahujan Movement." Which is discussed in this study may be classified as Backward Classes Movements. It can also be termed as *protest or civil rights* movement, as per the theoretical framework given by M. S. A. Rao.

The term 'Phule-Ambedkarite Movement' shall refer to the social movement of the majority of Indian society comprised of the Scheduled caste, Scheduled Tribes, other

backward castes and religious converted minority communities (mentioned in the Indian Constitution), the movement that had born out of the inspirations and directions given by Phule and Ambedkar for the protection of interests/civil rights of those masses to whom we call as ‘Mulnivasi Bahujan Samaj’ as per the definition given by Mr. D.K. Khaparde, one of the most respected organizer in the Phule-Ambedkarite masses (1960-2005) who is well known as a colleague of Mr. Kanshi Ram (Kumar 2005:115). The one who introduced Mr. Kanshi Ram to the Phule-Ambedkarite movement also, the one who has contributed his efforts with and after Kanshi Ram to shape the ideology and the structure of the organization called BAMCEF ,The All India Backward (SC,ST,OBC & Minority Communities Employees Federation. In his literature he used the terms, “Phule-Ambedkarite Movement” and “Mulnivasi Bahujan Movement” under the banner of BAMCEF (Mulnivasi Times, English fortnightly, editor: D. K. Khaparde, 1995-2000). Here it is essential to mention that, the ‘Phule-Ambedkarite Movement’ must not be equated with the “Dalit Movement”. The subsequent chapters in this study shall give an elaborated explanation to this point. Also it must not be mistakenly (consciously or unloving) termed or understood as “anti-Brahmin” or “non-Brahmin” movement. It shall be understood in a positive perspective as a Movement to build an “Indian Nation” based on Phule-Ambedkarite ideology as enshrined in the constitution of India. It is a movement based on an ideology of equality, liberty, fraternity and justice.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To analyse and understand movements of Phule and Ambedkar.
2. To analyze the relationship between Phule and Ambedkar’s movement.
3. To analyse the identity of “Phule-Ambedkarite movement.”
4. To locate the forces acting in the process of identity formation in Phule-Ambedkarite movement.”

RATIONALE OF STUDY

The use of the names of Phule and Ambedkar to name the said movement and its ideology under the present study has the historical context. Phule had launched the movement of '*Satyashodhak Samaj*' along with its ideology of truth to organize Shudra and Atishudra – against 'Irani Aryanbhatt' or 'Shetji-Bhattji' in his own words to end mental slavery of the Shudra and *Atishudra*'s – indigenous people/original inhabitants to which the Hindi word is '*Mulnivasi*'. Dr. Ambedkar while considering Phule as his guru, used the same strategy to organize '*Shudra – Atishudra*' but under a new constitutional identity as backwards (SC, ST, OBC and Minority). Therefore, the followers of Phule and Ambedkar while making the use of their ideology have evolved a joint term '*Phule-Ambedkarite ideology*' and while giving names to their movements they use the term '*Phule-Ambedkarite movement*'. There is also a strategic element in it, which suggests that it helps the organizers to polarize OBC's and SC's in the name of Phule and Ambedkar. It is important to note that Phule belonged to OBC and Ambedkar to SC. The strategy of Phule and Ambedkar was also based on the foundation to organize all backward castes. Therefore it is logical to the nature of organizations aiming at organizing all backwards by using of the iconic values attached with the personality of Phule and Ambedkar. This helps the organizers in mass mobilization. This is a point of connection of the names of Phule and Ambedkar. But its theoretical location under such classification may desire further empirical studies in detail from sociological point of view. Keeping in mind the above understanding we have chosen to use the term '*Phule-Ambedkarite Movement*' in the context of present study.

Secondly, it is important to understand that the nomenclature of movements and their ideologies are generally based on two factors. The first factor is the consideration of the identity of the masses (Target group- interest group). And the second factor is naturally the pioneering leaders who contribute their intellectual efforts for propounding the fundamental tenets of ideology to organize masses in their movements. The movements are therefore generally named after the identity around which the masses get organized on one side and the names of the founding leaders on the other side. In the same way the backward classes movement in India that believes in ideology of "Phule

and Ambedkar” is understood in two ways. The first way is to recognize it with the names of the founding leaders i.e. “Phule-Ambedkarite movement.” The other way is to recognize it with the identity of the target group i.e. “Mulnivasi Bahujan Movement”, as stated by D. K. Khaparde (MULNIVASI TIMES: 1995-2000 and a booklet-Mulnivasi Bahujanvad.)

Thus, the present study on “Phule-Ambedkarite movement” based on iconic and symbolic value of Phule and Ambedkar’s personalities and ideology becomes important in discipline of sociology, as probably this is a single study of its kind on ‘Phule-Ambedkarite movement’, from the viewpoints of sociological analysis of dynamics of its ideology and identity.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

The study is based on the secondary sources of data and these sources are of two types that are published and unpublished. The published sources naturally consist of the books and textbooks relevant to the concepts in the study and issues and themes along with the present in the university libraries, in the form of M.Phil dissertation and Ph.D. Thesis along with the research papers presented in the academic seminars.

We have extensively extracted data from research reports, government records, paper clipping, newspapers and magazines. The Journals and government gazetteers have also been consulted. We have used the pamphlets and hand-bills of some organisations running Phule-Ambedkarite movement.

CHAPTER SCHEME

Chapter I- This chapter is to introduce us to the background and the statement of problem of the study. It also explained objectives of the study. This chapter also for explanations to the theoretical aspects involved in the study. It explains the key concepts and states the nature and sources of data collection also.

- Chapter II-** The second chapter outlines the framework of line of thinking and fundamental tenets of the movement launched by Jyotirao Phule and outlines the strategic elements of his thought by classifying it under subsections as – social, religious, political, cultural and economic along with an account of the organizations he developed and the important events there of.
- Chapter III-** Chapter three of the study–includes the basic framework of movement and ideology of Dr. Ambedkar and gives brief account of his thoughts classified under sub sections as - social, religious, political, cultural and economic. The chapter also discusses the events of the organizations he developed and the important events there of...
- Chapter IV-** This chapter tries to for understand the critical and core issue of identity in Phule-Ambedkarite movement. The chapter highlights the importance of identity, symbols, and slogans as the basic elements around which ideologies are designed. The chapter discusses to different types of identities namely “Dalit’ identity and ‘Mulnivasi Bahujan’ identity. The chapter analyses the reasons why the first identity has become so popular and why the second was not.
- Chapter V-** The last chapter gives us a brief overview of the important points discussed in the preceding chapters. It has three important points under which it locates the theme and these being – Identity crisis, deconstructing and reconstructing Identity and gives theoretical framework to the Phule-Ambedkarite movement or Mulnivasi Bahujan movement. At the end it suggests further empirical research regarding the issues evolved.

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Chapter - II

MOVEMENT AND IDEOLOGY OF JOTIRAO PHULE

Keeping in mind the basic focus of study the movement and ideology of Jotirao Phule needs to be presented in brief so as to draw a clear-cut outline of the framework of his movement and ideology. Therefore this chapter will focus on the key elements of his movement and ideology.

The Movement of Phule (1827 – 1890)

We can say that education in India in for the modern sense of the word did not exist before the middle of the 19th century when Phule, started schools in 1848. The most significant aspect of these schools was that he allowed the boys of Shudras and Atishudras to get education for the first time along with other sections of society. He started another school in 1851 allowing the girls of Shudras and Atishudras. During his school days, his reading a book “Rights of Man” written by a great revolutionary philosopher Thomas Paine had created a great influence on his mind (Phadake ed. 1991:21). The influence was to decide the direction of his further thinking. Phule had the opportunity to get his education in a Missionary school. His association with the missionaries has also influenced his ideas about the equality and compassion, this can be observed in his drama ‘Third Eye (Trutiya Ratna)’ in which a Christian missionary (Father of a Church) plays a role of scientific explainer in the context of and irrationality propagated by a Brahmin priest. Secondly, he got the august company of a neighbour Muslim friend, Usman Sheikh (Khaparde 1990:34). These social relations extended him a chance to compare the doctrines and practices of the Hindu religion with the other two prominent faiths of the world i.e. Christianity and Islam. He developed doubts about the divinity of Hindu religion and its doctrines (O’Hanlon 1985:205). Soon came the insult inflicted upon him in the marriage party of a Brahmin colleague (in 1848) (Khaparde: 1990: 29), which added fuel to fire. The young Jotirao adopted Lahujibuva Mang as his physical teacher. He sat far into the night brooding over the revolutionary thought of

equality of all human beings. The force gathered in his stout heart inspired by the lives of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj (1627-1680), George Washington (1732-1799), and Thomas Paine (1737-1809) (Rosalind 1985: 110). It took no much time for him to resolve to fight back for the cause of the society in which he was born as also to realise the full force of the mental slavery and the poverty from which the Shudras and Atishudras had been suffering from centuries. He launched a crusade against the priesthood and Brahminical supremacy with a deep sense of commitment that was not to be shaken by the threats to his life and expulsion from the house on being instigated to do so by the Brahmins. All his actions, thoughts, dreams, motions and desires were directed towards his goal. He concluded that social slavery was worse than political slavery. Jotirao was the first after Buddha who could raise the revolt against Brahmin religion and Brahmanism in Modern India (Khaparde 1990:1). In this regard Rosalind O'Hanlon (1985:204) has argued that, "the Buddha had belonged to the same tradition in his struggle against the vices of Brahmanic Hinduism." He organised the Shudras and Atishudras to prepare them for waging a decisive war against the social slavery and removed their ignorance for developing a feeling of self-respect and self-confidence among them. He took to writing and released his famous book "*Gulamgiri*" and also founded "*Satyashodhak Samaj*" (truth seeking society) during 1873. The Satyashodhak Samaj took up the task of awakening the people through various popular programmes. Phule was successful in convincing the British that his movement, being for the cause of the millions of downtrodden who were denied the status of a human, despite the fact that they provided for a vital base to the nation, was ultimately for the salvation of the image of the country.

The Indian National Congress was established in 1885 in the wake of demands of Swarajya. Phule and his lieutenants apprehended more repression of the backward classes at the hands of the Hindus as per their past experiences, and therefore they were against the change of power to the hands of the inhuman and tyrannical Swarnas by the British. He stressed for getting the destiny of the depressed classes to be decided first. It necessitated the Indian National Congress to consider containing the rousing discontentment among the depressed classes for enrolling their wholehearted support to the movement of Indian independence. The congress created another organ for the purpose of Social reforms in the name of Indian National Social Conference during 1887.

The conference proclaimed that its objective was to push ahead the process of social awakening as launched by Phule and to jointly fight for the cause of the depressed classes. The Indian National Congress and the Indian National Social Conference were to work as complimentary to each other and their programmes were to be held side by side under the same Pandal. In Pune the followers of Tilak set fire to the joint pandal when the Indian National Social Conference wanted to discuss the agenda of the depressed classes. The sinister designs of deceit and conspiracy against the interest of the depressed classes became soon exposed. It was against the wishes of Tilak and his followers to awaken the masses of the depressed classes and to fight for their cause. They were driven by their apprehension that such a program for the weaker sections would strengthen the hands of non-cooperation from the depressed classes to ultimately complicate their desire of an unconditional transfer of political power to their hands by the British. Later, when a deputation of the depressed classes went to see Tilak in this context, they were not entertained and scolded to remain loyal to the laws then existing instead of thinking of getting new laws framed for their betterment. Phule's demise in 1890 was a great jolt to the movement of social revolution, which he had built with hard labour after waging a courageous and continuous war during his life. But Kranijoti Savitribai Phule took over the leadership and led the movement till her demise (1897), and then after by the others in the second line of leadership, under the patronage of Shahuji Maharaj. Phule succeeded in laying the most vital bricks of social revolution in his life. His work influenced Ambedkar a lot and helped him to provide the basic thoughts and need of a social revolution in India. Ambedkar therefore, recognised Phule as one of his three gurus with Kabir and Buddha (Khaparde 1990:1).

Ideology of Jotirao Phule:

To take an account of some of the important thoughts and analysis given by Jotirao Phule in his literature, we would like to present the following discussion.

I

SOCIAL

To understand the ideology of Phule from the sociological points of view one has to depend upon the literature produced by the Govt. of Maharashtra from time to time and the scholarships of academic importance, which again is based on the Govt. sources, which are considered to be the authentic sources. The major books, which are concern about the social ideology of Phule, are namely, Slavery, Cultivators Whip-Cord, and Hypocrisy of Brahmins and tactics of Brahmins (Brahmananche Kasab). To start from the cultivator's Whip-Cord, the famous creation, we may start by stating the objective of writing this book (6th April 1883) in his own words:

“My object in writing this book is to discuss (pin-point) some of those reasons. As almost all the Govt. Departments are dominated by Brahmin bureaucrats, and also because (the tenets of) spurious and oppressive religious practice, the Shudras farmers are exploited by the Bhat (Brahmin) priestly class, and as most of the English Government officers are given to slothful and luxurious ways of life, the Shudras farmers are further exploited by the Brahmin bureaucrats (officers). My desire is that if the Shudra farmers study this book carefully (and reflect over it), they would be enabled to protect themselves from the above mention domination and exploitation. That is why I have designedly entitled this book as The Cultivator's Whip-Cord (Phadake ed. 1991:253).”

The book shows the relationship pattern prevailing in the Indian society during his times, which still exist with very little reforms at grassroots. While giving a factual insight of the authority relations and the system of inequality produced and maintained by the Brahmanical hegemony he pointed out the two camps opposite to each other fighting for the survival. But he decides to be on the side of the weakest. His writing gives a right instrument to awaken the masses by providing a clear-cut picture of friends and enemies

of the equality and attacks on those Brahmanical forces who exploit and suppress the ignorant people of India.

Therefore his ideology of social aspect of Indian society is purposely value driven for the cause of humanity and equality which can't be questioned and asked clarification for the legitimacy on the ground of norms of writing impartially or without taking side of anyone of the group in the process. Because he was a man of movement and not a academician only to describe society without taking the responsibility to change the objected course of behaviour or culture of immoral standards. He was a man of perfect and positive emotions to feel about the societal problems of his times and to fulfil desired goals in connections. But even then his writings are not based on any kind of untruth intentioned of selfish interest as like that of the Brahmins who created scriptures and books to describe the society like one, as that of Manusmriti. It is very much philosophical and is of sociological importance to be quoted understood and handed over to the generations to come as a part of process of developing the science of society.

In the preface of the book Gulamgiri he first of all quotes Homer's philosophical statement:

“The day that reduces a man to slavery takes from him the half his virtue.” And secondly quotes Col. G.J. Haly-on fisheries in India as: “Our system of Government in India is not calculated to raise the character of those subject to it, nor is the present system of education one to do more than *over educate the few* learned; in fact, it is an extension of the demoralizing Brahmin-ridden policy, which perhaps, has more retarded the progress of civilization and improvement in India generally than anything else (Phadake ed. 1991: 117).”

Phule was the upholding a theory which argued that the shudras and Atishudras are the original inhabitants of India and Brahmins have come from outside. While drawing a line of demarcation of the original inhabitants vs. foreign Brahmin invaders to launch his movement for equality, he in the same book (slavery) states that,

“Recent researches have demonstrated beyond a shadow of doubt that the Brahmins were not the aborigines of India. At some remote period of antiquity, probably more than 3000 years ago, the Aryan progenitors of the present Brahmin race descended upon the plains of Hindustan from regions lying beyond the Indus, the Hindukush and other adjoining tracts. According to Dr. Pritchard, the Ethnologist, they were an offshoot of the Great Indo-European race, from whom the Persians, Medes and other Iranian nations in Asia and the principal nations in Europe like wise are descended. The affinity existing between the zend, the Persian and Sanskrit languages as also between all the European languages, unmistakably points to a common source of origin. It appears also more than probable that the original cradle of this race being an arid, sandy and mountainous region, and one ill calculated to afford them the sustenance, with their growing want required, they branched off into east and west. The extreme fertility of soil in India, its rich productions, the proverbial wealth of its people, and the other innumerable gifts which this favoured land enjoys, and which have more recently tempted the cupidity of the western nations, no doubt attracted the Aryans, who came to India, not as simple emigrants with peaceful intention of colonization, but as conquerors. They appear to have been a race imbued with very high notions of self, extremely cunning, arrogant, and bigoted. Such self-gratulatory, pride flattering epithets as *Arya*, *Bhoodev* etc. with which they designated themselves confirm us in our opinion of their primitive character, which they have preserved up to the present time, with, perhaps, little change for the better (Phadake ed. 1991: 117 -118).”

In *Gulamgiri* (Slavery) Jotirao for the first time endeavoured to define how brahminical thoughts, institutions and castes had come to dominate Hindu society for thousands of years. He felt that it was an important prerequisite of social reform to delve into history to find out when and how Brahmins established their supremacy over Hindu society. This story could be reconstructed from the stories related in the *Srutis*, *Smritis* and *Puranas*. Therefore he essayed an historical interpretation of these stories and concluded that in the stories of the ten *avatars* (incarnations of God) the story of Parshuram’s incarnation tell the story of the brahmin’s seizure of power. He has summed up the stories as follows:

1. The Aryans came twice from Iran to India by sea route, and conquered the local inhabitants who were cultivators.
2. This fact was the basis of the story of the *matsya* (fish) and *Kachchua* (tortoise) incarnations of which both are aquatic creatures.
3. The Aryans from Iran could not achieve complete success; therefore they had to use the land route for their invasion. These invasions are narrated in the tales of *varaha* (boar), *narasimaha* (lion-man) and the *vamana* (dwarf) incarnations. Around the time of *vamana avtar*, the Aryan Brahmins completely succeeded in establishing their sovereignty over India in order to make it last forever, they massacred the Indian warriors, that is, the brave *Kshatriyas* and even killed pregnant women to end their lineage.
4. The Aryan Brahmins ruled the people of India, directly or indirectly, and to secure their sovereignty, inculcated in the people ideas and beliefs that would render them stupid and ignorant. The *puranas* stories display the cunning and conniving nature of the Brahmins. The caste hierarchy was creating a permanent rift among the various *non-brahmin* masses. The Brahmins being smaller in number than the people they conquered could dominate the masses verily by dividing them. They introduced the practice of untouchability to punish those who had fought them (the Aryans). In reality there is no social difference whatsoever between the untouchables and the Hindus (Patil ed.1991:1-75).

In this manner we see that Jotirao Phule has argued for the construction of Social identity of the Brahmins as different from the original inhabitants of this land. He also blames Brahmins for the exploitation of the indigenous population and their subjugation. In this way he divides Indian society in two broader categories of Brahmin and Non-brahmins.

II

POLITICAL

British Government was the ruling authority in Phule's time. Thus anything that required by the masses from government treasury, naturally had to come from the wishes of the British Government. Therefore to materialize the social and religious as well as economic thought into action, help of British government was needed. Keeping in mind the forces operating in the political spheres Phule has made his efforts to channel his energy to bring benefits to the masses from the government bureaucracy. His efforts are evidence from the various representations and memorandums he presented before the government such as "Memorial addressed to education commission".

His strategy was to expose the cunning Brahmin bureaucrats who were exploiting the common masses of India (Shudras, Ati-Shudras) and hiding their corrupt practices from the eye of the British. He established an organization called "Satya Shodhak Samaj" (1873) to organize masses against the propagators of untruth and immorality or the exploiters (Bhat Brahmins).

While attacking on the Hypocrisy of the Brahmins he illustrates the evidences as below.

"The desires of the hypocritical Brahmins and the cunning exertions of the Bhat (priests) are actuated (by an intention to fleece the Shudras). They (unashamedly) said that God provides (the wherewithal) to them and hence they presume to instruct the Shudras. They caricature God as a happy-go-lucky person, and deceive the Shudras in His name. Sloth (idleness) is man's enemy and hence man should perform manual labour (for their livelihood). The cunning Brahmin, on the other hand, desires to maintain himself by unethical means. He holds his nose with his hand (fingers) and recites the name of God ceaselessly (by himself) and expects the Shudras to toil in the fields and maintain (feed) the Brahmins (with the fruits of their labour). They enjoy sumptuous feasts and rest on soft beds (at night). They occupy many high (government) posts only to exploit the Shudras (in various ways). The Brahmins wish, in their heart of hearts, that only the Brahmin should be appointed as teachers (in the school), so that they can criminally

neglect their duty (of teaching) the Shudras who will, thus, remain ignorant. Some shrewd and cunning Brahmin politician pretends to serve the cause of India (as Indian Patriots), but is secretly nursing an ambition to be elected to the British Parliament. Yet they expect the Shudras to fight and perish on the battlefield. The Brahmins-the earth gods-cherish a keen desire (hankering) to ride in the stately palanquins to be carried on the Shudras shoulders while alive, and they expect the same Shudras to act as the pallbearers (when they die). The Brahmins hanker intensely to enter the (Indian) civil service, but pretend to criticize the British rulers in public meetings. They hurl vitriolic invectives against the English rulers, in choice English, while pretending to fight for the rights of Indians. Jotirao (humbly) exhorts the Shudras to give up (exterminate) this Brahmin villainy (plot) root and branch, to earn their livelihood by honest labour and worship at the shrine of the (Eternal) Truth in all humility (Patil ed. 1991:138-139).

Ambedkar founded his political party, the Independent Labour Party in 1936... The ILP gradually established itself as a fully-fledged organization... infact the ILP remained confined to the Bombay presidency but put down roots there: the Bombay city branch had 4000 members in 1938 (Jafferelot 2005:79). Ambedkar founded the Scheduled Castes' federation in July 1952 in order to signal , as the name of the organization suggests, a shift in political strategy: the emphasis was again on caste... the creation of SCF therefore reflected a new mood, a new sense of identity among untouchables... although it was formally established in October 1957, the Republican Party of India was conceived by Ambedkar a short while before his death in 1956 when he was concerned with the need to forge an alternative to the communist party, whose appeal to the untouchable electorate he feared as declared in 1956, "before I die I must establish a definite political direction for my people. They have remained poor, oppressed and deprived and because of that now, a new consciousness and a new anger are growing among them that is natural it is also natural that this type of community becomes attracted to communism. I do not want to fall under the sway of the communists (Jafferelot 2005:86)." As a party leader Ambedkar oscillated between two strategies. He first tried to attract not only Dalits but all kinds of workers by establishing the ILP. But the broad agenda of his party was hard to reconcile with the core Dalit ideology and

sociology of Ambedkarism. Hence the launch of the SCF which harked back to the cause of the Untouchables. However, the scope of the party turned out to be too limited and therefore Ambedkar went back to the initial philosophy of the ILP in a different way: with the RPI he tried to set up an organization representing all those of low status, the Scheduled Castes, the Other Backward Classes and the Scheduled Tribes (Jafferlot 2005:88).

III

ECONOMIC

Phule's economic ideas are expressed in the book 'Cultivator's Whip-Cord' and from the management of personal life as well as philosophy given to his followers in the forms of "Akhand" and newspaper articles. His economic ideas are also found from the memorandum and letters he drafted for representing the interest of the Shudras and Ati-Shudras before the British government during his life time.

He concentrates his economic ideas and thinking on the artisans and cultivators and tries to explain them the principle of self-reliance and importance of being aware of their enemies and exploiters. Phule collected money from a large number of people to conduct welfare and rehabilitative activities. This proves the point that you need not to be financially sound to lead the uplift of downtrodden. His life also tells that if the goal is noble, public in general will finance it.

Jotirao Phule was deeply concerned about the farmers and the producers of all kind. He wanted to make the conscious about their real status and organize them for taking their destiny in their own hands. Phule has extensively analysed the situation of agriculturist during his time. According to him, as recorded in the Shetkaryacha Asood (Cultivators Whip-Cord), there were several reasons for the extreme poverty of the farmers, but the major two were the Religion and Government (Phadake ed. 1991: 253). Before the British came to India, Kings and rulers of princely states had maintained huge armies. They employed large number of people. Hence the farm-lands were not

burdened. But after the decline of the Peshwas, soldiers in the Maratha army were rendered jobless. They had to return home and took to farming, as a result of which pressure on the farmland increased. Further in, peace time the population increased, too. Families were hard pressed to support to their families and livestock on the limited income. That means the pressure on land inversed but the resources remain the same. In the same vein the forest department, encroached upon pastureland. Not allowing farmers to have freedom to feed their livestock and take woods for fuel. Moreover fertility of land declined. The pressure on land further divided farmlands, which were increasingly sold to big farmers who owned ploughs and oxen. The landless farmers began to wander in search of job as weavers, carpenters and ironsmiths. Hence, we can argue that Phule was giving a valid explanation about the pauperization of agriculturists.

Phule also took note of process of pauperization of artisan class, who belonged to Shudra community. He argues that the weavers, carpenters and ironsmiths who themselves were small-scale tradesmen could not carry on as before, because they were unable to compete with the goods coming into India from Britain. Knives, scissors, sewing machines, thread, locks, keys, iron sheets, tar, bellows, various kinds of vehicles and cloth were imported from Britain into India without any custom duty. As a result, the local traders suffered. They were forced to sell their products cheap and were barely able to survive (Phadake ed. 1991:253-331).

The discussion above clearly shows the concern of Phule about the deteriorating economic condition of the agriculture and artisan class of the then Indian Society. Though he was not against the Britishers as such but he definitely took note how British technology and goods were responsible for the ruination of artisan of Indian Society.

IV CULTURAL

To understand the cultural ideas of Phule we have to take help of this society organization “Satya Sodhak Samaj” to organize Jayanti celebrations (Birth Anniversaries) of icons of Shudra and Atishudra community who were never appreciated

by the people of high caste Hindus. He wrote many poems and essays in this context, to popularise these icons and their by his ideas. His long poem on Chhatrapati Shivaji (Ballads of Shivaji) is very famous. In the book Slavery he has explained in detail how the people of fourth Varna (Shudra) and fifth category (ati-shudra/ panchama) were degraded and exploited by the proponents of Vedic religion or in his words, a Brahminic religion. He is of the opinion that the same religious is based on untruth and immorality. Not only that, Phule had questioned authority of Brahmins on knowledge. His main aim in doing this was end their hegemony from the minds of the Shudras and Ati-Shudras who were used to think that the Brahmins have divine right over education.

He brought into light the principle of equality of relations not only between the men and women, women and women (backward vs. high caste, Brahmin) and rejected the system of graded inequality. By doing so Phule tried to highlight the fact that Brahmins and the Shudras are separate. He also tried to establish that Shudras are in no way inferior to the Brahmins. Another important aspect of Phule's cultural idea was he wanted to construct history of Shudras (O'Hanlon 1985:205) and believed in racial theory of differences of Shudras and Brahmins (Joshi 1996:88-89), stating Brahmins as Aryan invaders and Shudra – Atishudra as original inhabitants of India.

V

RELIGIOUS

Phule's ideas on religion easily available in a book, "Sarvajanik Satya Dharma (Public Religion of Truth)" authored by him. He wanted to change the system of symbols of inspiration for the masses through this book. The book was for mass circulation to guide masses to perform their socio-religious rituals in day-to-day life according to the code given in that book, without calling any Brahmin (priest) at their home and in various public ceremonies and functions. This was an action of social boycott of the "Irani Aryan Bhat" as per his terminology. In his one of the famous poem (Akhand) on truth he argues, "Truth is the original home of us all. It is the foundation or corner stone of all religions. All happiness in this world is the off-spring of (result of) the Eternal truth. Truth is the

foundation of all (Human) happiness. All else is sheer darkness. Truth is very mighty as it destroys all sham, deceit or untruth. That which is rooted in truth easily exposes or destroys hypocrites or selfish persons. Realizing the might of truth the impostors (pretender) is mortified or anguished in his heart. An actor or pretender will be happy as he tries (in vain) to supplant (oust) the God of truth. Joti prays (humbly) to all persons not to give quarter to (shelter) deceit or hypocrisy in vain (Patil ed. 1991: 131, Selections, Education Department Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay).”

While explaining about the universal religion of truth he has portrayed in one of the *Akhands (poem)*:

“The creator has created this earth (the universe) which sustains (bears the weight of) us all. It is adorned with different kind of grass (bushes) and trees. The trees bear many luscious fruits. These fruits and kindly shade of the trees are meant for our comfort. Night and day the earth moves ceaselessly (on its axis) for our comforts and (fondly) looks after us all. There should not be different religion for different human beings, as our creator is one, *says Joti (Patil ed., 1991: 136).*”

Phule’s religious ideas are not against science. He was against superstition and bigotry. He also preaches for one religion for mankind and condemns the religious division of humanity. He argues,

“The one and only sun provides light (illumination) for us all and enables us to engage ourselves in different activities. The sun endows all animate and inanimate existence with (vibrant) life and also sustains us all. He never discriminates among human beings, and like a kind father, makes us all quite happy and contented. There should be only one religion for all human beings and they should always follow the path of truth, *says Jotirao (Patil ed. 1991: 136).* ... The operation (Movement) of the solar system (in space) is so wonderful that it defies human rationality or imagination it is beyond them. So many other satellites gravitate around the solar system. (The earth is) peopled by myriads of living organization (beings). The creator has created all human beings and he protects them as his children. Do unto others as you would be done by and set everyone else a peace and harmony, *says Jotirao (Patil ed., 1991: 138).*”

The above expression reveals that Phule drew a lot from nature while framing his religious thoughts. But he was far a universal religion (Khaparde 1990:163-64).

VI ORGANISATIONAL

Jotirao Phule had established the organisation called *Satya Shodhak Samaj* in the year 1873. The organizational strategy was to organize all those who were the sufferers of Brahminical Social System based on graded inequality propagated by Aryan Brahmins in India. He had drawn a line of demarcation between the indigenous people and the Aryan Invaders to whom he term them 'Irany-Aryan-Bhat'. In his whole organizational terminology he makes use of term "Shudra-Atishudra" for OBC's and SC's of today respectively. He also makes use of '*Mulche Rahivashi*' (Phadake ed. 1991: 130) means 'original inhabitants' or 'sons of the soil' to which Hindi word is Mulnivasi. Also 'Kshetriyas' meaning people of this region (Kshetra = Region) and rejects the meaning as 'Worriers'. This can be termed as his strategy of 'redefining' to which we may call "deconstruction and reconstruction" of identities. His strategy to involve women in the organisation (movement) is of special kind, which was new to modern India. He prepares his wife to participate in movement. His wife was leading the movement on equal footing as a leader of 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' He believed in democratic functioning of the organisation and follower formal way of running organisation. It is clear from the documents and records, he maintained which are available in 'Jotirao Phule Samagra Vangmaya' edited by Y. D. Phadke, Published by Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, Mumbai.

Conclusions:

To conclude we can argue that Jotirao Phule was one of the pioneers of Social Freedom in the modern India. Though most of the social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy or Ishwar Chand Vidhya Sagar etc. were interested to reform Indian society, but their reforms benefited mostly the upper strata of Hindu society. But

the reforms of Jotirao Phule were directly related to Shudras and Atishudras, the modern days OBC's and SC's. Not only that he was also associated with the uplift of farmers and artisans of the Indian society. He held British Raj directly responsible for the economic deterioration of these classes.

At the social and cultural level Phule formulated the ideology of racial difference. He was of the opinion that there are two major groups in Indian society. One group is of Aryan Invaders who have come from outside India. The other group is of indigenous people. On the basis of these lives he tried to mobilise and organise the Original Inhabitants of this land. His journey began with imparting education to the marginalized sections of Hindu society the Shudras and Atishudras. He went on to propound a religion for these classes and an organisation – *Satya Shodhak Samaj* for the amelioration of these classes. He also probed into the social structure of Indian society the Varna hierarchy and tried to give his own interpretation. One such interpretation was the associated *Kshatriyas* with *Kshetra* i.e. *Region*, instead of common practice of associating *Kshatriyas* with Warriors. Phule used many symbols and myths for organising society and economically exploited castes of Hindu society. That is why in contemporary times organisations of OBC's and SC's call him 'Father of the Nation' and the 'First Social Revolutionary of India' as stated by Dhananjay keer (His biographer). His follower calls him a revolutionary leader who championed the cause of Shudras and Atishudras.

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CHAPTER III

Movement and Ideology of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar

This chapter of the present study briefly outlines the principal thoughts of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to analyze the facts related to his movement and his ideology. These facts have been interpreted and discussed by his followers and social scientists. It is practically impossible to discuss his ideas and thoughts in totality here because countless writing are available about his movement and literary work. His writings and speeches published by govt. of Maharashtra numbers Vol. 23 and many more are awaited.

Therefore this chapter is not intended to focus on whole mass of literature of his (Ambedkar's) own, or interpretations, analysis given by the mainstream social scientists but intends to categorically present his selected thoughts which are relevant to this study. In other words this chapter attempts to understand and discuss the terminology, identity and strategy to organize masses of Ambedkar's movement.

The Movement of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar:

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) appeared during 1917 on the socio-political scenario, as the Messiah of the depressed classes though he started his movement for the Mahars in the beginning. Indian National Congress did not change its attitude of sidetracking the interest of the depressed classes despite the cautioning of Phule and warning of Periyar. It took anti-downtrodden stand before the Montague Committee appointed by the British government during 1917 for suggesting changes in the constitutional structure of India for having a more responsible government. The Committee had the second conference of the depressed classes called in November 1917 for considering their demands of social and political rights through depressed classes mission, which had been founded in 1916 by Narayanrao Chandavarkar, a Brahmin reformer in Mumbai. The leaders of Indian National Congress had resisted that no demands could be conceded to the depressed classes (Jafferelet 2005:53). A second

committee headed by Mr. Southborough, known as Franchise Committee was appointed in 1918. The Congress again took a hostile stand forcing Mr. Southborough to ignore the demand for direct representation to the depressed classes, which was vehemently raised by Dr. Ambedkar. The Congress failed to salvage its image further through its apathetic reactions towards the demands of the depressed classes to be contained on the forthcoming Montford report which was to become the basis of the Govt. of India Act 1919. Based upon the recommendations of the Montford report, Royal Commission popularly known as the Simon Commission visited India during 1928 to enquire into the working of the Govt. of India Act 1919. Dr. Ambedkar and the Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha founded by him in 1924 welcomed the Commission and submitted a memorandum on behalf of Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha which argued for an Untouchable seat Quota rather than for separate electorates. It demanded 22 seats in the 140 seat Bombay assembly and for the electoral franchise to be extended to all untouchables (Jafferlot 2005:55). The Indian National Congress boycotted it. Some of the depressed class leaders not realising much that the British had a comparatively better human outlook than their own orthodox Hindu Leaders had for them, chose to side with Mahatma Gandhi and his Congress to remain a repentant lot till date. On the instigation of the Congress some misled leaders of the depressed classes went to the extent of even insulting their own leaders and humiliated S.D. Singh Chaurasia who hailed from Uttar Pradesh for siding with Dr. Ambedkar, to welcome and appear before the Simon Commission.

By 1924 Ambedkar had himself fully equipped to start an all India campaign for social revolution and to destroy the deep rooted disparity in the Indian society. He started the war by burning a copy of the Manu-Smriti on 25th December, 1927 at Mahad Satyagraha (a lock level town in Raigarh District of Maharashtra). By burning the Manu-Smriti, the sacred code of Hindus, Dr. Ambedkar wished to convey two messages to the people that:-

- 1) He along with all the members of his organisation wanted to caution the Hindu fundamentalists that if they wished to see Hinduism survive they must be prepared for a reformation in their scriptures which denied equal civic rights to the depressed classes and advocated enjoyment of few and the thralldom of the other majority.

2) To arouse a feeling of self-confidence and self-respect among the depressed classes (Kunte eds. 1982:15-17)

Ambedkar also made an attempt to enter the Kala Ram Mandir in Nasik and draw water from the public tank at Mahad along with his follower. But he faced positive resistance from the Hindus on both the occasions. Elsewhere in the country the depressed classes were subjected to the same treatment by the orthodox Hindus. The depressed classes have to tolerate such inhuman treatment meted out to them since centuries together. The worst aspect of the whole episode is that this subjugation has religious sanctions of the Hindu religion. Thus by his act of the temple entry and struggle for drawing water, Ambedkar wanted to remove the mental inertia of his people and to regenerate among them a process of thinking on an all India basis. These revolutionary steps started by Ambedkar were further supplemented by him through a series of publications. He considered these publications necessary to assess the development of the mind of his society just like a seasoned teacher should judge the level of growth of the mind of his class for successful results. The orthodox Hindus, who in their scriptures had sealed the gates of human heart and logical thinking, unlike the western people who remain ever prepared to welcome reforms to their outdated thoughts, turned deaf and dumb to all the earnest endeavours of Ambedkar to reform Hinduism. In India right from the times of Buddha (563-473 A. D) down to the present day all humanistic calls including that of Phule were vehemently opposed. And therefore Ambedkar decided “coupling of the theoretical teaching with organised movement”. He, therefore, while organising the depressed classes and rousing their conscious for playing their positive role in the society, asked them to resist boldly all the acts of social tyranny. That is why he opined, “Only goats are used for sacrificial offerings and not lions”, (Khairmode Vol. 10, 1989:30) Further “Strengthen the organisation of the co-sufferers all over the country as success was to stem from such strength,” he lauded (Khairmode Vol. 10, 1989:30). It was under these emerging circumstances at that juncture that Ambedkar took to politics to supplement to the need of his social movement (Khairmode Vol. 10, 1989:30).

He visualised that to avail the best from the British Government who were then introducing some constitutional changes in India, there should be separate political

platform of the depressed classes. Ambedkar's social movement culminated into political movement for that purpose. In his socio-political movement he was dictated by the theme that in India the political problem is entirely a social problem and his entry into a separate political platform of the depressed classes was necessary to prevail upon the British Government for a better future solution to the social problems in the envisaged new constitution of India. His entry into politics after forming the Independent Labour Party (15th August, 1936) had a mixed reaction. While the depressed classes saw in his politics, the fulfilment of their social rights, his opponents noticed in him an impending peril to India especially to Hindu interests. So long as Ambedkar was content with the social activities he was tolerated by the political parties but the moment he extended his sphere of activities to politics the Hindus became restive and they made Ambedkar their target of harsh and hostile criticism. The politicians utilised their media to heckle and ridicule him. While Ambedkar exposed the Congress and its ill designs of marring the future of the depressed classes through the demand of Swarajya from the British, his opponents charged him with breaking the Hindu unity by pressing his demand of separate electorate for the depressed classes both before the Simon Commission and in the Round Table Conference.

Ambedkar's demand raised a hue and cry throughout the country. Gandhi-Ambedkar controversy ensued. It was against the wishes of the Congress and Gandhi that Ambedkar was invited to the First Round Table Conference in London along with R. B. R. Srinivasan to represent the depressed classes, wherein Congress liberals, the other Indian parties and the princes of states had also participated. Analysing the importance of the Round Table Conference Ambedkar had written, "For the untouchables it was a landmark in their history. For the untouchables were for the first time allowed to be represented separately by two delegates who happened to be myself and Deewan Bahadur R. Srinivasan. This meant that the untouchables were regarded not merely as a separate not merely as a separate element from the Hindus but also of such importance as to have the right to be consulted in the framing of a Constitution of India (Ambedkar 1991: 40-41)

It was during the Round Table Conference that the British and the world, had for the first time the chance to hear the horrible inhuman treatment being meted out to the people belonging to the backward class communities by their Hindu counterparts

Ambedkar revealed the evils of untouchability being perpetuated upon the depressed classes by the caste Hindus. No decision could be taken on the issue of the right of the depressed classes in the sub-committee of the Round Table Conference (Ambedkar). The matter was therefore, left to the Britishers to decide the issue and the Congress along with Gandhi promised to abide by such decision. There came the decision known as “Communal Award” announced by Ramsay MacDonald wherein the British had to bow to the force of logic and reasoning put forth by Dr. Ambedkar for a right of separate electorate to the depressed classes which was conceded as such by the British in the award. The orthodox Hindus especially the Congress and Gandhi were taken by surprise and thought of nullifying this great achievement of the depressed classes made after facing much difficulty by their leaders. They foresaw in the award, the losing of their supremacy of dictating terms on the election nominees of the depressed classes and rendering them to the status of mere stooges as such. Gandhi also saw the doom of his sinister designs of bypassing the depressed classes and close the communal problem after settling the issue in between the three parties, i.e. the Hindus, the Muslims and the Sikhs. He became frustrated. Earlier, he had even gone to the extent of agreeing with Muslims that he was prepared to grant their all 14 demands provided they withdrew their support to Dr. Ambedkar and the depressed classes. This secret agreement between Gandhi and some Muslim leaders somehow leaked out and reached Ambedkar who succeeded in persuading the leaders of the Muslim League in dropping down the agreement ultimately for mutual interest. Gandhi, who was then in Yervada prison, decided to protest against the award. He wrote to the British Government requesting and persuading them to withdraw the award. British in turn informed back Gandhi about their inability to make any changes also clarifying to him that the decision was out of a conscious conclusion reached by absolutely on the analogy of justice and merit and that Gandhi’s request for withdrawal of the award was not justified. This made Gandhi sit on “Fast unto death” against the award. All sort of pressures were exerted on Ambedkar including threats to his life through thousands of letters daily pouring into his house. Dr. Ambedkar did not move.

The pro-award depressed classes were more unconscious of their rights then, much worse than they were now to counter the anti-mandal agitation to protect their rights. Their enemies came on road, as did the anti-mandal commission report hooligans recently. Ambedkar stood undisturbed all along. What moved him ultimately was the richness of his heart for the humanity, which gave way to the fast deteriorating condition of Mahatma Gandhi. In this context Ambedkar has himself argued that, "As to myself it is no exaggeration to say that no man was placed in a graver dilemma than I was then. It was a baffling situation. I had to make a choice between two different alternatives. There was before me the duty, which I owed as a part of common humanity, to save Gandhi from sure death. There was before me the problem of saving for the untouchables the political rights which the Prime Minister had given them. I responded to the call of humanity and saved the life of Mr. Gandhi by agreeing to alter the Communal Award in a manner satisfactory to Mr. Gandhi. This agreement is known as the Poona Pact." (Ambedkar 1991:88). He had to concede to the demand of Gandhi and sign the historical Poona Pact on September, 24, 1932 after of course getting more reserved seats conceded to in return than what was contained in the communal award and also a promise that Gandhi will also work thereafter for the upliftment of the depressed classes. The Poona Pact became a landmark in the history of India in so far as the original natives of this land were able to restore some of the rights, which had forcibly been snatched away from them by the Aryans few thousand years back.

As a gesture to Poona Pact Gandhi started Harijan Sewak Sangh through the funds of Hindu missionaries in 1932. The Harijan Sewak Sangh with its Head Quarters in Delhi is still in existence rejoicing the founding spirit behind it i.e. Gandhi, though the finances are now met out from the Government allocations and not from the Hindu Missionaries a number of who still continue to boast as to be genuinely working for the cause of Harijans and Girijans. Nothing is known about the benefits that this famous historical institution of Gandhi has been releasing to the Harijans excepting that the Gurus of the Varna Ashram i.e. the Brahmins have always been manifesting there to reap all the real benefits. Dalit Varga Sangh has died away with its founder Babu Jagjivan Ram. Likewise so many other institutions claim to be working for the welfare of the depressed classes but the object is something different than any real welfare of the

Scheduled Castes and Tribes. They only work to produce a line of leadership among the depressed classes to work in disguise with the popular label of Ambedkar and to sell the goods of Gandhi in the Samaj, instead of rousing a feeling of dignity and consciousness among the people. They choose to beg and teach others to remain as beggars to the mercy of caste superiors. The Dalit Varga Sangh played a pivotal role as one among them. When we judge from the background as to how these two organisations were created and look into style and impact of their working it is revealed beyond doubt that it was a deliberate act of the Congress to contain a section of the depressed classes, who were fast organising themselves under the leadership of Ambedkar at national level, with the intention of inserting a crack in their rising strength, through the principles of allure, instigate, divide and counter the Phule-Ambedkarite movement of social change. The contention of these movements is further established by what Dr. Ambedkar had himself spoken, before the All India Depressed Classes Conference in July 1942, of Gandhi, "Mr. Gandhi accepted the Poona Pact, not as a gentlemen signing an agreement with the intention of honouring his word but as a crafty person seeking to find a way out of a difficulty". (Zilliot 2001:167) Dr. Ambedkar further considered Mr. Gandhi as the greatest opponent of his movement (Zilliot 2001:173).

Ambedkar did not relent. He had the courage, the capacity and commitment to fight out his most formidable opponent, which he saw in Gandhi. The richness and vivid variety of books in his personal library amply indicate his lust for acquiring all sort of knowledge that he considered necessary to arm and shape his talent in freeing the suffering humanity from its old bondages and salvaging the image of his great motherland since rendered completely tarnished. The developments taking ground at that juncture of time prompted him to bring out the book "what Congress and Gandhi have done to the untouchables" in 1945. He exposed the congress and Gandhi both before the masses through this book. He postmortemed the entire Hindu scriptures to write "the annihilation of caste" in 1935, "the untouchables" in 1948 and "who were the Shudras" in 1946. Through these books he exposed the thitherto hidden secret knowledge to the depressed classes and tried to remove the inferiority complex from which these classes were subjected to suffer psychologically. After concluding that attainment of advanced

knowledge was necessary for the people of his society to generate a calibre among them worth the drive of social reputation, he had in mind; he selected 26 candidates and deputed them for training in advanced studies abroad though none of them stood true to the expectations of Dr. Ambedkar to assist him and his mission in the real sense. At home, he started Peoples Education Society during 1945, Siddhartha College at Bombay during 1946 and Millind Mahavidyalaya at Aurangabad in 1950. Ambedkar laboured his maximum to arrange all possible material and provided the necessary know how for a complete social revolution. Alas, the task still remains unaccomplished. The reasons require to be traced and the bewildered gullible masses guided of the right track that may lead them to the mission launched by their Messiahs for ameliorating their lot (Kasabe: 1989:46-47)

After having brief overview about the leadership of B. R. Ambedkar we can easily argue that his leadership had an evolutionary nature. It evolved from socio-religious reform movement to political assertion with formation of different political parties. Similarly he also established social organisations, educational centres and journals and newspapers to organise and mobilise the depressed classes. He wanted to make them conscious of their wretched condition and also the class who was responsible for their condition. In political realm he held Congress and Gandhi responsible for the depressed situation of the depressed classes. Not only that towards the end of his life he became a spiritual leader of the classes by taking 'Dkisha' and converting back to the original religion of Dalits (Zilliot 2001:249-261).

Ideology of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar:

Let us now discuss the different facets of his ideas and thoughts. To do this it will be better to classify his ideology into sub-sections so as categorically study the same just for our understanding but while doing so we must bear in mind that ideology can not be discussed in isolation, it has to be study in reference to the context. Therefore at the end of this chapter we will have concluding section so as to overcome the said difficulties. The same has been done below.

I

SOCIAL

Ambedkar's social ideology gives us a clear-cut understanding of Indian society. It can be understood by studying his writing on different themes related to social institutions of the Hindu society. The first important work produced by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is, "Caste in India". Dr. Ambedkar wrote and read this paper before the Anthropology seminar of Dr. Goldenweizer during his stay at the Columbia University for the doctoral studies. This deals with the subject of caste system, which is a fundamental structure of the Indian Society. He has discussed in detail the mechanism, genesis and development of Castes in India in this essay. His analysis of the Castes in India gives us idea about his social thinking and enlightens us on the core issue of caste and casteism, the root cause of degradation of backward caste and prevalence of in human inequality in India.

With the view to understand the nature and composition of Indian society it is pioneering book. He observes that the population of India is mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Magolians and scything. Ethnically all people are heterogeneous. According to him it is the unity of culture that binds the people of Indian peninsula from one end to the other. After evaluating the theories of various authorities on caste, Dr. Ambedkar observes that the superimposition of endogamy over exogamy is endogamy; he states that the customs of 'Sati', enforced widow-hood for life and child marriage are the outcome of endogamy. He also observes that, subdivision of a society is a natural phenomenon and these groups became castes through ex-communication and imitation. He maintains that, Caste in India means an artificial chopping of the population into fixed and definite units, each are prevented from fusing into another (Ambedkar 1989:6-22).

He forewarns the world that, caste is a local problem for India, but one capable of much under mashie for “as long as caste in India does exist, Hindu will hardly intermarry or have any social inter course with outsider, and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem” .He quotes Ketkar, caste, P.4. (Ambedkar 1989:6)

The second very important essay which reflects in detail about the solution to caste problem is *Annihilation of Caste*. This famous address (speech) prepared by Dr. Ambedkar was for the 1936 Annual Conference of the “Jat-Pat Todak Mandal” of Lahore, where was invited to preside over the conference, but remained undelivered owing to the cancellation of the conference by the reception committee on the ground that the views expressed in the speech would be unbearable to the conference. It is important to note here that, the “Jat-Pat Todak Mandal” had a basic programme to follow and interlines, which at the superficial levels looks like a solution to end caste system but actually, a futile exercise. As this was exposed by Dr. Ambedkar in his address, stressing that, “The belief in the ‘Shastras’ is the root cause of maintaining caste, make every man and woman free from the thralldom of the “Shastras’ cleans their minds of the pernicious notion founded on the ‘Shastras’ and he or she will interlines and interment.” As the organizers were Brahmins, how can they like the idea to make people free from the thralldom of the “Shastras’ as they give them a superior position in the society thus they did not liked the idea and cancelled the conference. But by publishing the speech in writer from Ambedkar exposed the drama of Jat-Pat Todak Mandal’. This event shows the power of Ambedkar’s articulation, which exposed the immoral wishes of Brahminical force. It is therefore easy to conclude that it was the power of moral authority and logic, which flushed out the flusters with a follow of a single, but rational thought that: “The society must be based on reason and not on atrocious traditions of caste system”.

There are four more important works of Ambedkar which helps us to understand the social structure and processes of Indian society. They are namely,

- 1) Ambedkar, B.R, 1990, Who were the Shudras (Vol. 7), Education Department of Govt. of Maharashtra.
- 2) Ambedkar, B.R, 1990, The Untouchable (Vol. 7), Education Department of Govt. of Maharashtra.
- 3) Ambedkar, B.R, 1987, Revolution and counter revolution in Ancient India, Vol. 8 and vol. 3, Education Department of Govt. of Maharashtra.
- 4) Ambedkar, B.R, 1992, Buddha and his Dhamma (Vol.11), Education Department of Govt. of Maharashtra.

In these four works one central point of conclusion flows that present day SC, ST, OBC and the religious converted minorities, are one blood and one race and were assigned with derogatory identities by the Aryan invaders, by dividing them into caste and sub caste and making them powerless from the power of mass unity as the original inhabitants of this land. See the following evidence regarding the above conclusion as stated by Ambedkar, “The Shudras of the Indo-Aryan society are absolutely different in race from the Shudra of the Hindu society. The Shudra of the Hindu society are not the racial descendants of the Shudra of the Indo-Aryan society... It is wrong to call them (Shudras of Hindu society) by the name of Shudras. They have very little to do with their namesakes of the Aryan society, who had offended the Brahmins. It is pity that these innocent and backward people of later days have been rolled up with the original Shudras (Aryan: foreign race) and subjected to the same penalties for which they had given no cause... That the Shudras of the Indo-Aryan and the Shudra of the Hindu Society are different and distinct is a fact which was present at one time to the minds of the Dharma Strikers is quite clear” (Ambedkar 1990: 200-201).

In the preface of this work he makes clear that, “It is well-known that there is a non-Brahmin movement in this country which is a political movement of the studras. It is also well-known that I have been connected with it”. He further states that, “When one remember that it is the shudra, who have largely been instrumental in sustaining the infamous system of Chaturvarnya, though it has been the primary cause of their degradation and that only the shudras can destroy the Chaturvarnya, it would be easy to

realize why I allowed the necessity of educating and thereby preparing. The Shudra fully for such a sacred task to outweigh all other considerations which favoured the deletion or if not deletion the abridgement of the quotations (Ambedkar1990:18).”

The other important work which gives glimpse of his views about the Indian society is “The Untouchables or the Children of India’s Gheo and other Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability- Social-Political-Religious (Ambedkar 1989). In his thesis on ‘The Untouchable: who were they and how they became untouchables’, which was, published just after two years to the publication of ‘Who were the Shudras’, he first of all sets the following questions: Why do the untouchables live outside the village? Why did beef eating give rise to unsociability? Did the Hindus never eat beef? Why did Non-Brahmins give up beef eating? What made the Brahmins become vegetarians, etc?

The book provides answers to each one of these questions. The thesis brings the following conclusion:

1. There is no racial difference between the Hindus and the Untouchables
2. The distinction between the Hindus and Untouchables in its original form, before the advent of Untouchability, was the distinction between Tribesmen and Broken Men from alien Tribes. It is the Broken Men who subsequently came to be treated as Untouchables;
3. Just as Untouchability has no racial basis so also has it no occupational basis;
4. There are two roots from which Untouchability has sprung:
 - (a) Contempt and hatred of the Broken Men as of Buddhists by the Brahmins:
 - (b) Others had given up continuation of beef eating by the Broken Men after it.
5. In searching for the origin of Untouchability care must be taken to distinguish the Untouchables from the impure. All orthodox Hindu writers have identified the Impure with the untouchables. This is an error. Untouchables are distinct form the impure.

6. While the Impure as class came into existence at the time to the Dharma Sutras the Untouchables came into being much later than 400. A. D. (Ambedkar 1990:242)

While explaining the nature of Hindu society and examine the legitimacy of the principles and philosophy on which the society was structured or to assess its worth as a way of life in his work entitled 'Philosophy of Hinduism' he poses following questions and clarify the answer as below:

Does Hinduism recognize Equality?

The question instantaneously brings to one's mind the caste system. One striking feature of the caste system is that the different castes do not stand as a horizontal series all on the same plane. It is a system in which the different castes are placed in a vertical series one above the other. Manu may not be responsible for the creation of caste. Manu preached the sanctity of the Varna and as I have shown Varna is the parent of caste. In that sense Manu can be charged with being the progenitor if not the author of the Caste System. Whatever is the case as to the guilt on Manu regarding the Caste System there can be no question that Manu is responsible for upholding the principle of gradation and rank.

In the scheme of Manu the Brahmin is placed at first in rank. Below him is the Kshatriya. Below Shudra is the Ati-Shudra (the Untouchables). This sys of rank and gradation is, simply another way of enunciating the principle of inequality so that it may be truly said that Hinduism does not recognize equality. This inequality in status is not merely the inequality that one sees in the warrant of precedence prescribed for a ceremonial gathering at a King's Court. It is a permanent social relationship among the classes to be observed-to is enforced-at all time in all place and for all purposes. It will take too long of show how in every phase of life Manu has introduced and made inequality the vital force of life. But I will illustrate it by taking a few examples such as slavery, marriage and Rule of Law.

Manu recognizes Slavery. But he confined it to the Shudras. Only Shudras could be made slave of the three higher classes. But the higher classes could not be the slaves of the Shudra.

Thus his social ideology was to establish the society based on equality, and to do so suggest, first of all end slavery. The same social ideology of equality is given in the preamble of the Indian constitution.

II ECONOMIC

Dr. Ambedkar economic ideas are evident right from the beginning of his movements as he expressed at Mahad Satyagraha (25 Dec. 1927) in his presidential address under the heading as – ‘self help’ he states; “...That we ourselves must fight our battles, relying on ourselves. We are the most downtrodden classes in the country. Service in the army, police and public offices are practically close to us. We are debarred from following a number of trades and professions and we have been reduced to utter economic helplessness. All this is due to the untouchability and the lowest social position to which we have been relegated.”

While participating in the constituent assembly on (17th December 1946; see page no. 99 to 101, constituent assembly debates, book no. 1, Vol. I), the resolution to pass aims and objectives of the constitution he has very clearly and firmly expressed his views regarding ‘economy’ for the future India, saying that we must adopt ‘socialistic economy’. Jawaharlal Nehru prepared the draft resolution. It had many lacuna of the fundamental nature including nature of economy and remedies for fundamental rights. Therefore while speaking on resolution Ambedkar argued that:

“Mr. Chairman, the Resolution in the light of the discussion that has gone on since yesterday, obviously divides itself into two parts, one part which is controversial and another part which is non-controversial. The part that is non-controversial is the part, which comprises paragraphs (5) to (7) of this Resolution. These paragraphs set out the objectives of the future constitution of this country. I must confess that, coming as the Resolution does from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is reputed to be a Socialist, this

Resolution, although non-controversial, is to my mind very disappointing. I should have expected him to go much further than he has done in that part of the resolution. As a student of history, I should have preferred this part of the Resolution not being embodied in it at all. When one reads that part of the Resolution, it reminds one of the Declarations of the Rights of Man which the French Constituent Assembly pronounced. I think I am right in suggesting that, after the lapse of practically 450 years, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the principles which are embodied in it has become part and parcel of the mental makeup. I say they have become not only the part and parcel of the mental makeup of modern man in every civilized part of the world, but also in our own country which is so orthodox, so archaic in its thought and its social structure, hardly anyone can be found to deny its validity. To repeat it now as the Resolution does is, to say the least, pure pedantry. These principles have become the silent immaculate premise of our outlook. It is therefore unnecessary to proclaim as forming a part of our creed. The Resolution suffers from certain other lacuna. I find that his part of the Resolution, although it enunciates certain rights, does not speak of remedies. All of us are aware of the fact that rights are nothing unless remedies are provided whereby people can seek to obtain redress when rights are invaded. I find a complete absence of remedies. Even the usual formula that no man's life, liberty and property shall be taken without the due process of law, finds no place in the Resolution. These fundamental rights set out are made subject to law and morality. Obviously what is law, what is morality will be determined by the Executive of the day and when the Executive may take one view another Executive may take another view and we do not know what exactly would be the position with regard to fundamental rights, if this matter were left to the Executive of the day. Sir, there are here certain provisions which speak of justice, economical, social and political. If this Resolution has reality behind it and a sincerity, of which I have not the least doubt, coming as it does from the Mover of the Resolution, I should have expected some provision whereby it would have been possible for the State to make economic, social and political justice a reality and I should have from that point of view expected the Resolution to state in most explicit terms that in order that there may be social and economic justice in the country, that there would be nationalization of industry and nationalization of land. I don't understand how it would be possible for any future

Government which believes in doing justice socially, economically and politically, unless its economy is a socialistic economy. (Constituent Assembly debates 17th December 1946, Vol. I: 99-101).”

Thus his suggestion to “Nationalisation of Industry and Nationalisation of Land” with the view to develop a socialistic economy was resolved unanimously and adopted by the house. It can be seen now in the preamble of Indian constitution.

III POLITICAL

His political ideas are also very much evident from his speeches in the constituent Assembly. In the same historical speech of 17th December he expressed his ideology of ‘strong centre’ with the federal structure for the country like India and refuted the idea given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as stated in Para 3 of his resolution which had proposed that, in this country there shall be two different sets of polity, one at the bottom, autonomous provinces or the states or such other area as care to join a united India. These autonomous units will have full powers. They will have also residuary power. At the top, over the provincial units, there will be a union Government, having certain subjects for legislation.

It was a funny idea, because it was against earlier resolution of Congress in its conventions and thus was contradictory to their previous ideology. Also it would have had been practically impossible to create a feeling of being a ‘one nation’ and one strong united India. Thus it was strongly opposed by Dr. Ambedkar to the effect that the house adopted the idea of strong centre. It is also can be observed that in the course of 55 years of successful working of our constitution the idea is self proved perfect. Subsequently while responding to the issue of ‘Hindu-Muslim conflict’ and the unity of Indian Nation he maintained that, “I suggest that another attempt may be made to bring about a solution of the dispute between Congress and the Muslim League. This subject is so vital, so important that I am sure it could never be decided on the mere basis of dignity of one party or the dignity of another party. When deciding the destinies of nations, dignities of

people, dignities of leaders and dignities of parties ought to count for nothing. The destiny of the country ought to count for everything. It is because I feel that it would in the interest not only of his Constituent Assembly so that it may function as one whole, so that it may have the reaction of the Muslim League before it proceeds to decision that I support Dr. Jayakar's, amendment –we must also consider what is going to happen with regard to the future, if we act precipitately. I do not know, what plans the Congress Party, which holds this House in its possession, has in its mind? I have no power of divination to know what they are thinking applying my mind as an outsider to the issue that has arisen; it seems to me there are only three ways by which the future will be decided. Either there shall have to be surrender by the one party of the wishes of the other –that is one way. The other way would be what I call a negotiated peace and the third way would be open war. Sir, I have been hearing to go to war. I must confess that I am appalled at the idea that anybody in this country should think of solving the political problems of this country support that idea. A good many perhaps do and the reason why I think they do, is because most of them, at any rate a great many of them, believe that the war that they are thinking of, would be a war on the British. Well, Sir, if the war that is contemplated, that is in the minds of people, can be localized, circumscribed, so that it will not be more than a war on the British, I probably may not have much objection to that sort of strategy. But will it be a war on the British only? I have no hesitation and I do want to place before this House in the clearest terms possible that if war comes in this country and if that war has any relation to the issue with which we are confronted today, it will not be a war on the British. It will be a war on the Muslims. It will be a war on the Muslims or which is probably worse, it will be a war on a combination to the British and the Muslims. I cannot see how this contemplated war is, of the sort different from what I fear it will be. Sir, I like to read to the House a passage from Burke's great speech on Conciliation with America. I believe this may have some effect upon the temper of this House. The British people as you know were trying to conquer the rebellious colonies of the United States, and bring them under their subjection contrary to their wishes. In repelling this idea of conquering the colonies this is what Burke Said:

First, Sir, permit me to observe, that the use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a

nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered...My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is riot always the effect of force and an armament is no a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource for, conciliation failing, force remains; but, force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence...A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover. but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest.

These are weighty words, which cannot be ignored. If there was anybody who has in his mind the project of solving the Hindu-Muslim problem by force, which is another name of solving it by war, in order that the Muslim is may be subjugated and made to surrender of the Constitution that might be prepared without their consent, this country would be involved in perpetually conquering them. The conquest would not be once and forever...I will conclude by again referring to Burke...that it is easy to give power; it is difficult to give wisdom. Let us prove by our conduct that if this Assembly has arrogated to itself sovereign powers it is prepared to exercise them with wisdom. That is the only way by which we can lead us to unity. Let us have not doubt on that point. My definition of democracy is that of a form and a method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed. From the future readings of his writings and speeches it is very clear that he preferred parliamentary form of democracy along with adequate provisions to provide representation to all the sections of the society especially to the backward classes(Constituent Assembly debates Vol. II: p.38).”

IV RELIGIOUS

It is well known fact that B. R. Ambedkar towards the end of his life professed Buddhism to which one may consider as his religious philosophy. But he doesn't consider Buddhism a mere religion. In his words it stands as below; “Buddhism was a revolution. It was a great revolution as the French Revolution. Though it began as

religious revolution, it became more than religious revolution. It became social and political revolution.” While responding to the Marxian thought he states that; “Religion is not opium as some holds it. What good things I have in whatever or me have been the benefits of my education to society; I owe them to the religious feeling in me. I want religion but I do not want hypocrisy in the name of religion (Ambedkar 1987: 153).”

His ideas regarding adoption of philosophy to achieve revolution are also very clear. He has made a comparative study on “Buddha” and Karl Marx the concluding lines of the study are quoted below:

“The Russians do not seem to be paying any attention to Buddhism as an ultimate aid to sustain Communism when force is withdrawn. The Russians are proud of their Communism. But they forget that the wonder of all wonders is that the Buddha established Communism so far as the Sangh method was different. His method was to change the mind of man: to alter his disposition: so that whatever man does, he does it voluntarily without the use of force or compulsion. His main means to alter the disposition of men was his Dhamma and the constant preaching of his Dhamma. The Buddha way was not to force people to do what they did not like to do although it was good for them. His way was to alter the disposition of men so that they would do voluntarily what they would not otherwise to do.” (Ambedkar 1987:461-62)

It has been claimed that the Communist dictatorship in Russia has wonderful achievements to its credit. There can be no denial of it. That is why I say that a Russian dictatorship would be good for all backward countries. But this is no argument for permanent dictatorship. Humanity does not only want economic values, it also wants spiritual values to be retained. Permanent dictatorship has paid no attention to spiritual values and does not seem to intend to. Carlyle called Political Economy a Pig Philosophy. Carlyle was of course wrong. For man needs material comforts. But eh Communist Philosophy seems to be equally wrong for the aim of their philosophy seems to be fattening pigs as though men are no better than pigs. Man must grow materially as well as spiritually. Society has been aiming to lay a new foundation was summarized by the French Revolution in three words, Fraternity, Liberty and Equality. The French Revolution was welcomed because of this slogan. It failed to produce equality. We

welcome the Russian Revolution because it aims to produce equality. But it cannot be too much emphasized that in producing equality society cannot be too much emphasized that in producing equality society cannot afford to sacrifice fraternity or liberty. Equality will be of no value without fraternity or liberty. It seems that the three can coexist only if one follows the way of the Buddha. Communism can give one but not all. So one can argue that Ambedkar saw a significant role of religion in the society and he preferred Buddhism as most appropriate religious philosophy for the depressed classes of Indian society.

V

CULTURAL

In 1871 Edward B. Tylor gave a descriptive definition of culture, which still remains uncontested. It is as quoted below: “Culture is the complete whole of which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society.” (See page 43, introductory sociology, a textbook for class XI, NCERT). Therefore keeping in mind the definition of culture it can be said that ideology of any movement on culture can't be discussed in isolation, as it is whole of its philosophy and practice. But there can be the culture of different ideologies in the society such as Buddhist culture, Western culture, Eastern culture, Phule-Ambedkarite culture, Marxian culture, etc. In this regard if we try to trace the culture of Ambedkar's ideology that is discussed in the all above sections of this chapter we can sense about its framework. To understand it in a practical way we may take a note of following statement of life philosophy given by Dr. Ambedkar in a speech broadcasted in all India radio on Oct. 3, 1954 as below;

MY PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

“Every man should have a philosophy of life, for everyone must have standard by which to measure his conduct. And philosophy is nothing but a standard by which to measure.

Negatively, I reject the Hindu Social Philosophy propounded in the Bhagwat Geeta based as it is, on the Triguna of Sankhaya philosophy which is in my judgment a

cruel perversion of the philosophy of Kapila, and which had made the caste system and system of Graded Inequality the law of Hindu Social life.

Positively, my social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Let know one, however, say that I have borrowed my philosophy from the French Revolution. I have not. My philosophy has root in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teaching of my master, the Buddha. In his philosophy liberty and equality had a place; but he added that unlimited liberty destroyed equality, and absolute equality let no room for liberty. In his philosophy law had a place only as a safeguard against the breaches of liberty and equality; but he did not believe that law could be a guarantee for breaches of liberty or equality. He gave the highest place to fraternity as the only real safeguard against the denial of liberty or equality or fraternity, which was another name for brotherhood or humanity, which was again name for religion.

Law is secular, which anybody may break while fraternity or religion is scared which every body must respect. My philosophy has a mission. I have to do the work of conversion; for, I have to make the followers of Triguna theory to give up and accept mine. Their political ideal set out in the preamble to the constitution affirms a life of liberty, equality and fraternity. Their ideal embodied in their religion denies them (Ambedkar 2004:503, Vol. 17 Part 3)”

VI ORGANIZATIONAL

About the nature and need of the organization for his movement to which he lead he had following opinion:

“...There is one other point about which I must speak to you a few words. That is about the necessity of forming one All India Political Organization, to act as the mouthpiece of the untouchables of India. We have been carrying on our political activities through provincial organization. I find that even in provinces, there is a multiplicity of political organizations. Any ambitious person who wants to parade himself

as a President or a Secretary founds an Association with himself as President or Secretary. He needs to do nothing more than get a printed letter paper having the name of the Association with himself as President or Secretary. This is a state of anarchy, which you must put a stop to at once. There is only one way by which this can be done. And this is by establishing an All-India Organization to be called the 'All India Scheduled Castes Federation' to act as the one single mouthpiece of the Depressed Classes of India. Further that all other petty and provincial Organizations shall be merged in this one single Organization, which will have its provincial branches in the different Provinces of India. This will give you the strength you need, and enable you to work in a manner that helps you to build a united front. I hope will take up this matter in right earnest (Rattu 2001:13)."

It is pertinent from the study of his opinions regarding the form of organization and leadership he holds strong views that democracy is more important for him and do not tolerate the Phenomenon of 'Hero Worship'. It is observed from the following quotation; Dr. Ambedkar's 55th Birth Day was celebrated on 14th April 1947. On a request from 'Jai Bheem published from Madras for his contribution on the occasion Dr. Ambedkar sent the following Message.

"...You have asked me to send you a Message on my 55th Birthday for you Special Number. It is an unfortunate fact that in India, the political leader is placed on the same footing as the prophet. Outside India, people celebrate the Birthday of both Prophets as well as the politicians. It is pity that is should be so. Personally, I do not like the celebration of my Birthday. I am too much of a Democracy to relish man-worship, which I regard as perversion of Democracy. Admiration, love, regard and respect for a Leader, if he deserves them are permissible, and should be enough for both the leader and the followers. But worship of the leader is certainly not permissible. It is demoralizing to both. But I suppose this is all beside the point. Once a political leader is placed on the same footing as the Prophet, he must play the role of the Prophet and give a message to his followers in same way as the Prophets did. (Message 21, Page 18, Dr. Ambedkar Important Messages, Saying, wit and wisdom by Nank Chand Ratu 2001.)

Ambedkar was an institution builder and therefore he established a number of 'organisations' and 'periodicals' during his time. Each organisation and publication bears an imprint of ideological terminology and 'Phrase'.

Sr. No.	Name of organization	Year of establishment
1.	Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha	1924
2.	Samata Sainik Dal	1927
3.	Independent labour party	15 August 1936
4.	Scheduled Caste federation	18-20 July 1942
5.	All India Backward Classes Association	1951-52
6.	Republican party of India	1954-55 (proposed)

Sr. No.	Name of periodical	Year of establishment
1.	Mooknayak (Weekly)	1920 (31 st Jan., 1920 - 9 th Oct. 1920)
2.	Bahishkrit Bharat (Forthnightly)	1927 (3 rd April 1927 – November 1929)
3.	Janata (Weekly)	1930 - 1956
4.	Prabuddha Bharat, envisaging an enlightened India (Weekly)	1956

From the above we can analyse and assess the meaning conveyed by each name of the organisation and publication. It also speaks about the social vision which Ambedkar professed and also the evolutionary nature of his leadership. He started from a very narrow group interest reflected in 'Bashisht Hitkari Sabha' and Scheduled Caste Federation but ended up with the vision of Republican Party of India. Similarly he starts with 'Mooknayak' and finished with Prabuddha Bharat (1956).

At the end let us not forget his most precious message to the Nation in the Constituent Assembly on 25th Nov. 1949: " on the 26th of Jan. 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognising the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economical life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man

one value. How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradictions at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up (Official report, Constitutional debates, book no. 5, vol. XII, page no. 979, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi, 2003).

Conclusion:

It is clear from the above discussion that Dr. Ambedkars movement and ideology was for bringing the social change in the social structure and systems to have a society based on the modern human values- Equality, Liberty, Fraternity and Justice. This vision was developed on basis of preveling social order in the social values. There is a Brahminical social order in the country based on graded inequality in the form of caste system which victimises the Shudras and Ati Shudras of the said system. He therefore aimed to organise all the oppressed sections of Indian society by adopting their constitutional terminology such as SC, ST, OBC and Minority, to launch his movement for structural social change. This was the nature and scope of his movement and ideology.

In the next chapter the we shall focus our attention on the dynamics of identity as it is a core concept in ideology of any movement.

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CHAPTER IV

Dynamics of Identity in the Phule-Ambedkarite Movement

This chapter tries to understand the issue of 'identity' in the Phule-Ambedkarite movement, which is being contested amongst the scholars and the organizers of the depressed classes. This chapter also aims to analyse critically the arguments and the standpoints of the thinkers, writers and organizers who are trying to identify the factors, and forces, as well as processes involved in the dynamics of ideology in Phule-Ambedkarite movement. As identity is an integral part of ideology therefore it is being discussed here under above title.

Before going into debates on identity which is the main focus of the chapter it is important to note that the followers of Phule and Ambedkar and activists in the Phule-Ambedkarite movement along with their different organizations use different identities to organize the masses or to run their organization. In the academic discourses there are negligible followers of Phule in the whole country when we locate him independently separate from Ambedkar. But one can find countless followers in the case Phule and Ambedkar are evaluated together. We find countless followers of Ambedkar when we consider him independent from Phule but associated with Buddha. There are some isolated followers of Ambedkar when we separate him from Buddha or Phule. The isolated followers of Ambedkar in academics use Dalit identity but those who follow Ambedkar along with Buddha use Buddhist identity. At the same time followers of Kanshi Ram (BSP) in contemporary in India use Bahujan identity and some people also use 'Dalit-Bahujan' as a joint identity. But those who follow Ambedkar along with Phule and Buddha as their emancipators have rejected 'Dalit' word from their movement and use "Mulnivasi Bahujan" identity. According to this last group Phule used Mulnivasi identity and Buddha used Bahujan identity, both of them are the teachers (Guru) of Ambedkar therefore 'Mulnivasi Bahujan' is the perfect identity for the depressed classes who cause, Buddha, Phule and Ambedkar championed. They also express the logic that

the word Mulnivasi gives the pride as being the original inhabitants of India and the word Bahujan provide the source of inspiration to be the rulers in the democratic system of the Indian nation as they are in majority (SC/ST/ OBC and converted minority). Now we shall see the observations and opinions of the following scholars on this issue as follows: Avijit Pathak (2005:139), while discussing issue of identity has stated that: “Dalit assertion is immensely significant because in this assertion of the hitherto subdued groups we see a language of resistance against Brahmanism, and its implicit principle of hierarchy. We also see a new confidence, a heightened self-awareness of being a Dalit and its distinctive symbols, literature and cultural expression.” Kumar (2005:61) observes that; “The term Dalit is of recent coinage though the identity has a chequered history. Prior to adoption of Dalit as an identity by some 150 million people, they were addressed by different nomenclatures such as Chandalas, Hinajations, Avarnas, Antyaj as, Achhuts, Pariahs, Namsudras, Untouchables, unapproachable, Outcastes, Panchamas (the fifth class or category of the Varna order), etc. these identities had stigma segregation and contempt writ large.” He further states that: “Though, the term Dalit represents a broader social category of people, it has been used obliquely for certain untouchable castes like Mahars in Maharashtra, Chamars in Uttar Pradesh, etc. But in the most recent years, the term Dalit has become a nation-wide phenomenon and is largely used by many Untouchables or Scheduled Castes irrespective of their traditional and parochial caste distinctions. It has also become a symbol of their social identity.” In this context, Kumar (2005:61) quotes Nandu Ram. He argues that, “But contrary to a heuristic understanding, the term Dalit is currently used for and by untouchable castes all over the country. Even social scientists have started referring to the Dalits and untouchables or the scheduled Castes inter-changeably” (Ram 1995: 18). Kumar (2005:61) further argues that. We have used the term Dalits, in this book, for analysing different identities of untouchables like Depressed Classes, Harijans, Scheduled Castes and which were used for them by others over a period of time articulating their self-assertion and acclaimed social identity of being Dalits.” He finally makes the remark that: “...five identities have also emerged today. Bahujan is also a class identity propagated and popularised by BAMCEF. Other Backward classes and converted minorities like - Sikh, Christians, and Muslims. It is the contention of the Dalit leaders that these converted minorities has gone from the different

Dalit communities, therefore, they also constitute part of Bahujan. Very recently BAMCEF has started propagating Mulnivasi as the other identity for the Dalits and other Backward Castes. They argue and Aryans have come from outside and subjugated them.” Ghanshyam Shah (2005:21), states that: Mahatma Gandhi, an ardent champion for removing untouchability within the Hindu Chaturvarna framework, called the untouchable, ‘Harijan’ — man of God. The denominator was used in 1931 amid conflicts between Gandhi and Ambedkar on the issue of political representation to Dalits on the basis of a separate community — distinct from Hindus. Gandhi borrowed the name from a Bhakti saint of the century, Narsinh Mehta. He primarily appealed to caste Hindus to use the term Harijan instead of Antyaja. While giving currency to the word, he explained: The ‘untouchable’, to me is, as compared to us (caste-Hindus), really a ‘Harijan’-a man of God —and we are ‘Durjana’ (men of evil). For whilst the untouchable has toiled and miled and dirtied his hands so that we may live in comfort and cleanliness, we have delighted in suppressing him. We are solely responsible for all the shortcomings and faults that we may lay at the door of these untouchables. It is still open to us to be Harijan ourselves. but we can only do so by heartily repenting of our sin against them.” Guru (2001: 98), states that, “We have different categories representing multiple identities in the context of Dalit, In other words, the Dalit category has not yet assumed an explicit character, and hence, has not closed its linkages with other categories, which also describe reality at different levels and are therefore real. In fact, by this very logic, the category of Dalit is not immune to its own contextual transcendence. These different categories in politics can be reciprocal, and hence, cannot be permanently in opposition to each other. In fact, these categories belong to the same logical class inasmuch as they share the same positive utopia of creating a society free from coercion, exploitation and dehumanisation. For example, how can the category of Buddhist be in opposition to Dalit, Dalit in opposition to Bahujan and Bahujan in opposition to Marxist? All these categories have the same function of restoring the normative social order. Thus, to conclude, the deployment of the Dalit category has the logical insight, which contains an element of negation and also the conjunction of categories from the same logical class. The Dalit category is historically arrived at, sociologically presented and discursively constituted.” It is clear that the author in the above analysis has not attempted to discuss

whether '*Bahujan*' doesn't mean '*Dalit*' and '*Dalit*' don't represent '*Bahujan*'. It is a hard fact that there is no smooth moving of anybody with any identity, which is contested in the field. But if it is not understood or purposely suppressed or hidden then it should be brought to light, by those who maintain that," How can category of Buddhist be in opposition to Dalit, Dalit in opposition to Bahujan and Bahujan in opposition to Marxist?".

It is a fact that the word '*Bahujan*' came into Indian politics in the year 1984, with the formation of Bahujan Samaj Party. But the history of the '*Bahujan Identity*' in modern India has connection with the word '*Dalit*', as the movement under the leadership of Kanshi Ram had formed an organization called DS4 (Dalit Soshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti) in the year 1981. Again it has a history of disconnection of Dalit from Bahujan since the year from the year 1984, as during this period the mother organization of both DS4 and BSP BAMCEF had rejected the term '*Dalit*' after rigorous research and deliberations. Therefore '*Bahujan Identity*' is in the strong opposition of Dalit identity to the Phule-Ambedkarite followers. It may not be recognised by the academicians who for the sake of self-satisfaction try to appropriate the meaning of the word and miss the reality of the grass roots. Therefore it must be noted that there was a contesting situation between the two words (Dalits and Bahujan) at the juncture of formation of BSP and it was from the strategic point of view leaders had decided to make a choice of one out of '*Bahujan*' keeping in mind the national political scenario and therefore Kanshi Ram got success in capturing political power not only in a single state like UP but BSP has been successful at the centre with MP at present and MLA, MLC and Corporators at many places all over the country by organizing not only the Scheduled Caste but the whole mass of Backward society (SC/ST/OBC and Converted Minority Communities), under the "*Bahujan identity*". To look into the reference for the strategic decisions of Kanshi Ram we have the following reference to understand his actions to organize all backwards we can have a look at the following statement of Dr. Ambedkar "because of gradation among the castes, it was impossible to unite the lower castes against the caste system. Castes form a graded system of sovereignties, high and low, which are jealous of their status and which know that if a general dissolution came, some of them stand to lose

more of their prestige and power than others do. You cannot, therefore, have a general mobilization of the Hindu, to use a military expression, for an attack on the Caste system (Moon 1987: 72.)” “Dalit Identity and Politics” *Pushpendra* states that; “He (Dr. Ambedkar) made efforts in the 1930s to build alliances with OBC’s but failed. Both the Dalit and OBC leaders have realized that without their unity they cannot challenge the upper caste dominance and gain political power through elections. The Bahujan Samaj party, under the leadership of Kanshi Ram, has been making efforts to bring Dalits and OBCs together in electoral politics. Such attempts, to some extent, have succeeded as the 1996 Lok Sabha election data shows (Shah ed., 2005:28).”

Even though there is a strong assertion at all India level about Bahujan identity but still one can find a very sophisticated argument to defend the term “Dalit”. Eleanar Zilliot (2001:1) in the introduction of the third edition of her very famous book entitled “From Untouchables to Dalit” has sighted an event to argue that, “Just last year I was asked by some highly educated followers of Dr. Ambedkar if I was going to do a book called “From Untouchable to Buddhist”, since this group resented the term “Dalit” as negative, even demeaning. I replied that I could not, since not all Dalit were Buddhist, and that the term Dalit was not only to be interpreted as “the oppressed”, but also as “the proud, the defiant”. As long as there is a group or groups, chiefly untouchable and in some cases Backward castes or Scheduled castes, who are the victims of caste oppression, there must be a term to describe them and literature they create to tell their stories. The rejection of “Dalit” by those who are able to take their destinies in their own hands is understandable, and in many ways a good sign of progress.”

But Narula (1999) uses another identity for the followers of Ambedkar i.e. broken people which also reflects a reality, a translation of Dalit in one of it’s meaning as “ground down, broken.” When Martin Macwan won the Kennedy award for his work on the Dalit Human Rights campaign, he said, “To me Dalit is not a Caste, but a moral position... one that respects all humans as equal is a Dalit.” The logical questions to the above event can be posed as follows:

Why the author is needed to defend her selection of word “Dalit” while mentioning about

Ambedkarite people? Why she has rejected the suggestion of a highly educated group of Dr. Ambedkar? Why is that the highly educated followers of Dr. Ambedkar wish that Dr. Eleanor Zelliott should use the word “Buddhist” instead of “Dalit”?

The probable answer to the first question is very simple that as there is a strong intellectual force of the scheduled caste in the society which opposes and denounces the word “Dalit” used for scheduled caste. This to means that usage of, it is quite remain limited to the word “Dalit” for scheduled castes and OBC’s is very, very limited. Hence, the intellectual and educated section of this class may not approve the person who is using that word people who are against it. Thus it can be said that Zelliott wanted to protest for the same herself from the possible attacks of the SCs, OBCs, and SC who are using this terminology for themselves. Secondly she has rejected the suggestion of highly educated followers of Dr. Ambedkar, which amounts she does to that not represent them. The answer to the third question is that the highly educated class respects, Zelliott not only as a writer and philosopher or academician but also has emotional attachment because she writes on the Scheduled Castes and Ambedkar movement. Not only that they also considers her as an activist in the movement. So, we can argue that there is confusion in the different identities that exist. The identity of ‘Dalit’ and ‘Buddhist’ both exist in the society. But the ‘Dalit’ identity is more political and ushered because of a political movement during 1970s by the Dalit Panthers. Though it is claimed that this ‘Dalit’ identity was used by Ambedkar. On the other hand Buddhist identity is a religious identity and emerged after Ambedkar’s conversion to ‘Buddhism’ in 1956. Now the significant aspect of this dynamics of identity is that the educated and conscious scheduled castes treat Zelliott as Part and parcel of the Ambedkarite movement, they except that she should use Buddhist identity in place of Dalit identity.

It is in this context of dynamics of identity further Omvedt argues that, “It is interesting to note that the category of Dalit was used by no less a person than Dr. Ambedkar in his fortnightly called *Bahishkrit Bharat*. It was not a mere linguistic expression, but was defined by him in a most comprehensive way. He says, ‘dalithood’ is a kind of life conditions which characterise the exploitation, suppression and marginalisation of Dalits by the social, economic, cultural and political domination of the

upper castes' Brahminical ideology' (Omvedt 1994). "Under this great confusion about the exact identity of the people who were given different nomenclatures like-Dalits, Buddhists, untouchables. What is their real identity? In this context we should directly refer to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Ambedkar (1991: vi), stated that, "...the reader will find that I have used quite promiscuously in the course of this book a variety of nomenclature such as Depressed Classes, Scheduled Castes, Harijans and Servile Classes to designate the Untouchables. I am aware that this is likely to cause confusion especially for those who are not familiar with conditions in India. Nothing could have pleased me better than to have used one uniform nomenclature. The fault is not altogether mine. All these names have been used officially and unofficially at one time or other for the Untouchables. The term under the Government of India at is 'Scheduled Castes'. But that came into use after 1935. Before that they were called "Harijans" by Mr. Gandhi and "Depressed Classes" by Government. In a flowing situation like that it is not possible to fix upon one name, which may be correct designation at one stage and incorrect at another". Further in the same vein he argues, "In dealing with this part of the question we would like to point out that the existing nomenclature of Depressed classes is objected to by members of the Depressed classes who have given thought to it and also by outsiders who take interest in them. It is degrading and contemptuous, and advantage may be taken of this occasion for drafting the new constitution to alter for official purposes the existing nomenclature. We think that they should be called "Non-Caste Hindus," "Protestant Hindus." or "Non- Conformist Hindus," or some such designation, instead of "Depressed Classes". We have no authority to press for any particular nomenclature. We can only suggest them, and we believe that if properly explained the Depressed Classes will not hesitate to accept the one most suitable for them. We have received a large numbers of telegrams from the Depressed Classes all over India supporting the demands contained in this memorandum." (Ambedkar 1991:306)

Now after going through above reference from Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's literature there remains no room for any objection for appreciating the efforts of Mr. Kashi Ram, a leader of Phule-Ambedkarite Movement in the beginning and later on leader to search and adopt "Bahujan" identity from the Buddhist literature, as the most

suitable for SC, ST, OBC and Converted Minority Communities. According to BAMCEF the population of SC, ST, OBC and converted minority communities is 85% in India. Hence they are Bahujan i.e. majority in comparison to Brahmins, Kshatriya and Vaishyas. But Ilaiah (1995: viii); while referring to Kanshi Ram, had asserted that, “Meanwhile from 1984 onwards the concept of ‘Bahujan’ began to become popular with the emergence of Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). Kanshi Ram, the national president of BSP, began to use the term Bahujans, to refer to SCs, STs and OBCs. The concept Bahujan simply means majority. It is in this sense that the term was first used by Buddha and then by Phule. The problem is that it does not point to what the nature of that majority population is. To resolve the problem, I have decided to use the term ‘Dalitbahujans’ to refer to SCs, STs and OBCs.”

While deciding to use the term ‘Dalitbahujans’ Ilaiah has not given the sufficient logic other than just saying, “Bahujans” do not specify the nature of majority population to which it refers. But he forgets to trace out the historical events and processes in which Kanshi Ram had rejected the term ‘Dalit’ identity and started using the ‘Bahujan’ identity for the same collectivity for which then Dalit identity was used, Ilaiah’s motive behind using the term Bahujan identity fails to reveal. Hence the leaders of Phule-Ambekarite movement opine that the term Dalit is not useful for organising all the backwards rather it retards the progress. Thus the followers of Phule-Ambedkarite movement feel that the Dalit Bahujan identity does not solve the problem of identity crisis which can help organise larger section of society because the members of Phule-Ambedkarite and also conscious and educated members of the Scheduled Caste are of the opinion that the expression Dalit has negative connotation of stigmatised identity. Secondly the Dalit has come to be associated with the untouchables in recent times. It is in the context of dynamics of different identities for the depressed classes which include Dalit, Bahujans, etc.. D. K. Khaparde, the founding member of BAMCEF (The All India Backward And Minority Communities Employees Federation) propounded a new identity in 1990s. D. K. Khaparde took reference of Jyotirao Phule (who is called as Rashtrapita- Father of the Nation in the Phule-Ambedkarite Movement) and chose the ‘Mulnivasi Bahujan identity’. That means this identity has the term form Buddhist literature i.e. Bahujan and from Phule’s literature i.e. Mulnivasi. And the followers of Phule-Ambedkarite

Movement have clubbed these two identities to coin a new identity for the SCs, STs, OBCs and converted minorities. In this Mulnivasi Bahujan identity, Mulnivasi means original inhabitant of this land, the indigenous people. On the other hand Bahujan means the majority. Hence this 'Mulnivasi Bahujan' identity has a clear cut meaning that the original inhabitants of this land who are in majority are the owner of the resources of this country. But the Aryan invaders who are in minority have come from outside, have subjugated the Mulnivasi Bahujan. Therefore this identity asks the SCs, STs, OBCs and converted minorities to claim this land. That is why since 1993 'BAMCEF' is trying to popularise and propagate this Mulnivasi Bahujan identity in their meetings, cadre camps, periodicals, journals and leaflets. According to BAMCEF this is the most logical and objective oriented ideology of the oppressed classes. One, it connotes the same group of people from whom both Phule and Ambedkar had fought. This Mulnivasi Bahujan identity has the potential to unite the different sections of oppressed classes' i.e. SCs, STs, OBCs and converted minorities under the umbrella of unified identity. Secondly, this Mulnivasi Bahujan identity is away from all negative connotations and stigma. Rather it gives a positive identity for the oppressed classes as the majority and the owner of the vast resources and land.

This is exactly dynamics of ideology, as there are continuous changes taking place in the meaning and symbolic values associated with the words. Thus the concept takes various shapes and dimensions, the factors like time, place, person and contexts changes it keeps on changing in its meaning, scope and prevalence. Therefore nobody can predict for a long what shape the present ideology and identity will take on the next moment.

Conclusions

To conclude we can argue that Dr. Ambedkar had not only rejected and denounced the 'Dalit' identity of which the English translated is depressed classes. He did this in the form of a memorandum submitted to government, 4 July 1931, that, the people to whom he leads must not be termed as depressed classes (i.e. Dalit) and requested before the then government to use any other nomenclature which may be acceptable and suitable to

represent them. This reference seems to be not noticed by many of the academicians and organizers. Therefore this reference is very important to be noted here, with the view to understand the process, developments and changes occurring in the ideological elements of the movement. Further, we have seen that Jyotirao Phule has used Mulnivasi as the identity for the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes. OBCs. Now we have seen that how different identities have been used in the annals of history for the SCs, STs, OBCs. Some have called with their traditional Caste names, some have called them Dalits, some Bahujans and someone has given the identity 'Mulnivasi Bahujan'. But the organisations professing the identity of 'Mulnivasi Bahujan' consider it most logical identity for the depressed classes. It is so because it helps to unite the followers of Phule and Ambedkar and gives their movement a linear diversion. Secondly it is a positive identity which makes the depressed classes as the owner of this land and resources of this land.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Dynamics of ideology and identity in 'Phule-Ambedkarite movements' has been analysed in the previous chapters of the study, on the basis of observation, it can be said that there is lack of a dominant and commonly identity amongst the Phule-Ambedkarite masses. Some use the term 'Dalit' identity and some use Bahujan Identity to organise the classes which comprise of SCs, STs, OBC But a general fact is that the Dalit identity has been rejected and denounced by quite a large number of people and hence it is contested. When we had started looking at the problem of crisis of ideology we had assumed that it is not the crisis but the dynamics. Because ideology can never be static in nature but it is dynamic in nature and therefore it continuously undergoes changes in its internal elements/concepts. On the other hand ideology also remains as it is always developed in the light of the objective of a particular movement. We have also learnt that the ideology in the present study is not of an individual type but has emerged in the context of a moment. It was also realised during this study that to be objective, while studying the issue of identity crisis, arising out of ideological crisis after the demise of Dr. Ambedkar during the period 1956-2005 – it is better not to take note of the controversy over the identity from the point of view of people involved in the movement rather take note of the identity of the movement from the leadership point of view. Therefore we have chosen leaders Phule and Ambedkar to discuss the dynamics of ideology and identity in their movements. According to number of movements of depressed classes, it is commonly understood that the names of the Phule and Ambedkar are undisputed to refer and have larger acceptance in the backward classes (SC, ST, and OBC) and also many of the organisations and leaders use this terminology to speak for backward classes. These organisations and leaders seem to be most successful as compared to their contemporaries using the term Dalit. The most important reason for using this terminology is the fact that though the academicians for their specifications of studies on movements or maybe with their ill motives have developed a culture to relate Phule and Ambedkar only with untouchables or relate Phule with Shudhras (OBC's) and Ambedkar with untouchables (SC's). On the other hand the Bahujan identity does not connote the full ideological

plank of Phule, which necessarily includes the element of original inhabitant of land and hence Mulnivasi has to be added in the identity. But it is a fact that Phule and Ambedkar spent their energy for building a healthy nation by destroying the element of inequality, caste system and Brahmanical hegemony in the Indian society on the basis of their efforts we can call them as true nationalists.

Hence, on the basis of logic of movement of certain organisations specifically of BAMCEF, we have come to a conclusion that Mulnivasi-Bahujan should be the most appropriate identity of the collectivity which follows Phule-Ambedkarite movement. Further, on the basis on existential and experimental realities of oppressed classes movement run by BAMCEF it can be stated that there is a linear and direct relation between Phule and Ambedkar's movement. This relationship between Phule and Ambedkar's movement can be easily established on the basis of rights and privileges of the group of people they champion. And on the basis of ideology of a new society on the egalitarian principles away from inequality and hierarchy.

At the out set, Chapter one of the present study deals with the introduction, the problem of misinterpretation of the Phule-Ambedkarite movements and have recognised "Mulnivasi Bahujan" as a dominant ideology and identity was the precursor of the Phule-Ambedkarite ideology. Also we have tried to provide a brief introduction of Phule and Ambedkar. The chapter discusses the statement of the problem, rational and objectives of the study and chapter scheme also. We have also tried to explain concepts used in the study. Naturally the sources of data remained only secondary. We have collected data mostly through books, journals, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, magazines etc.

Second chapter discusses an adequate account of movement and ideas of Jyotirao Phule. This was done with the view to understand the objective of movement and ideology of Jyotirao Phule. The chapter was therefore divided into subsections as social, economic, political, religious, cultural and organisational. These chapters help us in understanding his line of thinking regarding development of the movement under his leadership. It is very clear from the analysis presented that his vision was to bring a total change in the social system which was based on Brahmanical philosophy to which he has termed 'Philosophy of untruth' and his vision rejects the status quo or reformist view to fight out the social problems with which our society is struggling. For dismatching the

'Philosophy of untruth' and establishing society on truth. Against this, Phule wanted that society should be established on the basis of truth. He has pointed out that a powerful organisation is needed. But for all this to happen it is necessary to put an end to the mental slavery of those who are victims or sufferers of the present system. He used the strategy of drawing line of demarcation between the victims of the present system and beneficiaries of the same, for preparing the victims to get ready for struggle of their emancipation. To create awareness or make them conscious, he provided the comparison of the standard of life between the two. The chapter also highlights how Phule made Shudras and Atishudras conscious about their civil rights and also about the cheating and loot practised by Brahmins by publishing his writings and also by conducting number of public meetings for this purpose. These were the strategies and means he used to build his organisation. His main thrust remained on educating the masses formally and informally. Starting a first school for untouchables and women are the examples of the same. It is important to note here that the main concept around which he had developed a prideful identity for the mass mobilisation was the concept of indigenouness of Shudras and Atishudras, to which the Hindi and Marathi word is Mulnivasi. This strategic identity definitely demoralised the forces in opposition and provided spirit of pride to the people in his camp. We have concluded the chapter by saying that the ideology and identity of Phule has been used by many leaders in the past, but in confusion. But now certain organisations are trying to use his ideology of creating an egalitarian society on the basis of truth by putting an end to the mental slavery of the sufferers in more logical manner. These organisations are also using identity propounded by Phule in organising the people.

Chapter III has presented a systematic account of some basic selected thoughts and events related to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement and ideology (1917-1956). This chapter gives us an insight of Ambedkar's thoughts, classified under sub-sections as- Social, Economic, Political, Religious, Cultural and Organisational. This was done for our convenience to understand each sub-section along with his ideology which remains integrated with his ideas on each institution of society. From this chapter we learn the terminology and line of thinking of Dr. Ambedkar and the circumstantial events under which he was functioning. The chapter also gives us an idea about the sequence of his writings and provides an understanding of his connectedness to the ideologies of the

leaders preceding him. Basically his thinking and ideas were influenced by Buddha followed by saints like Kabir, Nanavar, Ravidas, Chokhamela and social revolutionary like Jyotirao Phule. While reflecting upon the issue of identity we have observed that he was searching for a better identity for his followers who considered him their leader. While crystallising our thought about his movement and ideology, we shall always keep in mind the objective of the movement because it is well understood that objective is the fundamental element of any organised activity. Therefore we can conclude that while evaluating the relevance of any thought he has produced, one must justify it on the scale of objective.

As it was learnt that both Phule and Ambedkar had a vision that their movement was for equality, liberty and justice and to achieve this objective they needed to establish their ideology amongst the masses and if it were to get established in the masses, only then could their vision materialise. Therefore with the view to organise all the down-trodden divided in thousands of castes, a common identity to refer them as co-sufferers or one blood and one race or to create a feeling of brotherhood among them was needed. With this view Dr. Ambedkar had written two important books i.e. "Who were the Shudras?" and "The Untouchable". The efforts of both Phule and Ambedkar were in the direction of creating a homogenous society of all those backward castes falling into category known as Shudras and Atishudras (according to the Brahminical terminology) and SC, ST and OBC (according to constitutional terminology).

The issues of Dalit identity and the contemporary debates on the same has been discussed in the fourth chapter. In this chapter, we have made an attempt to look into the arguments and observations of the academicians as well as of the organisers in the field about the identity of the oppressed classes. It was observed that most of the academicians have failed to understand and recognise the relevance of 'Mulnivasi Bahujan' identity as propagated by BAMCEF. Very few have taken the note of the arguments and the efforts regarding the same. Towards the end of this chapter we have highlighted the importance of Dr Ambedkar's reference to the issue of identity in his famous book, "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables", in the preface of the book. In that reference he has very clearly expressed his will to search and adopt a more appropriate and exact identity for untouchables, other than depressed classes (Dalit). If we try to understand the

above point keeping in mind his efforts to adapt the term 'republican' as he had envisaged in the formation of Republican Party of India to provide a better political identity to his followers then his ideology to establish democratic society also becomes evident. Last but not the least we can conclude that a successful attempt was made in this study to understand the dynamic process of ideology formation and thereby providing the identities to the people for organisation to achieve their common goals. We have learnt from the study how many elements and forces are responsible for the ideology and identity formation. We have observed that there are varieties of people who follow Phule and Ambedkar with variety of interests. The academicians who do not share the exact feeling of the activist in the movement and remained detached from the objectives of movements, there are some academicians who are associated with the moments, the others remain associated with their personal ideologies of respective religions, political parties, regional and cultural groups, etc.. All these people study the Phule-Ambedkar's movement from their vantage point. Therefore their analysis also differs. But they also play an important role in popularising and legitimising the ideologies and identities emerging in the course of movement at different intervals.

Therefore every movement has to face the positions taken by the academicians as their thoughts not only remain in the books kept in libraries or book-stores but also gets reflected in the society from the intelligentsia and common masses through many mediums of communication. Therefore one has to take the cognisance of these positions. If the academicians play a dominant role in influencing common masses of any movement these academicians need to give recognition to the views and position of the people, who lead society in the public life through social, cultural, religious political and economic institutions as well. This is an ongoing debate from which both academicians and leaders can benefit. Neither can neglect the other for successful performance of their duties. Hence we can observe that these are the forces that play important role in the dynamics of ideology and identity in any moment. But in case of Phule-Ambedkarite movements we have seen them through the literature available. On the basis of the above analysis we can argue that for further and effective understanding of the dynamics of ideology and identity in the Phule-Ambedkarite movement one has to go to the field and search for primary sources of data.

CHAPTER V

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