

DR. B. R. AMBEDKAR'S

**Philosophy of Constitutionalism
as an Instrument of JUSTICE,
social, economic and political'**



INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Indraprastha Estate, Ring Road, New Delhi
iipa.org.in



GANDHIJI'S TALISMAN

“ I will give you a talisman. Whenever you are in doubt or when the self becomes too much with you, apply the following test:

Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest man whom you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him.

Will he gain anything by it? Will it restore him to a control over his own life and destiny? In other words, will it lead to Swaraj for the hungry and spiritually starving millions?

Then you will find your doubts and your self melting away ”



Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Tenth DR. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture

on

**'DR. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of
Constitutionalism as an Instrument
of JUSTICE, social, economic and
political'**

March 28, 2019

by

Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh

Former Governor of Sikkim and

Union Home Secretary

Organised by

DR. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice



**Indian Institute of Public Administration
New Delhi**

“Ours is a battle;

not for wealth.....

Ours is a battle for freedom;

For reclamation of human personality”

– Dr. B.R. Ambedkar



FOREWORD

I am glad that Indian Institute of Public Administration organized Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture on March 28, 2019 and the lecture is being published for wider circulation. The Memorial Lecture on *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an Instrument of JUSTICE, social, economic and political* was delivered by Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh, Former Governor of Sikkim and Union Home Secretary and a profound scholar of Dr. Ambedkar's thought and literature.

Dr. Ambedkar had the highest academic credentials for an Indian of his time, and his erudition and scholarship have been widely acknowledged. He always upheld and strongly believed in human dignity. He was a passionate nation builder who gave voice to all deprived sections of the society. His views on diverse national issues were quite pragmatic.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a great son of this nation who worked for social integration in India. He worked tirelessly for the upliftment of the marginalized sections of the society with an aim to bring equality, liberty and fraternity in the society. He attempted to forge India's moral and social foundations anew and strove for a political order of constitutional democracy that is sensitive to the needs and claims of disadvantaged and depressed sections of society. His commitment to democracy as the mode of governance was unwavering and argued that political democracy has no meaning without social and economic democracy. It was a pleasure to listen to Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh's passionate exposition of Dr. Ambedkar's thinking and contribution to nation.

I am thankful to Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh for having agreed to deliver the Memorial Lecture on '*Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an Instrument of JUSTICE, social, economic and political*' at Indian Institute of Public Administration. Dr. C. Sheela Reddy, Chair Professor, Dr. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice and her colleagues deserve an appreciation for organizing the lecture.



Surendra Nath Tripathi

Director

Indian Institute of Public Administration

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Indian Institute of Public Administration organised the 10th Dr. B. R. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture on March 28, 2019. The Lecture was delivered by Shri Balmiki Prasad, on 'Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an Instrument of JUSTICE, social, economic and political'.

Shri T.N.Chaturvedi, Chairman, IIPA and Former Governor of Karnataka presided over the event. I express my deep and warm gratitude to him for being a constant source of inspiration in organising the Lecture.

I express our profound gratitude to Shri S. N. Tripathi, Director, IIPA for his support and guidance to the activities of the Chair. He is a great source of inspiration and extends full cooperation for the smooth functioning of the Chair. His creative inputs and insights enrich the functioning of the Chair.

I wish to place on record my sincere gratitude to Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, New Delhi for sponsoring Dr. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice at IIPA, enabling me to organise this Lecture as a part of the annual feature of Chair's activities. I am grateful to Shri D. P. Majhi, Director, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation for his continuous support and cooperation.

I am deeply indebted to Shri Balmiki Prasad, Former Governor of Sikkim and Home Secretary, Government of India for setting the stage of this publication by delivering an insightful Lecture and also going through the whole manuscript with utmost care.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the support from Shri Anil, Computer Operator, Dr. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice and staff of Research and Coordination (R & C) Unit for their assistance.

Last but not the least; my special thanks are due to the Publication Division of IIPA for their efforts in giving a shape to this publication.

C. Sheela Reddy

CONTENTS

Foreword	3
Acknowledgements	4
About the Chair	6
Opening Remarks Shri Shekhar Dutt, Vice-President, IIPA and Former Governor of Chhattisgarh	8
Brief Profile of Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh Former Governor of Sikkim and Home Secretary, Government of India	11
DR. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture DR. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an Instrument of JUSTICE, social, economic and political' Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh	12
Special Remarks Shri.D. P. Majhi, Director, DR. Ambedkar Foundation	33
Presidential Remarks Shri T. N. Chaturvedi, Chairman, IIPA and Former Governor of Karnataka and Kerala	35
Closing Remarks Dr. C. Sheela Reddy, Chair Professor, Dr. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice	40
Details of Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Lectures	41

ABOUT THE CHAIR

The Scheme of 'Dr. Ambedkar Chair' under the aegis of Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Government of India was initiated in 1993 in different Universities and Institutions all over the country to pay tribute and constructive homage to the memory of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice was set up at Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) in 2004 to translate Dr. Ambedkar's ideas into practical propositions and policy instruments.

Since its inception, the Chair has been conducting research and capacity building workshops, Lectures and seminars on the theme of social justice and the philosophy of Dr. B.R Ambedkar, focusing on issues such as social exclusion, inclusion and marginalization. The Chair has produced quality publications and organised inter-chair dialogues to enrich studies on weaker sections, minorities, backward classes with the hope of weaving poverty-alleviation better into public policy.

In the past four years or so Dr. Ambedkar chair at IIPA has had the privilege to host eminent scholars to deliver Ambedkar Memorial Lectures. Among others, Prof. Sukhdev Thorat spoke on 'Social Justice in the Private Sector'; Dr. Narendra Jadhav delivered a Memorial Lecture on 'Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Intellectual Colossus and National Leader'; Prof. Ashok Modak spoke on 'Dr. Ambedkar's Vision and Mission', all within the scope of what Dr. Ambedkar struggled for.

Besides disseminating the ideas and thoughts of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to students and scholars through seminars, workshops, dialogues and discussions, the Chair undertakes research and prepares course module/ curriculum in line with Dr. Ambedkar philosophy and thought for sensitizing trainees at IIPA. It also sensitizes people of nearby locality and areas about the relevance of Dr. Ambedkar's ideas for the betterment of the poor and vulnerable sections of society. The Chair identifies and recognizes the contribution of activists/writers, those who made a significant

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

contribution to the mobilization of marginalized sections of society and provides a platform for sharing their ideas and experiences. The Chair has organized awareness camps to propagate the thoughts and writings of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar among the masses.

Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture is an important activity of the Chair, usually an annual feature. The Lectures are delivered by distinguished personalities of repute. This Lecture on 'Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an Instrument of JUSTICE, social, economic and political' was delivered on March 28, 2019.

OPENING REMARKS

Shri Shekhar Dutt
Vice-President, IIPA and Former
Governor of Chhattisgarh

It is my honour to be here, sharing this room with Shri T.N. Chaturvedi, Chairman, Indian Institute of Public Administration and Former Governor of Karnataka, and the First Secretary to the Government of India that I served with. It is so nice to have another person, Shri Ved Marwah, Former Governor of Jharkhand, Joint Secretary at that time and whom I had to report in 1981. I extend my wishes to Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh, Shri Majhi, Shri U.C. Agarwal who have been connected with the matters of public administration, as well as IIPA for a long time, all members of the faculty and scholars present for this important Lecture series organized in memory of Dr. Ambedkar.

The social and economic structures in India are such that we require governance, good governance where people's problems are understood, felt with empathy and then solved. We are somewhat still in the 'work in progress' status even after 70 years of Independence. Many areas need our attention. Some of them are defence and security, but education, health, climate issues, environment issues, employment for the youth, etc. are also critical and hence, governance is a very important element. The government cannot decentralize its responsibility to third parties, and what Dr. Ambedkar did was to identify the issues of governance. His focus was on hardcore issues of governance. He left behind a realm of scholarly work. His writings were mainly in English and were of deep study and contemplation, which are relevant, even today. A large number of books had been written, and writing books is not very easy. He had written several books and I just share some of the names of the books or the subjects covering the entire range of governance. In 1917, he wrote *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*. Then, he wrote

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

Small Holdings and Their Remedies, in 1918. This was a book about rural India, how does the farmer become a person who is a unit and can live on the land that he is holding. In 1923, he wrote *The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and Its Solution*, which was about how intercontinental parity or disparity with the rupee was one-sided and the pound kept on getting mass and the rupee the molasse. Then, in 1936, he wrote *Annihilation of Caste*; in 1943 *Gandhi and Emancipation of the Untouchables*; *Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah*; in 1945 *Pakistan or Partition of India*; in 1945 again, he wrote on *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*. Then, in 1946, he wrote *Maharashtra as a Linguistic State*, and he went on writing 23 books or essays. His writings show the concern of a person who is talking about India, Indian people, the need that every unit of India must be productive and should be able to sustain.

Having worked in the Ministry of Rural Development and Agriculture while in the States and other places, I found that his book, *Small Holdings in India and their Remedies*, is still very relevant. In 1982, I was handling all the major water projects of India, as well as the major agricultural projects. We went to Bihar and I found that Bihar has very good land, extremely fertile with hardworking people and farmers, but each farmer has a total area of less than one hectare of land and that was divided into five pieces or, even seven pieces. So, how can he manage all these things? I found that when Aswan Dam was being built in Egypt, the Egyptian farmers and the Government made it mandatory that consolidation or *chakbandi* would happen and thereby they could even prescribe the kind of crop which will be grown in the areas under agriculture depending on the availability of water. There was effective crop planning and *chakbandi* or consolidation was necessary. As 70 per cent population of India are farmers, due attention should be given to the agriculture sector. In 1918, Ambedkar had written on *chakbandi* and its necessity in India. This was one of the most important pieces of administrative work which was required so that the common denomination of India, that is, the farmer, can come up. Similarly, the problem of the rupee was something that is still there. Every day, we find in the morning that

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

the dollar has climbed up or the rupee has slashed to this extent and we are in a position to evaluate the strength of our economy, how it is going up or down because it has been linked up with a dollar. In 1922, he wrote about this and analysed how the British very cleverly linked up the rupee with the pound and then administered the parity or lack of parity. Dr. Ambedkar wrote extensively on various aspects all through his productive life. I am sure that Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh would deal with a whole lot of issues and everybody would be very much excited to understand more of this tall personality. Thank you very much and wish you all success in studies connected with Dr. Ambedkar. Thank you. Jai Hind.

BRIEF PROFILE

SHRI BALMIKI PRASAD SINGH

Former Governor of Sikkim and Home Secretary, Government of India



Balmiki Prasad Singh is a distinguished scholar, thinker and public servant. B.P. Singh is the former Governor of Sikkim. He was born on January 1, 1942, in Bihar, he was educated in a village school and subsequently at the Universities of Patna and Oxford. He passed his M.A. in Political Science from Patna University, Patna, standing first with record marks and several gold medals. He became a Lecturer in the post-graduate Department of Political Science at Patna University at the age of nineteen. B.P. Singh was appointed to the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) in 1964. He worked in Assam as well as with the Government of India and also abroad. B.P. Singh was Culture Secretary and Home Secretary, Government of India and Executive Director and Ambassador at the World Bank, Washington, DC. He has been the recipient of several fellowships and awards. He has also penned down his memories, his thoughts and his experiences in six books.

B.P. Singh is well known as the author of the *Bahudha* approach, which outlines the path towards a harmonious world as against the clash of civilisations in his globally acclaimed book: *Bahudha and the Post 9/11 World*. His latest book is titled: *The 21st Century: Geopolitics, Democracy and Peace*. B.P. Singh is an eminent public speaker in English and Hindi and has delivered several Memorial Lectures and speeches at national and global levels. He is currently working on the promotion of Peace, Science and Culture through his association with many organisations and by writings and speeches.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an Instrument of JUSTICE, social, economic and political

SHRI BALMIKI PRASAD SINGH

Former Governor of Sikkim and Union Home Secretary

INTRODUCTION

I am thankful to Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA) for inviting me to deliver the Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture. It is a privilege to speak in the memory of one of India's most distinguished sons, a person who epitomised rare values of justice, fairness and equality and contributed towards their realisation through works of outstanding creativity and scholarship.

Each visit to IIPA makes me both nostalgic and happy given my long association with IIPA and its increasing relevance in the changing milieu of India's democratic governance.

The formative years of Dr. B.R Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb, is significant for it offers an indication about the future development of his persona, his journey of mind and his indomitable spirit. The story of his life is indeed instructive. So, let me begin my reflections both on Babasaheb's formative years and his subsequent journey. Babasaheb was an exceptional child who went on to shape his own life and also of his colleagues.

LIFE AND TIMES

Charles Dickens (1812-1870), the famous novelist and social critic, through his fictional character Pip in his book *Great Expectations*, reveals the all-pervasive character of injustice. Pip says "*there is nothing so finely perceived and finely felt as injustice*".¹ The

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

untouchables in India faced injustice very deeply and at every stage of their life. They found it very disturbing as it made them feel and experience that they were subordinates not only in status but also in opportunities. It goes to the genius of Babasaheb that he fought bravely as a political leader and reflected upon it in more than 20 books that he wrote, a testimony to his analytical mind and strong commitment to transform society and politics.

As is well-known, Babasaheb was born in a poor Mahar untouchable caste family on 14th April, 1891 to Ramji Maloji Sakpal and Bhimabai. Babasaheb's father Sakpalji was then serving in the Indian Army at the Mhow cantonment. He was a follower of Kabir. He insisted that his children read something every day which elevated them. Accordingly, Ambedkar and his elder brother were required to read aloud every evening some portion of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata before going to bed. Sakpalji was also deeply convinced that modern education is the sole instrument of advancement available to the youth and he put young Babasaheb in a School in Satara where his Brahmin teacher changed his name from 'Ámbavadekar' to 'Ambedkar'. Babasaheb's sharpness of mind came to be soon noticed. Thanks to the munificence of the then Maharaja of Baroda, he was educated in Bombay, now Mumbai, where he obtained his B.A. in 1912. Impressed by the promise shown by the young Ambedkar, the Maharaja of Baroda sent him for higher studies to the United States. He joined Columbia University in New York where he did his Masters and wrote a thesis titled "*Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development*" in 1916. He was a voracious reader. His worldview was largely shaped in the democratic environment of New York and the precincts of Columbia University. It is said that he spent his meagre savings on the purchase of second-hand books and that he collected more than 2000 books during his stay in the United States.

Babasaheb's sense of loyalty brought him back to Baroda where he served the Maharaja initially as his Military Secretary. Shortly thereafter, the Maharaja of Kolhapur took interest in him and helped him to go to London to study Law. On his return, Ambedkar enrolled

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

himself at the Bombay High Court and soon he developed a good legal practice.

Babasaheb was born at a time when two movements, one political and the other social and literary, were taking place. The establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was a landmark political event that heralded anti-colonial struggle against the British rule in India. There was also a literary and social movement. This movement had begun in Bengal in the early nineteenth century which advocated and worked for literacy for all, removal of untouchability and welfare of women of all sections of society. Alongside, Babasaheb continued to take a deep interest in the cause of *Dalits* and politics. In 1927, he was nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council. In 1936, Babasaheb founded the Independent Labour Party. He also published a book this year, *The Annihilation of Caste*.

During his stay at Bombay, Babasaheb's talent came to the notice of the British rulers. He was appointed as Member of Viceroy's Council, a position that he held during 1942 - 46. The dawn of freedom was on the horizon and the Constituent Assembly was set up to draw the constitution of India.

The first government of independent India under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru invited Babasaheb to be the first Law Minister of India, which he accepted and was sworn in on 15th August 1947. On 29th August 1947, he was appointed Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee. This was recognition of his political stature and quality of his mind.

It is worth mentioning that Mahatma Gandhi played a significant role as he wanted that the cabinet should be broad-based. As Ramachandra Guha writes: *"It is said that when the British left these shores, Gandhi told his colleagues that 'freedom has come to India, not to the Congress party.' This statement was immediately acted upon by his two chief lieutenants, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbai Patel. Patel played a key role in peopling the Constituent Assembly with legal experts who had no previous party or political affiliation. On his part, Nehru inducted into the Union Cabinet politicians who had*

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

vigorously opposed the Congress in the past (and were to do so again in the future). They included B.R. Ambedkar of the Scheduled Caste Federation, R.K. Shanmukham Chetty of the Justice Party, and Syama Prasad Mookerjee of the Hindu Mahasabha. In this ecumenism, the Congress was being faithful to the spirit of its founders....”²

It is being increasingly and universally recognised that Babasaheb served the country admirably in the discharge of his duties in the government and the Constituent Assembly. The Constitution of India, a great social and political document – is the finest expression of Babasaheb’s and his colleagues, understanding of India as much as of their wisdom.

Babasaheb attached great importance to social equality in building a modern India. In his quest for equality, he went ahead to embrace Buddhism, an indigenous religion in preference to Christianity or Islam. On 14th October 1956, he and his wife were formally converted to Buddhism at Nagpur. Later he converted half a million of his followers who had gathered around him to Buddhism. Earlier, in 1955 he had founded the Buddhist Society of India. He wrote his last book, *The Buddha and his Dhamma*, and gave the copyright to the Buddhist Society. On 6th December 1956, this great son of India breathed his last in sleep at his home in Delhi.

WHY DO WE CELEBRATE DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR?

Do we celebrate his life and deeds because he was a jurist and the chief architect of the Indian Constitution; a political leader who espoused the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden; an original thinker and philosopher who wrote extensively on history and politics, economics and polity management; and an institution builder, able editor and teacher? The answer is in the affirmative. But it is much more than that, particularly in the context of the overwhelming challenge of reduction of social and economic inequality that India and several countries face. The uniqueness of Babasaheb’s contribution to political thought and the nature of his leadership need to be appreciated in the context of the following two perspectives.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

First, Babasaheb understood and eloquently expressed the inherent nature of the conflict between unequal society and the ideals of equality. It may be that several other *Dalits* and tribals went through the pain of this inequality more deeply than even Babasaheb but none articulated it in a manner that he did. Second, the pain of inequity that found expression during the period of epic freedom struggle could have forced a person to adopt a violent path but Babasaheb chose and advocated constitutionalism and democracy as principal instruments for emancipation from this pain, suffering and injustice. In my view it is for these two reasons alone, that makes Babasaheb not just a special person but also deserves a revisit by students and scholars, civil servants and public leaders to his life and thoughts.

In Babasaheb's reflective spirit and as we are going to celebrate 70 years of our Republic, let us seek new interpretations of Ambedkar's philosophy of constitutionalism to meet the challenges of today. I have chosen therefore to speak on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an Instrument of Justice - Social, Economic and Political.

CONSTITUTIONALISM

Constitutionalism is closely connected with liberalism. The rule of law is central to the idea of constitutionalism. It aspires to create a social and political order that seeks to provide justice to all sections of society. The State system is particularly required to work for the promotion of justice.

The development of thought processes regarding constitutionalism in India needs to be appreciated in the context of transformation in religion and politics that were set afoot since the 19th century. In many ways, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1830) was the founder of the philosophy of Indian constitutionalism, as he advocated the right of women to education, the abolition of the pernicious system of *sati* and liberal transformation in society. Swami

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

Vivekananda (1863-1902) redefined religion as the service of the poor and set up the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897 to work for the provision of education and health care in remote areas. In the realm of politics, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulana Abu Kalam Azad, and B.R Ambedkar were prominent leaders who sought several reforms in the social order and ceaselessly worked towards it. Ambedkar famously observed: "*I measure the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved*".³

It may be recalled that India is an ancient land and has a rich culture and strong traditions. Indian society threw up a unique pattern of social development, along with the formation of states in small geographical units in different parts of India. A four-fold division of social classes known as *varnas* was a distinct feature. People were divided up into *Brahmins* - the priestly class, the *Kshatriyas* - class of warriors, the *Vaishyas* - class of merchants; and the *Shudras* - the working class. The Vedic sages and seers made it a social code and called it '*varnashrama dharma*'.

A second critical social development in India was the emergence of *jatis*, or what came to be known as castes. *Jatis* are segmentary endogamous occupational groups, essentially subdivisions of the four basic *varnas*. Almost everyone belongs to some *Jati*, from priests of different types to traders and farmers. The *varna* and the *jati* system formed the bedrock of Indian society and severely limited the power of the State to penetrate and control it. This enduring character of the Indian social structures gives India's democracy a certain degree of stability, but at the same time poses formidable challenges for the creation of an equal society - a tenet of the Indian constitutional system.

The debates of Constituent Assembly (1946-9) reveal the concerns and wisdom of 389 wise people drawn from different parts of India for democracy, constitutionalism and social revolution as they were entrusted with the responsibility of framing the Constitution for India with Dr. B.R Ambedkar, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President of the Constituent Assembly.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

The task was closely linked with the challenge of bringing to an end the oppressive social system, according dignity of life to every person and formulating a document that would usher India into the modern era. The challenge had three interrelated facets: First, consolidation of national unity was a matter of great importance and urgency. The second area was how to reform the social system which had several undignified practices that had persisted for centuries sanctioned by scriptures as well as rituals alongside the removal of widespread poverty and illiteracy. Third, the members were also concerned with India's standing in the world as a nation-state.

The Constituent Assembly debates show that the Hon'ble members were deeply influenced not only by the Government of India Act 1935 and the British parliamentary system but also by the American War of Independence and the constitutionalism that followed it, along with the French and Russian revolutions.

DEMOCRACY, CONSTITUTIONALISM AND CONSTITUTIONAL MORALITY

All those who aspire to rule or govern with the consent of the people recognize democracy as the principal guarantor of political legitimacy. Democracy is desirable because it nurtures development and is mindful of justice. It alone provides a credible covenant for an egalitarian and inclusive social order. In all democratic countries, sovereignty lies with the people. However, the concept of constitutionalism demands that elected representatives and government officials act in terms of the limitations on power and the procedures which are set out in the Constitution. This is called constitutional morality. Invoking the Greek historian and philosopher Grote, Ambedkar observed in the Constituent Assembly and I quote: *"By constitutional morality, Grote meant 'a paramount reverence for the forms, of the Constitution, enforcing obedience to authority acting under and within these forms, yet combined with the habit of open speech, of action, subject only to definite legal control and unrestrained censure of those very authorities as to all their public acts, combined too with perfect confidence in the bosom of every*

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

*citizen amidst the bitterness of party contest that the forks of the Constitution will not be less sacred in the eyes of his opponents than in his own."*⁴

In India, a nascent democratic nation-state and a highly diverse country, the need was to demonstrate that unity could be built by respecting its differences in terms of religion, language and ethnicity and that democracy itself would become a uniting factor. This was well recognised. This democracy popularly referred to as *Lok Shahi* (public rule) would empower all Indians and help build 'the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell'. The minorities, particularly the Muslims, would have full dignity and all rights for Indian democracy had to be Secular.

It may be mentioned that there was no unanimity over the type of Constitution India should have either within the Constituent Assembly or outside. The communists wanted a kind of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' that prevailed in the Soviet Union. The socialists aspired for the acquisition of land in the public interest without payment of compensation to zamindars and landlords and free distribution of acquired land to the landless and the poor. Even after the Constitution was adopted, there was agitation in some parts of the country against the Constitution calling it a 'capitalist' document. Some communist organisations advocated a violent path to overthrow the State to attain their objective of the rule of the proletariat.

It is true that Indian society had long neglected the tribal people, and was indeed oppressive towards the *Dalits*. B.R. Ambedkar realized that the members of his community could not secure justice in a society where untouchability and inequality had been institutionalized purportedly based on Hindu scriptures. Babasaheb, like other *Dalit* leaders before him, encouraged religious conversion for securing social justice and equality. He led a large band of followers to embrace Buddhism to escape social and religious tyranny. It must be said of the greatness of Ambedkar that he abhorred the path of violent revolution like some of his communist contemporaries. Ambedkar went on to assert that the battle of the *Dalits* for social and

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

civic rights could not wait for a revolution to take place at a future date in history. It had to begin at once. As a means of achieving those rights, he prescribed Constitutionalism.

JUSTICE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Justice is rightly viewed as fairness and equity. This can be secured only by just laws and just institutions. Only just laws and just institutions can secure people to behave in conformity with laws. B.R. Ambedkar viewed justice in a broader perspective in the context of Indian democracy and related it to society, polity and economy. He talked of social justice, political justice and economic justice. He also highlighted the need for constitutional morality. Constitutional morality is of enormous value both for the formulation of just laws and their interpretation by the courts and for implementation by the executive. This would also induce people to demand the proper functioning of institutions of governance. Ambedkar rightly reflected: "*Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realize that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing on an Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic*".⁵

Democracy is 'government by discussion' but democracy must also be seen more generally in terms of the capacity to enrich reasoned engagement through the availability of information and the feasibility of interactive discussions. Democracy has to be judged not just by the institutions that formally exist but by the extent to which different voices from diverse sections of the people are heard and entertained. When we try to determine how justice can be advanced, there is a basic need for public reasoning, involving arguments coming from different quarters and divergent perspectives. An engagement with contrary arguments is a *sine qua non* of public reasoning.

On 19th November 1863, President Abraham Lincoln had declared in his famous Gettysburg Address: "*We here highly resolve that ... government of the people, by the people, for the*

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

people shall not perish from the Earth.”⁶ What does it mean? In the Indian context, it is quite clear that elections through which people send their representatives to Panchayats, State Legislatures and Parliament, secure, adequately government by the people. How do we achieve the government of the people and for the people? The government of the people is secured as Indians through due processes fill up positions not only in legislatures but also in the judiciary, in permanent civil services, police and the armed forces. Besides, executives in public sector undertakings and private enterprises and other social organisations are all Indian citizens. But, the crucial question is the government for the people. It is here that the objectives of the Constitution, the purposes of democracy and their relevance become vital especially in a country such as ours, full of social and economic inequities and scarce resources. The government for the people has various connotations. B.R. Ambedkar understood all this when he said in the Constituent Assembly: “The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the Legislature, the executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics. Who can say how the people of India and their parties will behave? Will they uphold constitutional methods of achieving their purposes or will they prefer revolutionary methods of achieving them?”⁷ In another context, Ambedkar highlighted that “We must hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution”.⁸

The Constitution of India gave the right to vote to every citizen and went on to prohibit the State from “discriminating against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them” (Article 15). Article 17 declared that “Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law”. But several challenges remained both in society and economy. For tackling these, directions were

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

enshrined in the Constitution. Articles 38 and 39 of the Constitution under Directive Principles of State Policy go on to make social revolution objective explicit when it provides:

Art. 38 stipulates that, "*State to secure a social order for the promotion of the welfare of the people -*

- *The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.*
- *The State shall, in particular, strive to minimise the inequalities in income, and endeavour to eliminate inequalities in status, facilities and opportunities, not only amongst individuals but also amongst groups of people residing in different areas or engaged in different vocations."*

Art. 39 enumerates certain principles of policy to be followed by the State: The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing:

- that the citizen, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;
- that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub-serve the common good;
- that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment;
- that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;
- that the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age or strength;

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

- that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and moral and material abandonment.

These two articles have the object of securing social justice in India. The situation in India at the time of the commencement of democracy was one of social inequality. This point was well made by B.R. Ambedkar in the following words: *"On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics, we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."*⁹

Let us briefly look at the realities on the ground in two areas: land reforms and affirmative action.

LAND REFORMS

Within months of the working of the Constitution, the Zamindari abolition and other land reform legislations came to be pitted against the fundamental right of property granted to the citizen under Article 31 of the Constitution. The Supreme Court on a reference from Maharaja of Darbhanga and others set-aside the legislation passed by the Bihar legislature as it contravened the fundamental right of property. The matter came up before the Congress Parliamentary Board. Pandit Nehru wrote to Bihar Chief Minister, S. K. Sinha that the Board has instructed him about taking immediate possession of Zamindari and asked him that he should prepare a scheme and submit it to the Board. In response to this and other developments, in a letter dated 24.11.1950, S. K. Sinha recommended that we

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

should make it abundantly clear in our law that any State law relating to the abolition of Zamindari or land reforms once assented to by the President could not be questioned in court. Similar cases were pending in courts in West Bengal, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. Accordingly, B.R Ambedkar, the law minister, moved the bill for amendment in the Constitution and the Ninth Schedule was enacted in this regard. Any law incorporated in the Ninth Schedule was taken away from the purview of the court. Over the years, this has enabled a change in social structure and has also brought a degree of equality. The arc of the social revolution kept moving in this area. During 1977-79 the Janata Government got the Forty-fourth amendment of the Constitution enacted that deleted the right to property from the list of fundamental rights.

A new provision under Article 300A was added to the Constitution which provided that, *'no person shall be deprived of his property save by the authority of law'*.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Another major change is related to affirmative action. Article 15 (4) of the Constitution provided for making special provisions for women and children. This article also permitted the State to make special provisions for the following: (a) Socially and the educationally backward classes of citizens; (b) Scheduled Castes; and (c) Scheduled Tribes. In pursuance of this Article, special provisions relating to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were made. It provided affirmative action for reservation of seats in services and legislatures for SCs and STs. These formed part XVI of the Constitution. This is popularly referred to as 'reservation' or 'quota'. Later the facility of reservation in services was extended to Other Backward Classes. It needs to be appreciated that such kind of affirmative action was taken by the United States only in the 1960s.

The affirmative policy enunciated in the Constitution of India has been of help to the *Dalits* and tribals. Today, a large number of *Dalit* doctors, engineers, IAS, IPS, IFS and other services are serving

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

the people with dedication and professionalism. This would not have been realised but for reservations in services and educational institutions provided to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the Constitution.

Thanks to education, the *Dalits* have also taken advantage of the new wind of globalization and market forces which facilitated the movement of capital as well as ideas. A large number of them have gone for their own industry particularly in micro, small and medium fields. The *Dalits* are also making a mark on India's capital markets. It may be sooner than later that the *Dalits* would also be job givers to persons beyond their community. Something of this kind has already started happening. A significant change in the realm of social equality is because the upper castes as well as *Dalits* eat similar food and they also dress alike. In my village Bihar, I found to my pleasure that young boys of higher caste *Bhumihar* and erstwhile untouchables of the *Dushad* community became grade IV employees in Barauni Refinery and Barauni Fertiliser companies and 'touch me not' syndrome disappeared and today they are almost indistinguishable. Market and capitalism have brought this change and challenged the atrocious system that is rightly ascribed to Manu. However, affirmative action in a true sense does not end even when the families of the marginalised sections of society get decent incomes and modern education compared to the socially advantaged. For that, society and the political system will have to strive hard and act imaginatively.

One of the central issues to be considered for the advancement of the social revolution is support for a free and independent press. It could be transformational for the promotion of social, economic and political justice and facilitation of better functioning of democracy. Fortunately, this is taking roots in India. The need for free and vigorous media including social media is being rapidly viewed as essential to democratic functioning and people's welfare.

The transformative experience of 'subjects becoming equal citizens' that the Constitution secures and goes on to grant fundamental rights to each citizen visa-a-vis the State and others was

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

a recognition of the demands made during the freedom struggle. The task of the social revolution in India is unfinished and is a continuing process. It demands the involvement of citizens, the State, the market and society. The Constitution helps, one can reasonably hold the view that the Constitution has been utilised from time to time to carry forward the objectives of social revolution. However, neither constitutional democracy nor social revolution should be sought at the expense of the other, for these are so interdependent as to be almost synonymous.

LOOKING AHEAD

The Constitution of India is a landmark document given to India under the title "we the people of India" and put into operation on 26 January 1950, a day appropriately called Republic Day. The Constitution embodies the movement of profound transformation in India's ageless history. As Jawaharlal Nehru put it, "*When the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance*". It sought to create a new India.

The Constitution matters to each citizen as well because it not only provides structures of governance but also shapes the direction of our politics and political parties. Of course, it gives us justiciable fundamental rights. Most of the time the political interests are 'short-term' and they become shorter particularly at the time of impending elections where freebies dominate the thought processes of political parties in power. Sometimes the political interest is of longer-term variety. In all these, the Prime Minister of the country and Chief Ministers of States are crucial players.

We are painfully aware that the Constitution and the Supreme Court did not prevent India from the dark days of the emergency during 1975 - 77. It was public conscience that threw out the political regime that had promulgated the emergency. Thomas Jefferson has caught this phenomenon beautifully when he writes: "*.....And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that these people preserve the spirit of resistance?*"¹⁰ The task

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

of arousing 'public conscience' was accomplished by Jayaprakash Narayan, freedom fighter, democrat and social thinker, and the youth of the country acting in concert under his leadership.

It is heartening therefore to note that the behaviour of successive governments over Ram Janmabhoomi land in respect of the Supreme Court's orders symbolises our political culture's commitment to the very idea of the primacy of the Supreme Court's adjudication. At the same time, it is also true that in the formulation of most important policies, the Supreme Court would have almost nothing to say about them as they fall within the purview of the legislative and executive organs of the State.

It is time for national leaders in politics, in academia, in the media, in the market to ponder over the unfulfilled agenda of B.R Ambedkar's vision of promotion of justice, social, economic and political. Social and economic inequality is a matter of basic concern and significant consequence for the nation. Human miseries that could be elevated, inequities that could be addressed continue and at times even cascade into disasters. This is more distressing given innovations in technology, enhancing our capacities to move faster to fulfill constitutional duties. Politicians rather than the people they serve are the ones to achieve justice. Let people be given access to justice, social, economic and political in full measure.

In every democracy, good governance does not happen automatically. It has to be demanded by citizens and delivered by the state system. Babasaheb knew this and thought ahead of his times and came forward with fresh ideas. Several of his ideas were adopted. The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) set-up in 1934 has an imprint of ideas presented by Babasaheb in a paper before the Hilton Young Commission. Similarly, provisions for the Finance Commission in the Constitution; setting up employment exchanges in the country; and several other measures such as education to girl child, Hindu Code Bill bear the stamp of his thinking.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

Public goods and the delivery of quality services are at the heart of a successful democracy. Toward this, the common people must put pressure on the political class and the executive. For the sustenance of a democratic system, it is essential to have an alert citizenry. The citizens must be mentally prepared to engage with issues and even join non-violent protest movements if necessary, to keep democratic institutions functioning in terms of the grammar of democratic governance. It is important to have multiple articulate voices of citizens, media and non-governmental organisations. The key institutions of democracy - the courts, the media, the Election Commission, the audit organisation and the Public Service Commission need to remain independent. Civil servants must have the freedom to work for securing the public good. Every citizen must accept that various communities living in India are allowed to follow their religion, speak their language and celebrate their festivals.

As citizens of India go to elect their representatives for the 17th Lok Sabha, one feels grateful to the founding fathers of the Republic for having provided "*one person, one vote, one value*". This political equality has given all sections of society fair representation in the Lok Sabha, the State Legislatures and Panchayats and the power to elect persons of their choice. People must elect able and compassionate persons to public office who formulate policies and programmes for the good of the people with clarity to meet future challenges of enforcement of rule of law, environment and climate change, geopolitics, economic development and livelihood.

A "*billion mutinies and a billion negotiations*" take place almost daily in India, a diverse and multi-layered country. This phenomenon helps ensure attention to the needs of the poor. There is, however, a requirement to expand exponentially the frequency and reach of these "negotiations" to cover the entire population. It is hoped that tomorrow's India will be a country free of the scourges of hunger, illiteracy and poverty. In this backdrop, the issue of inclusion becomes extremely important. The marginalised sections of society must have a voice in decision-making.

CONCLUSION

Let me conclude with Babasaheb's spiritual quest and political philosophy and their linkages. B.R. Ambedkar was a unique personality of 20th century India. Besides being the principal writer of the Constitution, he was a social revolutionary, author, original thinker, institution builder and more. In the highest traditions of our culture, Ambedkar's spiritual quest too is very significant. After he retired from public office in 1951, he devoted the remaining years of his life to studying the life and teachings of Lord Buddha. His last book *"The Buddha and His Dhamma"* published after his death in 1957 is monumental work. R.R. Bhole, Chairman, People's Education Society in the foreword to this book hails it "as the culmination of his labours on this earth".¹¹

Babasaheb reflected on one occasion that goes on to give us a glimpse of the linkage of his political philosophy with his spiritual quest. He wrote: *"My social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words: liberty, equality and fraternity. Let no one, however, say that I have borrowed my philosophy from the French revolution. I have not. My philosophy has roots in religion and not in political science. I have derived them from the teachings of my Master, the Buddha"*.¹²

Babasaheb inspired millions of Indians and continues to do so. All of us are indeed indebted to him for giving us a forward-looking Constitution, a document that has kept us moving on the democratic path firmly all these years and holds great promise for our future well-being as well. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was indeed a multi-faceted genius. He successfully combined in himself several roles. It was T.S. Eliot, the famous poet, who wrote: *"To do the useful thing; to say the courageous thing; to contemplate the beautiful thing: that is enough for one man's life"*.¹³ Babasaheb accomplished all these and more.

I am reminded of the character of Karna in the epic Mahabharata, a book that Ambedkar recited every evening as a child at the insistence of Sakpalji, his father. In *Rashmirathi*, Ramdhari Singh

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

Dinkar has put it appropriately about Karna which in my view equally applies to Ambedkar. He writes:

विक्रमी पुरुष लेकिन, सिर पर
चलता नछत्र पुरखों का घर,
अपना बल तेज जगाता है,
सम्मान जगत से पाता है।¹⁴

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TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

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SPECIAL REMARKS

D. P. MAJHI

Director, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation

Hon'ble dignitaries on the dais and in the audience, distinguished academicians, officials from IIPA and my colleagues from Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, friends and other participants, it is a pleasure to be part of this programme. After listening to the erudite speech and discourse by Shri B. P. Singh, I do not think anything is left to touch upon the thoughts and the ideology of Dr. Ambedkar. It would not be justified to further elaborate the things and I thank the speaker for his wonderful Lecture.

As far as Dr. Ambedkar Foundation is concerned, we have different schemes and I think this will be the appropriate platform to share those with the audience. We have different schemes and out of those schemes, Dr. Ambedkar Chair scheme is the most challenging one. We have 21 Chairs in different universities, including in IIPA. Out of these 21 Chairs, IIPA happens to be the most successful and performing Chair in spreading the ideology and thought of Dr. Ambedkar for which Dr. Ambedkar Foundation has been established. The main objective of Dr. Ambedkar Foundation is to spread the ideology and thoughts among the masses in India and abroad. I think apart from the thrust area of social justice which has been assigned to IIPA, the speaker through his erudite discourse, touched upon many areas like gender justice, equality, equity, economics, law, Constitution, etc. I am happy to share that IIPA and specifically this Chair is doing justice to the mandate of Dr. Ambedkar Foundation.

Apart from the Chair scheme, we have many welfare schemes like Medicare Scheme, Inter-caste Marriage Scheme, National Essay Competition, which is open for even general candidates also. Dr. Ambedkar fought for gender justice which is not so much highlighted. So, many Chairs through their activities, impart training to empower

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

the girl child, women, irrespective of the caste, community, or the religion they belong to.

For the last two years, I have been coming to this programme. I find this programme so intriguing and educative that I always oblige the invitation of Chair Professor. I thank Prof C.Sheela Reddy for inviting me to IIPA.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS

SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI

Chairman, IIPA and Former Governor of Karnataka and Kerala

I think we had a very scintillating, precise and all-embracing exposition of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's life in brief, particularly the factors which motivated him and the way he functioned, the instruments that he used to implement his ideas when he had the opportunity, not only in Government but throughout his life. I do not think I have much to add to it because this will take a very long time. Certain aspects of Dr. Ambedkar's work and contribution were commented upon by Shri Shekhar Dutt. Shri Majhi also brought to our notice the kind of activities which the Foundation undertakes which are commendable.

It would be no exaggeration to state that Dr. Ambedkar was a professor of law, economics and commerce. The many-sidedness of his genius and the multifaceted contribution to the intellectual thought that he made in his life is something that amazes everyone. In 1959 October, I had the opportunity to have a fellowship at the World Bank and has been a student of economics, a few years earlier, I thought I would also attend the American-Economic Conference which was being held in Washington D.C. itself. I paid around 10-20 dollars as fee and it was for me quite a sight and the pleasure to see and listen to many of the economic stalwarts, whose books or writings I had seen or about whom I had heard.

After the Inaugural Session, the gentleman, fairly old, who was sitting next to me and asked me, "Are you from India?" I said, "yes". He said, "Do you know Dr. Ambedkar?" I said, "I have seen him but I cannot claim that I know him as such. I have seen him more than once, as early when he was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and was addressing a meeting in 1943 or 1944 when I was a student at Kanpur". He said, "What is he doing?" I said, "I am afraid, Sir, he is no more. He passed away a few years ago." The man was a professor at Columbia University where Dr. Ambedkar had studied.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

He mentioned that Ambedkar was a remarkable character and a scholar unparalleled who would sit with a few pieces of sandwiches in the library and work throughout the day till the library would close at 10 p.m. Dr. Ambedkar worked hard and he knew from the very beginning, as was emphasized by the learned speaker, that education is a key factor for the rise of the people and also is an instrument of equalisation in society. I am glad that Dr. Ambedkar's works were first published by the Bombay Government, of which ten or eleven volumes I have, but later on they were printed by the Ministry and the Foundation, as the earlier ones were not available. Now, they are available and also have been translated into many other languages.

As I said, the many-sidedness of Ambedkar's contribution to scholarship and the society is something which needs reiteration again and again. As B.P. Singh said he epitomized in him the qualities of a great scholar. As a matter of fact, over the years, he grew into a symbol of social justice. He wrote a book on caste as one of the preliminary things. A reference was also made in the Lecture to his book on public finance. I do not want to go again into all that, but that shows Ambedkar's wide interest and the capacity of his mind to absorb the variety of knowledge and the things which were at that time very germane to the requirements of our country. I do not want to go into the question of sterling balances and before that, the linking with the sterling and so on. It has a history of its own. Similarly, public finance and much that he wrote is still very relevant and as you know, his book about partition, when Pakistan was created, is a piece of scholarship. Even when on the horizon it was that India was going to become independent, he wrote many small monographs about the various aspects of Constitution-making, whether it is the question of federalism, Centre-State relations or it is a question of how to ensure that democratic foundations get stabilized. So, one can judge the capacious mind, the fervent which he went through, the churning of his soul and his mind in the writings. Also, the last book that he wrote, *Buddha and His Dhamma*, is remarkable and there is a need to read him again and again, and also contextualize him, i.e. to understand the context in which he made a particular statement. I am glad to see

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

that young scholars are here to listen to this Lecture. B.P. Singh who has copiously written on various themes and subjects represents a variety of experience in the State and Central Governments, and also at the regional and international levels.

For me, Dr. Ambedkar was a towering and a fascinating personality. He drew our attention, particularly to two things. One is the philosophy of constitutionalism as an instrument of justice. As you know, in the Preamble of our Constitution itself, the words occur "JUSTICE, political, social and economic". The other is an instrument, which is the overall Constitution itself, the entire Constitution. Shri B.P. Singh also drew our attention to the Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights and the contradictions therein. Dr. Ambedkar burnt the midnight oil in working out the various Articles of the Constitution, reconciling differing views expressed in the Constituent Assembly and also taking into account his views and principles, and also considering the party which had brought him to the Government, though it was at that time a very broad-based Government. As was mentioned in the Lecture, Constitution-making was a colossal task that he had to perform. But, in the preamble, there is another simple word 'the dignity of the individual', and, to me, that underlines the social, economic and political justice. It is the dignity of man which Dr. B.R. Ambedkar tried to uphold to which he always drew our attention is a remarkable feature of the Constitution.

I would like to share that Dr. Ambedkar had a colleague, Benegal Rao, who had earlier drafted the Constitution and I wish more people would know about him. Ambedkar himself paid a lot of tribute to Benegal Rao for the work that he had done, again one of the most amazing personalities from the public service or the civil service. He was Nehru's contemporary in Cambridge and Nehru also on his death paid tribute to him in the Parliament. Ultimately, he had gone as a judge of the International Court of Justice. He had been the Diwan of Jammu and Kashmir and many other States and so on. He was a person of a very high intellect who made a significant contribution in working out this Constitution with whom Dr. Ambedkar would discuss the various aspects. Ambedkar would never hesitate to accept what

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

he felt was ultimately for the public good, a word which he repeatedly emphasized. One of the problems today is what constitutes public good because everything is articulated as a public good, though it is the self-interest itself.

Another word that I do not want to dilate on is constitutional morality. In constitutional morality, it was aptly brought out that while we are entering an era of political equality, the social background and social environment we had in the distant past has not always been very conducive. Therefore, a consistent and deliberate effort has to be made to see that this constitutional morality is instilled. That is why Ambedkar said well before the Constitution was adopted that the persons who will run the Constitution would matter a lot.

Dr. Ambedkar provided a very flexible Constitution and this Constitution has withstood all kinds of problems that we have had during the last 70 years or so including the Emergency, which is a dark chapter in our history. However, it is the constitutional morality which is important. Today, when we refer to the coming 17th Lok Sabha elections, as we open the newspapers daily, we know how constitutional morality is being observed and practiced. Suddenly, in the evening, I am in Party 'A', in the morning, I am in Party 'B', my son goes to Party 'C'. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had also paid the highest tribute to Dr. Ambedkar, on the way he had worked the Constitution. So, it is not the Constitution that should be blamed, it is the way that unfortunately we have tried to play with it or tried to hoodwink it, which needs to be introspected. Then, constitutional morality is the question of justice. Frankly, we have not been able to provide justice, despite the provisions in the Constitution. In practice, justice is denied to many oppressed sections of the people, including women and about which we daily see in newspapers. That is why the problem still stares us in the face. One of the slogans which Dr. Ambedkar had given in the beginning to his followers was 'Educate, Agitate and Organize'. This implies it is pertinent to make people aware of the problems, create a mental revolution and then organize. As was brought out by B.P. Singh in his brilliant Lecture, Ambedkar's agitation was within the constitutional framework because he did

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

not want the bitterness of violence to persist and remain. After all, he had full faith in Buddha's Dhamma, the peace, and sanctity. Even when Ambedkar embraced Buddhism, he said, "I do it because it is a part of the Indian cultural tradition and I do not want that tradition to be uprooted." But all the evil offshoots of it certainly have to be destroyed. They have to be thrown away if we want to build the kind of society, social, economic, political, that the Constitution, on which he worked, envisions for each one of us. And when I say each one of us, it means all the people in this country, each section of society so that we have a vibrant, peaceful and progressive society where the people have equal opportunities and equal scope for their talent and for all that they deserve.

With these few comments, I would like to commend the work that Sheela Reddy and her colleagues are also doing in the Ambedkar Chair, and also Shri B.P. Singh for making it possible to be here this morning to deliver Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture.

Thank you very much.

CLOSING REMARKS

DR. C. SHEELA REDDY

Chair Professor, Dr. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice,

We are profoundly grateful to Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh for an illuminating, insightful and intellectually stimulating and scholarly Lecture, bringing out the multifaceted personality of Dr. Ambedkar and his philosophy. We are indeed enlightened and enriched by his Lecture and immensely thankful to him for making this possible.

We are highly beholden and profusely thankful to Shri T.N. Chaturvedi, our distinguished Chairman for his benign presence and erudite Presidential Remarks. He has been the permanent source of inspiration to all of us at IIPA. We are grateful to him for his constant support and guidance in all our endeavours.

We are thankful to Shri Shekhar Dutt, Vice-President, IIPA for gracing the occasion and pertinent Opening Remarks.

Our sincere thanks to Shri U.C. Agarwal, Shri M.P. Singh and the Former Governor of Jharkhand, Shri Ved Marwah for their presence. It is encouraging, to have all of them here on this occasion.

Our heartfelt thanks to Shri D.P. Majhi, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation for the support, cooperation and timely suggestions that help us in executing the activities of the Chair. We are also thankful to the representatives from the Ambedkar Foundation, Manisha, Renu and Dr. Brijesh for their presence.

I extend my sincere thanks to Shri Amitabh Ranjan, Registrar, IIPA, Shri Mithun Barua, Deputy Registrar, Academic Support, Training Section and the Maintenance Section of IIPA for facilitating the smooth conduct of the event.

I am thankful to all my faculty colleagues for taking time off their busy schedule for this important activity of the Chair.

Last but not the least, thanks are due to Mr. Naveen from Training Section, Shri Joshi from Research and Coordination Unit and Mr. Anil, Computer Assistant and staff on the Chair for their support.

Thank you.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

DETAILS OF DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURES (2006 onwards)

The theme of the Memorial Lecture	Lecture Delivered by	Date
Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Social Justice: From Analysis to Action	Shri P.S. Krishnan Former Secretary Department of Social Welfare, Gol	April 21, 2006
Dr. Ambedkar, Education and Social Change	Prof. K.L. Kamal Former Vice-Chancellor University of Rajasthan	March 20, 2009
Dr. Ambedkar's Economic Interventions and the Special Component Plan	Shri N. Paul Divakar General Secretary National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights	March 31, 2010
Social Justice: Strategies and Challenges	Shri R. P. Singh, IAS, (Retd.) Former DG, Post and Telecom	March 21, 2013
Inclusive Governance and Social Justice	Shri K. R. Venugopal IAS(Retd.) Former Secretary to the Prime Minister of India and Special Rapporteur, National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)	March 10, 2014
Dr. Ambedkar: Bahu Aayami Vyaktitva Evam Vichar	Shri Krishan Gopal Joint General Secretary, RSS	December 30, 2014
Dr. Ambedkar's Vision and Mission	Prof. Ashok Modak National Research Professor, Ex MLC, Maharashtra	October 29, 2015
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Intellectual Colossus and Great National Leader	Dr. Narendra Jadhav M.P. Raja Sabha	January 30, 2017
Social Justice and Private Sector	Prof. Sukhadeo Thorat Former Chairman, UGC and ICSSR	January 30, 2018

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE



Dr. Ambedkar Chair in Social Justice

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (IIPA)

Cordially invites you to the
Tenth Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture

by

Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh

Former Governor of Sikkim and Union Home Secretary

on

**'Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Philosophy of Constitutionalism as an
Instrument of JUSTICE, social, economic and political'**

Shri T. N. Chaturvedi

Chairman, IIPA and Former Governor of Karnataka and Kerala will
preside

Date and Time: Thursday, **28th March, 2019** at 11:00 a.m.

Venue: Conference Hall, IIPA, Ring Road, New Delhi-110002

R. S. V. P
011-23468336

Programme
Overleaf

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE

PROGRAMME

(March 28, 2019)

- 11.30 AM - 11.40 AM : **Welcome**
Dr. C. Sheela Reddy
Chair Professor, Dr. Ambedkar
Chair in Social Justice
- 11.40 AM - 11.50 PM : **Opening Remarks**
Shri Shekhar Dutt
Vice-President, IIPA and
Former Governor of Chhattisgarh
- 11.50 AM - 12.45 PM : **Dr. Ambedkar Memorial
Lecture**
Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh
Former Governor of Sikkim and
Union Home Secretary
- 12.45 PM - 12.55 AM : **Presidential Remarks**
Shri T. N. Chaturvedi
Chairman, IIPA and
Former Governor of Karnataka &
Kerala
- 12.55 PM - 01.00 PM : **Vote of Thanks**
Dr. C. Sheela Reddy

High Tea: 11:00 A.M.

SOME GLIMPSES OF THE EVENT



Lighting the Lamp.



TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE



Shri T. N. Chaturvedi, Chairman, IIPA Welcoming Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh.



Shri Amitabh Ranjan, Registrar, IIPA welcoming Shri D. P. Majhi, Director, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE



Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh Delivering the Tenth Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Lecture.



TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE



Shri D. P. Majhi Speaking on the Occasion.



Shri T. N. Chaturvedi Giving His Presidential Remarks.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE



Releasing the Published Memorial Lecture Delivered by Shri K. R. Venugopal, IAS (Retd.).



Shri T. N. Chaturvedi Presenting a Memento to Shri Balmiki Prasad Singh.

TENTH DR. AMBEDKAR MEMORIAL LECTURE



Shri Shekhar Dutt, Vice-President, IIPA Presenting a Memento to Shri D. P. Majhi.



Shri Ved Marwah, Former Governor of Jharkhand who graced the Occasion.





INDIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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