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## DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba

Democracy and social justice are interrelated social processes. The one is incomplete in the absence of the other. Democracy offers freedom space to realize equality and experience fraternity. Equality and fraternity are the two essential ingredients of social justice, which achieves its true form with the addition of liberty. Thus the trinity of liberty, equality and fraternity constitutes the essence of social justice and the institution of democracy provides the requisite realm for its realization. Though many scholars' boasts of ancient origins of democracy in India but it would be prudent to argue that democracy achieves its roots in the real sense of the term with the adoption of the constitution in independent India. Bodhisattva Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, Chairman of Constitutional Drafting Committee, worked very hard to incorporate various provisions for the realization of social justice in the Indian society. He was of the firm views that if social and economic parity remains an elusive to the multitude of poor and historically socially excluded people in the country, then the very purpose of having parliamentary democracy would not be served efficiently. He reiterated the seminal point during his engaging discussions at various important forums within and outside the Indian parliament that for social justice to prevail in the country, India needs effective participation of the downtrodden in all the different spheres of the society.

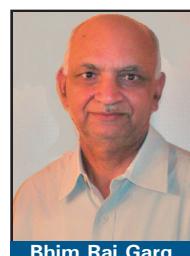
The demand for social justice was also raised at various platforms during the freedom struggle movement in colonial India. Ad-Movements in North and South India, Justice Party in South India, Babu Mangu Ram Muggowalia from Punjab, Swami Achhuta Nand Ji from Uttar Pradesh, Baba Ghazi Das Ji from Madhya Pradesh, Thanthai Periyar E. V. Ramasamy (Tamilnadu) promoted the principles of rationalism, self-respect, women's rights and eradication of caste. Sri Narayana Guru from Kerala raised a consistent campaign for the prevalence of social justice in the Indian society. Babu Mangu Ram Muggowalia presented a number of resolutions to the British Government for the removal of untouchability and special provisions for the inclusion of socially excluded sections of the society in the public realm of power and social domain.

Babu Mangu Ram Muggowalia joined hands with Bodhisattva Baba Saheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar in his struggle for equal rights for the socially excluded people of India. When Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar speeded its movement into the political agile lands of Punjab with the formation of Punjab chapter of Scheduled Castes Federation, there was a tremendous response from the grassroots. That was precisely the contributions of Ad Dharm movement which laid the foundation stone of social justice campaign in the state in the mid-1920s. But the irony of the matter is that even after more than six decades of India's independence, Dalits in the country are still subjected to various types of atrocities and social discriminations. Though the Indian state, while making the optimum use of various anti untouchability clauses of the constitution, is doing its best to bridle the monster of caste, but still is more needed to be done at the social level where the people should come forward to internalize the values of liberty, equality and fraternity in order to realize the true sense of democracy and social justice.

## A Poet of Revolution Shaileendra

Bhim Raj Garg

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Bhim Raj Garg

Shaileendra, the people's poet, was one of the most versatile and gifted lyricists of Bollywood. He wrote warm souled poetry in simple yet extremely effective Hindustani, keeping his verses more colloquial than literary. Deeply influenced by Sant Kabir and Rabindranath Tagore, his verses had an earthy feel and always dazzled with their lyrical luster. Shaileendra is considered as the greatest poet and film lyricist in the footsteps of great Satguru Kabir Sahib and Guru Ravidass Ji. He had a melancholic disposition, wrote songs of hope and despair in more than 170 films. "Teesri Kasam", turned out to be the epitome of what Shaileendra stood for and Awards could not match its cost.

His poetry was natural, he could encapsulate a world in few words. He had the matchless ability to convey complex philosophical ideas in a song that everyone could understand. In an era when polished words were inseparable from a Bollywood lyricist's lexicon, Shaileendra walked a new line: 'Sab Kuch Seekha Humne' (Anari), 'Ae Mere Dil Kahin Aur Chal' (Daag), 'Aaj Phir Jeene Ki Tamanna Hai' (Guide) are just a few examples of his unpretentious minimalist poetry.

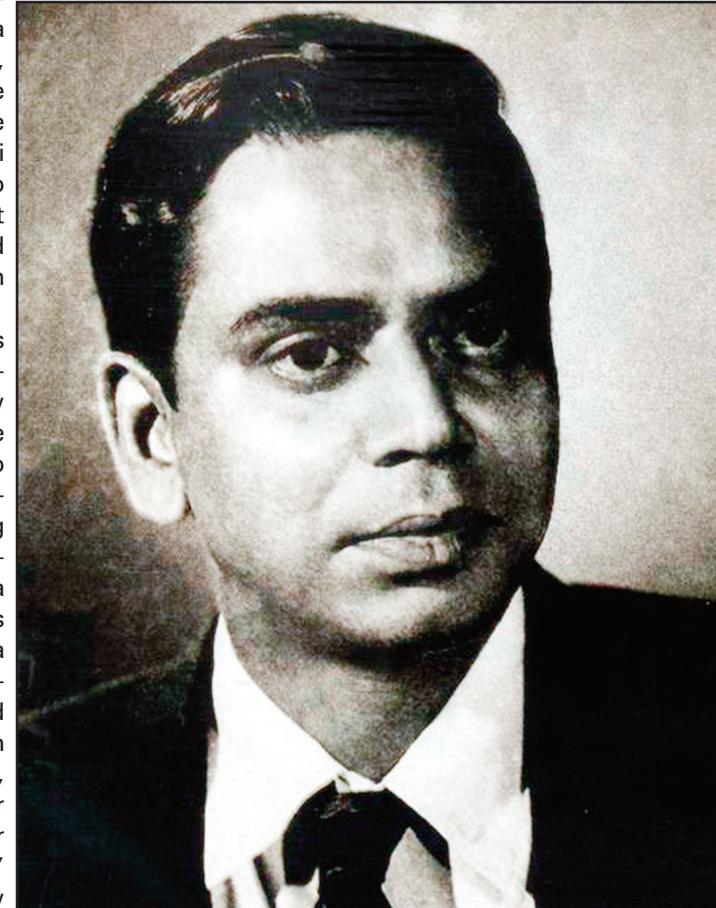
He wrote songs for almost all occasions of life. His songs provided momentum to the film and took the story forward. Those lyrics were vibrantly alive and lived on long after the film itself had passed from memory. Shaileendra was deeply rooted in folk tradition and brought that vocabulary, innocence, simplicity and spontaneity to the film music. He infused local words, thoughts and cultural elements from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh into folk-style songs. He penned the lyrics for the first Bhojpuri film "Ganga Maiya Tohe Piyari Chadhaibo" and many more Bhojpuri films like Ganga, Mitwa and Vidhana NaachNachav.

His name was Shankardas Kesarilal Shaileendra, but for his countless admirers he was simply Shaileendra. He was born in a Dalit family of Kesarilal Rao and Parvati on 30 August, 1923 in Rawalpindi (now in Pakistan). His father was a military contractor. After some time, the family moved to Mathura. As a child, he suffered a great loss in the death of his young mother. He did his schooling from Kishori Raman School, Mathura. During his formative years, he started writing poems, which were published under the pseudonym Shachipati by a magazine in Agra. After passing his Intermediate examination, he started his career as a welding apprentice in Matunga Railway Workshop, Bombay. He spent more of his duty hours writing poetry than toiling in the

workshop. It was ironic that this sensitive poet found himself amidst the noise of hammers in a railway workshop. He wrote fiery poems for Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) and first shot to fame with 'Utha Hai Toofan Zamana Badal Raha' composed by Salil Chowdhury. His craft chiseled and his verses found space in the prestigious Hindi magazine 'Hans'.

His prophetic poem 'If you open your mouth to declare war on the USSR, we will fill it with fire', foresaw the close relations with the Soviet Union. His poem 'Jalta Hai Punjab' advised Sardar Bhagat Singh not to take rebirth in India, because he would again be hanged for the crime of patriotism. Another rousing poem 'Har Zor Zulum Ki Takkar Mein Sangharsh Hamara Naara Hai' became the battle cry of the trade union movement. His famous song 'this time the purveyor of war will not be allowed to pass' was recognised by the World Peace Movement.

Shaileendra rendered the song 'Mori Bagiya Mein Aag Laga Gayo' in a mushaira attended by



Raj Kapoor, who was fairly impressed. He approached the budding poet to buy his poem 'Jalta Hai Punjab' for use in his film "Aag" at a princely price of Rupees five hundred. Shaileendra was circumspective of mainstream cinema and he refused stating that it was better to be a railway employee than to earn money through cheap romantic writings. In 1948, he married a distant relative Shakuntla. He could not bring his wife to Bombay immediately after marriage due to appalling housing problem. His meager salary was worrying and when his wife was on family way, he was desperately in need of money. Suddenly, Raj's words of appreciation flashed across his mind. Apprehensive and hesitant, he sought financial help from Raj Kapoor. Raj gave him five hundred rupees for writing the title song and a peppy dance number 'Patli Qamar Hai Tirchi Nazar Hai' for the movie "Barsaat" (1949). Both the songs soared to instant popularity and Barsaat became a blockbuster. After Barsaat, Shaileendra joined the Raj Kapoor camp along with Hasrat Jaipuri, and the new duo composer, Shankar Jaikishan. This combo went on to create many musical bonanzas.

Shaileendra became the master of title songs be it Chori Chori, Anari, Jungle, or Sangam. His title song of "Awara" even hit the international shores. He carved his own niche and was primarily responsible for projection of Raj Kapoor's persona as an

(Contd. on next page)

# A Poet of Revolution Shailendra

(Continue from page 1)

innocent, guileless simpleton. Raj Kapoor would affectionately call him Kaviraj and Pushkin. He remained on the pay-roll of R K Banner throughout his life with monthly salary of Rupees Five Hundred. As a bonus Raj Kapoor will give him a gold coin for every song he liked to his heart. He wrote the evergreen romantic song 'Pyaar Hua Iqaraar Hua Hai, Pyaar Se Phir Kyon Darta Hai Dil... (Shri 420).

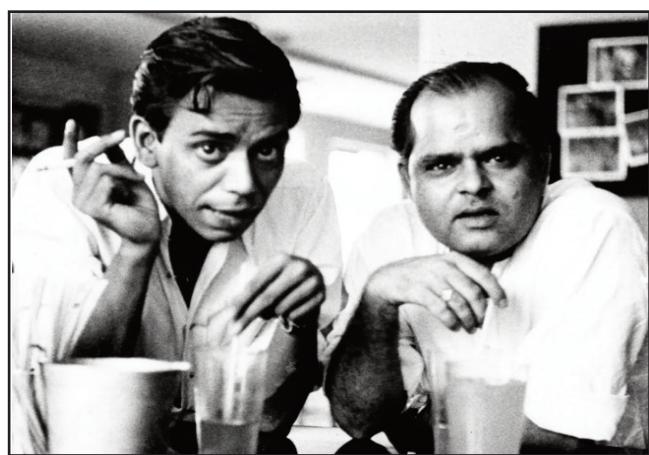
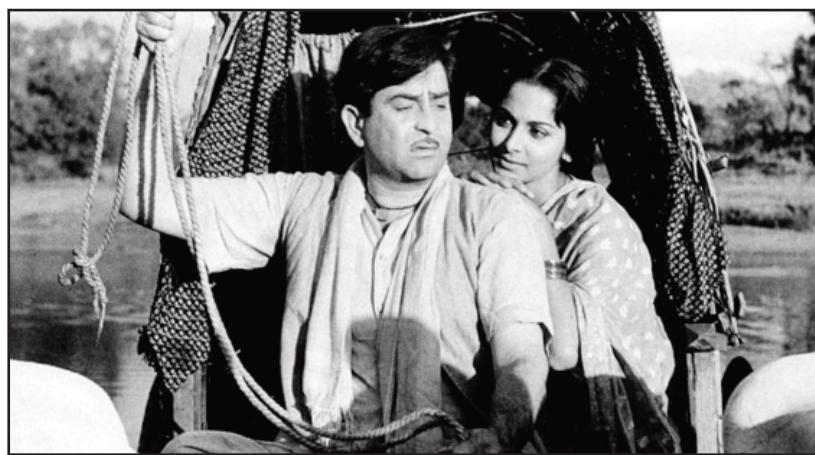
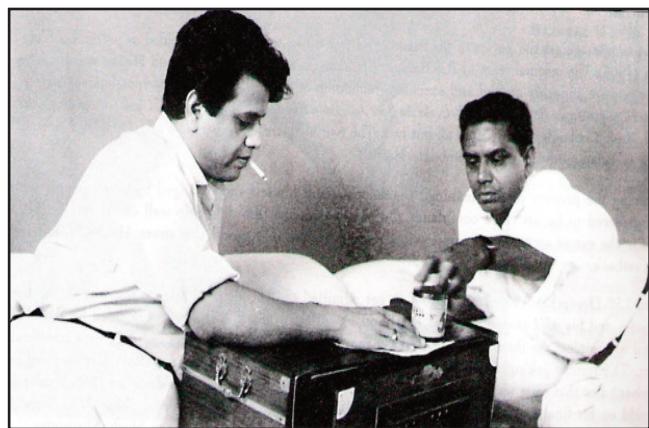
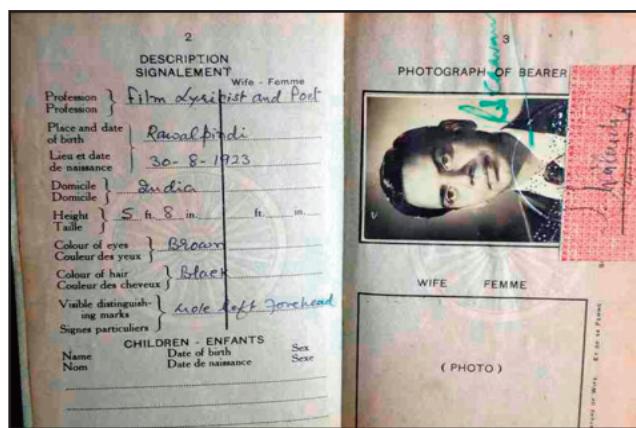
Hasrat Jaipuri and Barrin Naushad and O.

70 films), followed by Salil Chowdhary, S. D. Burman and Roshan. He also wrote the dialogues for Bimal Roy's "Prem Patra". Interestingly, Shailendra did some cameo roles in films like "Boot Polish", "Musafir" and "Teesri Kasam".

Shailendra was held in high esteem by his co-lyricists like Hasrat Jaipuri and Sahir Ludhianvi etc. In the year 1964, Sahir Ludhianvi was the winner of the best lyricist Filmfare award for the song 'Jo Wada Kiya Wo Nibhana Padega' (Taj Mahal). Sahir went up to the stage to receive the award and

lease. This was the last blow to Shailendra. His tender poetic mind could not bear all this.

"Teesri Kasam", drained all of Shailendra's resources. He was shattered with this outcome and lost all interest in writing poetry and in life itself. The creative force within Shailendra extinguished, he wrote only one song 'Rulake Gaya Sapana Mera' for "Jewel Thief" and Vijay Anand wanted him to write the remaining songs also. But Shailendra locked himself in his room and refused to meet anybody, he took to drinking heavily and became



P. Nayyar, Shailendra had worked with almost all the leading composers of his era. His association with Shankar Jaikishan produced memorable compositions in films like Barsaat, Awara, Shree 420, Anari, Junglee, Sangam, Aayi Milan Ki Bela, Raj Kumar and many more. He also had a special rapport with Sachin Dev Burman for whom he penned wonderful songs like 'O Jaanewale Ho Sake To Laut Ke Aana...' (Bandini) and 'Aaj Phir Jeene Ki Tamanna Hai' (Guide). He also wrote beautiful lyrics under the baton of Salil Choudhary in films like Madhumati, Jagte Raho, Parakh, Meera and Khusro.

Shailendra had written the songs of almost all the successful films of Bimal Roy like Do Bigha Zameen, Sujata, Parakh and Madhumati etc. These melodious songs not only added to the popularity of these films but Shailendra's own market value also sky-rocketted. As his film career soared, Shailendra showcased his versatility. He wrote serious songs like 'Din Dhal Jaaye Haye' (Guide) and 'Sajan wa Bairi Ho Gaye Hamaar (Teesri Kasam) and simultaneously penned light mood chirpy songs Chahe Koi Mujhe Junglee Kahe and Aiyaiya-Sukoo Sukoo (Junglee).

Shailendra's sheer diversity of thought is quite unique and his repertoire includes: Romantic ('Pyaar Hua Iqraar Hua', 'Yeh Raat Bheegi Bheegi'), Metaphysical ('Wahan Kaun Hai Tera', 'Zindagi Khwab Hai', 'Sajan Re Jhoot Mat Bolo') Longingness ('Aja Re Pardesi', 'O Jaanewale Ho Sake', 'O Basanti Pawan Pagal') and Anguish ('Kya Se Kya Ho Gaya', 'Dost Dost Na Raha').

In a career spanning two decades, Shailendra wrote about 900 songs. He worked the most with Shankar-Jaikishan (over 400 songs in about

announced that the true winner of the award ought to be Shailendra for the song 'Mat Ro Mata' (Bandini). He called a reticent Shailendra to the stage and handed him the black-lady trophy. Lyricist, writer, and director Gulzar has stated on many occasions that Shailendra was the best lyricist produced by the Hindi film industry. Javed Akhtar, an eminent Hindi film script writer once said, "Shailendra comes from the tradition of Kabir, Meera and Khusro. You get that kind of simplicity of these folk poets in Shailendra's lyrics."

Shailendra ventured into film production with the movie "Teesri Kasam" (1965) based on Phanishwar Nath Renu's classic story 'Maare Gaye Gulfaam'. When Raj Kapoor came to know that Shailendra was going to make a film, he was shocked fearing a revolt in the RK Banner. But his fears were unfounded, later he himself proposed to work in this film for free. However, accepting this proposal was a big mistake of Shailendra, the price of which he could not repay throughout his life. Whenever Shailendra approached Raj Kapoor for a date, Raj Kapoor's reply was, "We are a family, I will come whenever you say." It was because of this 'man of the house' that 'Teesri Kasam' was stalled. Shailendra was suffering huge losses due to this procrastination.

Directed by Basu Bhattacharya, the film had Raj Kapoor and Waheeda Rehman in the lead. The making of the film took long five years rendering Shailendra, a bankrupt. He was pressurized by the financers to change the ending of the film but he didn't cave in. The film was released without much publicity in Delhi and UP circuits. It became the straw that broke the camel's back and was pulled out of cinema halls on the third day of its re-

a recluse.

He was reeling under heavy debt and being hounded by moneylenders, coupled with alcohol abuse, ultimately led to his death. What a stroke of fate that in the year 1966, he passed away on December 14, which happened to be his constant companion Raj Kapoor's birthday. His promise to write the song 'Jeena Yahan Marna Yahan' for the movie "Mera Naam Joker" was fulfilled by his son Shaily Shailendra.

His film "Teesri Kasam" won the National Film Award for the best Feature film of 1966 after his death. Bollywood's prominent lyricist Shailendra became the first recipient of Filmfare's Award for the Best Lyricist introduced in 1959. He won the black-lady for the song 'Yeh Mera Deewanapan Hai' from "Yahudi". Next year, he also won this Award for 'Sab Kuchh Seekha Hum Ne' from "Anari" (1960). In 1969, Shailendra won the best Lyricist Filmfare Award third time for the song 'Main Gaoon Tum So Jao' (Brahmachari) posthumously.

After seven decades of his death, Shailendra, still finds space in our hearts. He wrote songs that became a defining and enduring feature of the Indian identity abroad (Awara Hoon...) and penned the timeless anthem 'Mera Joota Hai Japani' that has found space even in Hollywood's whipsmart 2016 blockbuster "Deadpool". In 2016, a street in Dauli Pyau locality of Mathura was named after Shailendra "Geetkar-Jankavi Shailendra Marg, Mathura". The glimpses of Shailendra's life are amply reflected in his various verses but the philosophy of his life is succinctly portrayed in his lyrics 'Kissi ki Muskahton Pe Ho Nisar' (Anari). His songs with their rich human values will keep his memories lingering on.

# Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Sir B.N. Rau in the making of Indian Constitution

The land known as India, that is, Bharat today became an independent Indian Republic under Constitution that came into force on 26 January 1950. Drafted by a seven member Committee headed by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, one of the most educated and erudite scholars (M.A. economics with history, and politics, sociology, anthropology, philosophy, and elementary French and German as ancillary subjects, PhD. (Economics) from Columbia University New York, M.Sc. (Economics) and D.Sc. (Economics) from London School of Economics and Bar-at-Law, London), and approved by the Constituent Assembly of nearly three hundred members, is the largest Constitution in the world. Notwithstanding the seven member Drafting Committee, the monumental document is known to have been drafted almost single handed by Dr. Ambedkar, who is revered as 'Father of the Constitution'. He was decorated posthumously with country's highest Civil award 'Bharat Ratna' in 1990.

A controversy on the role of Dr. Ambedkar in drafting the Constitution has been raised in some quarters claiming that the initial as well as the final Draft Constitution was prepared by Sir B. N. Rau (Benegal Narsing Rau). The disputants are of the view that Dr. Ambedkar's role in the Constitution making was insignificant, and he has been given undue credit. But it is well established and firmly settled in the country and abroad that Bharat Ratna Dr. Ambedkar is not only the Chief Architect but he is the father of the Indian Constitution. On the other hand most of the countrymen do not know much about Sir B. N. Rau and his contribution in the Constitution making.

Sir B. N. Rau was born in a well educated rich Saraswat Brahmin family of Mangalore (Karnataka). A graduate of the universities of Madras and Cambridge, he passed the Indian civil service examination in 1909. He served in Bengal as a bureaucrat, and held multiple important executive and judicial assignments including that of a judge of Calcutta High Court. He worked with the Reforms Office of the Government of British India, and was associated with some of the major constitutional developments in the Indian sub continent to which he made an important contribution. As an assiduous professional, he acquired the stature of an efficient bureaucrat, a reputed jurist and constitutional expert. He was bestowed upon the honour of 'Companion of the Order of Indian Empire (CIE)' and a Knighthood. After retirement in 1944, he served briefly as the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. Thereafter he served in a temporary capacity in the Reforms Office of the Government of India, and was subsequently appointed as a Secretary working on constitutional reforms in the Governor General's office. Consequent upon formation of the Constituent Assembly in 1946, he was

appointed Constitutional Advisor to the Constituent Assembly. He headed the office of the Constituent Assembly and extended his expertise and advice to the Committees of the Assembly. A rough Draft Constitution containing 243 Articles and 13 Schedules was prepared in the office of the Assembly taking into account the reports of over a dozen of Committees of the Assembly under his guidance. The rough Draft was given to the Drafting Committee for scrutiny and suggesting necessary amendments. Though not a member of the Constituent Assembly, Sir B.N. Rau rendered valuable advice to the Constitution Drafting Committee from time to time. Later on, he served as India's representative to the UN from 1950 to 1952, and finally served

decennial review of the progress made towards the establishment of self-governing institutions in India.

The Simon Commission set up in 1928 for decennial review of the progress under Government of India Act 1919 was another vital step in the direction of Constitution making. Though the Congress party boycotted the Commission, the Provincial Legislative Councils were asked by the Government to constitute Provincial Committees to give recommendations for the prospective Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar, who was the member of Bombay Legislative Assembly, was appointed as a member of the Bombay Provincial Committee for the purpose. Disagreeing with the views of other members of the Committee, he submit-

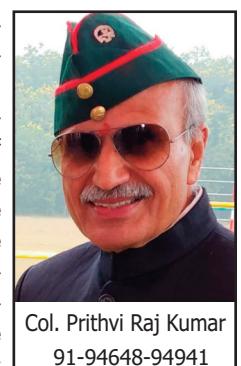
made a great impact on the international Press and Dr. Ambedkar became the centre of attraction in the foreign land. He made an invaluable contribution in finalizing the recommendations of the Committees. His patriotism, love for democracy and concern for the welfare of common man won him national and international accolades. His other notable contribution to the Indian political thought was the emergence of the Depressed Classes in the political picture of India, and more important was the

brilliant and moving exposition of their insufferable conditions before the bar of world opinion. The world came to know for the first time that the fate of the Untouchables in India was worse than that of the Negroes in America.

The Congress Party participated in the second Round Table Conference (1931) with Mahatma Gandhi leading the Congress delegation. He opposed tooth and nail Dr. Ambedkar's demand of Separate Electorates for the Depressed Classes on the ground that Hindu Society would crumble down if that happened. As the Separate Electorates were already granted to the Muslims, Sikhs,

Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and the Europeans, other delegates supported Dr. Ambedkar's demand. Gandhi tried to win over the Muslim delegates by offering to accept their fourteen-point formula already rejected by him and the Congress Party. He approached them with a copy of the Holy Quran and urged them to swear by it to oppose Dr. Ambedkar's demand. But the Muslims out rightly rejected his offer. Failing to arrive at a consensus on the communal issue, Gandhi as well as other delegates were asked by the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald to give written undertaking to accept the verdict of the British Government on the communal issue. Dr. Ambedkar, however, declined to sign the undertaking as he had made his position very clear in the separate Memorandum given to the Minority Committee of the Conference. The British Government declared Communal Award granting Separate Electorate to the Depressed Classes. But Mahatma Gandhi refused to accept the verdict ignoring his written undertaking given to the British Government. He went on historical fast unto death on this issue coercing Dr. Ambedkar to forego Separate Electorate and sign Poona Pact to the disastrous consequences for and misfortune of the Depressed Classes.

The reports of all the nine Sub-Committees were compiled in the Third Conference (1932) and a White Paper based thereon was issued in 1933 for further discussions by a Joint



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as a judge in the International Court of Justice till his demise in 1953.

The Constitution making has a long history behind it which one needs to know to appreciate the constitutional developments and role of Dr. Ambedkar in formulating the Constitution. The British Regulating Act of 1773 was the first landmark in the constitutional development of India. It was the beginning of the system of a written Constitution for British India. It was followed by a series of Acts, Bills and Charters regarding constitutional developments in this land. The seed of representative institutions in India was sown in the British Government Act of 1861, which grew in the form of Indian Council's Act 1909. The August Declaration of 1917 (Montagu Declaration) considered to be the Magna Carta of India, was a big step towards development of self-governing institutions for the progressive realization of Responsible Government in India.

The role of Dr. Ambedkar in the process of constitution making begins with his appearance as a witness before the Southborough Franchise Committee in 1919. He submitted a memorandum and gave a written statement to the Committee expressing his views and recommendations on various constitutional matters. He strongly pleaded for communal representation of the Depressed Classes as recommended for other Minorities in the Montagu- Chelmsford Report. The Government of India Act 1919 was the next step in the constitutional development. The Act contained provision for

ted a separate individual report bulkier than that of the Provincial Committee. Pleading for a strong united India as 'One Nation One People' he said: "... *The most vital need of the day is to create among the people the sense of common nationality, the feeling not that they are Indians first and Hindus and Mohammedans or Sindhi and Kanarese afterwards, but that they are Indians first and the Indians last...*" The report containing his views and ideas on the shape of the Constitution of India was accepted and made a part of the Commission's Report.

The London Round Table Conference (1930-1932) was the next landmark in the constitutional development. Three Conferences were held to arrive at consensus on the form of Indian Constitution. This was the second opportunity for the Congress to formulate the Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar was a delegate for all the three Conferences, and he was appointed member of all the nine Expert Sub-Committees of the Conference set up to deliberate minutely on all the aspects of the Constitution. The First Round Table Conference (1930) was boycotted by the Congress Party. In his brilliant maiden historical speech delivered in the Conference, Dr. Ambedkar raised the point of self-Government in India based on democratic principles. It was a surprise for the British to hear such a demand for the first time. His profound study, great industry and conquering intellect created tremendous impression upon the delegates and the British statesmen. The speech

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# Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Sir B.N. Rau in the making of Indian Constitution

(Continue from page 3)

Committee comprising of 56 members including Dr. Ambedkar. He examined 52 witnesses to bring home his point of view on various aspects of the Constitution. The report of the Joint Committee culminated in the Government of India Act 1935, the virtual Constitution of India till 26th January 1950. Dr. Ambedkar made conspicuously remarkable contribution at every stage in the making of this working Constitution. But the Congress missed this opportunity also to formulate the Constitution.

The Cripps Mission came to India in March 1942 to resolve the issue of formal Constitution and self-government. Dr. Ambedkar put forward his scheme stating that the British Government should promise to raise India to Dominion status within three years from the date of end of the Second World War. The Cripps' proposals were, however, rejected by the Congress, Muslim League and Dr. Ambedkar being not favorable to the interests of their people. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the Cripps scheme was a great betrayal of the Depressed Classes as it bound them hand and foot to the Hindu rule and they feared that it would lead them to the black days of their ancient past.

As a Labor Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council from 1942 to 1946, Dr. Ambedkar translated his constitutional philosophy into reality and championed the cause of liberation, rights, uplift and welfare of women, labor and Depressed Classes, and caused various enactment of laws for their social and economic uplift, and political awakening. Holding the charge of CPWD, Irrigation and Power, he laid the foundation of green and Industrial revolution, and poverty alleviation by launching and causing various water supply, irrigation, navigation and power projects such as Damodar, Sone, Mahanadi valley, Hira Kund and Bhakra Dam multipurpose projects and setting up power grid system et al.

As a sequel to the Cripps proposals, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India was entrusted the job of reaching at a settlement with the main elements of India's national life. He made it clear that the British Governments' offer of unqualified freedom was dependent on the framing of a Constitution agreeable to the main elements of India's national life. Dr. Ambedkar proposed the Parliamentary form of Government with the Executive members at the Centre and in the States drawn from general and minority communities in a proportion to be specified in the Constitution. He suggested that the Prime Minister and Ministers drawn from the general community should be elected by the whole house. The Ministers representing the minority communities should be selected by the members representing the respective communities. The Scheduled Castes should be recognized as a separate element in the national life, and their election should be on the basis of Separate Electorate. The Wavell Plan (1945), however, failed in its objective due to multiple reasons.

A third attempt to make the

Constitution by the Indians was made in 1945. A draft Constitution was prepared by a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. However, the draft was rejected by the Indians themselves being inadequate. Dr. Ambedkar presented a blue print of the form of the future Constitution and solution of the Communal deadlock which was published as "Communal deadlock and a way to solve it" in 1945.

The British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, acknowledged on March 15, 1946 India's right to attain full independence. A 'Cabinet Mission' comprising of three Cabinet Ministers was sent to India to resolve the constitutional issue and other matters. Dr. Ambedkar submitted a Memorandum to the Mission on 5th April 1946 containing views on the final Constitution. He conveyed his constitutional ideas and proposals during interview with the Commission, and through letters as well to the British leaders and all those who mattered. The Cabinet Mission proposed a Constituent Assembly to formulate the Constitution. It was recommended to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as elective bodies for the election of the members of the proposed Constituent Assembly from amongst the legislators of respective Assemblies. A caretaker Government was announced on June 29, 1946 and elections for the members of the Constituent Assembly were completed in August 1946. Dr. Ambedkar could not find place in the Constituent Assembly as his Party had lost the Provincial elections due mainly to the determined strong opposition of the Congress Party against his entry in the Assembly. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, a companion of Dr. Ambedkar, who was nominated to the Constituent Assembly from Jessore and Khulna (Bengal), vacated his general seat for Dr. Ambedkar. With the support of Mr. Mandal,

Namoshudras, Muslim League and some Scheduled Castes members of the Congress, Dr. Ambedkar won the election with thumping success. In all 296 members were elected to the Constituent Assembly with the Congress winning 208 seats.

First meeting of the Constituent Assembly of India took place on 9th December 1946. The Muslim League and Indian States absented from the Assembly. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru moved a resolution on 13 December 1946 regarding aims and objects of the Assembly. But the Congress member M.R. Jayakar moved an amendment to the resolution on 16 December 1946 seeking postponement of the resolution so as to enable the Muslim League and Indian States to join the task of laying down the fundamentals of the Constitution. This created a tense atmosphere in the House, and Jayakar was heckled by the Congress as an obstructionist. Amid this unpleasant situation Dr. Ambedkar, who had ideological differences with the Congress and scoffed at its leaders, particularly Mahatma Gandhi privately and publicly, was invited unexpectedly out of turn on 17th

December 1946 by the President Dr. Rajendra Prasad to express his views on the amendment moved by Jayakar. The majority of the Congress members were ready to pin him down. Supporting the amendment, Dr. Ambedkar said in his speech: "...Our difficulty is how to make the heterogeneous mass that we have today take a decision in common and march on the way which leads us to unity. In order to make us willing friends, in order to induce every party, every section in this country to take on to road it would be an act of greatest statesmanship for the majority party even to make a concession to the prejudices of the people who are not prepared to march together... Let us even make concession to the prejudices of our opponents, bring them in, so that they may willingly join with us on marching upon that road which if we walk long enough, must necessarily lead us to unity... 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... There is no other way that can lead us to unity". So forceful and logical was the passionate and convincing views and appeal of Dr. Ambedkar that they were accepted with thunderous cheers by his avowed foes – the Congress. The consideration of the Prime Minister's Resolution was postponed to another session.

The Constituent Assembly appointed more than a dozen of Committees to facilitate its work. Dr. Ambedkar was appointed the member of Advisory Committee, Fundamental Rights, Minorities, Constitution and Flag Sub- Committees. He submitted a Memorandum dated 15-3-47 drafted in the form of Articles of the Constitution, to the Fundamental Rights Committee. It contained his social, economic, political and constitutional philosophy. It was published for wider circulation under the title 'States and Minorities, what are their rights and how to secure them in the Constitution of free India.' Its text was in fact a draft of the Constitution titled 'Constitution of the United States of India'.

He maintained that it should be obligatory on the part of the State to plan the economic life of the people on the lines which would lead to the highest point of productivity without closing avenues to private enterprise, and also provide for the equitable distribution of wealth. A strong votary of State Socialism and Parliamentary Democracy, he said that the soul of Democracy was the doctrine of one man, one value. If Democracy was to live up to this principle then it was equally essential to prescribe the shape and form of the economic structure of society by law of the Constitution. He stressed that agriculture should be the State Industry and the land should be divided into farms of standard size and let out for cultivation to residents of the village without distinction of caste and creed as a collective farm in such a manner that there will be no landlord, no tenant and no landless laborer. The aim of human society, according to him, must be to enable every person to lead a life of culture and happiness

which means the cultivation of mind as distinguished from the satisfaction of mere physical want.

As a motive power of Dr. Ambedkar and other factors the Constituent Assembly declared on April 29, 1947 abolition of Untouchability in any form, and imposition of any disability on that account to be an offence. As a member of the Flag Committee, he played an important role in finalizing the design and adoption of National Flag. The 'Ashoka Chakra' instead of Gandhian 'Charkha' (spinning wheel) in the flag was his personal contribution.

Consequent upon partition of Bengal in 1947, the Constituency of Jessore and Khulna represented by Dr. Ambedkar was transferred to East Bengal (Pakistan). He resigned his seat to serve the cause of his people and the country. As a result he ceased to be the member of the Constituent Assembly. But the Congress bosses found his services to be indispensable for framing of the Constitution. Therefore, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, wrote on 30th June 1947 to Mr. B.G. Kher, the then Prime Minister of Bombay saying: "...Apart from any other consideration we have found Dr. Ambedkar's work both in the Constituent Assembly and the various Committees to which he was appointed to be of such an order as to require that we should not be deprived of his services. As you know, he was elected from Bengal and after the division of the Province he has ceased to be a member of the Constituent Assembly. I am anxious that he should attend the next session of the Constituent Assembly commencing from the 14th July and it is therefore necessary that he should be elected immediately". Besides, Sardar Patel is also said to have written to Mavlankar on 3rd April 1947 saying: "Speedy action is solicited regarding Dr. Ambedkar's election... He is a most suitable person for the Constituent Assembly". Accordingly, he was re-elected to the Constituent Assembly by the Congress Party which had earlier shut the doors and windows of the Constituent Assembly for him. The thunderous applause and loud cheers with which he was greeted by the full House on his re-entry in the Assembly is the speaking testimony of his indispensability and popularity in the Constituent Assembly.

The British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act on July 15, 1947. Accordingly Pakistan became independent of 14th August and India on 15th August 1947. Now the Constituent Assembly with 299 members became a sovereign body for a mutilated India. Dr. Ambedkar was inducted in the Nehru Cabinet of independent India as the first Law Minister. This followed a development which led him to the pinnacle of eminence. On 29th August, 1947, the seven member Constitution Drafting Committee comprising of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, K.M. Munshi, Syed Muhammad Sa'adulla, Sir B.L. Mittar and D.P. Khaitan (died and was replaced by T.T.

(Contd. on next page)

# Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Sir B.N. Rau in the making of Indian Constitution

(Continue from page 4)

Krishnamchari ) was appointed. Dr. Ambedkar was unanimously elected its Chairman. The Committee was tasked to scrutinize and to suggest necessary amendment to the rough Draft prepared in the Office of the Constituent Assembly. The final task in effect was to frame the Constitution of free India.

The Drafting Committee set out on its epoch making task of writing the Supreme Law defining the will, aim and vision of free India from the word go. The Committee sat for 141 days from August 30, 1947 to February 13, 1948 discussing and revising the rough draft, and making a new monumental document. Dr. Ambedkar himself conducted all the business in the Committee. He worked almost singly and furiously till late nights, focusing his hand, heart and head on the task of supreme national interest despite his deteriorating health. The fresh Draft containing 315 Articles and 8 Schedules was prepared and submitted by him to the Constituent Assembly on February 21, 1948. It was circulated among the Provincial Assemblies, Princely States and the public for perusal and suggestions. It was received back after eight months, updated and presented to the Assembly on 4th November 1948 for consideration. Presenting the new Draft, Dr. Ambedkar brought out in his historic speech that the Drafting Committee was in effect charged with the duty of preparing a Constitution in accordance with the decisions of the Assembly on the reports made by various Committees. It was also directed that in certain matters the provisions contained in the Government of India Act 1935 should be followed. He explained the philosophy, salient and special features of the Constitution in a grand, lucid, and brilliant speech. The whole Assembly listened to him as one man. Brushing aside all criticism of the Draft as based on misconception and inadequate understanding of the Articles, he said: "...No Constitution is perfect...I feel that it is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time...If things go wrong under the new Constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad Constitution. What we will have to say is that man was vile."

The fact that the task of drafting the Constitution had fallen entirely on Dr. Ambedkar's shoulders was endorsed in the Constituent Assembly by Mr. T.T. Krishnamchari, one of the members of the Drafting Committee. He said: "...I am aware of the amount of work and enthusiasm that Dr. Ambedkar has brought to bear on the work of drafting this Constitution. The House is perhaps aware that out of the seven members nominated by you, one had resigned from the House and was replaced. One died and was not replaced. One was away in America and his place was not filled up and another person was engaged in State Affairs and there was a void to that extent. One or two people were far away from Delhi and perhaps reasons of health did not permit them to attend. So it happened ultimately that the burden of drafting this Constitution fell on Dr. Ambedkar and I have no doubt that we are grateful to him for having achieved this task in a manner which is undoubtedly commendable..." Repudiating the charges made by some Congressmen later on that he had played a very insignificant role in drafting the Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar said in a speech delivered at Bombay on 22nd November 1951 that there could be no greater lie than this. There was plethora of documentary evidence to prove as to how his

colleagues had showed little interest in drafting of the Constitution, and how the entire burden of framing the Constitution had fallen on him and the Secretary of the Committee.

The Draft was widely acclaimed and thunderously applauded by the members of all shades in the Constituent Assembly. Speaker after speaker paid glowing tributes to him for the lucid, symmetrical and brilliant exposition of the Constitution. Of course, there were critics too, but the shower of accolades and the ground reality speak volumes of his immortal gigantic contribution in drafting the Constitution.

The second reading – clause wise discussion of the Constitution, commenced on 15th November 1948 and concluded on 17 October 1949. Total 7635 amendments to the Draft were tabled, out of which 2473 were actually moved. Dr. Ambedkar, as Chairman of the Drafting Committee had to explain many knotty points and niceties of law in response to the amendments proposed and clarifications sought by about 300 members of the Assembly on various constitutional aspects including even the grammar of the Articles. He explained elaborately the letter and spirit of the Articles, and logic for accepting or rejecting the amendments. He wielded such an authority and wizardry on Constitutional matters that his view on the amendments and points of clarification commanded respect of the House as a last word. The Vice President chairing the proceeding of the Constituent Assembly on 15 November 1948 gave the ruling: "...I want to make one thing clear. After the reply has been given by Dr. Ambedkar, I shall not permit any further discussion..." The amendments adopted by the House were those which Dr. Ambedkar had accepted.

Third reading was confined to the concluding remarks on the Constitution, and mostly to the tributes paid to Dr. Ambedkar and his team for accomplishing the mammoth feat of Constitution making with a great finesse. The exuberant, exultant and highly elated members came forward one after the other to express their views and compliments eulogizing the contribution of Dr. Ambedkar and his colleagues in the Constitution making. Pandit Thakur Das said: "...Words fail to convey the gratitude that all of us feel for the legal acumen, the untiring industry, the consummate skill and the firmness tempered with moderation, with which the Chairman of the Drafting Committee has piloted this Constitution through this House and has solved all the knotty questions arising in connection with it..." S. Nagappa said: "...Dr. Ambedkar has proved by his efficiency and the able way in which he has drafted and piloted this Constitution that if opportunities are given the Scheduled Classes will prove better than anybody else. The stigma of inefficiency attached to them will be washed away and will not be attached hereafter..." Shyamanandan Sahay said: "...The achievement of codification of India's independence would go to the credit of the great architect of our great Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar, who deserves the gratitude not only of this Assembly but of the nation..." R.V. Dhulekar said: "...Dr. Ambedkar has performed a very great work. I would not say Herculean because that is a very small word..." The interested may like to refer to page 1163-1194 of Writings and Speeches of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar Vol. 13 for holistic picture I this regard.

Presenting the final Draft to the Assembly on 25th November 1949,

Dr. Ambedkar explained in his grand epoch speech the philosophy and vision contained in the Constitution in lucid terms. Spelling out the mammoth efforts involved in formulation of the Constitution, he said: "Looking back on the work of the Constituent Assembly it will now be two years, eleven months and seventeen days since it first met on the 9th of December 1946. During this period the Assembly has held altogether eleven sessions consuming 165 days... The Drafting Committee sat for 141 days engaged in the preparation of the Draft Constitution... The first Draft as presented by the Drafting Committee to the Assembly contained 315 Articles and 8 Schedules. At the end of the consideration stage, the number of Articles went to 386. In its final form, the Draft Constitution contains 395 Articles and 8 Schedules..."

Replying to the critics of the Constitution, he said, "...I feel, however good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it happen to be a good lot..." Expressing his fears and anxiety regarding the future of the country and its hard earned independence, he said: "... My anxiety is deepened by the realization of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and creeds we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds...If the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost forever... We must be determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood".

Cautioning against likely danger to the democracy, he said: "...There is danger of democracy giving place to dictatorship if there is a landslide... What we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives... As has been well said by the Irish Patriot Daniel O'Connell, 'no man can be grateful at the cost of his honor, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty'... Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul. But in politics, Bhakti or heroworship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship". Emphasizing the need and importance of social democracy, he said: "...Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. Social democracy means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life... 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... 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... The other thing we are wanting in is recognition of the principle of fraternity. Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians - of Indians being one people... I am of opinion that in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? The castes are anti-national in the first place, because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But

we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality. For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity, equality and liberty will be no deeper than coats of paint".

Cautioning against the continued deprivation and marginalization of a large section of society, he said: "Political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are not only beasts of burden, but also beasts of prey. This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their chance of betterment; it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed; they are impatient to govern themselves. This urge for self-realization in these classes must not be allowed to develop into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster... Therefore the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspirations, the better for the few, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance of its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life".

Concluding the speech, he said: "...If we wish to preserve the Constitution in which we have sought to enshrine the principle of Government of the people, for the people and by the people, let us resolve not to be tardy in the recognition of the evils that lie across our path and which induce people to prefer Government for the people to Government by the people, nor to be weak in our initiative to remove them. That is the only way to serve the country. I know of no better".

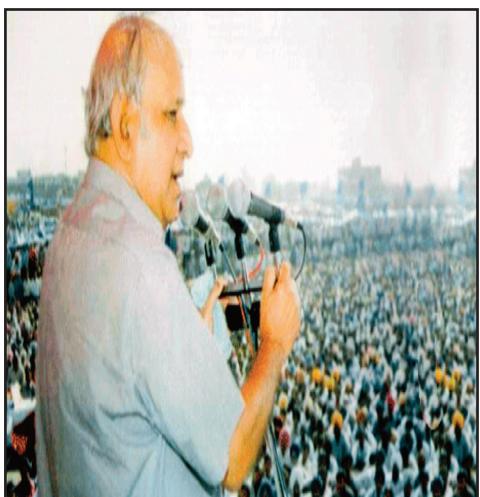
On 26th November 1949, Dr. Ambedkar moved the motion to pass the Constitution. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly put the motion to vote with the words: "...Sitting in the chair and watching the proceeding from day to day, I have realized as nobody else could have, with rare what zeal and devotion the members of the Drafting committee and especially its Chairman, Dr. Ambedkar, in spite of his indifferent health, have worked. We could never make a decision which was or could be ever so right as when we put him on the Drafting Committee and made him its Chairman. He has not only justified his selection but has added luster to the work which he has done..." The motion was adopted with Prolonged Cheers in a chorus from all corners of the Constituent Assembly.

Thunderously approved and adopted by the Constituent Assembly, each Article of the Constitution bears an indelible stamp of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his vision, who produced such a monumental document for the development and growth of the citizens and the country as a democratic and egalitarian 'Nation of One People'. It's not for nothing that he is revered as the 'Father of the Constitution'.

**(Source:** Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1, Vol. 2, Vol. 4, Vol. 8, Vol. 9, Vol. 10, Vol. 13, Vol. 17, Pt. 1, 2 and 3; Dhananjay Keer, 'Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Life and Mission'; Nanak Chand Rattu, 'Last Few Years of Dr. Ambedkar'; Internet-Wikipedia, Dr. Savita Bhim Bhimrao, 'Dr. Ambedkar ke sampark mein'; Dr. M.L. Sahare and Dr. Nalini Anil, 'Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Struggle and Message'; history of Modern India authored by established historians; and Constituent Assembly Debates)

## KANSHI RAM TELLS DALITS

# AT 1ST WORLD DALIT CONFERENCE IN MALAYSIA ON 10TH & 11TH OCTOBER, 1998



Dalits should become rulers instead of being ruled. We must not be always at the receiving end, instead become the givers, Dalit Leader Mr. Kanshi Ram told the world Dalits. It's long we have been ruled. It is long we have been taking. Now it is time we change the destiny to rule and give, he said. Mr. Kanshi Ram who is the Founder President of Bahujan Samaj Party delivered a key-note address at the opening of the 1st World Dalit Convention 'A new vision towards a casteless society' at the Kuala Lumpur Mines Resort City.

The two day convention held on 10th and 11th October 1998 was well attended by more than 700 delegates throughout the world including famous politicians noted leaders from Dalit movement, champions of down-trodden, social reformers, renowned economists, famous educationists and great scholars.

The Malaysian Minister of Tourism, Arts and Culture Datuk Sabaruddin Chik officially opened the conference which saw the opening very colorful with Malaysian cultural and traditional dances performed by Indians, Malays and Chinese. Mr. Kanshi Ram garlanded the Portrait of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar while Dalit Sena President Ram Vilas Paswan garlanded the portrait of the great Periyar.

Mr. Kanshi Ram in his speech continued to trace the history of caste and Brahminical social order. He asserted by virtue of his vast experience that elimination of caste was impossible at this stage. He also elaborated the very purpose of creating caste. In context of caste oppression and Justice Mr. Kanshi Ram referred the role of Dr. Ambedkar. He commended the merit of 'Communal Award' which he achieved after a long struggle.

Dr. Ambedkar could not sustain the going due to the constant pressure of the mighty upper caste Hindus, Mr. Kanshi Ram told the delegates who packed the hall. 'Babasaheb Ambedkar was able to get reservation for the oppressed in legislative houses, job opportunities in government departments and also places in higher educational institutions.

I wish to stress upon that reservation is not the solution to our problem. We must become rulers instead of being ruled; givers instead of being takers, Mr. Kanshi Ram told the crowd to a thunder-

ous applause. It is my duty to prepare my people not to get reservation but to grant reservation. Who can gain reservation? Only rulers can grant reservation. Hence, I will prepare my people to become rulers. If we do not become rulers, our problems will remain forever, Kanshi Ram said.

In order to become rulers we must learn how to handle caste. Dr. Ambedkar, Nehru, Gandhi and Indira Gandhi were experts in handling caste. Nehru handled caste so well that he made Dr. Ambedkar helpless and retain the Brahminical Social Order. Indira Gandhi also handled caste well to benefit the Brahminical Social Order. Dr. Ambedkar prepared the SC/ST to handle Caste. That is how we could get many benefits from the British, he added.

Mr. Kanshi Ram expressed concern for 10 crores slum dweller, which are deprived of proper drinking water and electric supply. People migrating from villages to cities are also being denied of many facilities and end up in polluting the environment. But those refugees who came from Pakistan after independence were duly taken care of by the then government and a special budget was allocated to meet their basic necessities, he pointed out to the delegates.

According to Mr. Kanshi Ram, slum-dwellers presently living in urban areas are the Dalit refugees who have migrated from the villages because of acrimony's & atrocities committed by upper caste Hindus.

They have not been able to influence the Planning Commission and the Government of India to allocate separate budget to provide them bread, clothes and shelter.

A decent life is a matter of fundamental right of every citizen in accordance with the constitutional mandate, Mr. Kanshi Ram asserted.

He advocated separate settlement for Dalit people as once formulated by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He was very critical of the evil impact of caste-system in India.

Wherever the Indians went they never failed to carry with them this spreading disease he told the laughing and cheering crowd. The Indians are prepared to leave anything behind.

They leave behind their little property, small land and their huts. But they will never leave behind their caste. They carry with them wherever they go, he said. While urging the Dalits to unite he also called upon the Dalit intellectuals to shed away the approach of existing analysis only.

They should instead come with forward-looking approach in education, economic and social problems. They must also come up with some sort of effective solution programme, Mr. Kanshi Ram added. Mr. Kanshi Ram impressed upon the delegates that Dalit problem can only be solved through political power to rule the country. 'We must become the rulers instead of being ruled,' he told the cheering and applauding delegates.

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# An Evaluation of the Conference of the Parties – 28

The Conference of the Parties – 28 concluded on 13 December 2023 in the city of Dubai in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This conference was supposed to run from November 30 to December 12, but it ended a day late due to the lack of consensus among the delegates in the conference on the wording of some issues. This conference has been held every year since 1995 by the United Nations to deal with climate change.

The purpose main the Conference of the Parties-28 was to limit the increase in the average temperature of the earth to 1.5 degree Celsius above the temperature of Pre-Industrial Revolution Period by the end of the century taking into account the efforts of all countries, reducing dependence on coal and other fossil fuels, generating energy from renewable sources, reducing emissions of methane and other greenhouse gases, reducing the losses of developing countries from natural disasters caused by temperature rise, and planning for the future after considering issues such as establishment of loss and damage fund for compensation.

Some important outcomes of this conference are to be welcomed. First of all, it is a very laudable initiative to agree at the opening plenary of the first day of the Conference of the Parties-28 by the representatives of all the countries for the loss and damage fund. For the past three decades, there has been a debate between developed and developing countries to establish this fund. Developed countries agreed to establish a loss and damage fund at the Conference of the Parties – 27. Fund collection has started on the first day of Conference of the Parties-28 and this fund has collected 792 million US dollars so far. Second, to transition away from fossil fuels (coal, oil, and natural gas) in energy systems, in a just, orderly and equitable manner, with renewable energy generation to reduce carbon emissions by 2050 in order to control the increase in average global temperature.

This decision sounds historic and admirable in language, but it deserves some special discussion. Also another important achievement of this conference is to generate 11000 GW of energy from renewable energy sources globally by 2030. Nuclear energy has also been brought under the category of clean energy in this conference. In addition to these, 160 countries have agreed to make necessary changes to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in food and agriculture-related systems, as these two systems account for one-third of total greenhouse gas emissions. These countries have not agreed under any international agreement to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in food and agriculture-related systems, rather it is a voluntary agreement of these countries. During this conference, 140 countries have also signed an agreement to take measures for the improvement of human health. Governments of various countries are also concerned about the negative effects of climate change on human health such as extreme heat and cold, infectious diseases, diseases

that spread after natural disasters (malaria, cholera, dengue), and air pollution. International efforts in this direction are needed because every year 9 million people worldwide die from air pollution and 189 million people face natural disasters related to climate change.

President of the Climate Crisis Advisory Group and the former chief adviser of the U.K. said that the wording of the agreement is too weak. According to many scientists, there are many flaws in this agreement and this agreement does not match the climate crisis.

Many scientists have described the agreement to phase out energy from fossil fuels instead of completely phasing them out as disastrous for the planet and people. The Editor-in-Chief of the journal Nature Dr. Magdalena Skipper has said that "fossil fuels

by 2050, greenhouse gas emissions need to be reduced by 43 per cent by 2030 and 60 per cent by 2030 after they peak in 2025. Achieving this goal seems unlikely with an agreement to continue producing energy from fossil fuels at the Conference of the Parties – 28. So far, the average temperature of the earth has increased by 1.1 degree Celsius compared to the temperature of the Pre- Industrial Revolution Period. At this conference, the hidden stakes of oil-producing countries, MultiNational Companies and the United States of America, China, and other countries that have either large amount of oil and coal reserves or that use large amounts of coal and oil an agreement has been reached to gradually reduce the use of these fuels instead of phase out them. The Dubai conference was attended by a large number of industry representatives in

In 2022, a flood in Pakistan caused a loss of 16 billion US dollars. According to United Nations estimates, developing countries will need 300 billion US dollars every year by 2030 to cope with natural disasters caused by climate change. Developing countries are also demanding that these funds should be given in the form of grants instead of loans. The United States of America, the largest emitter of greenhouse gases in history, contributed only \$17.5 million to the loss and damage fund.



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The Conference of the Parties-28 is chaired by Sultan Al-Jaber, himself the CEO of a major oil company. His country's economy is dependent on oil, and has agreed to transition from fossil fuels to the field of energy production, disregarding the results of science, solely in the interest of his country and neighbouring countries along with back channel diplomacy from China and the United States of America top climate envoys, but this will be very harmful to people and earth. China (63 per cent) and the United States of America (59 per cent) produce energy from fossil fuels, and India also produces 75 per cent of its energy from fossil fuels.

All the three countries currently emit large amounts of greenhouse gases into the environment. It is also important to mention here that out of the 198 countries present at the agreement, 130 countries were demanding a complete phase out of energy from fossil fuels.

In 2009, developed countries pledged US\$100 billion annually to the Climate Fund to help developing countries, but this amount has never been fully collected and distributed to developing countries. A lot of promises are made at every conference, but they are rarely fulfilled. Since 1995, the Parties to Conferences on Climate Change have continued to hold conferences on increasing natural disasters, but there is no sign of a reduction in greenhouse gas emissions.

From the Conference of the Parties – 28, developing countries had high hopes that agreements such as drastic reductions in greenhouse gas emissions and restrictions on energy production from fossil fuels (coal, oil, natural gas) would save them from the brunt of disasters, but with the continued use of fossil fuels, the average temperature of the earth may increase even more in the future. The conference has made the use of fossil fuels too flexible and soft at a cost to every country in the world in the form of lives, property, and growing disasters. Head of the Marshall Islands, John Silk, who was disappointed with the performance of the conference, said that he came to the conference to address the problems of the people of his generation, but we have all come to an agreement that is full of problems.



should be stopped in all cases because according to science these fuels are increasing the temperature of the earth. Leaders around the world must accept this reality." An editorial in this journal also brought out that the conference had missed an opportunity to tackle global warming. Climate doesn't care who emits greenhouse gases, the editorial continued. The scientists said that loopholes included the call to "accelerate" carbon capture and storage to trap emissions from burning fossil fuels, an option that can play a minor role at best.

The Conference of the Parties-28 has taken place at a time when the earth's average temperature is repeatedly breaking old records and setting new records relating to temperature rise. According to data from the Europe's Copernicus Climate Change Service, the earth's temperature has been above average for six consecutive months from June to November in 2023. The temperature of the month of November has been 1.75 degree Celsius warmer than the Pre- Industrial Revolution Period average temperature and the temperature of 11 months of 2023 has been 1.46 degree Celsius warmer. According to a 2023 Emission Gap report of the United Nations Environment Programme, the average temperature of the earth for 86 days from January 1st to October 15 this year has been estimated to be more than 1.5 degree Celsius above the average temperature before the Industrial Revolution Period.

To limit the earth's average temperature rise to 1.5 degree Celsius

including around 2500 from the oil and natural gas sector, 475 from the carbon capture and storage sector and over 100 from commercial agriculture.

According to a report by the World Economic Forum, greenhouse gas emissions are continuously increasing by 1.5 per cent per year, while according to the Paris Climate Agreement(2015), they should be reduced by 7 per cent every year from 2019 to 2030. According to a report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, if all countries in the world cut greenhouse gas emissions under the Nationally Determined Contributions as promised, there would be only a 2 per cent reduction in the emission by 2030 compared to 2019.

In 2015, representatives of all countries of the world agreed in the Paris Climate Agreement that by 2050, the increase in the average temperature of the earth should be limited to 1.5 degree Celsius above the temperature before the Industrial Revolution Period. According to the latest estimates, all countries of the world are falling far short of their pledges made in the Paris Climate Agreement in 2015, resulting in the goal of limiting temperature increase to 1.5 degree Celsius. The year 2023 may be the hottest year on record so far, according to temperature records. This year's average temperature may also register an increase of 1.5 degree Celsius.

Initiating a loss and damage fund is a laudable initiative, but the amount collected is too little to compensate for the losses caused by natural disasters in developing countries.

# Assemblyman Hoover's Representative Report

**"Lou's Burgers"**

## Named Small Business of the Month

It is my pleasure to announce that Lou's Burgers in North Highlands is the 7th Assembly District Small



Business of the Month for December. It is located at 6229 Watt Avenue and opened in 1958.

The restaurant is owned by Leilan and Robert Kitchens, who took over the restaurant from their grandpa Don.

The restaurant was in the news recently because the owners almost had to shut down the business, but they worked out a last minute deal to purchase the building. The owners say they owe their success entirely to the community who has shown up for them with love and support.

If you know of a small business that you think is deserving of being recognized, you can nominate them by clicking on this link.

## California State Budget Update

In light of the Legislative Analyst's forecast of a \$68 billion deficit for the 2024-25 fiscal year and the dismal reduction in revenue facing the



state, I am joining with other legislators to urge the Governor to call for a Special Session to immediately address the state's finances.

Urgent action is necessary to roll back one-time and limited-term spending programs in the current year. Californians cannot risk more financial

uncertainty, so immediate action now will help maximize the effect of current year solutions and hopefully avoid the need for more difficult solutions later.

## Senior Scam Stoppers Event

Thank you to those who attended the Senior Scam Stoppers event we put on in collaboration with several other state agencies. For those who were unable to attend, I wanted to provide a quick recap and the link to the presentations we heard.



Durriya Syed from the California Department of Insurance presented common tactics regarding insurance scams and how to report them. Kue Lee from the Department of Financial Protection & Innovation covered a multitude of topics, specifically focusing on the new scams involving artificial intelligence (AI) and voice cloning software.

I would encourage you to view the presentation slides and contact either of these departments if you have been a victim of any of the scams mentioned. My office is always ready to help assist you regarding any scams you may have been the victim of.

Department of Financial Protection & Innovation Presentation – Kue Lee: 888-275-2677, outreach@dfpi.ca.gov, or www.DFPI.ca.gov

California Department of Insurance Presentation – Durriya Syed: 800-927-4357 or www.insurance.ca.gov



cuss a number of topics including the Capital Fellowship Program, the role of

the California State Library, and some of the more interesting stories from California's legislative history.



Assemblyman Hoover

## Congratulations to Folsom Bulldogs Football

I want to extend my heartfelt congratulations to the Folsom Bulldogs



EP. #16

Football team for winning their 5th State Championship in the past 14 seasons. Folsom previously won state titles in 2018, 2017, 2014 and 2010. Last week they defeated the powerhouse St. Bonaventure High School Seraphs with a touchdown in the final

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