



# Ambedkar Times

Weekly

Editor-in-Chief: Prem Kumar Chumber

Contact: 001-916-947-8920

Fax: 916-238-1393

E-mail: [chumbermedia@yahoo.com](mailto:chumbermedia@yahoo.com), [editor@ambedkartimes.com](mailto:editor@ambedkartimes.com)

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Greetings on Vaisakhi (April 13) & Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's 131st Birth Anniversary (April 14)

Prem K. Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba

Let me join our all-esteemed readers, contributors and sympathizers in exchanging Vaisakhi greetings and paying floral tribute to Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on the auspicious day of his 131th birth anniversary. He devoted his whole life in the service of downtrodden: relentlessly struggling for the annihilation of castes and making efforts towards the creation of egalitarian society. His was a very highly educated personality. He received various degrees of higher education from reputed universities of United States of America and United Kingdom. He adopted legal-constitutional ways to acquire the long-denied rights of the hapless and socially excluded sections of the society and made them aware of their rights by establishing three newspapers (Mook Nayak, Janata and Prabudh Bharat), and organized them by founding three political parties (Independent Labour Party, Scheduled Castes Federation, Republican Party of India). Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar was a true democrat, great organizer, erudite scholar, eloquent speaker, conscientious philosopher, brilliant parliamentarian, audacious administrator and a thoroughly fine human being. He served the nation at various top offices but never compromised with the integrity and cause of poor people and egalitarian principles of social order based of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity! His contribution as the Chief-architect of the constitution of Independent India, advocate of women rights, laborers and the savior of the lowest of the low and staunch defender of social democratic values would be remembered fondly for the times to come.

Ambedkar Times and Desh Doaba forum also fondly remember 13 April; on this day in 1699, Tenth Master Sri Guru Gobind Singh Ji baptized the five beloved (PunjPyare) at Takht Sri Kesgarh Sahib, Anandpur Sahib. Guru Gobind Singh Ji infused a new spirit in them - the spirit of freedom, equality, justice - and put to an end for all times the oppressive social system of caste-based binaries of purity and pollution. ManasKee-JaatSabheAkayPehchanbo - Equality of Mankind. We wish to all Very Very Happy Khalsa Sathapan day and Happy Vaisakhi!

It is matter of great honour and pleasure for us to share with our esteemed readers, contributors and sympathizers that with your continuous support and encouragement, Ambedkar Times (English Weekly) has entered its 14th year of uninterrupted publication on March 15, 2022, and Desh Doaba (Punjabi Weekly) its 11th year of onward journey in the service of society. Ambedkar Times, named after Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and dedicated to Sahib Kanshi Ram, reminds us the golden time spent by Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar at the Columbia University (New York) that exposed him to the basic tenets, philosophy and the practice of true democracy. After reaching Bharat, Babasaheb developed a great movement for the restitution of social democracy at the grassroots. Desh Doaba, named after Doaba Punjab, reminds us of our roots and the great sacrifices made by the sons of the soil for the liberation of our land from the British Raj. The inhabitants of Doaba Punjab played a significant role in the Ghadar Lehar and the subsequent Babbar Akali Lehar. Desh Doaba weekly has been dedicated to Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia, who arrived in the United States of America in 1909 and was among the forerunners of the Ghadar movement, and after reaching India in 1925 founded the Ad Dharm movement for the emancipation and empowerment of the Scheduled Castes. His contribution towards the mission of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar is well known during the London Round Table Conferences.

Once again, the Ambedkar Times and Desh Doaba forum join with our esteemed readers, contributors and sympathizers in fondly remembering Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on his birth anniversary - April 14, 2022

## Ambedkar, Caste and Nation - A Subaltern Perspective

**Dr.** B. R. Ambedkar was an iconoclastic social reformer who, at the very formative years of his career, realized what it meant to be an Untouchable and how a struggle against untouchability could be launched. The social-reform movement of the caste Hindus could not win him to its side because of his existential understanding of the horror of untouchability. The issue of untouchability, for social reformers, was a mere problem. This problem was exterior to them in the sense that it affected only the Untouchables but not them. They themselves had never experienced the sinister blows of untouchability. Though they were sympathetic to the cause of lower castes, they belonged to the camp that imposed this inhuman system of social segregation.

Dr Ambedkar's analysis of the origins of the untouchability and his action plans for its eradication were different from the approach and practice

confidence and recognition." He drew a distinction between merely living and living worthily. For living a worthy life, Ambedkar said, society must be based on liberty, equality and fraternity. For Ambedkar, social tyranny was more oppressive than political tyranny and "a reformer, who defies society, is a much more courageous man than a politician, who defies government".

Ambedkar was of the kind who defied society. In the beginning of his social-reform crusade, he tried to get respect and equality for the lower castes through reforms within the social set-up. He continued his struggle for empowerment of the lower castes by seeking changes within the fold of the society till 1935. When he realized that the liberation of lower castes within the given social setup was impossible, he began his scathing criticism and tirade against the inegalitarian social order. Ultimately, he got convinced that the only safe passage available for lower castes lies in conversion, hence, his conversion to Buddhism. For Ambedkar, lower castes liberation was the foremost issue and he emphasized that lower castes themselves have to come forward for its realization. Thus, Ambedkar provided a subaltern perspective to see through the chameleon of Indian caste-ridden social set-up and the ways to guard the interests of the Lower castes.

Dr B.R. Ambedkar made strenuous efforts to transform the hierarchical structures of Indian society for the restoration of equal rights and justice to the oppressed lot by building a critique from within the structure of Indian society. His was not a theoretical attempt but a practical approach to the problems of untouchability. He tried to resolve this perennial problem of Indian society not by making appeals to the conscience of those who religiously practised untouchability or begging them to transform their outlook but by relentless struggle against the socio-religious and politico-economic structure, where he thought the roots of the untouchability lay.

It is in this context that Dr Ambedkar's views on Indian nationalism needs special attention. His views on Indian nationalism are in stark opposition to the dominant discourse of secular nationalism represented by Jawaharlal Nehru; Hindu nationalism represented by Raja Rammohan Roy, B.G. Tilak, M.S. Golwalkar and Shyama Prasad Mukherjee; and Communist-secular-socialist nationalism represented by M.N. Roy, R. P. Dutt, T. Nagi Reddy and E.M.S. Namboodiripad. His views on Indian nationalism are not only distinct but also original. Hindu nationalism in essence aims at strengthening the brahmanical supremacy in post-colonial India. The communist-secular-social nationalism had the abolition of class as objective, but its ideologues, like that of the Hindu nationalism, also belonged to the upper-castes and were myopic to the question of ending the sufferings of the lower castes.

Dr Ambedkar's conception of nationalism articulated and synthesized the national  
(Contd. on next page)



**Ronki Ram**

Shaheed Bhagat Singh Chair  
Professor of Political Science  
Panjab University, Chandigarh (India)  
Email: [ronkiram@yahoo.co.in](mailto:ronkiram@yahoo.co.in)  
Visiting Professor, Faculty of Arts,  
Business & Social Sciences  
University of Wolverhampton, Wolverhampton (UK)



of the caste Hindu social reformers, who were looking at the reality from above. What distinguished him from the other social reformers was that he looked at the evil of untouchability from below, from a vantage point of the socially excluded and the oppressed. This perspective led him to think differently from the ones who belonged to the dominant stream of social and political thought of his time. His major works - *Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development; Annihilation of Caste; The Untouchables: Who Were They and Why They Became Untouchables? Who Were the Shudras* among others - are testimony to this perspective and his independent, original and rational thinking. He smashed the mythological basis of untouchability and laid bare its social and economic roots.

He built a strong case against the thesis of birth-based untouchability, which forced social exclusion on those kept outside the caste system and made their life hell. He exhorted its victims to oppose it tooth and nail. He said, "It is disgraceful to live at the cost of one's self respect. Self-respect is the most vital factor in life. Without it, man is a mere cipher. To live worthily with self-respect one has to overcome difficulties. It is out of hard and ceaseless struggle alone that one derives strength,

# Ambedkar, Caste and Nation – A Subaltern Perspective

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perceptions and aspirations of the downtrodden. It constructed a subaltern discourse of Indian nationalism. It aimed at establishing a casteless and classless society where no one would be discriminated against on the basis of birth and occupation. Within the lower castes-bahujan framework of Indian nationalism, Ambedkar built a critique of the asymmetrical social set-up based of graded caste hierarchy. His understanding of the question of the identity and existence of the nation was based on incisive analysis of the oppressive character of mainstream religion that pervaded a society built around the caste system. Since the dominant discourse of Indian nationalism remained indifferent towards removal of the caste system; and the

economic analysis of the communist secular socialist school also failed to highlight the issue of caste in its mechanical interpretation of class, Ambedkar – himself an Untouchable and victim of untouchability – formulated his own framework from the perspective of lower castes for the understanding of the system of caste and untouchability. The foundations of lower castes-bahujan nationalism lie in this framework developed by Ambedkar. It aimed at restructuring Indian society into a casteless and classless society – an egalitarian Sangha. Annihilation of caste was its central theme. Caste, asserts Ambedkar, was antithetical to nation. He realized that any form of nationalism whose roots were steeped in segmented socio-religious order could not bring relief to lower castes. Any

discourse of nationalism bereft of annihilation of caste was not acceptable to him at all. The agenda of annihilation of caste was so important to him that it became a central point of his struggle against colonial rule. In the first Round Table Conference, he minced no words in criticizing the British government for its failure to undo untouchability.

Swaraj without extinction of caste had no meaning for Ambedkar. In his undelivered speech to the Jat-Pat Todak Mandal of Lahore, he said, "In the fight for swaraj you fight with the whole nation on your side. In this, you have to fight against the whole nation and that too your own. But it is more important than swaraj. There is no use having swaraj, if you cannot defend it. More important than the question of defending swaraj is the

question of defending Hindus under the swaraj. In my opinion, only when the Hindu society becomes a casteless society that it can hope to have strength enough to defend itself. Without such internal strength, swaraj for Hindus may turn out to be only a step towards slavery." Thus, it was Ambedkar's subaltern perspective, which distinguished his conception of swaraj from that of the protagonists of the various shades of the national freedom movement. In his editorial in the *Bahishkrit Bharat*, Ambedkar wrote on 29 July 1927, "If Tilak had been born among the Untouchables, he would not have raised the slogan 'Swaraj is my birthright', but he would have raised the slogan 'Annihilation of untouchability is my birthright'."

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## Educate, Agitate and Organize

**E**ducate, Organize and Agitate is the most misquoted slogan of Baba Sahib Dr Ambedkar. Its true version is: Educate Agitate and Organize. Baba Sahib uttered these precious words at the end of his historic speech delivered at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference (July 18-19, 1942 at Nagpur), convened to create an All-India organization with distinct aims and purposes in co-operation with all the inter-provincial forces. It was at this very conference that a declaration was made about the formation of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation. Below are given the exact words of the concluding part of this historic speech of Baba Sahib, as cited in his 'fascinating biography' authored by Dhananjay Keer:

"My final words of advice to you are educate, agitate and organize; have faith in yourself. With justice on our side, I do not see how we can lose our battle. The battle to me is a matter of joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or social in it. For ours is a battle, not for wealth or for power. It is a battle for freedom. It is a battle

for the reclamation of human personality" (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 3rd ed. 1971, p: 351, emphasis added).

Baba Sahib' struggle for the uplift of the socially excluded was precisely spiritual in the sense that it intends to restore their lost dignity and make them equal with all the

educate, agitate and organize. By education Baba Sahib did not mean merely certificates and degrees. For him to educate means to become aware of ones real life conditions; to be conscious of ones surroundings; to raise objection to the inhuman existence in the society; and to ask

Prem K. Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba

other sections of the rest of the society. For that the method he chooses was democratic-constitutional. Being educated in the oldest democracies in the world, Dr. Ambedkar imbibed the true spirit of democracy and constitutionalism. He wanted his fellow – beings and his countrymen to follow democratic ways for the peaceful resolution of all one problems including the most fatal one – the Untouchability.

In his democratic scheme of conflict resolution, education figures at the very beginning of the social struggle. Hence "educate" comes first in his three stepped slogan of ed-

ucate, agitate and organize. "Tell the slaves he is a slave and he will revolt", that is the real meaning of education.

It is such education that will stir agitation within, leading to what Baba Sahib called "agitate". To "agitate" does not mean to organize guerrilla warfare, to do murda bad – murda bab. On the contrary, it means to become aware about ones social conditions and to seek viable steps for the eradications of the causes of the problems. Baba Sahib told us that only real and true education could only make us to "agitate".

And it is this agitation, which

is within, that would ultimately help us to "organize". The true example of which is Baba Sahib himself, who after obtaining critical and rational sense through his education felt toofan within and consequently organized three political parties (Independent Labor Party, Scheduled Caste Federation and Republican Party of India) to secure Dalit human rights.

Thus the real sequence of the slogan is: Educate Agitate and Organize.



## www.ambedkartimes.com and the so-called Upper Castes

Dear Readers,

Ambedkartimes.com received an e-mail seeking its opinion on the question of whether this World's fastest expanding web-site entertains reports, articles and essays written by scholars belonging to Non-Dalit or so called Upper Caste categories?

Let me (the editor of this site), clarify at the outset that <www.ambedkartimes.com> firmly believes in the philosophy and teachings of Bharat Rattan Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and aims at in its modest way to keep the caravan going on. Babasaheb had very clearly said that Brahmanism is a state of mind and an ideology rooted in Hindu Shastras. Brahmanism is not a person. A particular person who belongs to an Upper Caste but does not believe in the muck of the Hindu Shastras and is critical of its Chaturvarna theory cannot be tied with Brahmanism simply by virtue of the fact that he is born Upper Caste. Such thinking totally negates the very rad-

ical philosophy of Babasaheb Dr Ambedkar who clearly condemned any kind of discrimination based on birth/caste.

After the episode of Jat-Pat Todak Mandal of Lahore in 1936, Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar decided that henceforth he would not go to any Caste Hindu organization but will welcome any one from the Upper Castes if he or she believes in Annihilation of the Caste system and agree with his philosophy of emancipation and empowerment of the Dalits.

Thus, Ambedkartimes.com is of the firm view that if any one, whosoever she/he may be, tries to distort the path of Babasaheb's struggle and creates a wedge between the Dalits and the Dalit-sympatric scholars (who irrespective of their caste repose faith in the Philosophy and teachings of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar) is an enemy of the Dalits and the cause of the community.

<www.ambedkartimes.com> encourage

and welcome scholars of Dalits as well as non-Dalit background to contribute their valuable writings that will enlighten the cause of the Dalits and further the on-going struggle both in India and elsewhere.

Further <www.ambedkartimes.com> does not discriminate simply on the basis of birth, rather it is duty bound to make all efforts for the elimination of this disastrous practice of Brahminical ideology that has made the life of Dalits a hell for centuries all together.

It also caution that we too should not fall victim to such nefarious designs of the Brahminical ideology and warns to be at guards so that Brahmanism should not enter the rank and files of the Ambedkarite struggle from the back door!

With Regards,

Prem K. Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: www.ambedkartimes.com

# Babasaheb Ambedkar – International Day of Equality

I have been writing on the subject of International Day of Equality since June, 2015 in the run up to celebrate 125th birth anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar decided and observed by the Government of India under the stewardship of PM Narendra Modi. It was proposed to the then EAM Sushma Swaraj to make a demarche to the UN to declare April 14, birthday of Babasaheb Ambedkar, as International Day of Equality. The proposal was duly ac-

birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar is approaching in a few days time on April 14, I thought of making a short report on the subject with a sense of somewhat mixed feelings of both satisfaction and also a bit of regret.

Since June, 2015 when the proposal to declare April 14 as International Day Equality was made, enough water has flown in the Yamuna in Delhi and the Hudson in New York. The preceding narration has

the Gangotri of Hindu Thought and Culture and a vocal proponent of 'Samrasta' in the society, publish books and articles on the Ambedkar Thought in its official mouth-piece 'The Panchjanya' and subsequently got it printed in several other vernacular languages with a view to spread the thought and vision of Babasaheb. Government of India under the leadership of PM Narendra Modi took many positive decisions to recognize the greatest son of India viz. i) declar-

Pakhwada' - a Fort-night of Social Justice. These gestures of the Government of India and the organizations like RSS and others are



**Ramesh Chander**  
Ambassador - I.F.S. (Retired)  
91-99885-10940



appreciable and praiseworthy. Ambedkar deserved this full well. But I regret to add that it is not understandable as to why the Government is sitting tight on the proposal of International Day of Equality? The Government's positive decision in this regard will have a much needed supportive and affirmative impact on the dalit psyche in India on one hand and enhancement and strengthening of India's 'Soft Power' in diplomacy on the other and also carry-

ing forward the UN goals of just world order based on equality. It is expected of India, the largest democracy of the world and a dignified member of the comity of nations, to demonstrate its will to e the flag bearer of Equality. I leave it here. I am confident that the Government of PM Naendra Modi would revisit the issue and take a just and pleasant decision from which India would stand to gain immensely.

As I said the legacy of Babasaheb is a potent force own its own and would be difficult to keep t under the carpet any more. The world, democratic, multi-cultural societies all over, is listening and watching it with interest.

I intend to list here only a few examples and instances to make my point home. Ever since the proposal on April 14, birthday of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as International Day of Equality under the aegis of the UN, was made in June, 2015, the stake holder and followers of Babasaheb Ambedkar living abroad chipped in and interacted with their local counterparts in this regard, I must say with a sense of satisfaction, that they could succeed in convincing the local authorities to honour the greatest son of India – City of Burnaby in Canada proclaimed in April, 2020 and declared April 14 as "Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Day of Equality" – Province of British Columbia of Canada followed suit and in April, 2021 and reaffirmed it again in April, 2022. In addition, British Columbia declared this year the month of April as "Dalit History Month" to honour the dalit icons Babasaheb Ambedkar,



shown that how have we been following the proposal with the Government of India but without much response. Not that the Governments have not done anything with regard to Babasaheb and his legacy, political parties in India are falling on each other to own and claim Ambedkar, it is a well known fact. A Chennai based journalist, Prमित Bhattacharya has written recently in the Hindustan Times in an article 'Ambedkar, Nehru and Atmanirbhar Bharat, "The birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar, due next week, has always been an important day in the calendar of dalit youth in India. Now, it has become an important day in the country's political calendar. Like the 'forgotten hero' Subhas Chandra Bose, Ambedkar seems to have found new adherents with politicians of different hues vying for his legacy". This is the visible ground reality. Some years ago in connection with the 125th anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar, RSS,

ing the house at Alipur Road in Delhi where Ambedkar lived and died on December 6, 1956 as a national monument and memorial – Dr. Ambedkar National Memorial, established Dr. Ambedkar International Centre at Janpath, in Delhi, purchased a house in London where Ambedkar lived as a student and declared it a memorial, Ambedkar House, to honour the icon among other appreciable steps to provide a due and rightful space to Babasaheb. I think the political fraternity in India fully knows that Ambedkar himself is a potent force to carry the mission and vision of the leader and it will be just futile to ignore him and those who dare to side track the ground reality would do so at their own peril. It is not surprising and is rather a matter of satisfaction that PM Narendra Modi, speaking to party cadres and law makers of the BJP, declared the fortnight to celebrate Ambedkar in April, 2022 as "Samajik Nyay

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# Babasaheb Ambedkar – International Day of Equality



British Columbia declared this year the month of April as “Dalit History Month” to honor the Dalit icons Babasaheb Ambedkar, Jyotirao Phule, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia and Sant Ram Udasi.

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Jyotirao Phule, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia and Sant Ram Udasi. The proposal to honour Babasaheb is catching up further. It is a matter of gratification to note that the State of Colorado of the USA has declared April 14 as ‘Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Equality Day’. We are in touch with the followers of Babasaheb Ambedkar in other countries like the UK, Australia, New Zealand and other leading countries in Europe in this regard and in turn they are urging and requesting their local interlocutors to honour the Indian icon and join hands in declar-

ing April 14 as International Day of Equality. While I thank all, including the Government of India, for taking various steps to recognize and honour Babasaheb Ambedkar over the years, I take this opportunity to revisit the subject and very humbly urge the Government of PM Narendra Modi to kindly come forward and lead the band-wagon to own and honour the legacy of the greatest son of the soil, Babasaheb Ambedkar. We may not be oblivious of the reality that Ambedkar is such a potent force that it would surface on its own. There is no point in delaying the process. Allma Iqbals

poetic assertion aptly explains the glory of Ambedkar and I conclude this humble Tribute to Babasaheb Ambedkar with this:

Nahin Minnatkash-e-Taab-e-Sha-needan Dastan Meri  
Khamoshi Guftugu Hai, Be-Zubani Hai Zuban Meri

My story is not indebted to the patience of being heard

My silence is my talk, my speechlessness is my speech  
Uthaye Kuch Waraq Lale Ne, Kuch Nargis Ne, Kuch Gul Ne  
Chaman Mein Har Taraf Bikhri Huwi

Hai Dastan Meri

Some leaves were picked up by the tulip, some by the narcissus, some by the rose

My story is scattered around everywhere in the garden  
Urha Li Qumriyon Ne, Tootiyon Ne, Andleebon Ne

Chaman Walon Ne Mil Kar Loot Li Tarz-e-Faghan Meri

The turtle=doves, parrots, and nightingales pilfered away

The garden’s denizens jointly robbed away my plaintive way

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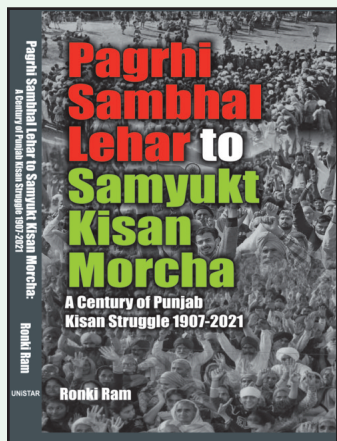
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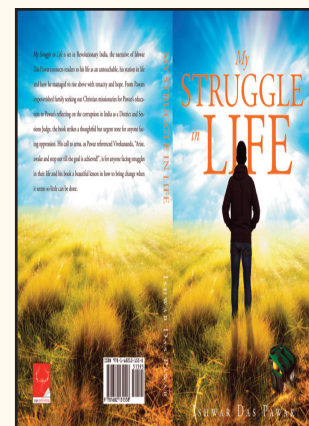
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## A MATTER OF GREAT PRIDE

It is a matter of great pride and honor to share with our esteemed readers, contributors and sympathizers that Ambedkar Times has successfully touched its 14th year (on March 15, 2022) of continuous onwards journey in the service of society, and Desh Doaba has begun its 11th year of uninterrupted journey of publication on April 13, 2022. Once again our sincere thanks for your cooperation and blessings for the continuous publication of these two English and Punjabi Weeklies respectively.

Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Desh Doaba & Ambedkar Times



My Struggle in Life:

Das Pawar, Ishwar: 9781682131558:

Amazon.com: Book Available

<https://www.amazon.com/Struggle-Life-Ishwar-Das-Pawar/dp/1682131556>

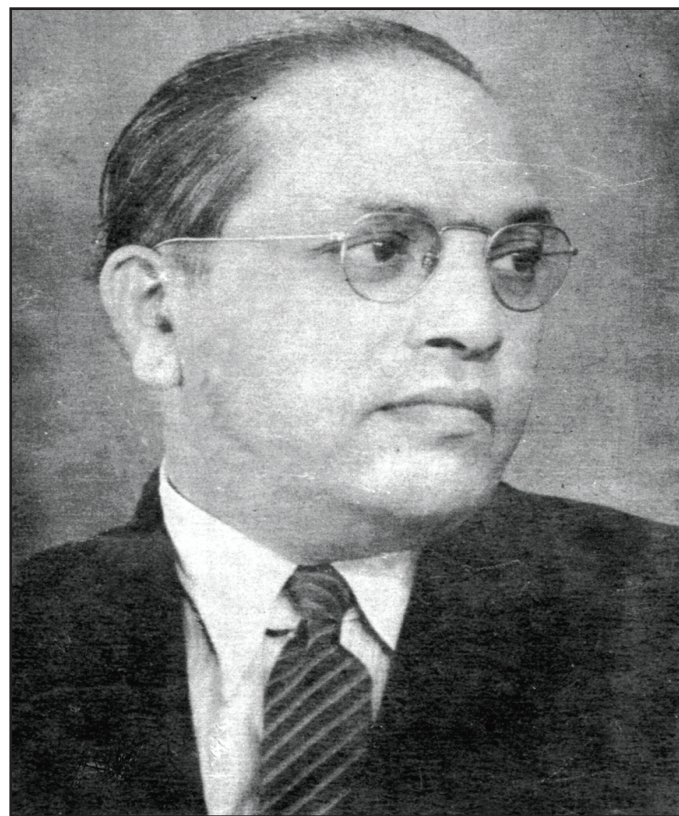
# Be a Lamp unto Thyself: Atta Deepo Bhavah

14<sup>th</sup> April is the day when a phenomenon in the form of a child named Bhimrao Ramji Sakpal, later known as Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar appeared on the planet earth and brought millions of people of this land from the age old bondage to liberty; injustice to justice; inequality to equality; marginalization to elevation; ignominy to dignity; darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge; and from subhuman to human status. Born in the family termed and treated as untouchable in the Hindu Social Order, he rose to the status of a symbol of knowledge, sun on the earth, one of the top brains of the world, the greatest Indian after Gandhi, messiah of the downtrodden, champion of women's rights, liberator of the humanity, a nationalist and father of the Constitution of India. His life of over 65 years (14 April 1891 to 06 December 1956) has been a saga of struggle and sacrifice, and a beacon to the humanity.

This day is celebrated with great pomp and show the world over not only by his followers but also the people and organizations of multiple socio-politico-cultural shades. Seminars, debates, lectures and speeches on his life, philosophy and mission mark the celebrations year after year. But the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the people for whom he lived and sacrificed speak loudly of the failure of the powers that be and his people in particular to translate his philosophy and vision into reality to the desired extent. The caravan which he took out of the quagmire of blatant barbarity against a large section of humanity, and brought on to the smooth highway on journey to its destination of 'one nation one people where everyone is an Indian first and the Indian last' is unfortunately sliding back rather than moving ahead or staying where it was. On the occasion of his golden jubilee celebrations at Bombay, Dr. Ambedkar declared that there should be no more his birthday celebrations because he was deeply conscious of the evils of hero-worship and the havoc it had caused in this country down the centuries. He wanted his people to utilize time, energy and resources to free their brethren and sisters from want and hunger and be master of themselves to be really free. He didn't want them to be dependent on any single personality or God or some Superman for their salvation. He believed that their salvation lay in their own hands, through their own efforts. He inspired them to have always high aim as low aim in life was a crime to him. The aim of his movement was not only removing his people's disabilities, but also to bring about a social revolution that would remove all manmade barriers of caste by providing equal opportunities to all to rise to the highest position in life. He believed that success of his movement to unite all the Hindus in a single caste would render the greatest service to the Indian nation in general and to the Hindu community in particular. In his view the surest way for the elevation of the

marginalized people lay in higher education, higher employment and better ways of earning living. That is why he gave his people the motto: "educate, agitate and organize". He firmly believed that religious fasts, austerities and penances did not save his people and their forefathers from starvation and miserable life.

They subsisted on thrown out crumbs, wore rags, perished in utter slums and hovels and fell easy victims to diseases with a death rate that raged among poultry. He asserted that the problem of his people was political and not social. Law being the abode of all worldly happi-



ness; he wanted them to capture the power of law-making. That was the only way to their salvation. He took a solemn vow to die in the service and cause of those millions of children of lesser God, and that he would end his life with a bullet if failed to do away with the abominable thralldom and inhuman injustice under which the class into which he was born, had been groaning.

In his message to the Depressed Classes at Bombay in May 1936, Babasaheb exhorted them to follow the message of Lord Buddha given to 'Bhikkhu Sangha' just before his Mahaparinirvana: "Be self illuminating like the Sun; don't be dependent for the light like the earth. Believe in yourself, don't be dependent on others. Be truthful. Always take refuge in the truth and do not surrender to anybody." He inspired the people to be their own guide and take refuge in their own reason. He wanted them to live the life of a roaring lion following the path of truth and justice.

An illuminating conversation between Dr. Ambedkar and a noted writer of international fame Dr. Mulk Raj Anand took place on a balmy evening in May 1950 at Bombay's Cuffe Parade. Forty years later Dr. Anand recalls the dialogue which is reproduced below for the readers particularly Babasaheb's followers and flag bearers of his mission to mull

over and take cue as a way forward. "Mulak Raj Anand (MRA): Namaskar, Dr. Ambedkar.

**B.R. Ambedkar (BRA):** I prefer the Buddhist greeting—"Om mani pad-maye"! 'May the lotuses awake'!

**MRA:** I agree. How thoughtless we are! We inherit words without questioning their meaning! Of course, namaskar means 'I bow before you'.

**BRA:** That perpetuates submission! "May the lotuses awake" is a prayer for enlightenment.

**MRA:** Indeed, old habits die hard. We adopt them unthinkingly....

**BRA:** In everything.

**MRA:** Come to think of it, one is born stamped Hindu or Muslim or Christian! Hindu parents give their child a name during the naming ceremony, sanctified by a priest reciting verses in Sanskrit, which the child does not understand. A sacred thread is put on his body. Lo and behold! The boy is a Hindu!

**BRA:** Idiocy!

**MRA:** If you mean by the Greek word, idiot — going round and round in circles!

**BRA:** One must question old habits, ideas and practices. Education should encourage the new young to ask the teacher one new question a day...

**MRA:** The best way to teach teachers! They

often don't know what is not in the text books. As a matter of fact, even in one's mature youth, one can only grow by asking questions. I learnt this from Henri Bergson's book 'Creative Evolution'. I was in difficulties about various philosophical problems after reading Hegel, Kant and Desecrates. Bergson said: One can heighten consciousness by questioning every philosophical proposition...

**BRA:** Buddha argued with Brahmins about every one of their beliefs. They had degraded whole people as outcastes. They said, God had ordained your Varnas — Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Buddha asked: What about man himself — the individual? Because a man is born in a family which handles corpses of dead cattle, he is condemned to be an untouchable. All forest people are Junglis to the Hindus...!

**MRA:** Rejected.

**BRA:** Indeed! Everyone who works with hand was, and is, rejected. Those who skin animals! Those who carry dung! Those who do menial job on the land! All branded and bonded forever! After five thousand years it is still worse! And untouchable can't enter a temple even if he has a bath before he goes there. He can't draw water from the village well — he must take it from the filthy pond outside the village! He can't graze his cattle on the landlord's land. He is dirty because he cleanses dirt. Always con-

sidered impure! An animal can be touched, not a man called the untouchable...

**MRA:** As a member of the Constituent Assembly, have you been able to assert the rights of the individual? I see that your Committee gives funda-

mental rights — the right of the individual to freedom. But we see that you have also conceded the right to property as a fundamental right... Does not the right to property give a decisive advantage to those who have inherited wealth? So the poorest of the poor, the untouchable, will always be at a disadvantage.

**BRA:** In our Constitution, we have put forward the ideal of a secular, socialist democracy... If everyone can have the right to till the land from the State tenancy rights then equality of privileges can be assured and there need be no exploitation. So far untouchables and even many caste Hindus and Muslims do not have tenancy rights, all these landless peasants are mere hands.

**MRA:** Then the right to work should have been recognized as a fundamental right.

**BRA:** I was only one of the members of the Drafting Committee.

**MRA:** So you became a lamb before the lions!

**BRA:** I bleated good deal! I am now roaring.

**MRA:** As a lawyer, you know how the judges will always decide in favor of the high castes upper class Hindus.

**BRA:** Of course, the only non-Brahmin in our Government of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru fought hard against the right to own property being a fundamental right... But Babu Rajendra Prasad felt that Nehru wanted to make India into Russia. The caste Hindus, therefore, only conceded the other rights of man as directive principles... to be fought for in Parliament.

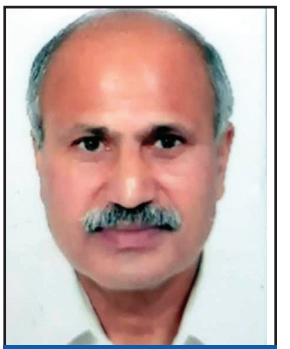
**MRA:** Which would be weighted in favor of men of property!

**BRA:** The socialists can win a majority one day and ask for redress. Anyhow, the outcastes and the tribals have been declared Scheduled castes. They will be given certain privileges to uplift them — like reservation for admission to schools and colleges and scholarships.

**MRA:** The caste Hindus will always resent reservation.

**BRA:** We must organize ourselves. Arouse the disinherited to fight. There are more outcastes than Caste Hindus—if we include the Muslims, who are also regarded as untouchables by the casteists, and the tribal people. Together, with the socialists they can abolish ownership of private property! No landlords, no tenants!

(Contd. on next page)



**Col. Prithvi Raj Kumar**

91-94648-94941  
Chief Postmaster General (Retd.)  
(Additional Secretary,  
Govt. of India)

# Be a Lamp unto Thyself: Atta Deepo Bhavah

(Continue from page 5)

No landless laborers!

**MRA:** State capitalism also might prove to be dangerous. You know what Stalin has done in Russia. Imposed a set of bureaucrats on the people in the name of communism!

**BRA:** Of course, we must protect the individual from invasion of his rights from other individuals. Liberty of the person must always be a primary concern. That was in my mind when I urged for fundamental rights.

**MRA:** If that was in your mind then you might urge the Parliament to revise fundamental rights. We must fight against both State capitalism and private capitalism. You know how the vast majority of the people everywhere are subject to the will of the employers.

**BRA:** Indeed. Liberty, so far seems to be the liberty of the landlord to increase rent. The capitalist always wants to reduce wages and increase hours of work. Capitalism is a dictatorship of private employer.

**MRA:** The fundamental rights – right to life, liberty and happiness – remain a dream...

**BRA:** I was only one of the members of the Drafting Committee.

**MRA:** So you became a lamb before the lions!

**BRA:** I bleated good deal! I am now roaring.

**MRA:** As a lawyer, you know how the judges will always decide in favor of the high castes upper class Hindus.

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They will be given certain privileges to uplift them – like reservation for admission to schools and colleges and scholarships.

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**BRA:** We must organize ourselves. Arouse the disinherited to fight. There are more outcastes than Caste Hindus—if we include the Muslims, who are also regarded as untouchables by the casteists, and the tribal people. Together, with the socialists they can abolish ownership of private property! No landlords, no tenants! No landless laborers!

**MRA:** State capitalism also might prove to be dangerous. You know what Stalin has done in Russia. Imposed a set of bureaucrats on the people in the name of communism!

**BRA:** Of course, we must protect the individual from invasion of his rights from other individuals. Liberty of the person must always be a primary concern. That was in my mind when I urged for fundamental rights.

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**BRA:** Indeed. Liberty, so far seems to be the liberty of the landlord to increase rent. The capitalist always wants to reduce wages and increase hours of work. Capitalism is a dictatorship of private employer.

**MRA:** The fundamental rights – right to life, liberty and happiness – remain a dream...

**BRA:** The new young must go on fighting. They can change the Constitution.

**MRA:** This may not be possible without upturning like the 1789 revolution of France.

**BRA:** Strange to hear this from you. I thought that by making Gandhi the liberator of untouchables in your novel (Mulak Raj Anand wrote a novel 'The Untouchable'), you have been converted to non-violence.

**MRA:** I could not live up to the ideals of Mahatma. We had to face Hitler and Mussolini. I went to Spain and joined the international Brigade. Though I fainted at the sight of blood in a clinic and was asked to opt out... But one had to take sides in the Second World War. A poet called the so-called war for freedom of the democracies against fascism, the fight for a "half lie" against a "big lie".

**BRA:** You know, though the Mahatma was all for the Harijans, he did not get up his beliefs in the Varnashrama dictated by the Bhagwad Gita... By calling them sons of Hari, the Supreme God, he thought he was exalting them. In fact, they were left at the lowest level.

**MRA:** Is that why you have adopted Buddhism as your religion?

**BRA:** May be that (Varnashrama) was the chief consideration for me to convert into Buddhism. Also by remaining a Scheduled Castes citizen, one accepts the status of the outcaste. I have felt the faith of the Buddha, which does not believe in the Hindu god Brahma, aspires for human beings, men and women, to be free of dogmas, obscure myths and legends! One can pursue knowledge! One can disown casteist heroes of the Hindus like god King Rama, the avatar of Vishnu and many other sentimental myths of Hinduism.

**MRA:** Indeed I find Buddha's hunches far more plausible than the guesses of the Brahmins. He was the first existentialist of the world. He cried out: Dukha, dukha, dukha! The Hindus were always for make-beliefs. God is ananda. A consolation prize for beggars who ask the feudal Lord God for favors by offering gifts of flowers, bribes of garlands and fruits! – via the priests.

**BRA:** That is why most of the priests have big bellies.

**MRA:** What is your message for the rejected?

**BRA:** I say to the untouchables: Be a lion! Hindus sacrificed goats before the image of Kali. You be your own light – atta deepo bhava!

**MRA:** Like the Buddha said to Ananda: Be a lamp unto yourself !..."

Babasaheb practiced what he preached. He lived and pursued his mission without fear of death and without depending on God or Superman or devotion to scriptures. To live in fear was to him to die before actual death. He took a vow that though born a Hindu which was not in his hand, but would not die a Hindu. He breathed his last as a Bodhisatva. His glorious vow was to end his life with a bullet if he failed to do away with the abominable thralldom and inhuman injustice under which the class, into which he was born, had been groaning. The untouchability was abolished under the Constitution. He said "struggle and more struggle sacrifice and more sacrifice". He struggled throughout and sacrificed his family, children and life for his people, nation and humanity. He exhorted to 'do or die'. He did before he died. He said 'now or never'.

He never waited for tomorrow. He wanted to see his people sitting on the pinnacle of a palace. One can see many of them adorn the pinnacle of success. He said "educate, agitate and organize". He was M.A., PhD, M.sc, D. sc, Bar at Law, and his library had more than 50,000 books. He authored classic literature on multiple subjects. He organized his people into fighting force of reckoning. He said it. He did it. The question is, if he could do what he said and did, why can't we? Are we immortal? Can there be a better tribute to the superhuman than the emulation in letter and spirit of what he said and did?

(Source:

\* Writings and speeches of Dr. Babasaheb B.R. Ambedkar, Vol.1, Vol.3, Vol.17 Pt. 1, Vol.17, Pt.3, Dhananjay Keer, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Life and Mission, Dr. M.L. Shahare and Dr. Nalini Anil, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Struggle and Message and N.C. Rattu, Remeberances of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar)



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# Measures to control deepening crisis of increasing temperature

## (Third installment of the Sixth IPCC report)

On April 4, 2022, the Intergovernmental Panel of Climate Change (IPCC) released the third installment of the sixth report, "Climate Change 2022: Mitigation of Climate Change". The first installment of the sixth report was released on 9 August 2021 and the second installment on 28 February 2022. The first two reports highlight the increase in the average temperature of the earth caused by human activities and its adverse effects on all kinds of organisms, environment, earth, oceans and all ecosystems. Growing faster than previously thought, rising global temperature has led to a sharp rise in the number of natural disasters, such as extreme heat and cold, short-term rainfall, droughts, floods, hurricanes, and the like. The third installment of the sixth IPCC report discusses numerous strategies to limit greenhouse gas emissions in different sectors and presents realistic calculations to stop global mean temperature increase by 1.5 degree Celsius.

According to the report, the measures taken so far to reduce greenhouse gas emissions are far below what is needed. As a result, emissions of greenhouse gases are still increasing rapidly. According to records, the average temperature of the earth has risen 1.1 degree Celsius as compared to the Pre-Industrial Revolution Period. Emissions of greenhouse gases in the decade 2010-2019 were higher than in any previous decade. Emissions of greenhouse gases in the decade 2010-2019 were 12 per cent higher than in 2000-2010 and 54 per cent higher than in the 1990-2000 decade. If greenhouse gas emissions are not cut sharply and continue at the current rate, by the end of the century, all the countries in the world could face a rise in temperature of 2.4 to 3.5 degree Celsius. This will force all the countries of the world to bear the brunt of more natural calamities.

The budget for the remaining greenhouse gases is likely to expire before 2030, thus limiting global warming to the 1.5 degree Celsius limit of the Paris Climate Agreement. This sixth installment of the report also suggests that if the average global temperature rise is to be limited to 1.5 degree Celsius by the end of the century, then all the countries of the world should cut 43 per cent of their total emissions of greenhouse gases by 2030. The report warns that we have very little time left, but it is still possible that we can overcome it, which requires swift action and determination. If not now, the never-ending situation may arise. All the countries of the world still have options, all that is needed is willpower. The United Nation Secretary General Antonio Guterres has said that although the road is narrow and difficult, all nations must now work to save humanity. A team of scientists has said that the sixth report is a file of broken international climate

agreements and empty promises that describe each promise sequentially. Although efforts to curb global warming began with the "Earth Summit" in Brazil in 1992, no meaningful steps have been taken so far.

The fifth report of the IPCC in 2014 found that no country in the world could escape the effects of global warming. It will hit all the countries, rich and poor, small islands and large continents. In the first and second installments of the sixth report, it is clearly stated that the rise in temperature is due to human activities and the worst hit are the poor people and the poor countries. After the release of the IPCC report in 2014, although all the countries of the world had pledged to reduce their



greenhouse gas emissions under the Paris Climate Agreement in 2015, most of the countries have not paid any attention to it. Actually, most of the countries make promises and agreements at conferences, but refrain from putting them into practice. The sources of energy must be rapidly changed. Efforts to replace coal, oil, gas, and diesel with renewable energy sources such as wind, water, and solar must be accelerated. China, the United States of America, and India should shut down their coal-fired power plants as they are currently emitting far more greenhouse gases than any other country in the world. According to a positive fact in the third installment of the sixth IPCC report, the cost of generating solar and wind energy has decreased by 85 per cent since 2010. If all the countries of the world produce energy from sun and wind instead of coal, then perhaps they will be able to control the rise in temperature.

The report suggests paying more attention to agriculture and forest conservation. All the countries should sow/plant crops in different regions of their country according to the local environment. In many places profitable crops are sown / planted that do not match the environment and natural resources of the area, resulting in an imbalance of natural resources and environment. For example, the Government of India through its Minimum Support Price policy has imposed the paddy crop on Punjab to alleviate the shortage of food grains in the country, which is responsible for its rapidly declining

groundwater table and increasing air pollution. The crop also releases methane gas into the air, which is more capable of heating temperature than carbon dioxide.

Forests are called the lungs of the earth because forests release oxygen into the atmosphere for respiration of all kinds of organisms and absorb carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. In order to balance the natural environment, forests must cover 33 per cent of the area in each country. At the same time, care should be taken that the forest/tree species should be adapted to the local environment. According to a 2018 IPCC report, humans have transformed 70 per cent of the earth through their activities to satisfy their cravings, with

many ecosystems being wiped out and many on the brink of extinction. Therefore, all the countries should make every effort to maintain the existence of ecosystems.

The third installment of the sixth IPCC report has suggested necessary changes in land use practices, reduction of carbon emissions and pollution in industries, low carbon buildings, and improvement in means of transportation. Cities emit more greenhouse gases than villages, that is why they are also called 'Heat Islands'. We need to reduce activities in cities that consume more energy. Roadside and unnecessary electric lights in homes should be turned off. These days buildings in cities are using modern technology to replace wood and bricks with glass which requires more energy to keep them cool and hot and glass releases more hot air into the atmosphere than wood and bricks. Therefore, governments and people should redesign cities and their activities.

Vehicles emit large amounts of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. According to the third installment of the sixth IPCC report, if the necessary modifications are not made in the present mode of transportation system, the emission of carbon dioxide from the mode of transport alone is sure to increase by 50 per cent by 2050. The report suggests that governments could reduce one-fourth of the energy consumed in transportation by building car-free infrastructure such as pedestrian and cycling roads.

It is also important to mention here that if greenhouse gases emitted

from the means of transport are to be reduced, then every country must make the means of public transport so efficient that people automatically abandon the means of private vehicles and use public transport.

Instead of car companies, companies that make public transport such as buses and trains should be encouraged by giving subsidies. Tax rates on private vehicles should also be increased. In addition, air traffic is growing rapidly which is generating a large amount of greenhouse gases, there is an urgent need to find new sources of energy in this area.

In addition to the above suggestions, the report also suggested changes in eating habits. One of the major reasons for the change in land use is the growing trend of non-vegetarian food. The increasing trend of non-vegetarian food is largely responsible for deforestation. Large-scale deforestation is taking place for livestock shelters and fodder. Livestock are also releasing large amounts of carbon dioxide and methane gases into the atmosphere which are warming the environment.

The report specifically states that high-income households account for 36 to 45 per cent of total greenhouse gas emissions, while low-income households account for only 13 to 15 per cent. According to this IPCC report, we now have very little time to save the environment and human life. Therefore, we must rapidly reduce greenhouse gas emissions from various sectors. Energy should be replaced by renewable sources instead of coal, gas and petroleum products. Developed countries and high-income people need to make drastic changes in their way of life. According to the report, if the world's richest segment changes its energy consumption trend, greenhouse gas emissions could be reduced by 40-70 per cent. We need to electrify public transport.

The developed countries are emitting more greenhouse gases into the atmosphere than the developing countries.

Therefore, the developed countries should rapidly reduce their emission of greenhouse gases with the help of modern technology. In order to provide financial and technical assistance to the poor and developing countries to compensate for the losses caused by climate change, the developed countries should now generously help instead of evading. All the nations of the world must unite and take swift action to stop the rise in temperature or else the earth and its inhabitants will be pushed towards an unpredictable future.



**Dr. Gurinder Kaur**

Former Professor, Department of Geography, Punjabi University, Patiala.  
001-408-493-9776

# Remembering Advocate Bhagwan Das: A Profile

**Mr.** Bhagwan Das was born in an Untouchable family at Jutogh Cantonment, Shimla (Himachal Pradesh), India on 23 April 1927. He served in the Royal Indian Air Force during World War II and after demobilisation served in different capacities in various departments of Government of India at Saharanpur, Shimla and Delhi. He did M.A. in History (Punjab University) and LL.B from Delhi University. He did research on the 'Indianisation of the Audit Department from 1840-1915'. He has been contributing articles and short stories to various papers and journals published in India.

His father Mr. Ram Ditta was fond of reading newspapers and a great admirer of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar. Inspired and encouraged by his father, Mr. Das worked with Mr. T. R. Baidwan of Simla who was the most prominent leader of the Untouchables in Simla Hills, and joined the Scheduled Castes Federation at the tender age of 16. Since then he has been actively associated with the Ambedkarite movement and has done a great deal to promote the ideas of Babasaheb Ambedkar and to unite and uplift the downtrodden not only of India but also of other countries of Asia. Mr. Das is associated with many organisations of lawyers, Buddhists, Scheduled Castes and Minorities in India. He was General Secretary, United Lawyers Association, Supreme Court, New Delhi; General Secretary, BouddhUpasak-Sangh, New Delhi; Founder Chairman, Ambedkar Mission Society which has branches in many parts of the world; Revived Samata Sainik Dal (Volunteers for Equality) founded by Dr. Ambedkar in 1926-27; Regional Secretary (North). Indian Buddhist Council; Founder, Society for the Protection of Non-Smokers; Founder President of Society for Promoting Buddhist Knowledge; edited Samata Sainik Sandesh (English) 1980-1990. He was also the main person behind publication of "Bheem Patrika" an Urdu and the Hindi magazine published from Jullundur (Punjab).

His mother tongue is Urdu. He learnt English from class 7th. His command over English and his British accent compelled many to label him as a "Black English Man." He is Adib-Fazel in Persian. He can speak and write in Hindi and Punjabi. Just like Dr. Ambedkar he was not allowed to read Hindi and he had to take up Persian at school. His knowledge about Dr. Ambedkar, Buddhism, Hindu Castes, Religion and many more subjects is so vast and thorough that he is often marked as a "Moving Encyclopaedia." He is very modest and simple which made Bhadant Anand Kaushalyan to remark, "You are so humble."

He was married to Rama Devi (Lucknow) on 9 February, 1957 through the mediation of Shiv Dayal Singh Chaurasia who was a member of the Parliament. He has one son Rahul and two daughters Zoya and Shura. He became a Buddhist in 1957. His devotion to Ambedkarite movement is

very high and he is known as a True Ambedkarite.

He remained in close contact with Dr. Ambedkar at Delhi from 1942 till his death. He also adopted Buddhism in 1956 when Dr. Ambedkar launched his Buddhist Conversion Movement on 14th October, 1956. He has written his autobiography which has been published as "In the Pursuit of Ambedkar" in English and "BabaKeCharnon me" in Hindi. A documentary film on his life has also been prepared by S. Anand of Navyana.

Mr. Das has been associated with the 'Peace Movement' since the end of World War II, in which he served on the Eastern Front with the Royal Air Force (RAF) under South East Asia Command. He is one of the founder members of the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) (India) and has participated in the Conferences held in Kyoto, Japan, 1970; Princeton USA (1979); Seoul, Korea (1986); Nairobi, Kenya (1984) and Melbourne Australia (1989). He was appointed Director, Asian Centre for

Human Rights (Asian Conference on Religion and Peace) in 1980 and continued to serve in this capacity till 2004 monitoring the news of violation of human rights in Asian countries and organising camps for training of human rights workers, speaking and writing for the cause.

Mr. Das was invited to deliver a lecture on 'Discrimination by the Peace University, Tokyo (1980) and also addressed several meetings organised by the Burakuminsof Japan. He gave testimony before the United Nations in regard to the plight of Untouchables in South Asia, in the meeting of Sub-Committee on Human Rights held at Geneva, Switzerland in August, 1983. He visited England in 1975, 1983, 1988, 1990 and 1991 in connection with lectures and seminars. He participated in the seminar held in 'Hull University in 1990 as a representative of the Ambedkar Centenary Celebration Committee, UK and also a seminar on Human Rights in India held at London University, School of Asian and Oriental Studies in February 1991.

He was invited to deliver Ambedkar Memorial Lectures in Milind Mahavidyalaya, Aurangabad (1970); Marathwada University (1983); Nagpur University, PWS College, Nagpur; Ambedkar College,

Chander Pur and Amraoti University in 1990.

Mr. Das also visited Nepal (1980 and 1990); Pakistan (1989); Thailand (1988); Singapore (1989) and Canada (1979) to study the problems of deprived and disadvantaged members of society, women and children. Delivered lectures in Wisconsin University (USA) 1979 and North-field College (USA) on Caste in contemporary India. He was invited to give lectures on Dr Ambedkar at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow in June, 1990.

Mr. Das practices law in the Supreme Court of India. With a view to improve the professional competence of and helping upcoming advo-

c a t e s belonging to Untouchable and indigenous groups he founded Ambedkar Mission Lawyers Association and Legal Aid Society in 1989. He was General Secretary of 'Professions for People', an organisation founded in Delhi to elevate professional standards.

Mr. Das was invited to preside at the Dalit and

Buddhist Writers Conference held at Akola in 1989 and is closely associated with various organisations of Dalit Writers.

Mr. Das has written more than five hundred articles, papers for seminars, short stories for various newspapers and journals. His papers on 'Revival of Buddhism'; 'Some problems of minorities in India'; 'Reservation in Public Services' have been published in Social Action brought out by Indian Social Institute, New Delhi and Delhi University Buddhist Department. He has written many papers on Reservation and Representative Bureaucracy, Discrimination against the Dalits in Public Services and Minorities etc. His short stories were published in Sarita (Urdu), NayaZamana (Urdu), Milap (Urdu), Bheem Patrika (Urdu and Hindi). He has edited "Slavery and Untouchability" incomplete book written by Babasaheb Ambedkar. He also edited "Untouchable Soldiers-Mazhbi and Mahar" wrote M.A. Thesis by Ardith Basham, an American Scholar. He has also written about Dalit politics under the title "Dalit RajnitiaurSanghathan." (Dalit Politics and Organisations)

He was a member for the 'Committee for evolving new strategies for the development of Sched-

uled Castes and Tribes - VIII Plan' set up by the Government of India and also a member of Ambedkar Centenary Committee of the Government of India. Mr. Das has written many books in Urdu, English and

Hindi on Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar; Untouchables; Scavengers and Sweepers; Human Rights Discrimination etc. Prominent among them are Thus Spoke Ambedkar (Vol I to IVEd) a pioneer work; Ambedkar on Gandhi and Gandhism (Ed); Ambedkar Ek-ParichayEk Sandesh (Hindi); Main BhangiHoon(Hindi), the story of an Indian sweeper told in the first-person (this book has been translated into Punjabi, Kannada and Marathi and German); Valmiki aurBhangaJatian (Hindi); Valmiki (Hindi); Dhobi (Hindi), Revival of Buddhism in India and Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar; Dr. AmbedkarEkParichayEk Sandesh; Dr. Ambedkar aurBhangaJatiya and Bharat me BauddhDhammkapurjagantathasamasyayen. He has translated into Urdu former President of the USA Lyndon Johnson's book 'My Hope for America'; Dr Ambedkar's 'Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah'in to Urdu; besides editing Bhadant Anand Kaushalyayan's 'Gita KiBuddhivadiSamiksha.'

Other books in hand are "Reservation and Representative Bureaucracy in India"; "Untouchables in the Indian Army (Mahar, Mazhbi, Chuhra, Pariahs, Mangs, Dhanuks, Dusadhs, Chamars, Kolis, Bheels)"; "Mandal Commission and the Future of Backward Classes"; "Twenty-Two Oaths of Buddhism and Conversion"; "Balmiki; Ravidassis and Balmikis of Northern India"; "Buddhism and Marxism" and "Ambedkar as a Religious Leader."

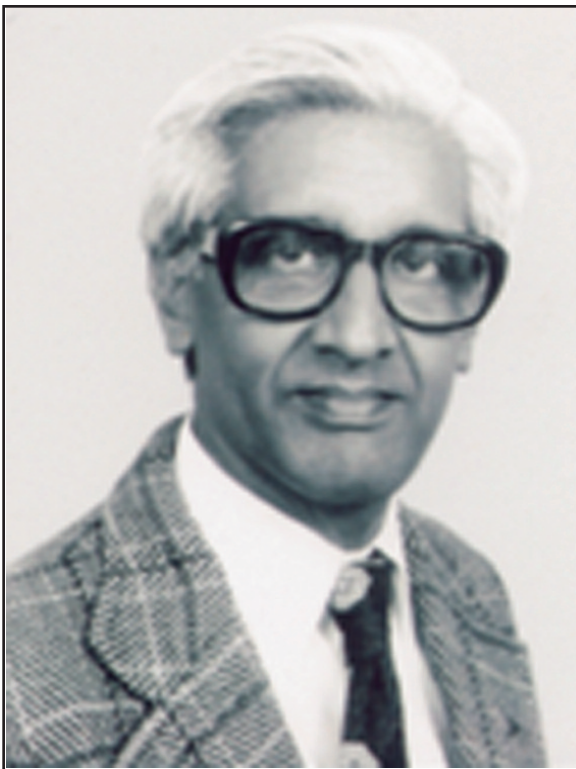
Mr. Das has toured almost the whole of India to study the problems of Hindu-Muslim riots, religious conflicts, atrocities committed on the Untouchables and tribal people, with the group 'Threat to Diversity', 'Swaraj MuktiMorcha and as Chairman, Samata Sainik Dal." He is also the founder President of "Dalit Solidarity People", an organisation aiming at uniting Hindu Dalits, Dalit Christians, Sikh Dalits, Muslim Dalits and Burakuminsof Japan and Korea. Like Marx his slogan was "Dalits of the World Unite."

Mr Bhagwan Das has been a storehouse of insight and information, his residence at Delhi has been a mandatory stopover for many renowned scholars like Eleanor Zelliot, Mark Juergensmeyer, Owen Lynch, Marc Gallanter, RK Kshirsagar, SukhadeoThorat down to younger scholars like Vijay Prashad, Nicolas Jaoul and Maren Bellwinkel-Schempp.



**SR Darapuri**

Centre for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy,  
Baba Sahib Bhim Rao Ambedkar University, Lucknow (U.P.)  
Reader and Deputy Director



**Bhagwan Das: A Profile**  
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