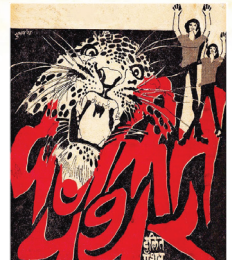
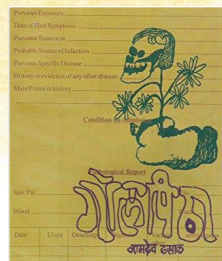
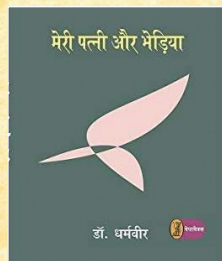
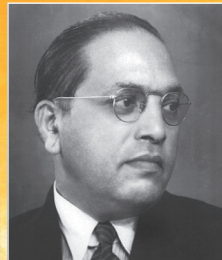
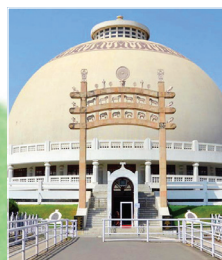


UNHEARD VOICES

14 AUGUST 2021 | Year 1 | Vol. 5-6



Silent Contributors of Modern India



EDITORIAL

Social Cohesion - Only key to India's all-round progress

It is natural that the nation is in a jubilant mood while celebrating 75th Independence Day. All the countrymen are singing patriotic songs, remembering sacrifice and struggle for independence and its glorious history. It is, however, time to have a pause, look within for introspection and review our achievements/shortcomings. This will help steer us in the desired direction in the light of the present situation.

National security, industry, agriculture, trade, education, culture and arts are some of the pillars on which any society is founded. Any society can survive and blossom, if these pillars are strong. Any society can become strong and healthy if all its members contribute to a common goal with a sense of belonging and affection. This can happen when all the people are free to express and act freely and without any fear.

Ancient Indian society, especially during the Gupta and Maurya period, was strongly embedded with all such bonding. The society then, was relatively open and cohesive in all walks of life. Evidence on history reveals that India's contribution to the world's GDP was above 40 per cent in 12th century. This became possible since each and every member of the society was contributing to it. With advent of British imperialism in 17th century, India's contribution to the world's GDP was reduced to 20 per cent. At the time of independence in 1947, Indian contribution to world GDP had come down to meagre three per cent. The British, strategically, destroyed skilled labour in India. Skilled labor, spread across the country, was the backbone of Indian society and used to ensure smooth social transactions.

We can infer from history that India can become strong if the citizens carry out their duties and responsibilities with a sense of belongingness and in absolute harmony. Any society is on the real path of progress if the sense of oneness and inclusiveness is strong and dominant. On another hand, any society

regresses, if forces of discrimination and extremism are influential.

India's freedom struggle does not begin from the time of British trading, which later turned into imperialism. India has seen a relentless freedom struggle for almost 1000 years. This was said by none other than first Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on the eve of first Independence Day. People from all the walks of life participated in that fight. There has been a general perception that few elite people, families and their organizations were instrumental for the dawn of freedom. It is not historically correct. The freedom struggle would not have succeeded; had it been restricted to a few handfuls of people. Freedom struggle, which was going on for centuries, had the participation of all the common people. We also need to recognize that many of these freedom strugglers were neglected and un-noticed. We also need to accept that these unsung and forgotten people are the real warriors of the freedom fight.

Currently, we have two diagonally opposite scenarios. Firstly, our society has several deep and serious fractures. Secondly, we have a strong aspiration to become an economic superpower and emerge as a decisive pole in current multi-polar world. This dream will be a reality only if discrimination in any form is absolutely eliminated. All of us should have a strong resolve that India has no space for discrimination. It is a fundamental necessity for India to ensure fulfilment of aspirations of the common people, particularly those from deprived class, if it wants to become a super power. Aspirations of the people, irrespective of their social, economic and educational status, have to be met so that they could contribute to the nation in a more meaningful manner.

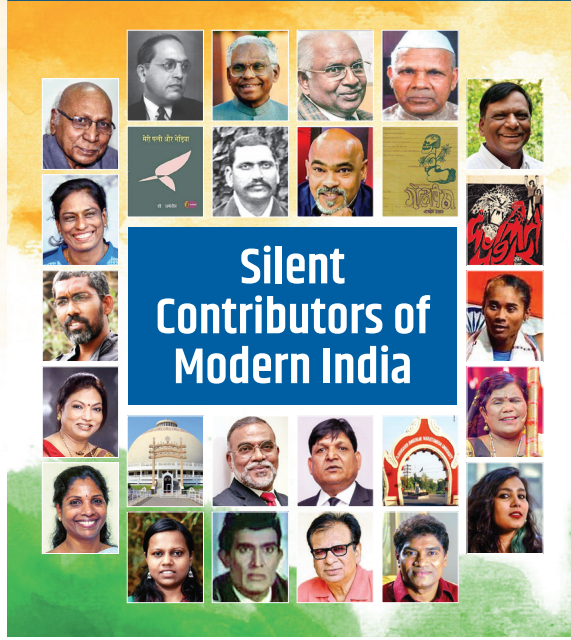
In the past 75 years, India has witnessed hundreds/thousands of people from deprived classes, who have brought glory to the nation. 'UNHEARD VOICES' has come out with a special issue with an honest intention to salute these "Silent Contributors of Modern India".

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Editor : Vijendra Sonawane

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The editor& publisher may not agree to it.



List of the names of persons, whose photographs have been published on the cover page of this issue.



1st Horizontal

1. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar
2. K.R.Narayanan- 1st Dalit president of India
3. Former CJI K.G. Balakrishnan
4. Mata Prasad 1st Dalit IAS

2nd Horizontal

1. Meri Patni aur Bhedia- Famous autobiography of Dr. Dharmveer
2. Palwankar Baloo- 1st Dalit cricketer
3. Vinod Kambli- Cricketer
4. Golpeetha- Collection of poems written by Namdeo Dhasal

3rd Horizontal

1. Dikashabhoomi, Nagpur
2. Dr. Narendra Jadhav- Economist,
3. Chandra Bhan Prasad- journalist, writer, activist and Advisor to DICCI
4. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University

4th Horizontal

1. Vijila Chirrapad Indian Dalit poet,
2. Dev Kumar- Film actor
3. Karsan Ghavri- Former Indian cricketer
4. Johny Lever- Film actor

Left Vertical

1. Gangadhar Pantavane-Writer and Ambedkerite thinker
2. P.T. Usha- Retired Indian Track Athletic
3. Nagraj Manjule- Film Director
4. Kalpana Saroj - Entrepreneur
5. P.Sivakami-Dalit-Feminist writer, former IAS officer

Right Vertical

1. Sharankumar Limbale- Author& poet
2. Dalit Panther- Ambedkarite social organisation that seeks to combat caste discrimination in early 1970
3. Hima Das- nicknamed Dhing express is an Indian Sprinter.
4. Kadubai Kharat- Folk singer
5. Yashica Dutt- Writer



Ramesh Chander
Ambassador - I.F.S. (Retired)

August 8, 2021

Message of Congratulations

I learnt with pleasure that the esteemed Unheard Voices is coming out with a special number on the role and contribution of the marginalized and weaker sections of the society in the run up to Independence in August, 1947 and development and progress of the country thereafter on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Independence of India, an important milestone in our national life. I take this opportunity to wish the Unheard Voices all the best and success in its endeavors to realize its motto "Knowledge for Empowerment" under the aegis of Social Studies Foundation.

With the launch of the Unheard Voices on April 14, birth anniversary of Babasaheb B.R. Ambedkar, this year, I am reminded of the 'Mooknayak' – the mouthpiece of Babasaheb's struggle and mission in making the voices of the under-privileged heard during the freedom struggle from the colonial rule and also for the upliftment and empowerment of the socially depressed segments of the society. I am confident that the Unheard Voices and Social Studies Foundation would contribute positively in creating much need awareness in the society to integrate the socially marginalized sections with the main stream of the society at large. The idea of 'Samrasta' is the only way to strengthen the lofty principles of Equality, Liberty, Justice and Fraternity so rightly enshrined in our Constitution.

I join you all happily in these endeavors and congratulate The Unheard Voices and Social Studies Foundation on the occasion. Greetings on the Independence Day.

(Ramesh Chander)

Correction : July 2021 Issue of Unheard Voices has an error about birth and death anniversary of Marathi author Annabhau Sathe. Birth anniversary of Annabhau Sathe is August 1 while death anniversary is July 18. The error is regretted.

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'Right person must hear your voice at right time for right action'



In the democratic process, those who cry for their rights alone get what they want. You are supposed to raise your voice. A large number of people in this country cannot raise their voices. They are never in the mind of the administration. You have to agitate. This is the advice from the retired Chief Justice of India, K. G. Balakrishnan, for young Dalit professionals. In a detailed interview with Adv. Vinod Kumar, retired CJI spoke on hurdles faced by the deprived sections due to discrimination.

UV : What were your feelings when you became the 37th Chief Justice of India? What was your immediate reaction?

KGB : To be the Chief Justice of India, head of the judicial institution of this country, was a proud moment for a member of the Dalit community. Therefore, it was a moment of pride, not only for me but for the whole community. That's how I saw it. I realised that even a person of my origin, low-income family background like mine, can reach this position in independent India.

UV : Sir, though Article 17 abolishes untouchability and discrimination, caste-based prejudice still prevails. Although the Constitution provides adequate representation to Dalits, Adivasis and deprives, they get little representation in Supreme Court and High Courts even after almost 74 years of independence. How do you see it? How can it be increased?

KGB : Indeed, representation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the judiciary is minimal. So far, it is not even in a five-digit number. I think Justice Ray from West Bengal was the first Judge of the Supreme Court belonging to a Scheduled Caste.

Then Justice Ramaswamy became the Judge of the Supreme Court. There was another judge from Tamil Nadu to adorn the office of the Supreme Court, and I was the fourth Judge of the Supreme Court with a Scheduled Caste background. Even in the High Court, there has been minimal representation. However, courts in this country have administered justice by determining rights of the people. It means the rights of all the people are decided in the absence of proper representation by the Scheduled Castes. This non-representation is not by a purposeful denial. There has been no adequate representation because there was a lack of appropriate candidates in the legal profession. Legal profession is dominated by people from the affluent sections of society. Since there were no good lawyers, it isn't easy to become a judge and reach the Supreme Court and High Court positions.

UV : Will appointing more judges from deprived sections achieve the constitutional mandate of a casteless society in India? How can the existing caste system be abolished, and can its influence on society and good institutions be minimised?

KGB : Article 17 of the Constitution abolishes untouchability. However, caste discrimination still

prevails in various forms in various states. We read about several instances where the Scheduled Castes, even those holding offices, are being denigrated, insulted and subjected to ill-treatment. Members of Scheduled Castes face the question of how to escape from atrocity. Of course, we would be able to achieve democracy in its true sense only by establishing the constitutional mandate and giving judicial power, administrative power, and political power to the Scheduled Castes. Otherwise, there will be only political democracy and no social democracy, as Dr. Ambedkar pointed out. Representation of the Scheduled Castes in the administrative and bureaucratic setup, official positions, especially in the judiciary and the police, is essential to ensure social democracy.

UV : What is the contribution of Scheduled Castes in the post-independence era in the justice delivery system, in your opinion?

KGB : Scheduled Castes' contribution to the country's judiciary is minimal because they have no representation. They would be able to establish and enforce the rights of the people only if they are given proper representation due to them. Therefore, until there is an adequate representation of the Scheduled Castes, the contribution to the judiciary or the judicial administration will remain minimal. Of course, merely giving raises based on the castes is not the judiciary administration. Judicial administration means determining the rights of the people based on the constitutional provision. But if there is a proper representation of Scheduled Castes in judicial service, the prejudicial mindset of the people will gradually change.

UV : What is your opinion on the creation of All India Judicial Service provided under Article 312? Can it transform the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' lives, particularly those in the legal field?

KGB : All India Judicial Service was thought of several years back. There are certain impediments to implementing it. All India Judicial Service would mean selecting lower judiciary judges starting from the Civil Judge Junior Division up to the District Judges at the national level. District Judges are the feeder category for the selection of High Court Judges for the concerned state. How can the appointment of High Court Judges be managed if there is an All India Judicial Service? Secondly, a judge from Tamil Nadu may not be a fine judge to conducted a trial in UP in Hindi. Besides, presently the High Courts have the powers to select their judicial officers and are under the High Court's administrative control. Therefore, most of the High Courts oppose All India Judicial Service. But I feel selecting a percentage of judicial officers based on All India Judicial Service will help get the best talent from all the categories and ensure effective implementation of the reservation principle. So, appointing at least some 70 or 80% of the officers on an All India basis can solve the

problem of inadequate representation. That is why the Union Government should take suitable action to implement the All India Judicial Service.

UV : A new Article, 124-A, was added to the Constitution to make a procedure for the appointments of the High Court and Supreme Court Judges by passing the National Judicial Appointments Commission Bill, 2014. That was later struck down by the Supreme Court while expressing the opinion that it will interfere in the independence of the judiciary. How do you see it?

KGB : It may not be proper for me to criticise the judgment of the Supreme Court as I had been holding a responsible post myself. Nevertheless, I can say that in all countries, people have a right to say what type of judges they should have. There is a committee for selection, and civil representatives suggest names for the appointment of judges. In America, the President suggests the names and the candidates are severely questioned by the Senate before their appointment to the Superior Court. To my knowledge, appointments of judges are made by agencies other than the judges in most countries. And in all those countries, judiciary is independent. In South Africa, Brazil, Britain, America, Canada, Australia and many other countries, judges are not selected by judges. The independence of the judiciary will be lost if there are no judges in the selection process is a myth.

UV : The civil society has been saying that the Collegium system works under a cloud of secrecy and sometimes ignores the merit. What is your opinion about the Collegium system?

KGB : No system is perfect. Every system has its inherent defects. We cannot say outright that we cannot find good judges because we have a lousy selection system. Even under such a system, we can select the best candidates. The problem arises when the system is abused and misused. I cannot say that the Collegium system is bad. It is our bounded duty to see that such a system works perfectly well. Judges of the superior courts are duty-bound to discharge their functions without fear, favour or affection or ill-will or bizarre prejudice or bias. You cannot say Collegium is bad merely because some wrong candidates are selected at some point in time for various reasons. Anyway, if you feel that the system is not working well, you can change.

UV : Women have also not been given proper representation in the judiciary. Only eight women have made it to the Supreme Court so far. Is it high time that there should be a woman Chief Justice of India?

KGB : Representation by women has been poor because women were not joining the legal profession. Sorabji, the first lady lawyer, could not even be enrolled as an advocate because people opposed her enrolment. Even during my college days, only four of the 60 candidates in my law class were women. So, women candidates were inadequate in the legal

profession. Now, the scenario is changing. Many girls are joining the law and holding good positions in the academic field and legal field too. In all the High Courts, representation of women is fairly good, and it will increase. Justice Fathima Beevi was the first woman to come to the Supreme Court. She was a colleague with me. Sujata Manohar was my Chief Justice. Then there was Justice Anna Chandy from Kerala. She was the first lady who adorned a high court. She was a courageous woman and a fearless judge. So, the representation of women was in ratio with the number of women lawyers practising law in those days.

UV : How good the judiciary has performed its duties to achieve the goal enshrined in Article 14?

KGB : Without upholding the majesty of Article 14 of the Constitution, no judge can function. Article 14 and all the rights, justice and the equality before the law and equal protection of law remain the soul and spirit of the Constitution. Equality before law for



all citizens and equal protection of law for all is the mandate of the Constitution and the judiciary. I don't think any Judge can afford to violate these principles. Some may say that some judgments show social bias. That is personal. Judiciary has upheld principles of the Constitution in true spirit. The Supreme Court has upheld the majesty of the law and upheld the constitutional principles, and protected the rights of media and people of this country. The Courts and Supreme Court have been the people's last resort seeking justice, equity, and good conscience.

UV : Can you suggest some judgments pronounced by the Supreme Court that have worked better for the Scheduled Castes law students?

KGB : There is a series of decisions touching the origin of reservation, right from the Champakam Dorairajan vs The State of Madras, which resulted in the 1st constitutional amendment to protect the

reservation in the state of Madras. After that, there has been a series of decisions on defining socially and educationally backwards and how the reservation is to be extended, including the Indra Sawhney case and Thakur's case. The case of Thomas is also essential. All these decisions upheld the constitutional principles and the reservations. We have upheld the constitutional right from the beginning. Whenever a Constitutional provision created any bar, we have amended the provision. When 16(4) was found inadequate to give representation, Constitution Amendment to insert 16(4)(a) was done. When it was said that seniority is not being given on the basis of the reservation, the Constitution was amended with the system for consequential seniority. The Constitution is a dynamic, living document. It requires day to day interpretation, and some of the interpretations have been given by very eminent judges. They saw the light, and they gave them for future guidance. Affirmative action is essential in India because large sections of the Scheduled Castes community still see no future. There is no good employment, business opportunity, land or other assets, adequate livelihood or life opportunities. Till such discrimination continues, affirmative action should continue. Otherwise, the social democracy envisaged in the Constitution will remain an enigma. We have to achieve social democracy through the democratic process and constitutional interpretation.

UV : We see a lot of cases of atrocities on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Do you think we have failed to implement the law against atrocities in its tooth and nail and in the right spirit?

KGB : Majority of the cases filed under the SC/ST Atrocities Act end in acquittal because the witnesses who give evidence before the police authorities later withdraw their statements. Those who commit the atrocities exert influential power, money power, other power and seek a settlement. Many cases end in acquittal because the complainant or his witnesses are won over by the accused or his henchmen. There is a provision that such cases should be investigated by a superior police officer. This is mainly a judicial function and not a one-man action. It involves the police, court staff, the advocates, clerks, many other witnesses, the prosecutor etc. All these agencies need to pool in for right conclusion in the cases. If one of these agencies is susceptible to influence, the case ends in disarray. The policy needs to be very alert and careful while recording the evidence and ensuring the independence of witnesses. They should extend protection to the witnesses. But when many cases are pending in various courts, it is challenging to render such independence and enforce such independence of witnesses.

UV : Most students belonging to deprived sections opt for government jobs. In view of the socio-economic changes, do you think the students should also opt for professional careers like lawyers, chartered accountants, doctors, journalists etc.?

What is your advice to students?

KGB : we cannot forget the complex realities in this society. It is effortless to say you should join the journalism course, business management course, chartered accountancy course etc. But who pays income tax in this country, and who will go to a Dalit accountant for Income Tax assessment? Which newspaper baron will employ the poor, and which company will provide jobs to a poor MBA degree holder? They are all controlled by wealthy persons coming from the upper echelons of society. They would like to engage a person who is with multiple talents. But, how a young pass out of college can show his talent to the employer? So, these students go for the subjects which are likely to generate employment for them. We cannot give any definite advice on this subject.

UV : Governments appoint lawyers in the High Court and Supreme Court to represent their cases, but Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes get negligible representation. What is your opinion?

KGB : In Kerala, from where I come, and in Tamil Nadu too, there is adequate representation to Scheduled Castes in the posts of public prosecutors and government pleaders. State governments can

Discrimination in the administration of justice or governmental action is not because of the absence of laws. We have adequate laws. The laws are sufficient for the proper implementation. No law can be enacted to cause perpetuated discrimination and to cause injustice.

implement reservations in it, and this can be a springboard for young lawyers. Why ministers are not taking action? Why don't you approach the Chief Minister? Why don't you approach the ministers? Why don't you approach the law minister? There are a large number of young Dalit lawyers in various states. Why don't they speak up? They should make representations to the ministers and Chief Ministers. In the democratic process, those who cry for their rights alone get what they want. Why are these voices unheard? Why don't you raise your voice? You are supposed to raise your voice. The right person must hear your voice at the right time to do the right action. Your voice shall never remain unheard. A large number of people in this country cannot raise their voices. They are never in the mind of the administration. You also have to agitate for them because you are the chosen few with an excellent opportunity to get an education.

UV : That would be participative democracy. Is it not so?

KGB : They don't raise their voice. So they don't get it. UP, Bihar and other states were at some point of time were administered by people who belong to this category. Why was it not done?

UV : Are some more laws required to achieve goals enshrined in the preamble of our Constitution so that caste-based discrimination could be eliminated from society?

KGB : Discrimination in the administration of justice or governmental action is not because of the absence of laws. We have adequate laws. The laws are sufficient for the proper implementation. No law can be enacted to cause perpetuated discrimination and to cause injustice. The laws are passed with the bonafide intention. But unfortunately, they are not adequately implemented. So, I don't think that there is any necessity for any other laws. There is affirmative action. Atrocity is punishable. I don't believe any laws need to be modified to establish these rights.

UV : Any message to the young lawyers, young professionals?

KGB : There are a large number of lawyers in all the states. But they are not able to make both ends meet. Judicial Service Examinations are not conducted properly. And I must say our children are not preparing well to appear very spiritedly for the judicial service examination. A large number of people can get into the judicial service because the number of posts is going to be doubled or tripled over the next few years. You shall not miss and waste your time. You must make headway by joining the legal profession. But merely being a lawyer will not give anything to you. You may not have any case in hand, but you should work hard to appear for the judicial service exam. Nobody can discriminate when your answers are 100% right. So avail that opportunity and various other opportunities such as government pleaders, various bank service examinations etc. A large number of people with legal knowledge need to be recruited in the banks. You have to search for opportunities and seek them to be in the right place. Make use of the opportunities and lead a perfect life. This is my only advice to young lawyers from the lower strata of society who are suffering discrimination, which I also suffered at one time in my life.

UV : What is your message to young girls belonging to the lower strata of society concerning the legal profession?

KGB : Generally, young lawyers belonging to the marginalised sections of society face problems, and women face this disability more than young lawyers. It is difficult for them to get into the legal profession without help from somebody, and nobody extends the benefit of even sharing the office as a junior. But two or three young lawyers can come together and start an office. Help people, not only in the legal profession, in all societal problems such as welfare, insurance claims, motor accidents claims. A large number of people are looking for help regarding that. The profession of lawyers can be a standard in the field of social service also. By helping such people, then you will be recognised as a saviour of society. With it, you can do it.



From Cricket to Athletics

The origins of sports persons from Dalit community in modern days can be traced to Palwankar brothers, who established themselves as cricketers, when the game was considered as monopoly of British. One of the Palwankar brothers, Balu Palwankar is affectionately known as P Balu. Their father was a soldier in 112th Infantry Regiment and P. Balu used to practice cricket with the equipment of the Britishers.

Devendrakumar Solanki

India has a long tradition of sports, which goes back to centuries. Our Gods like Shriram and Krishna were contemporary sportsmen. Our all heroes in modern days are also either sports lovers or players. Swami Vivekananda firmly believed in physical strength. But the major difference between Indian and foreign perception towards sports is largely neglected. Indian tradition teaches us to have physical strength. It does not focus on victory or defeat as seen by the rest of the world.

Despite this major difference in the attitude, many sports persons proved their unique skills, diligence and commitment and made them accepted universally. Many successful athletes in India come from deprived classes and the entire country has very high regards for them.

The origins of sports persons from Dalit community in modern days can be traced to Palwankar brothers, who established themselves as cricketers, when the game was considered as monopoly of British. One of the Palwankar brothers, Balu Palwankar is affectionately known as P. Balu. Their father was a soldier in 112th Infantry Regiment and P. Balu used to practice cricket with the equipment of the Britishers. Later he got the job as groundsman. P. Balu used to be at Pune Gymkhana and got the opportunity to bowl to famous English cricketer J. G. Grace. He was known as a left arm spin bowler. P. Balu, however, was the victim of the caste system. He used to get tea in a clay cup outside the pavilion during the break. To add to the pains, he was also served meal on a separate table and was not allowed to sit with others. Other players used to stay away from him. He was not

allowed to use wash basin. A separate bucket used to be brought by another Dalit fellow and P Balu used to wash his hands at a corner of the ground.

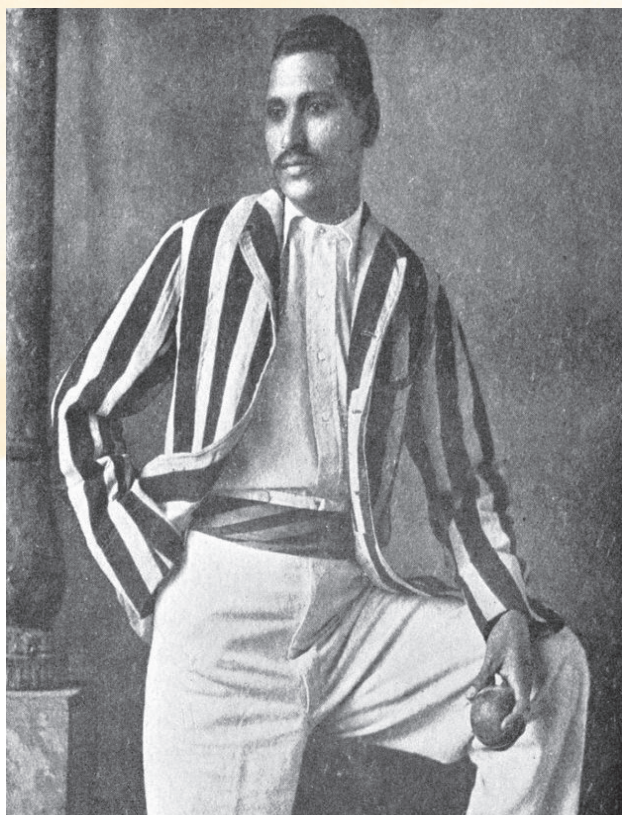
All these experiences did not deter him from cricket love and he continued to play with vigour. He was member of the Indian team, led by Maharaja of Patiala, which toured England in 1911. His performance was appreciated in England. P. Balu eventually emerged as the well known cricketer. He scored 753 runs in three matches. This included three half-centuries. He also took 179 wickets at an average of 15.21 runs. He had taken five or more wickets in one inning for 17 times and 10 wickets in a match for four times. P Balu came into contact with Mahatma Gandhiji and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. He, however, did not approve Dr. Ambedkar's certain positions and distanced himself. He also did not approve conversion.

Shivram was member of the team, which was led by Prof D. B. Deodhar. He opposed the decision to select Prof Deodhar as captain. As a result, he was dropped from the team. Ganpat was also a talented cricketer and represented the then Hindu team, Bombay Quadrangular and other clubs.

Vitthal Palwankar was the first Dalit player to lead the then Hindu team. He led the team to series of victories in the period of 1923 to 1926. The Hindu team won the prestigious Bombay Quadrangular Cricket Trophy under his captaincy. Vitthal Palwankar's career spanned a long period of about 18 years from 1910 to 1928-29. Famous cricketer Vijay Merchant had praised him. Vitthal had mastered cricket and was known for cover drive and placing the ball. Vijay Merchant had written to Vitthal's son, "Very few of his generation, with the handicap that he suffered from (so called low-caste), would have risen to such heights but for great".

Another cricketer is Vinod Kambli, who has the record of the highest partnership in test cricket. Vinod did this with his school friend Sachin Tendulkar and his contribution in the said inning was 349. Vinod has also several records in his name.

Similarly Karsan Ghawri of Rajkot in Gujarat was the most reliable all rounder of the Indian cricket. He was the first Indian bowler to bowl left- arm medium pace and left-arm spin. Karsan Ghawri started a new kind of bowling which is known as 'quickish'.



While cricket craze in India is indisputable, we find several players from Scheduled Castes, which brought glory to the country because of their performance. P T Usha, known as "flying queen" is the first among these players. P T Usha came to the light in 1978 when she bagged six medals, including four gold, in inter-state junior competition.

She then set a new national record in 1981 Inter-State senior games by completing the 100 m sprint in 11.8 seconds and 200 m sprint in just 24.6 seconds. She then set another national record by winning a gold medal by completing the 4 x 100 m relay in 44.43 seconds, at the 1998 Asian Athletics Championship. Usha also represented the country in the 1982 Asian Games by winning silver medals in the 100m and 200m. She won a number of medals in international events, making the country proud. P T Usha's career had several ups and downs but she boosted confidence of Indian athletes, considered as her biggest contribution. P T Usha has been honoured with Padma Shri award for her contribution.

Currently Hima Das and Dhooti Chand are dominating athlete scene. Hima Das was recently appointed as DSP in Assam. The record set by her at the 2018 Asian Games for 400m in mere 50.79 seconds is a new national record. Hima Das was the first Indian athlete to win a Gold Medal at the IAAF World U20 Championship. She was also honoured with the Arjuna Award.

Dooti Chand was born in a weaver family, which was below poverty line. She is the resident of Chaka Gopalpur village of Jajpur district of Odisha. Dooti Chand is the current national champion for 100m. She is the first Indian athlete to win the gold medal in a global competition. She caught the attention of every Indian after winning a silver medal in the Jakarta Asian Games. She is also the first Indian sprinter to win a gold medal at the Universiade.

In Boxing, Tulsi Helen, another woman with Dalit background, had made her space. She is better known as India's Mohammad Ali because of her sharpness. Her real name is Tulsi Eknandam. She decided to become a boxer due to her sister. Her father wanted her to marry an elderly man, which she refused. She fled to her grand-parents and also refused to convert as insisted by her parents.

Tulsi Helen is nicknamed as "Indian woman Mohammad Ali" because of her fastest footwork and electrifying punches. She also defeated M C Mary Kom (India's legendary woman boxer) in 2011. Tulsi Helen had bagged about 30 medals by 2016. She always says about herself that "I am a one woman army".

Sumit Kumar is the another talented Dalit player who is a part of the Indian team of the national game - Hockey (field hockey). He, along with the yet another Dalit sports person Amit Rohidas from Odisha are currently playing in Tokyo Olympic in Japan. We also have another strong claimant of a medal participating at recent Paralympics to be played at Tokyo. Parul Parmar of Gandhinagar, Gujarat is also from the scheduled caste and a renowned para-badminton player. She has been at the top of the Para Badminton World Rankings for more than a decade. Her first place is so unique that her following competitor is about thousand points away from her. She stands fifth in doubles and sixth in mixed doubles. She has also been honoured with the Arjuna Award.

These are the players and athletes who are shining in the Indian sports by showing their talents. However, there are many such other players who are making their path ahead in their sports at their levels. There are lot many athletes who are hoping and expecting to glorify the country by showing their talents at international levels. There may be a lack of wide-spread interest in sports in Indian society, but it is certain that every athlete who makes his/her way ahead and shines the name of the country is given utmost respect by every Indian.

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New Education Policy: Reconstructing New India



The colonial education system was not only imposed by the British colonial government but also welcomed by the existing political units such as Indian National Congress, Communist leaders and Dalit leadership. Unfortunately, the colonial legitimacy of British education in India continued to get acceptance even after the political independence of the country.

**Dr. Sanjeev Kumar
Neha Singh**

The 41 st shloka of 19 th chapter of 1 st part of Vishnupurana mentions that “तत्कर्म यन्न बन्धाय सा विद्या या विमुक्तये। आयासायापरं कर्म विद्याऽन्या शिल्पनैपुणम्” (page 89), which means that “it is not action which leads to binding; that is knowledge which leads to liberation. All other actions are mere chores of arduousness; all other sciences are plain craftsmanship.

This liberating potential of Vedic teaching has its roots from the ancient Indian education system wherein the value of education was concerned with the complete transformation of human life. The vigour of ancient educational institutions such as Takshshila and Nalanda was internationally acclaimed and attracted international students to learn the values of life, culture and society. The world’s most prestigious intellectual heritage was attacked by Muslim invaders and British infiltrators. They straightforwardly targeted to destroying the educational and cultural heritage of India. They not only plundered the economy and capital but their main aim was to destroy the temples, cultural sites and educational institutions, structure (hardware) as well as syllabus (software).

William Bentick, the Governor-General of British India brought the English Education Act, 1835 through Macaulay. The introduction of modern education and English was the brainchild of Macaulay who endeavored to bring English at the expense of Indian languages like Sanskrit and Arabic. He came up with a discourse called civilizing the native in conformity to British colonial discourse. In his address to the British Parliament’s Committee of Public Instruction in 1813, Macaulay argued “for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and the introduction and promotion of knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories, a new educational structure was inevitable”.

The colonial education system was not only imposed by the British colonial government but also welcomed by the existing political units such as Indian National Congress, Communist leaders and Dalit leadership. Unfortunately, the colonial legitimacy of British education in India continued to get acceptance even after the political independence of the country. The first Prime Minister of Independent India, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru welcomed the colonial model of education, which was designed in a way that ignores the Indian knowledge system and learning, to appease few educated, middle class and higher caste beneficiaries. It is argued that since Sanskrit was the exclusive domain of higher castes- Brahmins,

the introduction of English education was in favor of the masses that democratized the education system and made it accessible to the historically marginalized sections of people- lower castes and untouchables. This democratization theory is valid to a certain extent but simultaneously it ignores value-based education, harmony, life-long learning and established individualism, professionalism and corruption. This has also failed to rescue learners from their caste, gender, religion and class biases. The English education system was never meant for the complete transformation of one's personality or humanity, thereby the English-western educated person across caste and class could not think to emancipate and harmonize the society in the post-independence India. In turn, it has hegemonized the youth to aspire to be a part of the colonial and post-colonial capitalist market system. Thus, the purpose of education remained to succumb to the idea of getting a job and earn a livelihood.

The exclusion of marginalized caste from the domain of learning Sanskrit has now been replaced by learning English and imitating what the western world

Such distortion in the Indian educational system has been both philosophically and structurally challenged by NEP 2020. The policy not only focuses on proficiency and professional excellence but also cares for the ethical development and generating self-respect among the students as well teachers. To ensure proficiency, it recommends establishing National Research Foundation (NRF) which will contribute in enhancing equality in higher studies.

is doing. Thus, the lower and marginalized people of the society have added their enslavement to global cultural force through the English education system along with the persistent caste-based exclusions in the educational spheres. This has resulted in decelerating the larger idea of transforming one's holistic value-based learning and empowerment across the sections of society in India. For example, the premier institutions such as IITs, IIMs, and Ashoka have not only failed to end caste and class-based discrimination but have also added language-based discrimination. In these institutions, the English language is not merely considered as a medium of expression but has become a symbol of modernity, sophistication, skill, merit and development.

The western education system which was customized with rigid and strict disciplinary boundaries for the colonies unfortunately continues after independence. The legacy of the colonial education system has almost destroyed the liberating intent of ancient education and knowledge system, which had enough flexibility and trans-disciplinary content. The introduction of New Education Policy,

2020 targets to undo the process by bringing equality, harmony, morality and excellence and challenge the legacies of colonial educational values' set during the colonial times. The objective of the NEP 2020 is not only to consolidate traditional values and knowledge into educational systems but also to meet the targets of Sustainable Development Goal 2030 and build character in students by 2040. It promises to resurge the value-based foundation of educational structure in India after Macaulay's conspiracy of 1835.

The NEP 2020 has many substantial values that not only redefine the objective but also the structure of the current education system. The first and foremost important structural change it has brought is the system of 5+3+3+4 which is much flexible and student-friendly as compared to the 10+2 old system. Secondly, NEP emphasizes on the use of regional languages along with other languages at the foundational level of education which will boost the confidence of a child in his early age or learning. This system shall be uniformly implemented across the board, state, region, urban, rural, caste, gender and class etc. By introducing the 5+3+3+4 structure of education, NEP not only transforms the fundamental logic of teaching but also makes it equally applicable at the national level. It also focuses on introducing history, geography, civics, environment, cleanliness and their history in the curricula at the early school education. Finally, the policy accentuates the making of education system more autonomous to enhance efficiency, creativity and a free environment of learning and teaching par excellence beating international educational competitors. To ensure transparency and equality in higher education, NEP 2020 presses on putting a check on the institutions such as MCI, ICAR, BCI, NCTE, which have developed corrupt practices. NEP 2020 suggests creating a Professional Standard Setting Body (PSSB) to evaluate the ranking of the above institutions.

The early 20th century social science was encountering an epistemological tension on the conflict between fact and value. The empiricists were of the view that objectivity cannot go together with value in scientific investigations. Whereas, the pragmatists such as John Dewey argued that a fact itself is factual knowledge. Thus, the empiricists claimed that science and values needs separation in the study of human behavior, institutions and knowledge production. Such a rupture was also justified in the colonial construction of the modern educational system, which established that efficiency, excellence and productivity cannot go together with values. This paradigm was challenged by the philosophers from 1960s onwards, who tried to combine both empiricisms with values in the epistemic domain of social sciences. The Benthamite utilitarianism combined with empiricist methodology was applied to construct the colonial policy of education under the guidance of Macaulay.

Such distortion in the Indian educational system has been both philosophically and structurally challenged by NEP 2020. The policy not only focuses on proficiency and professional excellence but also cares for the ethical development and generating self-respect among the students as well teachers. To ensure proficiency, it recommends establishing National Research Foundation (NRF) which will contribute in enhancing equality in higher studies. The objective of this institution is to promote India based fundamental researches that will add value to research and learning. The focus on India based teaching and research, both at the fundamental level and higher studies respectively, are the major objectives of NEP 2020. These transformations shall accelerate value-based teaching and learning environment with efficiency and productivity.

It has been popularized that cooperation is quite antithetical to competition. But NEP 2020 targets to distort this assumption by injecting models



of cooperation, profitability and competition. It highlights that the earlier model of education has been degree oriented, but now education has to be not only about character building but also should be job oriented. In this connect, keeping in mind the fact that by 2030, India shall have the highest young working population in the world, therefore job opportunities shall be provided to students just after the completion of 9th and 12th standard. This step shall help India in her journey of Atm Nirbhar Bharat. Therefore, enough emphasis has been given to professional education and skill development from the early age of education till the 12th. Moreover, now education and industry will be brought closer to help each other.

At present, the teaching is 'learner centric', but NEP 2020 emphasizes making it learning centric. It has been focused in NEP that the role of the teacher should be of a guide or torchbearer and the teachers, students and parents will have to perform their duties.

Teaching is not considered the exclusive domain of teachers but the role of society and parents are given special attention. It puts forward that education has less to do with the government and much to do with society. Therefore, the contribution of companies and industries to promote equal and effective education has been appreciated. Apart from the financial and social contribution in education, NEP 2020 focuses on developing creative teaching and learning environment in the schools and colleges. Therefore, disciplinary boundaries created by modernity and western education have been rejected and focused on the trans-disciplinary approach.

For long period, it has been argued that education is incomplete without discussing the arts and culture of society. S. N. Joshi argues that though the name of Ministry Human Resources Development has been changed to Education Ministry, it would have been a great visionary step if we could have adopted the term Ministry of education and culture. For him, absolute professionalism in education ignores the fundamental foundation of education that is culture and Sanskara. However, enough attention has been given to NEP to connect education and culture to develop the human personality and social reconstruction.

In this connection, it has been also observed that the institutions such as IIT, IIMs, ISC etc have become a matter of prestige for the students as compare to other institutions belonging to non-professional and scientific researches. Such a discriminatory division between science and social science or cultural studies have been sorted out by introducing the institutions such as Indian Institute of Liberal Arts-IILA, and Indian Institute of Translation and Interpretation (ITI). These institutions shall be granted equal importance, as compare to other institutions of eminence.

The colonial conspiracy to distort the Indian educational system has not only been redressed by the NEP 2020 but has also given enough attention to transform Indian education to lead the education system at the global level. Thus, by removing inegalitarian and structural lacunae at the domestic front, NEP 2020 targets to start branches of Indian institutions in other countries as well. The teachers from India shall visit international branches to impart Indian knowledge to the foreign students. In short, NEP 2020 targets to revive the value-based education system of ancient India and lead the world as Vishwa Guru to learn combining ethics, morality with efficiency and professionalism in the world of education.

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Debate on caste in India is significantly linked with occupation. It has been argued that caste system emerged out of Hinduism. This relationship of caste and occupation has been interlocked with each other. Various scholars have discussed the relationship between caste and occupation. They all have argued in some way or other way about hierarchy, discrimination, exclusion and inequality which exist in Indian caste system. The caste system in India is primarily based on idea of 'pure and impure'. However, it seems caste and occupation has interlocked with each other especially for the Dalit community.

Analytical framework of exclusion and discrimination

Payal Vidhuri



The caste system justified caste hierarchy and the practice of untouchability by referring to religious scriptures. The higher caste Hindus believed that lower caste people were untouchable and were part of the non-Aryan races. They were of low origin and were part of non-Aryan races. They are lower than Aryan and they did not have capabilities.

Ambedkar refused these stereotyped explanation of caste hierarchy. He gave a new interpretation of the caste and tried to create self-respect among the untouchables in a rational way. His significant works like "Who were Shudras?" and "The Untouchables" have dispelled all kinds of misconceptions about the untouchability.

For Ambedkar, caste system is not only a system of the religious principle of purity/untouchability, but also a system of marked inequalities. In his view, the caste system is also a gradation of right, privileges and opportunities. In his word "The higher the grade of a caste, the greater the number of these rights and the lower the grade, the lesser their number". The caste system is thus explained by him as a system including both the principle of purity/pollution and the graded inequalities. Ambedkar points out

the differentiation between inequality and graded inequality, which we have in our Indian caste system.

Graded inequality as equal to the hierarchy found in our Indian Caste system. This graded inequality in India exists in middle of Varna system. This graded inequality benefits those who belong to high caste in India. Those who are in lower strata of society called untouchables experience the inequality. Dr. Ambedkar used the term graded inequality, which is inherent in Indian caste system. But there is difference between graded inequality and hierarchy, which needs to be understood. It has become almost a commonplace understanding that caste refers to inequality, difference, discrimination, in the both theory and practice. It is, therefore, hardly contested when one speaks of caste system as a system of unequal distribution of privileges or dis-privileges.

Caste becomes a social reward for some and a punishment for others, where the mode of rewarding or punishing is strictly based on birth. However, the question of the nature and the intensity of the caste privileges and dis-privileges often produce visible disagreement among the students of caste. Scholars continue to ponder over the larger and ever elusive, issue of how caste manages to produce inequities in different settings despite the constitutional. In short, who gets what, and how by virtue of one's location

still remains the all-important question.

However, the focus on caste-class nexus is not denying the relevance of other kinds of productive resources (social, political, cultural and symbolic) in perpetuating caste inequalities in a specific context. Wealth, income, occupation, prestige, esteem, speech, dress, manner, and appearance: all of these can prove to be the resources that determine the material outcomes in the context of community.

Gandhiji was continuously and deeply preoccupied with the problem of untouchability. He said that untouchability is the utmost flaw on Hinduism. He clearly and categorically affirmed. His writings in Young India and Harijan are full of such strong and unqualified denunciations of untouchability.

I take it that Gandhiji, as a discerning action realized that a change in attitude towards the untouchables was necessary to deal with the problem of untouchability. Associated with these brethren of ours was the first step and then helping them grow to be better human the next.

Dr. Ambedkar, however, was a bitter critic of Gandhiji ideas and actions regarding the problem of untouchability. Dr. Ambedkar points out that Hindus had enough helpful strength towards the untouchables and that they would show it by their generous contributions towards their uplift. The second, was to serve up the untouchable by helping them in the many difficulties with which they faced in their daily life. The third was to create in the minds of the untouchables, a sense of confidence. But none of the object has been realized. This was an attack that Dr. Ambedkar made to the futility of Gandhiji's ideas, which he considered inadequate for the eradication of untouchability.

Caste in India is bivalent collectivity. It is rooted in economic disadvantage group and religiously excluded and segregated. In India lowest castes are associated with the most stigmatized occupations. Caste embodied in several forms of devaluation of groups which are associated with lowest caste. Caste legitimates various forms of injustice including physical harm. Within the caste system any kind of touching, dining, marriages are inherited in higher caste being a pollutant.

In India, Dalits are placed lowest in the caste hierarchy. People who belong to lower caste are forced to do unclean jobs. The practice of manual scavenging in public and private dry toilets and open drains continue in several parts of India. India's central government has approved legislative policy efforts to end manual scavenging. Because these policies are not implemented properly, people who are engaged in this job, face serious social pressures. They are threatened by upper caste people. They face the risk of violence and expulsion from their village. People who work as manual scavengers are not accepted as dignified workers. The work is associated with particular caste and it, carries the social stigma that they are unclean or 'untouchable'.

In India scavengers and sweepers still carry out the basic sanitary services in cities and towns. Indian society has been exploitative, unfair and unjust to the weakest among the weak. Caste is a prominent base of inequality.

The association between caste and occupation is not a new phenomenon. Caste is linked with Occupation that exists in traditional societies. It exists since ages and it is there in the beginning of the Hindu caste system. The caste system clearly divides the different castes that have specific duties and role to play. Caste system in India has survived for hundreds of years. It is system in which people are classified according to their birth in the society.

Scavengers are the lowest among the low. They suffer from discrimination. They carry the stigma of untouchability since ages. Scavengers are discriminated by orthodox people. The Brahminical origin of caste system has been greatly emphasized. The whole caste system bears unmistakable evidence of Brahminical origin. The priests were therefore strongest advocates of caste system. They applied the principle of exclusion/inclusion vigorously to

The association between caste and occupation is not a new phenomenon. Caste is linked with Occupation that together exists in traditional societies. It exists since ages and it is there in the beginning of the Hindu Varna system. Caste system in India has survived for hundreds of years. It is system in which people are classified according to their birth in the society.

strengthen their position in society. Such a process of selection/ rejection resulted into diversification of caste, occupational and ritual structure.

The British Government did not discourage the malfunctioning of the system but rather encouraged its distorted continuity by according higher status to certain group, granting titles, land etc. In the British period, social mobility particularly among the lower caste was so weak that they could not be considered an attack on the atrocities of the caste system. The system was never based on universalistic principles of division of labour, justice, equality and dignity of work. The British in India discouraged the continuity of the functions of the caste system. The mass-poverty, mass-illiteracy and mass-unemployed/ underemployment are distinctive characteristics of an underdeveloped society. The Dalit condition is that of destitution and dehumanization. Dalits have been treated as out castes, declared ritually unclean and hence, untouchables and pushed out for fear of pollution to live on the outskirts of villages.

There is notion of purity and pollution in caste system. There are many reasons in Indian society that particular caste is discriminated by other castes in the name of purity and pollution. There are many



ways to explain purity and pollution. Notion of purity and pollution is very complex. The notion of purity and pollution only exist in Hindu society. There are other societies which have the same notion in different forms. One of the greatest problems that have to be tackled in our country is sanitation. In the process of socialization, the feeling of 'inferiority and superiority', upper and lower' have been internalized right from the beginning at home as well as outside. The label of purity and pollution is attributed to occupations as well as people. The social, economic and ritual factors are adopted in determining the prestige of an occupation, particularly in India. This concept of purity and pollution is deeply entrenched among different castes, religious groups, and regions. In Indian society, high status is associated with purity and low status with pollution.

Conclusion :

Scavengers are not a single caste in Indian social system traditionally and instead is a product of the urban social system as an occupational group. Agrarian society was largely based on self-reliance and mutual cooperation and did not condemn any one to an inhuman status. Those who did dirty jobs lived outside the village and were considered non-citizens. Scavenging that is cleaning of latrines, roads, public places and carrying of night-soil are a need of an urban society and hence the scavengers as an occupational group emerged in cities. Gradually, the occupation became hereditary and later it degenerated into a socially condemned out caste group.

Gandhiji was concerned with the uplift and emancipation of all people in the lower rung of the society. These included the manual workers, service functionaries and those engaged in low occupations.

The then Bhangis as the lowest amongst the low were his first concern. Gandhiji said that the function of the then Bhangi is similar to the function of the mother, who cleans and sweeps the house, cleans the soiled clothes is always ready to clean all that is unclean in the house.

In modern society there is a complete change in the concept and technology of civic sanitation. We have flush latrines (even with auto-wash facilities), underground sewers with pressure water to flush the drains and sewers, machines to eject dirt and filth from sewers, automatic sewerage disposal plants, water-recycling units and sewerage drying, packing and reprocessing plants for making them useful reusable material. This is no more manual, dirty, sub-human work or occupation, in technological societies. It has become a highly technical job employing high level of technology, modern equipments and gadgets and qualified personnel.

But in Indian society, it is condemned as a caste occupation. First, this requires elimination of the need of manual scavenging and instead introducing technology and automation in tasks relating to scavenging and sewerage disposal. Secondly, to raise the socio-economic status of the scavenger's caste/class for which purpose their educational and skill levels should be improved and they should be encouraged to enter into alternative occupations.

The vast number of people has suffered various forms of social and historical discrimination and disabilities. They followed occupations and performed functions, which are considered degrading and accorded a low status in society. The notion and practice of untouchability, accompanied by the declared unclean occupation, acute material poverty and denial of social and economic opportunities aggravated their social and economic opportunities and sufferings. Linkages of the caste system with birth meant that one had to choose a particular occupation not because he happened to be born into a particular attitude or innate endowment for it, but simply because he happened to be born into a particular family or caste. The hierarchical caste system determined the social status, which was extremely low for these groups of people. Caste determined not only occupation but also the customs and rituals regarding birth, marriage, death and in fact a whole way of life. The caste system did provide for various kinds of essential functions ranging from priesthood to scavenging.

The sanction of religion and the doctrine of karma rendered the inequitable distribution of status and function acceptable. Whatever may have been the justification for this obnoxious practice in the past, this system has no place after the passage of our Constitution, which has declared all people as equals without any difference on the basis of caste or creeds.

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Dalit Women in Bihar - Away from education



It is observed that teachers have been told that Dalit students cannot learn unless they are beaten up. Different studies have shown that non-attendance, sporadic participation and carelessness by educators are the reasons because of which parents are reluctant to send their kids to the schools. In many places, Dalit children are asked by the educators to do their domestic work and even are flogged on some occasions.

Aditi Narayani



The status of communities as untouchables in the Hindu rank framework was the most serious obstruction to their education. While stringent social taboos con-scribe their conduct, serious strictures were set down to limit their entrance to information. It is said of a few networks that they were denied from walking on the streets in sunlight in light of the fact that even their shadow was unwanted.

While one may comprehend the battles of first-age school-and school goes, even second-age Dalit under studies could not change the situation. This was the situation in the mid twentieth century when a handful of Dalit women began going to schools, when there were relatively few schools around. At the essential instruction level, however enrolment mirrors the decent variety in the structure of understudy populace, it does not give any equivalence between the Dalits and non-Dalits. There are variations among Dalits in all regards – it may involve gender or rural/urban or any other factors. It is very shameful fact that, even today, Dalit people are at the base of the instructive pyramid, irrespective

of the claims made by politicians and administration. This leaves deep impact on the social, economic and political life of Bihar.

Bihar has a tendency to be the most appalling storehouse of the brutalities of the station framework. The changes and separations activated in the wake of collaboration among free enterprise and semi-feudalism has neglected to adjust the fundamental shapes of its onerous social structure. In Bihar, caste appears to keep up its quality as “a dead weight keeping down not just the financial and political but rather likewise the social and good improvement of society and notwithstanding putting its engraving on the new developing classes”.

Dalits have been the most exceedingly terrible sufferers in the exploitative structure. No area of life is such, where fairness is concurred to them in connection with bosses in rank hierarchy. Discrimination against Dalits in the instructive framework is seen at every level. Distance, social avoidance, and physical manhandle take place at all levels of training. Lack of education and drop-out rate among Dalits is high because of various social and physical components. Various laws, enacted in this regard, have limitations and not enforced

effectively. Because of discrimination, Dalit children are forced to drop out of the schools in Bihar. One of the primary issues is the prejudicial practises directed by instructors, which may incorporate whipping, dissent of access to class water supplies and isolation in classrooms. Dalit youngsters confront oppressive people, who feel education to Dalit is risky to retain their power and command.

Albeit all women in India confront separation and sexual terrorizing, according to the UN “the human privileges of Dalit women are disregarded in curious and outrageous structures. Stripping, bare strutting, station mishandle, hauling out nails and hair, sexual subjugation and servitude are a couple of structures impossible to miss to Dalit women”. These women live under a type of politically-sanctioned racial segregation, separation and social prohibition is a main consideration, denying them access to normal property assets like land, water and occupation sources, causing rejection from schools, spots of love and regular feasting.

In 2005, the Special Rapporteur on the privilege to training, Mr. Vernor Munoz, throws light on difficult circumstances, under which young Dalit girls go. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has harped on the need for more

Despite the existence of strong legal provisions, Dalit population has found it virtually impossible to access their rights through the legal system. The implementation of such measures continues to be highly inadequate.

strategies to exercise their fundamental human rights. The strategy should cover issues like dropout among the girls and low enrolment even though governments in Asia and Africa address the basic reasons for them. In one such nation proficiency levels are most reduced among Dalit young women - 24.4 percent in contrast with the national normal of 42.8 percent for the female populace. In the Mushahar Dalit people group, scarcely nine percent of Dalit women are proficient. It is observed that teachers have been told that Dalit students cannot learn unless they are beaten up. Different studies have shown that non-attendance, sporadic participation and carelessness by educators are the reasons because of which parents are reluctant to send their kids to the schools. In many places, Dalit children are asked by the educators to do their domestic work and even are flogged on some occasions.

According to 2001 census, the literacy rate among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was 54.69 per cent and 47.10 per cent, respectively. Literacy rate of SC females contrasted with overall public was much lower in the conditions of Bihar (15.58 per cent), Jharkhand (22.55 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (30.50 per cent) and Rajasthan (33.87per cent). The literacy rate of ST females is amazingly low in Bihar (15.54per

cent). According to 2001 statistics the Literacy rate was most minimal for SCs in Bihar (28.47 per cent) and most astounding in Mizoram (89.20 per cent). and for STs it was least in Bihar (28.17 per cent) and most highest in Mizoram (89.34per cent).

Some reasons are being observed for drop out and lower enrolment. Firstly, majority of the women, at very early stage, are required to help in domestic work and are engaged in activities to earn money. Secondly, they undergo some unpleasant experiences because of their castes. Thirdly, even if a Dalit girl is enrolled in the school, she is forced to do domestic work like washing utensils and cleaning house. Fourthly, Dalit girls also have bitter experience like sexual harassment. As a result, Dalit girls end up with getting married early and their education is discontinued.

At higher level, Dalit girls are dropped out mainly because of sexual violence, castiest remarks, discrimination in grading and lack of guidance. It is also observed that involvement of Dalit women in various jobs is also low because of the above factors.

The Indian Constitution banned the practice of untouchability under Article 17 and the Schedule Caste/ Schedule Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act), 1989 was introduced to combat persecution and discrimination against Dalits. Despite the existence of these strong legal provisions, Dalit population has found it virtually impossible to access their rights through the legal system. The implementation of such measures continues to be highly inadequate.

Below are examples of the non-enforcement of special measures and barriers to effectively improving the educational status of the Dalits in India :

Reservation policies and quotas for Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes in India only apply to public schools, and not private schools.

In higher educational institutions 15 per cent of seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes. This is also the case in technical educational institutions. However, in technical and professional courses in higher education, some reserved seats remain unfilled. Universities often fail to follow the guidelines set up for Dalit students by the University Grant Commission (UGC).

The widespread discrimination against Dalits throughout the entire educational system indicate that more needs to be done by governments to ensure implementation of laws, programmes and quotas.

Despite a few steps taken by the government for the rights of Dalits, much more needs to be done, especially for Dalit women. Problems in making education available to Dalit girls, needs to be identified and addressed. Traditional skills of Dalit women needs to be updated and marketed in view of the rising awareness and inspirations among Dalits. It will empower Dalit women.

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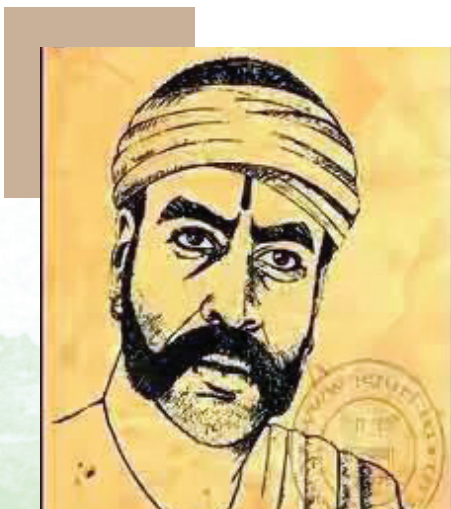


Forgotten Heroes of Berad/Ramoshi Community

The freedom struggle was a mass movement and the people from all walks of the life participated in it, keeping aside their social and economic class. Unfortunately, however, the country has no adequate information about those, who led freedom struggle from the front and belong to the deprived communities. One such community is Berad-Ramoshi community in Maharashtra. Berad-Ramoshi community is known as Boyas in Andhra Pradesh and Bedar in Karnataka.



Raje Umaji Naik



Hari Makaji Naik

Sunil Jadhav

Seventy-fifth anniversary of independence day deserves for celebration for every individual, who is proud to be an Indian. Freedom struggle was not easy but full of difficulties. Lakhs of Indian sacrificed their lives to free India from the clutches of British rule.

The freedom struggle was a mass movement and the people from all walks of the life participated in it, keeping aside their social and economic class. Unfortunately, however, the country has no adequate information about those, who led freedom struggle from the front and belong to the deprived communities. One such community is Berad-Ramoshi community in Maharashtra. Berad-Ramoshi community is known as Boyas in Andhra Pradesh and Bedar in Karnataka. In Maharashtra, the term Berad is synonymous to dare devil person, which is obviously related to Berad community.

Berad community demonstrated its extra ordinary courage and braveness in the

revolutionary activities and independence activities. Veer Bahirji Naik, who headed intelligence wing during the period of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, belonged to Ramoshi community. Adyakrantiveer Umaji Naik, also belonged to Ramoshi community.

Because of their commitment for the freedom and patriotism, Ramoshi community was declared as "Criminal" under the act of Criminal Tribes Act, 1871. Unfortunately, the move was not opposed by the people. To add to the pain, it was liked by some of them. Some of the provisions of the said act were such atrocious that nobody would have imagined them.

Some of the provisions of Criminal Tribes Act, 1871, are mentioned below, which shows how British rule tried to suppress the tribes, which were actively involved in the freedom struggle.

1. Permission should be obtained from police while shifting from one location to other.
2. Govt. could send the group of people outside the bounds of a certain area.
3. Govt. got the right to

form a settlement and keep the groups of people there.

All these rules were strictly in force, making the life of Ramoshi community miserable. They were also under constant watch by the local authorities. Scholars argue that Ramoshi community became socially, economically and politically backward because of this act.

The act was repealed five years after independence – 1952. However, it was replaced by Habitual Offender Act. As a rule, Ramoshi community, is still carrying the stigma of “criminal”. In absence of any written history, Ramoshi community is yet to come out of its misery.

Innumerable Berad-Ramoshi community members



The body of Krantiveer Umaji Naik was hanged on this tree in Pune after he was hanged to death inside the jail premises. The body was hanged at public place to create terror among the public.

sacrificed their lives in revolt against the British rule. History knows very few of them. Some of them are:

1. **1820-1831-** Umaji Naik, Bhujaji Naik, Krushnaji Naik and Pandu Naik. They revolted in Pune, Nagar, Nasik, Satara, Solapur and Konkan. Most of the participants in these revolts were Ramoshis.
2. **1817-** Gokak, Pachapur regions in Karnataka, Nayaks organized and rebelled. They were mostly Berads.
3. Revolt of Kittur Channamma and Sangoli Rayanna in Karnataka had mostly Berads,
4. **1817-** Trimbak Dengale’s revolt in Pune by sardars

in Peshvai - mostly had Ramoshi, Bhil, Koli etc.

5. **1845-1850:** Umaji Naik’s Sons Tukaram and Mankala revolted against British.
6. **1857** - Uprising of Rango Bapuji in Satara was in the name of Chatrapati of Satara. Centers established for recruitment where Ramoshi, Koli and Mang were in majority. Two Madane Brothers of Ramoshi wadi (Koregaon Satara) and Nana Ramoshi of Kundal were blown by cannon. Many Ramoshis from Tasgaon in Bijapur Taluka participated.
7. **1844-50-** Tukaram and Mahankal, two sons of Umaji Naik revolted.
8. **1857-** Berads of Village Halgali in Bijapur district of Karnataka revolted against disarming act. As many as 19 Berads were hanged at Mudhol.
9. **1857-** Raja Venkappa Nayak of Shurpur in Gulbarga district of Karnataka rebelled. He died in the struggle.
10. **1870- 1880** Rebellion of Vasudev Balwant Phadake had most of Ramoshis as participants. Head was

Berad community demonstrated its extraordinary courage and braveness in the revolutionary activities and independence activities. Veer Bahirji Naik, who headed intelligence wing during the period of Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, belonged to Ramoshi community. Adykrantiveer Umaji Naik, also belonged to Ramoshi community.

Daulati Naik, who died in fight against Capt. Daniel in Tisubai Hills.

11. **1879-** Hari Makaji and Tatya Makaji : They united Ramoshis of Satara and revolted against British. Hari Makaji Naik was hanged at Jejuri near Pune.
12. **1910** - Veer Sindhur Laxman rebelled against Sansthanik at Jat in Sangli district of Maharashtra and surrounding areas of Karnatak and British killed him by treachery.
13. Vajya - Baijya - fought against Saranjamdar at Kukudwad Dist Satara.
14. In 1942’s quit India movement parallel government, popularly known as Patri sarkar, was formed in Satara district of Maharashtra. It was dominated by members of Ramoshi community from Satara and Sangli district.

Despite having lack of any availability of written record, Ramoshi community is proud of its sacrifice. British officer, who captured Adykrantiveer Umaji Naik, had written a diary, in which he had written about Ramoshi community and life of Umaji Naik, who was hanged in 1832, is one of documents, which thorws some light on little known Ramoshi-Berad community.

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Syajirao
Gaikwad

Dalits were living in very poor conditions, their interaction with others in the society was reduced because of untouchability. Its evidence is found in Surat. On February 18, 1843 a person of Valmiki Samaj of Surat dared to ask famous social reformer Shri Durgaram Mehtaji saying, “Why you can’t touch us when you can touch Muslims?”.

Gujarat : Role of Dalits in freedom struggle and social reformation

Dr. Arun Vaghela

Despite having sizable population – 7.5 per cent – Dalit history in Gujarat is a neglected area by the researchers. The reason attributed for this trend is that lack of adequate resources, needed for the research and writing Dalit history. Important research areas such as social transformation and struggle for independence of the nation and involvement of Dalit leaders of Gujarat have remained almost unexplored in the history. The current article is an attempt to throw light on the neglected aspect of the said issue. It will also try to provide Dalit perspective to the freedom struggle in connection with freedom fight.

History of India is very ancient. Some of the castes among Shudras, having existence since the ancient times, were placed with a tag of Dalit over a period of time. The first ever evidence of building history by them is found from Vedic literature as found in Dashragya Yuddha found around 1400 B.C., wherein evidence is seen that Shudra Raja Sudas had led that

battle, which is mentioned by Dr B.R. Ambedkar in his book - “Who were Shudras”. Gujarat, situated on the western coast of India, is an important State as regards to Dalit population. Since the middle age, there has been very rich and proud tradition of saints and Bhaktas in Gujarat and therefore only Aadi Kavi Narsinh Mehta used to go to Harijan Vaas of Junagadh to sing his famous Bhajan “Vaishnav Jan To Tene Kahiye Je Pid Parai Jane Re”. Thereafter, so many Dalit saints like Dasi Jivan and Khim Saheb have taken cultural tradition of Gujarat to new heights and its impact can be still experienced. These saints have enriched Gujarat tradition.

British established their rule in India in 19th century, which resulted into drastic changes in the fabric of Indian society. Even as India witnessed some modernization like printing press and means of communication, there was no any major change in the lives of Dalits as mentioned by Dr. Ambedkar. Some writers and historians have described miserable lives of Dalits in Gujarat in 19 century. While Dalits were living in very poor conditions, their interaction

with others in the society was reduced because of untouchability. Its evidence is found in Surat. On February 18, 1843 a person of Valmiki Samaj of Surat dared to ask famous social reformer Shri Durgaram Mehtaji saying, " Why you can't touch us when you can touch Muslims?". Entry of Dalits in schools was prohibited that time and students used to leave the schools if Dalits are allowed there. Sanjay Prasad has said in his book that higher caste people had to apologize for attending a dinner, which was organized in Hirabag in Ahmedabad as it was open for all the castes. People from so called higher castes were boycotted by others because of their inclination toward Dalits.

Roots of social reformation can be seen even before 19th century. The issue of untouchability was discussed by them. For example, social reformer of Surat Durgaram Mehtaji started the discussion for having humane treatment to the Dalits. Similarly, wide-spread efforts of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad of Vadodara, were towards removal of untouchability and upliftment of Dalit. Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad

The period from 1920 to 1948, is known as Gandhian era. During this period, mass-movements like non-cooperation, civil disobedience and Quit India movement took place. Participation of Dalits in Gujarat was significant in all these agitations. Prior to these movements, some Dalit leaders were active in the agitations. For example Purushottam Jethalal Solanki of Prantij participated in all the movements and was under ground during Quit India movement.

had taken an initiative in starting schools for Dalits and to create and develop infrastructural facilities for them. History of financial assistance given by the Vadodara State to Babasaheb Ambedkar for going abroad is known to everybody. Sayajirao had made efforts to start the schools for Dalits but teachers were not ready to educate Dalit children. As a result, Sayajirao Gaikwad had to call Arya Samaj follower Atmaram Amrutsari from Amritsar of Punjab and started Dalit education. Besides Dalit education, he had appointed Dalit leaders in the Assembly of Vadodara State and had placed the best example of Kalyan Rajya (Welfare State). Sayajirao was deeply influenced by Arya Samaj. Under his guidance Aryasamaj followers like Nagjibhai Arya and Govindji accelerated Dalit activities. Through their collective efforts in the year 1938 as many as 20,873 Dalit students were studying and it was a big achievement.

Dalits and struggle of 1857 :

Struggle of 1857 is one of the most important events of Indian history. In this struggle, cities and villages and Dalits as well as Adivasis have given their valuable contribution. Today Zalkaribai – the assistant

of Queen Laxmibai of Jhansi, has become famous all over India. Historians have started accepting the role of the young Yalmik Matadin as an inspire of the first martyr Mangal Pande of the struggle of 1857. It was an attempt to mobilize the whole country towards the path of revolution through a message of Roti (bread) and Kamal (lotus) during the struggle of 1857 and Valimikis had discharged their duties as strong messenger in the struggle. They had sent the symbol of Roti and Kamal to all the villages and expanded the purview of the struggle. Unfortunately names of such Dalits are not available today.

It is generally assumed that Dalits in Gujarat did not have any role in pre-Gandhiji period. This is not the fact. Let us see some examples : Dalits of Ahmedabad had shown their revolting temperament even prior to Mahatma Gandhiji. In the year 1895, workers of mills were on strike and Dalit workers also had their lions' contribution in the same. Similarly, on September 14, 1911 local Valmiks and cleaning workers of Ahmedabad Municipality were on historic strike. Their leaders were handcuffed and produced before the court and they were punished for one month rigorous imprisonment. In the year 1917, Gandhiji joined the agitation by mill workers in Ahmedabad. But we have to consider the fact that mill workers had already joined the agitation and Gandhiji joined it at later stage. The year 1917 is very significant. In this year, Antyaj Parishad was convened on November 3, 1917 in Godhra, headquarter of Panchmahal district, as a political gathering. This Parishad was held in Dalit community area and emerged as a milestone in the struggle against untouchability in Gujarat. After this Parishad, Mamasahab Phadke – a Chittpavan Brahmin of Maharashtra, started a school in Godhra for Dalit children. A number of children studied in this school and developed nationalist mind. Some of them were even imprisoned for their participation in Gandhian agitation. Mahendrabhai Chauhan, a Valmik youth had participated in Quit India movement and was jailed.

In 1917, mill workers in Ahmedabad started strike for rise in the salaries, which was supported by Gandhiji. The strike turned into a massive agitation because of massive support due to the support by leaders like Gandhiji, Ansuyaben Sarabhai, Shankarlal Banker and Keshavji Vaghela. Finally, mill owners were forced to accept the demands of the workers and involvement of Dalit workers was very significant in the said agitation.

In Quit India movement, workers were on strike for a long period of three months. This is considered as a major milestone in trade union movement.

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Solanki of Prantij participated in all the movements and was under ground during Quit India movement.

Participation of Dalits in the struggle for independence was increased after the civil disobedience movement. Forefront among them were Muldas Vaishya, who was popularly known as 'Guruji', was the symbol of Samrasta (social cohesion). His contribution was significant in the co-ordination activities in Gujarat. For example, in fourth Antyaj Parishad, convened in Ahmedabad in 1920, he had said, "In the country, We (Dalits) constitute one fifth of the population. If Savarna (high caste) Hindus will keep us away, we shall not be useful for the country. Accept us within you, just as water mixes into the milk". He had strongly opposed conversion of Dalits.

Muldas Vaishya had participated in quit India movement and also in movement for entry of Dalits in temples and in Motor Satyagrah. Over a period of time, about 84 Dalit men and women, who were original natives of Gujarat but were residing in Mumbai had actively participated in Swarajya Yagya, Prominent among them were Ramjibhai Badhiya, Jayantibhai Gohil, Govindbai Sinol, Shyamji Nanji Marwadi, Laljibhai Parmar, Laljibhai Kalidas Parmar, Chhaganlal Jadav, Nagjibhai Arya, Laxmiben Marutidas, Jethiben Vankar and Nirmalaben Dudhabhai Solanki. As movement for freedom got momentum, participation of Dalits in it was swelling.

Gandhiji did not merely aim for political independence but also insisted upon self-reliance. This, invariably consists removal of untouchability and overall development of Dalits. Gandhiji set up an Aashram in Ahmedabad, which was named as Harijan

Aashram. This was followed by other parts in Gujarat, creating an atmosphere of social harmony. Volunteers like Mamasheeb Phadke, Amrutlal Thakkar, Thakkar

Bapa, Parikshitlal Majmudar and Indulal Yagnik were involved in these activities. A large number of Dalit volunteers including Keshavji Vaghela, Purushottam Solanki, Muldas Vaishya, Chhabildas Gurjar, Nagardas Shrimali were also associated with these activities, including removal of untouchability and development of Dalits.

Dr. Ambedkarian Dalit activities :

Dr. Ambedkar left a deep impact on Dalits in Gujarat. A number of Dalits had shifted to Mumbai and were greatly influenced by Dr. Ambedkar. As a result, thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar spread in Gujarat in a short period. Purushottam Govindji Solanki, Chhatrasinh Lalji Utekar, Chhabildas Sukhabhai Masekar, Govindji Tabhabhai Parmar, Zinabhai Muljibhai Rathodand Nanji Marwadi were the first among the Gujarat Dalits, who spread Ambedkarian thoughts in Gujarat. They had taken up issues like like injustice with Dalits with regard to schools, hostels, Dalit Mandal, libraries and caste.

Even as Dr. Ambedkar had considerable following in Gujarat, the state was deeply influenced by Gandhiji for a long time – till 1984-85 – when anti-reservation agitation began. This is also fact that Congress leaders had opposed Dr. Ambedkar's visit to Ahmedabad. They had even raised black flags to protest Dr. Ambedkar's visit at Kalupur railway station.

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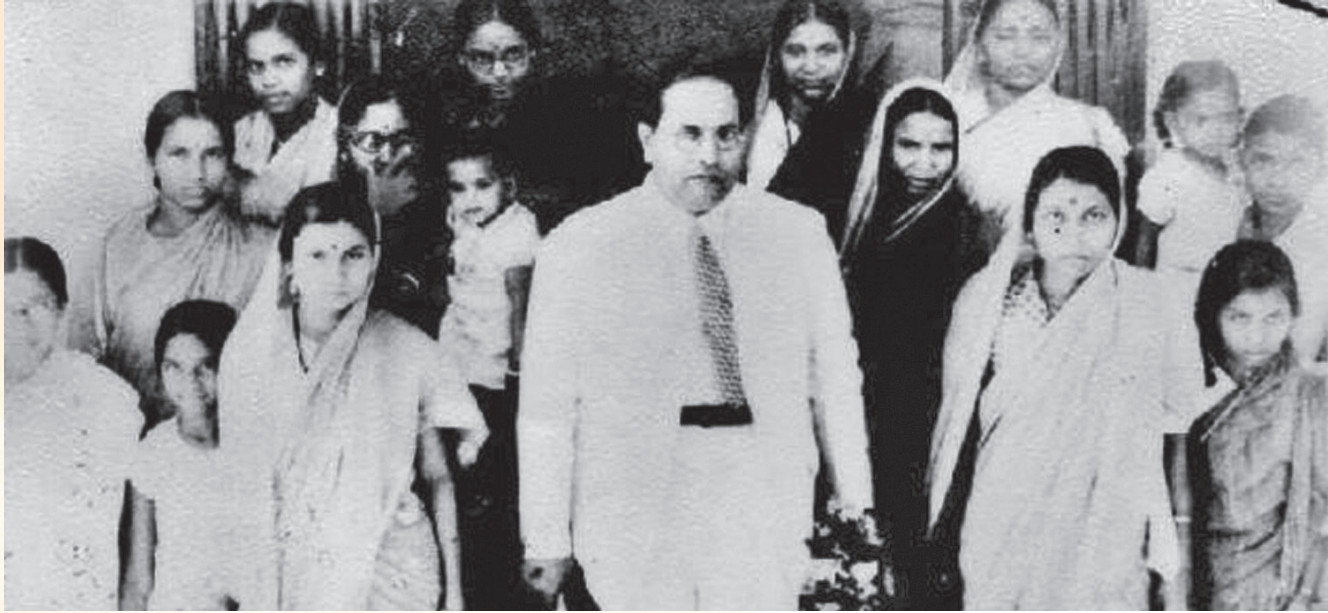
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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar fought for women's rights through Hindu Code Bill.

Relevance of Hindu Code Bill in feminist discourse

Neha Singh



Dr. Ambedkar's prism on women's issue was based not only on the social category but also suggested, "... formal and informal political opportunities, organizational structures and strategies and frames and feelings carrying gender meanings that have often been disregarded by purportedly general theories which have in practice studied men."

To explore the feminist discourse, it becomes important to analyze the relationship of the individual in the society. According to Dr. Ambedkar, in a free society, the individual and not the society is an end in himself or herself, and the aim and object of the society is the growth of the individual and the development of her personality. Society is not above the individual and if the individual has to subordinate himself/herself to the society, it is because such subordination is for his/her betterment and only to the extent necessary.

From 1916 seminal work titled 'Castes in India: Genesis, Mechanism and Development' to the Hindu Code Bill in 1936, Dr. Ambedkar engaged himself with the question of women at various occasions as he believed that the women are the denominator of

the society. He understood that 'the social' was very important in an individual's life and that none can skip it. However, being pragmatic in his approach, he wanted a framework of a society that was based upon equality and respect.

For this, he sought to challenge the existing imbalance in the patriarchal social structure of the society in two ways. Firstly, he wanted development of an individual based upon reason and values and secondly he wanted to promote associations to consolidate egalitarianism. Thus, through his work Dr. Ambedkar tried to emancipate women in the social, political and other aspects of the society in India by interweaving his understanding of the identity of woman with the society.

He used the modern ethical norm to formulate and conceptualize the identity of woman in the society through

social emancipation, empowerment and emphasizing on the individual's autonomy as a political agent. Through this, he emphasized upon how the social and political models have synthesized and resulted into enriching the potential of the women in the Indian society.

For enabling a better understanding of Dr. Ambedkar on the position of women, we will discuss various theoretical approaches on the debates over the social and the political issues while highlighting their meanings, differences and similarities and look for the reflections in the contemporary feminist discourses.

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He exposed the dynamics of the women studies in both social and political categories. He, therefore, constructed solidarity on the basis of the processes of the gender dynamics and had an inter sectional understanding of caste, class, race, nation and other potential identities that could influence/affect the women's position in the society. Dr. Ambedkar's, this approach, had the following significant features. First, unlike the former nationalists, who forced their opinions on the women, Dr. Ambedkar while working on the women's issues within the peripheral of the liberal polity, did not forget to emphasize upon the autonomy and right of choice of religion to the women as a cultural and social member. Dr. Ambedkar, on the personal grounds, profusely objected to the Hinduism as it was a Religion of Rules and turned towards Buddhism, the religion of Principles.

Dr. Ambedkar not only gave critical reflections on Hinduism and how it institutionalized the patriarchy and discriminated against women. But he did not leave his analysis of Hinduism there, but also gave his alternate modifications of the Hindu culture to the women in his Hindu Code Bill. He, thus, gave women the option to either renounce the membership of the Hindu community and convert to Buddhism or through the implementation of the Hindu Code Bill reconstitute their membership in the Hindu community.

In 1935, at Yeola conference, Dr. Ambedkar said, "I have regard and reverence for all religions...people are at liberty to seek and embrace whatever religion they wish in the interests of their spiritual welfare".

Thus, he "offered the first systematic critique of the nation state project; it returned the study of Indian political thought to the traditional dualist perspectives; the problem of modern political regimes as resting upon an unencumbered self or as communities defining selves and personhoods". This way, he wanted to encapsulate the social change.

Second, important significance of Dr. Ambedkar's approach to the women's question was that it relied on the interaction between the social and political institutions. He believed that the women's issues like marriage, divorce etc must not only have social relevance but also "...have practical effects on the social world, which is so neatly intertwined with the political in present day India."

He wanted equality as well as civil rights for those who, were deprived for centuries. He believed that, "Greater permeability of political categories and more nuanced evaluation of the performance of the economy would shed better light on the socio-political transformation of India". Thus, the next question stems up is what was the nature of the politics of gender discrimination offered within the Hindu Code Bill. Was it social or political in nature?

Dr. Ambedkar and the Hindu Code Bill

The Bill was important because through it, Dr. Ambedkar tried to, "...develop a concept of social justice and security of its own kind along with political equality and sought its due place in the constitutional law of India. For his relentless struggle Dr. Ambedkar is known as social reformer who, throughout his life, wrote extensively on the political and social problems facing Indian society".

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Through the Bill, he tried to integrate the women in the mainstream society. "The idea of representation, therefore, carried within it, the seeds of profound alternation in the existing configuration of social relations. Representatives not merely in the making of the public decisions, but also, largely deciding, how the public decisions have to be made. Besides, modes of decision making may prop up a social group (women) to interact with others, seriously questioning the identity and striving of another".

Dr. Ambedkar's vision through the Hindu Code Bill was to bind the existing numerous languages, religions, sects and customs into one. "The idea was not to integrate the small into the big but to create equal relationships. The scope and sweep of the imagination of India was broad, not just geographically but psychologically too. It was to be an open space... it had yet to be developed the ability to hear the long-repressed voices of the Dalits and understand the Adivasis".

It was to create a public/social space for multiple identities and adding the flavour of responsiveness. It would have played "...a major role not merely in responding to, but reconciling conflicts of opinion



Fading Kamangar art in Gujarat

Torch bearers within and beyond : Making of NEW India

Adhya B. Saxena

In government records some communities are termed as un-skilled and semi-skilled class. For their upliftment on the path of modernization and development aids are provided and training is imparted for survival and development. However, in this process they are taken far away from their roots which lead to irreparable loss to the indigenous knowledge system.

Sayajirao III, Ruler of the erstwhile State of Baroda, in one of the speeches before independence stated, "The progress of a nation requires that its people should be educated. Knowledge is a necessity of man. It instills in him a desire to question and to investigate, which leads him on the path of progress. Education, in the broadest sense, must be spread everywhere. Progress can only be achieved by the spread of education. Cooperation is necessary to achieve any worthy end and this readiness to cooperate will not be found in people if they are not educated".

Every time when one remembers he is reminded of Bharat Ratna Bhimrao Ambedkar. The reason is the "invisible chemistry"

of the two stalwarts of the twentieth century for effective governance, compassion, humility and empowering the others, irrespective of gender, creed and status and in particular the deprived section within the Indian society. Biographies of the two reveal trajectory for self-empowerment, and cultivation of an environment where many can struggle for their existence and progeny.

Theory of survival of the fittest seems to be true and pathfinder. Both have understood the makeup of Indian Society, hence formulated applicable norms in their times. My studies on both for more than two decades have suggested that each-one was each others' teacher or

each-one was each others' disciple.

In post-Independence period, the torch which two stalwarts ignited, illuminated millions on the holy land of Bharatvarsha. The process of radiance happened in structured way in the Nehruvian era. However, even today one feels that social equality still needs to be cultivated and efforts done so far require rekindling.

Present MODI-government policies and implementation are indeed affirmative and tuned on the basis of empirical surveys of past and present times. In this write up, I draw attention of researchers to undertake study of „professionals who are not named as professionals. In my view these professionals can be seen within coastal communities, as forest and mountain dwellers and mainland survivors who learn a lot from nature and basic instinct but poor in resources and cannot be identified as main streamers. In government records they are termed as un-skilled and semi-skilled class. For their upliftment on the path of modernization and development aids are provided and training is imparted for survival and development. However,

One ought to understand that every geographical and social pocket in South Asia has specific representation, where the indigenous lot existed and later evolved as diluted category. So in the given circumstances when construction of NEW India is advocated the indigenusness of the self be preserved and of the other protected, cherished and understood. The key word for NEW India is: Education, Knowledge, Progress and Cooperation. The seekers of these are torch bearers and makers of NEW-MODERN India, back to roots...

in this process they are taken far away from their roots which lead to irreparable loss to the indigenous knowledge system.

For instance, Kamangars of western India is one community which requires attention of academicians and policy framers; Bhuvas are another, who have knowledge of both flora and fauna of their immediate geographical locality and their indigenous knowledge data base helps survive many when modern technology is unreachable or machhi, who controlled water movement with navigational skills and added to economic prosperity. They are hardly known today as they have to modify/change their professions for survival as per the Glocal needs.

So what is required on part of social scientists? Few thoughts are suggested

- * Documentation on geography and social background, life-style and knowledge, they generated, application of knowledge and spirit of cooperation with others.
- * Knowledge data base generation by practitioners of different disciplines.
- * Analysis of the data generated.

- * Sharing of the data with government representatives and policy makers.
- * Effective Implementation in construction of indigenusness.

Another pertinent question that arises is what the benefit of this exercise is and who will do it? My answer to later part is interdisciplinary intervention. For example if an anthropologist and historian understands a region and subjects there, the solution to the challenges will be intensely effective: A team of Geologist, Geographer and Anthropologist can carry out marvelous job in providing theoretical and practical solutions. A combination of legal person, political scientist and economist together can make a marked difference transforming the locality as productive zone.

For all these benefits participation of the researchrs and cooperation of all is the mandatory requirement. One ought to understand that every geographical and social pocket in South Asia has specific representation, where the indigenous lot existed and later evolved as diluted category. So in the given circumstances when construction of NEW India is advocated the indigenusness of the self be preserved and of the other protected, cherished and understood.

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National Education Policy-2020 is one relevant document in post-Independence period which will help in fulfilling the dream of makers of Modern India where education and action should move together. My mphasis here is mainly on two- Shyama Prasad Mookerji (1901-1953) and Deen Dayal Upadhaya (1916-1968). A quick revision of them is offered here in order to understand the Social Science Research in action. Shyama Prasad Mookerji emphasized by saying-“Political and Social Justice requires, not the disintegration of a country and destruction or humiliation of a class which shows initiatives, intelligence and drive, but equality of opportunity for all. Genuine freedom for self-fulfillment, in which all men, irrespective of caste or creed may share”.

Similarly Deen Dayal Upadhaya observed that “Human Knowledge is common property” and “Strength lies not in unrestrained behavior but in well regulated action”. Through earlier suggested approach, dream discussed and action expected, one can say that NEW India will be constructed by inclusive, participatory and holistic approach, which takes into consideration field experiences, empirical research, learners response and innovative practices. This will lead to a progressive shift towards a more scientific approach to education.

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In the region of Mithila, there were particularly women from two sub-castes among the Dalit community had mastered the art of Mithila painting, which was different from paintings by an upper castes women. These women, belonging to Dusadh and Chamar community, had developed their own distinct style of paintings and various new themes were included.

Mithila Paintings : A Dalit perception

Aditi Narayani

Dalit art evolved as a mode of resistance and protest. It tries to historically trace the origin and the seriousness of caste discrimination from the past till present. Dalit artists across India have picked up themes, which invoke a deep sense of contemplation in the minds of the onlooker. Dalit art is a representation of critical issues of domination, discrimination and oppression encompassing along the triple oppression faced by Dalit woman. Dalit women's problems encompass not only gender and economic deprivation but also discrimination associated with religion, caste and untouchability, which in turn results in the denial of their social, economic, cultural and

political rights.

One such artist from Maharashtra "Savindra Savi" has successfully done so, through his art. He has created a mode of protest and also tries to track the interplay between meaning and power within hierarchical structures of religion, caste, gender and politics. As Y. S. alone puts it, Dalit art needs to create a social space for itself, which is associated with hegemony and monopoly. Adherence to social reality in the pictorial space was a major shift affected by Indian painters. They succeeded in legitimizing their own culture and social environment through their art practice As Gopal Guru aptly explains that the evolution of Dalit art varying from folklore to paintings to folk poetry has provided Dalits with an intellectual platform



for creation as well as articulation for laboring Dalit women self perception of emancipation. He very well states that Dalit emancipation is not only possible through government policies as they are temporal in nature but through cultural and intellectual stimulation which will create a language of resistance and fully loaded with meanings and have a story of their subordination and suppression.

In the region of Mithila, there were particularly women from two sub-castes among the Dalit community had mastered the art of Mithila painting, which was different from paintings by an upper castes women. These women, belonging to Dusadh and Chamar community, had developed their own distinct style of paintings and various new themes were included. Dusadhs captured their oral history (such as the adventures of Raja Salhesh, and depictions of their primary deity -Rahu) — typified by bold compositions and figures based on traditional tattoo patterns called Godna locally. This added another distinctive new style to the region's flourishing art scene.

Dusadh women were very receptive to her ideas of starting a profession in Mithila Paintings but at the same time were apprehensive of their awareness and strength against the much-established Brahmin women leading the art. These apprehensions were born around the lack of their knowledge for elaborated painting styles like Kohbhar and Aripana, Hindu customs, deities, Gods and goddesses over which the Brahmins have created a dominance and epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata making them doubt their ability to translate the same on paper in form of beautiful paintings with meaningful message.

Geru Paintings

Geru (brown) included big figures of Gods and Goddess, animals and fields largely painted in light brown along with few more bright color objects on the paper. Resembling low relief figures on the walls of homes of Mithila inhabitants, these paintings did not take off too well and couldn't attract many buyers. The fact to ponder upon here is that none of these Dusadh paintings or High caste paintings from Brahmins and Kayastha women has remained stagnant from the times of their inception to today.

Mithila Art is under a state of constant evolution and also intermixing of styles among its sub categories. That is to say not only the theme of Bharni paintings or Kachni paintings has changed slightly

over time but also elements of Dusadh paintings have penetrated in the same. This could be studied by taking examples of Brahmin painters, who now abundantly use cow dung wash papers to add sullyng beauty to their Bharni paintings and the Dalit painters, who use a lot of colors and broad figures in their paintings resembling to Bharni style and often depicting Kohbhar images also in their creations.

The art of Mithila Painting has facilitated an exchange of quality styles among the artists of all castes and aesthetic signs of one could be well appreciated in the other. This being said the overall ambit of Mithila Painting includes paintings with some distinct broad identifiers like

repeated image of the subject of the painting, single plain, no use of perspective or shading, full face representation of Gods and Goddesses. The skills of Dusadh painters increased manifolds in around last four decades. Now they are not only drawing images of Shiva and Krishna but also expanding their content base. They are depicting the adventures of Raja Salhesh, Rahu (Dusadh community Sun God), besides current social and rural life issues to give a contemporary appeal to their work. One major element of their paintings is the life tree, a huge tree with images of animals, flowers, regular day-to-day household items, Gods and human forms in various stages of human life. These tress of life have been thoughtfully used by Dusadh painters to depict



intellectually, stimulating concepts of cosmological inference such as Raas to a more regular depiction of nomadic journey of migrant workers assembling in Jitwarpur and nearby areas during the harvest time in order to find work.

Though upper caste painters have used small trees, leaves and other related images repetitively as fillers in their paintings, they have not been very explicit and thought applying with tree of life which is popular in India and Europe.

Gobar style paintings were started by Jamuna Devi by giving the paper a light Gobar (Cow dung slurry) wash to give it a beautiful sullyng look and feel on which bright colors often come out very beautifully. From the caste perspective it's important to note that unlike other scheduled castes of Jitwarpur village like the Malis, the Pasis, Doms, and Dhobiwho all stuck to their traditional professions, the Chamars and the Dusadhs have forayed into full time profession of Mithila Painting. At this point it's helpful to probe the



socio-economic background and status of these two castes before studying the evolution of their art and its modern significance. Even today these castes - Chamars and Dusadhs are considered inferiors and untouchables and discriminated openly in social transactions and exchanges. There are various sources and studies done on history and background of these castes at the bottom of pyramid and they unanimously bring forth the plight of being a low born by birth.

Dusadhs and Chamars are among the most devoid of castes and denied the basic human rights. These included restriction on them from using the village well, expected to not cross high borns day time during their walks in fields and villages, couldn't eat or participate in village social affair, feasts and gatherings and most primitively above all "cast of impurity on a higher caste person if a Dalit's shadow falls on him or her.

The scheduled castes had the tradition of decorating their houses, kothis, storage other broad surfaces with figures of animals like horses and elephants but these were simple images devoid of any aesthetic or ornamental qualities. Making mud wall frescoes was very popular with them. However the growing popularity of Brahmanical and Kayastha Paintings more precisely known as Bharni and Kachni, started to inspire lower caste Dusadhs and Chamar women as well and they wanted to learn the art behind these paintings. This was, however, not easy as Dalit Painters devoid of any knowledge of rich and ornamental Brahmanical or high caste rituals, deities and Gods, found themselves clueless about imitating Bharni and kachni painting styles.

Godana art

Evolution of Tattoo Paintings can be traced back by studying the ritual and habits of Nat community. Natins, the women folks of this community have

been master tattooers since long time. Dalit women from Bihar have used Godna as an idiom to make an elevated sense of Dalit emancipation, which they explain in terms of annihilation of caste and the restoration of manuskri [dignity to themselves].

Godna originally meaning, the art of tattooing was adopted particularly in the provinces in Bihar and Bengal, to imprint the prisoners as well as demonstrate an upper caste distinction. However the history Godna lies in the discrimination suffered by the Dalit women, when they were forced to wear ornaments of iron and inferior materials as prescribed by the Manu code. Tattooing, was thus seen as an inversion of that prescription, which marked distinction from the lower caste in the public. Godna, was not only seen as the inversion of markers of identification for the Dalit women but was also viewed as an attractive alternative to forms of subaltern expression for these women.

Evolution of Dalit art came as mode of resistance as it is evident, it marks the creation of social space for themselves in the cultural hierarchy of the society. Dulari devi, Rajesh Paswan, Shivan Pawan, Channu Devi and Roudi Paswans are some of the individuals, who despite belonging to the low caste, did work for their cultural upliftment and are successful to a greater extend. In the contemporary era, Godana paintings are very famous and popular in the market but due to consumer demand and the paintings, they have become highly commercialized. We also notice combination of mixture of Godana art with other styles of Mithila paintings, which is deviation from their original art. Among the Dalits in Bihar, Dusadhs and Chamar have led the way for evolving their own style of painting and asserting their identity by creating their social space.

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Five eminent persons from Dalit community have emerged as prominent economists and philosopher in post-independence era. They have been guiding not only Dalits but steering Indian economy, which is expected to remove social barriers and discrimination.

Dalits' contribution in shaping Indian economy

Sheetal Bhangre



Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar

He is not merely known for his struggle against the caste system but also for contribution to the field of economics. Known as the tallest intellectual of his time, Dr. Ambedkar had completed formal education in economics, motivating other Indian leaders.

The man is called one of the greatest intellectuals of his time, who underwent formal higher two reputed institutions - Columbia University in the United States and London School of Economics in England. His career had a very vast canvas and economics was one of its aspects.

"The problem of the Rupee : Its origin and solution" was the title of the dissertation, which he presented for his D.Sc. Dr. Ambedkar used academic opportunity to study the Indian social and economic scenario and came up with his extraordinary research based books. Problem of the Rupee was probably the first well-written book regarding the Indian economy. As the title says, the thesis stated India's economic problems, currency exchange standards and impact

on the economy for over a century.

Dr. Ambedkar opposed the theory of the then prominent economist John Keynes on the Gold Exchange Standard. In his preface, he says, "Nothing will stabilize the rupee unless we stabilize its general purchasing power. That the exchange standard does not do. I think a far better way would be to have an inconvertible rupee with a fixed limit of issue".

Dadabhai Nauroji was a strong critic of British economic policy earlier. He felt that Indian economy was being exploited because of British policies. But Dr. Ambedkar gave this criticism a solid research foundation and showed people how British policies were making the Indians poorer. With the review of the currency value between 1800 to 1893, he argued how the whole British system of the currency exchange rate (Rupee and Pound) exploited the Indian economy for over a century.

His book - "The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India" is also considered as a pioneer work. It focused the financial relationship between provinces and the center. Babasaheb argued that the dependency of provinces on the center for their expenditure had created fiscal stress and provinces

should be allowed to raise their revenue. His views influenced our federal structure. In his maiden speech in the Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar said, "The gross budget of our province is fifteen and half crores rupees, out of which nine and a half crores are only government expenditure. People representatives are not allowed to speak on this part and don't use it for another part. We rarely see a government so expensive as such and still very indifferent for social welfare".

His contribution does not end with these studies. He insisted on action. He played an important role with his recommendations to the Royal commission (Hilton Young Commission). Dr. Ambedkar strongly favored urbanization but he also advocated for critical industries and agriculture to be under government control. He also criticized the caste system as a hindrance to the economic development of the country.

Dr. Narendra Jadhav

An expert on economics and a faithful follower of Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Narendra Jadhav also shares a remarkable contribution to the Indian economy. With a Ph.D. in economics from Indiana University, he built an excellent career. He is recognized now as the forefront economist in India. He has served many high posts such as advisor of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), principal advisor and chief economist of Reserve Bank of India, member of Planning Commission of India and member of Rajya Sabha.

Dr. Jadhav worked with RBI for many years. He majorly contributed to the research. His economic writings include Monetary Economics for India (1994), Financial stability and central Banking in India (2006), and Re-emerging India – A Global Perspective (2005).

As a planning commission member, Dr. Jadhav played an essential role in formulating the 12th five-year plan. As a member of both the National Advisory Council and Planning Commission of India. He is also recognized as a major contributor to formulating the National Food Security Bill. He was one of those who pushed the implementation of the Right to Education Act- 2009. His contribution to the formulation of the ambitious scheme titled Rashtriya Uchcharat Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA) and developing the eco-system for Skill Development in India has been appreciated. He is the author of various official reports, one of which was Guidelines for Scheduled Castes sub-plan and Tribal sub-plan. This was his noteworthy contribution to social-economic issues.

Dr. Bhalchandra Mungekar

Dr. Bhalchandra Mungekar is another economist, who comes from a deprived family. He is professor of economics and social activist. Due to his expertise, he was appointed as a planning commission member. Manmohan Singh's government made him in-charge of crucial subjects like education, labor and employment, social justice, and tribal affairs. He

suggested several new policies and programs in these areas during his tenure, which were subsequently incorporated in the 11th five-year plan.

He says, "I studied economics to solve the problems of poverty and unemployment. And this is something that has not changed all these years. Even today, I am in the Planning Commission with the primary concern of alleviating unemployment and ending poverty, and both of which are linked to annihilating caste:

Dr. Mungekar completed his doctorate with a specialization in agricultural economics. His study was reflected while working as a planning commission member. He was also appointed as a member of the National Commission of Agricultural Costs and Prices.

Milind Kamble

"Economic power is necessary to overcome social discrimination", says Milind Kamble, who caused a strong drive of entrepreneurship among the Dalit youths through his organization – Dalit Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (DICCI). He stands as a testimony to prove what Dalits contribute to Indian economy. Set up in 2005, DICCI has now crossed Indian boundaries in a short span of 15 years. DICCI provides a platform and showcase to platform to young Dalit entrepreneurship. It has brought Dalit industrialists under one umbrella and acts as a resource center for new entrepreneurs. We can read under the title Mission of DICCI – To encourage Dalit youth to contribute nation's economy through wealth creation.

Milind Kamble addresses Dalit youth from various platforms, saying, "Be job givers, not job seekers". He spread a strong impetus and showed a direction to Dalit youths to solve their socio-economic problems. This endeavor is so admirable that it is recognized nationally, even by Prime Minister Narendra Modi and famous industrialists like Ratan Tata.

Chandra Bhan Prasad

While we mentioned DICCI, we cannot evade one of its key advisors and most important Dalit thinker in today's India - Chandra Bhan Prasad.

He is a strong endorser of Dalit capitalism - the term, he coined and sees it as a way to ensure the liberation of Dalits. He is also actively trying to find ways for Dalits to explore through this concept. He also has advocated the English language movement for Dalits as a sign of upliftment. Through his thoughts, writings, and activism, he has deeply influenced the aspiring Dalit generation. With DICCI, he is proposing Dalit capitalism for the vast community of oppressed castes. He is the writer of the Bhopal Document and impacted the policies of the state of Madhya Pradesh. He has also launched a website - www.dalitfoods.com.

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The legacy of castes in India continues even abroad and hence, the tone of the hegemonic Indian cultural discourse, stereotypes and prejudices for migrant and post migrant generations become implicitly even if not always explicitly, casteist. Many of dalits intentionally, for the fear being ostracized by the Indian community, distance themselves from the main Indian diaspora by changing their names or even religion.

Diaspora, Contributing to nation building

Upendra Baghel

Indian diaspora is divided as Indian community in India, which affects the ethos and unity of nationalism. It is not quite a monolithic structure and has strings of divisiveness attached to it. Divisions are based upon regions and languages such as Gujarati, Malyalam, Tamil,, Bengali and Marathi ; religions and communities such as Hindus, Sikhs and Christians and even castes and sub-castes. In a way, it is a replica of Indian society abroad. Further, there is Dalit diaspora, which has emerged in many countries, including in Europe, America, Canada and Africa. There are two types of dalit diaspora: the 'old' comprising of labors taken by the colonial powers and the 'new' of semi-literate, students, educated and professionally trained dalits who emigrated to countries.

Dalit immigrants, more the second generations started investing in social activism including creation of alternate networks of support and raising awareness on the global stage and the diaspora took the dalit movement to international forums amplifying the 'unheard voices' making them more visible. They are more vocal and articulate in advancing their concerns vide advocacy as they are not attached to inherent limitations that clouded the judgement of their ancestors.

The legacy of castes in India continues even abroad and hence, the tone of the hegemonic Indian cultural discourse, stereotypes and prejudices for migrant and post migrant generations become implicitly even if not always explicitly, casteist. Many of dalits intentionally, for the fear being ostracized by the Indian community, distance themselves

from the main Indian diaspora by changing their names or even religion.

In spite of absence of castes in western societies, Castes in the US: A Survey of Caste among South Asian Americans, published by Equality Lab in 2018, found evidence of caste discriminations of dalits vis-a-vis other caste Indians in schools and workplaces, at local businesses, on food preferences, and in interpersonal relationships and discriminations in the form of fear of being outed, verbal abuse and physical assault. These findings astonish dalits in India for the fact that the discrimination continues even after migration.

Influence of western rule in India and powerful independence movement (1885-1947) produced perhaps the world's most extensive system of affirmative action for the oppressed classes known as deprived classes

classified as Schedule Castes in 1935-1936. There were few progressive-minded princely states in India. Dr. Ambedkar was a recipient of an affirmative action program of the Princely State of Baroda and he was awarded the scholarship to study at Columbia University in New York, USA where he earned his postgraduate degree MA in 1915 and then moved to London in October 1916. While in USA, Dr. Ambedkar presented the paper, 'Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development' before a seminar conducted by a Russian born American anthropologist and sociologist. At that time in early 20th century, the Indian caste system was a subject of study in foreign academic forums and diaspora and these discussions had influence over him. Ambedkar himself is said to have described his time in New York as his first experience of social equality.

With the post-1947 emigration of educated dalits abroad who were the beneficiaries of India's affirmative policy of reservations in education and employment, many social and cultural organizations dealing with dalits on empowerment, education, awareness, social and legal rights, and affirmative programs started across the world and these organizations also started networking with similar entities in India and other countries. Their activities

Influence of western rule in India and powerful independence movement (1885-1947) produced perhaps the world's most extensive system of affirmative action for the oppressed classes known as deprived classes classified as Schedule Castes in 1935-1936.

have two positive contributions to dalits in India, first: the direct beneficiaries, who acquire education and skills and improve their living; and the other one: the activities abroad inspired millions of their community members and dalits in India and infused confidence in them to raise their voice for their rights, dignity, respect and social justice, as narrated by Dr. Samir Sarkar of Harichand Guruchand International Motua Mission, New York, USA. He belongs to Motua community, a dalit community which is victim of caste-based discrimination in West Bengal, India and Bangladesh. Dr. Sarkar was one the few activists who started organizing his community members in 2014 to get their voices heard and he recalls of facing opposition including social isolation and ostracization, by some of the main Indian diaspora, especially dominated by high caste Hindus.

Caste, which is south Asian social reality, more so Indian, is discussed in international forums. The organizations working on dalit issues organized the first dalit World Conference in Malaysia on 'A Vision Towards a Caste Less Society' in October 1998, the second such gathering in UK in 2000 and the third one was in India during Feb 19-20, 2003.

Dalit issues started featuring in debates in United Nations and foreign parliaments. Dalit activists from

India, represented by National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) and National Federation of Dalit Women (NFDW), travelled to Durban, South Africa to participate in the UN World Conference Against Racism in 2001 (WCAR 2001) and put forth their arguments to get casteism equated to racism, which they did not succeed but otherwise, made the local issue possible to become a global issue. The issue remains alive and has featured in many United Nations instruments and reports of, in particular, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), UN Principles and Guidelines for the Effective Elimination of Discrimination based on Work and Descent, and UN Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues. It is featured as descent-based discrimination and discrimination on forms of social stratification such as caste and analogous systems. Dalit diaspora in coordination with national activists have demonstrated that the international institutions can be mobilized for redressal of discrimination, which originates in India and continues beyond borders with fellow emigrants.

European Parliament in its resolution in 2013, recognized the caste as a distinct form of discrimination rooted in the social and/or religious context and included the caste-based discrimination as a human rights issue for European Union human rights policies, strategies and action plans. Diaspora, more actively in USA, UK and Canada undertake advocacy for debates and deliberation on caste-based discrimination and engage in networking with others. These alignments and networking have also started solidifying the concerns common to Blacks and Dalits and that's how the Black Lives Matter campaign 2020 reignited in USA on George Floyd's death finds resonance even in India.

Discussions at international forums and in diaspora impact policy deliberations in India, as the voice of hundreds of millions of Indian dalits is heard within India and beyond. When the dalit advocacy groups were engaged to project caste-based discrimination at the global stage, the Indian Parliament realized the need and amended the Constitution of India through 89th Amendment in 2004 creating National Commission for Schedule Caste as a separate entity. It broadens the Commission's scope to oversee the implementation of various safeguards provided to the Scheduled Castes.

Notwithstanding of our domestic considerations, the Indian diaspora shall remain fragmented, and it is the reality as well a reflection of Indian society in foreign land. India needs to remain engaged with them for their contributions in nation building and towards the Gandhi's 'fight against the impure in humanity' and as well the Ambedkar's struggle 'for the reclamation of human dignity'.

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I met parents, peers, friends and teachers with progressive mindsets throughout my entire journey. Shall always thank our beloved country for building this sense of inclusiveness and belongingness in the society. I may continue to live here in USA, but my heart shall always stay deeply grass-rooted in my motherland. I can't thank you enough for this India..

“I was never discouraged, stopped, prohibited or discriminated”

Shreya Mendhe



I was born at Nagpur to a 'Not-so-well-to-do' family. Despite our society being much crazy over having a masculine child, my parents - Rajendra and Smita chose to have me as their only child and heir. Of all the things in their life, they always had highest regards for 'Education'.

It certainly wasn't 'make-a-wish and will-be-fulfilled' kind of a childhood for me. Our financial condition was not very strong. Even though we had difficulties in making both the ends meet, my parents placed me at Centre Point School, Nagpur's one of the most coveted Convent Schools! This created quite a ruckus in our extended family. Almost all of our relatives were concerned and worried about my father's plans regarding funding my education, which indeed was going to cost him a bomb. Most of our near and dear ones were not just confused but to an extent, much angry too.

But my parents had a crystal clear clarity about this. Father made it clear to the entire family that in order to bear the heavy cost of my education, they were ready to make all the possible compromises with our living conditions. Right since I was a kid, my parents never prohibited me from pursuing whatever I liked or wanted to do.

They never prohibited me from choosing or trying unknown things. This applied to the kind of friends I made or the activities I chose or even when I chose Gymnastics as my favorite sports at school level. Their concurrence always imbibed an immense sense of responsibility in me, something that I still owe to both of them.

I was a sincere and studious girl at school level. I scored excellent in my H.S.C. Board exams and decided to pursue Engineering. By that time, I had developed tremendous interest in Bio-Medical subject. The Healthcare sector always fascinated me and wanted to study much more in that domain. Unfortunately, not a single Engineering College

from Nagpur was running this course of Bio-Medical Engineering. I was devastated when I learnt that the only Institute offering a Degree Course in Bio-Medical Engineering was Vidyalkar Institute of Technology, (VIT) situated at Mumbai, around 800 kms from our native place Nagpur.

I thought, I had hit a dead wall as the idea of leaving Nagpur seemed just not feasible. Hereto, to my surprise, my father encouraged me to apply at VIT Mumbai and not to make any compromises in my goals. I got the admission without any hassles and there onwards began the real battle of my life.

Somehow, staying alone at Mumbai hostels or PG shared accommodations didn't go well with me. I started thinking of dropping this idea of Bio-Medical Engineering at Mumbai and moving back to Nagpur with my parents. Then came the biggest decision

of my parents that changed course of my future forever... It hit me as a shock as my parents disclosed their bold move of relocating to Mumbai. Yes.. Around age nearing 50, my Papa and Mom left Nagpur and started a new innings at Mumbai. Their relocation was loaded with just one intent – I should be able to pursue what I desired most, without any hindrance, come what may! That's why; I completely devote and dedicate my Engineering Degree to my parents.

Without their sacrifices, I wouldn't have been able to be where I am right now. I completed my B.E. (Bio-Medical) in 2017 and applied at North Eastern

University, Boston for my Post Graduation. I got the admission, moved to Boston from where I completed my MS with specialization in Regulatory Affairs. Currently I am working at GenPak, subsidiary of Pfizer from Healthcare domain.

During the covid-19 period, for almost past two years, I have worked on various projects with many groups of young professionals. We developed a new low-cost ventilator that got an authorization from US FDA for emergency usage. As of now, we are getting it marketed in many developing countries besides India.

I want to contribute and work at my fullest capacity in working over developing more innovative medical devices. And now last, but not the least...

From the date of my birth till date, I was never discouraged, stopped, prohibited or discriminated throughout my career. Today, I find it extremely heartening that whether in Kinder Garden, School or

College, Nagpur or Mumbai; I met parents, peers, friends and teachers with progressive mindsets throughout my entire journey. Shall always thank our beloved country for building this sense of inclusiveness and belongingness in the society. I may continue to live here in USA, but my heart shall always stay deeply grass-rooted in my motherland. I can't thank you enough for this India.. Jai Bharat!

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Response

Dear Sir, It's very very good that you have started this venture. It could be translated into Hindi and other regional languages in future. I hope so.

I am going to translate some of its part to be translated into Hindi and share it with our activists.

Thanks and regards.

Dr. Rajesh Paswan

Its an excellent growth in a very short period of time , but we must address some more issues dignity, victimology, indigenous healing systems which concerns more to the targeted community and society too.

Regards and blessings

Prof. Sanjay Paswan

Unheard Voices actually covered not only unheard voices but also understood communities by major part of society and which is need of hour. India can become super power only when grass route people of india allow to put their contribution in this growth& it is possible only when they will get some job/work to earn their bread& butter. When we talk about GDP growth 8.5% lets focus on small scale industry. Bangladesh has already proven it by microfinance policy. Bangladeshi social entrepreneur, banker, economist and civil society leader Dr. Mohamad Yunus Founder of Grammen Bank and pioneering the concepts of microcredit and microfinance. This type of revolutionary concept can be adopted, implemented strongly to create economic and social development from lower level. Peace and prosperity cannot be achieved unless large population groups find ways in which to break out of poverty. Development must be made by contributed by and shared by each and every part of the society irrespective of their caste, religion, tradition. Unheard Voices is great effort to make awareness of it.

Mahendra Kamble, Former chairman, BSNL SC ST welfare association



प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम, वंचित वर्ग एवं आद्य राष्ट्रवाद

वस्तुतः भारत में राष्ट्रवाद की परंपरा प्राचीन इतिहास, संस्कृति के अंतर्गत भी देखी जा सकती है। भारतीय समाज में विविध अंतर्विरोध एवं विभेद होते हुए भी, भारतीय इतिहास में ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण की रचना, सिंध के राजा का शूद्र होना, भगवान श्रीराम द्वारा शबरी के जूठे बेर खाना, भारतीय जाति - जनजातियों के बीच 'अटूटक्रम' होना भारत के सभी समुदायों की साझी विरासत को प्रदर्शित करता है। सामाजिक वर्गों के अंतर्विरोधों के बावजूद समाज के वंचित वर्गों का भारतीय इतिहास में, राष्ट्र निर्माण में योगदान रहा।

डॉ. विकास नौटियाल

परिचय

ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशवाद, साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध 1857 का महाविद्रोह भारतीयों के 'प्रथम राष्ट्रीय संघर्ष' के रूप में एक महत्वपूर्ण 'लैंडमार्क' रहा। इसी राष्ट्रवादी चेतना को वीर सावरकर ने 'विद्रोह' न कह कर 'भारत का प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम' कहा। यह महासंग्राम 1857 से पूर्व की कृषक, जनजातीय, विविध वंचित वर्गों के विद्रोहों का अगला चरण, संस्करण था। अतः 1857 की महान घटना को ब्रिटिश प्रधानमंत्री डिजेरेली ने 'राष्ट्रीय विद्रोह' कहा। इस महासंग्राम में समाज के वंचित वर्गों की स्वाधीनता सेनानियों के रूप में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही। साम्राज्यवादी एवं बाद के इतिहास लेखन में वंचित वर्ग को समुचित महत्व नहीं मिला। स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के उपरांत दलित लेखन के अंतर्गत 'नीचे से इतिहास लिखने',

'निम्न वर्गीय प्रसंग' के अंतर्गत वंचित वर्ग को इतिहास में उचित स्थान मिला। वंचित वर्ग के स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों में मातादीन-लाजो, झलकारी बाई, उदा देवी, बाकें, जगरानी पासी, रजवार, वीरा पासी, चेताराम, बबलू मेहतर जैसे क्रांतिकारियों, कोली, पासी, मेहतर, महार तथा जनजातीय समुदायों की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही। ये सभी क्रांतिकारी मंगल पांडे, नानासाहेब पेशवे, तात्या टोपे, लक्ष्मीबाई जैसे महान नायकों के साथ वंचित वर्गों के प्रतिनिधि के रूप में क्रांतिकारी राष्ट्रवादी संग्राम से राष्ट्र निर्माण की प्रक्रिया में 'नींव की ईंट' बनें। इन समुदायों ने अंतर्विरोधों के बावजूद ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध एक होकर आद्य राष्ट्रवाद के रूप में स्वयं के आंदोलन को एक मुखर रूप प्रदान किया।

अट्टरह सौ सत्तावन से पूर्व

ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के साम्राज्यवाद, उपनिवेशवाद के विरुद्ध भारतीयों का विरोध 18 वीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्ध में ही प्रारंभ हो गया था। इस विरोध में नंदकुमार, तिलका मांझी, उदैया जैसे विद्रोहियों

का से लेकर 1855-56 तक के संधाल विद्रोह में सम्मिलित रहे। तिलका मांझीने पहाडिया समुदाय के साथ मिलकर १७७१ से 1784 तक अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध एवं उनके रामगढ़ कैंप में भी संघर्ष किया। बाद में आयर कूट ने तिलका को पराजित करके भागलपुर में 1785 में उन्हें मृत्युदंड दिया। द्वितीय आंग्ल मराठा युद्ध के दौरान 1804 में छतारी के नवाब द्वारा किए गए ब्रिटिश संघर्ष में उदैया नामक सैन्य चर्मकार कि महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही। वस्तुतः भारत में राष्ट्रवाद की परंपरा प्राचीन इतिहास, संस्कृति के अंतर्गत भी देखी जा सकती है। भारतीय समाज में विविध अंतर्विरोध एवं विभेद होते हुए भी भारतीय इतिहास में ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण की रचना, सिंध के राजा का शूद्र होना, भगवान श्रीराम द्वारा शबरी के जूठे बेर खाना, भारतीय जाति – जनजातियों के बीच 'अटूट क्रम' होना भारत के सभी समुदायों की साझी विरासत को प्रदर्शित करता है। सामाजिक वर्गों के अंतर्विरोधों के बावजूद भी समाज के वंचित वर्गों का भारतीय इतिहास में, राष्ट्र निर्माण में योगदान रहा।

कारणों एवं घटनाक्रम में वंचित वर्ग

1857 के प्रथम भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के कारण मीमांसा औपनिवेशिक परिवेश, सामाजिक सांस्कृतिक ढांचे के अंतर्गत इतिहासकारों द्वारा की जाती रही है। इस महासंग्राम के विविध कारणों के साथ 'चर्बी लगे कारतूसों का मामला' सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण तात्कालिक कारण माना जाता है। चर्बी लगे हुए कारतूसों की सूचना सर्वप्रथम मातादीन ने मंगल पांडे एवं सैनिकों को जातिगत अंतर्विरोधों एवं व्यवहार के अंतर्गत दी। इस चेतना में मातादीन की पत्नी लाजो भी साथ में रही। मंगल पांडे द्वारा सैन्य विद्रोह, वरिष्ठ अधिकारियों के हत्या के कारण उन्हें फांसी दे दी गई। चर्बी लगे कारतूस के संबंध में अफवाह फैलाने, विद्रोह करने के कारण मातादीन को भी फांसी दी गई। बंगाल नेटिव आर्मी की 34 वी इन्फैंट्री के 1089 सैन्य कर्मियों में 335 ब्राह्मण, 237 छत्रिय, 231 वंचित वर्ग, 12 ईसाई, 200 मुसलमान, 85 सिख सम्मिलित थे। ये सभी वंचित वर्ग के सैनिक मंगल पांडे के साथ सैन्य विद्रोह में सम्मिलित होकर निर्णायक भूमिका में रहे।

मेरठ के 10 मई 1857 में सैन्य विद्रोह के उपरांत भारतीय सैनिकों ने बहादुर शाह जफर को हिंदुस्तान का बादशाह घोषित किया। विद्रोह संचालन के लिए एक 10 सदस्य काउंसिल का गठन किया गया। कानपुर, लखनऊ, यूपी के अन्य स्थानों से, देश के विभिन्न भागों में अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ हुए विद्रोह में वंचित वर्ग की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण रही। इस विद्रोह का महत्वपूर्ण केंद्र अवध (लखनऊ), में हुए सिकंदर बाग युद्ध में पुरुष वेश में युद्ध करने वाली उदा देवी की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही। मूलतः उदा देवी अवध के नवाब के सैनिक मक्का पासी की पत्नी, बेगम हजरत महल के महिला दस्ते की सेनानी थी। इंडिया हाउस के दस्तावेज, अन्य ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथों में उदा देवी की वीरता, सिकंदर बाग में अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध लड़े युद्ध का उल्लेख है। नसीब नामक पत्रकार ने लंदन भेजे अपनी डिस्पैच में भी उदा देवी का वर्णन है। झांसी में रानी लक्ष्मी बाई के नेतृत्व में हुए ब्रिटिश विरोधी संघर्ष में रानी की हमशकल झलकारी बाई के संघर्ष, बलिदान का वर्णन ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथों, लोककथाओं, गीतों में मिलता है। जिसने रानी को सुरक्षित रखने के हेतु रानी की वेशभूषा में अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध लड़ते हुए आत्मबलिदान किया।

1857 के विद्रोह में जौनपुर में क्रांतिकारियों का समूह हरपाल सिंह के नेतृत्व में सक्रिय था। इस समूह के अद्वारह चिन्हित क्रांतिकारियों में वंचित वर्ग के बाकें के नामपर अंग्रेजों ने इनाम रखा था, बाद में उसे गिरफ्तार करके फांसी दी। रायबरेली के क्षेत्र में राणा बेनी माधव की सेना में वीरा पासी नामक एक अंगरक्षक था। अंग्रेजों से संघर्ष के दौरान राणा बेनी माधव को कैद किया। राणा को मुक्त करवाने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका का निर्वाह करनेवाले वीरा पासी को अंग्रेजों ने गिरफ्तार करके फांसी दी। वंचित वर्ग के एटा के चेताराम जाटव, बबलू मेहतर जैसे क्रांतिकारियों को भी मृत्युदंड दिया गया। मुजफ्फरनगर में महावीरी देवी ने महिला संगठन और देसी हथियारों से अंग्रेजों का विरोध किया।

मध्यप्रदेश के रामगढ़ – मंडला क्षेत्र की रानी अवंतीबाई लोधी ने खैरी के युद्ध में बाँडीकटन के नेतृत्व में अंग्रेजों को पराजित करके मंडला क्षेत्र पर अपना नियंत्रण स्थापित किया। बाद में बाँडीकटन, बर्टन के नेतृत्व में अंग्रेजों ने रानी अवंती बाई को घुगरी के निकट पराजित किया। छत्तीसगढ़ का प्रथम स्वतंत्रता सेनानी वीर नारायण माना गया है। वे रायपुर के राजा, बड़े जमींदार थे। अकाल के दिनों

इस विद्रोह का महत्वपूर्ण केंद्र अवध (लखनऊ), में हुए सिकंदर बाग युद्ध में पुरुष वेश में युद्ध करने वाली उदा देवी की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही। मूलतः उदा देवी अवध के नवाब के सैनिक मक्का पासी की पत्नी, बेगम हजरत महल के महिला दस्ते की सेनानी थी। इंडिया हाउस के दस्तावेज, अन्य ऐतिहासिक ग्रंथों में उदा देवी की वीरता, सिकंदर बाग में अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध लड़े युद्ध का उल्लेख है। नसीब नामक पत्रकार ने लंदन भेजे अपनी डिस्पैच में भी उदा देवी का वर्णन है।

में अगस्त 1856 में उन्होंने व्यापारी के गोदाम का अनाज आमजन में बांट दिया। अंग्रेजों ने उन पर लूटपाट का आरोप लगाकर कैद कर लिया। कैद के दौरान हुई 1857 की क्रांति में उन्होंने कैदसे भाग कर 500 सैनिकों की सेना का गठन करके अंग्रेजों को चुनौती दी। देवरी स्थित उनकी एक विरोधी बहनोई ने स्मिथ को उनका भेद बता दिया। अंग्रेजों ने युद्ध में उन्हें गिरफ्तार कर 10 दिसंबर 1858 को फांसी दी। इसके अतिरिक्त भारत के विभिन्न भागों में 1857 के आंचलिक, क्षेत्रीय विद्रोह में वंचित वर्ग के क्रांतिकारियों की भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण रही।

जनजातीय समुदाय

भारत के वंचित वर्ग के रूप में जनजातीय समुदायों को चिन्हित किया गया है। 1857 के विद्रोह के पूर्व से ही इन समुदाय द्वारा हुल, फितूरी, डींग, बाद के काल में मुंडाओं का उलुगुलान के रूप में ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध विद्रोह किया। भारतीय इतिहास में जनजातीय समुदायों के लिए आटविक राज्य, आटविक सेना का उल्लेख मौर्य शासन से मिलता है। इस प्रकार जनजातीय समुदाय



मंगल पाण्डे



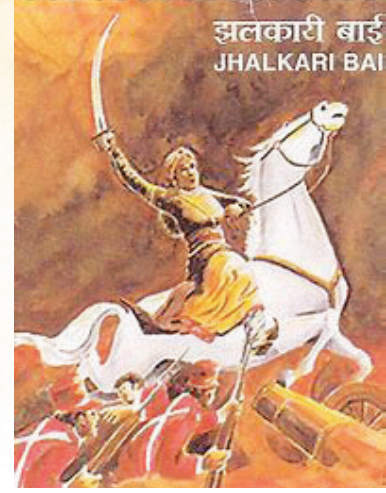
माता दिन



तिलका मांझी



रानी लक्ष्मीबाई



भारत की मुख्य धारा, राज व्यवस्था से सदैव जुड़े रहे। 1857 से पूर्व के जनजातीय समुदायों के विद्रोह को इतिहासकारों ने 'पुनर्स्थापनावादी', 'सामाजिक डकैती', 'सशस्त्र विद्रोह' की प्रकृति के अंतर्गत प्राथमिक, द्वितीयक एवं लौकिक विरोधों के रूप में विवेचित किया। इन जनजातीय समुदायों ने अंग्रेजों के साम्राज्यवाद, उनके समर्थक साहूकार, जमींदारों (दिकू) का सशस्त्र विरोध किया। इन लोगों द्वारा अपने समुदाय के बाहर के आम लोगों पर कभी भी हिंसक आक्रमण न करना वंचित वर्ग की भावनात्मक एकता, आद्य राष्ट्रवाद को रेखांकित करती है। ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद की स्थापना के उपरांत फकीर, संन्यासी, फतेह शाही, देवीसिन्हा, बिशनपुर, पॉलीगर आदि विद्रोह के रूप में भारतीयों की प्रतिक्रिया, ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशवाद के विरुद्ध देखी जा सकती है। सिद्धू - कान्हू के नेतृत्व में हुए 1855-56 के संधाल विद्रोहने, 'ब्रिटिश सेनाओं का मुकाबला भी भारतीयों के द्वारा किया जा सकता है', यह संदेश दिया। परवती काल में भील, गोंड, मुंडा, उत्तर पूर्वी क्षेत्रों में नागा, खासी, कूकी, जयंतिया जनजातीय समुदायों द्वारा ब्रिटिशोंके विरुद्ध विद्रोह किये गये। ये विद्रोह भावनात्मक एकता के साथ सामूहिकता, एक समान हितों को भी अभिव्यक्ति देते दिखाई देते हैं। इसी परिपेक्ष में इन विद्रोहों में आद्य राष्ट्रवाद की चेतना देखी जा सकती है। बाद में इन्हीं वंचित वर्ग के नेताओं ने, इनके उत्तराधिकारियों ने राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन में भाग लेकर राष्ट्र निर्माण में योगदान दिया।

अद्वारह सौ सत्तावन एवं आद्य राष्ट्रवाद

राष्ट्रवादी चिंतन पाश्चात्य राष्ट्रवाद के अंतर्गत परिभाषित करने के कारण यह मान लिया गया कि, 1857 की क्रांति में राष्ट्रवादी चेतना नहीं थी। इस प्रथम भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में दक्षिण के भी अनेक समुदायों ने भी अपना योगदान दिया। इस संग्राम में समाज के उच्च वर्ग के साथ वंचित वर्गों की भूमिका भी महत्वपूर्ण रही। इसी कारण इनके विद्रोह की 'राष्ट्रीय प्रकृति' के रूप में प्रश्नचिन्ह लगाने संबंधी अवधारणा पर पुनर्विचार करने की आवश्यकता है।

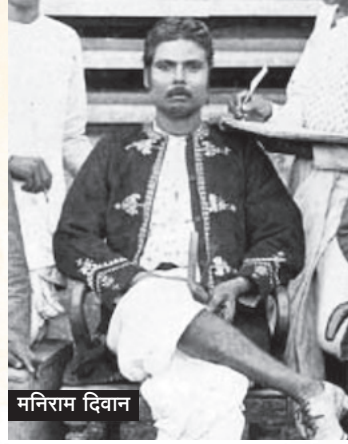
आधुनिक इतिहासकारों ने भारत में राष्ट्रवादी चेतना का उद्भव,

विकास 1857 की क्रांति के उपरांत माना है। 1857 की क्रांति में जिस प्रकार समाज के विविध वर्गों ने भारत के विभिन्न भागों में अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध अपनी अभिव्यक्ति दी, उसे आद्य राष्ट्रवाद की सीमा में रखा जाना ऐतिहासिक है। समाज के वंचित वर्गों के लोग भी परवती काल में मुख्य रूप से राष्ट्रीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में सम्मिलित हुए। 1857 के विद्रोह ने आने वाली राष्ट्रवादी चेतना को ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशवाद के विरुद्ध नवीन मुखर रूप प्रदान किया। वंचित वर्गों के एकी आंदोलन के नेता मदारी पासी, महार सेना, महजबी सेना, रामदासिया सिख, अन्य वंचित वर्गों की सेनाओं द्वारा राष्ट्र निर्माण में भूमिका का निर्वाह किया। हिंदू - मुस्लिम, अन्य समुदायों से संबंधित वंचित वर्गों ने अपने अंतर्विरोध, विभेद होते हुए भी सफल रूप से अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध संग्राम का बिगुल बजाया। आधुनिक काल में सबाल्टर्न स्कूल के इतिहासकारों द्वारा लिखित निम्न वर्गीय प्रश्नों के अंतर्गत वंचित वर्गों की इस भूमिका को चिन्हित किया जा सकता है। 1857 के चर्चित योद्धा अजीम उल्लाह खान के गीत 'हम हैं इसके मालिक हिंदुस्तान हमारा' में राष्ट्रवाद का स्वर मुखरित होता है।

निष्कर्ष

आधुनिक भारतीय इतिहास लेखन में ग्रीटमेन थ्योरी के साथ आमजन की इतिहास में भूमिका को सुनिश्चित करना समग्र महत्वपूर्ण होगा। अमेरिका स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में अश्वेत की भूमिका के समान भारत में भी औपनिवेशिक लेखन में, अन्य इतिहास लेखन में वंचित वर्गों को उचित स्थान प्राप्त नहीं हुआ, ये सत्य है। पिछले कुछ दशकों से इन वर्गों को इतिहास को पाठ्य पुस्तकों में उचित स्थान मिलने लगा है। समग्र इतिहास लेखन में राष्ट्र निर्माण की प्रक्रिया के लिए वंचित वर्ग के ऐतिहासिक स्वर को दर्ज करके रचनात्मक समाज का विकास होने से भारत वैश्विक स्तर पर एक महाशक्ति के रूप में विकसित होगा।

एसोसिएट प्रोफेसर (इतिहास)



भारतीय संस्कृति के संरक्षक एवं संवाहक घुमंतू समुदायों ने प्रारंभ में संस्कारों के वशीभूत होकर अंग्रेजों को 'अतिथि देवो भावः' के भाव से सत्कार दिया। जंगलों के दुर्गम रास्तों, पहाड़ों के दर्रों एवं अन्य महत्वपूर्ण जानकारियां दीं। लेकिन अंग्रेज ने वनों में प्रवेश करके वनों को स्वार्थ हेतु शासन के अधीन कर लिया। वनवासी बंधुओं ने उनके वास्तविक स्वरूप को पहचाना और प्रतिकार करना प्रारंभ किया।

भारतीय स्वतंत्रता की नींव के पत्थर : विमुक्त घुमंतू समुदाय

मूलचन्द्र सिंह

भारत एक ऐसा राष्ट्र जिसकी प्राचीनता को वर्तमान वैज्ञानिक युग में भी जानना संभव नहीं हो पा रहा है क्योंकि नित नवीन साक्ष्य और खोजें इसकी प्राचीनता को बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं। जब हम राष्ट्र की बात करते हैं, तो केवल भूमि की नहीं, यहाँ के निवासियों, उनके आपसी सम्बन्धों एवं इस भूमि के साथ सम्बन्धों की भी बात करते हैं। भारत में रहने वाले लोग ज्ञात ऐतिहासिक काल से एक समृद्ध व्यवस्था में रह रहे थे। यहाँ की सामाजिक और राजनीतिक व्यवस्था एक दूसरे से संबंधित होते हुए भी स्पष्टतः अलग थी। यहाँ नगरीय, ग्रामीण तथा वन में रहने वाले निवासियों कि अपनी अपनी स्वतंत्र अर्थव्यवस्था भी थी। वन्य अर्थव्यवस्था के पोषक आज के जनजातीय समुदाय ही थे लेकिन इन्हीं समुदायों में अनेक प्रकार के अधिकांशतः वनोपज पर आधारित व्यवसायिक कार्य थे।। वैसे तो प्रारंभिक काल में संपूर्ण मानव समुदाय ही घुमंतू था, स्थान बदल-बदल कर जीवन यापन करता था। लेकिन जब से व्यवस्थित निवास बने तब से कुछ समुदाय वनों में ही रहकर घुमंतू जीवन जीते रहे और अन्य समुदायों के लिए वन उत्पादों को पहुंचाने का कार्य करते रहे। यह समुदाय अपनी सामाजिक व्यवस्था के तहत ही व्यवस्थित, संगठित रहकर बाहरी लोगों के हस्तक्षेप को स्वीकार्य नहीं करते थे। चूंकि अधिकांश घुमंतू समुदाय सीमांत क्षेत्र के निवासी थे इसलिए बाह्य आक्रमण से सर्वप्रथम प्रभावित होते थे। स्वविनियमन एवं स्वतंत्रता प्रिय होने के कारण तत्कालीन राजनीतिक व्यवस्था इनके आंतरिक मामलों में बिना हस्तक्षेप के इनसे सहयोग लेती थी। यह समुदाय भी स्वाभिमान के साथ स्वदेश का सहयोग करते थे। उदाहरण के लिए चाणक्य और चंद्रगुप्त का साथ हो या शक, कुषाण और हूणों जैसे दुर्दांत आक्रमणकारियों का प्रतिरोध करता वनवासी समाज हो या मध्यकाल में पश्चिम से

हुए आक्रमणों का स्थानीय शासकों के साथ मिलकर प्रतिरोध हो, महाराणा प्रताप, शिवाजी महाराज और गुरु गोविंद सिंह के साथ सैनिक एवं गुप्तचरों की भूमिका हो, अंग्रेजों को वन भूमि पर कब्जा करने से रोकना एवं स्वतंत्रता के लिए संघर्ष हो, यहां तक कि स्वतंत्रता उपरांत भी यह स्वदेश की चौकीदारी में पीछे नहीं हैं, जैसे- 1971 के युद्ध में रणछोड़ दास राबरी 'पागी' एवं स्थानीय जनजाति समुदाय का सहयोग हो या 1999 के कारगिल युद्ध से पूर्व पाकिस्तानी सेना की तैयारी की जानकारी देने वाले घुमंतू गुजर-बक्करवाल समुदाय की भूमिका हो।

भारत के इतिहास में सर्वाधिक प्रलयकारी घटनाओं में औपनिवेशिक काल अर्थात् अंग्रेजों का शासन सर्वाधिक विध्वंसकारी रहा। हो सकता है इस काल में संघर्षों के द्वारा जनहानिपूर्व के संघर्षों की तुलना में कम हुई हो लेकिन सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक और आर्थिक हानि अकल्पनीय रूप से हुई। अंग्रेजों ने सामाजिक ताने-बाने को तोड़ने के लिए 'फूट डालो - राज करो' कि नीति के तहत सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों का विकृतिकरण कर प्रस्तुत किया। समाज में यदा-कदा व्याप्त बुराइयों का सामान्यीकरण कर उंच-नीच का भाव पैदा किया। आर्य-द्रविड़ भेद (जिसे डॉ. बाबासाहेब अंबेडकरने तथ्यों के आधार पर उसी समय नकार दिया था) का काल्पनिक सिद्धांत देकर मिशनरियों के माध्यम से मतांतरण अर्थात् ईसाईकरण का कार्य किया। इसका सर्वाधिक प्रभाव सबसे बड़े संकट के रूप में अंग्रेजी राज के आगे खड़े घुमंतू वनवासी समाज पर पड़ा।

भारतीय संस्कृति के संरक्षक एवं संवाहक घुमंतू समुदायों ने प्रारंभ में संस्कारों के वशीभूत होकर अंग्रेजों को 'अतिथि देवो भावः' के भाव से सत्कार दिया। जंगलों के दुर्गम रास्तों, पहाड़ों के दर्रों एवं अन्य महत्वपूर्ण जानकारियां दीं। लेकिन अंग्रेज ने वनों में प्रवेश करके वनों को स्वार्थ हेतु शासन के अधीन कर लिया। वनवासी बंधुओं ने उनके वास्तविक स्वरूप को पहचाना और प्रतिकार

करना प्रारंभ किया।

इतिहास को ठीक से पढ़ने, समझने पर 1750 से 1850 तक घुमंतू एवं जनजाति समुदायों के अनेक प्रतिरोधों के उदाहरण मिलते हैं। अंग्रेज इतिहासकारों ने इनके प्रतिरोधों को इतिहास लेखन में कम ही स्थान दिया है। इन समुदाय के संघर्षों को 'भारतीय स्वतंत्रता की नींव के पत्थर' के रूप में मानना चाहिए, जो दिखाई नहीं देते लेकिन किसी भवन का आधार होते हैं। इसके आधार पर ही स्वतंत्रता का भव्य भवन खड़ा हुआ है, जिसके ७५ वर्ष पूर्ण होनेपर भारत वर्ष अमृत-महोत्सव के रूप में मना रहा है।

स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन में इन समुदायों की भूमिका को समझने के लिए 1871 में बने अपराधिक जनजाति अधिनियम से पूर्व की घटनाओं को समझना आवश्यक है। यह भी समझना आवश्यक है कि, वह क्या कारण थे जिससे किसी संपूर्ण समुदाय को जन्मजात अपराधी मान लिया जाए, स्थान बदलने पर नजदीकी पुलिस थाने में हाजिरी लगानी पड़े। इस अधिनियम के तहत 193 समुदायों को अधिसूचित किया गया ऐसा क्यों हुआ? यह अत्यावश्यक, महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है। इस प्रश्न के उत्तर को निम्न चार बिंदुओं के आधार पर समझ सकते हैं -

1. **जमींदारी व्यवस्था** : कंपनी के शासन में जमींदारी व्यवस्था लागू करके कंपनी ने जमींदारों से लगान लेना प्रारंभ किया, तो कृषि-भूमि को बढ़ाने का भी कार्य शुरू हुआ, जिसकी जद में वन भूमि को भी लाना चाहा।
2. **वन-उत्पादों का लालच** : वन भूमि में मिलने वाले बहुमूल्य खनिजों, वनोत्पादों तथा लकड़ी का दोहन करना चाहा।
3. **रेलवे के लिए रास्तों की खोज** : घुमंतू समुदायों के माध्यम से बताए गए रास्तों से रेल की पटरियां बिछाई गईं क्योंकि पहाड़ों के छोटे-छोटे रास्तों एवं दर्रों की जानकारी इन समुदायों को थी।
4. **घुमंतू समुदायों की योग्यता, कुशलता का अपने हित में उपयोग** : घुमंतू समुदायों का अनेक बोलियों पर अधिकार, गांवों और शहरों में लगभग सब की जानकारी होने का लाभ अंग्रेज अपने हित में लेना चाहते थे।

हर जगह विद्रोह का ही सामना करना पड़ने के कारण उपरोक्त योजना के इच्छित परिणाम नहीं मिले। अंग्रेजों की दृष्टि से विद्रोह और हमारी दृष्टि से स्वतंत्रता संघर्ष वर्तमान की विमुक्त घुमंतू व जनजाति समुदायों के माध्यम से किए गए, जिन्हें जनजातीय आंदोलन भी कहते हैं। स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन को समझने की दृष्टि से इन संघर्षों को तीन भागों में वर्गीकृत किया जा सकता है -

1. **1857 के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम से पूर्व के संघर्ष** : चुआर (मिदनापुर-बंगाल) 1766-1772, पहाड़िया (राजमहल-हिल्स) 1778, होस (सिंघभूम-झारखण्ड) 1820-22, कोल (छोटानागपुर) 1831-32, अहोम (असम) 1828-33, खासी 1829-32, भील (खानदेश-महाराष्ट्र) 1817; 1925-1931; 1947, रामोसी (सतारा-महाराष्ट्र) 1822-1839, महादेवकोली (सह्याद्रि-महाराष्ट्र) 1824; 1829; 1839; 1844-48, सिंगफोस (असम) 1830, कोया (गोदावरी-आंध्रप्रदेश) 1840, 1924, खामती (अरुणाचल) 1843, संधाल (बिहार) 1855-56 के संघर्ष।
2. **1857 के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में योगदान** : असम के मणिराम

दीवान व पियुली बरुआ, चिटगांव के सैनिकों कि सहयोगी क्रूम, चेरा, भूमिया आदि, उत्तरी कछार के वीर शम्भुधन फूंगलोसा, सम्भलपुर के सुरेंद्र साय, फुलबनी (उड़ीसा) के चक्र बिशोई, चुटूपालू घाटी (छोटा नागपुर) के उमराव सिंह व शेख भिखारी, झारखण्ड के नीलाम्बर व पीताम्बर, गढ़ मण्डला के शंकर शाह व रघुनाथ शाह, सोनाखान (छत्तीसगढ़) के वीर नारायण सिंह, बस्तर (छत्तीसगढ़) के धुवराज, पश्चिमी निमाड़ (मध्यप्रदेश) के ताँतिया भील व रघुनाथ सिंह मंडलोई, निमाड़ (मध्यप्रदेश) के वीर भीमा जी नाईक व खाज्या नाईक, सतना (मध्यप्रदेश) के शहीद रणमत सिंह, विजयराघौगढ़ (मध्यप्रदेश) के शूरवीर सूरज प्रसाद सिंह, पाटन (मध्यप्रदेश) के महा सिंह (महुआ कोल), रामगढ़ (मध्यप्रदेश) की रानी अवन्ती बाई, गुजरात के जोरिया, रूपा व गललिया, खानदेश (महाराष्ट्र) के काजी सिंह व भीमा जी नाईक, नासिक-अहमद नगर (महाराष्ट्र) के भागो जी नाईक, वैजपुर (महाराष्ट्र) के वीर साबा जी नाईक, आदिलाबाद (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) के रामजी गोंड के संघर्ष।



3. **1857 के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के बाद के संघर्ष** : नैकड़ा (पांचमहल-गुजरात) 1858-59, भुआन एवं जुआंग 1867, कोया (रम्पा-गोदावरी क्षेत्र) 1879, कछा नागा (कछार-असम) 1882, मुण्डा (छोटा नागपुर) 1889-90, भील (बांसवाड़ा-डूंगरपुर, राजस्थान) 1913, उरॉव (छोटा नागपुर) 1914-15, कूकी (मणिपुर) 1917-19, चांचूस (आंध्र प्रदेश) 1921-22, जिलियांगरोंग 1920-30, नागा (नागालैंड) 1905-31 के संघर्ष।

उपरोक्त संघर्षों के विश्लेषण से ज्ञात होता है कि, इन समुदायों की त्यागी प्रवृत्ति, गुरिल्ला युद्ध एवं भेष बदलने की कुशलता का उपयोग ये क्रांतिकारियों को सन्देश भेजने में करते थे जैसी कुछ अद्वितीय विशेषताएं थीं। इसलिए इनपर आपराधिक जनजाति अधिनियम जैसा कानून लगाया गया, जिसे 31 अगस्त 1952 को हटाया गया तभी से इन्हें विमुक्त जनजाति कहा जाने लगा है। अब समय है इतिहास को नए दृष्टिकोण से लिखे जाने की ताकि प्रत्येक नागरिक में राष्ट्रीयता का भाव जागृत हो।

शोधार्थी - हिमाचल प्रदेश केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालय



डॉ. अंबेडकर ने अपने दूसरे ग्रन्थ 'ब्रिटिश भारत में प्रादेशिक वित्त का विकास' में ब्रिटिश भारत में 1833 से 1921 तक केंद्र तथा राज्य सरकारों के बीच आर्थिक संबंधों पर विस्तृत चर्चा की ख उन्होंने इस शोध में देश के विकास के लिए 'एक सहज कर प्रणाली' पर बल दिया। इसके लिए उन्होंने तत्कालीन सरकारी राजकोषीय व्यवस्था को स्वतंत्र कर देने का विचार दिया। इसका परिणाम भारत में आर्थिक नियोजन, समकालीन आर्थिक मुद्दों एवं दीर्घकाल में भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाने वाले जिन संस्थानों (रिजर्व बैंक ऑफ़ इंडिया, योजना आयोग अब निति आयोग) को स्वतंत्र स्थापित किया गया।

अर्थशास्त्री डॉ. बाबासाहेब अंबेडकर

डॉ. युवराज कुमार

आज प्रत्येक भारतवासी के लिए यह गर्व का विषय है, कि आधुनिक भारत विश्व के शक्तिशाली देशों की श्रेणी में आता है। इसके पीछे उन सभी आजादी से पूर्व संतों, चिन्तकों, सुधारकों, क्रान्तिकारीयों और आजादी के पश्चात् वैज्ञानिकों, इंजीनियरों, अविष्कारकों, उद्योगपतियों, प्रशासकों इत्यादि के साथ-साथ हमारे शक्तिशाली नेतृत्व को जाता है। आधुनिक भारत के निर्माण में सभी का योगदान रहा है। ऐसे में समाज के वंचित वर्ग (दलित वर्ग) की भूमिका को भी अनदेखा नहीं किया जा सकता है। इस वंचित वर्ग ने भारत को डॉ. भीमराव अंबेडकर के रूप में एक महान राष्ट्र निर्माता दिया है। जिसे विश्व ज्ञान का प्रतीक के रूप में भी जानती है।

डॉ. अंबेडकर केवल भारत में अछूतों, उत्पीड़ित या दलितों के ही नेता ही नहीं थे बल्कि, वे एक आधुनिक भारत के राष्ट्र-निर्माताओं में से थे। वे एक उच्च कोटि के देशभक्त थे। उनका राष्ट्रवाद केवल ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक शासन से भारतीयों को राजनीतिक सत्ता के हस्तांतरण तक ही सीमित नहीं था बल्कि एक स्थायी राष्ट्रीय पुनर्निर्माण कि एक व्यापक धारणा पर केंद्रित था। डॉ. अंबेडकर मूल रूप से एक अर्थशास्त्री थे। अमेरिका के प्रख्यात कोलंबिया विश्वविद्यालय से उन्होंने 1915 में एम. ए. तथा 1917 में पीएचडी दोनों ही उपाधि अर्थशास्त्र में की थी। इसके पश्चात् सन 1923 में लंदन स्कूल ऑफ़ इकोनॉमिक्स से डॉक्टर ऑफ़ साइंस भी अर्थशास्त्रीय अनुसंधान के आधार पर ही कि थी।

भारत में डॉ. अंबेडकर को अर्थशास्त्री के रूप में अनदेखा किया

गया। जिसके दो मुख्य कारण बताए जाते हैं—पहला, भारत में विदेशी विद्वानों को विशेषतः पाश्चात्य विद्वानों को अधिक गुणवान, उच्च कोटि का समझा जाता है और दूसरा, डॉ. अंबेडकर का विधिशास्त्र, समाजशास्त्र, धर्मशास्त्र के साथ-साथ शिक्षा, राजनीति, पत्रकारिता इत्यादि विविध क्षेत्रों में कार्य करना, जिससे अर्थशास्त्री के रूप में उनका योगदान छिप गया है। लेकिन फिर भी, राष्ट्र-निर्माण में डॉ. अंबेडकर के योगदान को कम नहीं आँका जा सकता है। जैसा कि 2007 में नोबल पुरस्कार प्राप्त अमर्त्य सेन ने अपने व्याख्यान के दौरान अर्थशास्त्र के क्षेत्र में टिप्पणीदौरान स्वीकार करते हुए कहा - 'डॉ. अंबेडकर अर्थशास्त्र के क्षेत्र में मेरे पिता हैं। अर्थशास्त्र के क्षेत्र में उनका योगदान बेहद शानदार है। उसके लिए उन्हें सदैव याद रखा जाएगा।'

डॉ. अंबेडकर के आर्थिक योगदान को दो भागों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है। प्रथम भाग में जन्म से सन् 1923 तक, जिसमें उन्होंने विदेशी विश्वविद्यालयों से उच्च उपाधियाँ प्राप्त करते हुए अपने शोध के माध्यम से भारतीय अर्थशास्त्रीय समस्याओं पर विद्वत्तापूर्ण प्रबंध लेखन किया और दूसरा भाग में सन 1924 से मृत्यु तक, जिसमें आर्थिक नियम, अधिनियम तथा कानूनों एवं संघर्ष इत्यादि के द्वारा सक्रिय अर्थशास्त्री के रूप में महत्त्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाते हुए देखा जा सकता है।

स्वतंत्रता से पूर्व भारत की आर्थिक एवं दयनीय स्थिति कि दशा को डॉ. अंबेडकर द्वारा अपने शोध के माध्यम से प्रस्तुत करना, एक सच्चे राष्ट्रवादी की पहचान है। डॉ. अंबेडकर ने अर्थशास्त्र पर विद्वत्तापूर्ण ग्रंथ रचे हैं। जिनमें 'ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी का प्रशासन एवं वित्त प्रबंध', 'ब्रिटिश भारत में प्रादेशिक वित्त का विकास' तथा 'रूपे की समस्या

उद्गम तथा समाधान' आदि प्रमुख रहे हैं। यह ग्रंथ देश के प्रति डॉ. अंबेडकर कि सोच, सम्पूर्ण और भविष्य को दर्शाते हैं।

डॉ. अंबेडकर ने 'ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी का प्रशासन एवं वित्त प्रबंध' ग्रन्थ में सन 1792 से 1858 तक की दीर्घ अवधि में ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के प्रशासन और अर्थ प्रबंध में हुए परिवर्तनों कि ऐतिहासिक चर्चा प्रस्तुत की और इस बात पर अधिक बल दिया कि किस प्रकार अंग्रेजों ने भारतीय जनता पर आर्थिक अन्याय किए। डॉ. अंबेडकर ने इस ग्रन्थ में बताया कि किसी भी देश की आर्थिक नीति का मूल्यांकन उस देश में रेलवे, सड़क, नहरों के निर्माण इत्यादि जैसी सार्वजनिक उपयोग की सेवा तथा विकासात्मक वस्तुओं पर किए गए खर्च के आधार पर किया जाना चाहिए। डॉ. अंबेडकर ने अपने दूसरे ग्रन्थ 'ब्रिटिश भारत में प्रादेशिक वित्त का विकास' में ब्रिटिश भारत में 1833 से 1921 तक केंद्र तथा राज्य सरकारों के बीच आर्थिक संबंधों पर विस्तृत चर्चा की। उन्होंने इस शोध में देश के विकास के लिए 'एक सहज कर प्रणाली' पर बल दिया। इसके लिए उन्होंने तत्कालीन सरकारी राजकोषीय व्यवस्था को स्वतंत्र कर

डॉ. अंबेडकर के आर्थिक योगदान को दो भागों में विभाजित किया जा सकता है। प्रथम भाग में जन्म से सन् १९२३ तक, जिसमें उन्होंने विदेशी विश्वविद्यालयों से उच्च उपाधियाँ प्राप्त करते हुए अपने शोध के माध्यम से भारतीय अर्थशास्त्रीय समस्याओं पर विद्वत्पूर्ण प्रबंध लेखन किया। दूसरा भाग में सन 1924 से मृत्यु तक, आर्थिक नियम, अधिनियम, कानून संघर्ष इत्यादि के द्वारा सक्रिय अर्थशास्त्री के रूप में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाते हुए देखा जा सकता है।

देने का विचार दिया। इसका परिणाम भारत में आर्थिक नियोजन, समकालीन आर्थिक मुद्दों एवं दीर्घकाल में भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत बनाने वाले जिन संस्थानों (रिजर्व बैंक ऑफ इंडिया, योजना आयोग अब निति आयोग) को स्वतंत्र स्थापित किया गया।

डॉ. अंबेडकर की 'रूपए की समस्या : उद्गम तथा समाधान' (1923) ग्रन्थ को भारतीय रूपए के विकास की ऐतिहासिक मीमांसा माना जाता है। जो भारत के भविष्य के लिए आदर्श मुद्रा प्रणाली कैसी हो ? विषय पर चिंतन को दर्शाता है। आज के समय में जब भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था मुद्रा के अवमूल्यन और मुद्रास्फीति की समस्या से दो-चार हो रही है तो ऐसे में उनके शोध के परिणाम न सिर्फ समस्याओं को समझने में महत्वपूर्ण हो रहे हैं बल्कि वह इसके समाधान को लेकर आगे का मार्ग भी प्रशस्त कर रहे हैं। एक अन्य लेख में डॉ. अंबेडकर ने 'भारत में छोटी जोत और उनके उपचार' में भारतीय कृषि तंत्र का स्पष्ट अवलोकन किया। उनका मानना था कि यदि कृषि को अन्य आर्थिक उद्यमों के समान माना जाए तो बड़ी और छोटी जोतों का भेद समाप्त हो जाएगा इसके अलावा डॉ. अंबेडकर ने कृषि क्षेत्र में कुछ अमूल्य सुझाव भी दिये जिनमें खेत का राष्ट्रीयकरण, सामूहिक व सहकारी खेती, खेती में खेत पद्धति

का उम्मूलन, खाद, बीज और सिंचाई, सरकार की ओर से बजट में खेती के अधिक राशि, निजी साहूकारों पर नियंत्रण इत्यादि। इससे कृषि क्षेत्र में खुशहाली आएगी और भारत में कृषि अर्थशास्त्र में महत्वपूर्ण सुधार होगा। जिसकी आज आवश्यकता भी है।

डॉ. अंबेडकर के आर्थिक क्षेत्र में योगदानों के दूसरे भाग में, देश की आर्थिक समस्याओं के निदान के लिए, रणनीति के तहत विकास के व्यावहारिक पहलुओं को अंजाम देना शामिल था। इसमें नियम, अधिनियम, कानून, आयोग, परियोजनाएं, प्राधिकरण, इंजीनियर, श्रमिक, महिला, किसान, खेती, औद्योगिकीकरण, मजदूर दल, सार्वजनिक व्यय के सिद्धांत, आर्थिक विकास में जाति व्यवस्था की समस्या, राज्य समाजवाद, इत्यादि थे। जिन में डॉ. अंबेडकर द्वारा किये गये प्रयास इस प्रकार हैं – भारत में बहुउद्देशीय नदी घाटी परियोजनाओं के अग्रदूत के रूप में पहचाने जाने वाले डॉ. अंबेडकर ने दामोदर घाटी परियोजना, भाखड़ा नंगल बांध परियोजना, सोन नदी घाटी परियोजना और हीराकुंड बांध परियोजना की शुरुआत करना, केंद्रीय और राज्य स्तर दोनों में सिंचाई परियोजनाओं के विकास की सुविधा के लिए केंद्रीय जल आयोग की भी स्थापना करना, भारत के बिजली क्षेत्र के विकास को बढ़ावा देने के लिए जल विद्युत और थर्मल पावर स्टेशनों की क्षमता का पता लगाने और स्थापित करने के लिए केंद्रीय तकनीकी पावर बोर्ड (सीटीपीबी) और केंद्रीय विद्युत प्राधिकरण की भी स्थापना करना, भारत में ग्रिड सिस्टम (जिस पर भारत अभी भी निर्भर करता है) और प्रशिक्षित विद्युत इंजीनियरों की आवश्यकता पर बल देना, 1942 से लेकर 1946 के समय में लेबर इन दी वायसराय काउंसिल में सदस्य के रूप में उन्होंने मजदूरों के उत्थान के लिए बहुत से कार्य किये। उन्होंने ट्रेड यूनियन को भी मजबूत किया और पूरे भारत में रोजगार के आदान-प्रदान की संभावना विकसित करवाई, श्रम मंत्री काल में श्रमिकों के वेतन में बढ़ोतरी, भत्ते, बोनस आदि सुविधायें स्वीकृत करवाना, 1947-46 वायसराय के मंत्री मण्डल में श्रम मंत्री के रूप में कार्य करना, 1936 'स्वतन्त्र मजदूर दल' स्थापित करना, नवम्बर 1942 में नई दिल्ली में हुए 'इंडियन लेबर कांफ्रेंस' के सातवें सेशन में काम करने की अवधि 12 घंटे से कम करके 8 घंटे करने का प्रस्ताव लाना, भारत के महिला श्रमिकों के लिए कई कानून बनवायें, जिसमें श्रमजीवी महिलाओं को प्रसूति अवकाश, मातृत्व लाभ, महिला श्रम कल्याण निधि, महिला और बाल, श्रम संरक्षण अधिनियम इत्यादि शामिल करवाना तथा देश का विकास औद्योगीकरण से होगा की मान्यता स्वीकारना इत्यादि।

अंत में यही कहा जा सकता है कि भारत के लोगों ने डॉ. अंबेडकर की शिक्षा, योग्यता, अनुभव तथा भारत के आर्थिक विकास के लिए किये गए प्रयासों एवं योगदानों को सम्मान देते हुए दुनिया के सबसे बड़े लोकतंत्र के संविधान को बनाने की जिम्मेवारी सौंप दी, जिसको डॉ. अंबेडकर ने बखूबी निभाया। परिणामस्वरूप डॉ. अंबेडकर को भारतीय संविधान का पिता कहा गया और भारतरत्न से सम्मानित किया गया। जो यह दर्शाता है कि राष्ट्र निर्माण में वंचित समाज के महानायक एवं अर्थशास्त्री डॉ. अंबेडकर को किसी भी तरह कम नहीं कहा जा सकता।

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दलित उद्यमिता

डॉ. राजेश पासवान

26 जनवरी 1950 में डॉ. बाबासाहेब ने जो भाषण दिया था उसमें, हम राजनैतिक रूप से तो आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन अभी आर्थिक और सामाजिक समानता स्थापित होना बाकी है ऐसी अपनी चिंता जाहिर की थी। आर्थिक और सामाजिक समानता की एकता को प्राप्त करने का उत्तरदायित्व उन्होंने अगली पीढ़ी पर छोड़ा लेकिन इसे सौभाग्य कहें या दुर्भाग्य कि डॉ. बाबासाहेब के उस आर्थिक विजन पर दलित संगठनों ने ज़ोर नहीं दिया। बहुत बाद में 2005 में डिक्की की स्थापना ने इसे गति देने का काम किया है।

दलित समाज में आज जितनी भी प्रगति हुई है उसकी प्रेरणा डॉ. बाबासाहेब आम्बेडकर के लेखन एवं आंदोलनों में मिलते हैं। आज के दलित समाज आर्थिक, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक आन्दोलन बाबासाहेब के व्यक्तित्व, कृतित्व से अनुप्राणित है। अर्थशास्त्र और आर्थिक आन्दोलन के प्रति उनका गहरा विजन था, गहरा नाता था। उन्होंने दलित समाज की आर्थिक स्थितियों का जिक्र अपने लेखन में किया है। वायसराय को लिखे गए पत्रों में बाबासाहेब ने तत्कालीन दिल्ली सरकार के ठेकों में दलितों को आरक्षण देने की बात कही है। बाबासाहेब मजदूरों के साथ होने वाली इस शोषणकारी नीति के खिलाफ थे, लेकिन औद्योगीकरण के समर्थक थे। कृषि के क्षेत्र में औद्योगीकरण कैसे विकसित हो ? कैसे इसे और मैकेनाइज किया जाए ? इसके वे समर्थक थे। औद्योगीकरण के समर्थक होने के नाते दलित समाज में आर्थिक आन्दोलन की चेतना को जगाने और मजबूती देने में

उनकी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका थी। 26 जनवरी 1950 में बाबासाहेब ने जो भाषण दिया था उसमें, हम राजनैतिक रूप से तो आगे बढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन अभी आर्थिक और सामाजिक समानता स्थापित होना बाकी है ऐसी अपनी चिंता जाहिर की थी। आर्थिक और सामाजिक समानता की एकता को प्राप्त करने का उत्तरदायित्व उन्होंने अगली पीढ़ी पर छोड़ा, लेकिन इसे सौभाग्य कहें या दुर्भाग्य कि बाबासाहेब के उस आर्थिक विजन पर दलित संगठनों ने ज़ोर नहीं दिया। बहुत बाद में 2005 में डिक्की की स्थापना ने इसे गति देने का काम किया है।

वर्तमान समय में दलित समाज में आर्थिक आन्दोलन को विकसित करने एवं बौद्धिक स्वीकार्यता दिलवाने में मिलिंद काम्बले और चन्द्रभान प्रसाद इन दोनों ने बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निभाई हैं। दलित पूंजीवाद की सैधान्तिकी को विकसित करने में इन दोनों का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है। चंद्रभान प्रसाद ने विभिन्न अखबारों, पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में सैकड़ों लेख लिखकर 'दलित पूंजीवाद' की अवधारणा को स्थापित करने का कार्य किया। उनके



नवभारत टाइम्स में प्रकाशित हुए प्रमुख लेख हैं- 'दलित पूंजीवाद', 'पूँजी का असली साथी तो दलित है', 'मुमकिन है दलितों का करोड़पति बनना', 'दलित कैप्टलिज्म', 'दलित से बनता बाजार', 'दलित पूंजीपती क्यों नहीं?', 'बाजार ही है असली समाजवाद।' इन लेखों का प्रभाव यह रहा कि इनके माध्यम से एक नई बहस का आगाज हुआ।

दलित पूंजीवाद के व्यावहारिक पक्ष को स्थापित करने का कार्य मिलिंद काम्बले ने दलित इण्डियन चैम्बर ऑफ़ कॉमर्स इंडस्ट्री (डिक्की) नामक सन्गठन को 2005 में बनाकर किया। जिस तरह से दलित राजनीति, दलित साहित्य इत्यादि विमर्श ने दलित समाज के विविध पक्षों को उभारा; उसी तरह से डिक्की ने दलित उद्यमिता को केंद्र में स्थापित किया। डिक्की ने एक ऐसा मजबूत संगठन तैयार किया जिसकी शाखाएं केवल अपने ही देश से होकर विदेशों में भी हैं। डिक्की ने हजारों दलित उद्यमियों को खोजकर अपने साथ जोड़ा। साथ ही मुख्य धारा में चल रहा कि, दलित सिर्फ जूता ही बना सकते हैं, या सिर्फ सफ़ाई का ही कार्य कर सकते हैं ऐसे भ्रम को भी तोड़ा।

डिक्की ने दलित आर्थिक आन्दोलन को विस्तार देते हुए कुछ आदर्श भी निर्मित किये। इसके मुख्यतः तीन आदर्श हैं -

1. सभी दलित उद्यमियों को एक साथ लाना।
2. स्थापित एवं सभी उभरते हुए दलित उद्यमियों के लिए संसाधन केंद्र के रूप में कार्य करना।
3. दलितों कि सामाजिक, आर्थिक समस्याओं के समाधान के रूप में उनके बीच उद्यमशीलता का विकास करना।

इनके अलावा डिक्की के और भी महत्वपूर्ण कार्ययोजनाएं हैं जैसे कि :

- * व्यापारिक नेतृत्व का विकास करना।
- * दलित युवाओं के मन में दलित उद्यमशीलता के प्रति रूचि उत्पन्न करना।
- * उनमें दुनिया के साथ कदम से कदम मिलाकर चलने के लिए साहस पैदा करना।
- * पहले लोग दलित पहचान के साथ उद्यमिता के क्षेत्र में आने से कतराते थे, लेकिन अब दलित युवा इस क्षेत्र में काफी आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। डिक्की ने आने वाले समय में दलित उद्यमिता को बढ़ाने के लिए महत्वपूर्ण अवसर प्रदान किये हैं।
- * पूंजीवादी जातिवाद से लड़ना।
- * व्यापारिक नेटवर्क के द्वारा दलित समाज को सूचनायें देने

का कार्य करना।

* सरकार और औद्योगिक घरानों के साथ मेलजोल स्थापित करना।

* नवीनतम अवसरों एवं नवीनतम बिजनेस टेकनीक्स का आदान-प्रदान करना इत्यादि।

डिक्की के दो महत्वपूर्ण टैग लाईन हैं जिसे बहुत पसंद किया जाता है। पहला है, नौकरी मांगने वाले नहीं बल्कि नौकरी देने वाले बनो और दूसरा मनी लड़ेगा मनु से इन दोनों पंक्तियों ने न सिर्फ दलित विमर्श बल्कि मुख्य धारा के विमर्श की भी दिशा बदल दी है। जो लोग यह मानते थे की दलित समाज के लोग सिर्फ सरकारी मदद के ही भरोसे रहते हैं, अपने से कुछ कर नहीं सकते? उन्हें अपनी सोच बदलनी पड़ी है। इसके साथ ही जो लोग पूंजीवाद को खराब मानते थे वे भी यह मानने लगे कि दलित समाज की वंचनाओं से मुक्ति में पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था कि बहुत बड़ी भूमिका है। विशेषकर 1991 के बाद हुए आर्थिक उदारीकरण एवं भूमंडलीकरण के बाद आर्थिक उदारीकरण ने ग्रामीण दलित समाज को सामंती शक्तियों से मुक्त करने में बहुत बड़ी भूमिका कैसे निभाई है, ये चन्द्रभान प्रसाद ने अपने लेखों में इसको स्थापित किया है।

डिक्की के चैयरमैन मिलिंद काम्बले, उनकी यशस्वी टीम ने विभिन्न राज्य सरकारों, केंद्र सरकार के साथ मिलकर स्टैंडअप

डिक्की ने दलित आर्थिक आन्दोलन को विस्तार देते हुए कुछ आदर्श भी निर्मित किये। इसके मुख्यतः तीन आदर्श हैं -

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इंडिया, एस सी एस टी हब, सरकारी खरीद में एस सी, एस टी के लिए आरक्षण, एस सी उद्यमियों के लिए वेंचर कैपिटल फंड इत्यादि सैकड़ों महत्वपूर्ण योजनायें बनवाई हैं, जिनका लाभ आज हजारों दलितों को मिल रहा है। स्टैंडअप इण्डिया के तहत बैंक की हर ब्रांच को उद्योग क्षेत्र में एक एस. सी., एक एस. टी. और एक महिला को दस लाख रुपये से लेकर एक करोड़ रुपये तक का ऋण देना अनिवार्य किया है, क्योंकि छोटे उद्यमियों के लिए बिजनेस के क्षेत्र में ऋण उपलब्धता में समस्या थी। एस. सी., एस. टी. हब के माध्यम से दलित उद्यमियों को बहुआयामी सुविधाएँ दिलवाने का इंतजाम किया गया है। इन सब महत्वपूर्ण प्रयासों से डिक्की का एक और आदर्श वाक्य फलीभूत हो रहा है कि हमें कन्सेशन नहीं कनेक्शन चाहिए।

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