

# युगप्रवर्तक

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर



संपादक  
डॉ. उमाकांत वानखेडे

Harshwardhan Publication Pvt. Ltd.





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प्रा. डॉ. वानखेडे उमाकांत ज्ञानोबा

नवगण कला व वाणिज्य महाविद्यालय, परळी वै. जि.बीड

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of their castes, creed and races.

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## Dr. Ambedkar and democratic Thought for Nation.

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### Key Words: -

Views of Democracy, Constitutionalism, Social Justice, Social Reforms, Prophet of Nationalism, Dalit Difference as Political Strategy for the Annihilation of Caste, The Depressed Classes of India, a Nation builder.

### Introduction:-

Dr Ambedkar was influenced by Lord Buddha and his teachings. Buddhist outlook of life influenced Dr. Ambedkar to a great extent. Buddhist doctrines of Annicca (transitoriness) and Annatta (egolessness) made Dr. Ambedkar adopt a scientific and humanitarian outlook. He believed in the Buddhist teaching that man was the master of his own destiny. One could overcome suffering and pain by continuous action. Dr. Ambedkar penned down the book "Buddha and his Dhamma" highlighting the Buddhist ideology.

John Dewey, Dr. Ambedkar's mentor at Columbia University, moulded Ambedkar's thought processes. It was Dewey who encouraged a pragmatic approach to life. Dewey's emphasis on activist epistemology and concept of instrumentalism appealed to Dr. Ambedkar. The Deweyian idea of democracy as "associated life" greatly influenced Ambedkar's writings on society and caste. Dr. Ambedkar was also influenced by Karl Marx and his theory of class struggle. However, he differed



with Marx on the nature of exploitation to which the struggling classes are subjected. According to Ambedkar, apart from economic exploitation, the struggling classes were also subjected to social exploitation. Moreover, Ambedkar tried to distinguish between class and caste.

Justice Ranade too had an impact on Dr. Ambedkar's thinking. Ranade's philosophy taught Dr. Ambedkar to abandon the imaginary. It taught him to pursue those ideals that were pragmatic. In politics, one must give equal importance to sentiments and temperament of people as compared to intellect and theory. Lastly, in political negotiations one must proceed with the thinking of what is possible. One must not compromise on one's principles.

Apart from these, Dr. Ambedkar was greatly influenced by Jyotiba Phule who propounded that all men were equal by birth. Dr. Ambedkar held Phule in high esteem as he had started the first school for women. Dr. Ambedkar dedicated his book "Who were the Shudras?" to Phule and his extraordinary work in the field of social reform. J.S. Mill's idea of freedom of thought made Ambedkar realize the vitality of individual initiative and personal responsibility. Dr. Ambedkar believed in realist school of political thought. Lastly, he was assured about the positive role education could play in empowering the depressed classes by creating awareness about their political rights and by raising their cultural level.

#### • Views of Democracy:

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's description of a democracy is multi-dimensional. Democracy, in common usage is often related to political democracy. The principle on which political democracy operates is one man one vote. However, Dr. Ambedkar's perception of democracy is different, formed after a penetrative analysis of the political, social and economic conditions prevailing in India during his life and times.

Several western thinkers made a

distinction between state and society, state and the Government and state and nation. Dr. Ambedkar, however, went a step ahead. His concern was the constituent elements that formed these entities i.e. the people. He was more concerned about the socio-economic position of people in the society. He believed that terms such as nation, country and state were nebulous. According to him, "nation", in the philosophical sense, did convey a unit. Sociologically speaking, it comprised of people belonging to multiple classes. Freedom of the nation meant freedom for all the different multiple classes constituting it. Dr. Ambedkar was well aware of the fact that freedom of the nation did not always translate into freedom for all classes. He was of the opinion that considering India "a nation" would be a great delusion. He raised a single question "How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation?" He felt that one should quickly recognize this fact. Accepting this fact would be the first step towards uniting the people (divided by multiple castes) into a nation.<sup>(1)</sup>

Dr. Ambedkar opined that a political democracy was an extension of the society for which the political democracy is established. For instance, in India itself, birth of a person in a particular caste decided his/her status rather than the person's ability. Distinctions of high status and low status in society create a social hierarchy based on birth. Social equality in India was disturbed due to emergence of the caste system. Indian social structure was based on the caste system. "Brahmins" sat at the top of the hierarchical social system. They were followed by "kshatriyas" and "vaishyas". At bottom of the social pyramid were "Shudras" and the untouchables. Each slot in the social pyramid had a definite set of functions pre-determined for the members of that particular slot to perform. Performance of these pre-determined functions or duties was imperative to ensure the smooth running of the Indian (or more



specifically the Hindu) social order. However, here's the catch, each slot in the pyramid did not enjoy similar status. "Brahmins" were considered to be knowledgeable and were held in high esteem.

#### • Constitutionalism and B. R. Ambedkar:-

Constitutionalism is not all about governance as it also provides contested ideas and practices concerning justice, rights, development and associational autonomy. It is commonly conceived to be the idea that there are legal restraints on the exercise of political authority.<sup>(2)</sup> It places limits on the state action and conformity with the constitution becomes a guiding principle. B. R. Ambedkar believed that Constitution is not just a written text but it can be an effective tool to ensure justice and equality to all the sections of society especially to the down-trodden sections of society. He wished to achieve several objectives with the help of constitutional provisions and, in fact, certain provisions can be traced which clearly reflects the influence of his vision on the Indian Constitution - the main task undertaken in this paper. However, it is not necessary that both Constitution and constitutionalism exist together, for instance, the Constitution of India gives great importance to Right to Freedom (Article 19-22). But an individual even does have right to choose their life partner freely which is most evident in the large episodes of honor killings. This fact can be further observed in the various prevailing religion-based, caste-based and lineage-based customs and practices which have been continued to violating the basic rights of an individual in the post-colonial society.<sup>(3)</sup>

Constitution in India has been framed in such a way in the post-colonial period that it makes endeavour to fulfill those expectations which were created by its people while they were under the yoke of the Britishers. Post-colonialist constitutions therefore have an agenda of development and even stand for the social change. Perhaps, this is why Myron Weiner, a

well-known constitutional expert, says that "the Indian Constitution is more than a set of rules guiding behaviour; it is a kind of charter... a set of goals and expectations. It is largely regarded a living thing which has continuously remained in the process of accommodating the necessity of time."<sup>(4)</sup>

#### • Dr. Ambedkar and Social Justice:

India, a democratic state adopted a mixed economy post-independence. It wished to walk the path of a welfare state. Dr. Ambedkar, fondly known as the "the champion of social justice", was the pioneer of social justice in India. He added fresh perspective to the concept of social justice and set out to codify his idea of social justice by playing a crucial role in drafting the constitution of India. For Dr. Ambedkar social justice was incidental to the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity. For him social justice was similar to mutual respect, equal dignity, human equality, equal and just distribution of public goods, mutual sympathy and a fair and just society without any form of discrimination. As mentioned earlier, for Dr. Ambedkar political democracy was to be based on social democracy.

It was this social democracy that would ensure social justice for its citizens. Why? Social democracy identified the trinity of "equality, liberty and fraternity" as sacred and key principles of life. The three ideals worked in tandem without being divorced from each other. Equality, as an ideal, was dear to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. As a child, Dr. Ambedkar (a Dalit by birth) was a victim of social injustice - he was denied equal treatment in school. As he grew up, in all walks of life he had to face discrimination on the basis of caste. Thus, it became his life mission to ensure that his Dalit brothers and sisters as well as other backward and downtrodden classes were treated equally in the society without any discrimination. "On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which





means elevation for some and degradation for others. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and political life? If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow the structure of political democracy.<sup>(5)</sup>

#### • Social Reforms:-

As a crusader against social evils and unscientific and unhealthy practices prevalent in the traditional caste ridden Hindu society, Mohan Roy formed a number of social organizations in North India. In 1816, he started a spiritual society known as 'Atmiya Sabha' for religious and Social purposes which were later extended to other fields of activity. Atmiya Sabha was sort of discussion club for scholars of religion and philosophy at other fields of activity. In 1818, he began his celebrated crusade for the abolition of sati, and on December 4, 1829, Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General of India made Sati illegal by Regulation XVII. Thus the year 1829 may be taken as an important landmark in the social history of India. Ram Mohan Roy Certainly won great renown by his crusade to free Hindu women from the dark practice of sati. It must however be noted that along with the European Sanskrit, H.H Wilson, Ram Mohan was Opposed to any legal enactment for the immediate suppression of sati. He favored that the practice 'might be suppressed quietly and unobserved by increasing the difficulties and by the Indirect agency of the police.

The principles and ideas of Brahma Samaj gradually spread for beyond Bengal and created an atmosphere of liberalism, rationalism and modernity which greatly influenced Indian thought. As Max Muller has rightly pointed out, 'If there is ever to be a new religion in India, it will, I believe, owe its very life-blood to the large

heart of Ram Mohan Roy and his worthily disciples Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen.' But Max Muller's prophecy could not be fulfilled, because the condition attached to it- the emergence of a new religion in India was impossible of realisation. Hinduism proved strong enough to counteract the growing influence of Brahmanism as it had done in the case of Buddhism.<sup>(6)</sup>

#### • Prophet of Nationalism:-

Swami Vivekananda is considered as one of the prophets of the Indian nationalism because he tried to awaken Indian people who were lying in deep slumber. He wanted to see the Emergence of a strong and self confident India which would give the message of the Vedanta to the world. He strongly believed that the Indians should be proud of their rosy history, tradition, culture and religion and should try their level best to reform them. The awakening of the spirit of India was the goal for young people. Hence he advised them to 'arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached'

When Ambedkar began advocating for the rights of dalits in 1919, he joined an anti-caste movement that had for decades appealed to the colonial government on behalf of the oppressed castes. Within Ambedkar's Mahar community in western India, activists such as Gopal Baba Valangkar and Shivram Janba Kamble grounded their arguments for greater opportunities within the colonial structure in historical claims of pre-Aryan, indigenous, or Kshatriyas lineage. For both of these activists as well as for Ambedkar, the leadership and intellectual project of Jotirao Govindrao Phule was seminal in the development of their activism.<sup>(7)</sup>

Aryan Brahmins appeared as brute and uncivilized people in Phule's history and the indigenous people as prosperous and advanced. He thus inverted the dominant theory of the Aryan conquest and put forth a history in which the dominant tropes were of struggle, violence,





and clashes of power. His narrative of the conquest of the indigenous people included ten phases, which he claimed were mythologized as the ten incarnations of Vishnu. In this way, Phule redefined Hindu mythology and read it as a chronicle of the Aryan/Brahmin assault on India.

**• Dalit Difference as Political Strategy for the Annihilation of Caste:-**

Ambedkar's pursuit of a political solution to the problem of caste inequality came to the fore in the 1930s. Throughout the 1920s, Ambedkar had campaigned for dalit rights to access water reserves and temples. He argued that these practices constituted civic rights and used legal arguments that stressed the "public" nature of these facilities. In 1924, he established the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha (Society for the Wellbeing of the Excluded) with its motto of "Educate, Agitate, Organize." The organization was key to Ambedkar's movement for the empowerment of dalits. In 1926, Ambedkar was nominated to the Legislative Council for the Bombay Presidency, adding to his political authority to represent dalits. <sup>(8)</sup>

In the 1930s, the assertion of dalit difference – of a radical difference in political identity from caste Hindus – became Ambedkar's predominant strategy for dalit empowerment. This strategy framed dalits as a minority community and as Anupama Rao writes, cast them as "subjects of suffering defined by permanent antagonism to the caste Hindu order." This strategy rendered dalits a community politically equivalent to Muslims and consequently, deserving of comparable electoral protections. At the Second Roundtable Conference, in which both M.K. Gandhi and Ambedkar sat on the Minorities Committee, Ambedkar advocated for the institution of separate electorates for the Depressed Classes. In August 1932, the colonial government responded with the Communal Award, which gave the Depressed Classes the right to separate electorates. Gandhi protested that separate

electorates would destroy Hindu unity and announced a "fast-unto-death" if the measure was not repealed. <sup>(9)</sup>

**• The Depressed Classes of India:-**

From Yerawda Central Prison, Poona, where he was under arrest since January 4, 1932, he wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare and to the Premier, Mr. MacDonald, repeating that the Depressed Classes problem was predominantly moral and religious. Though he had made the cause of the Harijans his own "from his boyhood," he felt obliged in conscience to resist the Communal Award with his life, as he saw in it "the injection of a poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and to do no good whatever to the Depressed Classes." His only weapon was to declare "a perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda." This fast would begin at noon of September 20, 1932, and would cease as soon as the British Government withdrew their scheme of separate communal electorates for the Depressed Classes.

Whilst the Government allowed the Mahatma all facilities in Yerawda Jail for discussing the Depressed Classes problem with such persons or deputations as he might wish to see, their attitude to the Communal Award remained unchanged and Gandhi began his fast. To a press representative he declared that he always had identified himself, so far as possible, with the lowest strata of the Untouchables. "And I am convinced, if they are ever to rise, it will not be by the reservation of seats; it will be by strenuous work done by Hindu reformers in their midst; and it is because I feel that this separation would have killed all prospect of reform that my whole soul rebelled against it." <sup>(10)</sup>

India shall now anxiously await your immediate action." On the following day the Conference, reassembled in Bombay, unanimously ratified the Poona Pact and issued the resolution: "Henceforth no one shall be regarded as an Untouchable by reason of his





birth, and those who have been so regarded hitherto shall have the same right as the other Hindus in regard to the use of public wells, roads, schools, and other public institutions.”<sup>(11)</sup>

Some Hindus, with a concern for the Untouchables that was, not without the suspicion of self-interest, expressed their “fear” lest the Harijans by changing their religion should lose the political rights granted to them by the Poona Pact, which had increased the number of seats allotted to them precisely on the understanding that they would remain within the Hindu fold. The very object of Gandhi’s fast and of the Pact had been to maintain and consolidate the unity of Hinduism.

• **Dr. Ambedkar as a Nation builder:-**

He was outspoken about his ideas of nation building. He possessed great foresight and his warnings about the future of India ring so true today. In a speech before the constituent assembly he cautioned his fellow legislators against the use of non-constitutional methods of protest, such as civil disobedience and Satyagraha, because they were essentially anarchic in nature. He rallied against the Indian tendency to engage in hero worship. He was afraid that the people of India would lay their liberation at the feet of someone they worshipped or entrust them with extraordinary limitless powers. He also underlined the importance of creating not just a political democracy, but also a social and economic one. His PhD thesis was inspired to set up for the Finance Commission of India and his works helped a lot in framing guidelines for the RBI Act 1934. He was one of the founders of Employment Exchanges in our country. He played a vital role in establishment of the National Power Grid System, Central Water Irrigation, Navigation Commission, Damodar valley project, Hirakud project and sane river project.

Dr. Ambedkar had imprinted his mark of talent and vision in drafting Indian Constitution. His statesman qualities can easily visible each

and every article of Indian Constitution. Ambedkar preferred the parliamentary system in England than the Presidential System in America. Dr. Ambedkar described the role of President as “He is the head of the state but not the executive. He represents to nation but does not rule the nation. He is the symbol of the nation. His place in the administration is that of a ceremonial device on a seal by which the nation’s decisions are made known ... The president of the Indian union will be generally bound by the advice of the Ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice.”<sup>(12)</sup>

• **Conclusion:-**

Dr. Ambedkar is portrayed as a Dalit leader who fought for his community with unmatched alacrity. Of course he did. He gave a section of population in India a worthwhile identity. In doing so he fought for humanity. But in typifying his role as a Dalit leader we often ignore the great person that he was. Despite facing social injustice and discrimination multiple times in his life he never advocated a bloody revolution for overthrowing the prevailing social system. He believed in democracy and constitutional means to achieve his end. His clout on the social milieu during his times was such that thousands of supporters would have stood by his course of action. But he chose his course of action wisely. We should be grateful to Dr. Ambedkar for this. Popular literature on Dr. Ambedkar is selective. We just know about the role played by him in drafting the constitution or empowering the downtrodden masses. Nowhere do we find equal mention in the role played by Dr. Ambedkar in setting up the Reserve Bank of India (R.B.I.). He formulated the guidelines and conceptualized the code that would make the functioning of R.B.I possible.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the chief draftsman of the Indian Constitution, played a significant part in the process of constitution-making. He raised the voices of those who had been long



remained unheard, and had an intense commitment for the social cause and upliftment of deprived and down-trodden sections of society. He explicitly mentioned about swear which he took for the elimination of unjust and inhuman practices from the Hindu society, in the context of untouchables. He was the representative—in the Constituent Assembly of all downtrodden sections in general and untouchables in particular, and also he proudly proclaimed himself the leader of the latter. He has been considered a pioneer of the notion of affirmative actions and inclusive policies in India and these concepts have emerged out of constant denial of equal rights to specific community in society. He took the responsibility to ensure justice and dignity to low-caste of society. Ambedkar's advocacy of the concept of constitutional morality further emphasized this fact by which he proposed to drastically change the extremely hierarchical and unjust social order whereby every aspect of life was controlled by the higher Hindu caste.

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8. See Rao, The Caste Question, 82.
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conversation with Sardar Patel about the Communal Award, Gandhi suggested that "caste Hindus had to be defended against the British-sponsored solidarity between Muslims and Dalits." See Jaffrelot, Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability, 65.

10. Caste is a social distinction as well as a religious one. The Church entered South India centuries before the movement in favour of the Untouchables had begun. Faced with the alternative of either recognizing caste or giving up as useless every attempt at, conversion, she very reluctantly permitted the social distinction to continue, but always tried to modify it gradually out of existence.

11. I bid.

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डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचे विचार समाजातील सर्व क्षेत्रात काम करणाऱ्या जनतेपर्यंत पोहोचावेत या उदात्त विचाराने युगप्रवर्तक डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हा संपादित ग्रंथ प्रकाशित करण्याचे प्रयोजन केले आहे. कारण डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी सामाजिक, राजकीय, आर्थिक कायदा, शैक्षणिक, सांस्कृतिक, विद्युत, जल, कृषी, स्त्री, उद्धार, शेतकरी, कामगार औद्योगीकरण, दलितोद्धार या क्षेत्रात अतुलनिय योगदान दिले आहे. त्यांनी दिलेल्या योगदानामुळे त्यांना आधुनिक भारतात जनक म्हटले जाते. सन २०१२ मध्ये झालेल्या सर्वात महान भारतीय या भारताच्या आंतरराष्ट्रीय सर्वेक्षणात स्वातंत्र्यानंतर सर्वात महान भारतीय म्हणून डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर विजयी घोषित झालेले आहेत. कोलंबिया विद्यापीठाने जगातल्या शिर्ष

१०० विद्वानांची यादी तयार केली असून त्यात प्रथम स्थानी डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे नाव ठेवून त्यांना जगातला नंबर १ महाविद्वान म्हणून त्यांचा गौरव केला. इंग्लंडच्या ऑक्सफोर्ड विद्यापीठानेही गेल्या दहा हजार वर्षांमधील जगातल्या सर्वोत्तम प्रभावशाली १०० विश्व मानवांची यादी प्रकाशित केली आहेत. त्यात चौथ्या क्रमांकावर डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर तर प्रथम क्रमांकावर बुद्धांचे नांव होते. डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना इंग्लंडच्या केंब्रिज विद्यापीठाने जगातील सर्वात बुद्धीमान व्यक्ती म्हणून घोषित केले आहे. त्यामुळे डॉ.बाबासाहेबांचे विचार तळागाळातील व्यक्तींपर्यंत देखील पोहोचावेत या उद्देशाने या ग्रंथाचे प्रकाशन केले आहे. युगप्रवर्तक डॉ.बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हा ग्रंथ वाचकांच्या हाती देतांना आम्हास हर्ष होत आहे. कारण त्यामागे उत्कर्षाचा आनंद आणि वाचकांच्या सहर्षतेची भावना समिलित आहे.

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# युगप्रवर्तक

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर



संपादक  
डॉ. उमाकांत वानखेडे

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## Dr. BabaSaheb Ambedkar and his Social Political Struggle.

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### Key Words :-

Objectives ,Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah, A Vindication of Caste By Mahatma Gandhi, Identity Building: Untouchables As Sons of the Soil, Electoral Politics: From Separate Electorate to Party-building, Shaping the Indian Constitution, Idea of Democracy, Access to Political Power, Political organization of Dalit.

### Introduction:-

Dr. Ambedkar was a supreme social architect who looked upon law as the instrument of creating a sane social order in which the development of individual would be in harmony with the growth of society. His approach finds a responsive chord in the writings of Roscoe Pound- an eminent American jurist of our century. Law embodies the civilisational values of the time and place. Civilization in this sense is the development of human faculties to their most complete possibilities. Civilization has two sides' viz. control over external or physical nature and control over internal or human nature. The Writings and Speeches of Dr. Ambedkar show what values Indians should develop and how they should modernize their social and political institutions.

Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts as reflected in his writings and speeches have significant importance in tracing the history and growth of social thought in India. Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts



If his solutions and remedies on various socioeconomic problems are understood and followed, it may help us to steer through the present turmoil and guide us for the future. It was therefore very apt on the part of the Government of Maharashtra to have appointed an Advisory Committee to compile all the material available on Dr. Ambedkar for publishing the same in a suitable form.

Dr. Ambedkar read this paper, before the Anthropology Seminar of Dr. Golden weizer during his stay at the Columbia University for the Doctoral studies. Naturally he deals with the subject of Caste system from the Anthropological point of view. He observes that the population of India is mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Scythians. Ethically all people are heterogeneous. According to him, it is the unity of culture that binds the people of Indian Peninsula from one end to the other. After evaluating the theories of various authorities on Caste, Dr. Ambedkar observes that the superimposition of endogamy over exogamy is the main cause of formation of caste groups. Regarding endogamy, he states that the customs of 'Sati', enforced widow-hood for life and child-marriage are the outcome of endogamy. To Dr. Ambedkar, sub-division of a society is a natural phenomenon and these groups become castes through ex-communication and imitation.

This famous address invited attention of no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi. Dr. Ambedkar observes that the reformers among the high-caste Hindus were enlightened intellectuals, who confined their activities to abolish the enforced widow-hood, child-marriage, etc., but they did not feel the necessity for agitating for the abolition of castes nor did they have courage to agitate against it. According to him, the political revolutions in India were preceded by the social and religious reforms led by saints. But during the British rule, issue of political independence got precedence

reform continued to remain neglected. Pointing to the Socialists, he remarked that the Socialists will have to fight against the monster of caste either before or after the revolution. He asserts that caste is not based on division of labour. It is a division of laborers'.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### **Objectives:-**

The main objectives of the study are following that.

To find out whether the changing social & economic status among untouchable peoples in India.

To identify responsible factors for the improvement of the status, of Untouchables

To find out role of Dalit reformative movement in the changing status of Untouchables.

To find out improve status development level between ancient and modern periods of Untouchables.

#### **Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah:-**

Dr. Ambedkar delivered this important address on the 101st birth anniversary of Justice Ranade, one of India's foremost political and social thinkers. At the beginning of his address, Dr. Ambedkar discusses the role of man as a maker of history. According to him, the theory of Buckle that the history is created by Geography and Physics, and that of Marx that it is the result of economic forces, both speak the half truth. They do not give any place to man. But Dr. Ambedkar asserts that man is a factor in the making of history and that environmental forces alone are not the makers of history. Dr. Ambedkar further proceeds to discuss the tests of a great man as propounded by Carlyle the apostle of Hero Worship, and also of other political thinkers. After exhaustive discussion, he observes that sincerity and intellect the combination of which are necessary to make a man great. But these qualifications are not alone sufficient. A man possessed of these two qualities must be motivated by the dynamics of



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a social purpose and must act as a scavenger of society.

According to Dr. Ambedkar, Ranade was a great man by any standard. He wanted to vitalize the Hindu society to create social democracy. Ranade lived in times when social and religious customs, however unmoral, were regarded as sacrosanct. What appeared to Ranade to be shames and wrongs of the Hindu society, were considered by the people to be most sacred injunctions of their religion. Ranade wanted to vitalize the conscience of the Hindu society which became moribund as well as morbid. Ranade aimed to create a real social democracy. Without which there could be no sure and stable politics. Dr. Ambedkar points out that Ranade's aim was to cleanse the old order and improve the moral tone of the Hindu society. <sup>(2)</sup>

After arguing theoretically that any scheme of franchise and constituency that fails to bring about representation of opinions as well as representation of persons falls short of creating a popular Government. He shows how very relevant the two factors are in the context of the Indian society which is ridden into castes and religious communities. Each caste group tends to create its own distinctive type of like-mindedness which depends upon the extent of communication, participation or endosmosis. Absence of this endosmosis is most pronounced between touchable and untouchable Hindus, more than between the religious communities such as Hindus, Muslims, Parsi's etc. These communities have on secular plane common material interests. There will be in such groups' landlords, labourers and capitalists.

#### **A Vindication of Caste By Mahatma Gandhi:-**

Dr. Ambedkar was to have presided last May at the annual conference of the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal of Lahore. But the conference itself was cancelled because Dr. Ambedkar's address was found by the Reception Committee to be unacceptable. How far a Reception Committee is justified in rejecting a President

of its choice because of his address that may be objectionable to it is open to question.

Dr. Ambedkar was not going to be beaten by the Reception Committee. He has answered their rejection of him by publishing the address at his own expense. He has priced it at 8 annas; I would suggest a reduction to 2 annas or at least 4 annas. No reformer can ignore the address. The orthodox will gain by reading it. This is not to say that the address is not open to objection. It has to be read only because it is open to serious objection. Dr. Ambedkar is a challenge to Hinduism. Brought up as a Hindu, educated by a Hindu potentate, he has become so disgusted with the so-called Savarna Hindus for the treatment that he and his people have received at their hands that he proposes to leave not only them but the very religion that is his and their common heritage. <sup>(3)</sup>

But this is not to be wondered at. After all, one can only judge a system or an institution by the conduct of its representatives. What is more? Dr. Ambedkar found that the vast majority of Savarna Hindus had not only conducted themselves inhumanly against those of their fellow religionists, whom they classed as untouchables, but they had based their conduct on the authority of their scriptures, and when he began to search them he had found ample warrant for their beliefs in untouchability and all its implications. The author of the address has quoted chapter and verse in proof of his three-fold indictment—inhuman conduct itself, the unabashed justification for it on the part of the perpetrators, and the subsequent discovery that the justification was warranted by their scriptures.

#### **Identity Building: Untouchables As Sons of the Soil:-**

Ambedkar tried to endow the lower castes with a glorious history of sons of the soil to help them acquire an alternative – not-caste based – identity, to regain their self respect and overcome their divisions. In *The Untouchables*, who were they and why they became



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Untouchables? (1948), Ambedkar refutes Western authors explaining caste hierarchy by resorting to racial factors<sup>3</sup>. His interpretation is strikingly complicated. He explains that all primitive societies have been one day or the other conquered by invaders who raised themselves above the native tribes. In breaking up, these tribes as a matter of rule give birth to a peripheral group that he calls the Broken Men. When the conquerors became stationary then, they resorted to the services of these Broken Men to protect themselves from the attacks of the tribes which remained nomadic. The Broken Men therefore found refuge, as guards of villages, in the suburbs of the latter because it was more logical from a point of view of topography and because the victorious tribes did not accept foreigners, of a different blood, within their group. Ambedkar applied this theory to India by presenting the Untouchables as the descendants of the Broken Men (Dalit, in Marathi) and, therefore, the original inhabitants of India, before the conquest of this country by the Aryan invaders. <sup>(4)</sup>

According to Ambedkar these Broken Men were the most constant followers of Buddha soon after he began his teachings in the 6th century BC. And they remained Buddhists when the rest of the society returned to the Hindu fold under the pressure of Brahmins. Ambedkar drew two conclusions from it: "It explains why the Untouchables regard the Brahmins as inauspicious, do not employ them as their priests and do not even allow them to enter into their quarters.

#### **Electoral Politics: From Separate Electorate to Party-building:-**

The young Ambedkar was consulted at the beginning of 1919 by the Southborough committee, the body which had been entrusted with redefining electoral franchise within the framework of the constitutional reform –that was to be called "Montfort", after the names of Montagu and Chelmsford. Unlike the other Dalit

leaders who had been consulted, Ambedkar did not owe this hearing to the fact of belonging to any association but because he was the only untouchable who held a graduate degree in the Bombay Province. In his testimony, he explained that the real line of cleavage, among the Hindus, was set not between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin but between the "Touchable" and Untouchables. He thus rejected an electoral system which would be based on territorial constituencies because the latter would then be in a minority and therefore deprived of representation. As a remedy, he recommended "either to reserve seats for those minorities that cannot, otherwise, secure personal representation or grant communal electorates" <sup>(5)</sup>

The report of the Simon Commission finally granted reserved seats to the Depressed Classes, but candidates who would take part in them would have, first of all, to get their competence endorsed by the governor of the province. This profoundly annoyed Ambedkar. Anyway, this report remained a dead letter since the main political force of the country – the Congress – had not been involved in its making. To get out of this deadlock, a Conference was held in London in 1930, and then a Second Round Table Conference in 1931. None of them bore fruits.

#### **B. R. Ambedkar: Shaping the Indian Constitution:-**

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who chaired the Drafting Committee, is notably considered as the Father of the Indian Constitution and played a very pivotal role in the constitution-making. Though when the leadership in the Constituent Assembly selected him to be the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, Ambedkar was very pleasantly amazed at the choice and said that He came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interest of the Scheduled Castes greatly surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. He was more than surprised when



the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman. This section is divided into two parts. This part presents a detailed analysis of the provisions given in the Indian Constitution which are in a way or other shaped by the social and political philosophy of Ambedkar. The second and last part outlines the views proposed by Ambedkar that could not succeed to find their place in the final draft of the Constitution.

Caste-system in India assigns particular sets of functions and roles even before ones birth, and also provides specific economic, civil, cultural and educational rights to one without a freedom to change. It ignores therefore an individual capabilities, preferences and choices. In this regard, the social order prevail in the Indian society provides no entailments, social and economic rights and freedoms to lower castes, and in contrary, gives manifold opportunities, privileges and rights to the higher castes, particularly the Brahmins. <sup>(6)</sup> Therefore, the fact was much known to the Constituent Assembly that the constitution was going to be introduced in a deeply unequal and discriminatory society. This is probably why its member greatly debated and drafted the constitution with the explicit purpose of dislodging the status quo B. R. Ambedkar, undoubtedly and noticeably, was the man who borne the responsibility to fight against the untouchability and exploitation based on Hindu caste system, and struggled for the untouchables' rights and carved for them a place in the Republican Constitution of India.

Ambedkar vowed to break away untouchability and observed "If I fail to do away with abominable thralldom and human injustice under which I was born has been groaning, I will put an end to my life with a bullet. There are thus several provisions maintained in the Constitution of India that attempt to attain his vision pertaining to the untouchability and caste based discrimination. <sup>(7)</sup> Held, the downtrodden sections familiarly known as the backward

classes' received special attention of the Constitution makers. In fact, the upliftment of these sections has been recognized as an important responsibility of the state and its institution. He presented the various provisions in the Constituent assembly for protecting the interests of the marginalized sections. Articles 15 (4), 16 (4), 19(1) (d) and (e), 29 (2), 275, 330, 335 and 340 incorporated in the Constitution are clearly reflections of his conceptual understanding of social and economic justice. These Articles empower the state to make special provision for securing the interests of socially and educationally backward classes, that is, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

#### **Dr Ambedkar's Idea of Democracy:-**

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's description of a democracy is multi-dimensional. Democracy, in common usage is often related to political democracy. The principle on which political democracy operates is one man one vote. However, Dr. Ambedkar's perception of democracy is different, formed after a penetrative analysis of the political, social and economic conditions prevailing in India during his life and times.

Several western thinkers made a distinction between state and society, state and the Government and state and nation. Dr. Ambedkar, however, went a step ahead. His concern was the constituent elements that formed these entities i.e. the people. He was more concerned about the socio-economic position of people in the society. He believed that terms such as nation, country and state were nebulous. According to him, "nation", in the philosophical sense, did convey a unit. Sociologically speaking, it comprised of people belonging to multiple classes. Freedom of the nation meant freedom for all the different multiple classes constituting it. Dr. Ambedkar was well aware of the fact that freedom of the nation did not always translate into freedom for all classes. He was of the opinion that





considering India "a nation" would be a great delusion. He raised a single question "How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation?" He felt that one should quickly recognize this fact. Accepting this fact would be the first step towards uniting the people (divided by multiple castes) into a nation.<sup>(8)</sup>

Dr. Ambedkar opined that a political democracy was an extension of the society for which the political democracy is established. For instance, in India itself, birth of a person in a particular caste decided his/ her status rather than the person's ability. Distinctions of high status and low status in society create a social hierarchy based on birth. Social equality in India was disturbed due to emergence of the caste system. Indian social structure was based on the caste system. "Brahmins" sat at the top of the hierarchal social system. They were followed by "kshatriyas" and "vaishyas". At bottom of the social pyramid were "Shudras" and the untouchables. Each slot in the social pyramid had a definite set of functions pre-determined for the members of that particular slot to perform. Performance of these pre-determined functions or duties was imperative to ensure the smooth running of the Indian (or more specifically the Hindu) social order. However, here's the catch, each slot in the pyramid did not enjoy similar status. "Brahmins" were considered to be knowledgeable and were held in high esteem. High status was accorded to "Brahmins." Whereas "Shudras" and the untouchables were expected to perform menial jobs (such as sweeping the streets, scavenging etc). Thus, low social status was accorded to "Shudras" and the untouchables. Shudras were held in servitude. The Hindu social order resulted in social inequalities in the society. With time these inequalities got magnified. The social position of Shudras degraded. They were suppressed and discriminated against. To cap it up, social life in India had its own distinct spillover effects on its political life.<sup>(9)</sup>

### Access to Political Power :-

Ambedkar was convinced that unless the marginalized sections of Indian society secured the political power, it was not possible to completely wipe out all social, legal and cultural disabilities, from which they suffered. Thus, for the political organization and political mainstreaming of Dalits, he pleaded for their representation in legislatures in the Round Table Conferences, 1930-32, convened by British government. Both Ambedkar and the British government supported Dalit representation in the legislatures on the basis of separate electorate, which meant that in the reserved constituencies only Dalits would be allowed to vote. Gandhi and Ambedkar developed serious differences on this point, which was resolved through what is known as "Poona Pact" 1932 signed between the two. With this pact, Ambedkar entered an agreement with Mr. Gandhi to ensure their legislative representation within the system of joint electorates. However, Ambedkar was not satisfied by this compromise and latter criticized Gandhi for blackmailing with his fast unto death trick and for compromising with the cause of Dalits. The same principle of joint electorate is now accepted under the constitution of India. Ambedkar has played a lead role in the drafting of the constitution of free India and due to his pleadings; many provisions including the reservation in services and legislatures have been incorporated in the constitution for the empowerment of Dalit community.<sup>(10)</sup>

### Political organization of Dalit:-

Ambedkar made serious efforts for the political organization of Dalits. He founded the independent Labor Party in 1937 and replaced it with another party, the All India Scheduled Caste Federation founded in 1942. He also laid the foundation of another political party, Republican Party of India which was founded in 1957, after his death by his followers, which advanced the agenda of Dalit empowerment in





the 1950s and 1960s. Even, the formation of Dalit Panther Party in 1970 and the Bahujan Samaj Party in 1984 owe their ideological genesis to Ambedkar. The BSP, founded by Kasi Ram and now led by Kumari Mayawati was able to gain political power in Uttar Pradesh, along with substantial presence in some other parts of the country. The roots of all these facets of the ongoing empowerment of Dalits in India are found in the ideas and practice of Ambedkar. <sup>(11)</sup>

#### Conclusion:-

Dr. Ambedkar is portrayed as a Dalit leader who fought for his community with unmatched alacrity. Of course he did. He gave a section of population in India a worthwhile identity. In doing so he fought for humanity. But in typifying his role as a Dalit leader we often ignore the great person that he was. Despite facing social injustice and discrimination multiple times in his life he never advocated a bloody revolution for overthrowing the prevailing social system. He believed in democracy and constitutional means to achieve his end. His clout on the social milieu during his times was such that thousands of supporters would have stood by his course of action. But he chose his course of action wisely. We should be grateful to Dr. Ambedkar for this.

His life and mission was a perfect and unique blend of theory and action. His ideas are leading light and sustain the ongoing process of Dalit empowerment even today. Without his ideological foundation, the edifice of the contemporary Dalit empowerment in India will go bankrupt and lose its identity, direction and spirit. This shift marks the real difference in the ideological framework as articulated by Ambedkar and the actual process of Dalit empowerment in the contemporary Indian politics. This also gives a clue to the repeated electoral failures of Ambedkar and his political outfits in the post independent India. It has now become apparent that only a selective approach of both segregate and aggregative approaches

may impart viability to the process of Dalit empowerment in the present context.

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# Anna bhau Sathe's literature and philosophical thoughts on laborers and the Social discrimination

Dr.Faruqui Mohammed Quayyum

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**Keywords:-** Objectives, Hypothesis, For the year 1970, against zar king, Deprivation and negligency, paved the way to eradicate poverty, Right to life and domination on liberty, Rebeling literatures's writer, Sympathetically behavior, Outcomes, Conclusion.

## Introduction:-

Annabhau Sathe was born in small hamlet, a layman who went to Mumbai to earn his bread and butter and settled there. He was a simple labourer in a mill, tried many sundry jobs in his life struggled hard against the circumstances. He was rich in experience. He was member of communist party and followed the socialistic philosophy throughout his life. Anna Bhahu Sathe is a dominant literary figure in Dalit Literature in Maharashtra. A self educated/ lettered without any formal education and swam deep into the ocean of literature to bring out many literary unique diamonds. Being unlettered, yet penned down many novels and plays in Marathi literature, is probably the rarest of rare example in the universe, unfortunately unexplored by the mainstream literary readers and critics. Annabhau Sathe is the founder figure of the most powerful Dalit novels and short stories in Dalit literature.

Anna Bhahu here underlines the supreme importance of Dalit and working class people in the world set up. Using the hindu popular mythological image of snake bearing the globe as the popular symbol to underscore a scything critic and strong rejection of Hindu ideology and thereby bringing in Dalit/human/workers hands as the controller and supporters of this world is most powerful realistic,

visionary analysis of the dalit condition. Sadly, neither the dalit nor the mainstream readers and critics dwelled upon Annabhau Sathe's this only one of its kind deliberation.

The story begins with a custom of 'Jogini' meaning 'a small yellow coloured bowl' possession of which means a matter of great pride and an honour of hosting the Jatra 'a religious fest' in the village. A hamlet 'Shigaon' has the possession of Jogini and with great delight, they are organizing the fest. Shankarrao Patil of Vategon is highly restless with the fact and thought that there is no single combatant in Vategon who could vigorously fight against Shigaon and bring the Jogini in vategon.

Through the work of Mahatma Phule the new doors of opportunities and new thoughts were free for neglected class of society. In the fight of independence, directly for getting independence, many things were neglected of human beings development. All these things feelings were widespread and known through many literary writers arts. If you saw at the ancient literary history before Annabhau Sathe, it is clear that those who were reputed written and writing literature. Were no showing any clue of the peoples life and condition as well as understanding of of than



condition. There is no any hint about the hegleted, down trodden and lowest category dalits peoples condition in the literature of the writer before Annabhau Sathe was the belongs to Markswadi partys writer of literature but he was the writer of feelings of negbeted people through his literature.

#### **Objectives:-**

- To reach to the peak of humanity and equality.
- To represent this class and he represented it very strongly.
- To realise that if the makers of history are not its writers, history is manipulated and stripped of their voices.
- To express what he felt after watching the jalsa of Shahir Bhimrao Kardak and his troupe.
- To make the Dalits educated and aware, and to equip them with values.
- To oppose religious, social, cultural, economic and psychological exploitation

#### **Hypothesis:-**

- Dalit Theatre originated in the Marathi-speaking area.
- Dr Ambedkar considered Buddha, Kabir and Phule as his gurus.
- The Dalit Marathi playwrights who imbibed Ambedkarite thought and presented it through their writings include.

Annabhau Sathe's *Inamdar* is about the "Dalitatva" of the farmers and makes a very realistic presentation of the rural economy and life.

Dalit Theatre, which has worked like a prism in bringing out the essence of Ambedkarite thoughts and philosophy.

Dalits declaring them criminal communities.

To eradicate poverty and Sufferings of those people and advocated socialistic Philosophy.

#### **For the year 1970, against zar king:-**

For the year 1970, against zar king, lenin had overthrow zar ruling party and established farmers kingdom and the poem written by Annabhau Sathe on this eveny was published nicely. Therefore as a singer of workers in Mumbai, he was accepted as the leader of Dalit Society. He sung powadas, a "shahir" song in many parties. He practiced through many parties. He wrote a play having name "The heard story". He travelled himself through many songs (Shahir) parties, drames like demonstrations thant is Kalapathak (smallplay). From 1945 he performed 250 programmer. Nearly 50 thousad spectators were present in the programmes. Annabhau entered in the movement of "united Maharashtra". He wrote the public play "Whose Mumbai belongs to." The chief minister banned this play. In the programme held in "Nagpur" he was honoured in front of sant Tukdoji Maharaj.<sup>1)</sup>

Jhough it is novel, story, play, Tamasha (Women dance) and powada (A valour song) whatever it may be the racial style of writing was belong to egoist conceit and the rustling egoism



throughout the body was the style of Annabhau's literature and the routine in his life is clinged to his literature and this is too much. Therefore those who lived outside the skirts of dirty village with poverty stricken condition, life squeezed in the inequality of wheel, the poverty stricken sympathetic life and who were neglected by customs also such society was not targeted by Annabhau Sathe. The only dearness was not Valuable. The daily feeling in human life was not valuable. The daily feeling in human life was accompanied by forgetful tendency.

### **Deprivation and negligency:-**

Annabhau has awakened universal revolutionary change and opened the door of Marathi literature. Annabhau has first described the Dalit people after stylish Shri M. Mate. He has not written on the life of middle class people. Annabhau has shown the man in the human being. By using artistic style and preaching both ways, those who are grinded under injustice and become helpless due to sorrow, poverty, pain, bad condition, who are tramped under the wheel of condition, these who are neglected and given bad treatment they became more exciting. Annabhau thinks that they are all our own followers.<sup>2)</sup>

These people are secular they are disappointed people. But Annabhau has only one relation with them. Annabhau's experiences are from lowest strata of society. These people are neglected and deserted. Annabhau's experiences have been occurred from the lowest category people. We must consider this so his literature has come from the village life people, the deserted and neglected people the Dalit people and exploited people.

The story of Annabhau has given to Marathi

literature the poorest hut's life, and tyrannical experience and the richness of injustice, despotic and tyrannical nature. All these things are annoying and vexing. This writer has tried to give new directions through the poverty and humiliation in the name of extremist human value of creamy people. Annabhau has written literature but the meaning of Dalit according to Annabhau is Dalit, exploited and deprived of sources. Therefore recently the writers have become helpless.

### **paved the way to eradicate poverty:-**

Annabhau describes the lives of downtrodden labourers, peasants and workers, their poverty, their sorrows and sufferings in his work paved the way to eradicate poverty and suffer people and advocated socialistic philosophy struggle of those people for their existence a efforts to overcome the hindrances in their work of those people in the most adverse circumstances recurring theme in his work. The efforts for upliftment, their lone revolt against conventions, traditions and religion are deep stories. He describes the lives of masses of his realistic picture of the society during pre-independence

### **post independent period of 50s and 60s.<sup>3)</sup>**

Sawala along with his friends from *Mang* and *Ramoshi* caste protest against British Government. All of them are honest and committed to their work. However allegations of sexual assault of women are made on them deliberately. British government had already passed a bill against these castes and were convicted as criminals. Sawala who tries his level best to escape Kashi : daughter of Dada Patil from the clutches of her in-laws. Kashi has been harassed by her father-in-law and mother-in-law for dowry.



Emancipation of women from injustice and exploitation is focused by the author in this story. To fight against exploitation and injustice as the cardinal principle of socialistic philosophy is underlined in this story. The following dialogue between Sawala and Dada Patil highlights his qualities. Sawala says: "Dada Patil are you the only person of a noble character and do you take us characterless, who told this to you?" Dada Patil retort "The people say that all Mangas are rapist", to this Sawala burst out violently.

### **Right to life and domination on liberty:-**

In the system of selfgovernment there is no need of prison and police. (The selfgovernment is without police and prison). So there is a need of self-government and everyone should enjoy liberty. The common man is not enjoying the liberty, is the sordid reality. So Rama the hero of the story is deprived of everything; circumstances compel him to make theft. Police arrest him and put him in the prison. However, the intension behind the theft is ignored. It was the fact that he was unable to make his bread; he was starving, this situation makes him criminal and ultimately he was put in to the prison.

However, the intension behind the theft is ignored. It was the fact that he was unable to make his bread; he was starving, this situation makes him criminal and ultimately he was put in to the prison. If everyone gets food no one will be a thief in the society. This simple principle is underlined by the writer in this story. Does the self government change the life of a thief? Is the question that can be raised in this connection; who is enjoying the liberty? In the society such questions haunt the reader and remain unanswered. The author tries to

trace the answers of those questions in the socialistic philosophy; to him a society based on socialistic principles is the only solution to these problems."

### **Vidrohi Sahityacha Nirmata:-** (Rebeling literatures's writer)

Dr. Gangadhar Pantavane writes in his article "Annabhau Sathe : Vidrohi Sahityacha Nirmata". "He wrote to advocate socialism, Marxism and class struggle. He converted 'Tamasha' in to 'Lokanatya', he made changes in the prologue ('Nandi') and in 'Gan Gavalan' which was formally full of amorous description, he replaced it with the dialogues of Peasants and Workers, which were full of rebellious ideas. Drama which is meant for masses is a folk drama, he defined it. He banished superstitions, bad conventions, outdated customs and fatalism from his writings and portrayed social reforms, class stuggle." It shows that Annabhau wanted to change the society. During those days downtrodden were treated in inhuman way by the people from upper strata of the society.

The contemporary society was full of superstitions, fatalism and old conventions; at that time he was the only proponent of scientific outlook and rationalism. Prof. Machindra Sakate states in this regard, "The life of Dalit people was vry difficult, there were many customs and conventions. Dalits were leading the life of misery which was full of hardships and trobuble. The customs like 'Waghy-Murali', 'Potaraj', 'Devdasi', and 'Jogata' corrupted the lives of Dalit people, they had lost their identity. He was well aware of the fact that Hindu religion and scriptures rendered Dalits in that state. It was then essential to eradicate ignorance from Dalit society and hence there was no alternative than to inculcate scientific outlook in the society.



So Annabhau underlined this thought in his writings<sup>5)</sup>

### **Sympathetically behavior:-**

The writer of literature must love his literature like his son but most of the writers denies this formula. Annabhau's style of writing and habit was overflowed by humanity and possessed with sympathy. Those who were dark pilgrims were to be freed to sun's direction. It was decision of Annabhau literature expressed those who were waiting sympathetically shouting „Aa and „free path , their trouble was expressed with oneness and flowering inner fire. From Annabhau's literature the future of people and human hearts are described well. The knowledge of moral values and their maintenance make the society great and noble. It makes person great. According to Annabhau this prowess must be imbibed in human beings. His literature is doing this work toward this direction of people. The characters in his story and novel are going to richness of incarnation had not toward beauty of incarnation.<sup>6)</sup>

Though these people are familiar but they are eccentric. Annabhau has made successful attempt with his deep inspiring language to give heroism to common person. Therefore these people meet us everywhere. Bazbadya Ghanjari, Nilu Mang, Bhamkya, Kilwati, Tukya, Ranga, Mukal Mulani, Ranoji nasru, Sawla Mang Bhoma, Kombdyachor, Ramu Gangaram Mahut, Vishnupant Kulkarni Maldhekna Ramnav Mahar Gita Mira Rupa and Landi etc.. such many persons listen to the address and becomes serene.

### **Outcomes:-**

We can see the imprint of Ambedkarite Movement in the plays of Dalit Theatre. Sathe and Bagul both are highly conscious in fostering their characters and do not attempt to run away from the grim reality of being dalit.

We can understand fact that, Annabhau, the literary giant, is ignored by both the mainstream and more sadly and shockingly.

It would be enormously in the interest of knowledge of Indian society.

Annabhau Sathe's literature to inspect the class- caste dimension in Maharashtra.

### **Conclusion:-**

The danger was completely over but the scar of the incident on authors mind is indelible. Author cannot forget the fact for getting better room with facilities he had to hide his caste which resulted in a most negative memory of his life. He had to hide his caste hence author calls it 'Jenvha Mi Jat Chorli Hoti'. At the end when Kashinath challenges the mob showing a big bright knife they all run away but the author is badly injured and abused, destroyed all the things in room and tore out all his certificates.

Baburao Bagul reflects his belief that Ambedkarism and Marxism both the ideologies perpetrate social equalities and insist on emancipation and freedom. Same is also the rumination of Annabhau Sathe who personally was activist and practiced Marxist, though rejected it later, supported Ambedkarism. Both Annabhau Sathe and Baburao Bagul make the exploited man as the



center of their art and his emancipation thereby taking him to a brightest future is the optimistic approach these authors nurture. They also have brooded over the dalit women; the triply exploited class of Indian society and have adequately projected the life of dalit women.

Sathe and Bagul both are highly conscious in fostering their characters and do not attempt to run away from the grim reality of being dalit and keep that dalithood and consciousness alive as if it is a pre condition. But both make hard endeavors to emancipate the dalits from the shackles of the caste, culture, religion and the hindu dominant biases. But it is also the fact that Annabhau, the literary giant, is ignored by both the mainstream and more sadly and shockingly, by the Dalit thinkers, critics and authors. It would be enormously in the interest of knowledge of Indian society, dalits and history to hold both Baburao Bagul and Annabhau Sathe's literature to inspect the class-caste dimension in Maharashtra.

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of so called great men in our society. Many a time we give titles to great men without thinking properly whether they really deserve or not. These days print media and channels create more confusion in the mind of followers. Ambedkar suggests us to adopt certain new calibrative measures to assess the work of great men in the society. Blind imitation is generally done by ignorant people and it should be stopped at the earliest. Even today, the people have become hyper sensitive hence can't bear any critical remark about their idols or leaders. They resort to disruptive acts immediately. They are prepared not to know the other side of a coin. Ranade's advice to the contemporary politicians is applicable even today. He writes, "You cannot be liberal by halves you cannot be liberal in politics and conservative in religion. The heart and head must go together. You cannot cultivate your intellect, enrich your mind, enlarge the sphere of your political rights and privileges and at the same time keep your hearts closed and cramped." On the basis of this criteria, Dr. Ambedkar concludes Ranade was the best philosophical leader as compared to other national heroes like Gandhiji and Jinnah.

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5. Carlyle quoted in moon vasant's Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar writing and speeches" ed. op. cit. p. 231
6. Moon Vasant, op. cit. p. 223
7. Moon Vasant op. cit. p. 224



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## Dr. Ambedkar's Impact on Several sector of India.

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**Key Words:** - Introduction, Objectives, Vision on Dalit Education, Organize, Reformative Movement of Dalits, Prevention Atrocities Act And Untouchability, a major contributor to Indian constitution, The Problem Of The Rupee, **Introduction:-**

India a rising star and increasingly important player on the world stage must not be allowed to ignore the in justice and oppression within its own borders any longer. In Hindu traditional society of India, Dalit status has often been historically associated with traditional occupations regarded as ritually impure, such as any involving scavenger, sweeping, meet seller, leather work, Hunting and drum beating, butchering or removal of rubbish, animal carcasses waste. Untouchables worked manual labours cleaning streets, latrines, sewers. Engaging in these activities was considered to be polluting to the individual and this pollution was considered contagious.

It is the simple process of increasing personal or political power so that individuals, families and communities can take action to improve their situations. The power can be exercised through domination and subordination. It also depends upon the social structure, historical setting and nature of both state and economy. It is exercised through specific actions like promises, threats, controls and commands



so on. Education is the important bases of power in the modern society. Therefore, my understanding education is: a source of power and also as an agency that empowers people. From the individual point of view, the empowerment is defined as building confidence, insight and understanding, and developing personal skills.

Some level of common sense and emotional maturity and access to appropriate information and know how; it also implies someone who cares about others and is tolerant of other's views and behavior. From the view point of group or community, empowerment can be taken to involve building trust, co-operation and communication among the members. There must be opportunities for people to meet and exchange views and opinions and ways of recording what is agreed and done; and there must be scope for having fun and celebrating achievement. Empowerment refers to increase in the spiritual, political, social, racial, educational, gender or economic strength of individuals and communities.

#### **Objectives of the Study:**

To know the impact of the pioneering work of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in the field of human.

Dignity, against caste discrimination in India.

To highlight his role as one of the founders of Modern India.

To analyze and assess his Legacy and Contribution to India.

#### **Ambedkar's Vision on Dalit Education:-**

Ambedkar was very much influenced by Dewey's ideas on scientific method, experimental approach, democracy and pragmatism in the field of education. He insisted that to his Dalit people, 'Educate to organize and to Struggle' for their own betterment using whatever educational facilities. Education is not only a layer for their social mobility but also opens the doors for their modernization. Ambedkar has been described as a philosopher,

a patriot, scholar or a writer, the constitution maker, a social revolutionary, a humanistic thinker, or the socialist and he had also contributed a great deal to the cause of education. He mainly emphasized that the education as a vital force for individual development and social change. <sup>(1)</sup>

Ambedkar envisaged that, education was an instrument for the change of the lives of untouchables. He declared that the elevation of the depressed classes was recognized to be the cause of all the enlightened people in the country. He thought that education would enlighten his people and bridge the gap between the rich and the poor to which the untouchables belong. Education plays an important role. It is an effective instrument of mass movement to safeguard life and liberty. Education could encourage the oppressed ones to fight and remove injustice and exploitation and pave ways for the free thinking. He recognized that, lack of education was the main cause for the backwardness of poor people.

Educate, agitate and organize are three final words of our savior. According to Ambedkar one must get educated before he is conducting agitated thoughts for the movement, so that people can organize with his support. A singular role that Ambedkar played in the upliftment of the untouchables in the early 20th century and the importance that he gave to modern education for their betterment deserves special emphasis. In conferences, lectures and also in meetings, Ambedkar encouraged untouchable youth to acquire education in order to raise their social status and image. His educational contribution starts on a wider scale of educating classes as well as masses starts with this work. For Ambedkar, education was the main key to open the doors of light, vision and wisdom. He himself said, "Education is something which ought to be brought within the reach of everyone." <sup>(2)</sup>

#### **Organize:-**

Educated and agitated minds will easily



organize for a common mission. We must get ourselves educated and our thoughts agitate so that we can collectively organize. Agitated minds for a common mission will help them to unite and struggle for their common goal as one force. Only education can bring this change. Ambedkar had also given lot of emphasis on getting education. He had given prime importance to education. He further added that, "The backward classes have come to realize that after all education is the greatest material benefit for which they can fight. We may forego material benefits of civilization but we cannot forego our rights and opportunities to reap the benefits of the highest education fully. That is the importance of education. From this point of view he advised the backward classes to realize that without education their existence is not safe."

In Ambedkar's idea on educate, agitate and organize Ambedkar's idea of giving education and equal opportunity to the people aims at removing the barriers in Indian Hindu religious caste system and development of backward caste as well as all marginalized communities. According to the social work students, educate agitate and organize means create power in people to experience basic rights in the society, to achieve success in the life and also struggle for social justice. In the social work field Ambedkar's idea about educate agitate and organize is very much relevant in the current context because in the Indian society, people are illiterate and they are not aware about education as well as their basic rights of the life, still people are facing caste discrimination in society and lack of support and motivation.<sup>(3)</sup>

#### **Reformative Movement of Dalits :-**

The earliest known historical people to have rejected the caste system were Gautam Buddha and Mahavira. Their teachings eventually became independent religions called Buddhism and Jainism. The earliest known reformation within Hinduism happened during the medieval period when the Bhakti movement

& Ramanuja actively encouraged the participation and inclusion of Dalits. Ramanuja took dalits disciples publicly into his fold and even took them into temple. He put forth the dalit born Nammalvar as the philosophical head of the sect and propagated Nammalvar's works as Dravidaveda. The Sikh reformist satnami movement was founded by Guru Ghasidas, born a dalit family. Another notable guru was Guru Ravidas was also a dalit. Other reformers, such as Jyotiba Rao Phule Ayyankali of Kerala and Iyothee that's of Tamil Nadu Worked for emancipation of dalits.

The 1930 s saw key struggle between Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's and Mahatma Gandhi over whether Dalit would have separate or joint electorates. Although he failed to get Dr. B.R. Ambedkar for a joint electorate, Gandhi nevertheless began the "harijan Yatra" to help dalit population. Palwankar Baloo, a dalit politician and a cricketer, joined the Hindu Mahasabha in the fight for independence.

In Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra and a few other regions, Dalit have come under the influence of the neo-Buddhist movement initiated by Dr. Ambedkar. In the 1950 s Dr. Ambedkar turned his attention to Buddhism and travelled to Sri Lanka to attend a convention of Buddhist scholars and monks. While dedicating a new Boudh Vihar near Pune, Dr. Ambedkar's announced that he was writing book on Buddhism, and that as soon as it was finished be planned to make a formal conversion to Buddhism. Dr. Ambedkar twice visited Myanmar in 1954. The second time in order to attend the third conference of world fellowship of Buddhists in Rangoon. In 1955 is founded Bharatiya Boudh Mahasabha, or the Buddhist society of India. He completed his final work, the Buddha and his Dhamma in 1956. it was published posthumously. After meeting with Sri Lankan Buddhist monk Hammalwa Saddhatissa.<sup>(4)</sup>

**Prevention Atrocities Act And Untouchability:-**





The prevention of atrocities Act is a tacit acknowledgement by the Indian government that caste relations are defined by violence both incidental and systemic. In 1989, the government of India passed the prevention of Atrocities Act, which clarified specific crimes against scheduled caste and scheduled tribes as "atrocities" and created strategies and punishments to counter these acts. The purpose of the Act was to curb and punish violence against Dalits. Firstly, it clarified what the atrocities were: both particular incidents of harm and humiliation, such as the forced consumption of noxious substances, and systemic violence still faced by many Dalit's, especially in rural areas of India. Such systemic violence includes forced labour, denial of access to temple, Water and other public amenities, and sexual abuse of Dalit women.

Secondly, Act created special courts to try cases registered under the prevention of Atrocities Act. Third, the Act called on States with high levels of violence to appoint qualified officers to monitor and maintain law and order. The Prevention Atrocities Act gave legal address to Dalit's, but only two states have created separate special courts in accordance with law. In practice the act has suffered from a near complete failure in implementation. Police have displayed a consistent unwillingness to the register offences under the act. <sup>(5)</sup>

#### **Dr. Ambedkar as a major contributor to Indian constitution:-**

Dr. Ambedkar had imprinted his mark of talent and vision in drafting Indian Constitution. His statesman qualities can easily visible each and every article of Indian Constitution. Ambedkar preferred the parliamentary system In England than the Presidential System in America. Dr. Ambedkar described the role of President as "He is the head of the state but not the Executive. He represents to nation but does not rule the nation. He is the symbol of the nation. His place in the administration is that

of a ceremonial device on a seal by which the nation's decisions are made known. The president of the Indian union will be generally bound by the advice of the Ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice or can he do anything without their advice" <sup>(6)</sup>

He strongly supported for federal system. He said "The Draft constitution is, Federal Constitution is a much as it establishes what may be called Dual polity. This Dual polity under the proposed constitution will consist of the union at the centre and the states at the periphery each endowed with Sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the constitution. The draft constitution can be both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it is framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it is so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system

Dr. Ambedkar stated about Article 32 that "It I was asked to name any particular article in this as the most important an article without which the constitution would be a nullity I would not refer to any other article except this one. It is the very soul of the constitution and heart of it". Dr. Ambedkar said about independent Election Commission that "the greatest safeguard for purity of elections, for fairness in elections, was to take away the matter from the hands of the executive authority and to hand it over to some independent authority". He remarked about the constitution as "It is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time. Indeed, if I may so, if things go wrong under the new constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad constitution what we will have to say is that man is vile" <sup>(7)</sup>

#### **The Problem Of The Rupee:-**

It will be noticed that he does not propose to go back to the recommendations of the Fowler Committee. All those, who have





regretted the transformation of the Indian currency from a gold standard to a gold exchange standard, have held that everything would have been all right if the Government had carried out in to the recommendations of that Committee he does not share that view. On the other hand, he fined that the Indian currency underwent that transformation because the Government carried out those recommendations. While some people regard that Report as classical for its wisdom, I regard it as classical for its nonsense. For he find that it was this Committee which, while recommending a gold standard, also recommended and thereby perpetuated the folly of the Herschel Committee, that Government should coin rupees on its own account according to that most naïve of currency principles, the requirements of the public, without realizing that the latter recommendation was destructive of the former. Indeed, as he argue, the principles of the Fowler Committee must be given up, if we are to place the Indian currency on a stable basis.<sup>(8)</sup>

#### **feminist historian work:-**

Ambedkar's critique of patriarchy is both limited and strategic and his prescriptions for dalit women remain within the paradigm of nationalist-reformist ideals of respectability. I discern a tension between Ambedkar's critique of social hierarchy and his desire for a strong and respectable dalit community, a tension which seemed to be resolved through the marginalization of dalit women. With Indian independence and the promulgation of the Indian Constitution, however, a subtle but meaningful change in thought about gender relations can be discerned in Ambedkar's writings. This change can be linked to the establishment of democracy and a legal and political framework that reflected Ambedkar's commitment to the Universalist ideals of equality and liberty. As opposed to Ambedkar's discussions of gender relations before 1950, his thoughts on the issue after 1950 can be categorized as feminist in that they represent

the ideals of a particular kind of political modernity, one rooted in respect for the individual as social agent and equality before the law.

Researchers, however, have only recently begun to analyze Ambedkar's ideas on gender. Nearly all accounts of Ambedkar's work begin by recounting his early experiences of caste-based discrimination. D.C. Ahir narrates the humiliating experiences Ambedkar endured from his early days in primary school, where he was forced to sit outside the classroom and denied water, to his days working as a lawyer, when he was harassed by his colleagues and prohibited from drinking common water.<sup>(9)</sup>

While these experiences are recounted as formative moments in the development of Ambedkar's cultural and political critique of caste, most accounts of his life do not discuss his relations with his family. At most, one finds brief mention of Ambedkar's long friendship with Fanny Fitzgerald, a British woman he first met during his stay in London; Ambedkar's second marriage to Sharda Kabir, a Brahmin nurse, has begun to surface in biographical sketches.

The influence of the significant dalit women in his life, such as his mother, who suffered an early death after giving birth to fourteen children, of who only seven survived, his paternal aunt, or his first wife, Ramabai, however, has yet to be considered.

Gail Omvedt and Eleanor Zelliot have provided remarkable historical studies of the nineteenth century non-Brahman movements that influenced Ambedkar's anti-caste and social reform work. These works demonstrate how the critique of Brahmanism formulated by Jotirao Phule and the Satyashodak Samaj provided an influential template for struggles against caste. <sup>(10)</sup>

In the historiography on Ambedkar's efforts to eradicate untouchability and caste, scholars often focus on Ambedkar's divergence from M. K. Gandhi in the means and ends of



social change.<sup>529</sup> While Gandhi believed in the annihilation of untouchability, he saw virtue in the caste system as an ideal type – in the Weberian sense – of social organization. He also conceptualized untouchability as a problem for the Hindu community that could only be resolved through the repentance of upper-caste Hindus. Ambedkar, however, viewed the empowerment of dalits as a crucial element in creating social change and called for the immediate removal of caste-based encumbrances to their livelihood and dignity.

#### Conclusion:-

Dr. Ambedkar's was a short life and yet a most remarkable one. He rose up from dust, from being treated worse than an animal to becoming the father of the Indian Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar was truly a multi-faceted personality. A veritable emancipator of Dalits, a great National leader and patriot, a great author, a great educationalist, a great political philosopher, a great religious guide and above all a great humanist without any parallel among his contemporary. All these facets of Ambedkar's personality had strong humanist underpinnings. It is only regrettable that the press in the past as well as the contemporary has projected Ambedkar mainly as a great social rebel and a bitter critic of the Hindu religion. Critics of Dr. Ambedkar have ignored his basic humanistic instincts and strong humanitarian convictions behind his every act or speech throughout his life. Thus we conclude Dr. Ambedkar was one of the foremost makers of Modern India.

Several of the activists discussed in this dissertation spent time abroad before they became involved in transnational activism. Both Martin Macwan and Ruth Manorama, for example, cited time abroad, in which they learned about other minority communities and met activists working on their behalf, as formative experiences. These experiences influenced their analysis of the problems of

dalits at home and generated new ideas about their potential solutions. While firmly rooted in the local experiences and histories of the dalits they represent and advocate for, both activists and the organizations they have founded – the National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights, Navsarjan Trust, and the National Federation for Dalit Women – have also forged ties with groups outside of India. By perceiving parallels in historical experiences and structural positions in society, they and other dalit activists have worked against the "isolation" of dalits, a predicament that disturbed Ambedkar decades earlier.

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डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांचे विचार सामाजिकीय सर्व क्षेत्रात काम करणाऱ्या जनतेपर्यंत पोहोचवित या उदात्त विचाराने युगप्रवर्तक डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हा संपादित ग्रंथ प्रकाशित करण्याचे प्रयोजन केले आहे. कारण डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांनी सामाजिक, राजकीय, आर्थिक कायदा, शैक्षणिक, सांस्कृतिक, विद्युत, जल, कृषी, स्त्री, उद्धार, शेतकरी, कामगार, औद्योगीकरण, दलितोद्धार या क्षेत्रात अतुलनीय योगदान दिले आहे. त्यांनी दिलेल्या योगदानामुळे त्यांना आधुनिक भारताचे जनक म्हटले जाते. सन २०१२ मध्ये झालेल्या सर्वात महान भारतीय या भारताच्या आंतरराष्ट्रीय सर्वेक्षणात स्वातंत्र्याच्या सर्वात महान भारतीय म्हणून डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर विजयी घोषित झालेले आहेत. कोर्टाच्या विद्यापीठाचे जगातल्या सर्व

१०० विद्वानांची यादी तयार केली असून त्यात प्रथम स्थानी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचे नाव ठेवून त्यांना जगातला सर्व १९ महाविद्यालयांमधून त्यांचा योगदान इंग्लंडच्या ऑक्सफोर्ड विद्यापीठानेही गेल्या दहा हजार वर्षांमधील जगातल्या सर्वात प्रभावशाली १०० विश्व मानवांची यादी प्रकाशित केली आहेत, त्यात चौथ्या क्रमांकावर डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर तर प्रथम क्रमांकावर बुद्धांचे नांव होते. डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना इंग्लंडच्या केंब्रिज विद्यापीठाने जगातील सर्वात बुद्धीमान व्यक्ती म्हणून घोषित केले आहे. त्यामुळे डॉ. बाबासाहेबांचे विचार तळागाळातील व्यक्तीपर्यंत देखील पोहोचवित या उद्देशाने या ग्रंथाचे प्रकाशन केले आहे. युगप्रवर्तक डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर हा ग्रंथ वाचकांच्या हाती देतांना आम्हास हर्ष होत आहे. कारण त्यांचे उत्कर्षाचा आनंद आणि वाचकांच्या सहर्षतेची भावना सम्मिलित आहे.

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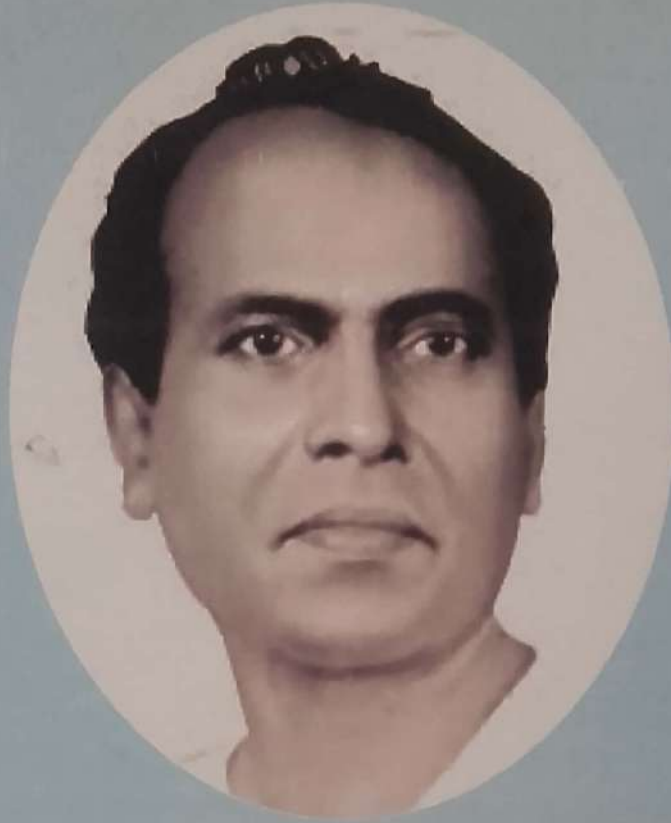
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# Annabhau Sathe's thoughts on testament to Dalit self-respect and resistance

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**Keywords:-** Objectives, Hypothesis, Indian dalit social movement, I am also a victim of racism, Hard working Struggle, Socio-Economic Conditions of Dalits, Dalits Assertion and Dalit Identity, Educational Empowerment of Dalit, Russia in Marathi literary system, Outcomes, Conclusion.

## Introduction:-

Annabhau Sathe (1 August 1920 – 18 July 1969) was a communist political activist, textile worker, social reformer, folk poet, and writer from Maharashtra, India. Sathe was a Dalit born into the Mang (caste), and his upbringing and identity were central to his writing and political activism. Though Sathe understood his Dalit lineage, being a staunch humanist and socialist, he rejected any form of "identity politics" and his life's struggle, writing and work was centered around the rejection of caste as a form of social and economic identity.

There are 15 collections of Sathe's short stories, of which a large number have been translated into many Indian and as many as 27 non-Indian languages. Besides novels and short stories, Sathe wrote a play, a travelogue on Russia, 12 screenplays, and 10 ballads in the Marathi powada style. Sathe's use of folkloric narrative styles like powada and lawani helped popularise and make his work accessible to many communities. In Fakira, Sathe portrays Fakira, the protagonist, revolting against the rural orthodox system and British Raj to save his community from utter starvation. The protagonist and his community are subsequently arrested and tortured by British officers, and Fakira is eventually killed by hanging.

Sathe was initially influenced by communist ideology and later shifted toward Dalit activism

following the teachings of B. R. Ambedkar, and used his stories to amplify the life experiences of Dalits and workers. There have been attempts to present this as a "shift" whereas he, like many others of that era, was influenced by B.R. Ambedkar, but he never joined Ambedkar's political movement, nor became a Buddhist nor rejected the Communist Party and his core atheist philosophy. In fact Sathe was invited to visit the Soviet Union by the CPSU. Sathe inaugurated a Dalit Sahitya Sammelan (Literary Conference) held at Mumbai in 1958; in his inaugural speech he said that "The earth is not balanced on the snake's head but on the strength of Dalit and working-class people," emphasizing the importance of Dalit and working-class people in global structures.

There are increasing attempts to water down Sathe's strong Communist leanings and present him as a "Dalit" leader and author, this is to filter and prevent the revolutionary aspirations of his work. These attempts to appropriate his name and legacy have amplified during the last few years, to contain the increasing unrest within the Dalit communities for having been excluded from a just share of the economic and social cake by the upper castes. This process, to exclude the revolutionary fervor of Dalit and other pro Dalit voices is being facilitated by the upper castes, mainstream parliamentary political parties and also many Dalits who reject revolutionary politics. It is



amply clear that Annabhau Sathe, was deeply influenced by Ambedkar, but never renounced or rejected his staunch support for Marxism and a communist ideal.

### **Objectives:-**

- To avoid using the term Dalit and opt for the more constitutional 'scheduled castes.

- To remain 'dalits', and had asked them to embrace a new identity.

- To indicate only the socio-political condition.

- To show the path that would emancipate the 'depressed classes'.

- To indicate something that was lowly, was being raised vis-à-vis a term that could show empowerment.

- To annihilate caste, even though it was propagated by the caste-Hindus.

- To convey the thoughts of Mahatma Phule and Satyashodhak Movement.

### **Hypothesis:-**

- Sathe portrays Fakira, the protagonist, revolting against the rural orthodox system.

- Sathe's use of folkloric narrative styles like powada and lawani helped popularise and make his work accessible to many communities.

- The protagonist and his community are subsequently arrested and tortured by British officers.

- Emphasising the importance of Dalit and working-class people in global structures.

- Sathe's strong Communist leanings and present him as a "Dalit" leader and author.

### **Indian dalit social movement:-**

Since the beginning, Indian dalit social movement always had been found running parallel

to Indian national freedom movement, during those days it was led by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and later on lead by the personalities like Com. Anna Bhau Sathe to pursue freedom in freedom to all those suppressed dalit people in India. Since hundreds of years these peoples are still fighting for the life of Honor, Dignity and equality. When, a nation has got liberty from colonial forces and has her doctrine of constitutional equality, the natural rights of livelihood to all these people of this nation were expected. But unfortunately it was not been a great freedom changeover to Indian dalits happened during and after Indian Independence in 1947. The hierarchical cast system in India had been not allowed even free India to free those poor dalits from naked bullies, Com. Anna Bhau Sathe himself was a person, who has gone through the heat of social injustice and humiliation. That's why the characters written by Com.<sup>1)</sup>

Anna Bhau in his books are very tolerant but are not tolerable. We can feel the fights given by these peoples in characters against the unethical beings are very straight and strong. The emotional feelings of all the characters coming out of Com. Anna bhau Sathe's literature were never been imaginary. Readers can feel them surrounding. While reading the writings of Com. Annabhau, an experience with these characters is very touching for the readers and followers. All these characters had intense words on their tongue because they are addressed by the heat of inhuman experiences and which seems always hurdle their existences. All these characters had courage to do the greatest things in his or her life because they wanted to prove themselves and to prove their capabilities.

### **I am also a victim of racism:-**



"Stalingrad cha powada" first word he wrote is for Dalits by universal means it's dedicated to revolutionist people. Why he wrote this ballad for Stalingrad? What was the biological relationship of his thoughts with Soviet Union? Answer is very simple; he is socialist by heart and loved socialism being a comrade. He never expressed sadness about the social injustice in Indian society; rather he opposed and hit it hard by words as vulnerable.

### **Socio-Economic Conditions of Dalits:-**

Caste system in India is not only the age-old and depth oriented socioecultural phenomenon but it has also been working, since the remote period, as the symbol of Indian social system specifically characterized by hierarchical categories. In fact, one of the Indian sub-continental tragedies is the acceptance of the hierarchy of groups. This hierarchy is based on the principle of purity and pollution determined by birth. Much as we have entered into 21 st century marked by growing rationalization, bureaucratization, democratization, secularization and disenchantment of the world, the values that would predominate the social order are affective neutrality, universalities orientation, achievement, collectivism, equality, freedom and the like, yet the stigma of caste-system in India still exists and is still practiced in everyday life. And all the modernists principles witness it.

Facing each other, the untouchable (Dalits) and the caste Hindu exemplify the characteristic relationships of the dominated and the dominant. As the dominant impose their ideas and will on the dominated, they offer a scheme of justification to maintain their position. The dominated, on the other hand, either accept such scheme or repute them in a way suitable to social circumstances<sup>4)</sup>

### **Dalits Assertion and Dalit Identity:-**

Dalits have been oppressed throughout the recorded history of India, relegated to toiling and engaging with 'polluting' tasks like agricultural labour, disposing dead bodies, working with leather, cleaning toilets and sewage etc. Many Indians continue to believe, especially in rural areas, that others would be polluted by their touch, or even by their shadow. To avoid such "pollution" Dalits were segregated and denied access to many community facilities like schools, temples, wells, water tanks, etc. To this day thousands of villages have a separate area for Dalit houses, separate wells for Dalits, class rooms where Dalit children sit separately.

The term "Dalit" is of recent coinage though the identity has a checkered history. The great leader Dr. B.R Ambedkar made the word 'dalit' well known. He adopted that term after rejecting the term 'Harijan' meaning the "people of God" introduced by Mahatma Gandhi. Elevating the so-called untouchables intellectually by associating them with the term "God" perhaps hid their problems from the general public more than it helped them. So Ambedkar chose a term that seeks to confront all other communities of India. This lent a political voice to the issue of caste discrimination<sup>5)</sup>

Another term that gained currency for the identity of the Dalits in the beginning of the 1930s and is still commonly used to identify the untouchable casts was Harijan. It is a general misconception that the term 'Harijan' was coined by Mahatma Gandhi. In fact, it was originally used by Narsinha Mehta, a Gujarati poet-saint of the Bhakti tradition in the medieval period.



## **Educational Empowerment of Dalit:-**

Education is considered as one of the most important instruments of socialization and a powerful catalytic agent for social change. This is the most effective changing agent for the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of The SCs removal of their disabilities. Realizing the Importance of education, the Framers of the constitution included in the Directive Principles of state policy provisions for free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 years and promotion and with special care also the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and particularly SCs and STs and protecting from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

An elaborate programme of pre-matric and post-matric scholarships, reservation of seats in schools and colleges including technical and professional institutions, establishment of hostels for girls and boys and ashram schools for the children of SCs and STs and other incentives like free mid-day meals, text books, uniforms etc. are in operation for the last five decades. The National Policy on Education has arranged for special provisions for SCs and STs. Most of the states have abolished tuition fee for SC students up to the senior secondary level and provided incentives like free text books, uniforms, stationary, school bags etc.<sup>6)</sup>

## **Russia in Marathi literary system:-**

A new dynamism is seen in the Marathi literature during the 1960s. This was followed by some other social movements in Marathi society especially in Dalit and Muslim communities, in the women organizations, which deeply influenced the literature. We find many articles published in various periodicals from time to time. They include articles like Rushiyatil Alikadil Ghadamodi (1956), Soviet

Rushiyatil Bhashik Prashna (1956), Ajacha Rushiya (1957), which talk about the anti-Stalin policy in Russia, Russian Arthavyavasthetil Mahatvapurna Sthityantar (1967), Lenin (1970), a translation of the article by Phillip Sprat published in the Humanist Review in April-June, 1970.

Annabhau Sathe visited Soviet Russia in 1961 as a representative of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society (ISCUS). Many of his stories were translated into Russian. (See Appendix.) He narrates the experiences of his journey in the small travelogue *Maza Rushiyacha Pravast*. He mentions that his *powada* (ballad) on Stalingrad was popular in Russia, and that his novel 'Chitra' and some other stories had been translated into Russian quite before that. His story 'Sultan' was well-appreciated and liked by the Russian people.<sup>7)</sup>

## **Outcomes:-**

It is amply clear that Annabhau Sathe, was deeply influenced by Ambedkar.

This struggle for appropriating and watering down the revolutionary aspects of Ambedkar's thought and presenting his politics as yet another version of Gandhian thought.

It can present Shaeed -e- Azam Bhagat Singh as a "Sikh/Khalsa Martyr" whereas he was clearly a communist till his last breath.

Indian dalit social movement always had been found running parallel to Indian national freedom movement.

Anna Bhau Sathe to pursue freedom in freedom to all those suppressed dalit people in India.

## **Conclusion:-**

The original purpose of IPTA was to attack fascism. IPTA was led by intellectuals but it was



intended to serve the uneducated masses. Hence, it relied on age-old indigenous institutions, including religious and mythological plays, wandering bards, folk dances, and village mimes and clowns, used in a direct, simple approach intended to propagate anti-fascist ideology and support the cause of world democracy. In Maharashtra Amar Shaikh and Annabhau Sathe made a significant contribution by revitalizing the ancient powada and other folk-art forms to present social criticism and propaganda.

The novels of Annabhau Sathe are characterized by Marxist point of view. His stories and novels were progressive in their value judgments. They were positive in their attempt at creating a new social order based on justice and equality. Maharashtra has a rich intellectual tradition. The intellectuals in Maharashtra have been deeply drawn towards the ideologies of socialism and communism. Many of his stories, novels and even a poem were translated into Russian. The collapse of Soviet Union in 1990 and the setback of communist ideology in the East Europe made a deep impact on the minds of intellectuals and literary figures in Maharashtra. This was followed by the new economic policies and a phase of globalization.

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# Anna Bhau Sathe the person who provided the music that would heal the wounds of untouchable workers

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**Keywords:** - Objectives, Hypothesis, Discriminating boundaries, Mang-Mahar unilty and adversity, The Depressed Class Misslon, Dr. Ambedkar and Matang Community, Social movement for upliftment, Outcomes, Conclusion.

## Introduction:-

Anna Bhau Sathe and Baburao Bagul are such visionary writers, like many others mentioned above, envisaged the future of Dalits and Dalit movement in most comprehensive way. Anna Bhahu Sathe is a dominant literary figure in Dalit Literature in Maharashtra. A self educated/ lettered without any formal education and swam deep into the ocean of literature to bring out many literary unique diamonds. Being unlettered, yet penned down many novels and plays in Marahti literature, is probably the rarest of rare example in the universe, unfortunately unexplored by the mainstream literary readers and critics. Annabhau Sathe is the founder figure of the most powerful Dalit novels and short stories in Dalit literature. Initially A. B. Sathe was influenced by communist ideology and his literature reflects most inclusive philosophy of Humanism. Anna Bhahu Sathe inaugurated the first Dalit Sahitya Sammelan (Literary Conference) held at Mumbai in 1958. In his inaugural speech he emphatically expressed two uniquely powerful ideas that the "The earth is not balanced on the snakes head but on the strength of Dalit and working class people". Anna Bhahu here underlines the supreme importance of Dalit and working class people in the world set up.

He was born in 1920 into the Matang caste (also known as Mang). Years later, even when his

parents migrated to Bombay in search of better prospects, Anna Bhau was still witness to the brutality of caste and capitalism, even in urbanized city spaces. The harsh world of Bombay turned into a classroom where he could learn, and it shaped the music he would later create. As someone who was barely educated but possessed vast amounts of talent, music for Anna Bhau became not only a tool to 'understand' but also to assert, to fight against caste and capitalism. He was probably the first shahir to expose the source of oppression in Mumbai, which can be found in its posh localities. In 'Mumbaichi Lawani' he writes:

"Mumbait Unchawari! Malabar Hills, Indrapuri Kuberachi Vasti Tithe Sukh Bhogati! Paralat Rahhare!

But his most powerful song was the chakkad called 'Majhi Maina Gawawar Rahili' (My Maina has been left behind in the village) which was, more or less, written during the Samyukt Maharashtra movement (United Maharashtra) that influenced a majority of the people, convincing them to see Mumbai as an integral part of Maharashtra. Untouchable workers moved to the city of Bombay in vast numbers to live a more dignified life, and most of them participated in Ambedkar's anti-caste movement. Anna Bhau, on the other hand, remained a communist for a long period of his life.



Nevertheless, he always pledged an obscure allegiance to Ambedkar, later making it public when he dedicated his most famous work his magnum opus *Fakira* to Ambedkar.

**Objectives:-**

- To deconstruct Brahminical myths which were deeply embedded in society.
- To fight against caste and capitalism.
- To emphasised on discrimination and suggested that the untouchables should move to cities.
- To trace the source of caste-class sufferings.
- To March towards Shigaoan to receive Ranoji with Jogini.

**Hypothesis:-**

- Using the Hindu popular mythological image of snake bearing the globe.
- Liberating and shielding Dalits from the existing worldly.
- Encouraging, moving, realistic delineation of the dalit life.
- Piled up inflictions, exploitation and torture on backward class.
- Generally unaware and sloppy about Mangwada, the place where Mang community resides with their poverty stricken life.

**Discriminating boundaries:-**

There was a reason for this. According to Sharad Patil, a noted scholar of the Marx-Phule-Ambedkar schools of thought, "*Fakira* is the best novel by Anna Bhau Sathe. To show that the cactus-like boundary line between the colonies of Mahar-Mangs (untouchables) including *Fakira*, and Kulkarni-Patil (Savarnas) was that of the class system instead of caste system is the responsibility imposed on this

communist Mang writer. During the time of *Fakira*, certainly, the caste system was much stronger than the class system in villages in Maharashtra. But, since it was imposed on the mind of Anna Bhau that the suffering of an untouchable peasant is equal to suffering of the touchable peasant in terms of its class, unsurprisingly, his talent was unable to trace the source of caste-class sufferings." Despite him witnessing the cunning of Brahmin communists and being abandoned by them in the last years of his life, he continued to write, and more prominently, sing.

Jacques Attali says, "Music is more than an object of study. It is a way of perceiving the world. A tool of 'understanding'. With this proposition, if we look at the birth of *shahiri* and *jalsas* in Maharashtra, then the one thing we notice is that music as a composition of sounds – was given a 'social' consciousness through *shahiri*. By this, I mean that music by Ambedkarite *shahirs* has been used to break down the shackles of social prejudices and norms, which prohibited them from 'understanding' life through 'reading' and 'writing'.<sup>1)</sup>

Despite him witnessing the cunning of Brahmin communists and being abandoned by them in the last years of his life, he continued to write, and more prominently, sing.

Many decades have passed since his death, but his chakkad '*Majhi Maina Gawawar Rahili*' still moves people deeply, whenever it is played. It is considered a classic in the history of *shahiri* in Maharashtra. Through this song, he voiced the pain of an entire generation of untouchable workers, who migrated from the villages to cities in search of a life of dignity.

**Mang-Mahar unity and adversity:-**



Overall the novel *Fakira* is a finest example of Dalit expression and a great lesson and model reflecting the rarest grit to live even in an utmost adversity. The Mang-Mahar unity is one of the most salient features of Annabhau Sathe's masterpiece novel '*Fakira*'. In an entire plot of the novel Dalits stands unified to wrestle adversities of their lives. The misfortunes are tackled as an intimate group with deepest faith and belief. *Fakira*, the protagonist, distributes the looted wealth of Besadgoan equally among all dalits underscores the dalit brotherhood. Annabhau's heroes are morally upright and ideal individuals. They fight against injustice be it against them or be it even for others. *Fakira*, Sattu, Vishnupant, Ranba are all Annabhau's dominant characters stand apart as a class of their own in the entire Dalit literature and demand further deliberation by the critics. They demonstrate anger, rejection, rebelliousness, sacrifice for community and humanity hence are the epitome of morals and values. The fight against Britishers and pillaging their, actually Indian, wealth for the sake of poor peasants, workers is a huge venerable and courageous act they put on display.

Mukanayk, Pashan and Dr. Babsaheb Ambedkar's biography is an extensive literary works of Baburao Bagul. He, in true sense, supported Annabhau Sathe, Shankararo Kharat's projection of Dalits. Annabhau productively attempted to inspire and ignite the dalit youth and Baburao Bagul made them act. Bagul's '*Jenvha Mi Jat Chorli Hoti*' is the first collection of short story published in 1963 which earned him great name and fame and established him a writer.<sup>2)</sup>

He joins the duty and at the outset only faces a question 'what is your caste? Baffled with an unexpected question author chooses to avoid it and

shows an anger with the question. But due to his sophisticated behavior, mastery over both Hindi and Sanskrit language the people around him tend to think that he is an upper caste person. He is offered a room on rent and for some days the things went smoothly but suddenly one day a huge mob of people starts thrashing him.

### **The Depressed Class Mission:-**

The Depressed Class Mission held a meeting on 15-4-1923 at Bhokarwadi in their missionablice. However, the followers of V.R. Shinde did not allow the leaders to attend the meeting. In order to protest against it, the leaders held a meeting just opposite to the place at Sir Padamji farm and protested Shinde. Finally K.K. Sakat, T.S. Gaikwad resigned from their posts.<sup>3)</sup> Matang Parishad had their second conference on 12th and 13th May 1923 at Kondave, Dist Satara. The conference was chaired by Shri. Sitaram Babaji Landage. In this conference, following resolutions were made:

- i. Unpleasentness was shown for the separate settlements for Mangs and Ramoshis.
- ii. The demand was placed to appoint a Mang representative at Bar Council.
- iii. The daily reporting to police station of Mangs should be stopped.
- iv. The Mangs should be given the lands of local board at 1/4th price.

On Saturday 23rd May 1923 a public meeting was organized by Matang community at Mumbai. Narayan Savalaram Kamble, a singer presided the meeting. Shri. Waghmare and Shri. Bhingardev spoke in the meeting.<sup>4)</sup>

### **Dr. Ambedkar and Matang Community:-**

Dr. Ambedkar writes, 'Society is a ship', while voyaging in a ship if someone purposely or with an intention to play a prank on or because of one's



sadistic nature makes hole to somebody's room, he also has to go down sooner or later along with ship. In the same way while doing damage to one caste knowingly or unknowingly, one makes damage to his own caste as well'. Dr. Ambedkar warns other castes as well that, it is their responsibility too, to abolish the caste system. In the first issue of 'Bahishkrut Bharat' under the column 'Bahishkrut Vargachi Sanghatana' with the name 'Savyasachi' he had written, "a certain Mang brother, coming under

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On the contrary the Mahar brothers have wasted money like water for other untouchables and have given rise to the movement....of which the benefit is taken by Mang and chambhar as well". Mangs don't go for movements; on the contrary they only take the benefit of those movements is an allegation by Mahars against the Mangs since 1927. There may be some truth in the whole affair but the result of this allegation is that, the Mang community has always remained away from Mahars. Even then, the Mang community was trying to organise themselves, was giving responses to the happenings

on the social front. e. g. on 13th April 1927, the untouchables in Mahad were beaten up by upper castes

people which was publically condemned by Matang community at Chalisgaon in Khandesh. They had published pamphlets in this regard <sup>5)</sup>

#### **Social movement for upliftment:-**

The storm that rose at the political rise of Dr. Ambedkar, a bold man called Shripati Shinde belonging to Matang community firmly backed Dr. Ambedkar by sending telegram to the British Govt. is a rare incident, but holds great importance in the political career of Dr. Ambedkar. In the round table conference Dr. Ambedkar demanded a separate constituency for the untouchables. Even Muslims and Sikhs had voiced the same demand for their communities. The British Govt. had agreed upon these demands and then Mahatma Gandhi began his historical fast unto death. Gandhi had put his life at stake and Dr. Ambedkar became controversial on the national level because of his political stand. By this time a Mahar leader from Ambedkar's movement G. A. Gavai from Vidharbha took care of Gandhi's life by answering Mahatmaji, "your life is precious for us. There would not be any harm even if we don't get any seats in the body of laws. Gavai also was a promising man. He and Thavare from Vidharbha had taken opposite stand against Dr. Ambedkar during the conference of "Madhya Prantiya Depressed Class" organised on the background of Simon Commission in 1929. They had organized separate conferences.<sup>6)</sup>

The social movement in the 'Mahar community' seems to have begun by Valangar Baba. Dr. Ambedkar's social movement began in 1920 but the social movement in Matang community had begun from 1923. The first leader



of Matang community movement was Kondiram Sakat from Pune, however leadership in the social the 'untouchables political rights' like that of Mahar community, at the time of Montague-Chemsford by organizing conferences, meets and meetings movement of Matangs scarcely paid attention to the political movement. Matang community had not tried to raise their voice for They had not taken any firm political stand, however in the untouchables conference at Nagpur the Mangs backed Maharshi Shinde in the Shinde-Ambedkar conflict, which means that the Mangs supported the political stand of Maharshi Shinde which again means the Mangs opposed Dr. Ambedkar's political stand. The Montague-Chemsford meet was of little use to untouchables; consequently it did not benefit even the Matang community. <sup>7)</sup>

#### **Outcomes:-**

- Ø There would be stop dalit exploitation by money lenders.
- Ø They were encouraged by some hungry supporters and plan to fight against the odd rather than dying meekly.
- Ø On behalf of Annabhau Sathe distributed the food grains equally among all the Dalit families.
- Ø It deals with potential of perverseness of fundamental rights.
- Ø It will be able to understand the policy of upper class towards lower categories.

#### **Conclusion:-**

He had to hide his caste hence author calls it 'Jenvha Mi Jat Chorli Hoti'. At the end when Kashinath challenges the mob showing a big bright knife they all run away but the author is badly injured and abused, destroyed all the things in room and tore out all his certificates. When Kashinath questions him 'Jenvha Mi Jat Chorli Hoti' why and

how did you tolerate the attack and got beaten up?' Baburao Bagul replies, 'I was not beaten up by them but by Manu'. The story ends with these words. The story is potentially a depiction of poisoned mindsets with the thoughts of untouchability- a social evil poisoning social psyche. Close study of the works of Baburao Bagul reflects his belief that Ambedkarism and Marxism both the ideologies perpetrate social equalities and insist on emancipation and freedom. Same is also the rumination of Annabhau Sathe who personally was activist and practiced Marxist, though rejected it later, supported Ambedkarism. Both Annabhau Sathe and Baburao Bagul make the exploited man as the center of their art and his emancipation thereby taking him to a brightest future is the optimistic approach these authors nurture. They also have brooded over the dalit women; the triply exploited class of Indian society and have adequately projected the life of dalit women.

Sathe and Bagul both are highly conscious in fostering their characters and do not attempt to run away from the grim reality of being dalit and keep that Dalithood and consciousness alive as if it is a pre condition. But both make hard endeavors to emancipate the dalits from the shackles of the caste, culture, religion and the Hindu dominant biases. But it is also the fact that Annabhau, the literary giant, is ignored by both the mainstream and more sadly and shockingly, by the Dalit thinkers, critics and authors. It would be enormously in the interest of knowledge of Indian society, dalits and history to hold both Baburao Bagul and Annabhau Sathe's literature to inspect the class- caste dimension in Maharashtra.



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# सत्यशोधक अण्णा भाऊ साठे : अनुभवाचे विद्यापीठ

संपादक

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## आण्णाभाऊसाठे यांच्या वाङ्मयातील मानव मुक्तीचा विचार

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### प्रस्तावना :

मला असे वाटते की, आण्णाभाऊ साठे हा एक मानव मुक्तीसाठी जन्मलेले "हिरा" आहे. कारण आण्णाभाऊंनी लिहीलेले साहित्य नसुन वाङ्मय आहे. (Literature) आहे. लिटरेचर हे विज्ञानावादाला अनुसरून असते तर साहित्य हे कांही मर्यादेपर्यंत असते जसे भाकरी बनवण्यासाठी साहित्य लागते तसे नव्हे तर आण्णाभाऊंचे (Literature) हे संक्रमण अवस्थेतील आहे एका पिढीतून दुसऱ्या पिढीत संक्रमण करणारे आहे म्हणुन आण्णाभाऊंचे लिटरेचर हे विश्वावर आधारित असून ते सत्यावर आधारलेले आहे.

आण्णाभाऊंनी जे लिखान केले ते व्यक्ती "माणूस" गृहीत धरून सर्वोत्कृष्ट लिटरेचर कृतीशिलतेने तयार केले आणि जो विश्वपुरूष, युगपुरूष, क्रांतीसूर्य, आणि "धगधगत्या सुडाने पेटलेल्या अग्नीकुंडातील क्रांतीच्या ज्वाला या धगधगतच राहिल्या शतकानुशतके नव्हे तर हजारो वर्षे निर्दयी कठोर आणि क्रूर मर्मभेदी क्रौर्यावर मात करणारा महामेरू तर अथांग ज्ञानाचा महासागर वादळी वाऱ्यातून आपल्या ज्ञानाची नौका पैलतिरी घेऊन जाणारा कुशल नावाडी डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर यांच्या झुंजार लेखणीला आपल्या लेखणीची सांगड घालणारे विश्ववाङ्मयाचे शिल्पकार आण्णाभाऊ साठे हे मानवमुक्तीसाठी आपल्या लिखाणाची आणि व्यक्तीमत्त्वाची जोड लावतात ती अशी की,

"जग बदल घालूनी घाव"

"Charge the world Reconstruction of the world"

दुःखाला नाहीसे करावयाचे असेल तर समाजाची पुर्नबांधणी करावी लागेल असे मला डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर सांगतात असे आण्णाभाऊ म्हणतात. आण्णाभाऊ पुढे असे म्हणतात की, मी तुमचे लक्ष (मन) हे डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या त्या युगपुरूषाच्या कर्तुत्वाकडे वळवित आहे कारण तुम्ही विषमतेच्या विचारातून सुटून "मानवमुक्तीच्या विचाराकडे आपले लक्ष केंद्रीत करत आहे. त्यांच्या लिखानाचा विचारांचा "माणूस" हा केंद्र बिन्दु आहे. मानसाच्या दुःखापासून त्याची मुक्ती कशी होईल याचे उत्तर त्यांच्या लेखणीतून व्यक्तीमत्त्वातून आणि कर्तुत्वातून उत्तर दिले आहे.



विदुषकांनी लिहीलेल्या साहित्याने "गुलाम" बनविलेला माणूस अपमानित केलेला हा त्यांच्या लेखनीला "नायक" बनविला आहे. म्हणून आण्णाभाऊंचा विचार हा मानवमुक्तीचा विचार आहे.

**उद्दिष्ट :**

आण्णाभाऊंच्या लेखनीचे उद्दिष्ट स्पष्ट करतेवेळी त्यांच्या पुस्तकांची नांवे माणसांची त्यांच्या दुःखाची आणि त्यांच्या संघर्षाची त्यांच्या जगण्याची जसे की, फकीरा, आवडी, आबी, लाडी, फरारी, रूपा, रत्ना, चंदन, मयुरा, आघात, आग/माकडीचा माळ, रानबोका, संघर्ष, वारणेच्या खोऱ्यात, अहंकार, कुरूप, वैर, चिलखातील कमळ, पाझर, केवड्याचे कणीस, अग्निदिव्य, बरबादया कंजारी, ठासलेल्या बंदुका, चिराग नगरची भुत, नवती, स्वप्नसुंदरी अमृत, खुळवाडी, निखारा, गजाआड, अलगुज, डोळेमोडित राधा चाले, धुंद, फूलपारखरू, रान गंगा, गुलाम, मुर्ती वारणेच्या खोऱ्यात वारणेचा वाघ हे वैज्ञानिक लिटरेचर तयार केल्यामुळे "डॉ. आंबेडकर लिटरेचर परिषद" औरंगाबाद येथे झाली त्या परिषदेत विशेष आण्णाभाऊंच्या वैज्ञानिक लेखणीवर उहापोह करण्यात आला तेव्हा आण्णाभाऊंना वैज्ञानिक लिटरेचरचा दर्जा मिळाला. आणि तेथूनच आण्णाभाऊला बौद्धांनी अमेरिकेपर्यंत पोहचविले हे विसरता कामा नये म्हणून आण्णाभाऊंच्या लेखनीचे मोठेपण हे विज्ञानात आहे. त्यावरून आण्णाभाऊ हे विज्ञानवादी होते नव्हे तर ते बुद्धांच्या सागरातील एक हिरा होते. म्हणून सडलेल्या चातुर्वर्ण व्यवस्थेतून त्यांना या देशातील तमाम बहुजनांना मुक्त करावयाचे होते म्हणूनच आण्णाभाऊंची लेखणी ही मानवमुक्तीच्या विचाराने चालती झाली.

**गृहीतक :-**

आण्णाभाऊंच्या लेखणीचे गृहीतक हे पृथ्वी आहे. जल-जंगल-जमिन तसेच त्यावर जगणारा "माणूस" आण्णाभाऊंच्या लेखणीचे गृहीतक हे विज्ञान आहे, "पृथ्वी ही शेपांच्या मस्तकावर तरलेली नसून ती दलित श्रमिकांच्या तळहातावर तरलेली आहे."

माणूस, "मानानं पान खाव शेळी होऊन पान खाऊ नये" संघर्षासाठी, लेनिन ग्रॅंडचा पोवाडा (लढा) अन्यायाची चिड आणि लढण्याची धमक कायम ठेवा शिवाजी महाराजांची कारकिर्द त्यांच्यावर पोवाडा (लढा) बुद्धाची शपथ, मृत्यूकडून जीवनाकडे आणि म्हणून डॉ. आंबेडकर हे आण्णाभाऊंच्या लेखणीचे गृहीतक आहे.

**सारांश :-**

"पृथ्वी ही शेपांच्या मस्तकावर तरलेली नसून ती दलीत श्रमिकांच्या तळहातावर तरलेली आहे."

या स्लोगणाचे Interpretation करत असतांना हे लक्षात घेतले पाहिजे की, ज्यावेळी तथागतांना "ज्ञान" प्राप्ती झाली त्यावेळी तथागतांच्या समोर "मारा" येऊन उभा राहिला आणि म्हणाला तुम्हाला "ज्ञान" प्राप्त झाले याला पुरावा काय आहे? तेव्हा तथागतांनी सांगितले "जमिन" हा माझ्या ज्ञानाला पुरावा आहे. तेव्हा "मारा" हा तेथून निघून गेला.



आण्णाभाऊंनी आपल्या लेखणीमध्ये वरील स्लोगन लिहून ठेवले पृथ्वी, जीवन, मातृभूमी ही कोणाच्या मस्तकावर नाही तर ती येथील कष्ट करणाऱ्यांच्या तळहातावर तरलेली आहे. ज्या विदूषकांनी या देशात चातुर्वर्ण व्यवस्था तयार करून विदुषकी साहित्याची निर्मिती करून येथील मानवाला अपमानित करून गुलाम केले. त्या व्यक्तीला आण्णाभाऊंनी नायक बनविले. ज्या विदुषकी साहित्याने मानवाला कलंकित करून ठेवले त्या व्यक्तीला आण्णाभाऊंनी आपल्या लेखणीने "सुंदर" बनविले अशी आण्णाभाऊंची लेखणी म्हणजे मावमुक्तीचा विचार होय. आण्णाभाऊंनी जे वरील स्लोगन लिहीले आहे. ते रशियात "लेनिनच्या पुतळ्यावर कोरलेले आहे." याचा अर्थ असा नाही की आण्णाभाऊ साठे हे मार्क्सच्या विचाराचे होते. आण्णाभाऊ जर मार्क्स विचाराचे असते तर त्यांनी आपली लेखनी डॉ. आंबेडकराच्या झुंजार लेखनीला अर्पण केली नसती यावरून आण्णाभाऊ साठे हे डॉ. आंबेडकरांच्या मानवमुक्तीच्या लढ्याचे एक विश्वाभीष्ट मानवाच्या मुक्ती मार्गाचे "तराफा" होते. म्हणून आण्णाभाऊंनी आपली लेखणी ही कोणत्या मार्क्स माओ अथवा लेनिनला अर्पित केली नाही तर ती डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांना अर्पित केली कारण, लिंगभेद धर्मभेद, जातीभेद, वर्गभेद, वर्णभेद, अधर्म यातून डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी मानवाच्या मुक्तीचा मार्ग दाखवला होता. यावरून आण्णाभाऊंची लेखणी ही मानवमुक्तीच्या विचाराची होती हे स्पष्ट करता येईल.

आण्णाभाऊ आपल्या लेखणीतून सांगतात की, तुमच्या मध्ये जन्मतः चैतन्यशक्ती, बुद्धीमत्ता आणि विचार करणारी दृष्टी ही घेऊन आले आहात त्यामुळे तुम्हाला जीवनात आंबेडकरांनी सांगितल्या प्रमाणे प्रगल्भ समाज बनवता आला पाहिजे परिपक्व समाज बनवता आला पाहिजे. "आण्णाभाऊ साठेनी जी लेखनी चालवली ती वास्तविकतेवर आणि "मानव" हा केंद्र बिंदु मानून माणूस ज्या दुःखामुळे ग्रासलेला आहे. त्या दुःखापासून त्याची मुक्ती करण्यासाठी लेखणी चालवलेली आहे.

आण्णाभाऊंनी जे दोन पुस्तके लिहीली ती म्हणजे "बुद्धाची शपथ" आणि दुसरी म्हणजे "मृत्यूकडून जीवनाकडे डॉ. आंबेडकरांनी धम्म स्वीकारला त्यावेळी ते म्हणतात आता माझा नवा जन्म होत आहे. ज्या व्यवस्थेत अधर्म आहे अज्ञान आहे, रूढी परंपरा, द्वेष हेवा दावा, वैर हे सर्व सोडून दिले आणि "बौद्ध धम्म" स्विकारून तद्वतच आण्णाभाऊंनी "मृत्यूकडून जीवनाकडे" हे पुस्तक लिहीण्यासाठी घेतले म्हणूनच आण्णाभाऊ साठेचे Literature हे मानवाच्या मुक्तीच्या विचाराचे आहे. आण्णाभाऊ आपल्या लेखनीतून अंतर्दृष्टी समृद्ध विचारशक्ती स्वतंत्र समज आपल्याला देतात तसेच आण्णाभाऊ म्हणतात "या व्यवस्थेचे माणूस, मानसाचे भूत, भूताचे सैतान आणि सैतानाचे हैवान तेंव्हा माझा कार्यकर्ता हैवाना बरोबर लढेल अशी अपेक्षा करतात म्हणून आपणाकडचे विचार हे मानवमुक्तीचे विचार आहेत."

**निष्कर्ष :-**

आण्णाभाऊंची लेखनी ही देशविदेशातील भाषेत भाषांतरीत झाली. त्यांच्या लेखनीच्या जीवावर चित्रपट निर्माण झाले. माणसांच्या उन्नतीसाठी कला, कौशल्ये शिकवणारी लेखनी ही



आजरामर झाली. त्यामुळे आण्णाभाऊंचे लिटरेचर हे संक्रमन अवस्थेतील असून विज्ञाननिष्ठ असून बुद्धिष्ठ आहे जे जगाला तारू शकेल.

**संदर्भग्रंथ सूची :**

- 1) लोक साहित्यिक आण्णाभाऊ साठे - समग्र वाङ्मय खंड - 1.
- 2) माझा भाऊ आण्णा भाऊ - शंकरभाऊ साठे.
- 3) मातंग समाज इतिहास आणि वास्तव - प्रा. डॉ. माधव बसवते.
- 4) मातंग समाज स्थिती आणि गती - डॉ. दिलीप अर्जुने.



साहित्याच्या सगळ्या शाखांमधून ठसा उमटवणारं लेखन करणं तशी सोपी गोष्ट नव्हती नाही. अल्पायुशी परंतु परिस्थितीने चटके देवून शिकवलेले जगणे किती परिणामकारक असले याचा प्रत्यक्ष पदोपदी येतो. व्यथा - वेदना घेवून समाज मनाला उभारी देणारं लेखन करून अण्णाभाऊंनी गावकुसाचा मान - सन्मान वाढवला आहे. समाजमनावर नीतीमुल्यांची मोहर उमटवणारा हा महान लेखक आहे. गावकुस आणि गाव यातील सनातन संघर्षाची ठिगगी पेटवून भडका उडवून देवूनतापत करणे हा हेतू त्यांच्या कुठल्याच लेखन प्रपंचात जाणवत नाही. उलट सामंजस्य, सुसंवाद निर्माण करण्याच्या प्रयत्नां प्रेरणेने प्रेरीत झालेलं आत्मबळ या साहित्यातून दिसते आहे.

भुकेने व्याकुळ, गावकुस कन्हंत - कुथंत जगतं आहे हा भयावह भयनाल अण्णाभाऊंनी स्वतः जगला, भोगला आहे. त्यामुळ त्यांच्या लेखनीतील स्वाभिमान अधिक महत्वाचा वाटतो. त्यांच्या लेखनीने उभे केलेले सगळेच स्त्री - पुरुष संयम शिकलेल्या सुसंस्कारी जगण्याला प्राधान्य देतात. ही नीतीमुल्यांची चाड असलेली महाराष्ट्रातील माणसं अण्णाभाऊंच्या लेखनीने मोठ्या ताकदीने सन्मनीत केली आहेत.

जगभरातील विचारवंतांच्या आंतरराष्ट्रीय परिषदेत प्रकाशित झालेला हा ग्रंथ अण्णाभाऊ साठेच्या समग्र जीवनकार्याला लेखनपैलूंना अलगद उलगडून दाखवणारा ऐतिहासिक दस्तऐवज आहे. या महान कार्यात आपली उर्जा ओतणारे तमाम लेखक, संपादकीय मंडळ आणि परिषदेचे संयोजक आणि त्यांचे सहकारी यांचे मनःपूर्वक अभिनंदन.

प्रा.डॉ. मुकुंद राजपंखे

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# HOME SCIENCE & WOMEN EMPOWERMENT



◦ EDITOR ◦  
**Dr. Vandana Bankar**

◦ CO-EDITOR ◦  
**Pratibha Agharde**



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## ८१. स्त्री आणि मानवअधिकार



प्रा. जाधव एस.बी.

गृहविज्ञान, मिल्लिया म.वि. बोंड - ४३११२२

### प्रस्तावना (Introduction) :-

प्रत्येक व्यक्तीला काही गोष्टी मिळवण्याचा अधिकार आणि या अधिकाराला इतरांनी मान्यता दिलेली आहे. अशा अधिकाराला हक्क म्हणून संबोधता येईल. या हक्कांमध्ये काही हक्क असे असतात की, जे व्यक्तीला जगण्यासाठी, त्याच्या व्यक्तीमत्वाच्या विकासासाठी असते. असे हक्क व्यक्तीला जनमानसे प्राप्त झाल्यामुळे ते हिरावून होण्याचा अधिकार कोणालाही नसतो. असे हक्क मानव अधिकार म्हणून ओळखले जातात. हे हक्क व्यक्तीला समाज बहाल करत नाही. तर व्यक्ती अस्तित्वात आली की, हे हक्क अस्तीत्वात येतात. मात्र कायद्यासमोर सर्व समान असतात.

### मानवी हक्कांचा अर्थ :-

व्यक्तीला हक्क न मिळणे म्हणजे व्यक्तीवर अन्याय होणे होय हक्कामुळे व्यक्तीला स्वातंत्र्य मिळून सन्मानाने प्रतिष्ठीने जीवन जगता येते. सर्व मानवांना म्हणजे स्त्री आणि पुरुषांना कुठल्याही प्रकारचा धर्म, पंथ, वंश, जात लिंग ह्या आधारावर भेदाभेद न कारता समानतेवर आधारलेले मूलभूत व जीवनावश्यक अधिकार होय. थोडक्यात प्रत्येकाला माणूस म्हणून जगण्याचा हक्क आहे. तो हक्क प्रत्येकाला मिळालाच पाहिजे याची स्पष्ट जाणीव मानवी हक्काने करून दिली.

### ध्येय व उद्दिष्ट्ये (Aims and objective) :-

- (१) मानव अधिकाराचा अर्थ स्पष्ट करणे.
- (२) मानव अधिकाराच्या महत्वाचे वर्णन करणे.
- (३) मानव अधिकारात स्त्रीचा दर्जा अभ्यासने.

### मानवाधिकाराचे महत्त्व :-

समाजात सामाजिक क्षमता, सामाजिक, आर्थिक राजकीय न्यायाच्या स्थापनेसाठी मानवी हक्क महत्त्वपूर्ण आहेत. मानवी हक्कानुसार सर्व व्यक्ती जन्मतः स्वतंत्र आणिसमान आहेत. मानवी हक्कानुसार व्यक्तीला सन्मान-पूर्वक जीवन जगण्याच्या अधिकार आहे. अन्न, वस्त्र, निवारा या सोबतच स्वच्छ पाणी, आरोग्य, शिक्षण, सन्मान, प्रतिष्ठा

प्राप्त करणे हा सुध्दा व्यक्तीचा मानवी हक्क आहे. व्यक्तीला स्वतःवर झालेला अन्याय, अत्याचार अमानवी छळ व वागणूक या पासून संरक्षण प्राप्त करण्याचा अधिकार आहे.

प्रत्येक व्यक्तीला सामाजिक सुरक्षा, काम करण्याचा अधिकार, कामाच्या ठिकाणी योग्य वेतन समान कामास समान वेतन, विश्रांती सुदृढ आरोग्य, स्वच्छ पर्यावरण, सांस्कृतिक जीवन व कार्यामध्ये सहभाग या करिता मानवी हक्क आवश्यक आहेत. प्रत्यक्ष अथवा प्रतिनिधी मार्फत राज्यकारभारात सहभागी होण्याचा अधिकार आहे. राज्यकारभार चालवण्याचा किंवा निरीक्षण करण्याचा अधिकारही मानवी हक्कात समाविष्ट आहे. या अधिकाराद्वारे व्यक्तीला लोकशाही प्रक्रियेमध्ये स्वतःचा सहभाग दर्शविता येतो. व्यक्तीला संघटना, स्थापन करण्यासोबतच स्वतःच्या इच्छेने धर्म, संस्कृती धारण करण्याचा अधिकारही मानवी हक्कात समाविष्ट आहे. व्यक्तीला आरोग्य व कुटुंबानुरूप सन्मानपूर्वक जीवनस्तराचा अधिकार आहे. मानवाधिकार ज्या प्रमाणात संरक्षित केल्या जातील त्या प्रमाणात राजकीय सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक व आर्थिक रूपाने सामाजिक प्रगती शक्य आहे. जगात अन्न, वस्त्र, निवारा या पेक्षा मनुष्याला स्वातंत्र्याचा श्वास घेता यावा. याची गरज जास्त आहे. म्हणूनच भारताला काय संपूर्ण जगाला मानवाधिकाराची अत्यंत गरज आहे. मानवाधिकारांचो जनमानसात प्रचार करण्याची गरज लक्षात घेऊन कमिशनने १० डिसेंबरला मानवाधिकार दिवस शाळा, कॉलेज विद्यापीठ आणि इतर शैक्षणिक संस्थामध्ये साजरा करावा. अशी शिफारस केली आहे. त्यानुसार विविध पातळ्यावर हा दिवस साजरा केला जातो.

### स्त्री आणि मानव अधिकार :-

स्त्रियांवर अनेक प्रकारचे अत्याचार होतात. जसे छेडछाड, बलात्कार, हुंडाबळी अपहरण ह्या सारख्या अनेक अत्याचारांना त्या बळी पडतात. परंतु त्याला योग्य दिशेने विरोध करण्यास त्या कमी पडत आहेत. गर्भवती महिलांना योग्य आहार सुध्दा मिळत नाही. मुलगा व्हावा किंवा मुलगाच



पाहिजे यासाठी स्त्रीभुण हत्यांसारखे प्रश्न समाजात दिसत आहेत. त्यामुळे जोपर्यंत आपण आपली मानसिकता बदलणार नाही तो पर्यंत स्त्रियांच्या मानवाधिकाराचे उल्लंघन होत राहणार. त्यामुळे त्यांना स्वतःच्या अस्तित्वासाठी संघर्ष करावा लागेल. आज २१ व्या शतकात देखील आपल्या देशात स्त्रियांवर अत्याचार सुरूच आहेत. समाजात आपण स्त्रियांना पुरुषांच्या बरोबरीने समजत नाहीत. स्त्रीला घरकामात मदत करणारी म्हणून तीच्याकडे पाहिले जाते आणि त्याची सुरुवात मुलगी ज्या कुटुंबात जन्म घेते. तिथेच सुरू होते आणि नंतर सासरी सुद्धा प्रथा चालू राहते. तरी पण आपण ह्या प्रथेवर निर्बंध घालत नाहीत किंवा कृतीत आणत नाहीत. वैदिक काळात स्त्रीला सनमानपूर्वक दर्जा होता. समानता आणि स्वतंत्रता दिसून येत होती. वैदिक काळात पुरुषांसोबत स्त्रियासुद्धा अध्ययन करत होत्या. काही स्त्रिया वेदांच्यापंडित होत्या.

प्रत्येक सामाजिक आणि धार्मिक कार्यात तसेच संस्कारात पुरुषांसोबत कार्यशील असत घराबाहेर पडण्यासाठी पडण्यासाठी स्वतंत्र असत. पूर्णतः स्त्रीधनाची अधिकारी होती. मात्र स्मृति काळात स्त्रीयाचा दर्जा कमी कमी होत गेला. स्मृतिकारांनी स्त्रियांवर प्रतिबंध लादले स्त्रीयांना घराच्या चार भिंतीत 'चुल आणि मुल' एवढ्या पुरते मर्यादीत केले. अकल्पनीय मर्यादा लादल्या आणि स्त्रीचा दर्जा निम्नस्तराचा करून टाकला. स्त्री ही पूर्णपणे पुरुषावर अवलंबून असते. असे स्पष्टपणे म्हटले. मनुने स्पष्ट केले की, स्त्री आणि पुरुषात संरचनात्मक भेद आहे. आणि स्त्रियांना स्वतःचा कोणताही दर्जा नाही. ती जन्मापासून तर मृत्यूपर्यंत पुरुषावर अवलंबून असते. जसे की, बाल्यावस्थेत पित्यावर, युवावस्थेत पतीवर आणि वृद्धावस्थेत पुत्रावर.

स्त्रियांना संपत्ती, विवाहविच्छेद तसेच आत्मनिर्भरता सारखे अधिकार नव्हते. विवाहीत स्त्री आपल्या पतीला परमेश्वर मानीत असे विधवा पूर्णविवाहाला मान्यता नव्हती विधवा स्त्रीयांना कोणत्याही आनंदाच्या प्रसंगी सहभागी होता येत नसे. कारण त्यांना अशुभ मानले जायचे. स्त्रीला पुरुषाची संपत्ती मानत असत स्मृतिकाळ आसा होता की, ज्यात स्त्रियांची व्यक्तीगत ओळख व सामाजिक दर्जाला कोणतेही स्थान नव्हते. स्मृतिकाळात बालविवाह, शिक्षणाचा अधिकार नव्हता त्यामुळे स्मृतिकाळात स्त्रियांचा दर्जा निम्नप्रतीचा होता. मात्र १९ व्या शतकात समाजसुधारक आणि इंग्रज शासनामुळे स्त्रियांच्या समस्या जाणवू लागल्या ब्रिटीश काळात ब्रिटीशांच्या सामाजिक जीवनामुळे भारतीयांचे सामाजिक जीवन प्रभावित झाले. त्या काळात भारतीय स्त्रियांचे सामाजिक जीवन

उंचावण्यासाठी आणि तिच्यावर होणारा अन्यायाचा सामना करण्यासाठी जागृती निर्माण होऊ लागली. सुधारकामध्ये महात्मा जल्योतीबा फुले लोकहितवाी, रानडे, आगरकर ह्यांची नावे पुढे येतात. इंग्रजांशी संबंध आल्यामुळे त्यांच्या कौटुंबीक आणि सामाजिक जीवनाची ओळख झाली. त्यानंतर त्यांनी त्यांचे जीवन आणि भारतीयांचे जीवनयांचा तुलनात्मक अभ्यास केला. तेव्हा भारतीय स्त्रियांच्या समस्येकडे त्यांचे लक्ष गेले इंग्रजांना भारतात असलेल्या सती प्रथा, बालविवाह, केशवपन, विधवांच्यासमस्या, स्त्रियांचा अशिक्षित इत्यादी अनेक प्रश्न निदर्शनास आले. राजाराम मोहनराय यांनी सती प्रथेविरुद्ध जनमत जागृत केले.

तसेच १९२९ मध्ये सतीप्रथा बंद कायदा पारित करून घेतला. दि. १५ ऑगस्ट १९४७ ला भारत स्वतंत्र झाला. २६ जानेवारी १९५० ला संविधान अमलात आले. भारत एक सार्वभौम, समाजवादी, धर्मनिरपेक्ष लोकतांत्रिक गणराज्य झाले. भारतीय संविधानात प्रत्येक व्यक्तीला भाग - २ मध्ये अनेक अधिकार दिले गेले. ज्यांना की, मुलभूत अधिकार असे म्हणतात. भारतीय संविधानाच्या कलम १५ नुसार स्त्री-पुरुष समान आहेत त्यांना मतदान निवडणूक लढण्याचा अधिकार आहे. वारसाहक्क कायदानुसार स्त्री पुरुषांना समान अधिकार आहेत. मुल दत्तक घेण्याचा अधिकार, विवाह विषयक कायदे ह्या सत्र प्रयत्नांनंतर सुद्धा स्त्रियांच्या स्थितीत व्यापक बदल झाले नाहीत. भारतीय स्त्रियांची वर्तमान स्थिती, दर्जा आणि समास्यांचा विचार करण्याकरिता मानवी अधिकारांचा अभ्यास करणे आवश्यक आहे. ह्या शिवाय डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरने महिलांना मानवाधिकार देण्यासाठी ५ फेब्रुवारी १९५२ ला संसदेमध्ये हिंदु कोडविल पेश केले परंतु ब्राम्हणवादी मानसिकतेच्या विरोधामध्ये संसदेत वील पारित झाले नाही. त्यामुळे दुःखी होऊन बाबासाहेबांनी मंत्री पदाचा राजीनामा दिला. पुढे त्यांनी स्त्रियांचे प्रश्न कमी करण्याचे प्रयत्न सुरूच ठेवले ते आतापर्यंत सुरूच आहेत.

#### निष्कर्ष :-

प्रस्तुत शोध निबंधात मानवी हक्कांचे कसे उल्लंघन होते याचे अध्ययन करून निष्कर्ष मांडले आहेत. मानवी हक्कामुळे एक सुसंस्कृत मनुष्य म्हणून जीवन जगण्याचे भाग्य वाट्याला येते. मानवतेत प्राणी निसर्गदत्त हक्काप्रमाणे जीवन जगतो. तद्वतच मानवालाही निसर्गाने काही हक्क बहाल केले आहेत. या हक्काला वैधानिक नियमामुळे परिपूर्णता येते, परंतु मानवी समाजातील भेदाभेद यामुळे एक व्यक्ती दूसऱ्या व्यक्तीच्या हक्कावर आक्रमण करते, हे खऱ्या अर्थाने दुदैवच म्हणावे लागेल. विविधता असलेल्या भारतीय समाजात समता



प्रस्थापित कायदे हा मानवअधिकाराचा प्रयत्न आहे; परंतु तो काही प्रमाणात दोषपूर्ण किंवा असम्यक्त होताना आढळतो. त्यामुळे मानव अधिकारांचा माहितो देऊन अन्याय व अत्याचारांवर प्रतिबंध घालण्याचा प्रयत्न करणे हा या संशोधनाचा केंद्रबिंदू आहे. कायदा करूनही मानवी हक्क प्राप्त होत नाहीत. तर कायद्याचा जाणीव तळागाळापर्यंत पोहोचविणे गरजेचे आहे. असे वाटते आज्ञान दूर झाले पाहिजे.

भारतीय राज्यघटनेत माहिती व बालकांसाठी विशेष तरतुद असणारी विविध कलमे तयार करण्यात आली असूनही अन्यायाला बळी पडावे लागते.

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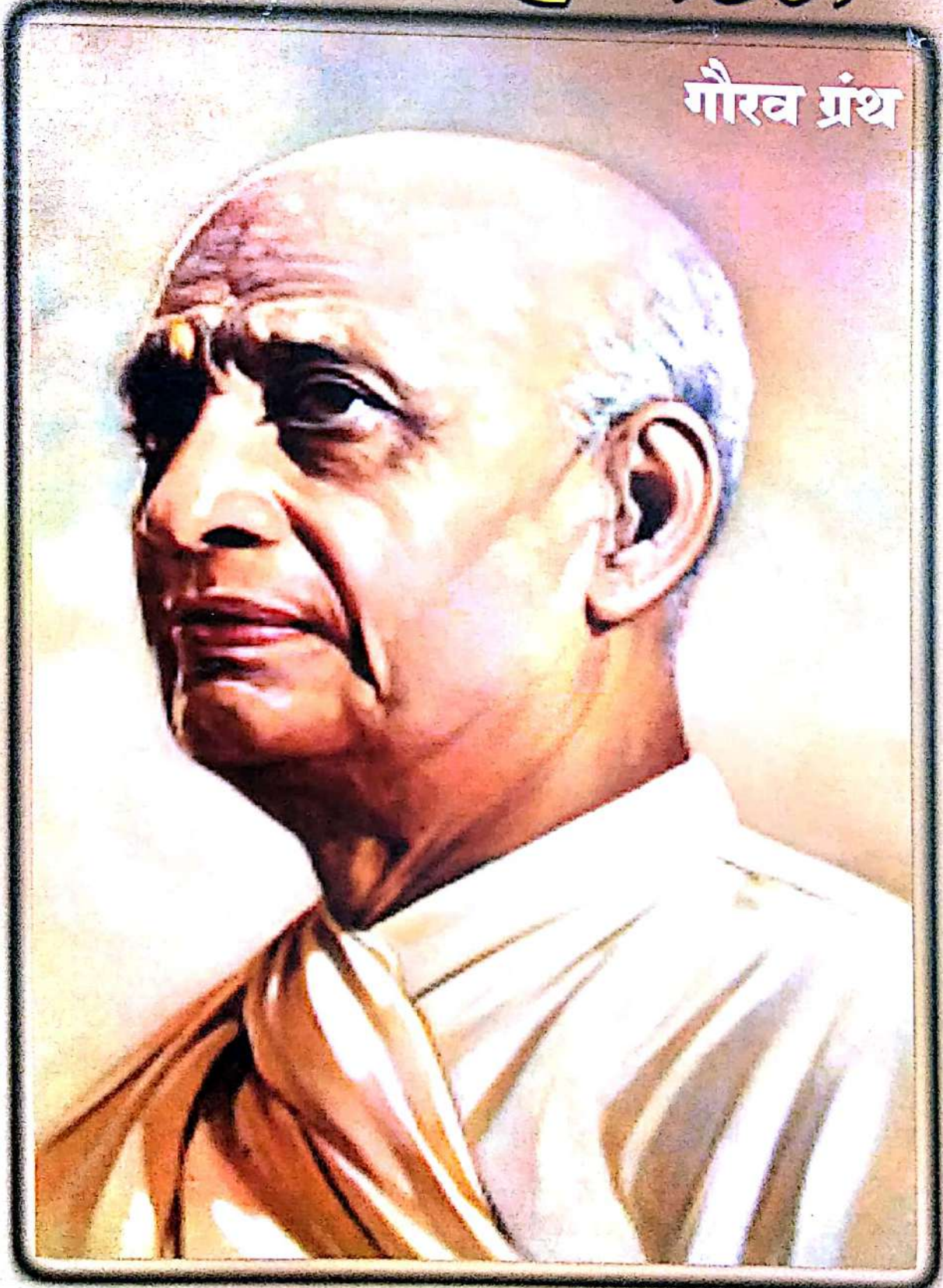


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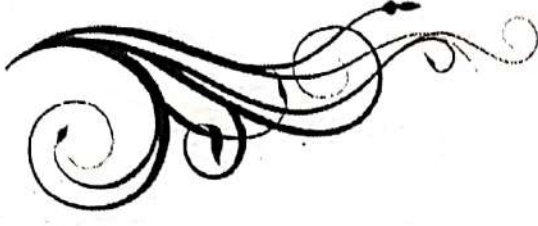
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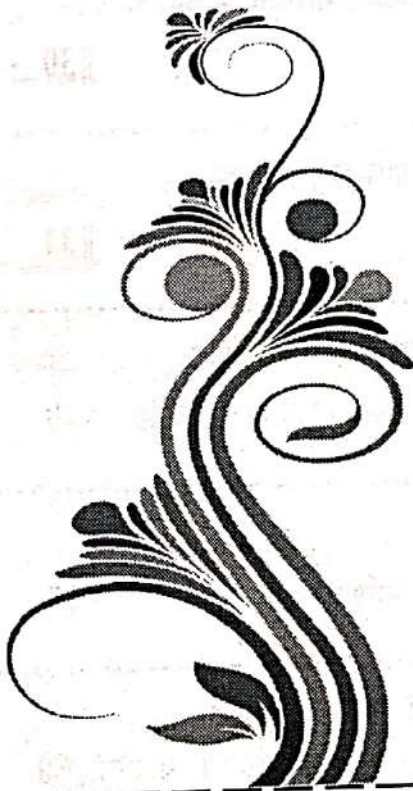
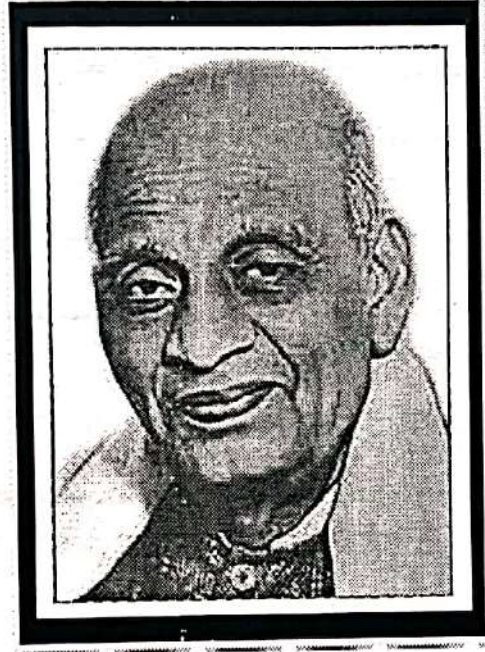
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## Views of Sardar Patel towards the Indian state.

Dr. Mohammed Khayyum

Milliya college Beed.

### Introduction:-

The immediate fallout of the freedom of the country was the creation of two distinct nations, namely, India and Pakistan. The native princes were allowed to join either of the two proposed countries according to their choice. A country, invested with such a large number of Free states, could not have dreamt of political consolidation in such an environment. It was quite likely that those princes could have formed a third force and contributed towards its disintegration rather than its further consolidation. Faced with such a critical and complex situation, the mantle of finding out a solution with a view to avoid the disintegration the Congress party had cultivated political awakening and democratic thinking in the minds of individuals of all sections of the society of the country fell upon Sardar Patel. Sardar's task was to create political consciousness in the minds of the people of those states and simultaneously to persuade their princes to merge with the union of India so as to form a strong united India after the departure of the British.

By tactful method, by promising privy purses, through his friendly advice, and sometimes by stern and strong administrative measures, he could succeed in bringing all the rulers together merging their states into the Indian union without any bloodshed. The final task of nation building thus found its success in the competent and strong hands of Sardar Patel.



Vallabhbhai Patel is known for his successful accomplishment of various *Satyagraha* movements, particularly the Satyagraha at Bardoli that earned him the coveted title of 'Sardar' and become a path-blazer for subsequent movements and developments in the Indian National Struggle. He was also an active participant in the non-violent Civil Disobedience Movement against the payment of raised taxes. Government had to surrender to this revolt and since then he was known as the Sardar Patel. If we view the freedom struggle as a one long succession of events, ultimately culminating in the attainment of its avowed objective of Independence, we find Sardar Patel enacting different roles in it at, different times, and at different places especially India.

Secondly, Vallabhbhai is known for his successful accomplishment of various *Satyagraha* movements, particularly the satyagraha at Bardoli that earned him the coveted title of 'Sardar' and become a path-blazer for subsequent movements and developments in the Indian National Struggle. Thirdly, although less known, is his contribution to the framing of the Constitution of India, that was popularly adopted by the People of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India on 26th January, 1950, cannot be overlooked. The vivacious role enacted by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in these three spheres of his national life, namely, the Freedom Struggle, Unification of India and the Constitution of India, may be justifiably termed as his contribution to nation building. The present study has explored and critically evaluated Sardar Patel's Contribution to India's freedom struggle.



I see that these \5 days have taught you to cast off fear from your hearts. You are, however, not completely free from it. Some traces \ of fear 'are still visible. Shake it off. Why need you fear? If anything, 1-he Government has cause to fear. No civilized Government can govern without the consent of the governed. At the present moment they govern because your eyes are blind-folded, you are deluded into the belief that they\* are keeping you in peace and prosperity. It is not a reign of peace but a reign of fear. You have lost the capacity of righteous indignation against wrong. The absence of it is cowardice. I go about in your villages at the dead of night sometimes without even once being asked, "Halt"! Who goes there?" In these villages not a dog barks and not a buffalo flourishes its horns at a stranger. It is your acquiescence that^ has been your undoing. I want to inoculate you with fearlessness. I want to galvanize you into life. I miss in your eyes the flash of\* indignation against wrong.

### **CONSTRUCTIVE WORK:-**

The foregoing perhaps shows you how uninterested I am in many things that interest the intelligentsia. I am not interested in loaves and fishes, or legislative honors. The peasantry does not understand these; they are little affected by them. I believe that Gandhiji's eleven points mean the substance of Swaraj. That which does not satisfy them is no Swaraj. (Whilst I would respect the rights of landlords, Rajas, Maharajas and others to the extent that they do not hurt the sweating millions, my interest lies in helping the downtrodden to rise from their state and be on a level with the tallest in the land). Thank God, the gospel of Truth and Non-Violence has given these an inkling of their dignity and the power they possess. Much still remains to be done. But let us make up



our minds that we exist for them, not they for- us. Let us shed our petty rivalries and jealousies, religious feuds and let everyone realize that the Congress represents and exists for the toiling millions and it will become an irresistible power working not for greed Or power but for the sake of common humanity.1)

There is one part of the constructive programme which I have not dealt with already; that is the all important work of removing untouchability. The recent heroic struggle on the part of the nation would have been more glorious if Hindus had purged Hinduism of this evil. But heroism or glory apart, no Swaraj would be worth having without this supreme "act of self-purification, and even if Swaraj is won whilst this stain continues to blacken Hinduism, it would be as insecure 'as a Swaraj without a complete boycott of foreign cloth. • In, conclusion, I may not forget our brethren overseas. Their lot in South Africa, in East Africa and in the other parts of the world is still hanging in' the balance. Deenabandhu Andrews is happily in South Africa helping our countrymen. Pandit Hirdaya Nath Kunzru has specialized in the Indian question in East Africa. The only consolation the Congress can give is to assure them of its sympathy. They know that their lot must automatically improve to the extent that we approach our goal. In your name I would appeal to the Governments concerned to treat with consideration the members of a nation which is bound at a very early date to, enter upon her heritage and which • means ill to no nation on earth. We ask them to extend to our nationals the same treatment they would have us, when we are free, to extend to theirs. This is surely not asking too much. » I invite you to conduct your proceedings, over which you have asked me to preside, in a



manner befitting the grave occasion at which we have met. Differences of opinion are bound to exist; but I trust that everyone here will co-operate to make our deliberations dignified and conducive to the attainment of our goal.<sup>2)</sup>

**Savior:**

Patel saved India from the machinations of the ruling British, and thereby did not allow large Hindu majority areas to fall into the hands of Jinnah. In 1946, in an undivided India, the Cabinet Mission was giving away to Jinnah a Pakistan comprising the whole of Punjab and Bengal, besides Hindu Assam, as fully autonomous parts of Groups B and C. Gandhi favored the plan since it preserved India's unity. In his "paternal pride" as Congress president, Azad seemed totally committed, confident of securing Congress acceptance. He thought that it would not only keep India united, but also safeguard Muslim interests. Nehru, however, voiced his opposition to grouping, as it related to the NWFP and Assam. He even suggested that there was "a big probability" that "there will be no grouping". Patel was more blunt than others in telling Wavell that the mission's "proposed solution was 'worse than Pakistan', and he could not recommend it to Congress".<sup>3)</sup>

India's partition, as conceived by Churchill in 1945 as Britain's prime minister, was implied in Attlee's policy statement of 20 February 1947. It clearly meant the creation of Pakistan in one form or other, but in a divided India. Under it, too, Jinnah was to get the whole of Punjab, Bengal, and Assam. Patel immediately countered it with a policy statement on behalf of the Congress, demanding a division of Punjab—and of Bengal by implication—thereby saving Assam for India. Assam was predominantly Hindu, whereas in Bengal the Hindus were 49% as against 51% Muslims.



**Builder:**

Attlee's statement of 20 February categorically stated transference of power to the princely states, simultaneously with India and Pakistan, thus making the princes completely independent on 15 August. This would have led to the creation of a "Third Dominion", comprising confederations of princely states, and thereby throwing open possibilities of some of the states going over to Pakistan, in "association", if not "accession". This book discusses some of the conspiracies hatched in that direction, which Patel scotched with rare boldness, backed by his towering personality that exuded unquestioning friendliness towards the princes. The states involved were major ones like Travancore, Hyderabad, Junagadh, Jamnagar, and Jodhpur, and some Central Indian states. Through his diplomatic manoeuvres, Patel secured "accession" of all states prior to 15 August, before they could be made independent on par with India and Pakistan, thereby gaining equal status. The exceptions were those of Junagadh and Hyderabad—Kashmir too, but it was under Nehru's charge. On the ashes of a defunct empire, Patel created a New India—strong, united, put in a steel-frame. That frame was the Indian Administrative Service, which kept a subcontinent bound together as a single unit despite disparities of politics and economy. As savior and builder, Patel played decisive roles that took India to new pinnacles of success and glory after centuries.<sup>4)</sup>

**Professional Politics — A New Occupation**

Patel developed public political life as a valid, important channel for people's energies. This process began in modern Ahmadabad with the arrival of Gandhi in 1915. Within three years, Gandhi and Patel were functioning virtually



as head of state and head of party, respectively, in Gujarat. Gandhi pitched his campaign on a high moral plane knowing that the earthy organi-sational requirements would be carried out by Vallabhbhai.<sup>6</sup> 3 Patel meanwhile was assured that the organisation he was building was linked into the top of the Congress hierarchy through Gandhi. Together they created a striking power in both state and national councils of the Congress unmatched by any other politicians. Gandhi was free to move about the all-India stage with-out having to worry about maintaining his home base in Gujarat. Contrast, for example, Subhash Chandra Bose whose national activities had to be limited by the time and effort he needed to maintain his Bengal base.<sup>5)</sup>

Patel, in turn, could invoke Gandhi's charisma and programme to give inspiration to his more mundane organizational tasks. Patel's aggressive speeches in the municipality, his work for better water and drainage systems, his staying in Ahmadabad during 'the 1917 plague, his work in flood relief in Ahmadabad in, 1917, and his work in the Kheda satyagraha gave people a new concept of the scope and significance of public life. They expanded the meaning of politics in a modernizing society and linked it to traditional virtues of social service. They revealed new arenas for developing self-respect. During Vallabhbhai's tenure, the president of the municipality became the first citizen of the city and even the government officials, including the Collector and the Commissioner, began to accept this.<sup>6)</sup>

**THE INDIAN STATES:** India is a land of diversities linguistic, ethnic, cultural, and religious as well as many others. This has led to the formation of a large number of small states. As observed by Gurumukhi Nihal Singh: "Nature has made India



a more or less self-sufficient unit, but historical accidents have divided her into a large number of separate political entities". Even in the earlier stages of civilization there had never been an occasion when the whole country had completely been under a single government. The political integration of the country was never possible. Moreover, the concept of a nation also did not exist.7)

India, instead of being a nation, was divided into a number of small states. These were having a separate entity of their fighting among themselves all the time. Political unity among these states was thus non-existent. However, they were able to defend themselves against external aggressions either singularly or collectively. The rulers of these states used to look after the welfare of their subjects; they had managed to establish a kind of brotherhood among the people. There was no party system and the states were governed by the kind who supposedly gained legitimacy through heredity as an accepted head. Democratic institutions were non-existent in these small states. Attempts were, however, made by some rulers to consolidate the country into one unit. Rulers like Ashoka of the Mayura dynasty, Chandra Gupta of the Gupta dynasty, Harshavardhan of the northern India had made attempts in this direction but their success was not remarkable.8)

#### **Doctrine of paramountcy:-**

The doctrine of paramountcy was a peculiar strategy evolved by the British for governing the relations with the states. As observed by Shankar. "Paramountcy meant that the States accepted Suzerainty of the British government and the government of India, to carry out directions given to them by



the Government of India. It was convenient to the British government to refuse to define paramountcy".9)

Paramountcy was a special system concerning the relationship of the states with the British government. The states had to cooperate with the government on matters of all-India policies in respect of railways, post and telegraphs, and defense. The crown representatives sometimes used to station an army, construct railways on a part of the states, and used to take the administrative control of the area. States had a series of agreements with the British government. In addition to that, the crown representative could seek military assistance from the government of India in case he found it necessary for the protection of the ruler from an external aggression or an internal revolt. 10)

The relation of the states with the paramount power was based on latter's military strength and the states were the subordinate allies. The relationship between the states and the British crown thus remained as long as the British power existed in India. The position of the Indian states and their relation with the British Government were well-defined through various treaties and declarations by the British Government from time to time.

There were two possibilities with regard to the position of the states after the lapse of paramountcy. At the time of the withdrawal of the British power in India, one possibility was that the states might become completely free and independent sovereign states without having any control exerted over them by the two newly formed states of India and Pakistan. Such a possibility was very much dangerous since the result would have been that the country would be divided



into a number of states which would not have sufficient resources of their own for their liabilities.

### SARDAR PATEL AND THE QUESTION OF THE STATES

Sardar Patel formed one-third of the triumvirate that helped modern-day India realize both national independence and integration. The historical contributions of Mohandas Gandhi (the '*father of the nation*') and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (India's first Prime Minister) in the Indian independence struggle are well known and have been recounted in numerous forms. The contributions of Patel, who played a leading role in the last and perhaps most critical phase of the birth of the nation, appear less familiar and even less explored. Patel's influence, however, is of such significance that his monikers, such as the "*Iron Man*" and "*Bismarck*" of India, acknowledge his pivotal intergroup leadership on the world stage. Nehru described him as the "*Builder and Consolidator of New India*" (Krishna, 2007). The *Manchester Guardian* observed that without Patel, "Gandhi's ideas would have less practical influence and Nehru's idealism less scope. Patel was not only the organizer of the fight for freedom, but also the architect of the new state when the fight was over" (as cited in Krishna, 2007, p. 2).

While an extensive exploration of Patel's life is beyond the scope of this article, a brief sketch of for the sake of context may be helpful. Born as the fourth son of an impoverished farmer in the small Gujarati village of Nadiad, Patel's early years appear marked by a love for education and a willingness to challenge the status quo, a characteristic attributed to the influence of his father (Krishna, 2007). Biographers describe him as a bold and outspoken student who frequently stood up for his classmates, even staging a walkout in the sixth grade



when he observed a teacher misbehaving (2007; Saggi, n.d.). Patel desired to follow in his brother's footsteps and become a lawyer, an expensive and difficult proposition considering his family's lack of finances. There was, however, a policy in those days that allowed private candidates to sit for the public exam. Patel managed to save enough money to travel to England, and through disciplined self-study, borrowing books, and observing lawyers in local courts, managed to pass the bar. The two brothers took on a variety of cases and Patel soon developed a reputation as a successful lawyer. Patel soon became involved in local politics, helping resolve several community disputes in noteworthy fashion. A turning point in his life occurred when he attended a rally to hear fellow Gujarati attorney, and by that time well-known national activist, Mohandas Gandhi. Patel was so inspired by Gandhi's message that he joined the Indian National Congress and the growing movement for independence.

Patel would soon play a key role in the first of what would become many of Gandhi's *satyagrahas* (nonviolent resistance campaigns) including the historic Salt March to Dandi in 1930 (Saggi, n.d.). Krishna (2007) noted that Patel became the "backbone" of Gandhi's agitations, describing him as Gandhi's "John the Baptist" (p. 45). Patel helped the Congress party negotiate with the British, as well as the Muslim League, winning several victories along the way and impressing Gandhi with his political rhetorical, administrative, and organizational skills. Patel would, over the course of the freedom struggle, spend months in jail for his political activities. With Gandhi's support, Patel was soon elected Congress President in 1931 and Chairman of the Parliamentary Board in 1939. He was given the honorary title "*Sardar*," by Gandhi,



meaning "leader" or "chief." He went on to hold other key roles; including being the Indian representative on the Partition Council and becoming the first country's Home Minister. He also founded the Indian Administrative Services, a civil service entity that would help unify the diverse nation. The experience of working with and through the people around him helped set the stage for Patel's role in helping integrate the nation in the wake of independence.

### THE INTERGROUP LEADERSHIP OF SARDAR PATEL

The first step Patel took in this arduous task was to meet with the princes as a group, something which he did soon after his inauguration as Home Minister. The decision for a group meeting is similar to Kanter's first proposition of intergroup leadership, *Convening Power*, which involves bringing subgroups together, as well as the initial steps described by Pittinsky & Simon (2007) and Heifetz (2002; 2009). As a prelude to their meeting he made an appeal to the princes where he communicated his vision for the nation, hoping at the same time to allay their fears regarding the future and their place in it (Krishna, 2007; Menon, 1955), "Our mutual conflicts and internecine quarrels and jealousies have, in the past, been the cause of our downfall...We cannot afford to fall into those errors or traps again...The safety and preservation of the States, as well as India, demand unity and mutual cooperation between its different parts. (2007, p. 91) Patel followed up his address with a personal meeting with the princes in December 1947. He encountered resistance from several of the princes at this meeting, yet Patel was both diplomatic and direct. He made it clear that the path forward involved compromise by all parties, thus acknowledging the loss that Heifetz (2002) described as a critical part of adaptive



work. He also assured the group of his personal investment in the process, "I have come...not as a representative of the old Paramountcy or of any foreign power, but as a member of a family trying to solve a family problem" (Krishna, 2007, p. 95). This first meeting with the working group was one of many over the course of several months as Patel organized informal social gatherings among the various rulers as a venue for them to engage in dialogue about the future. It was in these meetings where loyalties were refashioned, boundaries spanned, and divides crossed in search of a solution. The working group would also gather for lunch meetings at Patel's home in Delhi. At these gatherings Patel appealed to the shared values of patriotism, responsibility, and the enduring duty of princely rulers to care for their people. Though at times he encountered fierce resistance, delay tactics, and political brinksmanship, he continued to meet with the rulers at various times and places throughout the country. He was consistent in maintaining a call for unity and reconciliation. Eventually he was rewarded with many of the rulers agreeing to join the country through this forum of open dialogue.

**Sardar's Scheme:** To build up an Indian nation through the process of bloodless integration was a unique work that was achieved by Sardar Patel. The country which was never united as a nation could be brought under one banner only through the peaceful process of accession of the states. It was indeed integration without confrontation and an important step towards nation building. Sardar Patel believed in the strength of the people; he had great hold on the masses. Especially in Gujarat, people had great regard for him. They considered him as an excellent leader of the nation. Through his own disciples, he could establish a strong network of



political activity in various states of Gujarat. The All India States' People's conference was the proof of the State People's alertness about their democratic rights.<sup>11)</sup>

Patel wanted to rouse the political consciousness in the minds of the people of the states. He also wanted to get through with the process of integration as a spontaneous action. Though he depended on the support of the people of the states, yet he moved cautiously so that at no moment could the possibility of any external interference be faced on avoided. He knew that a decision had to be taken quickly and the process should be completed without delay, otherwise, there might rise dangers leading to a complete failure. He observed:

"In the world of today where distances are fast shrinking and Masses are being brought into touch with the latest Administrative amenities, it is impossible to postpone for a day Longer than necessary, the introduction of measures which Would make the people realize that their progress is also Proceeding at least on the lines of their neighboring area...<sup>12)</sup>

Patel sought the goodwill and support of the Princes for free and united India.<sup>48</sup> Thinking some princely states, at the beginning, were against surrendering their sovereignty, Patel, through his stern warnings, put an end to their desire and ultimately otherwise made them fall in line with other states directly or indirectly. As Prabhudas Patwari has written:

"Sardar knew it well that a delay meant a disaster and so by wooing and also at time by speaking bluntly to the recalcitrant and by nipping in the bud the nefarious designs of some of the princely states by a close watch on the events within their territories. He could bring home to the Princely



order that their interests were not separable from those of their people" ....13)

The other action that Sardar took was aimed at restoring and building up confidence in the minds of the princes. He realized that if the princes could consider him as their friend, they would listen to his advice. They needed to be convinced that their interest would be safe in the hands of Sardar Patel. Such a human touch was necessary to restore confidence in the minds of the Princes. Unless such a confidence was developed, the princes would not agree to surrender all their properties and power for the sake of patriotism.14)

#### **Constitutional Provision in Integration:**

In the beginning, it was decided that the States would accede to the Union on three subjects and the constitution of the States would be framed by the people of the States, but most of the States did not have any organized administration and People's representation in the Government, and, for them it was extremely difficult to frame a constitution. When the States came closer to the Union, it was agreed that the constitution of the States should follow the constitution of the provinces and the same might be formed by the Constituent Assembly and subsequently ratified by the people of the States. Thus as the States came closer to the Union, the differences between the States and provinces could be eliminated. The people of the States could thus form an integral part of the Indian Nation. Sardar, in his speech of October 12, 1949, explained the reason for including the provision of privy purses in the constitution. He explained the conditions in 1947 when the country was in the process of balkanization and how the princes cooperated with the



Government by surrendering all of their kingdoms to the Government of India. Sardar felt that the payment of privy purses was not a big thing in comparison to the amount spent by the rulers. He appealed to the members to give a realistic consideration to that aspect and agreed with him.<sup>15</sup>)

He pointed out that the settlement of accession was on the assurance of the payment of privy purses and that they should not go back on our words. Thus, the constitution contained two clauses 291 and 362, which safeguarded the payment of the privy purses to the rulers. Sardar, however, kept the issue open to review at a later date by carefully formulating the provision of the Privy Purse. He explained the events leading to complete accession of States and declared: "...Unlike the scheme of 1935 our new constitution is not an alliance between democracies and dynasties, but really a union of the Indian people built on the basic concept of sovereignty of the people. It removed all barriers between the people of the states and the people of provinces and achieves for the first time the objective of a strong democratic India"...<sup>16</sup>.

#### **Conclusion:-**

Sardar will always be remembered as the man who laid the foundation stone for a United India. The complex process of integration of the Princely State, which ended with success, has paved the way for the stability and prosperity of the country. In the face of partition, it was not sure whether the departure of the British power from India would create a vacuum and leave behind the possibility of creating a third force contributing towards the balkanization of the country. Even the initiators of partition were not fully convinced regarding the establishment of peace and harmony in the post-partition period.



The integration of the princely states in India was handled in a well-organized manner by Sardar. The pattern of integration was also not identical in case of all the states. Sardar could visualize the socio-political environment in the various states based on which, his action-plan was formulated to suit the requirement. It is unimaginable what a spade work he did to obtain the political information of the various states to formulate his action plan. His association with the State's people was very close. By virtue of his ingenuity, he followed the path of persuasion with friendly states, threats with smaller states and even confrontation with the states which were found to be unmanageable through normal channels of action programme. The after effect of the integration process is also interesting from the point of the contribution it had made in the nation-building activity. Though at the time of merging the states into the dominion of India, certain complexities like misunderstanding and enmity developed between the ruling Congress party and the rulers of the States, the same did not persist for a long time but ended in a happy note of mutual adjustment.

As Sardar could generate confidence in the minds of the people of the various states, his task in bringing back normalcy and healthy administrative set up in the integrated states became easier. The mechanics of integration of the states turned out to be so simple that the total number of five hundred and odd states could be integrated in a short span of time without even a single drop of blood being shed. Sardar's overall management of the integration system has proved to be far Superior to any other integration process in the world surpassing the ingenuity of Germany. The efforts of Sardar have led the country towards democratization and



prosperity through the economic steps which were taken in the post-integration period. The absence of a third force has resulted in the solidarity of the country and we are now poised for great promises in the coming years as one of the recognized nations of the world. Sardar's role in the dynamics of nation building through the process of integration has paved the way for a Glittering future of the country. The integration of the princely states thus acted as a synchronizing phenomenon and established a State of balance between chaos and segmentation and solidarity of the newly born Indian Union.

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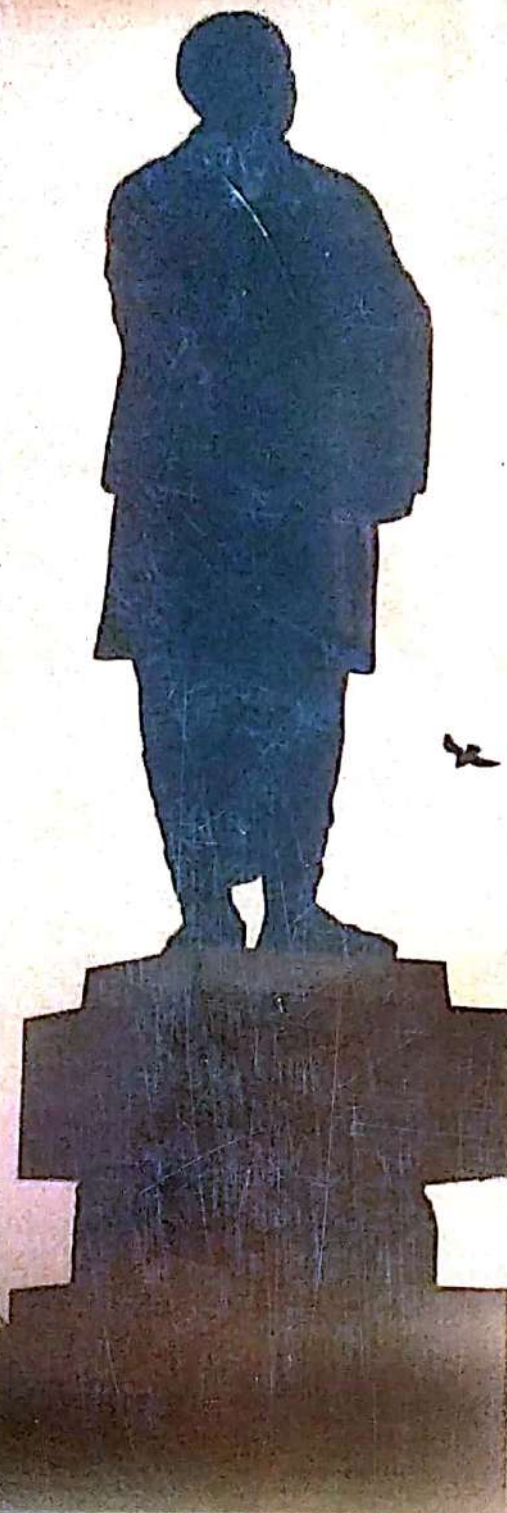
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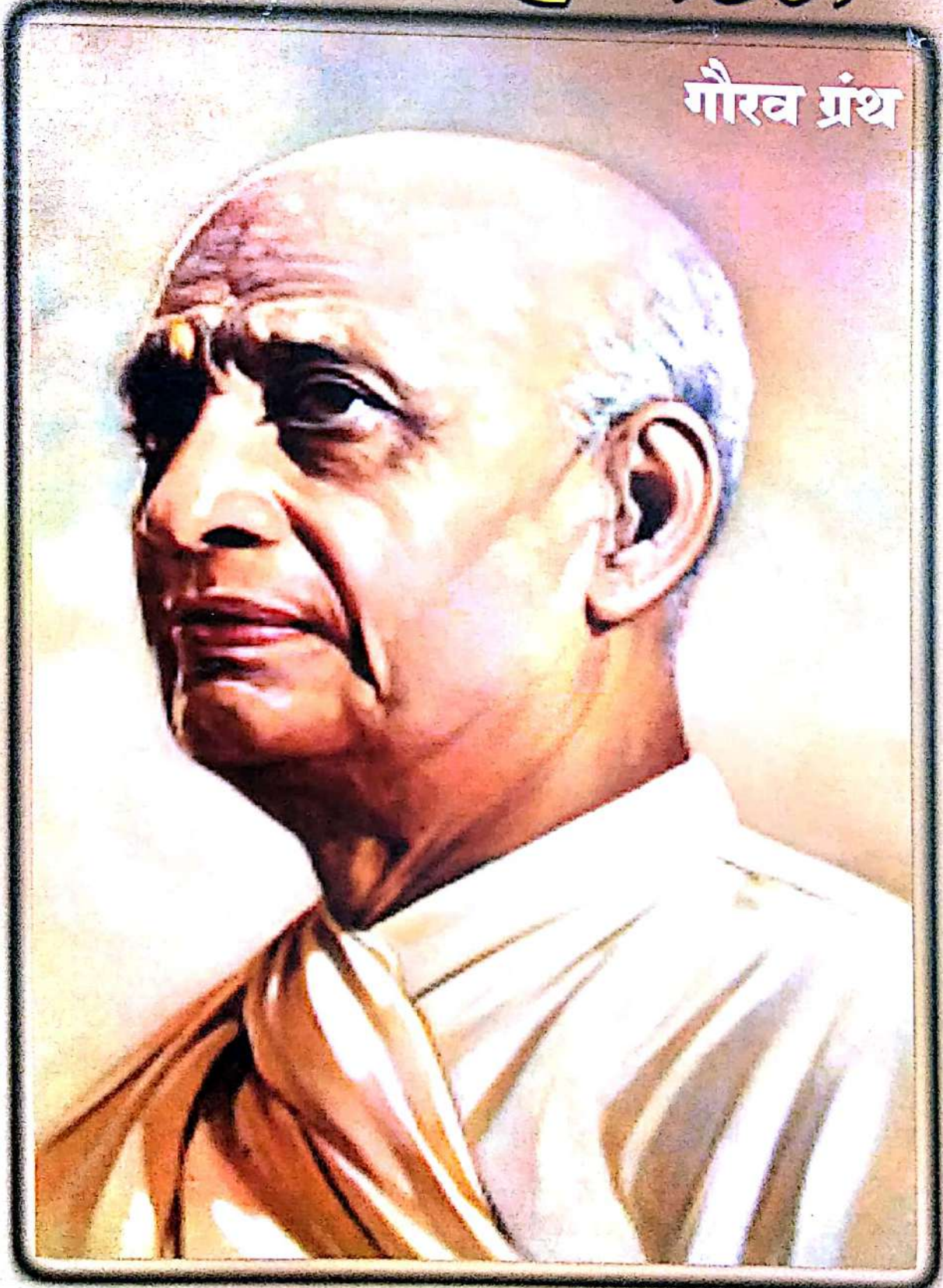
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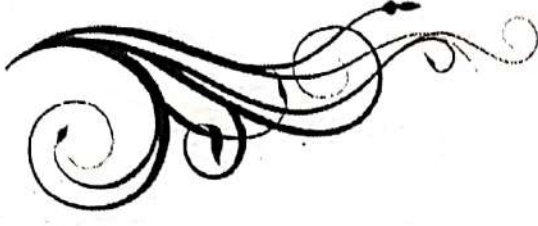
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गौरव ग्रंथ



संपादक  
डॉ. उमाकांत वानखेडे  
डॉ. राजा आचार्य





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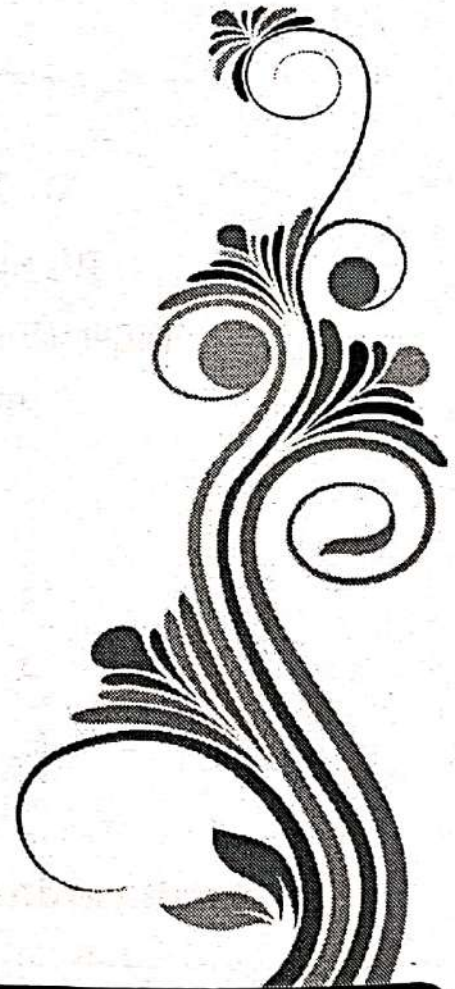
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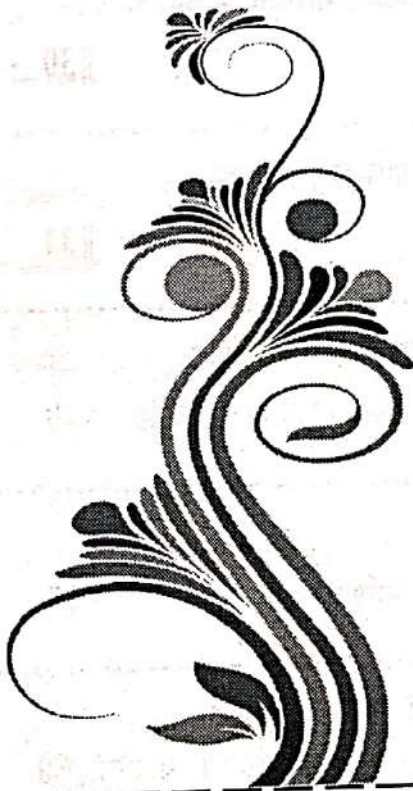
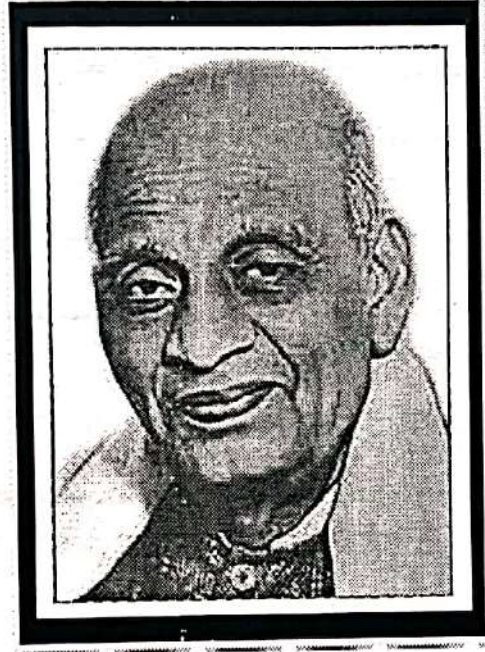
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## सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल



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कर्तव्यनिष्ठा

हजरजबाबीपणा

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## सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल

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## Building Bridges: The Intergroup Leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Prof. Shaikh Gafoor Ahmed

Milliya Sr. College Beed.

### INTRODUCTION

Leadership in the twenty-first century requires not only a specialized set of skills, but a new mindset. Fundamental shifts in geopolitics, demographics, technology, and globalization, among other changes, call for fresh ways of seeing and understanding the world around us. Tichy & Bennis (2007) used a sporting metaphor to compare traditional ways of leading with the new thinking and practices these challenges necessitate: In a way, the difference between life in the old-style organizations and in the new is the difference between golfing and surfing. These days, you need to be able to ride the breaking wave of constant change. There is no stopping to change your equipment. (p. 71)

Intergroup leadership is leadership that brings different groups together in the service of a broader vision, mission, or goal (Pittinsky, 2009; Ernst & Yip, 2009). According to Forster (2009), "The study of intergroup leadership addresses the key question of how leaders mobilize and direct positive intergroup relationships despite internal or external ideological, cultural, or political divides" (p. 93). By its very nature, intergroup leadership envisages the future, as compared with a management approach, which tends to focus on maintaining the status quo (Pittinsky, 2010). Intergroup leaders seek to discover ways to span boundaries and



dismantle silos rather than operating "within their box on the organizational chart, within the interests of their unit or team, and within the mind-sets of the demographic or cultural groups to which they belong" (Yip, Wong, & Ernst, 2008, p. 13).

The inclination to maintain internal group solidarity, sometimes based in "us versus them" thinking, often occurs in the presence of external threats and challenges. History is replete with examples of leaders who have intentionally exploited indeed even created, intergroup differences as a means of leading (Pittinsky, 2009). Whether it is in Iraq, Yugoslavia, or Silicon Valley, divisiveness, scapegoating, and demonizing the 'other' has been perceived as an easier, more reliable method of arousing emotional response and rallying the troops. Leaders who employ a 'divide and rule' type strategy often recognize that "a common enemy, whether real or invented, can help them establish their credibility, define their constituencies, and motivate their followers" (2009, p. xiii). While such an approach might help foment intergroup cohesiveness, trust, and greater belief in the worthiness of the goal, it can concurrently sow the seeds for intergroup conflict, a phenomenon identified as the *in-group/out-group tradeoff* (Pittinsky, 2005). In this process, as group solidarity deepens, so too may stereotypes, groupthink, and a hardening toward the 'other'.

Fortunately, leaders have the opportunity to employ an alternative strategy to address the intergroup challenges they will inevitably face. Leaders can choose to bring disparate parties together, helping build bridges that foster strength and common purpose, thus sparking a collaborative and creative response toward common goals. It has been asserted



that this divergent and more difficult path is the need of the day (Eng, 2009; Yip, Wong, & Ernst 2008). Pittinsky (2005) offered this perspective, "Because the actions of the former group of leaders are so harmful and the success of the latter group is so important, the study of the intersection of leadership and intergroup attitudes is crucial to a science of leadership studies (p. 2). There is a growing recognition that effective leadership requires extending beyond the borders of the traditional leader-follower exchange to multiple groups. Traditional lines are being redrawn, some even eroded, as leaders seek to reach out to and collaborate with external groups and stakeholders across national, cultural, ethnic, and religious divides (Daft 2011; Hogg, van Kopparberg, & Rast, 2012, p. 232). Yip, Wong, and Ernst (2008) highlighted the synergy that develops when leaders catalyze subgroups and out groups to achieve benefits far greater than they could realize by themselves.

### **INTERGROUP LEADERSHIP AS AN ADAPTIVE RESPONSE**

The nature of intergroup leadership remains largely unaddressed in the leadership literature Heifetz (2009) asserted that intergroup leadership is an adaptive response to the complexity of managing challenging relationships and identities across group boundaries. According to Heifetz, an adaptive response is required when organizations and communities face problems that cannot be bridged with prevailing knowledge or standard operating procedures because the solution lies outside of existing paradigms. By its very nature, an adaptive challenge extends beyond any technical fixes available through routine management approaches, making a leadership response necessary. <sup>(1)</sup>



Heifetz described adaptive work as that which involves "orchestrating conflict and discovery across group boundaries, regulating the disequilibrium those differences generate, and holding the parties through a sustained period of stress". Adaptive work goes deep, challenging core values and existing mindsets, thus requiring "experiments, new discoveries, and adjustments...without learning new ways – changing attitudes, values, and behaviors – people cannot make the adaptive leap necessary to thrive in the new environment". Heifetz argued that "we need to explore intergroup leadership...because we face important challenges for which our current repertoire of strategies for managing relationships across group boundaries still does not suffice".<sup>(2)</sup>

According to Hogg, van Kippenberg, & Rast, the notion of social identity is central to understanding the nature of intergroup leadership as the groups we belong to significantly influence cognitive self-appraisal in relationship to group membership. In an intergroup leadership approach subgroup members are encouraged to maintain a dual identity, that of their own subgroup alongside a superordinate identity that neither ignores or threatens the former (Hogg, 2009; Pittinsky & Simon, 2007). Pittinsky (2009) asserted, "Intergroup leadership honors that tension; it is concerned with bringing subgroups together without trying to eliminate their differences — or even wanting to do so" (p. xvii).

In light of this notion, intergroup leadership is measured by how well it "revolves around leaders' ability to engender a sense of *intergroup relational identity* (i.e., self-definition in terms of one's group membership that incorporates the group's relationship with another group as part of the group's identity)" How then does one effectively implement intergroup and adaptive principles to lead across group and organizational



boundaries? We now examine three models that have been proposed in the literature and then Patel's intergroup leadership in light of these models. <sup>(3)</sup>

### MODELS OF INTERGROUP LEADERSHIP

Pittinsky & Simon (2007) offered a model that includes five pathways for promoting positive intergroup relations. The first pathway involves encouraging contact between subgroups. This initial step of exposure among subgroups provides an opportunity to develop positive relationships, decrease prejudice, and mitigate stereotyping. Furthermore, because the leader is endorsing the action, such contact is often perceived as positive by subgroup members. (2007). the second step is managing resources and interdependencies. Subgroups often compete for limited resources. When groups are willing to acknowledge the existence of a shared goal (or a shared threat) they tend to be more open to acknowledging the advantages of collaboration. The next two steps address social identity. Pittinsky and Simon suggested that leaders promote subordinate and dual identities concurrently, emphasizing the "we" aspect, while valuing subgroup identities. Honoring this tension involves recognition that unity does not necessitate uniformity while recognizing benefits of social diversity such as greater creativity and innovation. Finally, Pittinsky and Simon recommend that leaders promote positive intergroup attitudes through increased cooperative interaction and increased perception of positive value or benefit from the other group. <sup>(4)</sup>

Heifetz (2009) proposed a two-phase model of intergroup leadership based on his framework of adaptive leadership. In phase one, leaders form a "group of groups," that is, a working group consisting of subgroup members who are willing to



stretch beyond their in-group loyalties and work across boundaries to seek an adaptive solution (p. 135). In this first step, the leader stimulates a conversation around which persons and what issues to include. A balance is struck between exclusion and inclusion as the leader seeks to involve the right people while ensuring the presence of diverse perspectives. Heifetz described the significant commitment this requires, "New loyalties emerge among representatives working across boundaries, a process that often takes many months of confidential meetings...New loyalties anchor a new collective identity" (p. 135).

Heifetz's (2009) second phase, the more difficult of the two, strikes a similar vein to Pittinsky & Simon's (2007) notion of dual identity promotion. In this phase, members of the new working group return to their respective subgroups to advocate for and share the vision of the adaptive work. Heifetz noted that Phase II is where the majority of adaptive intergroup processes fail because "each 'representative' member must lead her own constituents in incorporating and refining the results of the group process, or else the deal unravels" (p. 135). In the process, representatives may face the charge of having 'sold out' to the other groups and then pressured to return to the status quo.

To ensure viability of this model, Heifetz recommends that representatives seek ongoing advice from the working group as they develop a coordinated plan to improve communication and the subgroup's tolerance for change. Throughout this process of consolation, working group members must remain flexible and open to making adjustments, thus increasing the likelihood of subgroup members accepting and acting on the adaptive work. In the midst of this process, the intergroup leader continues to forge



strong relationships among his/her fellow representatives which serve to "hold these factional representatives together despite the accusations that will pull them apart (p. 136). It is important to note that in both phases, the intergroup leader orchestrates the adaptive work yet places it back in the hands of the parties facing the challenge, a key aspect of adaptive leadership theory (Heifetz, 2002).

### THE INTERGROUP LEADERSHIP OF SARDAR PATEL

The first step Patel took in this arduous task was to meet with the princes as a group, something which he did soon after his inauguration as Home Minister. The decision for a group meeting is similar to Kanter's first proposition of intergroup leadership, *Convening Power*, which involves bringing subgroups together, as well as the initial steps described by Pittinsky & Simon (2007) and Heifetz (2002; 2009). As a prelude to their meeting he made an appeal to the princes where he communicated his vision for the nation, hoping at the same time to allay their fears regarding the future and their place in it (Krishna, 2007; Menon, 1955),

Our mutual conflicts and internecine quarrels and jealousies have, in the past, been the cause of our downfall...We cannot afford to fall into those errors or traps again...The safety and preservation of the States, as well as India, demand unity and mutual cooperation between its different parts.<sup>(5)</sup>

Patel followed up his address with a personal meeting with the princes in December 1947. He encountered resistance from several of the princes at this meeting, yet Patel was both diplomatic and direct. He made it clear that the path forward involved compromise by all parties, thus acknowledging the loss that Heifetz (2002) described as a critical part of adaptive work. He also assured the group of his personal investment in



the process, "I have come...not as a representative of the old Paramount or of any foreign power, but as a member of a family trying to solve a family problem" (Krishna, 2007, p. 95). This first meeting with the working group was one of many over the course of several months as Patel organized informal social gatherings among the various rulers as a venue for them to engage in dialogue about the future. It was in these meetings where loyalties were refashioned, boundaries spanned, and divides crossed in search of a solution. The working group would also gather for lunch meetings at Patel's home in Delhi. At these gatherings Patel appealed to the shared values of patriotism, responsibility, and the enduring duty of princely rulers to care for their people. Though at times he encountered fierce resistance, delay tactics, and political brinksmanship, he continued to meet with the rulers at various times and places throughout the country. He was consistent in maintaining a call for unity and reconciliation. Eventually he was rewarded with many of the rulers agreeing to join the country through this forum of open dialogue.

#### **Congress leader:-**

After the Bardoli campaign, Sardar Patel, as Vallabhbhai was also known, remained one of the best known and respected Congress leaders of the country, but most of his activities from then on until the transfer of power were either as Gandhi's chief lieutenant in national campaigns against British rule or as the principal party and electoral organizer and fund-raiser for the Indian National Congress. Throughout the remainder of his political career, though he was considered one of the four or five topmost Congress leaders of the country, he remained subordinate first to Gandhi and, after Gandhi's death, to Nehru as prime minister. Although he was proposed

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for president of the Indian National Congress after the Bardoli *Satyagraha*, he gave place in 1929 to Jawaharlal Nehru, and did not receive this high honour until 1931. During the nationalist movement, beginning with his first arrest during Gandhi's salt *Satyagraha* of 1930, Patel spent many years in goal. The longest periods were for sixteen months, which he spent with Gandhi, in 1932-4; nine months in 1940-41; and nearly three years from 1942 to 1945.

Patel's importance in the highest councils of the Indian National Congress derived principally from the critical role he played from 1934 onwards within the party organization. Adopting his son's flat in Bombay as his home base from this time forward, he was the principal fund-raiser and played the critical role in the selection of Congress candidates to contest the 1934 elections for the central legislative assembly; again, as chairman of the central parliamentary board, in the selection and financing of candidates for the 1936 provincial elections; and in the constituent assembly elections of 1946 as well, where he came into frequent conflict with the then Congress president, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, over the selection of Congress candidates.

His responsibilities as party/election organizer also included exercising supervision and imposing discipline over the Congress members of provincial legislatures, including their selection of legislative party leaders and consequently the premiers in Congress-controlled provinces. Although his will did not always prevail, he firmly established the principle that the provincial party organizations and the legislative assemblies were subject to the ultimate authority of the national organization and leadership of the India National congress. <sup>(6)</sup>

### **New Techniques of Political Fighting**



In joining Gandhi's camp in 1917, Patel clarified his goals and discovered methods for attaining them. He almost immediately became Gandhi's Number Two man, the party leader in Gujarat. From this comfortable niche he could carve out his career in consonance with his personality and ideology. During the years 1910-17 Gandhi introduced a whole new consciousness into the politics of Gujarat and of India. He stressed the role of education in the nationalist movement, and the use of the mother tongue in education. He called for a new awareness of the whole framework of political work in India, to include internal reform as well as confrontation with the British. He called on people to take pride in them. <sup>(7)</sup>

Gandhi's greatest achievement in those years, perhaps, was in shifting the focus of nationalist concern from each bourgeois issues as the availability of jobs in the British bureaucracy to rural issues concerning the peasantry. At Champaran in Bihar he took up the cause of the indigo workers who were exploited by European plantation owners. First Gandhi went to the scene, and visiting village after village, pre-pared a complete report on the situation. He identified with the plantation workers, dressed like them, and made them feel at one with him. He had a carefully chosen, limited objective, he paid close attention to his subordinates and the local people, and he rubbed raw the local grievances. He risked threats on his life and was willing to put himself in line of possible imprisonment, but he continued his survey and presentation of the information to the government — invoking their sense of honesty and fair play — and finally got the conditions of labour in Champaran revised. In this shift of emphasis to rural India, a new era was born and in it Patel saw a new future for himself. <sup>(8)</sup>



At about the same time, Gandhi understood the Khadi Satyagraha in Patel's home district, south of Ahmedabad.<sup>11</sup> Again Gandhi chose a rural issue, this time the need for tax relief during the famine year of 1917. Again he identified with the peasantry, dressed like them, walked among them, carried on very detailed survey work, and then organized them. Vallabhbhai accompanied him as chief lieutenant, at times, when Gandhi had to leave Khadi for work in Champaran; Vallabhbhai took over the effective leadership of the local movement. He earned his spurs as a new kind of rural leader.

Following Gandhi, Patel began to wear village clothes, dhoti and kurta. Previously he had been proud to wear European dress. Indulal Yagnik described Patel at their first meeting in early 1917:

"Seeing he dressed completely in European fashion, I was astonished. Dressed in ironed silk trousers, half-coat, collar, tie, and hat, he appeared to me very arrogant. His collar reached the top of his neck and his foreign felt hat covered his forehead, setting off his threatening eyes. He seemed to rue 125 per cent European."<sup>(9)</sup>

As he reoriented toward his rural roots, Vallabhbhai found it easy to talk the language of the peasants and establish a rapport with the landowners which lasted throughout his life.

### **The Building of a Machine**

From his own organizational work and from the policy of Gandhi, Sardar recognized the importance of creating a political machine on a permanent basis. The machine functioned in a variety of activities; by the middle of 1930's it was organized even to contest elections. Members were required to pledge adherence to a programme. In contesting



the Municipal elections in Ahmadabad in 1936, Sardar spelled out the need for such a unified party: We want to send our representatives in the Municipality because it is im-possible to carry out any programmed of work without the agreement of a majority. There are members. If they are of diverse opinion, they cannot do work. The result would be that the City would suffer. It has already suffered enough in the past.

No improvement was made for a number of years till the swarajya party under any president ship took up into its hands the work of constructing gutters and many other works of public good. But that swarajya party did not consist of members pledged to a vow nor were there any rules and regulations of their programme of work. A great difficulty was there-fore experienced many a time when the questions affecting persons of influence came for consideration. A party is therefore required to work on the basis of common principles for the speedy betterment of the city.<sup>37</sup> By this time, as principal member of the Congress National Parliamentary Board, Sardar also had the much larger task of creating from the Congress a political vote getting party to contest the elections promised under the Constitution of 1935.

The task, however, falls outside the scope of this paper. A sense of its magnitude becomes especially clear from the Patel. Rajendra Prasad correspondence in the Rajendra Prasad papers in the National Archives of India.

The Congress which Vallabhbhai was building went beyond election campaigning. It was a multidimensional machine carrying out wide-ranging activities including those which the official government was unable or unwilling to undertake. In this he fulfilled the role of "party boss" for the "Machine". Compare the descriptions of the role of the party



boss from American politics with Patel's role: The key structural function of the boss *is to* organize, centralize, and maintain in good working condition "the scattered fragments of power\*" which are at present dispersed throughout the political organisation.<sup>(10)</sup> By this centralized organisation of political power, the boss and his apparatus can satisfy the needs of diverse sub-groups in the larger community which are not adequately satisfied by legally devised and culturally approved social structures.. .. The Functional deficiencies of the official structures generate an alternative (unofficial) structure to fulfill existing needs somewhat more effectively. Especially in the colonial situation, the need for an auxiliary to government was apparent.<sup>(11)</sup>

Another aspect of the machine, the theory of which is again derived from American usage, is its reliance on localism:

One source of strength of the political machine derives from its roots in the local community and the neighborhood. The political machine does not regard the electorate as an amorphous undifferentiated mass of voters. The machine operates through the direct quasi-feudal relationships between local representatives of the machine and voters in their neighborhoods. Elections are won on the precinct level. Implicit in this view is that activity on the local level geared to local needs will usually be more important than national issues. As one American machine politician put it:

I think that there's got to be in every ward somebody that any bloke can come to — no matter what he's done — and get help. Help, you understand, none of your law and order, but help.

Patel and the Gujarat Congress full-filled all these characteristics of the boss and the party: It knit up the scattered



fragments of power through attention to local issues and problems, by co-opting local leadership, and by providing a wide range of help which the government did not. (Much of the similarity to the American pattern presumably arises from the similarities in the problems of organizing diverse people across immense distances in the face of highly legalistic orientations to neighborhood and ethnic, religious, and caste ties.<sup>(12)</sup>

Patel's Congress in Gujarat carried on multiple activities. Famine relief and plague assistance involved the Gujarat Congress workers, and raised their prestige in the countryside. It made the Congress parallel government even more respected and efficient than the British government of India. From the beginning, Patel emphasized the importance of social work along with political agitation. In the municipality in 1917, even as he carried on the fight against Shillidy, he also spent three to four hours every day examining needs of the city in fulfillment of his position as chairman of the sanitary committee. When plague broke out in Ahmadabad. Later in the year, Patel impressed the citizens by staying in the city so as to keep to his job and trust. This pattern of work was so successful and so clearly established that a decade later, during the 1927 floods in Gujarat, the government channeled its funds for relief through Vallabhbhai's Congress organisation and commended it as the agency of relief. The Congress could literally deliver the goods in Gujarat; the government could not.<sup>(13)</sup>

Later, during World War II, Patel's Congress organisation built a civil de-fence network in Ahmedabad and Surat cities down to the ward and even street level. These social and relief activities were in addition to the other Gandhian



activities carried on by Congress organisations throughout India: Spinning, handicrafts, Harijan uplift, prohibition, promotion of the regional language, works with tribals, women's education cartel uplift, and communal mediation. Many best workers of the Congress and most important financial contributors came not through political campaign but" from social work organisations, A chronological list of the major activities of Patel and his fight includes.

#### CONCLUSION:-

Through the exercise of the six principles of intergroup leadership, Patel proved to be a leader who crossed political, cultural, ideological, and religious divides. He brought diverse and divided parties to the table, appealed to shared values, oriented them toward the future, turned the work over to the people by providing meaningful interdependent tasks, acknowledged the importance of interpersonal and emotional integration, and maintained an inclusive and evenhanded approach. Patel's leadership reveals a compelling example of leadership based on soft power, persuasion, dialogue, and adaptive work as central methods (Heifetz, 2009; Nye, 2004). He maintained a posture of listening, foresight, and vision to forge a nation which Nehru described as "a bundle of contradictions, held together by strong but invisible threads" (1946, p. 563). Patel discovered those threads and, amazingly, achieved the unification of the nation within a period of 18 months.

It is important to note, that amidst his success, Patel sometimes faced criticism from his own party; there were occasions when he would clash with both Gandhi and Nehru as the three struggled to carve a path forward. Yet ultimately he avoided what could have been another violent and bloody



chapter in the formation of the young nation through a combination of "firmness and generosity" (Tharoor, 2007, p. 179).Kruschev acknowledged Patel's leadership role when he remarked, "You Indians are an amazing people! How on earth did you manage to liquidate the Princely rule without liquidating the Princes?" (2007, p. 149).

Lord Mountbatten described Patel's work as "by far the most important achievement of the present Government...had you failed, the results would have been disastrous" (2007, p.149). Rotberg's (2009) description of intergroup leadership as a choice between an old and a new way of leading harmonizes well with Patel's practice of its principles providing both a model and a challenge for today's leaders: ...the next generation...need not be schooled in the old ways. They can learn how to bring groups together and how to gain the benefits of such intergroup success. They can learn how advantageous it is to uplift rather than prey upon their peoples. They can learn how to unite them. (p. 168).

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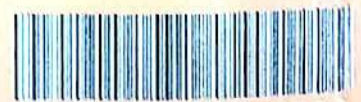
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# Contemporary Indian Women Novelists

Reviews and Discussions



**Dr. Ramesh A. Landage**  
**Tabassum M. Inamdar**



# **CONTEMPORARY INDIAN WOMEN NOVELISTS:**

*Reviews and Discussions*

*Editors*

**Dr. Ramesh A. Landage**

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## A Socio-Political Diagnosis in *Nayantara Sahgal's Mistaken Identity*

-Dr. Abdul Anees Abdul Rasheed

*Nayantara Sahgal's Mistaken Identity* (1988) presents the inter-war period of the twenties and locates the action of the novel in the small state called Vijaygarh. Bhushan Singh, The protagonist, a princely play boy of the Raj, who never succeeds in being recognized as a king. Some movements such as Civil War in Turkey, rise of Mussolini, 'Lahore Conspiracy', 'Dandi Salt March' by Gandhi and 'The Khilafat movement' form the background of the novel. The novel is first person narrative in which the narrator is the most obvious case of mistaken identity. He is completely disassociated from the nationalist movement sweeping the nation in the late 1920's. He is illegally arrested under mistaken identity from the train found to Vijaygarh, his native. The central idea of the novel seems to be the absurdity of a dogmatic attitude of the question of identity itself. Sahgal makes use of irony as a representational mode and ridicules the habit of branding and identifying people as Hindus and Muslims to the exclusion of their basic identity as human beings.

In the novel, Jatin Das, a conspiracy prisoner in Lahor jail is on hunger strike and protests even against the hypodermic injections. He dies on the 61<sup>st</sup> day of the strike. It instigates the whole political convicts who ultimately decide to launch hunger strike till the discriminatory attitude of the British Government is absolutely changed. The representative groups of prisoners, such as, Bhaiji, Bhushan and communists invite the attention of the Government by initiating indefinite hunger strike. But it does not last for a long as an appeal from All



India Congress Committee is made: 'To end their hunger strike on the understanding that the AICC will spearhead the campaign for jail reform on their behalf.' [Sahgal: 99] The withdrawal of hunger strike does not bring anything, and Lahore conspiracy case concludes with three hangings. It results into the mass rebellion: 'Bhaiji, rigid with anger, says from his cot and these Viceroy calls himself a Christian. This is the Viceroy, who a month ago said, 'Goodnight, Mr. Gandhi, my prayers go with you. A curse upon the Viceroy's prayers...' [Ibid: 193] As for as Sahgal's being active enough both as a novelist and a champion of the emancipated woman, she is appropriately observed as 'essentially a writer who extends and enriches an Indian creative tradition that includes, among numerous others. Tagore and Sarat Chandra...' [Sharma: 1976: 12] Sahgal depicts India in the twilight years of the British Empire though her main aim is to focus on the quest for identity and Hindu-Muslim relationship. Bhushan arrives in Bombay in 1929 from his stay in America for six years. His obsession with Razia, his marriage to another, his experience in the jail and his mother's departure with her Muslim lover, are the major events of the novel. The novelist has candidly and skillfully fictionalized the historical reality in this novel with three hangings. Dr. R. A. Singh says:

Besides referring to Gandhi and Kemal Pasha, the historical seen is made more immediately relevant by citing the Lahor conspiracy case involving Bhagat Singh and others who had avenged the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. [Jain: 1994: 9]

The novel records historical records such as the execution of Bhagat Singh and his associates in Lahor jail. The novelist also gives a fine treatment to Dandi March led by Gandhi, the Civil Disobedience Movement to hone the spirit of revolutionary activities, Mahatma Gandhi and his



Satyagrahis' Civil Disobedience and the violation of the Salt Act, etc. 'Gandhi has reached to Dandi beach, a distance of two hundred and forty one miles from his base, to disobey the Salt Act and manufacture on the Sea coast.' [Opp Cite, Sahgal: 121] with an artistic facility how Salt Act prisoners happily go to jail to celebrate the success and wish to continue such other Civil Disobedience Movement to unravel the riddle of unlawful foreign rule in India. This movement proves to be a positive step to create political awareness among the masses.

Sahgal seems to be a devotee of Gandhian ideology which exercised lasting impact on political and social scenarios. Gandhi had sympathy towards the untouchables and wanted for them possible rehabilitation. He also wanted the untouchables to avail of their right and social status. He strived for awakening people to be aware of their political rights, self respect and self reliance. He introduced 'spinning wheel' so that people might be self-reliant as far as the problem of clothing was concerned. Bhaiji calls himself a Gandhi bhakta and is committed to leader's motto: 'clothe the nation in Khaddar.' [Ibid:157] He is given the responsibility of setting of Khaddar shops and registering the volunteers so that they may collect the foreign cloth to be replaced by Khaddar. Bhaiji even promotes the skill of spinning among the fallen sisters in a red light district. They realize that it may lead the people to achieve Swaraj. Bhaiji is seen quite active even in the jail to keep him engaged spinning to produce maximum Khaddar. The novelist throws a light on his being busy:

Bhaiji never lounges. He takes his little tackle out of the tin trunk the authorities have let him keep after going through its pathetic contents and begins busily to spin. On alternative days, he spins on his spinning wheel which folds up small in lies in his trunk. [Ibid:43]



In the novel the slogan, 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' reflects the influence of Gandhi on the masses. Gandhi's ideology 'to suffer silently' is reflected in Bhaiji's character. In spite of grievous toothache, Bhaiji is reluctant to take any medical succor from the government, because he firmly believes that 'a Satyagrahi must be prepared to suffer.'

The novelist focuses on the physical and psychological exploitation prevailing in the contemporary Indian social sphere. She has also focused on the social injustice caused by gender bias male dominated society. It is evident from Raja of Vijaygarh who exploits his first wife by illegally marrying second and third times to elevate his social and political status. The novelist seems to raise a question, 'Is it not inhuman to hurt one's wife by disregarding the institution of marriage? Of course, it is. The novelist has candidly presented the prevailing brutality and injustice on women in society. She urges the nationalist not to rectify only political evils but also to eradicate the social evils. The Raja of Vijaygarh needs to be evaluated on political front also. The Raja of Vijaygarh is a self-centered and for the fulfillment his material gain he even becomes a traitor and extends his support to the British Government. In fact he was to receive a clear title of Rajahood which is never awarded to him. He badly fails in terms of his being a father, a husband and a citizen of India. The character of the Raja of Vijaygarh allegorically stands for many Rajas who used to unconditionally support the British Government to show their allegiance. The revolutionaries were sacrificing themselves in the soaring flames of freedom struggle, while there were people like Raja of Vijaygarh supporting the government for their individual benefits. Here lies the irony.



The novel also ironically covers the indifferent attitudes of educated Indian elite towards the socio-political problems of the time. It is represented by Sylla, the young Parsee enterprising amateur dramatist. Bhushan, against his will stays in Bombay to perform in one of Sylla's plays. When he journeys towards Vijaygarh, he is arrested by police. The police mistook him to be a conspirator against King Emperor. This mistaken identity by the constable led to his revelation of his real identity. He was stripped of his illusions as an elite educated in foreign land. While waiting endlessly for his trial, Bhushan had ample time on his hands to ponder over his life. In one such mood he observes Bhaiji, a persevering Gandhian, untiringly spinning on his hand spinning tool (*takli*). Bhaiji was a disciplined man whose habits were clean. The prostitutes residing near the jail purchased his Khadi and thus, contributed to the freedom movement. His initiation in a different course of life changed Bhushan's thinking, behaviour and life. However, for Bhushan it was very difficult to be convinced by Gandhian ideals. 'Gandhi makes no sense to me at all. Goes on bleating about Hindu, Muslim love but a Hindu Muslim marriage would send him on a fifty-day fast.' [Ibid: 44] In fact, the character of Bhushan represents the mental inertia of the average Indians of the time:

We are divided in any case...with half a mind and a scrap of real resolve we'd be rid of it. If we all sat together the sovereign power would drown. But then what? The Pandits and the ulemens would throw each other life belts and come bouncing out of it. [Ibid: 47]

Perhaps it required a Gandhi to rouse Indians to their self-respect and drive out the British finally. The shameful amorous tendencies of Indian petty 'rajas' is revealed in Bhushan's father's marrying for the third time. Mother fretted and fumed in vain, rushes to the commissioner, an



Englishman, to petition for raja's title for Bhushan before a male heir was born to the third wife. Sahgal remarks how the Englishman sympathised with the queen mother but found the whole exercise highly ridiculous. The incident is mentioned to expose the narrow ambitions existing in erstwhile princely states.

The novelist also touches the communal riots and political harmony between Hindu and Muslim communities during the Gandhian age. In spite of their personal differences and communal riots due to the religious fanaticism they were united to launch joint expedition. Because the urgent need was to extinguish the British rule in India. For instance the Khilafat Movement was unanimously supported by Hindu community. History records that in the First World War, Turkey fought on behalf of Germany. The Muslims in India were convinced that Turkey was engaged in Jihad against Britain. It was, therefore, given up its loyalty to the British Government. The Muslims in India started Khilafat Movement which was whole heartedly supported by the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This political harmony is juxtaposed with the communal riots occurring frequently between Hindu and Muslim communities. The novelist also traces the boyhood love affair of Bhushan with Razia, a Muslim girl causing communal riots because Hindu-Muslim marriage is not allowed. This was commented by Vacha Nauzer as:

Ten, Eleven years ago there was a Hindu-Muslim entente. They had a common grievance against Britain's treatment of Ottoman Empire and the caliphate and continue so why should Vijaygarh have had two murderous outbreaks at that time. [Ibid: 112]

Actually, it was the British Government which purposely divided these communities only to rule the country. And it



was even perceived by Hindus and Muslims. The British Government always hatched new set of conspiracies to poison their friendly relationship. It is appropriately summed by Munawar Rana, an Urdu poet in his couplet:

*Siyasat Nafraton ke Zaqm bharne hi nahi deti*

*Jab kabhi bharne ko aa jaye, Makkhi baith jaati hai*

(It can be loosely translated as 'the politics deliberately does not want the wounds of hatred to get healed; whenever the wounds of hatred seem healing, the fly sits on that wounds.) Clinically the fly causes the hurdle in the healing of the wound as it (fly) causes infection. Here, the 'fly' metaphorically means the hidden conspiracies hatched by the government only to poison the warm and friendly relations between two communities, especially Hindus and Muslims. It is because the politicians can go any level for their political benefits. Bhushan tells his lawyer, Vacha Nauzer, the observation of his mother about communal riots which used to be usually accelerated by the British Government to meet their diplomatic end of ruling India:

My mother was convinced it was the commissioner who was delaying my passport on purpose, hoping my presence in Vijaygarh would start another riots. She didn't trust him. She called him mischief maker. Her theory is the British need a Hindu-Muslim riot now and then. No riot. No Raj [Ibid: 114]

The novel seeks communal amity and harmony between Hindus and Muslims. The tragedy of Bhushan could have been averted if his love with Razia was allowed to mature in marriage. The same happens ultimately but with enormous wastage and suffering. It is Gandhian ideology which wins in the end.



*Mistaken identity* causes Bhushan Singh's imprisonment. In the jail, Bhushan Singh is faced with eight cell mates, all of whom are deeply involved in nationalist politics. While Bhaiji and his two followers (called "twins" by the narrator) are committed Gandhians, four of the others are trade-unionists who align India's struggle against imperialism with an international proletariat revolution. The youngest member of the group, Sen, is a would-be revolutionary who is quickly won over by the trade-unionists. Sahgal has juxtaposed two distinct ideologies of nationalism which obviously undermines the authority of the single Congress-affiliated narrative of Indian history that has dominated post-independence India. At the same time, within the temporal confines of the text, the specific representatives of this dominant nationalist tradition are themselves marginalized because of their isolation and obscurity. Bhaiji and the twins are part of the nameless masses that never quite make it to the history books. And the same is true of the isolated party-less comrades whose revolutionary activities are overshadowed by famous contemporary events such as the Lahore and Meerut Conspiracy Cases. By juxtaposing the plight of her eight obscure political prisoners with the fate of recognized martyrs such as Jatin Das and Bhagat Singh, Sahgal highlights the impossibility of any nationalist historiographical tradition that follows the "great men" format to include all the contributors who made political independence possible.

The characters are presented socially and politically revolutionary. The pioneers of the political were ready to scarify everything only for attaining Independence. Bhaiji, his two followers, comrades and Sen belong to such a group. After releasing from jail, they do not stop their activities but rather revitalize their campaign by opening centers at various places. As for instance, comrade Yusuf



establishes Profulla Sen centre in Vijaygarh. The characters who form a group to campaign against the social ills are comrade Yusuf, Bhushan and his mother. Jasbir Jain opines about the portrayal of the characters in the novels of Sahgal: 'Character portrayal takes place in a number of ways in her novels.' [Heinemann: 197: 34] The novelist also touches the suppression and victimization of women who survive in the male dominated society. Bhushan's mother, paradoxically known as Rani, is presented as a victimized soul. Her husband, the raja of Vijaygarh, marries thrice without her consent. Finally, she challenges the falsely generated social conventions causing permanent suffering to women. Her revolutionary thinking of compels her to accept the hand of comrade Yusuf, a Muslim. It shows her retaliation against her husband. It shows Rani's feminist urge which by all means champions the cause of women's welfare and fights against aspersions caste upon them in society. The novelist shows her resentment towards the existing social code of conduct which only allows men to re-marry, because, she believes, it causes irrecoverable mental and physical agonies only to women. Therefore, such social practices need to be challenged and rectified.

Defining the nation exclusively in terms of its culture, Bhushan diagnosis the main problem in India as the lack of cultural unity with the Hindus (pandits) and the Muslims (ulemas) vying for power separately. For Bhushan, then, "it is cultural processes more than the political ones which go into the making of history." And since culture is associated with the private domestic sphere rather than the public world of politics, within a patriarchal framework cultural history gets inscribed on the body of the woman. Bhushan's exclusive emphasis in his personal narrative on his relationships with women (his mother, Razia, Sylla) exemplifies this aspect of cultural historiography. However,



all three of these women do not occupy the same position in Bhushan's narrative; while he paints his mother as woman with an indomitable will, he sees Razia as an innocent victim who needs to be rescued and Sylla as an enticingly exotic alien. Given the fact that he sees Vijaygarh as his "country" this characterization of "his" women foregrounds Bhushan's implication in the ideology of nationalism. While his mother and Razia represent the two faces of the nation as "Mother India" (the avenging Kali figure) and the helpless chained prisoner who needs to be rescued by her brave sons), Sylla, the parsi woman, becomes a sign of western modernity that is simultaneously liberating and threatening.

There is also seen ideological differences between Bhaiji led party and communists in the jail. Literally, they are misidentifying one another as they are not in agreement with each other regarding their mode of operation to achieve their common goal. We may conclude the description of the novel with the remark of Jasbir Jain: 'Sahgal's *Mistaken Identity* ends with a union between People of different social backgrounds and political beliefs.' [Opp Cite, Jan: 1994: 62]

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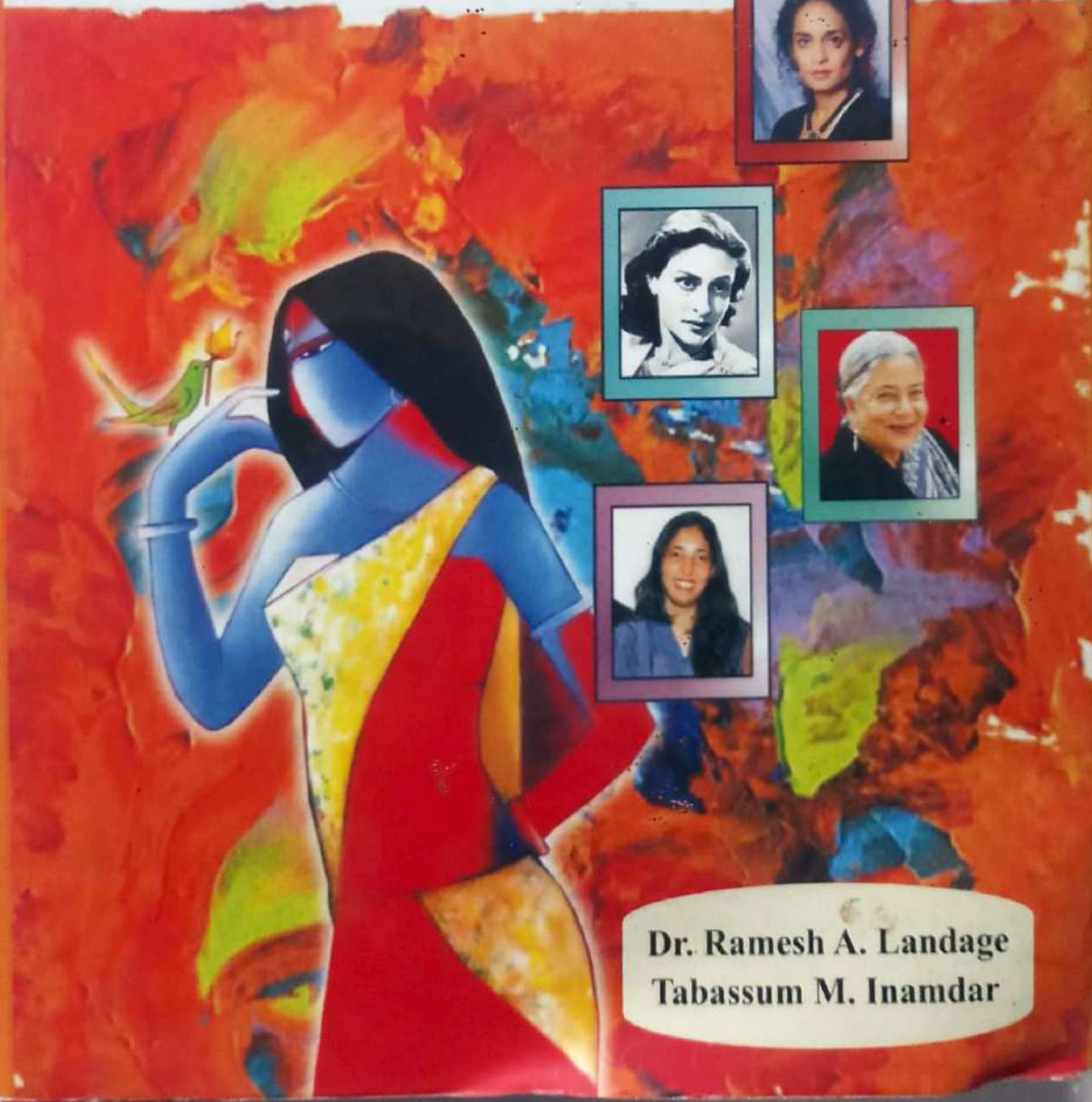






# Contemporary Indian Women Novelists

Reviews and Discussions



Dr. Ramesh A. Landage  
Tabassum M. Inamdar



Contemporary Indian Women Novelist: Reviews and Discussions  
-Edited By Dr. Ramesh A. Landage,Tabbasum M. Inamdar

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#### 4.

### *The Day in Shadow:* A Novel of Feministic Perspective

-Shaikh Ajaz Perveen

India is a country of customs and traditions. People still have conservative attitudes to which matrimonial ties are also not exception. *The Day in Shadow* is Sahgal's intimately autobiographical novel published in 1971. The novel can be interpreted from feminist perspective which unfolds that her female protagonist Simrit tries to come out with psychological, financial and other problems which a woman has to face in this male dominated society. It unfolds the varied aspects of divorce which a lonely woman has to face as a part of the punishment for leaving her husband. Matrimonial ties are considered to be absolute in Indian society. Religions expect woman to be obedience and husband oriented even if he is wrong. All the norms and conditions are formed for her and she is expected to strictly follow the ideals of *pativrata*. Thus, the Indian society recognizes woman through her husband. A single woman has no status in society. Divorce in Indian society is considered as a social stigma and a big scandal for a woman who is treated as if she is affected by contaminated disease. Simrit, a woman character in *The Day in Shadow* feels suffocated in this married relationship and lacks the elements of *eros*, *philos* and *agape*, Greek terms, the English meaning of which is desire friendship and affection. The married couple Simrit and Som shows imbalance of marriage and finally the relationship ends in divorce. We observe ideological differences in their characters as Som is the representative of materialism and Simrit symbolizes idealism.



There is an observed difference in their characters as far as Simrit is concerned she is an educated free-lance writer who has a desire of self-identification, gaiety and an ideal life while her husband Som has overtaken her by his fierce personality. Som is a lover of change, freshness and newness a submissive smiling wife and a confident son while Simrit desires to romanticize Indian geography by giving language to Himalaya, rivers, forests and all sorts of beautiful things in nature. But the materialistic attitude of her husband rejects her plea. On the other hand we can take som's attitude towards woman is striking and against her freedom and choice. He considers woman as a 'weaker sex' the other one. As Simon de Beauvoir states in *The Second Sex*,

She is called "the sex", by which is meant that she appears essentially to the male as a sexual being. For him she is sex absolute sex, no less....., she is the incidental, the essential as opposed to the essential. He is the subject, he is the absolute, and she is the other. [Qut. In French: 1986: 11]

In the domestic needs also she cannot make decisions and choices. She cannot make choices of even cushions and curtains and even servants. In one of the instances we see that she had dismissed the cook twice for his drunkard and clumsy behaviour but he reappoints him. Thus all such minor causes lead them to be separated from each other and their relationship ended in divorce. But such a behavior of Som lifts him at the height of success. On the contrary Simrit's life is filled with deep distress, tears and longings. She was tormented by Som's behaviour of making weapons and she foresees the horror and destruction caused by this weapons. She imagines a dying woman with a shattered child which a symbol of destruction caused by material



advancement. At one of the occasions Vetter insists her for medical check-up in Europe, she unconcernedly replies-

I know, but if everyone rushes to Europe for everything, if the whole universe revolves around Europe, then how's anything to grow in India, in Asia? Who is going to make it? [Greer: 1976: 42]

The other negative cause of their broken relationship was lack of reciprocity; talk was the missing link between them. He treats his wife as a priceless object well enough for his personal pleasures. He treats her as to be his personal possession. Mrs. Sahgal in her essay "Women: Person or Possessions", condemns such attitudes which value women as "property" and discourage individuality in them:

When I heard someone remark, "We never allow our daughters to go out or I can't do that, my husband would not like it, it sounded a very peculiar, alien jargon. As if, I thought, women were properties not persons. [Sahgal: 1970: 65]

Nayantara Sahgal purposely reveals the plight of women after divorce in the novel by medium of her character, Simrit. After divorce woman finds herself in financial crises. In the name of divorce settlement she is given a mean amount i.e, so called alimony. Man improves his cast with no burden and responsibility on him and becomes highly successful. On the contrary woman is overburdened with the responsibility of children and home. Marilyn French puts forth:

After, divorce in an overwhelming number of cases.... Men become singles and women become single mothers. Women's income declines by 75% in the first year after divorce; men's income



increases by 42%. The father is better off, the children are often hungry. [Troffler: 1984: 67]

Woman is biologically destined to become a mother. Woman is supposed to be complete woman when she begets a child. Here also male child is given first preference and that woman is treated affectionately and kindly and if a girl child is born the mother has to face some bitter treatments. In the novel *Simrit* brings up her children but her son leaves her for his father's aristocracy and his father also forces a male child to come with him and leaves the girls at the care of their mother. He thinks girls to be burden and a mean of lots of expenditure for their marriage and all. Nayantara Sahgal places *Simrit* in two different roles i.e. motherhood and her carrier. She is also clutched in the responsibility of child rearing. Alvin Toffler observes: 'Parenting is a shared responsibility and shared pleasure.' [Swami: 2009: 06] In Indian culture 'Marriage' is supposed to be a close and intimate relationship based on the principles of equality and love. On the other side it is also a bond which is every time misused by men. Since childhood men are taught about their rights and women about their duties. Sahgal's women are strong and self-respecting but they seek support of men to get out of oppression and exploitation. They depend on a father or a male friend who aid them to get out of these awful circumstances. In the novel *Simrit* is aided by Raj a Christian and Ramkrishnan, an intelligent philosopher. They show her a new direction to live a meaningful life. Later on Raj, the Christian and *Simrit*, the Hindu ties the matrimonial knot. Thus Mrs. Sahgal shares a world which should be based on equality and sharing with harmony between the two sexes. The virtues of the woman are valued equally as that of a man. She advises woman to be self-respecting.



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شاہ حسین نہری

فن اور شخصیت

مدیر

عارف خورشید



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۷۰	(۸) نذر سید شاہ حسین نہری	مولانا ڈاکٹر محمد صدر الحسن ندوی مدنی
۷۲	(۹) ہمارے شاہیہ	سید سجاد اختر
۷۳	(۱۰) روشن چہیں شاہ	قمر اجلال
۷۳	(۱۱) رباعی ناصر	ڈاکٹر مرزا حسن ناصر
۷۴	رنگ باتیں کرے	
۷۹	انٹرویو	عارف خورشید
۱۲۹	ان کہی باتیں (انٹرویو)	ڈاکٹر غفر اقبال
۱۳۳	مکالمہ - گفتگو ہند نہ ہو	نعیم صدیقی، اجمل سراج
۱۳۸	بات چیت	م۔ ناگ
۱۴۴	لوشع حقیقت کی (شاہ حسین نہری کے حوالے مختلف کتابوں میں)	
۱۴۵	(۱) شعر شورا نگیز میں شاہ حسین نہری کے حوالے	اسلم مرزا
۱۸۳	(۲) انتخاب اردو رباعیات	ڈاکٹر اسلمہ کبریٰ
۱۸۴	(۳) کتاب ”روح غزل“	ڈاکٹر مظفر حفی
۱۸۶	(۴) اردو رباعیات میں ہندوستانی عناصر	ڈاکٹر سید بکٹی شیط
۱۸۸	(۵) گنجینہ رباعیات	ڈاکٹر شمیم احمد صدیقی
۱۸۸	(۶) بصارت سے بصیرت تک	پروفیسر محمد علی آثر
۱۸۹	(۷) لغات روزمرہ	پروفیسر شمس الرحمن فاروقی
۱۹۱	(۸) اردو میں شخصی مرثیے کی روایت	ڈاکٹر عابد حسین حیدری
۱۹۷	آنکھ جو کچھ دیکھتی ہے (صاحب کتاب پر اہل قلم کے مضامین)	
۱۹۸	(۱) ہنرمندی اور خلا قانہ شعور - شاہ بانی	ڈاکٹر آفاق عالم صدیقی
۲۰۳	(۲) شاہ حسین نہری کی شاعری: ایک تجزیہ	ڈاکٹر ابوالکلام
۲۱۰	(۳) میردورال	پروفیسر احمد سجاد



۲۱۶	ڈاکٹر ارتکار افضل	۴) راہ منتخب کا نقیب
۲۲۱	اسلم مرزا	۵) شاہ رباعی
۲۲۵	اطہر معز	۶) شب تاب کا جنگو سید شاہ حسین نہری
۲۲۷	امان اختر	۷) ایک شاعر مومن و مسلم بھی آدمی بھی
۲۳۱	ڈاکٹر انتخاب حمید	۸) شب تاب کی فنی اساس اور شاہ حسین نہری.....
۲۳۷	ڈاکٹر انبی - بی - شندے	۹) My Esteemed Colleague....
۲۳۹	ڈاکٹر جہاں آراء سلیم	۱۰) شاہ حسین نہری ایک مطالعہ
۲۴۱	حماد انجم ایڈوکیٹ	۱۱) آفتاب بخن
۲۴۴	پروفیسر ڈاکٹر حمید سہروردی	۱۲) شاہ حسین نہری کی شاعری
۲۴۹	ڈاکٹر رازی فدائی	۱۳) حسن مطلق کا مظہر جمیل
۲۵۲	رفعت سعید قریشی	۱۴) باکمال شاعر شریف النفس انسان
۲۵۷	ڈاکٹر رفیع الدین ہاشمی	۱۵) سید شاہ حسین نہری - ایک تاثر
۲۶۰	رشید انجم	۱۶) لطیف جذبات کی عکاسی
۲۶۳	رئیس الدین رئیس	۱۷) جلیل القدر شاعر
۲۶۶	ڈاکٹر ستار سآخ	۱۸) لائق تقلید نیا پن
۲۶۹	ڈاکٹر سحر سعیدی	۱۹) ربیعہ سے آنکھیں چار ہونے پر
۲۷۳	ڈاکٹر سلیم محی الدین	۲۰) رات آنکھوں سے کب نکلتی ہے
۲۸۲	پروفیسر سلیمان اطہر جاوید	۲۱) خوش فکر شاعر
۲۸۳	سلیم شہزاد	۲۲) شب تاب میں رات کی پیکریت
۲۸۷	پروفیسر سید فرید احمد نہری	۲۳) سامانِ تسکین (اول دوم) نقابلی مطالعہ
۲۹۶	ڈاکٹر سید یحییٰ خٹیب	۲۴) قال و حال کی یک رنگی
۳۰۱	ڈاکٹر سید یحییٰ خٹیب	۲۵) نہری کا شعری تجربہ
۳۰۶	ڈاکٹر سید وحید اشرف	۲۶) شاہ حسین نہری کی رباعی گوئی
۳۰۹	ڈاکٹر سیدہ اشرف النساء جاوید	۲۷) شاہ صاحب اپنی کتابوں کی روشنی میں

۳۱۳	پروفیسر سیدہ فراء فاطمہ نہری	۲۸) میرے گلشن کے پھول - تربیتی نقطہ نظر
۳۱۶	سمیل اختر	۲۹) شب آفتاب شاہ
۳۲۵	ڈاکٹر شاہ رخشاہ عثمانی	۳۰) شب تاریک میں آفتاب روشن کی بشارت
۳۳۰	شفیع احمد شفیع	۳۱) قوس و قزح کا عرضی حسن
۳۳۵	صدیق احمد وقار	۳۲) رباعیات شاہ
۳۴۱	عالم نقوی	۳۳) "ہمیں سمجھا کے جب معافی کے"
۳۴۶	عائشہ محمد	۳۴) رباعی کی ہیئت میں شخصی مرثیہ
۳۴۹	ڈاکٹر مولانا عبدالشکور قاسمی	۳۵) سحر بیکراں - شاہ حسین نہری
۳۵۱	عبدالقدیر خان سیفی	۳۶) قادر الکلام شاعر
۳۵۴	عبدالرحیم غلام غائب	۳۷) شاہ بانی - رنگ سخن کا نشان امتیاز
۳۵۸	ڈاکٹر عصمت جاوید شیخ	۳۸) نیا آہنگ
۳۶۲	ڈاکٹر علی احمد جلیلی	۳۹) "شب تاب" نئے اسلوب فکر کا ایک.....
۳۶۶	ڈاکٹر عظیم صبا نویدی	۴۰) رباعیات شاہ حسین نہری
۳۷۰	فاروق جاسی	۴۱) شاہ حسین نہری آئینہ شب آفتاب میں
۳۷۲	فاروق شمیم	۴۲) شب تاب ایک مطالعہ
۳۷۷	فاروق شمیم	۴۳) رنگ رنگ رباعیاں
۳۸۷	قمر سنبھلی	۴۴) "دیوان رباعیات شاہ ایک مختصر جائزہ"
۳۹۱	قمر سنبھلی	۴۵) فکر و فن کا امتزاج
۳۹۳	کنیزہ فاطمہ	۴۶) شاہ بابا
۳۹۸	پروفیسر ڈاکٹر لطیف سبحانی	۴۷) "پڑگو، نغزگو، باوقار رباعی گو"
۴۰۳	م - ناگ	۴۸) شاہ کے دربار میں
۴۰۷	مامون امین	۴۹) شاہ حسین نہری کی غزل
۴۱۶	متین اچل پوری	۵۰) قیمتی تحفہ
۴۲۰	محمد اسلم غازی	۵۱) شاہ است حسین



## ”سامان تسکین“ (اشاعت اول و دوم)

### تقابلی مطالعہ و جائزہ

پروفیسر سید فرید احمد نہری (بیڑ)

محترم شاہ حسین نہری، موظف پروفیسر بل جیم کالج، بیڑ، اورنگ آباد دکن کے ایک اہم دینی، تعلیمی عملی خانوادے ”نہری خاندان“ کے چشم و چراغ ہیں۔ شاہ صاحب اردو شاعری کے وہ روشن باب ہیں، جن سے مجھ جیسے طفلانِ مکتب فیض اٹھا رہے ہیں۔

شاہ صاحب کی نعتیہ و حمدیہ شاعری بہترین پیرویوں، لفظی حسن اور والہانہ اسلامی عقیدت مندی کا بین ثبوت ہے۔ نعتیہ شاعری کے اظہار میں حضور ﷺ کے مرتبے و شان کا خاص طور پر لحاظ رکھا گیا ہے اور کہیں پر بھی غلو کا شائبہ تک محسوس نہیں ہوتا۔ یہ بات ایک مثبت توحیدی فکر کا پرتو نظر آتی ہے۔

حمدیہ کلام میں اللہ کی جناب سے سب کچھ پالینے کی خواہش اور بروز آخرت جنت میں قیام کی شدید خواہش پائی جاتی ہے۔

مناجات اور منقبت میں بھی شاہ صاحب نے اپنی اندرونی کیفیات اور جذباتی لگاؤ کو شعری پیکر میں ڈھال دیا ہے، اس لیے شاعری کے رنگ میں مذہبی فکر کے میلان کا ایک حسین امتزاج نظر آتا ہے۔ ”سامان تسکین“ کے دونوں ایڈیشنوں میں فرق تو پایا جاتا ہے لیکن وہ فرق فکری و بنیادی نہیں ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن کے سرورق میں ایک پھول ہے اور شہد کی مکھی اسے چوس رہی ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں پن بجلی کی مسجد اور حوض کے پانی میں اس کے عکس کی نشاندہی ہے۔ پہلے ایڈیشن میں پھول اور شہد کی مکھی کا تصور یہ ہے کہ اسلام کی تعلیمات حضور ﷺ کے توسط سے ہم تک پہنچی ہیں، انھیں ہمیں اپنی زندگی میں تسکین قلبی اور ایمانی جذبہ کے ساتھ باطن میں اتارنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں اسی بنیادی فکر کو مزید تقویت پہنچتی ہے، وہ یہ کہ مسجد اسلام کا مرکز و محور ہے، وہ شعائر اسلام



میں سے ہے، نماز کے بغیر دین اسلام کا تصور ہی نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اگر نماز کو قائم کر دیا جائے گا تو انشاء اللہ اس سے قرآن، حدیث اور تمام اسلامی شعائر سے وابستگی بڑھے گی اور فحش سے انشاء اللہ دوری ہوگی۔ اسی لیے وہ فکر جو پہلے ایڈیشن میں ہے، یہ ایڈیشن اسی فکر کو آگے بڑھاتا ہوا نظر آتا ہے۔ پہلے ایڈیشن میں پس ورق پر تصویریں شاعر اور مرتب کی ہیں اور ساتھ ہی ساتھ نظم ”وراثت“ کو نقل کر دیا گیا ہے۔ تصویریں اور نظم وراثت سے یہ باور کرانے کی کوشش کی گئی ہے کہ شاعر کی دینی و مذہبی فکر کا پرتوان کی اولاد میں بھی نظر آئے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں اورنگ زیب عالمگیر کی شاہی مسجد قلعہ ارک اورنگ آباد (دکن) کی تصویر سے بھی عیاں ہوتی ہے کہ سلف کے اس کارنامے (وراثت) سے ہم یہ سمجھ سکتے ہیں کہ اسلاف کے کارنامے ہمارے لیے مشعل راہ ہیں۔ یہاں مسجد ہی کی تصویر دی گئی ہے نہ کہ دولت آباد کے قلعے کے کھنڈر۔ شاہ صاحب کی شاعری کا فکری محور ہمیشہ سے اسلامی تعلیمات ہی ہیں۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں شروع کے آٹھ صفحات کے نشانات نہیں دیے گئے ہیں۔ صفحہ ۹ سے نشانات کا سلسلہ شروع کیا گیا ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں شروع ہی سے صفحات کے نشانات ڈالے گئے ہیں۔ دونوں ایڈیشنوں میں یہ فرق مصنف کے تغیراتی و تجدیدی ذہن کی عکاسی ہے۔ پہلے ایڈیشن میں آپ نے سوچا کہ بنیادی متن چونکہ ”اللہ کے نام سے“ شروع ہو رہا ہے اس لیے اسے نمبر شمار میں ایک نمبر دیا گیا۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں قرآن مجید کی آیتیں سورہ اعراف اور سورہ رعد بالکل شروع ہی میں درج کر دی گئی ہیں اور قرآن جب شروع ہو چکا تو اس صفحہ کو نمبر شمار میں ایک کا درجہ دیا گیا۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں ۵۵ صفحات پر حمد و نعت ہے، اسی کے ساتھ آٹھ ابتدائی صفحات اور آخری صفحہ صاحب تصنیف کی کتابوں کی فہرست پر مشتمل ہے۔ یہ ایڈیشن اس طرح چونسٹھ صفحات پر مشتمل ہے۔ ”سامان تسکین“ کے دوسرے ایڈیشن میں جملہ چھپانوں صفحات ہیں۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں آغاز کے صفحے پر تسمیہ کے بعد کتاب کا نام درج ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں تسمیہ کے بعد قرآن کی دو آیتوں کے حصے اللہ تعالیٰ سے متعلق ہیں۔

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں صاحب تصنیف کے ذہن میں یہ بات رہی ہوگی کہ چونکہ حمد یہ شاعری سورہ اعراف آیت (۱۸۰) اور سورہ رعد آیت (۲۸) کے کچھ حصے درج کیے ہیں۔ اردو ترجمانی بھی ہوتی تو اچھا ہوتا تاکہ حمد یہ کلام کو سمجھنے میں مزید آسانی ہوتی کیونکہ حمدوں میں شاعرانہ دونوں آیتوں کے گرد

گھومتا ہوا نظر آتا ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں دوسرا صفحہ سادہ رکھا گیا ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں رسول سے متعلق سورہ انبیاء کی ایک آیت کا حصہ نقل کیا گیا ہے۔ صاحب علم و دانش شاعر نے یہ سوچا ہوگا کہ پہلے ایڈیشن میں پہلے صفحے پر تسمیہ اور دوسرا صفحہ سادہ تھا۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں تسمیہ کے بعد اللہ کے حوالے سے تذکرہ ہے تو غالباً یہ سوچا کہ دوسرا صفحہ سادہ رکھنے کے بجائے توازن کو پیش نظر رکھا جائے۔ اللہ کا تذکرہ ہو چکا تو اب حضور ﷺ کا ذکر مبارک ہو جائے۔ شاہ صاحب کا یہ اقدام مستحسن ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں تیسرے صفحے پر کتاب کا نام اور قوسین میں یہ صراحت ہے کہ اس کتاب میں حمد و مناجات، نعت و منقبت ہیں۔ صاحب تصنیف اور پبلشر کا نام بھی درج ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں صرف کتاب کا نام تحریر ہے اور صاحب تصنیف مرتب اور پبلشر کا نام درج ہے۔ یہ فرق اس لیے ہوا کہ شاعری کی کتاب ”سامان تسکین“ کا پہلا ایڈیشن جب شائع ہوا تو ضرورت محسوس ہوئی ہوگی کہ مندرجات کی نشاندہی کے لیے قوسین میں حمد و مناجات اور نعت و منقبت درج کر دیا جائے۔ اس کے بعد کے ایڈیشن میں اس کی ضرورت اس لیے نہیں پڑی کہ یہ کتاب صاحبان علم و فضل و شعر فہم کے پاس داد و تحسین حاصل کر چکی تھی۔ یہ اس بات کی ضمانت ہے کہ یہ کتاب ادبی حلقوں میں متعارف ہوئی اور اس کی خوب پذیرائی ہوئی۔

”سامان تسکین“ کے دونوں ایڈیشنوں میں چوتھا صفحہ ضابطے کی تفصیلات پر محیط ہے، مگر ایک بنیادی نکتہ یہ کہ نہیں معلوم کن وجوہات کی بنا پر صاحب تصنیف نے جملہ حقوق سید فرید احمد نہری سے تبدیل کرتے ہوئے خود اپنے نام کر لیے ہیں۔ مطبع کی تبدیلی کا ذکر بھی کیا گیا ہے۔

پہلے اور دوسرے ایڈیشن، دونوں میں پانچویں صفحے پر انتساب درج ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں محمد ہارون زکی کے نام کا اضافہ کر دیا گیا ہے، ساتھ ہی محبت و حبیب کے سرنامے سے شروع کیا ہے اور آخر میں ”محبت اور دعاؤں کے ساتھ“ کا اضافہ کر دیا گیا ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں چھٹا صفحہ سادہ ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں فہرست ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں ساتویں صفحے پر اَللّٰہُمَّ صَلِّ عَلٰی سَیِّدِنَا

تیرے جیسی نہیں ہے کوئی شے سامنے تیرے عزم میرا ہے



دوسرے ایڈیشن میں الحمد للہ کے نام سے دیباچہ ہے اور شکرِ بے کے کلمات بیان کیے گئے ہیں۔ پہلے ایڈیشن میں صفحہ ۸ پر فہرست درج ہے اور دوسرے ایڈیشن میں دیباچہ جاری ہے۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں صفحہ ۹ سے ۱۴ تک حضور اکرم ﷺ کے بارے میں اللہ رب العزت کے ارشادات درج کیے گئے ہیں۔ یہ اس لیے کیا گیا ہوگا کہ حضور ﷺ کے بارے میں یہ ارشادات ربانی توحید کی طرف متوجہ کرتی ہیں اور حضور ﷺ کو عبد کے مقام سے ہٹا کر معبود بنانے سے روکتی ہیں۔ شاہ صاحب کے ”سامان تسکین“ کے دوسرے ایڈیشن میں حمد و مناجات کا ذخیرہ اچھا خاصا ہے۔ نعتیں سب مردف ہیں اور غزل کے فارم میں مشکل زمینوں میں کہی گئی ہیں۔ ”خیر الانام“ میں قصیدے کا سا انداز پیدا ہو گیا ہے۔ یہ البتہ غیر مردف ہے۔ ”خیر الانام“ کے پہلے حصے میں رسول کے اوصاف حمیدہ بیان کیے گئے ہیں۔ دوسرے حصے میں نئے مطلعے کے ساتھ رسول اللہ سے شاعر کی نسبت کی نوعیت بیان کی گئی ہے، یعنی حضور ﷺ کی نسبت سے اپنی حالت بیان کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ ”رحمت عالم“ کے عنوان سے دوسرے ایڈیشن میں صفحہ ۵۱ پر نعت درج ہے۔ مقرر کی شکل میں یہ نعت فارسی بھی کہی جاسکتی ہے اور اردو بھی۔

”اللہ کے نام سے“ کے دوسرے حصہ میں واضح ترمیم ہے۔

### ایڈیشن دوم

اللہ تیری ہے ثنا  
تو رب سبھی دنیاؤں کا  
تو رحم والا بڑا  
تو مہرباں بے انتہا  
تو مالک روزِ جزا

### ایڈیشن اول

اللہ کی ہی ہے ثنا  
وہ رب سبھی دنیاؤں کا  
وہ رحم والا ہے بڑا  
وہ مہرباں بے انتہا  
وہ مالک روزِ جزا

شاعر نے تبدیلی اس لیے کی ہوگی کہ پہلے مصرعے میں ”اللہ کی ہی ہے ثنا“ میں یہ مفہوم بھی نکالا جاسکتا ہے کہ اللہ کے علاوہ ”نحوذ باللہ“ بھی کوئی اور ہے جس کی شاعر نے توحید کی محور اور اسلامی تقاضے کے تحت ”اللہ! تیری ہی ہے ثنا“ اور ”وہ“ بجائے ”تو“ کا استعمال کیا ہے۔

شاہ صاحب اللہ تعالیٰ کی توحید کے بارے میں بہت حساس ہیں۔ کہیں بھی اللہ رب العزت

کے لیے جمع کا صیغہ استعمال نہیں کیا ہے۔ مخاطبت اللہ جل شانہ سے ہر جگہ ”تو“ کے ساتھ ہے۔ رسول اللہ حضرت محمد مصطفیٰ ﷺ کے لیے کہیں ”آپ“ کے علاوہ مخاطبت ہے یا ذکر ہے تو جمع کے صیغے لائے گئے ہیں۔ غالباً اسی لیے ”یا صاحب الجہال“ والے قطعے کا ترجمہ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں نہیں ہے، کیونکہ اس ترجمے میں پیارے نبی ﷺ کے لیے واحد حاضر کی ضمیر استعمال کی گئی تھی، حالانکہ وہ ترجمہ بہت رواں اور اصل سے انتہائی قریب تھا۔ اس سلسلے میں دورائیں ہو سکتی ہیں، لیکن میں نے جو سمجھا ہے وہ یہی کہ اللہ سبحانہ و تعالیٰ کی شان توحید اور رسول اللہ ﷺ کے ادب کا تقاضا شاہ صاحب نے یہی سمجھا ہے۔

”نورِ حمد“ میں شاہ صاحب نے پہلے شعر کے دوسرے مصرعے کو تبدیل کیا ہے۔ پہلے ایڈیشن میں ہے ”تو پھر میری آنکھوں سے کیوں دور ہے“ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں ہے ”تو دنیا میں آنکھوں سے کیوں دور ہے۔“ یہاں پر شاعر نے ترمیم تو کر دی مگر پہلے ایڈیشن کا مصرع ہی اس خاکسار کی رائے میں اپنی لفظیات میں بہتر تھا۔ دنیا میں اللہ کا نور واضح ہے، یہ ہماری بساط ہے کہ ہم آخر کتنا اس سے لینا چاہتے ہیں یا استفادہ کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔

حقیر ایک بندہ ہوں اللہ میں بھکاری ترا نام کا شاہ میں

”مناجات“ کے عنوان سے اسے پہلے تحریر کیا گیا تھا، بعد کے ایڈیشن میں عنوان کو تبدیل کیا گیا اور ”اے غفور و رحیم“ کے عنوان کے تحت کر دیا گیا، اس لیے کہ شاہ صاحب نے ایک دوسری نظم ”مناجات“ کے عنوان کے تحت شامل کی ہے۔

رب مرے! تجھ سے ہے پختہ میثاق توڑنے پائے نہ منحوس نفاق  
”نعت“ کے عنوان کو تبدیل کرتے ہوئے شاعر نے اسے ”اللہ کے محبوب“ کے عنوان سے درج کیا ہے۔ اس میں شاعر نے دوسرے شعر میں ایک جگہ بہت خوبصورتی سے ”دھل جائے“ کو ”دھلتی“ ہے سے تبدیل کیا ہے، جس کی بلاغت واضح ہے۔ یہ شعر ہے۔

دھلتی ہے زباں کوثر و تنہیم سے مری اب ساقی کوثر کی میں تعریف کروں گا  
”بیغیر حق“ میں بھی شاہ صاحب نے پہلے مصرعے میں ”آقا“ کی بجائے ”ہادی“ کے لفظ کا استعمال کیا ہے، جو زیادہ معنی خیز ہے:

پہلے ایڈیشن میں : ہیں محمد مصطفیٰ ختم الرسل آقا ہمارے



دوسرے ایڈیشن میں : ہیں محمد مصطفیٰ ختم الرسل ہادی ہمارے

”سید انسانیت“ میں چوتھے شعر میں تبدیلی کر دی گئی ہے، مگر میری دانست میں پہلے ایڈیشن کا شعر ہی مناسب و موزوں تھا۔ شاعر نے کیا تبدیلی کی ہے اور ہم معنی کے کس قدر قریب پہنچ سکتے ہیں اس کا جائزہ لیا جائے گا۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں۔

مزے جہاں کے نہ چھوڑیں جو آپ کی خاطر وہ کس زبان سے دعویٰ کریں محبت کا دوسرے ایڈیشن میں۔

چھٹیں زبان کے نہ جن سے مزے، یہاں دعویٰ وہ کس زبان سے کریں آپ سے محبت کا شاعر نے ”جہاں“ کی جگہ ”زبان“ مزے کی مناسب سے لایا ہے کیونکہ آج کل اکثر صرف زبان سے نبی کی محبت کا ”حق“ پختارے کے طور پر استعمال ہو رہا ہے۔ شاعر نے یقیناً بجا طور پر یہ تبدیلی کی ہے، مگر میری رائے میں روانی پہلے ایڈیشن کے شعر ہی میں تھی، کیونکہ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں تعقید ہے۔ روانی سے قطع نظر فکر و نظر کے حوالے سے دوسرے ایڈیشن کا شعر ظاہراً مناسب نظر آتا ہے۔

”سید انسانیت“ کے آخری شعر کی تبدیلی بھی شاہ صاحب کے فکری سرچشمے کی آماجگاہ نظر آتی ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں شعر اس طرح ہے۔

حضور! شاہ غلام آپ کا رہا عاصی امیدوار اٹھا آپ کی شفاعت کا یہ شعر تبدیلی کے بعد اس طرح ہے۔

حضور! شاہ فدا آپ پر مگر عاصی امیدوار اٹھا آپ کی شفاعت کا ”غلام آپ کا“ کے مقابلے میں عقیدت مندی کے حوالے ”فدا آپ پر“ معنوی اور واقعی صورتحال سے زیادہ قریب نظر آ رہا ہے۔ ”خیر القرون“ اور بار انتہائی“ کا عنوان ”خوشبوئے مصطفائی“ کر دیا گیا ہے۔

”آپ کے ساتھ“ کے آخری شعر میں جو تبدیلی کی گئی ہے، وہ اس طرح ہے:

پہلے ایڈیشن میں۔

عرصہ حشر میں گھبرائے پھرے کیوں یہ غلام آپ کے ساتھ رہے شاہ وہاں آپ کے ساتھ

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں۔

عرصہ حشر میں گھبرائے پھرے کیوں یہ حسین آپ کے ساتھ رہے یہ بھی وہاں آپ کے ساتھ اپنا نام ”حسین“ استعمال کر کے حضور سے تعلق خاطر کو اور زیادہ واضح کیا ہے، اس سے معنویت میں بھی اضافہ ہو گیا ہے۔

”حیات آپ کے نام“ کے آخری شعر کے پہلے مصرعے کو تبدیل کر دیا گیا ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں۔

غلام محب آپ کا شاہ میں ہوں

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں۔

فدا کی ہے یہ شاہ بھی آپ ہی کا

یہاں ”فردا کی“ ہے یہ شاہ بھی میں والہانہ محبت کا اظہار زیادہ معنی خیز محسوس ہوتا ہے۔

”سراپائے پر انوار“ کے پہلے شعر کے پہلے مصرعے میں شاعر نے تبدیلی کی ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں۔

احمد کا سراپائے پر انوار دکھا دے

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں۔

اے رب! وہ سراپائے پر انوار دکھا دے

اس تبدیلی کا ایک واضح مقصد یہ بتانا ہے کہ مانگنا، طلب کرنا کسی بھی چیز کا صرف اللہ سے ہے۔ شاعر اب کائنات سے التجا کرتا ہے کہ اے رب وہ سراپائے پر انوار دکھا دے، یعنی تیرے محبوب رسول کا جلوہ جو نور سے مزین ہے، ہمیں دکھا دے۔ ایسا لگتا ہے کہ پہلے محض وزن کی بھرتی کے لیے حضور کا نام استعمال ہوا تھا۔ اب اسے زیادہ بلند بنا دیا گیا ہے۔

”فیض مصطفائی“ میں بھی شاعر نے آخری سے پہلے کے شعر میں ترمیم و تبدیلی کی ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں۔

حبیب رب و رب کن کی الفت اور طاعت سہی غلامان حبیب مکیا کی غلبہ سامانی

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں۔



مطالعہ

حبیب رب ورب کن کی الفت اور طاعت سے حبیب رب کی امت کو غلبہ سامانی یہاں پر دوسرے ایڈیشن کا شعر مطلب میں زیادہ واضح ہو گیا ہے۔

”منقبت صحابہ“ کے دوسرے شعر میں شاعر نے ”خدا“ کے فارسی لفظ کو عربی کے لفظ ”رب“ سے تبدیل کر دیا ہے۔ چونکہ بات صحابہ سے متعلق ہے اس لیے عربی لفظ ”رب“ ہی زیادہ مناسب و موزوں معلوم ہوتا ہے۔

پہلے ایڈیشن میں:

راضی ہوئے خدا سے، ان سے خدا ہے راضی

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں:

راضی ہوئے وہ رب سے، ان سے ہے رب بھی راضی

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں نظم ”قرآن مجید“ کے عنوان کو ”خیر الکلام و خیر الانام“ سے تبدیل کر دیا گیا ہے تو حضور کو قرآن کی عملی تفسیر اور عملی نمونہ جو بنایا گیا ہے، اس کی صراحت اور وضاحت کو عنوان سے ہی ظاہر کر دیا گیا ہے۔

منقبت جدنا سید شاہ محمد علی درویش محبوب اللہ المعروف بہ سید شاہ علی نہریؒ میں ”شاہ علی ولی“ کی جگہ ہر جگہ ”وہ درویش با خدا“ کی تبدیلی کی گئی ہے۔

ایک اور جگہ ترمیم بھی نظر آتی ہے۔ ”خضر“ کی جگہ ”نور“ کا لفظ استعمال کیا گیا ہے۔ ”رہ صواب“ کے حوالے سے ”نور“ کی معنویت ظاہر ہے، دیکھیے:

پہلے ایڈیشن میں۔

خالق کی بخششوں کے لیے رہنمائے خلق خضر رہ صواب وہ شاہ علی ولی

دوسرے ایڈیشن میں۔

خالق کی بخششوں کے لیے رہنمائے خلق نور راہ صواب وہ درویش با خدا

مضمون طویل ہو رہا ہے، اس لیے مختصراً مزید چند باتیں درج ہیں۔ دوسرے ایڈیشن میں شروع کے حصے میں رباعیات کو حذف کر دیا گیا ہے اور حمد رب العزت، حمد الہی، حمد وہ ہے جو رقم دل پر بھی ہو، حمد نام تمام، اے معزز، بر باران کی مجھ کو صورت دے، غلامانِ مصطفیٰ، ختم الرسل آخر نبی، آپ کی

راہ، نعت نبی کریمؐ، ہے کہاں محمدؐ کا دوسرا قدم یارب، چاہتے ہیں مصطفیٰؐ کو، اے رسول خدا، ایک خط عازمین حج کے نام، میں ہوں آپؐ ہی کا، خلفائے راشدینؓ، حضرت حسینؓ ابن علیؓ، قطعہ تاریخ عارف خورشید اور تعارف مرتب کا اضافہ کیا گیا ہے۔

”سامان تسکین“ کا پہلا ایڈیشن اور دوسرا ایڈیشن شاعر کی فکر کے ارتقائی مدارج اور غور و فکر کی راہیں مزید کھولنے والا ہے۔ لگ بھگ دس برس کا عرصہ دونوں ایڈیشنوں میں ہے۔

”سامان تسکین“ کے دوسرے ایڈیشن میں شاعر نے غلو کے شاہیے سے بھی بچنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ اللہ کی جناب میں مانگنے کا جذبہ شاعر کے پاس بدرجہ اتم موجود ہے۔ نعت کہتے ہوئے بھی شاہ صاحب نبیؐ سے اپنی محبت کو والہانہ انداز میں دیکھتے ہیں اور حمد میں منشائے الہی کو سمجھنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں۔

”سامان تسکین“ کی تخلیقات حمد و مناجات اور نعت و منقبت ہی کے تقاضوں کی تکمیل نہیں کرتیں بلکہ شاعرانہ فنکاری کے لحاظ سے بھی بلند مقام رکھتی ہیں۔

شاہ صاحب کی شاعری تاریخ ادب میں سنہری حروفوں میں لکھے جانے کی مستحق ہے۔

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