

INDIAN CONSTITUTION

As Per CBCS Syllabus



Dr. I. S. Vidyasagar



S.S. BHAVIKATTI PRAKASHANA

Main Road, Gulbarga, Phone : 08472-225320



INDIAN CONSTITUTION

*(According to CBCS syllabus 2018 of Gulbarga University,
Kalaburgi for I and II Semester B.A., B.Com., B.Sc., students)*

(OMR Sheet Model)

Dr. I.S. Vidyasagar

Associate Professor and
Head of the Department of Political Science,
Dr. Ambedkar Degree College, Gulbarga



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Syllabus

BA - 2nd Year (Semester - II)

Indian Constitution

Unit I : Indian Constitution

- A. Meaning and Importance of Constitution
- B. Preamble and Salient Features
- C. Amending Procedure of the Indian Constitution

Unit II : Citizen and the Constitution

- A. Citizenship
- B. Fundamental Rights
- C. Fundamental Duties

Unit III : The Union and State Governments

- A. President : Election, Powers and Functions
- B. Prime Minister and Council of Ministers
- C. Parliament
- D. Governor, Chief Minister and Council of Ministers

Essential Readings :

J.C. Johari, Indian Government and Politics

M.V. Pylee, Indian Constitutions

Indian Constitutions -

Vidya Bhushan and Vishnu Bhagwan, Indian Constitutions

D.D. Basu, Indian Constitutions

Indian Constitution

R.C. Agarwal, Indian Government and Politics

Dr. H.M. Rajashekar, Indian Government and Politics

Contents

Unit I : Indian Constitution

Chapter IA : Meaning of the Constiution and its Importance 1-3

Chapter IB : Preamble of the Constitution and Salient Features 4-24

Chapter IC : Amending Procedure the Constitution 25-28

Unit II : Citizen and the Constitution

Chapter 2A : Citizenship 29-36

Chapter 2B : Fundamental Rights 37-49

Chapter 2C : Fundamental Duties of the Citizens 50-54

Unit III : The Union and State Governments

Chapter 3A : Union Executive 55-68

Chapter 3B : Prime Minister of India 69-78

Chapter 3C : The Parliament of India 79-88

Chapter 3D : Governor, Chief Minister and Council of Ministers 89-105

Model Question Paper (OMR Sheet) 106-110



ಭಾರತದ ಸುರಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ (ಸಿ.ಐ.ಸಿ.ಎಸ್. ನೂತನ ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ)

- ಡಾ. ಐ. ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ



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ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - I. ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಅಧ್ಯಯನದ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಕೋನಗಳು

A - ಉದಾರವಾದ B - ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಸ್ವಾದ C - ಗಾಂಧೀವಾದ

ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - II. ಭಾರತದ ಸಂವಿಧಾನ

A - ಪ್ರಮುಖ ಲಕ್ಷಣಗಳು

B - ಮೂಲಭೂತ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು

C - ರಾಜ್ಯ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಕ ತತ್ವಗಳು

ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - III. ಸಾಂಸ್ಥಿಕ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆ

A - ಪ್ರಧಾನಮಂತ್ರಿ - ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳು

B - ಸಂಸತ್ತು, ರಚನೆ, ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳು

C - ನ್ಯಾಯಾಂಗ - ಸರ್ವೋಚ್ಚನ್ಯಾಯಾಲಯ ಮತ್ತು ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠ ನ್ಯಾಯಾಲಯಗಳು

ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - IV. ಭಾರತದ ಅಧಿಕಾರದ ರಚನೆ

A - ಜಾತಿ

B - ವರ್ಗ

C - ಪಿತೃ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವ

ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - V. ಧರ್ಮ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ

A - ಜಾತ್ಯಾತೀತ ಮತ್ತು ಕೋಮುವಾದದ ಚರ್ಚೆಗಳು

B - ಪಕ್ಷಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಕ್ಷಪದ್ಧತಿ

C - ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಒತ್ತಡದ ಗುಂಪುಗಳು

ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ -VI. ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಚಳುವಳಿಗಳು

A - ರೈತ ಚಳುವಳಿಗಳು

B - ಪರಿಸರ ಚಳುವಳಿಗಳು

C - ಮಹಿಳಾ ಚಳುವಳಿಗಳು

Indian Government and Politics

BA - 1st Year (Semester - II)

Unit I Approaches to study of Indian politics :

- A. Liberal
- B. Marxist
- C. Gandhian

Unit II Indian Constitution :

- A. Basic Features
- B. Fundamental Rights
- C. Directive Principles

Unit III Institutional Functioning :

- A. Prime Minister : Powers and Functions
- B. Parliament : Structure, Powers and Functions
- C. Judiciary : Supreme Court and High Courts

Unit IV Power Structure in India:

- A. Caste
- B. Class
- C. Patriarchy

Unit V Religion and Politics:

- A. Debates on Secularism and Communalism
- B. Parties and Party System in India
- C. Role of Pressure Groups in Indian Politics

Unit VI Social Movements :

- A. Peasant Movements
- B. Environmental Movements
- C. Women's Movements

ಪರಿವಿಡಿ

ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - I.	ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಅಧ್ಯಯನದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಕೋನಗಳು	1
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - II.	ಭಾರತದ ಸಂವಿಧಾನ	19
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - III.	ಸಾಂಸ್ಥಿಕ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಚರಣೆ	82
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - IV.	ಭಾರತದ ಅಧಿಕಾರದ ರಚನೆ	136
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ - V.	ಧರ್ಮ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ	155
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ -VI.	ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಚಳುವಳಿಗಳು	225

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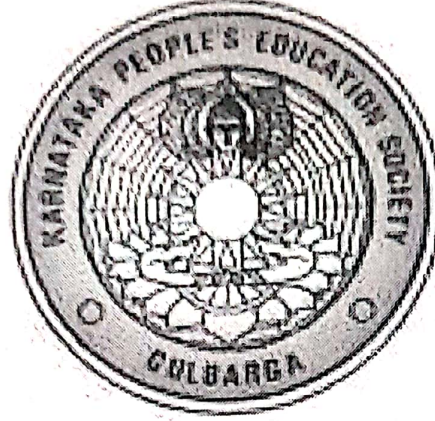
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INDEX

SL. NO	TITLE AND NAME OF THE AUTHER	PAGE NO.
01	DR. B R AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION: RELEVANCE TO THE CONTEMPORARY INDIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM DR. PRANESHSHANTARAM, DR. SHILPA B GAONKAR	01
02	DR. B.R. AMBEDKARS VISION ON SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES DR.ARUNKUMAR B. SALGAR	11
03	DR.B.R. AMBEDKAR'S CONTRIBUTION FOR SOCIAL REFORMS IN INDIA DR.JAGADEVAPPA T. DHARANI	28
04	DR.B.R.AMBEDKAR VIEWS ON EDUCATION MR. NANDA MERWYN DAVID MR. BASAVARAJ SWAMY	43
05	AMBEDKAR'S VIEW ON THE COLLECTIVE FARMING SYSTEM DR. THIPPESWAMY S	54
06	DR B R AMBEDKAR AND WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA DR. GEETA ANNEPPA	64
07	AROLE OF DR.B.R.AMBEDKAR CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA. JAGANNATHBADIGER	72
08	DR.B.R.AMBEDKAS VIEW ON EDUCATION SYSTEM DR.MANJULABHOVI	83
09	A STUDY OF DR. AMBEDKAR'S VISION FOR GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN MPOWERMENT WITH REFERENCE TO THE NOVELS OF SHASHI DESHPANDE. MARY MATHEWS	95
10	DR. B. R AMBEDKAR AND HIS THOUGHT ON SOCIALISM IN INDIA DR. SUNILKUMAR KAMBLE	108

11	DR. BABASAHAH AMBEDKAR AND DEMOCRACY DR. S. CHANDRASHEKHAR,	123
12	BUDDHISM, DEMOCRACY AND DR. AMBEDKAR. THE BUILDING OF INDIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY RAMESH G. JABNOOR.	134
13	ROLE OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR TOWARDS WOMEN EMPOWERMENT: A STUDY DR. KAILASPATHI.	141
14	ಅರ್ಥವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿ.ಆರ್. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಅವರ ವಿಚಾರಗಳು ಡಾ. ರಾಜೇಶ್ವರಿ ಎಸ್. ಪಾಟೀಲ	153
15	ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಸಂಘಟನೆ ಹೋರಾಟ- ಒಂದು ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆ ಪ್ರೊ. ರಾಜಕುಮಾರ ಎಂ. ಸಿಂಧೆ	165
16	ಡಾ. ಬಿ.ಆರ್. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar) ಅವರ ಪ್ರಮುಖ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ವಿಚಾರಧಾರೆಗಳು ಡಾ ಕರುಣಾ.. ಎನ್. ತಂಬಾಕೆ	172
17	ಡಾ ಬಿ.ಆರ್. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಮತ್ತು ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಗಳು ಡಾ. ನಾಗೀಣಿ ಶಿವಶರಣಪ್ಪ	183
18	ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಅವರ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ತ್ರೀವಾದ ಡಾ. ಶಿವಗಂಗಾ ಯು. ಬಿಲಗುಂದಿ	190
19	ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಚಿಂತಕರು: ಡಾ. ಬಿ. ಆರ್. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ್. ಸುನಿತಾ ಪಿ. ಮುಲಗೆ	199
20	ಡಾ ಬಿ.ಆರ್. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಮತ್ತು ಮಹಿಳಾ ಸಬಲೀಕರಣ ಪ್ರೊ. ರೇಣುಕಾಬಾಯಿ	207
21	ಡಾ. ಬಿ. ಆರ್. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಮತ್ತು ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಗಳು ಶ್ರೀಮತಿ ಡಾ. ಅರುಣಾಸಿ. ತಂಬಾಕೆ	216
22	ಕೃಷಿ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ಮತ್ತು ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಡಾ. ಕರುಣಾ. ಅ. ಜಮದರಖಾನಿ	225
23	ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಅವರ ಪ್ರತಿಭಟನೆಯ ನೆಲೆಗಳು : ಒಂದು ನೋಟ ಮನೋಜಕುಮಾರ್ ಎಸ್.	232

Buddhism, Democracy and Dr. Ambedkar

The Building of Indian National Identity

JAMESH G. JANOOR

Abstract :

Today, people feel that democratic values are in danger and so is the nation under threat. Across nations we find different systems of government which fundamentally take care of what lies in their geographical boundaries and the human lives living within it. The question is not about what the common-man feels and how they exercise, but it is about their liberty and representation. There are various forms of government such as Monarchy, Republic, Unitary State, Feudalism, Communism, Socialism, Fascism, Democracy, Federalism, Socialism, Producers (Slavery), Dictatorship, Meritocracy, Federal Republic, Republic Democracy, Socialism, Anarchy and Democracy. The history of India is about ten thousand years and India is one of the oldest civilisations. The democratic system established the fundamental rights of human beings. Democracy also takes care of their representation and their voice. The rise of Buddhism in India paved the way for human liberty and their suppression from monarchic and monarchy. The teachings of Buddha directly and indirectly strengthen the democratic values in Indian subcontinent. The rise of Dr. Ambedkar in the socio-political stage of this nation granted the suppressed needs and gave a new hope to them for equality and equity. India got independence in the year 1947 and became one of the democratic nations. The new value system gave equal opportunities to all Indians despite of their gender, caste or religion.

LEADERMAN, DR. AMBEDKAR DEGREE COLLEGE,
KALABURGI

The present paper discusses the rise of Buddhism and the democratic values present in Buddhism. It also discusses the efforts of Dr. Ambedkar in establishing democratic system in India. It also encompasses the result generated through religion of the Buddha and Dr. Ambedkar to restore the democratic structure again in India.

Introduction :

Human beings have developed culture and religion and thus are different from other organisms. Religion is as old as our understanding to grow together in groups. We started our race in groups and then gradually we developed various methods, rules and regulations which could govern those groups. So we can say that the social bodies or the governing bodies are older than religious rites or norms.

Buddhism is a religion and dharma that encompasses a variety of traditions, beliefs and spiritual practices largely based on original teachings attributed to the Buddha and resulting interpreted philosophies. Buddhism originated in Ancient India sometime between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, from where it spread through much of Asia, whereafter it declined in India during the Middle Ages. Two major extant branches of Buddhism are generally recognized by scholars : Theravada (Pali: "The School of the Elders") and Mahayana (Sanskrit: "The Great Vehicle"). Buddhism is the world's fourth-largest religion, with over 520 million followers or over 7% of the global population, known as Buddhists.

The Rise and Development of Buddhism :

Buddhism is an Indian religion attributed to the teachings of the Buddha, supposedly born Siddhartha Gautama, and also known as the Tathagata ("thus -gone") and Sakyamuni ("sage of the Sakyas"). The details of Buddha's life are mentioned in many Early Buddhist Texts but are inconsistent, and his social background and life details are difficult to prove, the precise dates uncertain. The evidence of the early texts suggests that he was born as Siddhartha

Gautama in Lumbini and grew up in Kapilavasthu, a town in the plains region of the modern Nepal-India border, and there he spent his life in what is now modern Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Some of the stories about Buddha, his life, his teachings, and claims about the society he grew up in may have been invented and interpolated at a later time into the Buddhist texts. Dhamek Stupa shrine in Sarnath, India, built by Ashoka where the Buddha gave his first sermon.

According to the Buddhist sutras, Gautama was moved by the innate suffering of humanity and its endless repetition due to rebirth. He set out on a quest to end this repeated suffering. Early Buddhist canonical texts and early biographies of Gautama state that Gautama first studied under Vedic teachers, namely Alara Kalama (Sanskrit: Arada Kalama) and Uddaka Ramaputta (Sanskrit: Udraka Ramaputra), learning meditation and ancient philosophies, particularly the concept of "nothingness, emptiness" from the former, and "what is neither seen nor unseen" from the latter. Finding these teachings to be insufficient to attain his goal, he turned to the practice of asceticism. This too fell short of attaining his goal, and then he turned to the practice of dhyana, meditation, which he had already discovered in his youth. He famously sat in meditation under a Ficus religiosa tree now called the Bodhi Tree in the town of Bodhi Gaya in the Gangetic plains region of South Asia. He gained insight into the workings of karma and his former lives, and attained enlightenment, certainty about the Middle Way as the right path of spiritual practice to end suffering (dukkha) from rebirths in Samsara. As a fully enlightened Buddha, he attracted followers and founded a Sangha (monastic order). Now, as the Buddha, he spent the rest of his life teaching the Dharma he had discovered, and died at the age of 80 in Kushinagar, India.

The history of Indian Buddhism may be divided into five periods; Early Buddhism (occasionally called pre-sectarian Buddhism), Nikaya Buddhism or Sectarian Buddhism: Mahayana period of the early Buddhist schools, Early

Buddhism, later Mahayana Buddhism, and Vajrayana Buddhism.

Buddhism may have spread only slowly in India until the time of the Mauryan emperor Ashoka, who was a public supporter of the religion. The support of Ashoka and his descendants led to the construction of more stupas (Buddhist religious memorials) and to efforts to spread Buddhism throughout the enlarged Maurya empire and into neighbouring lands such as Central Asia, beyond the Mauryas' northwest border, and to the island of Sri Lanka south of India. These two missions, in opposite directions, would ultimately lead, in the first case to the spread of Buddhism into China, and in the second case, to the emergence of Theravada Buddhism and its spread from Sri Lanka to the coastal lands of Southeast Asia.

The Rise and Development of Democracy :

Democracy, in modern usage, is a system of government in which the citizens exercise power directly or elect representatives from among themselves to form a governing body, such as a parliament. Democracy is sometimes referred to as "rule of the majority". Democracy is a system of processing conflicts in which outcomes depend on what participants do, but no single force controls what occurs and its outcomes.

The term appeared in the 5th century BC, to denote the political systems then existing in Greek city-states, notably Athens, to mean "rule of the people", in contrast to aristocracy, meaning "rule of an elite". While theoretically these definitions are in opposition, in practice the distinction has been blurred historically. The political system of Classical Athens, for example, granted democratic citizenship to free men and excluded slaves and women from political participation. In virtually all democratic governments throughout ancient and modern history, democratic citizenship consisted of an elite class until full enfranchisement was won for all adult citizens in most modern democracies through the suffrage movements of

the 19th and 20th centuries. Democracy contrasts with forms of government where power is either held by an individual, as in an absolute monarchy, or where power is held by a small number of individuals, as in an oligarchy. Nevertheless, these oppositions, inherited from Greek philosophy, are now ambiguous because contemporary governments have mixed democratic, oligarchic, and monarchic elements. Karl Popper defined democracy in contrast to dictatorship or tyranny, thus focusing on opportunities for the people to control their leaders and to oust them without the need for a revolution.

The Rise of Ambedkar and his doctrine :

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (14 April 1891 – 6 December 1956), popularly known as Babasaheb, was an Indian jurist, economist, politician and social reformer who inspired the Dalit Buddhist movement and campaigned against social discrimination against Untouchables (Dalits), while also supporting the rights of women and labour. He was Independent India's first law minister, the principal architect of the Constitution of India and a founding father of the Republic of India. Ambedkar was a prolific student, earning doctorates in economics from both Columbia University and the London School of Economics, and gained a reputation as a scholar for his research in law, economics and political science. In his early career he was an economist, professor, and lawyer. His later life was marked by his political activities; he became involved in campaigning and negotiations for India's independence, publishing journals, advocating political rights and social freedom for Dalits, and contributing significantly to the establishment of the state of India. In 1956 he converted to Buddhism, initiating mass conversions of Dalits. In 1990, the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, was posthumously conferred upon Ambedkar. Ambedkar's legacy includes numerous memorials and depictions in popular culture.

Around 1950, he devoted his attention to Buddhism and

travelled to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) to attend a meeting of the World Fellowship of Buddhists. While dedicating a new Buddhist vihara near Pune, Ambedkar announced he was writing a book on Buddhism, and that when it was finished, he would formally convert to Buddhism. He twice visited Burma in 1954; the second time to attend the third conference of the World Fellowship of Buddhists in Rangoon. In 1955, he founded the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha, or the Buddhist Society of India. He completed his final work, *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, in 1956 which was published posthumously. After meetings with the Sri Lankan Buddhist monk Hammalawa Saddhatissa, Ambedkar organised a formal public ceremony for himself and his supporters in Nagpur on 14 October 1956. Accepting the Three Refuges and Five Precepts from a Buddhist monk in the traditional manner, Ambedkar completed his own conversion, along with his wife. He then proceeded to convert some 500,000 of his supporters who were gathered around him. He prescribed the 22 Vows for these converts, after the Three Jewels and Five Precepts. He then travelled to Kathmandu, Nepal to attend the Fourth World Buddhist Conference. His work on *The Buddha or Karl Marx and "Revolution and counter-revolution in ancient India"* remained incomplete.

Conclusion : Dr. Ambedkar was asked to write a message for journal Harijan by Gandhiji, and a statement was sent to him stating,

If this doctrine of utmost superiority and utmost inferiority, descending from father to son eternity, is an integral part of Hinduism...then I no more want to belong to it than does Dr. Ambedkar. But....there is no superiority or inferiority in the Hinduism of my conception.

Dr. Ambedkar was a staunch advocate of equality and democratic values. His vision of the untouchables and women was different from his contemporaries. In the democratic structure, all the stake holders play very vital and equal part and so Dr. Ambedkar argued,

the right of representation and the important the untouchables they...
the State are the untouchables in a few personal
ownership, but beyond insignificant before law is the
of citizenship far such and equally interests of be
purs these personal security, these are seen they truly
do not even personal security, these are seen they truly
they and personal security, these are seen they truly
they assured And as untouchables and more also find the
always assured And as untouchables and more also find the
untouchables by the interests that we must are their
represented by their own interests which are their
distinctively their own grievances which are their
voice them... Hence it is evident that we must are their
untouchables to represent their grievances which are their
interests and, secondly, we must find them in such numbers
as will constitute a force sufficient to claim redress.
At times, we may feel democracy is a western creation and
thus, Ambedkar imported it to this sub-continent. His
creation, The Indian Constitution is the product of his
encounters with the western thinkers and philosophers of
Democracy. He rejected Hinduism just because of the social
evil of caste system prevailing in it since centuries. Caste
based system led to inequality in the society, whereas
equality was inherent in Buddhism. Thus, to conclude these
two different entities submerged into one and are
responsible for the establishment of democratic values in
Indian society. One religion and an individual sow the roots
of this value system in the minds of common man of India
and the fruits are sweeter than thought. India is World's
largest democracy.

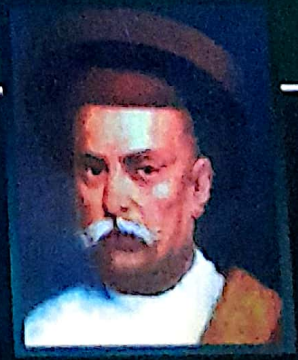
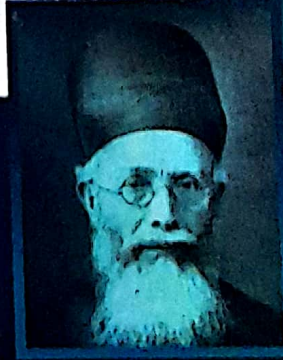
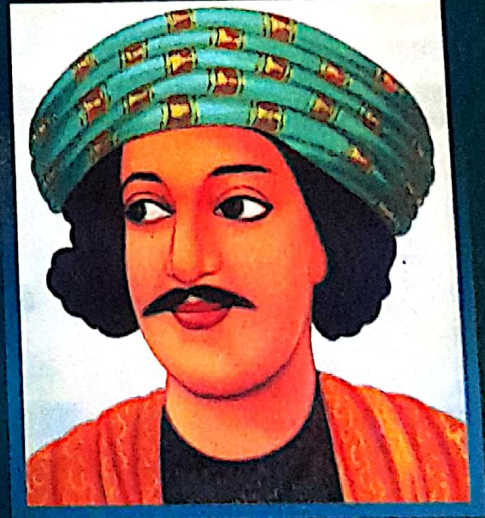
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ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಚಿಂತನೆ

(ಗುಲಬರ್ಗಾ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ನೂತನ ಸಿ.ಐ.ಸಿ.ಎಸ್. ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ
ಬಿ.ಎ. 5ನೇ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್ ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ ರಚಿಸಿದ ಕೃತಿ
ಎಂ.ಎ. ಮತ್ತು ಸ್ವರ್ಧಾತ್ಮಕ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಗೂ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತವಾದ ಕೃತಿ)

- ಡಾ. ಐ. ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ



ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಚಿಂತನೆ

(INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT)

(ಗುಲಬರ್ಗಾ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ನೂತನ CBCS ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ
ಬಿ.ಎ. V ನೇ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್ ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ ರಚಿಸಿದ ಕೃತಿ,
ಎಂ.ಎ. ಮತ್ತು ಸ್ಪರ್ಧಾತ್ಮಕ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಗೂ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತವಾದ ಕೃತಿ.)

ಲೇಖಕರು

ಡಾ. ಐ. ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ್

ಎಂ.ಎ., ಎಲ್.ಎಲ್.ಬಿ., ಎಂ.ಫಿಲ್., ಪಿಎಚ್.ಡಿ.

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-by Dr. I. S. Vidyasagar M.A., LL.B., M.Phil., Ph.D.

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ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಚಿಂತನೆ ಪರಿವಿಡಿ

- ಘಟಕ-1** ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಚಿಂತನೆಯ ಪರಂಪರೆ 1-37
- A- ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಭಾರತದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಚಿಂತನೆಯ ಮೂಲಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಲಕ್ಷಣಗಳು.
- B- ಮನುವಿನ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಕಾನೂನು ಮತ್ತು ಕೌಟಿಲ್ಯನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ.
- ಘಟಕ-2** ಪುನರುಜ್ಜೀವನದ ಚಿಂತನೆ 38-61
- A- ರಾಜಾರಾಮ ಮೋಹನರಾಯ-ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಸುಧಾರಣೆ.
- B- ಪಂಡಿತಾ ರಮಾಬಾಯಿ-ಲಿಂಗತ್ವದ ಚಿಂತನೆ.
- ಘಟಕ-3** ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯತೆಯ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದ ಕಾಲ 62-85
- A- ದಾದಾಬಾಯಿ ನವರೋಜಿ; ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಸೋರಿಕೆ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ ಮತ್ತು ಬಡತನ
- B- ರಾನಡೆ ಎಂ.ಜಿ. ರಾಜ್ಯ ಪಾತ್ರ ಮತ್ತು ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸುಧಾರಣೆ
- ಘಟಕ-4** ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯವಾದ 86-107
- A- ವಿ. ಡಿ. ಸಾವರಕರ್ ; ಹಿಂದುತ್ವ ಅಥವಾ ಹಿಂದೂ ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯತೆ
- B- ಮಹದ್ ಇಕ್ಬಾಲ್ ; ಇಸ್ಲಾಂ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯವಾದ
- ಘಟಕ-5** ಉದಾರೀಕರಣದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಚಿಂತನೆ 108-130
- A- ಮೋಹನದಾಸ ಕರಮಚಂದ ಗಾಂಧಿ ; ಅಹಿಂಸಾ ಮತ್ತು ಸತ್ಯಾಗ್ರಹ
- B- ಜವಾಹರಲಾಲ್ ನೆಹರೂ ; ಪ್ರಜಾಸತ್ತಾತ್ಮಕ ಸಮಾಜವಾದ ಮತ್ತು ಜಾತ್ಯಾತೀತ.
- ಘಟಕ-6** ಪ್ರಜಾಪ್ರಭುತ್ವದ ಸಮಾನತೆಯ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಕರು 131-162
- A- ಮಹಾತ್ಮ ಜ್ಯೋತಿಬಾ ಫುಲೆ; ಸತ್ಯಶೋಧಕ ಸಮಾಜ ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ನ್ಯಾಯತತ್ವ
- B- ಡಾ|| ಬಿ. ಆರ್. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ್-ಜಾತಿ ವಿನಾಶ.

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Indian Political Thought

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 A) Sources and features of Ancient Indian Political Thought.
 B) Manu ; Social laws and Kautilya on Theory of the State.
- Unit-II Renaissance Thought**
 A) Rajaram Mohan Roy ; Religious and Social Reform.
 B) Pandita Ramabai ; Gender.
- Unit-III Early Nationalism**
 A) Dadabai Naoroji ; Drain Theory and Poverty.
 B) Ranade M.G. ; The Role of the state and Religious Reform.
- Unit-IV Religious Nationalism**
 A) Savarka V.D. : Hindutva or Hindu Cultural Nationalism.
 B) Mohamad Iqbal ; Islamic Communitarian Nationalism.
- Unit-V Liberal Political Thought**
 A) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi–Ahimsa, Satyagraha
 B) Jawaharlal Nehru–Democratic Socialism, Secularism
- Unit-VI Social Reformers**
 A) Mahatma Jyotiba Phule–Satyashodhak Samaj & Social justice..
 B) Dr. Ambedkar B. R – Annihilation of Caste Systme.

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- 2) Bidyut Chakrabarthy and Rajendra Kumar Pandey., (2009) Modern Indian Political Thought, Sage, New Delhi.
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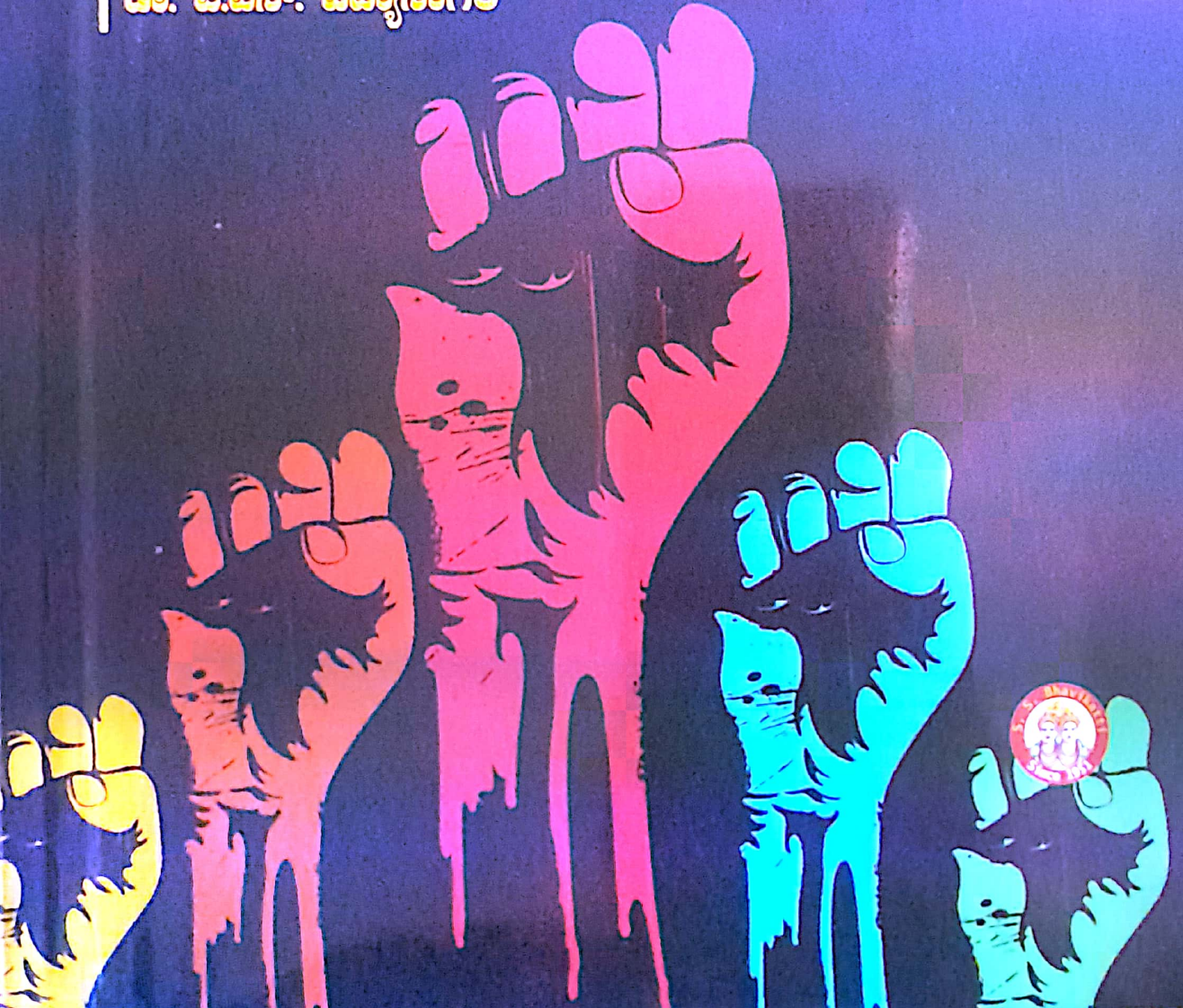
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ಲೇಖಕರು

ಡಾ. ಐ. ಎಸ್ ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ

ಎಂ.ಎ., ಎಲ್.ಎಲ್.ಬಿ., ಎಂ.ಫಿಲ್., ಪಿಎಚ್.ಡಿ.

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ಡಾ. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಪದವಿ ಮತ್ತು ಪಿ.ಜಿ. ಸೆಂಟರ್, ಕಲಬುರಗಿ

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ಪರಿವಿಡಿ

ಘಟಕ-I

- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-1 ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕಿನ ಅರ್ಥ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಮಹತ್ವ 1
- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-2 ಮೊದಲ ತಲೆಮಾರಿನ ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಅಥವಾ ನಾಗರೀಕ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು 14
- ಎರಡನೇ ತಲೆಮಾರಿನ ನಾಗರೀಕ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಅಥವಾ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ, ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು. ಮೂರನೇ ತಲೆಮಾರಿನ ನಾಗರೀಕ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಅಥವಾ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು
- ನಾಲ್ಕನೇ ತಲೆಮಾರಿನ ನಾಗರೀಕ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಅಥವಾ ತಾಂತ್ರಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಮತ್ತು ಮಾಹಿತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಪರ್ಕ ಜ್ಞಾನದ, ಸೈಬರ ಸ್ಪೇಸದ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು.
- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-3 ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳ ಘೋಷಣೆ. 22

ಘಟಕ-II

- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-4 ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ನಾಗರೀಕತ್ವದ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು ಭಾರತದ ನಾಗರೀಕರ ಮೂಲಭೂತ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು 30
- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-5 1. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳ ಆಯೋಗ, 54
- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-6 2. ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳ ಆಯೋಗ 63

ಘಟಕ-III

- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-7 ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಆಯೋಗಗಳು 68
- 1) ಪರಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ಜಾತಿ ಆಯೋಗ, 2) ಪರಿಶಿಷ್ಟ ಪಂಗಡಗಳ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಆಯೋಗ, 3) ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಮಹಿಳಾ ಆಯೋಗ 4) ಅಲ್ಪಸಂಖ್ಯಾತರ ಆಯೋಗ.
- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-8 ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯ ಪ್ರಮುಖ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳು 82
- 1) ಮಹಿಳೆ ಮತ್ತು ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು 2) ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು, 3) ದಲಿತರು ಮತ್ತು ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು, 4) ಅಲ್ಪಸಂಖ್ಯಾತರು ಮತ್ತು ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು, 5) ಮಾನವನ ಕಳ್ಳಸಾಗಾಣಿಕೆ ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕಿನ ಉಲ್ಲಂಘನೆ, 6) ಬಾಲಕಾರ್ಮಿಕರು ಮತ್ತು ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು, 7) ಜೀತ ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕರ ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕುಗಳು.
- ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ-9 ಮಾನವ ಹಕ್ಕಿನ ಸವಾಲುಗಳು 108

HUMAN RIGHTS Open Elective OE-1

Course Title : Human Rights

Total Contact Hours : 45	Course Credits : 3
No. of Teaching Hours/Week : 3	Duration of ESA /Exam : 3 Hour
F.A. Marks : 30	S.A. Marks : 70+30=100

Course Objectives : This course aims to introduce the student to basic concepts and practices of Human Rights in the global and local domain. This course also exposes them to certain recent issues confronting the Human Rights Debates.

Learning Outcomes :

After completing this course students will be able to

- Explain the basic concept of Human Rights and its various formulations.
- Have necessary knowledge and skills for analyzing, interpreting, and applying the Human Rights standards and sensitize them to the issues.
- Develop ability to critically analyse Human Rights situations around them.

Unit-I : Contents of Course – OE-1 45 Hours

Chapter-1 : Meaning, nature, scope and Classification of Human Rights

Chapter-2 : The Human Rights of First generation (Civil and Political Rights). Second generation (Economic, Social and Cultural Rights). Third generation (Collective Rights) and Fourth generation (Subjective Rights)

Chapter-3 : Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UNIT-II

- Chapter-4 : Human Rights and Fundamental Rights. Fundamental Rights and Fundamental Duties in India.
- Chapter-5 : National Human Rights Commission (NHRC)
Composition and its function
- Chapter-6 : Karnataka State Human Rights Commissions (KSHRCs)-Composition and its functions

UNIT-III

- Chapter-7 : National Commission and Committees for SCs/STs. Minorities' Commission. Women' Commission.
- Chapter-8 : Major issues and concerns of Human Rights Discrimination and violation of rights of women, children. Dalits and Minorities. Trafficking, Child Labour and Bonded Labour.
- Chapter-9 : Challenges to Human Rights.

Exercise :

- Group Discussion on Human Rights and its types (comparison of Western and Eastern concept of Human Rights).
- Students can be asked to do collage making and present the same.
- Find out the different types of complaints received by NHRC and bring out the end results on any one of such case.
- In order to make it more participatory learning, the students are required to visit the website of NHRC (www.nhrc.nic.in). Where in at the left-hand side, a link is provided to the 'instructions. After going through the guidelines issued by NHRC's. briefly explain the guidelines on – Custodial death/rape. Encounter death. and Guidelines on arrest.

ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಸ್ತವ BASIC CONCEPTS OF ಮೂಲ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆಗಳು POLITICAL SCIENCE

ಸೂತನ NEP / ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ
ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯಗಳ ಬಿ.ಎ. ಪ್ರಥಮ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್ ತರಗತಿಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ



ಡಾ. ಐ.ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ



ಪಠ್ಯಪುಸ್ತಕ

ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ಮೂಲ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆಗಳು BASIC CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

(ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ನೂತನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ (NEP) ಯ 2021-22ರ
ಬಿ.ಎ. ಪ್ರಥಮ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್ ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ ರಚಿಸಿದ ಕೃತಿ)

ಡಾ. ಐ.ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ

ಎಂ.ಎ., ಎಲ್.ಎಲ್.ಬಿ., ಎಂ.ಫಿಲ್., ಪಿಎಚ್.ಡಿ.

ನಿವೃತ್ತ ಪ್ರಾಂಶುಪಾಲರು

ಡಾ. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ್ ಪದವಿ ಮಹಾವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ, ಕಲಬುರ್ಗಿ

ಎಸ್.ಎಸ್. ಭಾವಿಕಟ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರಕಾಶನ
ಪುಸ್ತಕ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಿಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಕಾಶಕರು
ಮುಖ್ಯ ರಸ್ತೆ, ಕಲಬುರ್ಗಿ - 585 101



ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ಮೂಲ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆಗಳು

ಲೇಖಕರು : ಡಾ. ಐ.ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ

ಪ್ರಕಾಶಕರು : ಎಸ್.ಎಸ್. ಭಾವಿಕಟ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರಕಾಶನ
ಪುಸ್ತಕ ಮಾರಾಟಗಾರರು,
ಮುಖ್ಯ ರಸ್ತೆ, ಕಲಬುರ್ಗಿ
Ph : 225320, Cell : 9341393999

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ಪ್ರತಿಗಳು : 1000

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ವ್ಯಕ್ತಕದ ಅಳತೆ : 1/8 ಚೆಮ್ಮಿ

ಡಿ.ಟಿ.ಪಿ.

ಮೈಸೂರು


ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ



ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮ

ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ	ವಿಷಯ ಮತ್ತು	ಅಧ್ಯಯನದ ಅವಧಿ
ಯುನಿಟ್ - I		
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 1	ರಾಜಕೀಯದ ಅರ್ಥ, ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ಸ್ವರೂಪ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಮಹತ್ವ : ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ಅಧ್ಯಯನದ ವಿಧಾನಗಳು : ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯ ಹೊರಹೊಮ್ಮುವಿಕೆ	15 ಗಂಟೆಗಳ ಅವಧಿ
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 2	ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಅರ್ಥ, ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನಗಳು, ಮೂಲಗಳು : ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಸರ್ಕಾರ, ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಸಮಾಜ, ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಘಟನೆಯ ನಡುವಿನ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸಗಳು : ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಉದಯ, ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಗಳು, ಆದರ್ಶವಾದ, ಉದಾರವಾದ, ನವ-ಉದಾರವಾದ, ಮಾರ್ಕ್ಸವಾದ, ಗಾಂಧೀವಾದ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಗಳು	
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 3	ನಾಗರಿಕ ಸಮಾಜ, ಅರ್ಥ ಮತ್ತು ಮಹತ್ವ	
ಯುನಿಟ್ - II		
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 4	ಪರಮಾಧಿಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಕಾನೂನಿನ ಅರ್ಥ ಮತ್ತು ಲಕ್ಷಣಗಳು	15
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 5	ಪರಮಾಧಿಕಾರದ ಬಗೆಗಳು; ಆಸ್ಟಿನ್‌ನ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆಗಳು, ಪರಮಾಧಿಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ಬಹುತ್ವವಾದಿಗಳ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ	ಗಂಟೆಗಳ ಅವಧಿ
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 6	ಪರಮಾಧಿಕಾರದ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಗಳು : ಏಕತಾ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ ಬಹುತ್ವ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ, ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ ಮತ್ತು ತಾತ್ವಿಕ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತ : ಜಾಗತೀಕರಣದ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಪರಮಾಧಿಕಾರದ ಸವಾಲುಗಳು	

ಯುನಿಟ್ - III		
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 7	ನ್ಯಾಯ : ಅರ್ಥ ಮತ್ತು ಬಗೆಗಳು (ಸಕಾರಾತ್ಮಕ ಮತ್ತು ನಕಾರಾತ್ಮಕ ನ್ಯಾಯ)	15 ಗಂಟೆಗಳು
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 8	ಸಮಾನತೆ : ಅರ್ಥ ಮತ್ತು ಬಗೆಗಳು (ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ, ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಕೀಯ)	ಅವಧಿ
ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ 9	ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಮತ್ತು ನ್ಯಾಯ : ಅರ್ಥ ಮತ್ತು ಬಗೆಗಳು : ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಬಾಧ್ಯತೆಗಳು, ಸ್ವರೂಪ ಮತ್ತು ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಗಳು	

ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳು :

1. ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಆಧುನಿಕ ಮೂಲಗಳನ್ನು ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಮಾಡುವುದು.
2. ಸಮಾನತೆಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ವಿವಿಧ ದೇಶಗಳ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪಟ್ಟಿ ಮಾಡುವುದು.
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END

CONTENTS

Basic Concepts in Political Science

Course Objective :

Develop an understanding about the nature and philosophy of Political Science and interface with society. Enable the students to develop qualities of responsible and active citizens in a democracy.

Learning Outcome :

At the end of the course the students shall understand-

- Political Science, theoretically and will gain knowledge to explain and analyze politics at large.
- The dynamics of politics.
- To inculcate the democratic spirit.

Unit	Contents of Course-1	45 Hrs.
	Unit - I	
Chapter 1	Meaning of Politics, Nature, Scope and Importance of Political Science. Approaches to the study of Political Science, Emergence of the idea of Political Domain.	15 Hours
Chapter 2	Meaning, Definitions and Elements of State. Difference between State and Government, State and Society, State and Association, Origin of State, Theories of State-Idealist Theory, Liberal, Neo-liberal Theory, Marxist and Gandhian Theory of State.	
Chapter 3	Civil Society - Meaning and Importance	

Unit - II

Chapter 4	Emergence, Meaning and Characteristics of Sovereignty and Law
Chapter 5	Kinds of Sovereignty : Austin's Concept of Sovereignty and Pluralistic Critique
Chapter 6	Theories of Sovereignty - Monistic, Pluralistic, Historical, Philosophical, Challenges to the State Sovereignty in the age of Globalization

15 Hours

Unit - III

Chapter 7	Liberty : Meaning and Kinds : Positive and Negative
Chapter 8	Equality : Meaning and Kinds (Social, Economic and Political)
Chapter 9	Power and Justice : Meaning and Kinds, Political Obligation : Nature and Theories

15 Hours

Exercise :

1. List out the modern elements of State.
2. List out the countries and identify the issues related to equality.
3. Identify an issue and discuss the role of civil society.

END

ಅಂತರರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಸಂಬಂಧಗಳ ಪರಿಚಯ

ಗುಲಬರ್ಗಾ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ನೂತನ ಸಿ.ಬಿ.ಸಿ.ಎಸ್. ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ
ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ 4ನೇ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ ರಚಿಸಿದ ಕೃತಿ ಮತ್ತು
ಸ್ವರ್ಧಾತ್ಮಕ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ ಬರೆಯುವ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೂ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತ ಪುಸ್ತಕ

- ಡಾ. ಐ. ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ



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(INTRODUCTION TO
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

ಗುಲಬರ್ಗಾ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ನೂತನ CBCS ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ
ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ IV ನೇ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ ರಚಿಸಿದ ಕೃತಿ ಮತ್ತು
ಸ್ಪರ್ಧಾತ್ಮಕ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ ಬರೆಯುವ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೂ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತ ಪುಸ್ತಕ

ಡಾ. ಐ. ಎಸ್. ವಿದ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ

M.A., LLB., M.Phil., Ph.D.

ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಮುಖ್ಯಸ್ಥರು,

ಡಾ. ಅಂಬೇಡ್ಕರ ಕಲಾ ಮತ್ತು ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಮಹಾವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ,
ಕಲಬುರಗಿ



ಎಸ್. ಎಸ್. ಭಾವಿಕಟ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರಕಾಶನ

ಪುಸ್ತಕ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಿಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಕಾಶಕರು

ಮುಖ್ಯ ರಸ್ತೆ, ಕಲಬುರಗಿ-585 101 ಫೋನ್ : 225320

ಅಂತರರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಸಂಬಂಧಗಳ ಪರಿಚಯ
 INTRODUCTION INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS- Political Science
 for IVth Semester Students - by Dr. I. S. Vidyasagar

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Paper-IV-Introduction to International Relations.

Course Objective : This Course is designed to give students a sense of some important theoretical approaches to understand international relations, history from 1945 onwards to the present, and an outline of the evolution of Indian foreign policy since independence and its possible future trajectory.

Unit-I Approaches to International Relations

- A – Classical Realism (Hans Morgenthau) and Neo-Realism (Kenneth Waltz)
- B – Neo-Liberalism : Complex Interdependence (Robert O. Keohane and Joseph Nye)
- C – Structural Approaches : World Systems Approach (Immanuel Wallerstein) and Dependency School (Andre Gunder Frank)
- D – Feminist Perspective (J. Ann Tickner)

Unit-II Cold War & Post-Cold War Era

- A – Second World War & Origins Cold War
- B – Phases of Cold world, War ; First Cold War, Rise and Fall of Detente and Second Cold War end of Cold War and Collapse of the Soviet Union.
- C – Post Cold-War Era and Emerging Centers of Power (European Union, China, Russia and Japan)

Unit-III India's Foreign Policy

- A – Basic Determinants (Historical, Geo-Political, Economic, Domestic and Strategic)
- B – India's Policy on Non-alignment
- C – India : An Emerging Power

Unit-IV International Organisations

- A – United Nations : Structure and Role

B – Need for reforms

- C – Regional Organisation : EU, ASEAN, SAARC, BRIC

Unit-V Structural Aspects

- A – Balance of Power-Meaning, Methods and Techniques.
- B – Collective Security-Meaning, Nature and Scope.
- C – Arms Control-Meaning, Nature and Provisions.

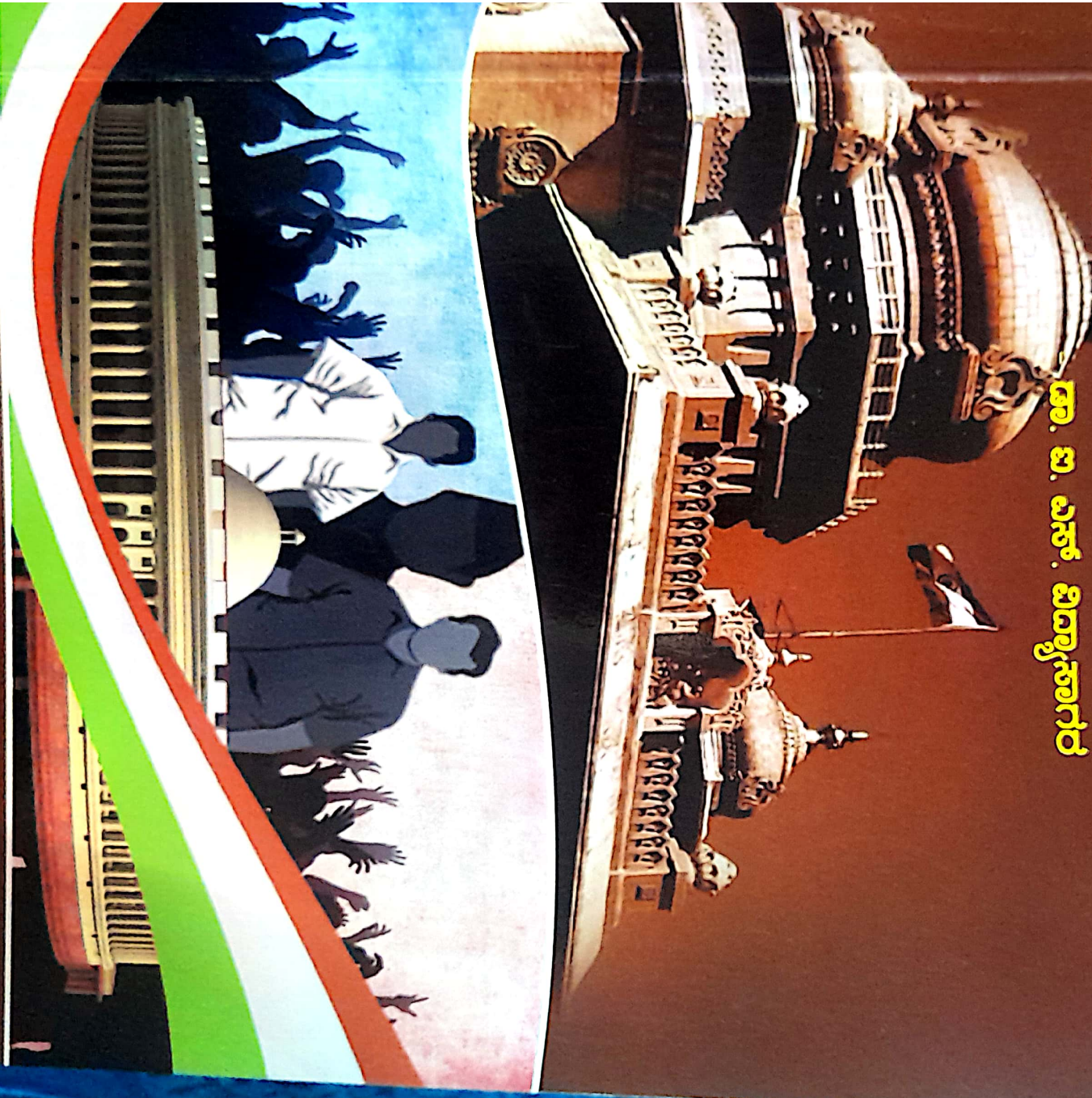
Unit-VI Contemporary Challenges

- A – New World Order, B-Globalisation and WTO
- C – International Terrorism

ತುಲನಾತ್ಮಕ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತದಲ್ಲೂ ವಿಷಯ ವಸ್ತು

(ನೂತನ ಸಿ.ಐ.ಸಿ.ಎಸ್. ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ
ಗುಲಬರ್ಗಾ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ ಕಲಬುರ್ಗಿಯ
ಐ. ಎ. ಕನೇ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್ ರಾಜ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ ಮತ್ತು
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಪರಿಷ್ಕೇಗೂ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತವಾದ ಕೃತಿ)

ಡಾ. ಐ. ಎಸ್. ವಿವ್ಯಾಸಾಗರ



ತುಲನಾತ್ಮಕ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತದಲಿಯ ವಿಷಯ ವಸ್ತು THEMES IN COMPARATIVE POLITICAL THEORY

ನೂತನ ಸಿ.ಬಿ.ಸಿ.ಎಸ್. ಪಠ್ಯಕ್ರಮದಂತೆ

ಸುಲಬರ್ಗಾ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯ ಕಲಬುರ್ಗಿಯ ಬಿ.ಎ. Vನೇ ಸೆಮಿಸ್ಟರ್
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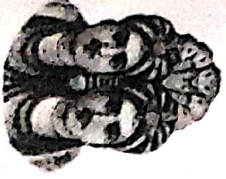
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SYLLABUS

GULBARGA UNIVERSITY, KALABURAGI

B.A. V SEMESTER

Themes in Comparative Political Theory

Course Objective : This course aims to familiarize students with the need to recognize how conceptual resources in political theory draw from plural traditions. By chiefly exploring the Indian and Western traditions of political theory through some select themes, the overall objective is to appreciate the value and distinctiveness of comparative political theory.

Unit-I : Political Theory

- A) Distinctive features of Indian and Western Political Theory
- B) Aristotle on Citizenship and Classification of Governments

Unit-II :

- A) Locke on Rights
- B) J.S. Mill on Liberty

Unit-III :

- A) Marx and Bakunin on State
- B) John Rawls - Theory of Justice

Unit-IV :

- A) Indian Political Thought : Thinkers and Themes
- B) Kautilya on State and Saptanga Theory

Unit-V :

- A) Tilak and Gandhi on Hind Swaraj
- B) Pandit Ramabai on Patriarchy

Unit-VI :

- A) Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Lohia on Social Justice
- B) Nehru and Jayaprakash Narayan on Democracy

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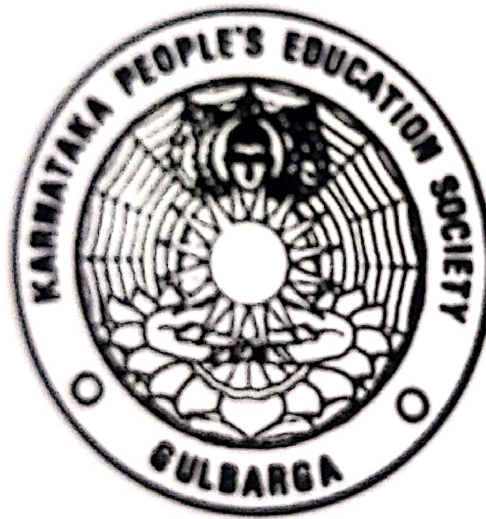
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CONTENTS

Sl. No.	Title and Name of the Author(s)	
1.	ROLE OF TEACHERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION Dr. Chandrashekar Sheshbairi	1-11
2.	AN ALTERNATIVE VOICE: A MEDIA PRACTICE DOCUMENT Dr. T. S. Dadasagar	12-19
3.	JAN JIHAN YUJANA: EFFORT TOWARDS FINANCIAL INCLUSION Prof. Nirmala Suresh	20-32
4.	ETHICS AND ECONOMICS Prof. Shreedev S. Harwal	33-47
5.	A STUDY ON GITA MEHTA'S NOVEL 'A RIVER SUTRA' Prof. Vijaykumar K. Doddaganiger	48-54
6.	"STUDENTS EMPOWERMENT PROGRAM FOR IMPROVING QUALITY OF LEARNING IN AN UNDERGRADUATE COLLEGE" - A CASE STUDY Dr. B. Venkat Reddy & Prof. Siddappa M. Kanta	55-63
7.	RESOURCES DISCOVERY AND VIRTUAL TECHNOLOGIES FOR ACADEMIC AND RESEARCH COMMUNITY Dr. Suresh Jange	64-76
8.	HUMAN RIGHTS : AN OVERVIEW Prof. Anilkumar Jawalkar	77-89
9.	LIFE LONG LEARNING SKILLS AND SATISFACTION OF LIBRARY PROFESSIONAL : CHALLENGES AHEAD Anandraj Patil and Shashikala P.	90-97
10.	THE EVOLUTION OF RIGHT TO INFORMATION IN INDIA Dr. B. Chandrashekar & Smt. Vanamala	98-105

**AN ALTERNATIVE VOICE :
AMBEDKAR'S HUMANISM**

Dr. I. S. Vidyasagar

Associate Professor of Political Science

Dr. Ambedkar Degree College

Darga Road, Gulbarga - Karnataka - INDIA

Abstract

The study explores the voice of Dr. Ambedkar's humanism. Whatever he spoke, wrote and taught to the downtrodden, he stressed the need of humanistic approach for the emancipation of the oppressed and the weaker sections of the society especially the untouchables and the women folk.

Keywords : *Humanity, Dr Ambedkar's Philosophy*

Dr. Ambedkar's Humanism

Dr. Ambedkar's life and philosophy are a document of his struggle for human rights. He reflects the spirit of humanism right from beginning of his life to the end of his life. He was the founder of scientific, social and secular humanism. His concept of humanism stands for liberty, equality and fraternity of human beings. The facets of Dr. Ambedkar's Humanism are

1. Social Justice :

Dr. Ambedkar's concept of social justice stands for liberty, equality and fraternity of all human beings. He stood for a social system which is based on right relations between man and man in all spheres of life. For the proper grasp of Ambedkar's concept of social justice, one has to go through his views about religion, particularly Hindu religion which is

source of exploitation and injustice. His concept of social justice is closely connected with his concept of religion and morality. Ambedkar was not an atheist. He was a religious minded man. He writes "It pains to me to see youths growing indifferent to religion. Religion is not an opium as it is held by Marx. What good things I have in me or whatever have been benefits of my education to society, I owe them to the religious feelings in me¹". But the religion which he conceives is a rational, ethical, spiritual and humanitarian and full of "Karuna". It is a religion which grants equality and treats all its believers equal. To him, the religion which discriminates between two fellows is a partial religion. The religion which treats crores of its adherents is worse than dogs and criminals and inflicts upon them insufferable disabilities is no religion at all. Ambedkar as a rationalist and humanist does not approve any type of hypocrisy, injustice and exploitation of man by man in the name of religion. He stands for a religion which is based on universal principles of morality and is applicable to all times, to all countries and to all races. It must be in accord with reason and must be based on the basic tenets of liberty, equality and fraternity. He was highly dissatisfied with Hinduism as it gives no support to the principle of social unity but believes in social separation and discrimination. He was of the view that the Hindu wish to be one, then they will have to discard the theory of "Chatur Varna". He considered the caste system as the greatest evil of Hindu religion². The Varna system according to him is the root cause of all inequality and also parent of the caste system and untouchability. He therefore wanted to purge Hinduism of the doctrine of Varna system to make Hinduism a religion of all people. "He stood for the principle of one man, one vote and one value in all walks of life. He rejected that social system where virtue is caste ridden and morality is caste bound.

Dr. Ambedkar has a deep faith in man and his powers. Man is the centre of his religion. He is a responsible being and he himself is responsible for all his miseries. As a responsible being, it is his duty to mitigate his own woes, slavery and poverty. He says "You must abolish your slavery yourself. Do not depend for its abolition upon god or superman. The sooner you remove the foolish belief that your miseries

are predetermined, the better do not believe in fate. Believe in your strength⁴."

Dr. Ambedkar's rational and empirical approach leads him to reject the belief in the existence of God. To him the belief in God is unprofitable from social and individual point of view as it makes man inactive, dormant fatalist and indifferent to the miseries of mankind⁵. He does not believe in Avatharvada (the theory of incarnation) which says that whenever there is a trouble, God comes and removes it. To him the belief in God or any superhuman being is a belief in falsehood.

Dr. Ambedkar wanted to reform and restructure the Hindu social system which ascribes status to a man on the basis of his birth in a particular low or high caste. He stood for a social system in which man's status is based on his merit and achievements and where no one is noble or untouchables because of his birth. He stood for a social system where the liberty of an individual is not slavery of his fellow being. He advocated the policy of preferential treatment for the socially oppressed and economically exploited people of country.

2. Emancipation of Women :

Dr. Ambedkar is hailed as the great emancipator of women. His concern for women constitutes one of the major dimensions of his humanism. He not only wanted to ensure social equality between man and man but also equal status and dignity between man and woman.

He criticized the traditional and conservative values and made Manu, the Hindu law giver responsible for the decline of the status and dignity of women in India. According to him "Egalitarian principles prevailed during Buddhist period and it was a revolutionary act on a part of Buddha and the Buddha to having allowed women to take Sannyas or Parivraja (nunhood) as a member of Sangha. Under the Brahminic theory women and Shudras were not eligible for knowledge and thus, for Sannyas. In allowing women to become Bhikkunis (nuns) Buddha not only opened for women, the way to liberty but also allowed them to

acquire dignity, independent of sex". Thus the effort of Lord Buddha was the beginning of the revolution and liberation of women in India.

Dr. Ambedkar championed the cause of women as well as the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, throughout his career. He discussed a number of problems for the Indian women and sought for their solutions in Bombay legislative debates. His arguments on the maternity bill and on birth control were quite relevant to recognize the dignity of women.

The impassioned appeal to the cast off evil practices and customs among certain sections of the depressed classes was made by Dr. Ambedkar at a meeting at the "Damodar Thackersey Hall Bombay in 1936". The meeting was largely attended by men and women belonging to the Devadasi, Patraje, Bhute, Aradhi and Jagiti communities and was held to accord support to the mass conversion move inaugurated at Yeola. Dr. Ambedkar made a fervent appeal, especially to the women. "Whether you change your religion along with us or not, it does not matter much to me. But I insist that if you want to be with the rest of us, you must give up your disgraceful life... you must marry and settle down normal domestic life as women and other classes do not continue to live under conditions, which inevitably drag you into prostitution⁶".

At all India depressed classes women's conference held at Nagpur on 20th July, 1942. Dr. Ambedkar emphasized that there could not be progress of a nation without the progress of women. He spoke "I am great believer in women's organization. I know that they can improve the condition of the society if they are convinced. In the eradication of social evils they have rendered great services⁷".

Dr. Ambedkar underlined that women should learn to be clean and keep themselves away from all vices. They should educate their children and instil high ambitions, be inculcated with the ideas that they are destined to be great. The sense of inferiority complex should be eliminated from their mind and heart.

Dr. Ambedkar was excessively worried for the overgrowth of the population in India and he wanted certain measures for the birth control.

After the adoption of the constitution Dr. Ambedkar was entrusted with a new responsibility, the Hindu Code Bill. He revised the Hindu Code Bill prepared by the B.N.Rao's committee and submitted to the Parliament on 5th February, 1951. The Hindu code bill introduced only four new items in then existing law. They were **abolition of doctrine of the rights by birth, right to property to women, right to have share by daughter's from the parents property and provision for divorce**. The whole bill was not passed by the parliament, so he resigned his seat from the cabinet on 27th September, 1951.

3. Socialism :

Dr. Ambedkar's socialism is another important dimension of his humanism. It is also a major contribution to the philosophy of economics or socialism.

The idea of socialism to be realized according to Dr. Ambedkar is of one man one value in all walks of life, political economic and social. This ideal of one man one value is to be achieved by stopping religious economic and social exploitations in any form, is an essence of socialism. To Ambedkar, socialism does not only embrace economic equality but also social and political equality.

Dr. Ambedkar advocated state socialism in the field of industry and also ownership in agriculture with a collectivized method of cultivation. Dr. Ambedkar was one of the few Indians who demanded nationalization of insurance. He was of the firm opinion that the plight of 60 million untouchables who were landless labourers cannot be ameliorated through consolidation of lands or by tenancy legislation, only by collective farms can solve the problems of the landless labourers. Therefore Dr. Ambedkar writes the plan has two special features, one is that it proposes state socialism in important fields of economic life. The second special feature of the plan is that it does not leave establishment of state socialism by the will of the legislature it establish state socialism

by law of the constitution and thus make it unalterable by any act of the legislature and the executive⁹.

The following are the essential features of Dr. Ambedkar's socialism

1. A condemnation of existing social political and economic order as unjust.
2. An advocacy of a new order based one man one value one vote.
3. A belief that this ideal is realizable in state socialism and parliamentary democracy.
4. The conviction that immortality of established order is traceable to the attitude of Hindus and to corrupt social institutions.
5. A program of actions leading the ideal to be achieved through constitutional means only.
6. A revolutionary will for establishing social democracy to carry out the program of social solidarity¹⁰.

His plan for introducing socialism runs as follows. The United States of India shall declare as a part of the law of its constitution.

that industries which are key industries or which may be declared to be key industries shall be owned and run by the state.

that industries which are not key industries but which are basic industries shall be owned by the state and shall be run by the state or by corporation established by the state.

that the insurance shall be a monopoly of the state and that the state shall compel every adult citizen to take out a life insurance policy commensurate with his wages as may be prescribed by the legislature.

4. that the agriculture shall be state industry.
5. that state shall acquire the subsisting rights in such industries insurance and agricultural land held by private individuals whether as owners, tenants or mortgages and pay them compensation in the form of debenture equal to the value of his or her right in the land provided that in reckoning the value of land, plant or security no account shall be taken of any rise therein due to emergencies or any potential or unearned value or a value for compulsory acquisition.
6. that the state shall determine how and when the debenture holder shall be entitled to claim cash payment.
7. that the debenture shall be transferable and inheritable property but neither the debenture holder nor the transfer from the original holder nor his heir shall be entitled to claim the return of the land or interest in any industrial concern acquired by the state or to be entitled to deal with it in any way.
8. that the debenture holder shall be entitled to interest in his debenture at such rate as may be defined by law to be paid by the state in cash or in kind as the state may deem fit.
9. that the agriculture industry shall be organized on the following basis :
 - i. the state shall divide the land acquired into forms of standard size and let out the forms for cultivation to residents of the village as tenants (made up of groups of the families) to cultivate on the following conditions :
 - a) the farm shall be cultivated as a collective farm.
 - b) the farm shall be cultivated in accordance with the rules and directions issued by the government.
 - c) the tenants shall share among themselves in the manner prescribed the produce of the farm left after the payment of charges properly leviable on the farm.

- ii. the land shall be let out to villagers without distinction of caste or creed and in such manner that there will be no landlord, no tenant and no landless labourer.
 - iii. it shall be the obligation of the state to finance the cultivation or the collective farms by the supply of water, draught, animals, implements, manure, seeds etc.
 - iv. the state shall be entitled to :
 - a. to levy the following charges on the produce of the farm.
 - i. a portion for land revenue.
 - ii. a portion to pay the debenture holders, and
 - iii. a portion to pay for the use of capital goods supplied, and
 - b. prescribe penalties against tenants who break the conditions of tenancy or willfully neglect to make the best use of the means of cultivation offered by the state or otherwise act prejudicially to the scheme of collective farming.
10. the scheme shall be brought into operation as early as possible but in no case shall the period extend beyond the tenth year from the date of the constitution coming into operation¹¹.

Such noble principles enshrined in his humanism are alive even to day, There is a great need for such principles of Dr. Ambedkar in these days of economic evils.

4. Democracy :

Dr. Ambedkar's another important dimension of humanism is the principles of democracy. It is also a major contribution to the philosophy of democracy.

Dr. Ambedkar was the first Indian political thinker who realized the inapplicability of the western pattern of democracy to India. For him, it was not enough to make a distinction between state and society and nation, but he went to the roots of these institutions and pointed out the importance taking into account the elements constituting these institutions that is the people, the definitions of democracy given by Walter Bagehot or Abraham Lincoln were not satisfied to Ambedkar,

Bagehot defines democracy as "Government by discussion" and Lincoln "as a government of the people, by the people and for the people"¹¹.

According to Dr. Ambedkar "Democracy means a form and method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed"¹².

Dr. Ambedkar advocated 'some essential condition's precedent for the successful working of the democracy.

- **No Glaring Inequalities in the Society :**

The first condition precedent for the successful working of a democracy is that there must be no glaring inequality in the society. There must not be an oppressed class, there must not be a suppressed class, there must not be a class which has got all the privileges and another class which has got all the burdens to carry such a thing. Such a division of society has within itself the germs of a blood revolution and perhaps it would be impossible for the democracy to cure them. Lincoln once said although people have not understood his meaning in the same Gettysburg speech that a house divided against itself cannot stand, he was of course referring to the conflict between the southern states and the northern states. He said, "If you of the southern states and we of the northern states are divided we shall not be able to stand together, when a foreign enemy comes". That was probably the meaning that he wanted to convey when he said that the house divided cannot stand. But I think that this phrase of his or sentence of his is pregnant with much deeper meaning and it means as I understand it, that the deep cleavages between class and class are going to be one of the greatest hindrances in the success of democracy.

For the successful functioning of democracy, there must be statutory provisions to mitigate the sufferings and to do safeguard the interest of the suppressed and oppressed people, the society must be based on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity in order to ensure social endosmosis, only in the dynamic where changes taking place in one part are conveyed through various changes to the remaining segments can

social endosmosis be effective and meaningful. There should be many interests consciously communicated and shared, there should be varied and free contacts with other modes of associations. He calls this fraternity which is only another name of democracy, therefore his thought is necessary to first annihilate the caste system in the Hindu society. An attitude change a revolution in the thinking of Hindus is the precondition for any worthwhile change in Hindu society.

The reason why "Dr. Ambedkar was averse to joining the Indian National Congress is that its leaders did not realize the significance of social reform, there was no program to improve the status of the untouchables, there was a lack of enthusiasm on the part of Hindus to do away with the disabilities of the untouchables. The basic human rights were denied to them, therefore Dr. Ambedkar feared that the leaders of the Indian National Congress could not remove the grave social and economic backwardness of the untouchables."¹³

Due to the caste taboos the untouchables were denied civil, political, economic, religious and legal rights for a long period of time, the concept of justice had no place in the Hindu social system and therefore untouchables had to lead a life of supine-servitude. Dr. Ambedkar writes "under the rule of the Peshwa in a Maratha country the untouchables were not allowed to use the public streets of a Hindu was occurring along lest he should pollute the Hindus by his shadow, The untouchable was required to have a black thread either on his wrist or around his neck as a sign or a mark to prevent the Hindus from getting themselves polluted by his touch through mistake. In Poona the capital of the Peshwa, the untouchable was required to carry strung from his waist, a broom to sweep away from behind the dust he threaded on lest a Hindu walking on the same should be polluted. In Poona the untouchable was required to carry earthen hung by his neck wherever he went for holding his spit lest his spit falling on earth should pollute a Hindu who might unknowingly happen to tread on it"¹⁴, this the social condition of the untouchables was deplorable not a single social or governmental organization could take any action to ameliorate the condition of the untouchables.

Existence of Opposition :

The second thing which a successful working of democracy requires is the existence of opposition. The existence of an effective opposition is an important factor in the working of a successful democracy. Democracy means veto power after every five years, those who are in majority must be subjected to a scrutiny by the people who will decide their continuance as the party in power. There are two aspects of this veto power, one is the long term veto of five years and the other is the immediate one. There must be people in the parliament immediately ready there and then to challenge the government, thus the effective opposition is a sinequanon of democracy.

Equality in Law and Administration :

There must be equality in law and administration, there must not be a spoils system, as is to be found in the USA. For efficient functioning of democracy there is need of permanent civil services implementing the policy of the government without fear of the executive. Speaking on condition precedent for the success of democracy Dr. Ambedkar quoted that one need not at this stage dilate too much on equality before the law, although there might be cases here and there where there is no equality before the law, but what is important is equality of treatment in administration, it is quite possible for good many of you to imagine or to recall cases where the party government is carrying on the administration for the benefit of the members of the party. At any rate, "I can recall a great many instances of this sort, suppose there is a law which says that nobody shall deal in a particular commodity without a license. There is no discrimination in that particular piece of legislation, but let us go further and see what happens when a man goes to a particular officer or to a minister with an application for license in trading in a particular commodity. Without a license I do not know it is quite possible. Again probably the minister may first look at his hat, what sort of coloured hat he is wearing? If he is wearing a hat which appeals to him and it assures him to that he is a party man and another man goes with another sort of dress or belonging

to another party and making his decision the license given to the first and refused to the second, although both of them are on merits are qualified to have that license i.e. the granting of this privilege and that privilege is perhaps a small thing and affects only a very small class of people."¹⁵

- **Constitutional Morality :**

There must be a steady growth of constitutional convention and people must be educated in the scrupulous observance of these conventions, the people should not allow rein for their respect and loyalty to the leader to grow into blind faith of the Bhakti cult. Dr. Ambedkar cited an example of George Washington when he requested by the people to stand for the second time for the presidency of America, Washington said, "My dear people you have forgotten the purpose for which we made this constitution, we made this constitution because we did not want a hereditary monarchy and did not want a hereditary ruler or a dictator."¹⁶

In the name of democracy there should be no tyranny of the majority over the minority. The minority must always feel safe although the majority is carrying in the government, the minority will not be hurt and the minority will not be imposed upon. Thus, there should be adequate scope for motions of censure or the adjournment motions of the minority to redress their grievances.

Dr. Ambedkar appreciated Harlod Laski for his insistence on the moral order as a requirement of democracy, he says that if there is no moral order, democracy will go to pieces, it requires a public conscience, according to Ambedkar public conscience means conscience which becomes agitated at every wrong no matter who is the sufferer and it means that everybody whether he suffers that particular wrong or not is prepared to join the aggrieved to secure justice, thus he cautioned that with the making of the constitution the task of building a democratic society is not over, the task has only began and the people have to make ceaseless efforts to accomplish it. A political democracy without an economic and social democracy is an invitation to trouble and danger.¹⁷

Social democracy alone can assure to the masses the right to equality and fraternity.

Thus, democracy is not only a form of government but also a life through which social justice can be established. Social demands that society should promote the welfare of all and not the greatest happiness of the greatest number, otherwise the interest of the majority might gain precedence over those of the minorities.

Dr. Ambedkar's principles of democracy is of great relevance in these days of corrupt politics and administration.

Conclusion :

Dr. Ambedkar's humanism as a genuine one, was for the emancipation of both men and women from the social, economic and political discriminations. Dr. Ambedkar was essentially a pragmatic and real humanist who had really a heartfelt concern for the suffering world of men and women.

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JAN DHAN YOJANA – EFFORT TOWARDS FINANCIAL INCLUSION

Nirmala Sirgapur

Assistant Professor, Dept of Economics

Dr. Ambedkar Degree College, Kalaburagi

Introduction:

The government of India and Reserve Bank of India has been making concerted efforts to promote financial inclusion as one of the important national objectives of the country. Some of the major efforts made in the last five decades include - nationalization of banks, building up robust branch network of scheduled commercial banks, co-operatives and regional rural banks, introduction of mandated priority sector lending target, lead bank scheme, formation of self help groups, permitting BCs/BFs to be appointed by bank to provide door step delivery of banking services, no frills accounts, Micro Unit Development Refinance Agency (MUDRA) etc. The fundamental objective of all these initiatives is to reach the large sections of the hitherto financially excluded India population.

Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana

In the light to provide universal access to banking facility Prime Minister Narendra Modi announced the Scheme Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana on 15th August 2014. The Scheme was formally launched on 28th August 2014. This Scheme includes basic banking account with overdraft facility of Rs 5000 after six months and Rupay Debit Card with inbuilt accidental insurance cover of Rs one lakh and Rupay Kisan card and in addition insurance and pension (social protection) under Pradhan Mantri Suraksha Bima Yojana (PMSBY), Pradhan Mantri Jeevan Jyoti Bima Yojana (PMJJBY) and Atal Pension Yojana (APY)

1. Account holders will be provided zero- balance account with RuPay Debit Card, in addition to accidental insurance cover of Rs one lakh (to be given by HDFC E-Gro)
2. Citizens who open their account by January 26,2015 over and above the one lakh, accident cover, they will be given life insurance of Rs 30,000 (to be given by 'LIC')
3. After six months of opening of the bank account, holder can avail Rs 5000 overdraft from the bank.
4. With the introduction new technology introduced by National Payment Corporation of India (NPCL). A person can transfer fund, check balance through a normal phone which was earlier limited only to smart phones so far.
5. Mobile banking for the poor would be available through national unified USSD platform (NUUP) for which all banks and mobile companies have come together.

Advantages of the Scheme:

This scheme provides various advantages at the same time suffers with some problems. Advantages include that is more comprehensive approach - many states have achieved almost 100% coverage. E.g. J & K - has achieved 94%, and other states have above 90%. achievement. The opportunity to harness savings through the formal sectors, thereby creating a valuable avenue where household can access their savings without the risk of losing them. Socially, this offers the household an opportunity to channelize their savings with the banking system to areas like education, health and housing rather than lose them when invested in shady pyramid schemes and other informal instruments.

Through this scheme, Government can provide direct benefit to the beneficiary account without any intermediaries. On a large scale it is creating awareness about the basic banking facilities to the

disadvantages section of society/ In addition it is providing benefit of insurance and pension. On above it is provide by RuPay Debit Card issued by NPCI which stop the fund outflow to abroad by the use of visa - cards and master cards.

Table: Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana In The Year 2014
(Figures in crore)

S. No		No. of Accounts Opened			No. of RuPay Debit Card	Balance in Accounts	Percent in of Zero Balance Account
		Rural	Urban	Total			
1	Public Sector Banks	6.9	5.8	12.7	11.9	14357.5	53.3
2	Private Sector Banks	2.5	0.4	2.9	2.1	3258.5	52.1
3	Regional Rural Banks	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.6	1068.6	49.3
	Total	9.79	6.5	16.3	14.5	18684.6	52.2

An Effort towards Financial Inclusion

In the modern era of liberalization, globalization, and privatization growth and development depends on the ability of any nation to use its financial resources through proper funds mobilization and disbursements. In a country like India, where a big population lives in rural areas and do not have sufficient access to financial services, financial inclusion assumes paramount importance indeed Greater financial inclusion presents opportunities to enhance financial stability (Hanning Jansen, 2010).

According to Kunt and Klapper (2012), 50% of adults worldwide have an account at a formal financial institution; through account penetration varies widely across regions, income groups and individual characteristics. Although half of adults around the world remain unbanked, at least 35% of them report barriers to account use that might be addressed by the public policy. Among the most commonly reported barriers are high cost, physical distance, and lack of proper documentation. Though there are significant differences across regions individual characteristics, Allen et al. (2012) highlighted that policies to reduce barriers to financial inclusion may expand the pool of eligible account users and encourage existing accountholders to use their accounts with greater frequency and for the purpose of saving.

Over the year, the Indian government has been taking many steps to make financial services accessible to all the people in the country. The recent scheme, Pradhan Mantri Jan- Dhan Yojana (PMJDY), launched by the Indian Prime minister, is a step ahead fo strengthening financial inclusion practices in the country.

PMJDY is a national mission for financial inclusion to ensure access to financial services, namely, banking/ savings and deposit accounts, remittance, credit, insurance, pension, etc. in an affordable manner. PMJDY is an ambitious program with a target of covering 7.5 crore unbanked households in the country by January 26, 2015. It was launched on August 28, 2014.

Accounts can be opened in any bank branch or Business Correspondent (BC) (Bank Mitra) outlet . PMJDY accounts are being opened with zero balance. However, if the accountholder to get a check book, he/she will have to fulfill minimum balance criteria.

The Yojana's main focus areas are creating awareness regarding account opening among all households in rural and urban areas and financial literacy.

Highlights of few financial inclusions are as follows

- Banks to Open 70,000 Accounts on Jan dhan Yojana launch Day: Financial Services Secretary.
- IDBI Bank Plans to Open 2 Lakh Accounts
- Microfinance Institutions Lap Up PM Modi's Financial Inclusion Drive
- Prime Minister Modi's 'Jan-Dhan Yojana' to Boost Financial Inclusion Plan: SBI
- PM Modi to Announce Financial Inclusion Mission on Independence Day: Report
- Financial Inclusion to Reduce Corruption: RBI Governor
- RBI for Making Aadhaar Sole Platform for Financial Inclusion.
- PM Modi to Launch Plan for Every Indian Household to Have Bank Account
- Jan Dhan Scheme Gets a Dedicated Website.
- RBI to Invite Applications for Bank Licenses Soon: Financial Services Secretary.
- Journey Ahead in Jan Dhan Scheme bound to be Difficult: PM Modi to Bankers.
- 'Jan Dhan' Scheme: National Payment Corp Scrambles to Issue RuPay Cards
- Dish TV Offers 10 Per Cent Discount, Betting Big on "Jan Dhan Yojana"

- Jan Dhan Scheme: Banks Collect R 6,000 Crore In Deposits
- Financial Inclusion: All Households in Kerala, Goa Get Bank Accounts.
- Public Sector Banks in Race to Set Up over 5,500 ATMs
- Deposits in Jan Dhan Yojan Accounts Cross Rs, 30,000 Crore.
- Focus on Last Mile Delivery for Financial: RBI Panel to Banks.
- Number of Financial Inclusion Accounts Touch 19.52 crore: RBI
- Financial Inclusion Schemes will Ensure Growth Opportunities.

Benefits for the Common People from the Jan Dhan Yojana

- As Announced by the PM of India this is a scheme made to benefit the common man of India and thus scheme has lots of benefits for the Indian families opening their account under the scheme.
- Each family will have bank account to be opened in the countries best bank in free of cost and guide easily. This will help them find a place to save their earnings easily.
- Among with the life cover one will also get an accidental cover of one lakh. This will had up a value to the various lives in country.
- If the Person keeps the bank account active and save some money then the account holder will given the overdraft limit of rupees 5000 that one can withdraw from the account.

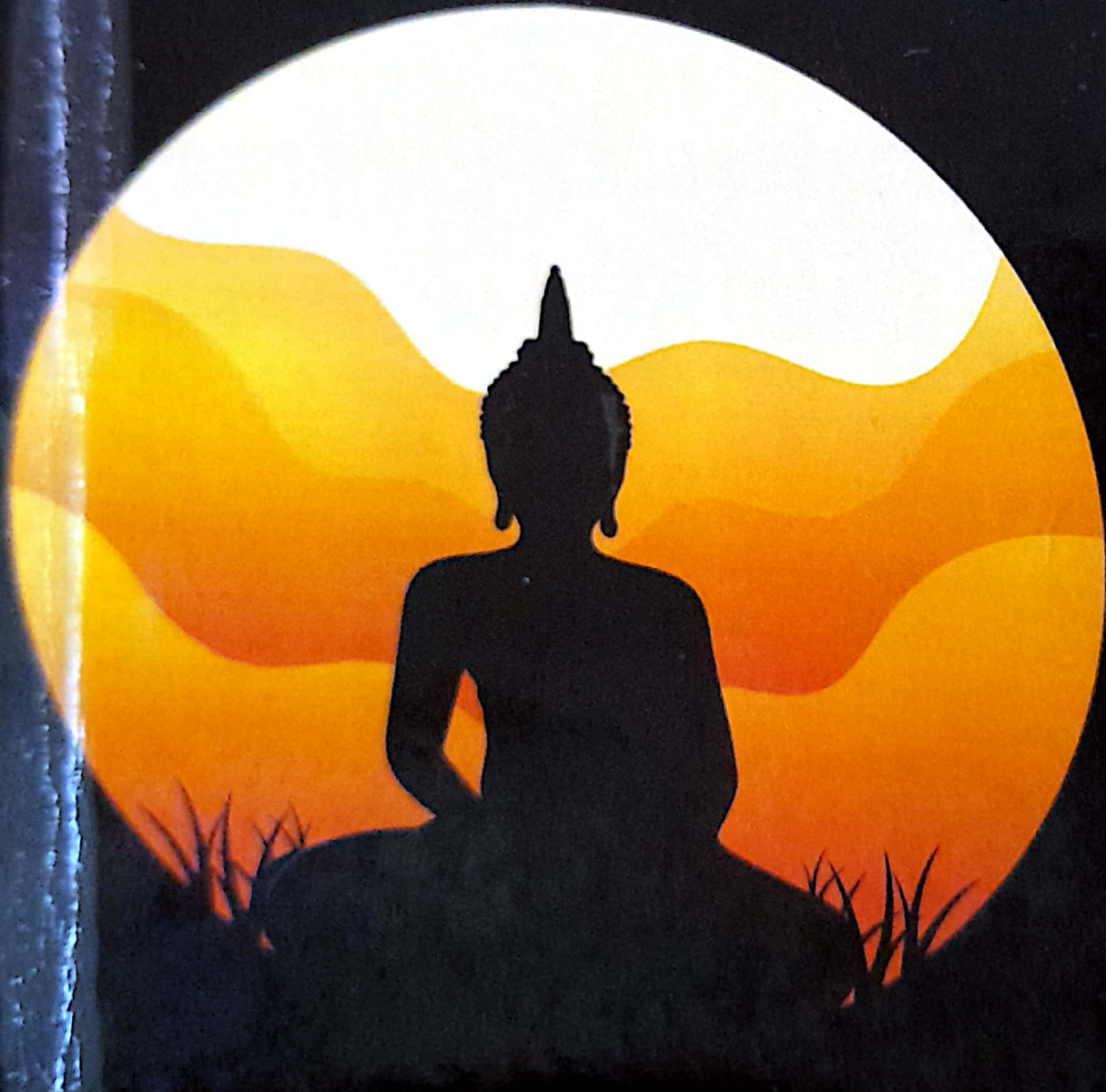
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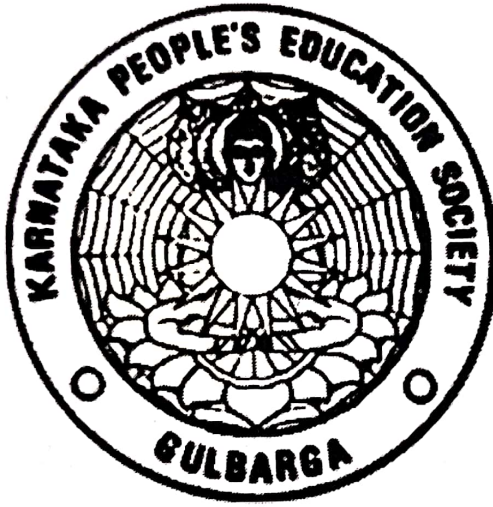
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Sl.No	Title of the Paper and Name of the Author	Page No
	BUDDHISM AND DEMOCRACY Dr. B.M.BAYEEN	1
	INDO ASIAN RELATIONS IN 21ST CENTYRY PROF. CHANDRAKANTH M YATNOOR	9
	A STUDY ON FACTORS AFFECTING THE CONSUMER CONTINUED SUBSCRIPTION FOR ONLINE VIDEO STREAMING APPS DR. SANJEEV KUMAR KARNAIK,	17
	BUDDHA AND BASAVANNA PROF. H.T. POTE	29
	IMPACT OF CELL PHONES ON FEMALE STUDENTS DR. SHINDHE JAGANNATH R SANGANGOUDA SHIVANGOUDA	34
	ROLE OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION IN INDIAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT DR. JATTEPPA DORNALLI	41
	SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF MAHATMA JYOTIBA PHULE DR. HOSAMANI SANGAPPA	46
	CASTELESS INDIA DR. BASWARAJ KUMNOOR	55
	STATE SOCIALISM OF DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR DR. BASANTH. N. SAGAR	62
	USAGE OF AUDIO VISUAL AIDS IN ELT DR. RAJSHEKHAR YARABAGI	68
	AN APPRAISAL OF GST ON INDIAN ECONOMY DR. SUCHITANAND MALKAPURE DR. DASHRATH MEHTRY	77
	YOGA PRACTICES FOR COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT AMONG ATHLETICS PROF. RAVINDRA. KHOBA	83
	WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROF SHARANAPPA B. MALIPATIL	90

14	COVID-19 AND INDIAN ECONOMY DR. SANGAPPA V. MAMANSHETTY	100
15	WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA: CHALLENGES AND ISSUES PROF. NANDA MERWYN DAVID PROF. BASWARAJ SWAMY	106
16	EMANCIPATING AND STRENGTHENING INDIAN WOMEN: AN ANALYSIS OF B.R. AMBEDKAR'S CONTRIBUTION VITHAL WAGGAN	115
17	CHALLENGES TO OVERCOME COMMUNALISM IN INDIAN DEMOCRACY PROF. MAHANTESH BIDNOOR	126
18	PERFORMANCE OF PRADHANMANTRI AWAS YOJANA DR. R.V.GANGSHETTY	133
19	GOVERNMENT STRATEGY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA KOTALE BHIMARAYA HANAMANT	142
20	ROLE OF LIBRARY IN HIGHER EDUCATION OF INDIA PROF. VAJJINATH MALLIKARJUN	143
21	DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY AS EXTENSION OF WARFARE OF KOUTILYA SHIVAKUMAR SHIVASHARANAPPA DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	154
22	BASAVESHWARA: EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN VIJAYALAXMI DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	165
23	MEIRAKUMAR AS A FIRST SPEAKER IN INDIAN DEMOCRACY MANIK VITTAL DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	173
24	DR. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY PARAMESHWAR TALAKERI AMRUT DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	182

INTRODUCTION

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Rtd. Professor of Pol-Scie

BASAVESHWARA : EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

VIJAYALAXMI*
DR I S VIDYASAGAR**

ABSTRACT :The socio-religious movement or revolution of Basaveshwar in Kalyan against the discrimination of caste, creed or sex cut across the country and attracted likeminded people including women. Only the Sharanas understood and realized the position of women and provided an equal status and opportunity on par with men in spiritual matters. Their action towards the emancipation of women should be considered as the first movement ever launched. The system of family preached by Sharanas is quite unique. Because, spirituality is the starting point for any transformation to take place. So "Sharanas propounded the concept of equality between men and women first from the spiritual level"². According to Sharanas, the soul does not discriminate as regarded gender or sex. Body is basically the same, it is only the soul, which appears as man and women. So human being is in soul and not the body. "What is the sex of the soul"? He attached much importance to the principle of "Kayaka", in which, every man and woman was engaged, without berries of caste or sex. All Sharanas and Shivasharanis were engaged in some or the other way in Kayaka, actively participating in spiritual deliberations and discussions at Anubhava Mantapa.

KEYWORDS: Emancipation, Sharanas, Discrimination, Kayaka, Virashivism, Spirituality, transformation, Bhakti, Mukti, Yukti

**Research Scholar Dept. of Pol-Science Gulbarga University
Kalaburagi*

***Associate Prof of Pol-Science Dr. Ambedkar College Kalaburagi*

INTRODUCTION

The socio-religious movement or revolution of Basaveshwar in Kalyan against the discrimination of caste, creed or sex cut across the country

and attracted likeminded people including women. The vachanas with spiritual value containing the thoughts of Sharanas appear to be more advanced even to

this modern age of science and technology to Gerald a new ray of hope to the humanity. The thoughts of Sharanas through vachanas aimed at creating oneness of mankind. The contributions of Sharanas through vachana literature, have enriched the spiritual heritage of India.

According to Virasivism, "men and women differ only in physiological level but are one and the same in metaphysical aspect."¹

Only the Sharanas understood and realized the position of women and provided an equal status and opportunity on par with men in spiritual matters. Their action towards the emancipation of women should be considered as the first movement ever launched. The system of family preached by Sharanas is quite unique. Because, spirituality is the starting point for any transformation to take place. So "Sharanas propounded the concept of equality between men and women first from the spiritual level"²

II. CONTRIBUTION OF BASAVESHWARA.

According to Sharanas, the soul does not discriminate as regarded gender or sex. Body is basically the same, it is only the soul, which appears as man and women. So human being is in soul and not the body.

The Virsaiva view of man and woman can be best understood in the following vachana of Devara Dasimayya (an elderly contemporary of Basaveshwar)

"A woman is identified
By her breasts and plait
And a man, by his beards and moustaches
But the soul, within the two
Is neither woman or man
O Lord Ramanath

Sharanas also pointed out that woman is not an illusion. She is a living being like man in every walk of life. To consider woman as an illusion, represent the self-aggrandizement of the male. It is unfair to consider woman as an illusion. So, Allam Prabhu the exalted spiritual soul, who presided over Anubhava Mantap observes:

“They say that woman is an enticement,
No, No, she is not so,
They say that money is an enticement,
No, No, it is not so
They say that landed property is an enticement
No, No, it is not so,
The real enticement is the insatiable appetite
of mind

So this view is unanimously shared by all Sharanas including Basaveshwara, woman is not a lamp lighting the path of hell. Women should not be considered as responsible for the down fall of men. So women, property and wealth are not temptations. The real cause of temptation is man's uncontrolled, unchecked inner desire to possess them. It is futile to search the cause of so Allam Prabhu declares “Men die for wealth, for women and for lands”.

The Sharanas raise this question, when both are made of the same metal one can attain divinity and why another should not? So in Virsaivaim, woman is not dismissed as an obstacle in the path of spirituality, Another Sharana i.e. Siddharama, upholding the nobility of womanhood proclaims;

“Woman is not just a female sex
Woman is not a demon even,
Women is the very embodiment
of God Kapilsidha Mallikarjun

Basaveshwara and other Sharanas join in the chorus of her praise, as she is considered as the main source of Bhakti, Mukti and Yukti as it is asserted.

When she arrives at Kalyan and enters the Anubhava Mantapa, all Sharanas including Allam Prabhu and Basaveshwara, accorded a hearty and warm welcome to her and appreciated her

spiritual height. All were surprised to see how she could overcome the loudly passions.

Shivasharanis and Sharanas of Virasiva movement, asserting the principle of equality based on the basis of soul, delivered a message to the women's movements to transcend material demands, aiming at spiritual upliftment.

The 12th century witnessed a revolution in Karnataka against the exploitation of women in the name of religion. Basaveshwara, who spearheaded the movement, determined to abolish all obstacles and social disability inherent in the traditional order. Sharing the experiences and the thoughts of all Sharanas and Shivasharanis, Basava asked:

"What is the sex of the soul"? He attached much importance to the principle of "Kayaka", in which, every man and woman was engaged, without barriers of caste or sex. All Sharanas and Shivasharanis were engaged in some or the other way in Kayaka, actively participating in spiritual deliberations and discussions at Anubhava Mantapa.

Basaveshwara's mission was to elevate the womanhood by the introduction of the ceremony of Linga Diksha".⁸ He never considered woman as the embodiment of evil and root of all sexual sin. According to him, the impurity does not lie in sexuality itself but it lies in the desire for another's wife as his Vachana ascertains the same:

"If you express your senses,
 You will get into trouble,
 all the five senses will come forward
 to frustrate you.
 Did Siriyala and canagale give up the pleasures of
 man and wife?
 Did sindhu ballala give up his
 favorite enjoyment, the pleasures
 of man and wife?
 I take this vow before you
 If I ever desire another's property
 or wife, let me be dismissed from your foot
 O Lord of the Meeting Rivers"

Basaveshwara express the spiritual view that the male devotee regards himself as the wife of Siva, his relationship with Linga is a marriage in which he is the female having subordinate position. In this regard, the following vacana of Basaveshwara bears the witness:

'Listen to me dear fallows,
I wear these men's clothes,
Only for you
Sometimes I am a man
Sometimes I am a woman
O Lord of the meeting River's

Basaveshwara also warned against the desire or the lust for other women. One should not have that desire to have another's goods or property or wife. A typical example of such connection is found in the following:

"How can I pretend to be bhakta,
Unless I break away from the
Company of wordings?
How can I pretend to be Maheshwar?
Unless I break away from the
Spell of another's wife or property?

Virshaivism, as has been already pointed out is based on the principle of satsthala, where the devotee experiences spirituals development in six phases, according to which, the devotee, is to dissociate himself from the cycle of rebirth, then and then only, he becomes the Master or Maheswara.

The desire for another's wife leads to desire for property of one's neighbor so one has to give up such desire and try to be a devotee of Shiva always thinking interms of the welfare of all, so the same message Basava, preaches in the following vachana.

"O brothers, taking a bath in the river
O masters, taking a bath in the river
give up, give up.
Give up relations with others wives,
Give up desire for another's property
If you go for a bath in the river,
Without giving up these,
It is like going for bath in a river

gone dry, O Lord of the
Meeting Rivers

All Sharanam including Basaveshwara, accord not only mother's position, to women but treat her equal to Parvathi. A married woman has to be treated as if her womb is the womb of man's birth. Woman should be treated as Goddess Gowri and if any one treats her as whore, according to Jedar Dasimayya is thrown into the hell. Sharanas also point out that anyone who hankers another woman is like a person eating the flesh of dead dog.

According to Basaveshwara, both husband and wife should be clean, like the inside and outside of pot, otherwise, their married life would be like. Washing the arrack pot only outside as his vachana runs:

"Husband a devotee of Shivalinga,
Wife a devotee of Mari, Masani,
Husband takes offerings, made to God,
Wife takes arrack and flesh
The devotion of those whose containers
and the food are not clean
It is like washing the arrack pot

From the inside, Kudal Sangama"

Basaveshwara asserts that in marital relations the castes or the clan should not become an obstacle. Both husband and wife become the consorts of the Linga, so Sharana is the wife and Linga is the husband. Here Basaveshwara compares wife to the spiritual seeker and husband to the Divine being (Sharansati-Lingapati). Such spiritual relationship between wife and husband is real crux of Virshaivism. "A chaste lady remains ever beautiful to her husband and will not resort to any immoral life even if her husband turns out to be indifferent or show no love for her. So the true devotee Cherishes firm faith only in one God, the supreme, as a faithful wife has only one husband such rationalistic outlook, Basaveshwara expresses in the following vachana:

"Be hold a faithful wife has but one husband
Behold, a devotee, the true believer
Has but on God,
Look, the fellowship of other gods in base
Look, to speak of other gods in harlotry

Should Lord Kudalsangama see it
Look you, he will cut off your nose”

So belief in many Gods and husband's is nothing but a religious infidelity. Faith in one God is the only way to attain spiritual progress. Basaveshwar emphasizes the importance of Monotheism, in terms of spiritual aspects.

Basaveshwara, as the Great Emancipator provided the required or the needed platform for women to reach the spiritual height. Women were able to become the main stalwarts to champion their cause, as they had the legitimate forum i.e. Anubhava Mantapa. The leadership of Basaveshwara inspired women saints like Akka and Mukthayakka, to follow the mystical path of six stages and to attain the highest realization of the divine experience. Many women, including Neelambike and Gangambike (wives of Basaveshwara) joined their hands with Basaveshwara in the religious and spiritual revival and regeneration, giving a serious death below to the subordinate position accorded to women. Basaveshwara's philosophy was more liberal, as it believed in the remarriage of widows. There was the recognition of divine power of women by Sharanas. Virshaivism believes in family life or married life but it rejects the religion of renunciation. That is why, Basava was fortunate that his two wives, helped him in all possible ways in the accomplishment of his spiritual or religious endeavors. The divine married life according to Virshaivism knows no caste, clan or sex difference. The distinction that men for the world and women for the houses has no any place in the philosophy of Virashaivism. Basaveshwara always stood for the total transformation of the society, where women could be treated equal on par with men in spiritual and religious aspects. He identified his humanism with equality between men and women ascertaining the dictum that “Man is the brain and woman is the heart of humanity”

It was Basaveshwara, who led the movement towards wiping out the evils of illusion, the bondage of Karma, prostitution and rebirth. The movement enabled women to get rid of femaleness, which had many negative social connotations. Women became aware of their status or position by new ideas of equality preached by Basaveshwara and other Sharanas.

God created men and women free and equal but man, unfortunately pasted a label of caste or sex on to the new born baby, which came naked like all the rest into the world, as E.M. Forster an Essayist remarks:

“Naked I came into the world, naked I shall go out”.

The same has been reiterated by Basaveshwara and other Sharanas by arguing that ‘Man and women are made for each other and they are united in mind and heart and blessed by God’. The very concept of humanism will be self defeating, if women are excluded from its broad fold, and there is no such thing or concept as half-humanism

Conclusion:

Basava’s spiritual strength lighted the lamp of Divine luster, directing towards not for personal gains but for serving the poor the down trodden and women, who were exploited from the times immemorial in the name of religion and god.

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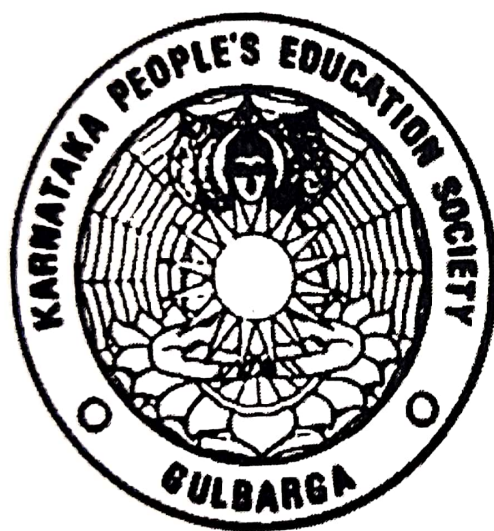
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14	COVID-19 AND INDIAN ECONOMY DR. SANGAPPA V. MAMANSHETTY	100
15	WOMEN EMPOWERMENT IN INDIA; CHALLENGES AND ISSUES PROF. NANDA MERWYN DAVID PROF. BASWARAJ SWAMY	100
16	EMANCIPATING AND STRENGTHENING INDIAN WOMEN: AN ANALYSIS OF B.R. AMBEDKAR'S CONTRIBUTION VITHAL WAGGAN	111
17	CHALLENGES TO OVERCOME COMMUNALISM IN INDIAN DEMOCRACY PROF. MAHANTESH BIDNOOR	121
18	PERFORMANCE OF PRADHANMANTRI AWAS YOJANA DR. R.V.GANGSHETTY	130
19	GOVERNMENT STRATEGY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA KOTALE BHIMARAYA HANAMANT	142
20	ROLE OF LIBRARY IN HIGHER EDUCATION OF INDIA PROF. VAIJINATH MALLIKARJUN	154
21	DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY AS EXTENSION OF WARFARE OF KOUTILYA SHIVAKUMAR SHIVASHARANAPPA DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	165
22	BASAVESHWARA: EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN VIJAYALAXMI DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	173
23	MEIRAKUMAR AS A FIRST SPEAKER IN INDIAN DEMOCRACY MANIK VITTAL DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	182
24	DR. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY PARAMESHWAR TALAKERI AMRUT DR. I.S.VIDYASAGAR	182

DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY AS EXTENSIONS OF WARFARE OF KAUTILYA

Shivakumar Shivasharanappa*
Dr.I.S. Vidyasagar**

ABSTRACT: Kautilya assumed that he lived in world of foreign relations in which one either conquered or suffered conquest. He did not say to himself, "Prepare for war, but hope for peace," but instead, "Prepare for war and plan to conquer." Diplomacy was just another weapon used in the prolonged warfare that was always either occurring or being planned for. After analyzing a king's unique configuration of potential enemies and allies, Kautilya then coldly calculated how that king must think and act. "The king endowed with personal excellences and those of his material constituents, the seat of good policy, is the would-be conqueror. Encircling him on all sides, with territory immediately next to his is the constituent called the enemy. In the same manner, one with territory separated by one (other territory) is the constituent called the ally."³ This much just repeats the principles of foreign policy discussed above, but then notice how Kautilya regarded neighboring states: "A neighboring prince possessed of the excellences of an enemy is the foe; one in calamity is vulnerable; one without support or with weak support is fit to be exterminated; in the reverse case, fit to be harassed or weakened. These are the different types of enemies." When Kautilya wrote of "exterminating" an enemy, he meant killing only the leaders. As we will see in more detail later, he thought the best policy toward ordinary soldiers and subjects was to treat them well and recruit them.

KEY WORDS: Mandala Theory, Vulnerable, extermination, obligation, self-interest, foreign Policy

*Research Scholar Dept. of Pol-Science Gulbarga University
Kalaburagi

**Associate Prof of Pol-Science Dr. Ambedkar College Kalaburagi

INTRODUCTION

As a political realist, Kautilya assumed that every nation acts to maximize power and self-interest, and therefore moral principles or obligations have little or among nations. While it is good to have an ally, the alliance will last only as long as it is in that ally's as well as one's own self-interest, because "an ally looks to the securing of his own interests in the event of simultaneity of calamities and in the event of the growth of enemy's power." Whether one goes to war or remains at peace depends entirely upon the self-interest of, or advantage to, one's kingdom: "War and peace are considered solely from the point of view of profit."¹ One keeps an ally not because of good will or moral obligation, but because one is strong and can advance one's own self-interest as well as the self-interest of the ally, for "when one has an army, one's ally remains friendly or (even) the enemy becomes friendly." Because nations always act in their political, economic and military self-interest, even times of peace have the potential to turn abruptly into times of war; allies into enemies and even enemies into allies. Burton Stein notes correctly that

War

Kautilya thought there was a "science" of warfare, presumably part of a larger science of politics. The Commandant of the Army, he suggested, should be "trained in the science of all (kinds of) fights and weapons, (and) renowned for riding on elephants, horses or in chariots." Just as Machiavelli advised his prince to attend to matters of warfare constantly, so did Kautilya advise the king not to leave military matters entirely to others: "Infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants should carry out practice in the arts outside (the city) at sun-rise... the king should constantly attend to that, and should frequently inspect their arts." Just as the king's agents spied on officials in the state bureaucracy, so too must the king have spies to assess the loyalty of soldiers. What greater threat is there to a king than having a military coup remove him from power? Kautilya recommended that "secret agents, prostitutes, artisans and actors as well as elders of the army should ascertain with diligence, the loyalty or disloyalty of soldiers."⁶

In his section on foreign policy, Kautilya wrote a startling sentence: "Of war, there is open war, concealed war and silent war. Open war is obvious, and concealed war is what we call guerrilla warfare, but silent war is a kind of warfare with another kingdom in which the king and his ministers and unknowingly, the people all act publicly as if they were at peace with the opposing kingdom, but all the while secret agents and spies are assassinating important leaders in the other kingdom, creating divisions among key ministers and classes and spreading propaganda and disinformation. According to Kautilya, "Open war is fighting at the place and time indicated; creating fright, sudden assault, striking when there is error or a calamity, giving way and striking in one place are types of concealed warfare; that which concerns secret practices and instigations through secret agents is the mark of silent war." In silent warfare secrecy is paramount and from a passage quoted earlier, the king can prevail only by "maintaining secrecy when striking again and again." This entire concept of secret war was apparently original with Kautilya.

Kautilya often advocated using women as weapons of war. He certainly regarded women as a source of satisfaction for troops at war, writing that when setting up camp for the army, "courtesans (should be encamped) along the highways."⁷

And Kautilya certainly saw women as an addictive source of pleasure, worse than wine or gambling, that a good king must enjoy only in moderation: "Deliverance is possible in gambling, without deliverance is addiction to women. Failure to show himself, aversion from work, absence of material good and loss of spiritual good by allowing the right time to pass, weakness in administration and addiction to drink (result from addiction to women)." Precisely because women are such a powerful addiction a king can use them against an enemy; for example, if a king is trying to undermine a ruling oligarchy, he "should make chiefs of the ruling council infatuated with women possessed of great beauty and youth. When passion is roused in them, they should start quarrels by creating belief (about their love) in one and by going to another." A woman supposedly in love with one leader should go to another, profess her love for him, urge him to murder the first leader, and "then she

should proclaim, 'My lover has been killed by so and so.'" Obviously such tactics create mistrust among leaders of an oligarchy and also bring about the death of key enemies. In the chapters about how a weak king can stave off disastrous conquest by a stronger king, Kautilya again turned, as just one possible tactic among many, to women as weapons of war, stating that "keepers of prostitutes should make the (enemy's) army chiefs infatuated with women possessed of great beauty and youth. When many or two of the chiefs feel passion for one woman, assassins should create quarrels among them." Secret agents can destroy high officers in the enemy army either with poison or with "love-winning medicines."⁸

Which States to Attack?

In Kautilya's view of the world, expansion by a prosperous kingdom was inevitable, natural, and good, and as a consequence, moral considerations did not enter into his deliberations, only what was for the good of the kingdom. If a king can win, then he should go to war. As Kangle says, the Arthashastra "preaches an ideal of conquest." But who should be attacked? This is not an ethical question. The decision takes only careful calculation and observes the principle that a king should attack weakness. Certain states are vulnerable. If a state is unjust, then its people will welcome a deliverer from a tyrannical king if a kingdom is weakened from a poor economy, or if a state has experienced some kind of calamity ranging from fires to flood or famine, then a king "should make war and march." As Rajendra Prasad says, Kautilya believed that "whenever an enemy king is in trouble and his subjects are exploited, oppressed, impoverished and disunited, he should be immediately attacked after one proclamation of war."¹⁰

Every adjacent kingdom should be looked upon as an enemy and classified. If a kingdom is strong, Kautilya called it a "for"; if a kingdom is suffering calamity, then it is "vulnerable"; if a kingdom has weak or no popular support, then "it is fit to be exterminated." Even if one cannot attack a strong neighbor or "foe," one can harass it silently and weaken it over time. What Kautilya called an enemy "fit to be exterminated" was an enemy with little or no popular support, an enemy whose subjects quite likely would desert to Kautilya's attacking army. And Kautilya argued, or perhaps assumed, that imperial expansion was the correct goal:

"After conquering the enemy's territory, the conqueror should seek to seize the middle king, after succeeding over him, the neutral king. This is first method of conquering the world.... And after conquering the world he should enjoy it divided into varnas ... in accordance with his own duty."¹¹

In Kautilya's mind, treaties were agreements between kingdoms of roughly equal power, agreements a king should break if they are no longer advantageous, and thus, believing that a treaty will provide a wall of protection against a strong enemy would be a foolish act. If an ally with whom a king has a treaty becomes weakened, that is, if the treaty is no longer to a king's advantage, then the king "should violate the treaty," or "when after making a pact he intends to violate it, he should demand a gain not received or more." Because Kautilya thought that promises or agreements were strategies and not moral obligations, he had no moral qualms about violating a promise and recommended that "The commander of a frontier fort, by offering the surrender of the fort, should get part of the (enemy's) troops inside and destroy (them) when full of trust." To protect his own people, a king has an obligation to weaken or destroy and potential enemy: "That ally who might do harm or who, though capable, would not help in times of trouble, he should certainly exterminate him, when trustingly, he comes within his reach." Charles Drekmeier is certainly correct in saying that, "In outlining military campaigns Kautilya disregards the traditional humanitarian principles laid down to regulate the conduct of war." In Book 9, Kautilya listed various "hindrances to gain"; among them were pity, piety and "regard for the other world." In short, in waging war, compassion and morality and religious principles have no place, unless they are useful for bringing victory.

In another way, moral considerations did enter into Kautilya's calculations. Whereas it is best to wage war against an unjust king who has no public support, it is wise to avoid war with a righteous king whose subjects will fight energetically on his behalf. Kautilya noted that if one has a choice about where to attack, it is always best to attack an unjust kingdom, because "The subjects help the king who is justly behaved... Therefore, (a king) should march only against (an enemy) with disaffected subjects." Once more, morality is sometimes advantageous and in one's self-interest, for

"The unjustly behaved (king) would cause even settled land to be laid waste." By being unjust, a king loses all popular support, thereby weakening the kingdom and making it easily conquered: "The king fit to be exterminated, being without support or with weak support, is deserted by his subjects when, on being attacked, wishes to flee taking with him the treasury and the army." If a king has a choice of attacking a strong king who is unjust or a weak king who is just, he should actually attack stronger king, because the stronger king's subjects, weary of injustice, will not help the strong king and might even join the war against him. An unjust state is really two states, already at war with one other, the rulers and the ruled. Kautilya paused to remind a king how practical it was to be just toward his subjects because "subjects, when impoverished, become greedy; when greedy they become disaffected when disaffected they either go over to the enemy or themselves kill the master. Therefore, (a king) should not allow these causes of decline, greed and disaffection among the subjects to arise, or if arisen, should immediately counter act them." A domestic political policy of social justice is in the long run, the best defense against outside enemies, because "one attacking a righteous king is hated by his own people and by others; one attacking an unrighteous king is liked (by them)."¹²

Kautilya maintained that a humanitarian policy toward a defeated people was practical. If a king massacres these whom he has defeated, then he frightens all those kingdoms that surround him and terrifies even his own ministers. Rather, one gains more land and new and loyal subjects if one treats the defeated in a magnanimous manner. Certainly a conquering king must silently kill those former leaders loyal to the defeated king, but those who approach him promising loyalty should be treated generously; He should not use towards them insults, injuries, contemptuous words or reproaches. And after promising them safety, he should favour them like a father." Because a conquering king intends to expand his territory and acquire new subjects, he must treat a defeated people well. The victor, "after gaining new territory, should cover the enemy's faults with his own virtue, his virtues with double virtues. He should carry out what is agreeable and beneficial to his subjects by doing his own duty as laid down, granting favours, giving

exemptions, making gifts and showing honour." Indeed, the conquering king should "order the release of all prisoners and render help to the distressed, the helpless and the diseased." It is sound military policy to "establish a righteous course of conduct." What is moral is once more practical. Just as one can kill a traitor, but cannot use force "against a multitude of people," so one can kill the leaders of a defeated kingdom, but must bring the great majority of the citizens peacefully into one's own kingdom. In this instance, Kautilya was following the traditional advice given in the Dharmasutras that "Aryans condemn the killing of those who have thrown their weapons, who have disheveled hair, who fold their hands in supplication, or who are fleeing." And by these actions, Kautilya fit his own definition of a righteous conqueror who sought victory and the submission of the enemy, but not greedy pillaging or lawless killing.

Using Secret Agents, Assassins, Disinformation and Propaganda

Kautilya was ready to use almost any means of violence in fighting a war, although he wanted his king to direct his violence toward the leaders of the opposing kingdom and not toward ordinary people. For example, Kautilya discussed at length how to employ poison, but almost always directed its use at key enemy commanders. He advised that when "giving unadulterated wine to the army chiefs, (the secret agent) should give them (wine) mixed with poison when they are in a state of intoxication." Whereas Kautilya did suggest that an army laying siege to a fort try to "defile the water," this measure seems designed to make those in the fort. Mostly, Kautilya addressed the question of how to assassinate a king by hiding "inside the image of a deity or a hollow wall" and emerging at night, by making something heavy fall on the king, or by using women as secret agents to "drop on him serpents or poisonous fire and smoke." Kautilya was willing to use any possible means to assassinate an enemy king drown him, burn him with fire, suffocate him with smoke, or even use crocodiles as assassins, not to mention employing women and children as poison givers. The wonder of assassination, according to Kautilya, is that it is so efficient, "for, an assassin, single-handed, may be able to achieve his end with weapon, poison and fire. He does the work of a whole army or more." In an unrealistic passage in the Dharmasutras that

Kautilya most certainly ignored, the authors directed that a king should not "strike with barbed or poisoned weapons"!

Aside from assassination, another method used to defeat an enemy without full-scale battle was to arrange for the enemy to quarrel and fight among itself. We have already seen how Kautilya intended to use beautiful women to instigate fights among high officers or officials. If the promise of pleasure can ignite quarrels, so can the promise of power. One should arrange for a secret agent, disguised as an astrologer, to tell a high officer that he has all the marks of a king and similarly arrange for a female secret agent, the wife of the officer, to complain that the king wants to keep her in his harem. A third secret agent who is a cook or a waiter should lie, saying that the king has ordered him or her to poison the high officer. "Thus with one or two or three means," according to Kautilya, the king "should incite the high officers one by one to fight or desert" the enemy king. In a discussion about sowing dissensions among oligarchies, Kautilya suggested that "assassins should start quarrels by injuring objects, cattle or men at night," "should stir up princelings enjoying low comforts with (a longing for) superior comforts," and "should start quarrels among the followers of the chiefs in the oligarchy by praising the opponents in brothels and taverns." The goals were constantly to "sow discord" and to foment and inflame "mutual hatred, enmity and strife."¹⁴

Another military tactic that Kautilya praised was what we now call disinformation or propaganda designed to demoralize or frighten enemy soldiers. For example, secret agents should appear as messengers to troops saying, "Your fort has been burnt down or captured a revolt by a member of your family has broken out; or, your enemy or a forest chieftain has risen (against you)." After spreading the rumor that the Regent or a high administrator of the enemy king has announced that the king is in trouble and may not come back alive and thus people should take wealth by force and kill their enemies, secret agents should kill and steal at night, trying to cause civil upheaval: "When the rumor has spread far and wide, assassins should rob citizens at night and slay chiefs, (saying at the time), 'Thus are dealt with (those) who do not obey the Regent.'" Then they should put bloody evidence in the Regent's residence. Again, secret agents should spread rumors, always in a confidential

the king is furious with such and such a leader. Then these agents should assassinate key leaders and say "to those who have not been slain, 'This is what we had told you; he who wants to remain alive should go away.'" Kautilya was especially fond of the tactic of utilizing disinformation to flatter a second or third son and thus persuade him to try a coup against his own family. Convinced that disinformation could also inspire his own troops, Kautilya wanted agents to announce victories and fictitious defeats of the enemy; "On the occasion of a night-battle, (secret agents) should strike many drums, fixed beforehand as a signal, and announce, 'We have entered it; the kingdom is won.'"¹⁵

Much of this disinformation made use of religion. Placed strategically, astrologers "should fill (the king's) side with enthusiasm by proclaiming his omniscience and association with divine agencies and should fill the enemy's side with terror." Once more the needs of the state are primary and the king commands religion to serve the state: "He should make (Brahmins) recite blessings invoking victory and securing heaven." Singers and poets should "describe the attainment of heaven by the brave and the absence of heaven for cowards." Secret agents who have infiltrated the enemy side should use animal blood in order to "cause an excessive flow (of blood) from honoured images of deities," and then interpret that as a sure sign of future defeat for the enemy. Kautilya wanted anyone associated with religion or superstition "soothsayers, interpreters of omens, astrologers, reciters of Puranas" and so on to proclaim to his own troops and to the enemy the king's "association with divinities" or "his meeting with divinities," creating confidence on his own side and simultaneously terror and misgivings among enemy soldiers. Those priests in charge of interpreting omens must make certain that dreams must make certain that dreams and other signs are always favorable to the king's efforts and unfavorable to the enemy. Every kind of superstition can be useful. And for Kautilya, religious authorities must be for hire.

In addition to brave and well equipped soldiers, warfare requires deception and over and again Kautilya advocated the above measures and more for deceiving both his own and the enemy troops. If caught behind enemy lines, Kautilya outlined ways for one

to escape "in the disguise of a heretical monk," "decked out as a corpse," or "wearing a woman's garb." And he was eager to terrify the enemy by such multiple and varied means as by using "machines by the employment of occult practices, through assassins slaying those engaged in something else, by magical arts, by (a show of) association with divinities, through carts, by frightening with elephants," and so on. A favorite tactic in battle was to pretend to be defeated, retreat in apparent disorder, and then attack a disorganized and unsuspecting enemy. The leader, "feigning a rout with treasonable, alien and forest troops, should strike at the (pursuing enemy when he has) reached unsuitable ground." At all times, Kautilya wanted his king to use deception, play roles, and create appearances. Why risk heavy losses or even defeat in battle if deception and assassination can weaken or even defeat the enemy? Even if a king is forced to surrender in order to survive, Kautilya wanted him to pretend that his surrender was "an excellent thing" until he was clever or strong enough to fight back. Warfare was violent, but it also called for one who could calmly create false impressions, like a poker player.

Conclusion

To return to Machiavelli's *The Art of War* after reading the military writing of Kautilya is jolting. It becomes readily apparent that Machiavelli is not even trying to tell us something new about warfare because he believed the ancient Greeks and Romans knew it all aside from such things as artillery. What did Machiavelli want to resurrect from ancient Rome and transport to Renaissance Florence? He wanted Rome's battalions and legions and cohorts and maybe Scipio once again arrayed across the plain from Hannibal. And thus compared to Kautilya and Sun Tzu, Machiavelli's writings on warfare are tired and tedious, filled with nostalgia for long-dead legions that once gained glory. He wanted the public battlefield, the grand spectacle, fame for some and cowardice for others. Sun Tzu and Kautilya did not care a whit for glory and fame. They wanted to win at all costs and to keep casualties on both sides to a minimum. Said Sun Tzu, "For to win one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the acme of skill. To subdue the enemy without fighting is acme of skill." They were also prepared to win in ways Machiavelli would regard as dishonorable and disgraceful

assassination, disinformation, causing quarrels between ministers by means of jealousy over a beautiful woman planted as a secret agent and so on. Machiavelli who offers no systematic discussion of even guerrilla warfare would have been easily outmatched by generals reading either Sun Tzu or Kautilya. Arthashastra written in the 4th century before Christ, is a work whose relevance has not faded even after 24 centuries have gone by Arthashastra is the evidence of the intellectual capital India possessed in its glorious past. We have the tradition of the past. We need the attitude for resurrecting and recreating the intellectual capital for the future.

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SHARANAS: EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

VIJAYALAXMI*

DR IS VIDYASAGAR**

ABSTRACT: The socio-religious movement or revolution of Sharanas in Kalyan against the discrimination of caste, creed or religion across the country and attracted likeminded people including women. Only the Sharanas understood and realized the position of women and provided an equal status and opportunity on par with men in spiritual matters. Their action towards the emancipation of women should be considered as the first movement ever launched. The system of family preached by Sharanas is quite unique. Hence, spirituality is the starting point for any transformation to a better pace. So "Sharanas propounded the concept of equality between men and women first from the spiritual level"² According to Sharanas, the soul does not discriminate as regarded gender or sex. Body is basically the same, it is only the soul, which appears as men and women. So human being is in soul and not the body. "What is the sex of the soul"? He attached much importance to the concept of "Kayaka", in which, every man and woman was engaged, without barriers of caste or sex. All Sharanas and Virashivanis were engaged in some or the other way in Kayaka, actively participating in spiritual deliberations and discussions at Kumbhava Mantapa.

KEYWORDS: Emancipation, Sharanas, Discrimination, Kayaka, Virashivism, Spirituality, transformation, Bhakti, Muliti, Yukti

*Research Scholar Dept. of Pol-Science Gulbarga University Kalaburagi

**Associate Prof of Pol-Science Dr. Ambedkar College Kalaburagi

INTRODUCTION

The socio-religious movement or revolution of Basaveshwar in Kalyan against the discrimination of caste, creed or sex cut across the country and attracted likeminded people including women. The vachanas with spiritual value containing the thoughts of Sharanas appear to be more advanced even to this modern age of science and technology to Gerald a new ray of hope to the humanity. The thoughts of Sharanas through vachanas aimed at creating oneness of mankind. The contributions of Sharanas though vachana literature, have enriched the spiritual heritage of India.

According to Virasivism, "men and women differ only in physiological level but are one and the same in metaphysical aspect."¹

Only the Sharanas understood and realized the position of women and provided an equal status and opportunity on par with men in spiritual matters. Their action towards the emancipation of women should be considered as the first movement ever launched. The system of family preached by Sharanas is quite unique. Because, spirituality is the starting point for any transformation to take place. So "Sharanas propounded the concept of equality between men and women first from the spiritual level"²

II. CONTRIBUTION OF BASAVESHWARA.

According to Sharanas, the soul does not discriminate as regarded gender or sex. Body is basically the same, it is only the soul, which appears as man and women. So human being is in soul and not the body.

The Virsaiva view of man and woman can be best understood in the following vachana of Devara Dasimayya (an elderly contemporary of Basaveshwar)

"A woman is identified

By her breasts and plait

And a man, by his beards and moustaches

But the soul, within the two

Is neither woman or man

O Lord Ramanath

Sharanas also pointed out that woman is not an illusion. She is a living being like man in every walk of life. To consider woman as an illusion, represent the self-aggrandizement of the male. It is unfair to consider woman as an illusion. So, Allam Prabhu the exalted spiritual soul, who presided over Anubhava Mantap observes:

"They say that woman is an enticement,
No, No, she is not so,
They say that money is an enticement,
No, No, it is not so
They say that landed property is an enticement
No, No, it is not so,
The real enticement is the insatiable appetite
of mind

So this view is unanimously shared by all Sharanas including Basaveshwara, woman is not a lamp lighting the path of hell. Women should not be considered as responsible for the down fall of men. So women, property and wealth are not temptations. The real cause of temptation is man's uncontrolled, unchecked inner desire to possess them. It is futile to search the cause of so Allam Prabhu declares "Men die for wealth, for women and for lands".

The Sharanas raise this question, when both are made of the same metal one can attain divinity and why another should not? So in Virsaivism, woman is not dismissed as an obstacle in the path of spirituality, Another Sharana i.e. Siddharama, upholding the nobility of womanhood proclaims;

"Woman is not just a female sex

Woman is not a demon even,

Women is the very embodiment

of God Kapilsidha Mallikarjun

Basaveshwara and other Sharanas join in the chorus of her praise, as she is considered as the main source of Bhakti, Mukti and Yukti as it is asserted.

When she arrives at Kalyan and enters the Anubhava Mantapa, all Sharanas including Allam Prabhu and Basaveshwara, accorded a hearty and warm welcome to her and appreciated her

spiritual height. All were surprised to see how she could overcome the loudly passions. Shivasharanis and Sharanas of Virasiva movement, asserting the principle of equality based on the basis of soul, delivered a message to the women's movements to transcend material demands, aiming at spiritual upliftment.

The 12th century witnessed a revolution in Karnataka against the exploitation of women in the name of religion. Basaveshwara, who spearheaded the movement, determined to abolish all obstacles and social disability inherent in the traditional order. Sharing the experiences and the thoughts of all Sharanas and Shivasharanis, Basava asked:

"What is the sex of the soul"? He attached much importance to the principle of "Kayaka", in which, every man and woman was engaged, without berries of caste or sex. All Sharanas and Shivasharanis were engaged in some or the other way in Kayaka, actively participating in spiritual deliberations and discussions at Anubhava Mantapa.

Basaveshwara's mission was to elevate the womanhood by the introduction of the ceremony of Linga Diksha".⁸ He never considered woman as the embodiment of evil and root of all sexual sin. According to him, the impurity does not lie in sexuality itself but it lies in the desire for another's wife as his Vachana ascertains the same:

"If you express your senses,
You will get into trouble,
all the five senses will come forward
to frustrate you.
Did Siriyala and canagale give up the pleasures of
man and wife?
Did sindhu ballala give up his
favorite enjoyment, the pleasures
of man and wife?
I take this vow before you
If I ever desire another's property
or wife, let me be dismissed from you foot
O Lord of the Meeting Rivers"

Basaveshwara express the spiritual view that the male devotee regards himself as the wife of Siva, his relationship with Linga is a marriage in which he is the female having subordinate position. In this regard, the following vacana of Basaveshwara bears the witness:

'Listen to me dear fallows,
I wear these men's clothes,
Only for you
Sometimes I am a man
Sometimes I am a woman
O Lord of the meeting River's

Basaveshwara also warned against the desire or the lust for other women. One should not have that desire to have another's goods or property or wife. A typical example of such connection is found in the following:

"How can I pretend to be bhakta,
Unless I break away from the
Company of wordings?
How can I pretend to be Maheshwar?
Unless I break away from the
Spell of another's wife or property?

Virshaivism, as has been already pointed out is based on the principle of satsthala, where the devotee experiences spirituals development in six phases, according to which, the devotee, is to dissociate himself from the cycle of rebirth, then and then only, he becomes the Master or Maheswara.

The desire for another's wife leads to desire for property of one's neighbor so one has to give up such desire and try to be a devotee of Shiva always thinking interms of the welfare of all, so the same message Basava, preaches in the following vachana.

"O brothers, taking a bath in the river
O masters, taking a bath in the river
give up, give up.
Give up relations with others wives,
Give up desire for another's property
If you go for a bath in the river,
Without giving up these,
It is like going for bath in a river

gone dry, O Lord of the
Meeting Rivers

All Sharanam including Basaveshwara, accord not only mother's position, to women but treat her equal to Parvathi. A married woman has to be treated as if her womb is the womb of man's birth. Woman should be treated as Goddess Gowri and if any one treats her as whore, according to Jedar Dasimayya is thrown into the hell. Sharanas also point out that anyone who hankers another woman is like a person eating the flesh of dead dog.

According to Basaveshwara, both husband and wife should be clean, like the inside and outside of pot, otherwise, their married life would be like. Washing the arrack pot only outside as his vachana runs:

"Husband a devotee of Shivalinga,
Wife a devotee of Mari, Masani,

Husband takes offerings, made to God,

Wife takes arrack and flesh

The devotion of those whose containers
and the food are not clean

It is like washing the arrack pot

From the inside, Kudal Sangama"

Basaveshwara asserts that in marital relations the castes or the clan should not become an obstacle. Both husband and wife become the consorts of the Linga, so Sharana is the wife and Linga is the husband. Here Basaveshwara compares wife to the spiritual seeker and husband to the Divine being (Sharansati-Lingapati). Such spiritual relationship between wife and husband is real crux of Virshaivism. "A chaste lady remains ever beautiful to her husband and will not resort to any immoral life even if her husband turns out to be indifferent or show no love for her. So the true devotee Cherishes firm faith only in one God, the supreme, as a faithful wife has only one husband such rationalistic outlook, Basaveshwara expresses in the following vachana:

"Be hold a faithful wife has but one husband

Behold, a devotee, the true believer

Has but on God,

Look, the fellowship of other gods in base

Look, to speak of other gods in harlotry

Should Lord Kudalsangama see it
Look you, he will cut off your nose"

So belief is many Gods and husband's is nothing but a religious infidelity. Faith in one God is the only way to attain spiritual progress. Basaveshwar a emphasizes the importance of Monotheism, interms of spiritual aspects.

Basaveshwara, as the Great Emancipator provided the required or the needed platform for women to reach the spiritual height. Women were able to become the main stalwarts to champion their cause, as they had the legitimate forum i.e. Anubhava Mantapa. The leadership of Basaveshwara inspired women saints like Akka and Mukthayakka, to fallow the mystical path of six stages and to attain the highest realization of the divine experience. Many women, including Neelambike and Gangambike (wives of Basaveshwara) joined their hands with Basaveshwara in the religious and spiritual revival and regeneration, giving a serious death below to the subordinate position accorded to women. Basaveshwara's philosophy was more liberal, as it believed in the remarriage of widows. There was the recognition of divine power of women by Sharanas. Virshaivism believes in family life or married life but it rejects the religion of renunciation. That is why, Basava was fortunate that his two wives, helped him in all possible ways in the accomplishment of his spiritual or religious endeavors. The divine married life according to Virshaivism knows no caste, clan or sex difference. The distinction that men for the world and women for the houses has no any place in the philosophy of Virshaivism. Basaveshwara always stood for the total transformation of the society, where women could be treated equal on par with men in spiritual and religious aspects. He identified his humanism with equality between men and women ascertaining the dictum that "Man is the brain and woman is the heart of humanity"

It was Basaveshwara, who led the movement towards wiping out the evils of illusion, the bondage of Karma, prostitution and rebirth. The movement enabled women to get rid of femaleness, which had many negative social connotations. Women became aware of their status or position by new ideas of equality preached by Basaveshwara and other Sharanas.

God created men and women free and equal but man, unfortunately putted a label of caste or sex on to the new born baby, which came naked like all the rest into the world, as E.M. Forster in Essayist remarks:

"Naked I came into the world, naked I shall go out".

The same has been reiterated by Basaveshwara and other Sharanas by arguing that 'Man and women are made for each other and they are united in mind and heart and blessed by God'. The very concept of humanism will be self defeating, if women are excluded from its broad fold, and there is no such thing or concept as half-humanism.

Conclusion:

Basava's spiritual strength lighted the lamp of Divine luster, directing towards not for personal gains but for serving the poor the down trodden and women, who were exploited from the times immemorial in the name of religion and god.

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MEIRA KUMAR AS A FIRST LADY SPEAKER IN INDIAN DEMOCRACY

*Manik Vittal**

*Dr. I. S. Vidya Sagar***

INTRODUCTION:

In the year 2009 a new chapter was added to the glorious history of our Parliament with the election of Shrimati Meira Kumar as the first lady Speaker of Lok Sabha. It was for the first time that the house, in one voice, unanimously elected a woman to this high constitutional position.

EARLY LIFE:

Meira Kumar was born on 31st March 1945 in Arrah district, Bihar of the British India (present day Bihar, India) to Jagrivan Ram, a dalit leader and former Deputy Prime Minister and Maharani Devi, a prominent leader of the Indian freedom struggle. Growing up, Kumar shared a close relationship with her mother, who she spent most of her time with. She discussed the impact that her mother had on her in an interview with Manoj Tibrewal of the Doordarshan News, calling her the biggest influence from her childhood.

Kumar attended the Welham Girls School, Dehradun and Maharani Gayatri Devi Girls' Public School in Jaipur. She studied at Banasthali Vidyapith for a short duration, she completed her Master's degree and Bachelors of Law at Indraprastha College and Miranda House, Delhi University. She also received an honorary doctorate from Banasthali Vidyapith in 2010. Kumar worked as a social worker during her youth, actively participating in movements supporting social reforms, human rights, and democratic ideas. She was appointed as the Chairperson of National Drought Relief Committee constituted by the Congress during 1967 famine in region of Bihar. As the head of the commission, Kumar launched a

**Research Scholar Dept. of Pol-Science Gulbarga University
Kalaburagi*

***Associate Prof of Pol-Science Dr. Ambedkar College Kalaburagi*

Family Adoption Scheme under which drought affected families were provided support from volunteering household.

FOREIGN SERVICE:

Kumar joined the Indian Foreign Service in 1973 and was the ambassador to Embassy of India in Madrid, Spain, a position that she held from 1976 to 1977. During her time in Madrid, Kumar graduated with an advanced diploma in Spanish. Following that, Kumar was appointed as the High Commission of India to the United Kingdom in 1977. She was stationed in the India House, London for two years until the end of her term in 1979. After working as an ambassador for a little over a decade, Kumar quit the Indian Foreign Services in 1985 and decided to enter politics after being encouraged by her father and the then Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi.

POLITICAL CAREER:

Kumar entered electoral politics in 1985, when she received an Indian National Congress nomination for the Lok Sabha from the Bijnor constituency in Uttar Pradesh. She defeated, as a newcomer, two veteran dalit leaders including Ram Vilas Paswan of the Janata Dal and Mayawati of the Bahujan Samajwadi Party. Following her election to the Lok Sabha, Kumar was appointed as member of the Ministry of External Affairs Consultative Committee in 1986.

Meira Kumar made her political debut in 1985 when she was elected to the 8th Lok Sabha in a bye-election from Bijnor in Uttar Pradesh. She represented the constituency of Karol Bagh in Delhi twice during her membership of the 11th and 12th Lok Sabha. In 2004 she entered the 14th Lok Sabha with a record winning margin from Sasaram in Bihar. It was an emotional victory as people of Sasaram had unfailingly elected her late father for 50 long years. Her term in the 15th Lok Sabha is also from the Sasaram Parliamentary Constituency. Meira Kumar belongs to a rare group of leaders to have won Lok Sabha elections from three different States. She also served as General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, 1991-92, 1996-99 and was member, Congress Working Committee, 1991-2000, 2002-04.

A true adherent of Babuji's philosophy of progress through social justice, her rise to one of the highest elected offices in the

country is the result of a dedicated dialogue she has kept alive with India, its diversity, culture and complexities. In the 27 years since her political debut, she has emerged as a determined advocate of a secular and democratic India. Always striving towards an equal and inclusive society, Meira Kumar has been a tireless worker for the cause of women's empowerment, a casteless society and those on the margins of development. Blessed with wit and a sense of humour, she also has the rare ability to address issues both objectively and with great empathy. She has since assumed the office of Speaker, Lok Sabha, elevated parliamentary discourse, enriched House proceedings and the working of parliamentary Committees with her exceptional ideas, broad intellect and power of persuasion. Committed to the traditions of Parliament, she has earned the admiration of parliamentarians across party lines. She has through her own example brought renewed respect for dignity and decorum in the country's highest Legislative body.

The leaders who facilitated Meira Kumar on the occasion included Leader of the House-Pranab Mukherjee, Leader of Opposition-Lal Krishna Advani, Basudeb Acharya, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Kumari Mamata Banerjee, Arjun Charan Sethi, T.R. Baalu, Chandrakant Khaire, Dr. M. Thambidurai, Sharad Pawar, Sharad Yadav, Nama Nageswara Rao, Gurudas Dasgupta, Lalu Prasad, Dr. Ratan Singh Ajnala, E. Ahamed, Sharifuddin Shariq, H.D. Deve Gowda, Asaduddin Owaisi, Inder Singh Namdhari and Dr. Bali Ram. They underscored the point that for the first time, a woman with rich and varied experience as a diplomat and accomplished administrator has occupied an exalted position in India's temple of democracy. They hoped that being the illustrious daughter of a distinguished and eminent parliamentarian, she would protect the interests of all sections of the house.

She was Member of the Government of India Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, USA 1994, As a Minister, she visited Belgium 2008, Mauritius 2007, Egypt 2007 and accompanied President, Dr. Abdul Kalam on state visit to Tanzania and South Africa 2004. She was a member of All Party Delegation of MPs to conference on Towards Détente in the Sub-Continent, Islamabad, Pakistan, 1999.

She led the Indian National Congress Party Delegations to POSSAC Conference, Greece, 1996; World Conference on solidarity with Cub, Havana, 1994; Inaugural Function of the Indian National congress of America, San Francisco, 1994; Socialist International conference, Sweden, 1989 and was a Member of the Congress Party Delegation to Mauritius for MMM (the ruling party) Conference 1993 and 1987.

She headed the Indian Non-Government Delegation to United Nations Preparatory Committee Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, and led the Indian delegation to the Conference on Democracy, Detroit, USA, 1989; and Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Geneva, 2000.

She was the chief speaker at the Golden Jubilee celebration of India's Independence. University of Hull. England 1997 and Guru Ravidas Birth Anniversary celebrations, United Kingdom, 1993.

A former diplomat, Meira Kumar has added a new dimension to Parliamentary diplomacy by evocatively projecting India's views at various bilateral and multilateral fora. She has received twenty- four foreign delegations in the parliament and has interacted with Parliamentarians across the globe.

SPEAKER MERIA KUMAR

As Speaker, Meira Kumar was the Leader of the Indian Parliamentary Delegations to New Zealand, Pakistan, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay 2012; Iran, Japan, Denmark, Sweden, Vietnam, Mexico, United Kingdom 2011; Mongolia, Hungary, Luxembourg, Bhutan and Mauritius 2010; and Austria 2009.

She led India Parliamentary Delegations to Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Mid-Year Executive Committee Meetings, Nuku'a Lofa Tonga 17 April- 21 April, 2012; 126th Assembly of the Inter-parliamentary Union, Kampala, Uganda, 31 March 5 April, 2012; 21st Commonwealth Speakers and Presiding officers Conference, Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago 7-12 January, 2012; 125th assembly of Inter-parliamentary Union, Bern, Switzerland, 16-19 October, 2011; 124th IPU Assembly held in Panama City Panama, 15-20 April, 2011; 57th Commonwealth Parliamentary conference, London, United Kingdom, 21-28 July, 2011; Second G-20 Speakers Consultation Meeting, Seoul, South Korea, 18-20 May, 2011; 3rd CPA Asia Regional Conference,

Colombo, Sri Lanka, 11-16 February, 2011; Meeting of Standing Committee of CSPOC, Douglas, Isle of Man, 12-15 January, 2011; 123rd IPU Assembly Geneva, Switzerland, 1-8 October, 2010; 56th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Nairobi, Kenya, September, 2010; sixth Annual Meeting of Women Speakers of Parliament, Bern, 16-17 July, 2010; Fourth and Fifth (Final) Meeting of the Preparatory Committee, Geneva, 18-20 July, 2010; 3rd World Conference of speakers of Parliament, Geneva, 19-21 July, 2010; Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Mid-Year Executive Committee Meeting Mbabane, Swaziland. 8-13 May, 2010; 122nd IPU Assembly, Bangkok, Thailand, March-April, 2010; Second Meeting of the preparatory committee of the Third World Conference of Speakers of parliaments, New York, USA, 16-17 November, 2009; 121st Assembly of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, Geneva, October, 2009; 55th Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, Arusha, Tanzania, September-October, 2009; and Meeting of Speakers of Lower Chambers of G-8 and outreach countries, Rome (Italy), 12-13 September, 2009.

On 27 April, 2010, before the submission of the Outstanding Demands for Grants relating to the Ministries/ Departments to vote of the House, Meira Kumar made the following observation:

“Shri Caurudas Dasgupta, Hon'ble Member, in a letter addressed to me raised an important point relating to the right of the members of the House in moving cut motions on the demands for grants which are guillotined. He quoted Article 113 of the Constitution and stated that since the Constitution vests in the House of the people the power to assent to a demand subject to reduction of the amount specified in that demand, the members have the right to move cut motions on any demand submitted to the House for its approval.

This point was also raised in the Business Advisory Committee Meeting held on 15 April, 2010, by Smt. Sushma Swaraj, the Leader of Opposition, and other Hon'ble Members. I had promised to examine this issue in terms of the Constitutional Provisions and Rules and practices followed in the House.

The practice followed so far in the House has been that the cut motions in respect of the Demands for Grants which are to be

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guillotined, are not circulated and thus not allowed to be moved. But, I did not find any rule which bars the moving of cut motions on demands which are not discussed in the House.

The right to move a cut motion flows from the power vested in the House under Article 113 of the Constitution to assent to any demand subject to a reduction of the amount specified in that demand. This Article or any of the Rules does not make any distinction between the demands which are discussed in the House and those which are guillotined. Article 113 uses the words 'any demand'. It is thus clear that cut motions can be moved on all demands submitted to the House under Article 113(2).

I have given careful consideration to the rules as well as the practice that has been followed all these years in respect of cut motions. I have also examined the constitutional provision which vests the power in the House of the People to reduce any demand submitted to the House. Constitutional right is a superior right and it overrides practices, right to move cut motions is an important right of the Members of the House provided in the Constitution which cannot be curtailed. I am, therefore, allowing the cut motions to be moved on demands which are to be guillotined.

Her concern about increasing the efficacy and smooth proceedings of the Question Hour has resulted in amending certain rules. According to new rules: (i) for giving notices of Questions, a uniform period of 15 days is prescribed by doing away with the minimum and maximum period of 10 and 21 days, respectively; (ii) the Hon'ble Speaker has been vested with powers to direct answer to a Starred Question of a member who is absent in the House when his name is called; (iii) a minister is now required to make a Statement in the House correcting the reply given earlier, irrespective of the fact whether the reply given to a Question was starred or Unstarred or a Short Notice Question, etc.; and (iv) the number of notices of Questions which a member is entitled to give, both for oral and written answers, has been limited to 10.

As per the decision of the Hon'ble Speaker, Meira Kumar, a new procedure for raising matters of urgent public importance in the Zero Hour has been introduced with effect from 17 July, 2009. According to it, the members shall have to give notices in

ISSN No. 0974-8081 PRADESH JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES Volume 7 Issue 4 July-Dec-2011

authorized representatives from 08:30 hrs. to 09:00 hrs on the day they desire to raise the issue in the House. Notices received after 09:00 hrs. shall be treated as time-barred. Only twenty matters as per their priority in a ballot to be held, will be allowed to be raised on a day. The order in which the twenty matters will be raised, shall be decided by the Hon'ble Speaker at her discretion. In the first phase, five matters of urgent national and international importance, to be decided by the Chair, will be taken up after Question Hour and laying of papers, etc. In the second phase, remaining admitted matters of urgent public importance will be taken up after 6:00 P.M. or at the end of the regular business of the House.

On 5 November, 2009, the Speaker, Lok Sabha took a decision that whenever it is decided to treat the matter under Rule 377 as laid on the Table of the House, the following procedure will be followed with effect from 15 November 2009.

In case, it is decided by the Chair that the matters under Rule 377 will be treated as laid on the Table of the House, an announcement shall be made by the Chair that those members who have been permitted to raise matters under Rule 377 on that day may send slips at the Table within 20 minutes. Thereafter, members who have been permitted and are desirous of laying their matters personally handover slips, at the Table for inclusion of their matters in the proceedings of the House. Only those matters shall be treated as laid and shall form part of the proceedings for which slips have been received at the Table within the stipulated time. Matters under Rule 377 for which slips are not received at the Table shall not form part of the proceedings and shall be treated as lapsed. This procedure has been adopted to ensure that texts of those members who are absent from the House do not form part of the proceedings.

Another important parliamentary development during Smt. Kumar's Speakership was the inauguration of a new Parliamentary Forum on Disaster Management on 22 December, 2011 with the broad aim and objective to identify and discuss the problems relating to Disaster Management and for making members aware of the seriousness of the issues involved to enable them to adopt a result oriented approach towards this critical issue.

Conscious of the fact that the majestic Parliament House is not only a highly revered temple of democracy but is also a heritage building of great historical value, Hon'ble speaker, in consultation with the Hon'ble Chairman, Rajya Sabha, constituted a Joint Parliamentary Committee on Maintenance of Heritage Character and Development of Parliament House Complex under her Chairmanship on 15 December 2009. It consists of thirteen members of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, including the Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, the Minister of Urban Development and the Minister of Home Affairs as ex-officio Members and the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Water Resources as special invitee.

A passionate environmentalist, Meira Kumar has encouraged the concept of a green Parliament Complex and has banned the use of plastic bags. Several steps have been taken to make the Lok Sabha Secretariat as paperless as possible. In August, 2011, she inaugurated a Solar Power Plant in Parliament House Annexe. This holds immense symbolic significance towards setting the standards for using environment friendly energy. With the objective of preserving our bio-diversity, she has planted saplings of endangered plants like 'Kalpavriksha', 'Roheda' and Rudraksha in the beautiful Parliament House gardens.

Committed to bringing Parliament closer to the people, Meira Kumar regularly invites persons with disability Children senior citizens, women, members of Panchayati Raj institutions, volunteers of Sulabh, college students and children from remote areas, to the Parliament House where she enjoys interacting with them. She also conceived the idea of a special programme on LSTV titled 'Hamari Speaker-Our speaker to reach out to the school children wherein she is quizzed by students from various schools. This programme enables her to connect with the younger generation and explain to them finer nuances of the functioning of the Parliament.

Conclusion:

Meira Kumar's life outside parliament has been a selfless quest for a just and inclusive society. She had been associated with (i) All India Samata Movement (also its Founder), 1992-2008, (ii) RVAKV Society Delhi (Institute of Blind Girls), 1992-98, (iii) Ravidas Smarak Society, Varanasi, 2000-06, and (iv) Jagjivan Seva

Ashram, Sasaram, 2002-09; Chairperson, (i) Meera Kala Mandir, Udaipur, 2000-09, (ii) Jagjivan Ram Sanatorium, Dehri-on-Sone, 1986-2006, and (iii) Rajendra Bhawan Trust, Delhi, 2000-09; Managing Trustee, Jagjivan Ashram Trust, Delhi, 1985-2004; Member, (i) Senate, Patna University, 1969-71, (ii) Supreme Court Bar Association, 1986, (iii) Senate, Panjab University, 1987-91, (iv) Governing, Body, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1987, (v) Central Advisory Board of Education, 1987-90.

Meira Kumar's personality is a splendid convergence of art and social concerns. Her seldom mentioned literary and artistic accomplishments included painting and poetry. She also has a keen interest in contemporary history, fiction, Indian classical music and dance, local crafts and textiles. She is an accomplished rifle shooter and horse riding enthusiast.

Meira Kumar's unanimous election to the office of the Speaker, while historic also gave new hope and direction to the principle of equality as enshrined in the Constitution of India. It sent out a strong message to the rest of the world that India was serious in its efforts to empower women and undo social inequalities.

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DR. AMBEDKAR VIEWS ON DEMOCRACY

PARAMESHWAR TALAKERI AMRUT*
DR. I.S. VIDYASAGAR**

Introduction:

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was one of the illustrious sons of India, who struggled to restructure the Indian society on the most egalitarian and humanitarian principles. He was not only a great national leader but also a distinguished scholar of international repute. He was the first Indian political thinker who realized the inapplicability of the western pattern of democracy to India. For him, it was not enough to make a distinction between the state and society, state and government and state and nation. But he went to the roots of these institutions and pointed out, the importance of taking into account the elements constituting these institutions, that is the people. Western writers like Harold Laski and Melver did not go further than suggesting a distinction between the state and society and so on, they made only superficial references to the social and economic status of the various classes of people, who constitute the society and the state.

Dr. Ambedkar criticized the western writers, in his book, what congress and Gandhi have done to the untouchables? To him, western writers failed to recognize the social and economic contradictions. In the life of the Indian Society such as the position of the governing class of India and its intention to words the service classes, the *raisondetre* of the demands of the service class, for constitutional safe guards and relation of the governing class to the congress. The definitions of democracy given by Walter Bagehot or Abraham Lincoln were not satisfactory to Dr. Ambedkar.

*Research Scholar Dept. of Pol-Science Gulbarga University Kalaburagi

**Associate Prof of Pol-Science Dr. Ambedkar College Kalaburagi

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Bagehot defines democracy as "Government by discussion", Lincoln as the Government of the People, by the people and for the people. Thus according to Dr. Ambedkar a mere façade of democracy would not achieve the purpose of democracy, which should be the welfare of the whole people.

Meaning of Democracy:

According to Dr. Ambedkar: Democracy means a form and method of government where by revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the peoples, are brought about without bloodshed. If democracy can enable, those who are running to bring about fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people, and the people accept those changes without restoring to bloodshed, then I say that there is a democracy that is the real test, it is perhaps the severest test. But when you are judging the quality of material, you must put it in to the severest test. To him democracy is a mode of associated living. He regarded that roots of democracy were to be found in social relationship in terms of the associated life between the people who formed the society. Poverty, illiteracy and caste destinations were the positive dangerous to the democracy".

He sought to remove contradictions generated by social and economic inequalities. He wanted to establish the principle of one man, one vote and one value, not only in political life of India but also in social and economic life. In other words, he wanted political democracy to be accompanied by social democracy.

To Dr. Ambedkar Social democracy involves two things: an attitude of mind, an attitude of respect and equality towards their fellows and a social organization free from rigid social barriers. To him, democracy was incompatible and inconsistent with isolation and exclusiveness resulting in the destination between the privileged and the unprivileged. He wanted high political objectives, but they must keep harmony with social aims. He regarded democracy as both a social ideal and a political method.

Parliamentary Democracy in India:

During the discussion in the constituent assembly Dr. Ambedkar said that "Personally Speaking" I am very greatly attached to the parliamentary system of Government. We must

understand what it means and we must preserve in the constitution. To me, parliamentary democracy is unknown to us at present, but one time had parliamentary institution. India was far more advanced in ancient times. If you go through the "Suktas" of Mahaprinnibban, you will find ample of evidence in support of my point. In these Suktas it is stated that, while Bhagwan Buddha was dying at Kushinagara message to the effect was sent to be Malla's who were setting in the session at that time, they were devoted in parliamentary institutions. When they received the message about Buddha they decided that they shall not close the session but would carry on with their work and will go to Kushinagar after finishing the business of the parliament, and he stated that there are many rules about parliamentary procedure, and practices. The system of secret ballot followed in Buddhist Sanghs, which called SalapatrakaGrahakas.

According to Dr. Ambedkar there are three main things inherent in parliamentary systems of government, they are:

1. Parliamentary government means the negation of hereditary rule. No person can claim to be hereditary ruler. Whoever, he wants to rule, must be elected by the people from time to time. He must obtain the approval of the people. Hereditary rule has no sanction in parliamentary system of government.
2. Any law, any measure applicable to the public life of people, must be based on the advice of the people chosen by the people. No single individual can presume the authority that he knows everything that he can make the laws and carry the government. The laws are to be made by the representatives of the people in parliament; they are the people who can advice the men in whose name the law is proclaimed. That is the difference between the monarchial system of government and the democratic systems of government. In monarchy, the affairs of the people are carried on the name of monarch and under the authority of monarch. In democracy the affairs of the public are carried on in the name of the head of the state, but the laws and the executive measures are the authority, on which the government is carried on the head of the state is the titular, head, he is merely a symbol. He is concrete 'Murthi', he can

worship but he is not allowed to carry out the government of the country. Which is being carried out through in his name the elected representatives of the people.

3. Parliamentary system of the government means that, at a stated period those who want to advice the head of the state must have the confidence of the people in themselves renewed.

To him, "this is also not enough parliamentary system of government, but is much more than the government by discussion. There are two pillars, on which the parliamentary systems of government rest. These are the fulcrum on which the mechanism works. Those two pillars are (1) an opposition and (2) free and fair elections.

Essential Conditions President for The Successful Working of Democracy:

Dr. Ambedkar advocated some essential conditions president for the successful working of democracy they are:

1. No Glaring Inequalities in The Society: He was conscious of the social and economic inequalities in the Indian society. According to him, for the successful working of democracy there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. There must be statutory provisions to safeguard the interests of the suppressed and the oppressed people. Society must be based on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity, in order to ensure social endosmosis. Dr. Ambedkar thought that it is necessary to annihilate the caste system in the Hindu society and to bring about a revolutionary change in the attitude and the thinking of the Hindus.
2. Existence of The Opposition: The existence of an effective opposition is an important factor in successful working of a democracy. After every five years, those who are in authority, must be subjected to scrutiny by the people, who will decide their continuance as the party in power. There are two aspects of the vote power, one is the long term vote of five years and the other an immediately ready and then to challenge the government. Thus, the effective opposition is a sinequanon of democracy.
3. Equality in Law and Administration: There must be equality in law and administration. There must not be a spoils

system, as is to be found in the USA, for efficient functioning of democracy. There is a need of permanent civil services implementing the policy of the government without fear of the executive. He further quoted that one need not, at this stage, dilate too much on equality before the law. Although, there might be cases here and there, where there is no equality before the law. But what is important is the equality of treatment in administration.

4. **Constitutional Morality:** There must be a steady growth of constitutional conventions and the people must be educated in the scrupulous observance of these conventions. The people should not allow rein for their respect and loyalty to the leader to grow into blind faith of Bhakti Cult. Dr. Ambedkar cited the example of George Washington, when he requested by the people to stand for the second time for the president ship of American, Washington said –“My dear people you have forgotten the purpose for which we made this constitution. We made this constitution because we did not want a hereditary monarchy and did not want a hereditary ruler for a dictator.

In the name of democracy there should be no tyranny of the majority over the minority. The minority must always feel safe although the majority is carrying in the government, the minority will not be hurt and the minority will not be imposing upon. Thus, there should be adequate scope for motions of ensure or the adjournment motions of the minority to redress their grievances.

Dr. Ambedkar appreciated Herald Laski for his insistence on the moral order as a requirement of democracy. He says that, if is no moral order the democracy will to to pieces, it requires a public conscience. According to Dr. Ambedkar, public conscience means, conscience which becomes, agitated at every wrong, no matter who is the sufferer and it also means that everybody, whether he suffers that particular wrong or not, is prepared to join the aggrieved to secure justice. He cautioned that, with the making of the constitution, the task of building a democratic society is not over the task has only began and the people have to make efforts to accomplish it. A political democracy without an economic and social democracy is an invitation to trouble and danger. Social

democracy alone can assure to the message the right liberty equality and fraternity.

Thus democracy is not only a form of government but also a way of life, through which social justice can be established, with a deep faith in parliamentary tradition. Dr. Ambedkar fully agrees with the view that, there should be three necessary functions of government.

1. To make laws.
2. To execute them and
3. To punish those who commit breach of law.

He believes that only by dividing the powers of government each department can function with the utmost care and effectiveness.

Limitations of Parliamentary Democracy:

According to Dr. Ambedkar, there are some limitations leading to failure of parliamentary democracy in a country.

1. In parliamentary democracy, the executive may be held up by the legislative, which may refuse to pass the laws, which the executive wants. If it is not held up by the legislature, it may be held up by the judiciary, which may declare the laws as illegal. Parliamentary democracy gives no free hand to dictatorship and that is why it became a discredited institution in countries like Italy, Spain and Germany, which readily welcomed dictatorship. Dr. Ambedkar is against dictatorship, there is also a great deal of discontent and dissatisfaction against parliamentary democracy in the countries where people are opposed to dictatorship. The discontent against parliamentary democracy. This is the idea of freedom of contract.
2. There is another wrong ideology, which has vitiated the institution of parliamentary democracy. This is the failure to realize and feel that political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy, there is bad organization. “All political society get divided into two classes; the rules and the ruled. This is an evil. If the evil stopped here, it would not matter much, but the unfortunate part of it is that the division becomes so stereotyped and stratified that rulers are always drawn from the ruling class.

This happens because, generally people do not care to see that they govern themselves they are content to establish a government and leave it to govern them. Dr. Ambedkar warns the harbingers of democracy that if parliamentary democracy fails in this land, the result will be rebellion, anarchy and communism. He says- "I want you to take not of these eventful certainties, and if you wish that the parliamentary democracy prevails in this country, if you are satisfied that we will be assured of our liberty of thought speech and action, if we should preserve our independence, if we cherish the inherent right of individual liberty then it is your duty as a student, as intelligent community of our country to strive your utmost, to cherish this parliamentary systems of government in its true spirit and to work for it. To him a parliamentary democracy can be maintained under guarantees of freedom of speech and criticism together with political and economic initiative for the individual.

Conclusion :

Thus, according to Dr. Ambedkar the democracy is not only a form of government, but also a way of life through which social justice can be established. Social justice demands that the society should provide the welfare of all is not merely the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Otherwise, the interests of the majority might gain precedence over those of the minorities.

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of Buddhism in Kalyan Karnataka”**



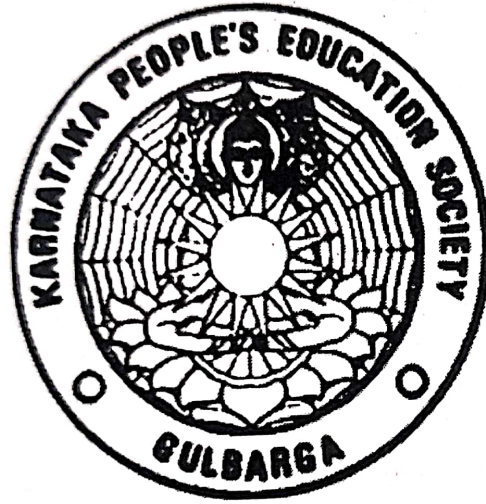
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INDEX

Sl. No	TITLE & NAME OF THE AUTHOR	Page No.
1	DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR'S CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM: NEO BUDDHISM. DR SANDESH WAGH	1
2	ಕರ್ಯಾ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಧರ್ಮದ ನೆಲೆಗಳು ಡಾ.ಸರ್ವೋಪಯ.ಎಸ್.ಎಸ್.	21
3	ಕರ್ಯಾ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಬೌದ್ಧ ನೆಲೆಗಳು ಡಾ. ವಿಜಯಕುಮಾರ ಎಚ್. ಸಾಲಿಮನಿ*	32
4	ಗೌತಮ ಬುದ್ಧ : ಸಮತ ಮೈತ್ರಿ ಕರುಣೆ ಪ್ರಜ್ಞೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಿಸಿದ ತತ್ವಜ್ಞಾನಿ -ಡಾ. ಅಪ್ಪಗೇರಿ ಸೋಮಶೇಖರ್*	41
5	EVER SHINING GEM : VENERABLE ACHARYABUDDHARAKKHITA Dr. Arunkumar Naronkar	58
6	HUMAN VALUES IN BUDDHISM-IT'S ROADMAP FOR THE SELFENLIGHTENMENT, DR.Karigoleshwar Jyoti Goudar	68
7	SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF BUDDHISM PROF. JETTEPPA DORANALLI	72
8	BUDDHIST ETHICS AND POLITICS Dr. P.S.Malage	88
9	ಬೌದ್ಧ ಧರ್ಮದ ಮೂಲೆ-ಬಂದು ವಿವೇಚನೆ ಜಾಧವ ಶರಣ ಮೋಹನ* ಡಾ. ಎಸ್. ಕೆ. ಕಲ್ಲೋಳಿಕರ್	97
10	THE CONCEPT OF "DHAMMA AND SANGHA IN BUDDHISM" DR. ARUNKUMAR B. SALGAR DR. RAJASHREE S. MARANOOR	10

11	ಬೌದ್ಧ ಧರ್ಮದ ಗಾಮಾಚಕ ಮತ್ತು ನೈತಿಕ ಕಲಕಲ -ವಿಶ್ವಲ ಪಗ್ಲನ್	117
12	WOMEN IN BUDDHISM PROF. BASWARAJ SWAMY	131
13	ಬೌದ್ಧ ಆರ್ಥಿಕತೆ ಡಾ. ಆದಿತ್ಯ	138
14	IMPACT OF BUDDHISM ON INDIAN SOCIETY DR. SURENDRA.K	142
15	BUDDHIST PRINCIPLES ARE THE MORAL AND HUMANISTIC *DR. BABU ERANNA	149
16	CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BUDDHISM PROF. GOPAL BADIGER	154
17	"ವಿಶ್ವದ ಏಕಾಸಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವ ಮೈತ್ರಿಯೇ ಮಾರ್ಗ" ಬುದ್ಧರ ಬಂದು ಚಿಂತನೆ ಪ್ರೊ: ಅಶೋಕ ಎ. ಬಿ	159
18	BUDDHIST ETHICS IN THE MODERN LIFE BALARAJ S. MACHNOOR	164
19	AMBEDKAR'S CONCEPT OF REINTERPRETATION ON BUDDHISM BASAVA HANUMANTHA DR. VIDYASAGAR LS	175
20	ಬುದ್ಧನ ನೆರಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾರಿಪುತ್ರ ಡಾ. ಬಸವರಾಜ ಪಿ. ನಾಯಕ	184
21	ಬೌದ್ಧ ಧರ್ಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾನವೀಯ ಮೌಲ್ಯಗಳು ಡಾ.ಭಾಗೀರತಿ. ಬಿ.ಕೆ	192
22	CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF BUDDHISM DASHAVANT MARUTI	198
23	Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR : A TRUE BUDDHIST Dr. HARSHAVARDHAN, B.	208

24	RECONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY AND NEED OF THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF BUDDHIST SOCIETY FOR THE CONTEMPORARY INDIA. DR. MALLIKARJUN SHETTY	24
25	BUDDHA'S THOUGHT IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD TOWARDS PHYSICAL FITNESS FOR HEALTHY SOCIETY DR UTTAM BALUWALE	24
26	"BUDDHISM AND DEMOCRACY: A BIRD EYE VIEW" SMT.GOUSIA BEGUM	24
27	HUMAN RIGHTS IN BUDDHISM Dr. ISHWARAPPA N. TALAWAR	25
28	ಬೌದ್ಧ ಧರ್ಮ : ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ ಶೈಕ್ಷಣಿಕ ಮಹತ್ವ ಡಾ. ಜಗದೀಶ ಅಸೋದೆ*	26
29	ಬೌದ್ಧ ಧರ್ಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಆತ್ಮದ ಸ್ಥಾನ ಮತ್ತು ಮಾನವ ಜಗನ್ನಾಥ ಬಡಿಗೇರ್	26
30	BUDDHISM AS RELIGION OF DEMOCRACY DR. SHARANAPPA. H. KATTI	26
31	ಬುದ್ಧ, ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರ ಡಾ. ಮಾಧುರಿ ಚೌಗುಲೆ	27
32	HUMAN VALUES IN BUDDHISM MANIK BHALKE RAMESH JABNOOR	28
33	ETHICS AND HUMAN VALUES THROUGH TEACHINGS OF GAUTAMA BUDDHHA. NANDA MERWYN DAVID*	28
34	ಬುದ್ಧನ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವ ವಿಕಸನ - ಇಂದಿನ ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತತೆ - ಡಾ.ನಾಗಪ್ಪ ಟಿ.ಗೋಗಿ	29
35	ಸಾಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಕ ದಾಖಲೆಗಳಾಗಿ ಸೋಬಾನೆ ಪದಗಳು ಕು.ಶಕುಂತಲಾ.ಪ್ರ.ಬರಗಿ	29

AMBEDKAR'S CONCEPT OF REINTERPRETATION ON BUDDHISM

BASA VA HANUMANTHA*

DR. VIDYASAGAR I.S.**

Introduction:

B.R. Ambedkar's reinterpretation of Buddhism gives us an account of action that is based on democratic politics of contest and resistance. It relies on a reading of the self as a multiple creature that exceeds the constructions of liberal autonomy. Insofar as Buddhist groups do not jeopardize or restrict their members' capacities and opportunities to make any decision about their own lives, they do not risk violating democratic principles. But to remain socially relevant they must continue to contribute to a practical impact on the social world which is so neatly intertwined with the political in present-day India. Buddhism is one of those religious doctrines that has persisted for about 2,500 years and during this period has undergone profound radical changes.¹ The last century has seen a revitalization and expansion of Buddhism through-out south and south-east Asia. Its major tenets have been modernized and reformulated by many political leaders, especially R Ambedkar (1891-1956). While his attempt was to give an ethical foundation to the Dalit movement Buddhism emerged from this transformation imbued with nationalist associations and political aspirations that anchored it in many civil movements in India. The Buddha and His Dhamma (henceforth BD) as well as Ambedkar's numerous articles and books have captivated an entire generation

*RESEARCH SCHOLAR DEPT.OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

**ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR IN POLITICAL SCIENCE DR. AMBEDKAR DEGREE COLLEGE KALABURAGI,

of academia, social activists and policymakers. In 1956, Ambedkar declared his intention to convert to a religion that did not endorse caste hierarchy but would provide the framework of a society based upon principles of non-discrimination, equality and respect. In recent years, Ambedkar's reputation has been growing again, as some of his ideas seem not only to have survived the passage of time but to have taken on a new relevance. One example is his account of the way in which there is a need to give a new doctrinal basis to religion that according to him "will be in consonance with liberty, equality and fraternity, in short, with democracy."

KEY WORDS: Dalit Movement, consonance, Equality, fraternity, Hinduism, Historical facts, Democracy, Vedas

Concept of Hinduism There are several important historical facts about Hinduism that are relevant to the humanist context. Its origin can be traced back to the pre-historic era with its ancient scriptures dating back more than four thousand years, but no specific point of origin can be cited. While its roots can be seen in Iron Age India and, hence, it is recognized as "the oldest living major religion" it was not founded with a religious perspective. Hinduism essentially originated as a set of rules or regulations to help people lead a disciplined life. This set of rules adhered to the fulfillment of duties, moral values, and the importance of self-realization through meditation. It is not confined to the teachings of a specific person or a single deity. In fact, it is polytheistic in the practice of worshipping innumerable gods, each corresponding to either a philosophy, a natural power, or a representation of a certain moral value or quality. Hinduism is an age-old

traditions and has no specific person to point out as its founder. It was not started as a religious system but rather as a regulated way of life which, with the passage of time, was transformed into religious concepts. Writings originally meant for the betterment of life of the common people took up the form of holy books such as the Vedas, Upanishads and Puranas which existed to enlighten practitioners. The four Vedas -- the Rig Veda, the Sama Veda, the Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda -- are the authentic texts of Hinduism and are comprised of hymns, incantations, rituals and the importance of practicing them in daily life. The concept of God in Hinduism is largely empathic with natural powers such as Agni (fire), Vayu (wind) and Varuna (water). The concept of "Trimurti" or "Three-forms" (comprising of the Gods Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva) is related to the three stages of life: birth, life and death. Hinduism, therefore, is a philosophical approach to life as much as it is a religious concept. According to Klaus Klostermaier, a prominent scholar of Hinduism, the Hindu tradition has proven to be open to new ideas and scientific thought and that numerous elements of Hinduism overlap with and share the values of humanism. Scholars often refer to Hinduism as a "way of life." Humanism also is a way of life, the lifestyle of many people across the world. Researchers indicate that constructing a reliable timeline for Hinduism is challenging for several reasons including the fact that Hinduism is extremely diverse and only relatively recently was conceived as a single, distinct religion and, secondly, its written narratives span many eras of time and forms of existence. Nonetheless, researchers have drawn up extensive timelines for Hinduism. Most sources identify the roots of Hinduism with the Aryan

migration into India around 2500 BCE and subsequent composition of the Rig Veda.

Concept of Buddhism

Buddhism, one of the major world religions, began in India around the sixth century, B.C.E. The teaching of Buddhism spread throughout Central and South Asia, through China, Korea, and Japan. Today, there are Buddhists all over the world. THE LEGEND OF SHAKYAMUNI According to Buddhist tradition, Shakyamuni (a name meaning "Sage of the Shakya Clan") is the founder of Buddhism (he is also sometimes referred to as "Siddhartha Gautama"). Shakyamuni was born around 490 B.C.E. to a royal family who lived in a palace in the foothills of the Himalayas. From the moment he was born, Shakyamuni did not lead a typical life. For example, legend states that Shakyamuni was born from his mother's hip while she remained standing in a grove of trees. In his youth, Shakyamuni's father provided him with everything he wanted and encouraged him to excel in his studies. However, he would not permit Shakyamuni to leave the palace grounds. Shakyamuni grew up with many luxuries and married a beautiful princess, but he still was not happy. He longed to see what was beyond the palace gates, thinking that a clue to his search for the meaning of life lay beyond the safety and luxury of the palace. At the age of 29, Shakyamuni left the palace on four separate occasions to explore. He was deeply affected by what he saw. During his first trip outside the palace, he saw a very old man who was bent over and had trouble walking. As Shakyamuni passed by in his carriage, the old man peered up at him, his eyes squinting from his severely wrinkled face. In his second outing, Shakyamuni observed a sick man, wailing in pain. During his third

excursion, Shakyamuni came upon the still and lifeless body of a dead man. Shakyamuni was shocked and saddened by the sights of old age, sickness, and death. During his fourth outing, he saw a wandering monk, a seeker of religious truth. These four outings and what Shakyamuni saw (old age, sickness, death, and a seeker of religious truth) are called the "Four Sights." Meeting the monk inspired Shakyamuni to leave the palace, his wife, and his newborn son. He wanted to understand more about life, why human beings suffered, and how one could help relieve suffering in the world. Thus, he began his religious quest. Shakyamuni began his search for enlightenment. According to Buddhist belief, enlightenment is the experience of true reality, an "awakening" through which one could comprehend the true nature of things.² Shakyamuni thought he could reach enlightenment by practicing asceticism, a lifestyle of severe discipline. Sometimes he would not eat or drink for long periods of time. After six years of enduring many hardships, Shakyamuni realized that he had not come to a deeper understanding of life. He realized that neither luxury nor starvation would lead to enlightenment and instead decided to follow a moderate path or the Middle Way. He went to a village called Bodh Gaya where he became awakened to a true understanding of life. The moment of his enlightenment took place while he was seated in meditation under a tree. In his enlightenment, he gained the power to see his former lives, the power to see death and rebirth of all types, and finally the realization that he had eliminated all desires and ignorance within himself. He had become a Buddha, a title meaning "awakened one." The Buddha gave his first sermon, known as the "First Discourse," explaining his realization to the group of ascetics with

whom he used to practice. These men became disciples.

Interpretation of Buddhism

Buddhist Concept of Samya in Ambedkar's Theory of Conversion as a means of escaping the caste system already been tried by many Untouchables. It is mentioning that conversion to another religion was a way to escape from the disabilities of untouchability in Hinduism. Dr. Ambedkar reckoned that social hierarchy was essential to the Hindu religion. To get out of the meant attainment of equality and self-respect. More than political and religious man is social animal. He may not have or need not have religion; he may not have, needs not have politics but he must have a society. The wretched society based on Caste and Untouchability, has for ages treated the untouchables of India worse than serfs and slaves. Dr. Ambedkar was convinced that there is no salvation within Hinduism for untouchables. He rightly attributed the low-status, degradation and low-esteem of untouchables to a social system that was backed by Hinduism. Hence, conversion to Buddhism was the only way to get emancipation from the age-old caste-ridden Hinduism. Socio-political Reasons for choosing Buddhism for the Untouchables: The conversion of the Dalits from Hinduism to other religions was one of the main agendas of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's life since he fully believed that this was the only way for their liberation. He reached this conclusion after struggling for more than two decades for the basic human rights of the Dalits within the Hindu fold. It is true that on 13th October, 1935, he declared in a Conference held at Yeola in Nasik, his definite intention of changing his religion in the presence of more than 10,000 Dalits but his struggle towards his end began

much earlier in the Mahad Satyagrahas in 1927. The Jalgaon Conference of 29 May 1929 passed a resolution and called all the Depressed Classes people to embrace any religion other than Hinduism. Ambedkar addressed the Dalits present in the Yeola Conference in these words: The disabilities we have suffered, and the indignities we had to put up with, were the result of our being the members of the Hindu Community. Will it not be better for us to leave that fold and embrace a new faith that would give us equal status, a secure position and rightful treatment? I advise you to sever your connection with Hinduism and to embrace any other religion. But, in doing so be careful in choosing the new faith and see that equality in treatment, status and opportunities will be guaranteed to you unreservedly. Unfortunately for me I was born a Hindu Untouchable. It was beyond my power to refuse to live under ignoble and humiliating conditions. I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu. Dr. Ambedkar asked his people to ponder over the causes for their sufferings extending over long period of two thousand years. He asserted that the Hindu Dharma was the main cause. Of all religions in the world it was Hinduism that recognized caste distinctions and Untouchability. This was the cover, the clock, for all injustices perpetrated on the Scheduled Castes by Caste Hindus. The position even today, he regretted to say, was that in villages they could not live with self-respect. He, therefore, reiterated his conviction that they must discard Hinduism and refuse to submit to indignities any longer. The social degradation of the Untouchables having had religious sanction under Hinduism, the untouchables have nowhere to go but to get out of this gas chamber of Hinduism and seek fresh air under other liberating religions like Christianity,

Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, etc. Therefore, conversion to other religions had become popular among the untouchables. Not because after conversion to Christianity and Islam the "problem of poverty" would be solved. And for them poverty is not the number one problem. Man cannot live by bread alone. He wants self-respect which is denied under Hinduism. They will get it the moment they get out of Hinduism and convert to other religions. Untouchables have discovered that conversion helps them as they will no longer be subjected to atrocities. Conversion to other religions, therefore, helps the Untouchable to gain dignity and self-respect. Dr. Ambedkar emphasized (a) the need of the untouchables for self-respect (b) the reality of the division between caste Hindu and Depressed classes, which had to be acknowledged if any justice was to be done (c) the belief that the Brahmin's deep ingrained ethnocentrism has prevented a reconstruction of Hindu society and stood in the way of aversion of vested rights for the common good. Dr. Ambedkar envisaged 155 that the Hindu society was static, Untouchability was recognized by Hindu religion and caste was the cornerstone to the arch of Hinduism. He weighed the merits of the Hindu dharma as against the merits of Buddhism and finally resolved to embrace Buddhism. However, the reasons for which Dr. Ambedkar preferred the Buddhism can be summarized thus: (1) He tried to prove that the Untouchables were Buddhists. In his thesis on the Origin of (2) Untouchability, he made it clear that today's Untouchables were once Buddhists. (3) Buddhism was an Indian religion and the Buddha was nearer to the Untouchable masses. (4) The Untouchables would join with the World Buddhist community and thus pave the way for World brotherhood.

Conclusion

Inclusions of references to the Buddhist scripture and other texts which have served as references for Ambedkar. It also includes explanations of those scriptures, comments on Ambedkar's interpretations, and modifications of his sources. The volume deals with and the possibilities of the religion offered for the liberation and upliftment of the Dalits. It offers Ambedkar's reflections and interpretations on the life of Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, his teachings, and the proliferation of Buddhism in India through series of anecdotes and narratives that details the life of Buddha and the spread of his Dhamma. The book also provides detailed analysis of the basic tenets, canons, and tradition of the Dhamma. It also addressed the unresolved dispute over Ambedkar's interpretation of the Buddha's dhamma by examining the accuracy and correctness of his citations and by providing sources not included in his citations and references. It also considers the modifications made by Ambedkar on his sources of materials.

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**Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR : A TRUE
BUDDHIST**

Dr. HARSHAVARDHAN, B.*

"By discarding my ancient religion which was for inequality and oppression today I am reborn. I have no faith in the philosophy of incarnation; and it is wrong and mischievous to say that Buddha was an incarnation of Vishnu. I am no more a devotee of any Hindu God or Goddess. I will not perform Shraddha. I will strictly follow the eightfold path of Buddha. Buddhism is a true religion and I will lead a life guided by the three principles of knowledge, right path and compassion"

- B. R. Ambedkar

One of the illustrious sons of India, a giant and the rebel among the great men that emerged on the Indian horizon, was Babasaheb Ambedkar. It was he who gave to the national movement a turning point by standing as a champion of the depressed people's rights, and it was he who provided a moral and social dimension to the whole of movement that had aimed at the political freedom. Ambedkar's effort was a ceaseless struggle for the attainment of a social goal, religious purpose and a moral regeneration of the depressed classes. He also turned to be the well-wisher, the fighter for the legitimate rights and aspirations of the vast millions of the underprivileged in our country, and ultimately, Ambedkar became a Buddhist for spreading the Buddha's message of universal love, equality and fraternity. Why did Ambedkar embrace Buddhism? It is the most serious and sober question to answer. It may be looked at from different angles, but if one studies Ambedkar's long journey of struggle for social change, one can find appropriate and satisfactory answer.

*DR. AMBEDKAR DEGREE COLLEGE KALABURAGI

If Plato's Republic was founded on the murky basis of slavery, the Hindu social order was built on the foundation of Varnas (four castes), which Ambedkar considered to be, for all practical purposes, the basis of untouchability, and to him, untouchability was worse than slavery. Since Ambedkar did not observe any change in the attitudes and behaviour-patterns of the Hindus, he decided to embrace Buddhism for a better world, and on 14th October, 1956, he sought refuge in the triple gem: Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha. Since the glorious days of Goutam, the Buddha, great reformers and powerful social movements had emerged for the reform of Hindu society and religion. But in recent times, it was Ambedkar who, following the humanism of the Buddha, presented a systematic and radical challenge to the fundamental basis of Hindu social structure, i.e., the Varna Vyavastha; not only this much, he examined all the Hindu Shastras, and ultimately, rejected them as the upholder of social inequality, economic degradation and religious discrimination.

In fact, now Ambedkar is remembered in India for his many splendoured personality and for his multifarious contributions as a thinker and philosopher, as a jurist and constitutional architect, a scholar and writer, a reformer and revolutionary, an educationist and debater, an emancipator and guide of the downtrodden masses, and all that I have described earlier, but he will be remembered more the world over as one who had restored to mankind the social and religious culture of the Buddha for a new society base on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar reminded the world that neither God, nor the Holy texts could save mankind from perdition; only the right relations between man and man based on morality, equality and fraternity can save it. The Buddha was the only man who could be

the sole light to all of us. Ambedkar had observed that unlike Karl Marx, the Buddha had peace and persuasion, love and moral teachings and means for realizing the economic and social goals had asserted that the method of the Buddha was the safest and the soundest' for the reconstruction of world of human beings. As a Buddhist, Ambedkar predicted that the communist countries would crumble down and consequently, come to follow the peaceful and parliamentary path to socialistic reconstruction of society. In recent years at least, Ambedkar has proved to be true with regard to the events in Russia and other communist regimes. Whatever one's belief and wishes, Ambedkar emphasized the need of peaceful and constitutional methods to solve the problems. He told the people that there could not be short cuts to progress and prosperity of a society or of a nation. One cannot forget that behind his being a Buddhist, there was in Ambedkar the throbbing heart of an Indian nationalist, a patriot and democrat dedicated to the restoration of the ancient culture of this land, and at the same time, devoted himself to nourish freedom, democracy and unity of the country.

The last of his books, *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, published posthumously, is a great testimony to his being a true Buddhist. This magnum opus encompasses in its contents the whole of Buddhism as a religion of humanity based on the human values of liberty, equality, fraternity and justice. The rebuilding of Buddhist India was the vision of Ambedkar's noble mind, which, even in the midst of hatred and contempt hurled at him, could respond to the call of Indian solidarity by embracing his own religion instead going to Islam or Christianity. As a Buddhist, Ambedkar showed ample wisdom and generosity to realize that the

unity, stability and progress of India also meant a radical and urgent solution to the problems of the deprived, weak and the backward masses of this land. After the Buddha, so many saints and seers, reformers and radicals, had sought to ameliorate the lot of the Untouchable, the most despicable ones of the Hindu society, but none of them had succeeded as much as Ambedkar who made vigorous attempts to rouse their conscience and mind to revolt against the social serfdom of his times. Ambedkar convinced the depressed people, particularly the Shudras and the Untouchables, that there would be no social and economic emancipation unless they changed their religion, i.e., they would have to go, sooner or later, to the fold of Buddhism in order to initiate a social and religious revolution of historic significance. By it, Ambedkar meant that they would have to organize themselves as a powerful community of Buddhists. He was very much hopeful that they would individual and collective practice of Buddhism, they would enable themselves to develop into a force to reckon with, and thus, could transform the existing society into a better one based on the values of freedom, democracy and dynamic humanism.

No doubt, Ambedkar was an emancipator of all those who were deprived of human dignity and of respectful social existence. As a Buddhist, his greatest contribution to our social, moral and religious life has been that he made socially oppressed people conscious of their slavery in order that they could break and throw away its shackles. Ambedkar's lifelong dream of ensuring social liberation of the oppressed and the downtrodden came to be fulfilled, when he embraced the religion of the Buddha, an apostle of social equality and human brotherhood. Ambedkar did not believe in merely propagating his conversion, but rather, took a

benefit the largest number of human beings, spreading the message of Buddhism, i.e., love all, hate none, you may not harm anyone. In whatever way, one may look at, or view, Ambedkar, but ultimately, he established himself as a Buddhist, and this way, he lived his life, but he would not die as Hindu, but as a Buddhist, but he would not die as Hindu, but as a Buddhist, fulfilled after he sought refuge in triple gem - Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha.

However, it was not the end of a revolution, and thoughtful yet action packed life. In the physical sense, the struggle, Ambedkar had fought, was over for the crusader himself. But the fire he lit in millions of his followers has been rising high into flames as brightly as ever to create a new radiance for a transformed society where the ideal of social equality, is not only carried forward, but is also practised, far and wide for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many, with the deep inspirations of Karuna and Maitri, as the Buddha had taught us. Why does man need religion? Ambedkar has replied it well in various contexts. As is well-known, in spite of all the atrocities and evils that he has experienced in the fold of Hinduism, he was not against religion. He considered it to be essential for the balanced development of man's thought and personality. Although, Ambedkar was born in poor untouchable family, yet he did not agree with those who regarded religion as a parasite or an opium to beguile man. For Ambedkar man could not live by bread alone; he had mind which needed food for thought; and religion instilled hope in man and always drove him to activity. Ambedkar emphasized that mankind needed a religion of humanity, and that he discovered in Buddha's Dhamma. He said that India would rise once again to its glory only when people turn to Buddhism and practise the high

ethical principles of human conduct as preached by the Buddha.

To conclude, on the occasion of the Buddha Jayanti in May, 1950, Ambedkar emphatically said that as long as man did not know how to behave with man, and instead, created barriers between man and man, India could never attain the glory and grandeur of her ancient days. He was of the view that to end all the ills and evils of caste and colour, India must embrace Buddhism, for Buddhism stood as a religion of humanity, based on ethical principles that aimed at teaching how to work for the good and well-being of the common people. Thus, Ambedkar, as a Buddhist, believed, "to spread Buddhism is to serve mankind". And for himself, he said: I prefer Buddhism, because it gives three principles in combination which no other religion does. "Buddhism teaches *prajna* (understanding) as against superstition and supernaturalism, *karuna* (love), and *samata* (equality). This is what man wants for a good and happy life. Neither God nor soul can save the society".

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HUMAN VALUES IN BUDDHISM

MANIK BHALKE *
RAMESH LABNOOR **
ABSTRACT

Buddhism, like most of the great religions of the world, is divided into a number of different traditions. However, most traditions share a common set of fundamental beliefs. One central belief of Buddhism is often referred to as reincarnation the concept that people are reborn after dying. In fact, most individuals go through many cycles of birth, living, death and rebirth. A practicing Buddhist differentiates between the concepts of rebirth and reincarnation. In reincarnation, the individual may recur repeatedly. In rebirth, a person does not necessarily return to Earth as the same entity ever again. He compares it to a leaf growing on a tree. When the withering leaf falls off, a new leaf will eventually replace it. It is similar to the old leaf, but it is not identical to the original leaf. Buddhism is a philosophy of life expounded by Gautama Buddha means Enlightened one, one who lived and taught in northern India in the 6th century. The Buddha was not a god and the philosophy of Buddhism does not entail any theistic world view. The teachings of the buddha are aimed solely at liberating beings from suffering. Key words:- Reincarnation, Enlightened, Unskillful, Compassion, Liberation, Admonished, Discernment, Interpreted, Intoxicants, Premarital, Exploitation.

*ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY

**LIBRARIAN

Siddharth Arts and Commerce Degree College
BIDAR

The three Teachings of Buddha which are Core to Buddhism are:

- The Three Universal Truths.
- The Four Noble Truths.
- The Noble Eightfold Path.

THE THREE UNIVERSAL TRUTHS

1. Nothing is lost in the universe.
2. Everything changes.
3. The Law of Cause and Effect.

In buddhism, the law of karma, says for every event that occurs, there will follow another event whose existence was caused by the first, and this second event will be pleasant or unpleasant according as its cause was skillful or unskillful actions is borne by the person who commits them. After his enlightenment, the buddha went to the deer park near the holy city of Benares and shared his new understanding with five holy men. They understand immediately and became his disciples. This marked the beginning of the buddhist community. For the next forty five years, the buddha and his disciples went from place to place in India spreading the Dharma, his teachings. Thier compassion knew no bounds: they helped every one along the way, beggars, kings, and slave girls. At night, they would sleep where they were; when hungry they would ask for a little food. Wherever the Buddha went, he won the hearts of the people because he dealt with their true feelings. He advised them not to accept his words on blind faith, but to decide for themselves whether his teachings are right or wrong, then follow them. He encouraged everyone to have compassion for each other and develop their own virtue: you should do your own work, for I can teach only the way.

THE THREE TRAININGS OR PRACTICES

1. Sila.
2. Samadhi.
3. Prajna.

THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS

1. Dukka.
2. Samudaya.
3. Nirodha.
4. Magga.

THE FIVE PRECEPTS

1. Do not kill. This is sometimes translated as not harming or an absence of violence.
2. Do not steal. This is generally interpreted as including the avoidance of fraud and economic exploitation.
3. Do not lie. This is sometimes interpreted as including name calling, gossip etc.
4. Do not misuse of sex. For monks and nuns, this means any departure from complete celibacy. For the laity, adultery is forbidden, along with any sexual harassment or exploitation.
5. Do not consume alcohol or other drugs. The main concern here is that intoxicants cloud the mind. Some have included as a drug other methods of divorcing ourselves from reality e.g. movies, television, and the Internet.

ADDITIONAL PERCEPTS FOR FAMILY HOLDERS

1. Taking untimely meals.
2. Dancing, singing, music, watching grotesque mime.
3. Use of garlands, perfumes, and personal adornment.
4. Use of high seats.
5. Accepting gold or silver

The Buddha's Eightfold Path

1. Samma ditthi.
2. Samma sankappa.
3. Samma vaca.
4. Samma kammanta.
5. Samma ajiva
6. Samma vayama.
7. Samma sati.
8. Samma samadhi.

Conclusi There are, however, many sects of buddhism and there are different kinds of Buddhist monks all over the world, the life and customs of buddhist monks are not only different and unique but consist of a spiritual meaning. Their daily life follows a strict schdule that revolves around meditation, study of scriptures, and taking part in ceremonies. There are buddhist shrines, buddhist monasteries, where monks live, Gompas and Buddhist stupas all over the world. Though it originated in northern India, the Emperor Ashoka helped to spread buddhaism into south east Asia countries such as Srilanka, Myanmar, Thailand and Indo-China, from where it moved on to influence people in the Himalaya kingdoms of Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, Central asia as well as china, Korea, VietNam and Japan. Around 95% of the population in Thailand is Buddhist, the highest concentration in the world, with Combodia, Myanmar, Bhutan, Srilanka, Tibet, Lao People's Democratic Republic, following close behind.

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ETHICS AND HUMAN VALUES THROUGH TEACHINGS OF GAUTAMA BUDDHHA.

NANDA MERWYN DAVID*

ABSTRACT: -This paper aims at presenting exemplary philosopher, Siddhartha Gautama Buddha. The Buddha who attained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree presented his philosophy as the world view of the people of the sixth century B.C. The Buddha intended his philosophy to be a practical one, aimed at the happiness of all creatures and he laid out a clear path to the goal and also observation on how to live life wisely. He taught Four Noble Truths and Eight Fold Path. These promote social ethics and individual values.

KEYWORDS: Ganatantras, Ethics, Human Values, Uniqueness, Dhammapada, Discrimination, Earnestness, Enlightenment Etc.

INTRODUCTION: Siddhartha Gautama Buddha was an ancient Indian philosopher and spiritual leader born in Northern India in the 6th century BC. According to Buddha, the state should apply the moral code of society to the political and economic affairs also. The Buddha sought to evolve and propagate a social code applicable to everyone. The democratic spirit introduced in society by Buddha served as a serious blow to ideas of monarchy creeping into the Ganathantras (republics). The ideas of man, mind, society (sangha), unity and equality came alive and were blended harmoniously. Their uniqueness grew in strength and became to participate in social action. The Buddha's action plan was derived from the practical struggles in life and he preached

**Assistant Professor of Rural Development
Siddharth Arts and Commerce Degree College. Bidar*

three principles namely intelligence, compassion and equality. The teaching of the Buddha can bring about socialism through a bloodless revolution and he saw the women as equal being to the men.

THE MEANING OF ETHICS AND HUMAN VALUES

Ethics basically is a science of decimation between right and the wrong and the basic concepts and fundamental principles is decent human conduct. It includes study of universal values such as the essential equality of all men and women, human or natural rights, obedience to the law of land, concern for health and safety and, increasingly, also for the natural environment. Important and lasting beliefs or ideals shared by the members of a culture about what is good or bad and desirable or undesirable. Values have major influence on a person's behavior and attitude and serve as broad guidelines in all situations.

DHAMMAPADA

Buddha has developed Dhammapada shapes the personality of man in the crucible of experience. It is all comprehensive, covering society, environment, individuality, the five sense organs, mind, joys and sorrows high and low, right path and peace, all of which are examined in depth. Dhammapada emits rays of light with which man can enlighten himself. It mentions rules of self-control and self-conquest to replace the practices of mutual hatred and jealousy. The title of Dhammapada has many meanings. One aspect of dhamma is virtue or the realization of law. It is also characterized by noble thoughts, natural laws, rules of ethics and humanist approaches. Practice is its life breath, as it was from Buddha's own severe way of life. Dhammapada promotes human values and ethics. It was dedication for truth that had enabled

him to develop as an effective teacher. According to Buddha stability and balance of mind are highly valued as Dhammapada puts it, "By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control, the wise man may make for him-self an island which no flood can overwhelm." Buddha's Dhammapada teaches man how to mould himself as a spokesman, as a teacher, as a preacher. He has to mould himself like an agriculturist turning the water to his fields and a carpenter shaping a bamboo into a bow. What the Buddha calls Dhamma differs fundamentally from what is called religion. Religion is related to the personal belief and Dhamma to practice. Dhamma is righteous, which means right relation between man and man in all spheres of life and social awareness. Dr B R Ambedkar saw in Dhamma an instrument to promote universal brotherhood. It is another name of it. Yet another name is morality. Analysing it further Ambedkar mentioned that purity is of three kinds, namely physical purity implying avoidance of violence, theft and leading a sinful way of life, speech purity free from falsehood, and mental purity free from laziness, inertia, excitement, and short temper. He also said that attainment of completion of life is also Dhamma, which is possible only with the physical, verbal and mental maturity. Dhamma is opposed to infatuation which leads to greed for wealth which in turn leads to the fall of man. This greed also incites a man to harass other people and deserves to be discarded. Buddha studied human problems and experience like happiness and sorrow, death and endless conflict between the different phenomena. He described his dharma as not pessimistic but enabling one to remove sorrow after recognizing its existence. Its aspiration and object was to remove ignorance.

The Buddha introduced the idea of placing a higher value on morality and the equality of people instead of on which family or caste person is formed into. This was also the first attempt to abolish discrimination and slavery in the history of mankind. Buddhism has its own long and noble tradition of scholarship and education of the young. It has encouraged equality of social opportunity but without frantic economic competition. Buddhist values have inculcated a respect for the environment and a realistic attitude towards the importance of material things, an attitude which sees the folly of plundering and extravagantly wasting what cannot be replaced. Buddhism has not encouraged ideas of dominance of man on environment and on his fellowmen. The Buddha developed The Four Noble Truths and The Eightfold Path which promote ethics and human values, and tried to eradicate mental, physical and social shortcomings. Buddhist philosophy inculcates values like political and social democratic values, universal brotherhood, controlling senses, practical thinking, self-satisfaction and scientific behaviour in the classless society.

The Four Noble Truths

The truth of suffering (*dukkha*)

The truth of the cause of suffering (*samudaya*)

The truth of the end of suffering (*nirhodha*)

The truth of the path that frees us from suffering (*magga*) Let's look at one truth at a time.

The Truth of Suffering

The First Noble Truth often is translated as "Life is suffering." Many people knew to Buddhism tune out as soon as they hear this. But the Pali word

dukkha also refers to anything that is temporary, conditional, or compounded of other things. Even something precious and enjoyable is *dukkha*, because it will end. Related to the nature of life is the nature of self. Are we not also temporary, conditional and compounded of many parts? We can understand that life is impermanent but are we, also, impermanent? The Buddha taught that before we can understand life and death we must understand the self. The Truth of the Cause of Suffering The Second Noble Truth teaches that the cause of suffering is craving or thirst (*tanha*). We continually search for something outside ourselves to make us happy. But no matter how successful we are, we never remain satisfied. The Buddha taught that this thirst grows from ignorance of the self. We go through life grabbing one thing after another to get a sense of security about ourselves. We attach not only to physical things, but also to ideas and opinions about ourselves and the world around us. Then we grow frustrated when the world doesn't behave the way we think it should and our lives don't conform to our expectations. The Buddha's teachings on karma and rebirth are closely related to the Second Noble Truth.

The Truth of the End of Suffering

The Buddha's teachings on the Four Noble Truths are sometimes compared to a physician diagnosing an illness and prescribing a treatment. The first truth tells us what the illness is, and the second truth tells us what causes the illness. The Third Noble Truth holds out hope for a cure. The Buddha taught that through diligent practice, we can put an end to craving. Ending the hamster-wheel chase after satisfaction is enlightenment (*bodhi*, "awakened").

The enlightened being exists in a state called *Nirvana*.
The Truth of the Path That Frees Us from Suffering

In the Fourth Noble Truth, the Buddha as physician prescribes the treatment for our illness: The Eightfold Path. The Eightfold Path of Buddhism is the means by which enlightenment may be realized. The historical Buddha first explained the Eightfold Path in his first sermon after his enlightenment. Most of the Buddha's teachings deal with some part of the Path. The Eightfold Path is:

1. Right View or Right Understanding, insight into the true nature of reality.
2. Right Intention, the unselfish desire to realize enlightenment.
3. Right Speech, using speech compassionately.
4. Right Action, ethical conduct; manifesting compassion.
5. Right Livelihood, making a living through ethical and non-harmful means.
6. Right Effort, cultivating wholesome qualities; releasing unwholesome qualities.
7. Right Mindfulness, whole body-and-mind awareness.
8. Right Concentration, meditation or some other dedicated, concentrated practice.

The word translated as "right" is *samyanc* (Sanskrit) or *samma* (Pali), which means "wise," "wholesome," "skillful" and "ideal." It also describes something that is complete and coherent. The word "right" should not be taken as a commandment, as in "do this, or you are wrong." Another way to think of "right" in this case is in the sense of equilibrium, like a boat riding the waves and remaining "right."

Practicing the Path

The Eightfold Path is the fourth Truth of the

Four Noble Truths. Very basically, the truths explain the nature of our dissatisfaction with life. The Buddha taught that we must thoroughly understand the causes of our unhappiness in order to resolve it. There is no quick fix; there is nothing we can obtain or hang on to that will give us true happiness and inner peace. What is required is a radical shift in how we understand and relate to ourselves and the world, and

practice of the Path is the way to achieve that. Practice of the Path reaches into all aspects of life, every moment. It's not just something you work on when you've got time. It's also important to understand that these eight areas of practice are not separate steps to master one at a time; the practice of each part of the Path supports the other parts. The Path is divided into three main sections: wisdom, ethical conduct and mental discipline.

The Wisdom Path

Right View and Right Intention is the wisdom path. Right View is that perceiving the true nature of ourselves and the world around us. Right Intention refers to the energy and commitment.

The Ethical Conduct Path

Right Speech, Right Action and Right Livelihood are the ethical conduct path. This calls us to take care in our speech, our actions, and our daily lives to do no harm to others and to cultivate wholesomeness in ourselves.

The Mental Discipline Path

Through Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, and Right Concentration we develop the mental discipline to cut through delusion.

The life of Buddha

Buddha's original name was Siddhartha. His family

belonged to the Sakya tribe of the Himalayan region. He was born in 563 B.C at Lumbini gardens in the city of Kapilavastu in the Nepal area. His father was Suddhodana, his mother Maya Devi, he was brought up his mother's sister MahaPajapathi.. His early life was luxurious and happy. He married to Yasodara at the age of sixteen in 547 B.C. and got son Rahula. Siddhartha had no clear idea of the concepts of birth, death, old age and ill health. A number of experiences made him contemplate on them. In 534 B.C. at the age of 29, he left Kapilavastu in search of the secret of these experiences, which had eluded many others before him. He left his family and kingdom as well. It was turning point in his life. Buddha's life is a vast ocean. His life and philosophy were intertwined. As many legends grow around his life, his teachings also began to take different forms. Buddha's teachings were to provide the basis for the establishment social ethics and individual values. He taught Four Noble Truths. After his enlightenment, the Buddha centred on the Four Noble Truths.

CONCLUSION Gautama Buddha was a prophet, social revolutionist and social reformer, and a democratic political thinker. He was the greatest philosopher in the fields of morality, individual values and universal brotherhood. He was the curriculum frame worker of social behaviour. People are acting on the basis of their thoughts so the philosophy of life will be set on the principles of Buddha's philosophy. As impermanence is the main principle cause of suffering, people should understand the characteristics of nature and life with in it and try to live without getting suffering, understanding their own self. Every man should study Buddha's teachings which liberate and enlighten man to live his life in a harmonious way.