



# Ambedkar Times Weekly

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## DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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

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

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

## Relevance of the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar in 21st century

(Article on the eve of Mahaparinirvana)

**Dr.** Ambedkar is revered by virtually all political parties, despite the fact that the plight of Dalits, minorities, and other oppressed groups has not improved since his demise. India still benefits from Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar's influence today. The social philosophy put forth by great leaders like Ambedkar in contemporary India can better explain the scope of social transformation for any socially oppressed group. B.R. Ambedkar was a complex individual who excelled in many fields, including philosophy, politics, social reform, history, and economics. The main designer of the Indian Constitution was BR Ambedkar.



The Indian society has some flaws, however despite these flaws, the society still has problems. India is progressing, and the constitution is on schedule. The CAG and other public institutions are gaining more powerful. His ideas combine materialism with spiritualism as well as the theoretical and real worlds. All praise should be given to Dr. BR Ambedkar. The defects in our constitution's implementation process, not its actual text, are what make it flawed. It also depends on the state, executive branch, and political class in our country. The Indian Constitution and its provisions are bringing our nation together and guiding it during these difficult times. We can

At this moment, it's critical to emphasize and support the aspects of Ambedkar's philosophy and character that advance societal progress. To support the forces vying for significant societal transformations, Ambedkar's radical component must be retained and replicated. Anyone in our country who is concerned about a changing social landscape cannot overlook Ambedkar's life and legacy. Ambedkar's principles are still crucial in India in order to achieve social justice, put an end to untouchability, and create equality, freedom, and fraternity. Ambedkar claimed in 1935 that while being a Hindu by birth, he would not die one. He began to think of converting to any other religion because he saw Hinduism as a "oppressive religion."

Indian politics in particular as well as Asian politics in general continue to place a high value on Ambedkar's political thought. South Asian nations are currently experiencing a grave crisis and are unable to establish the political and social institutions necessary to preserve the stability of their societies because of the centuries-old oppressive sociopolitical systems that were their ancestors due to the caste system. In order to maintain their domination for generations, a small number of people known as Brahmins used the most sophisticated forms of cunning to incorporate the caste system into the social control structures of their day. Everyone's ability to develop their intelligence, inventiveness, and ability to deal with modern issues has been hampered by the harm caused by the suppression that was a component of the formation and maintenance of the caste system. Their past has drawn them in. The links are so deeply embedded in people's neurological systems that mentalities that impede individuals from realizing each other's capacity for freedom and deeper social connection are passed down from generation to generation. The socio-political reformer Ambedkar's legacy has a significant impact on contemporary India.

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Today, the Indian democracy faces unprecedented challenges and threats. Extreme economic inequality, agrarian distress, violence against disadvantaged groups and religious minorities, particularly Dalits, Muslims, and other similar groups, gender inequality, growing militarism, widespread corruption, expansion of corporate power, resurgence of Hindu majoritarianism, attacks on reason and science, and the tearing down of governmental institutions, such as the judiciary and Parliament, are some of these. It is essential to reread Dr. B R Ambedkar's revolutionary political and socio-economic philosophy in this context.

Ambedkar's life's work was largely accomplished before to Attainment of independence. He passed away on December 6, 1956. Independence had only been declared ten years prior at that time. And the adoption of the constitution, whose writing he had largely influenced, had not even been five years away. Over the last seven decades of India's independence, there have been attempts by the ruling parties to appropriate Ambedkar's legacy for their own ends, but these efforts have never been as overt as they are now. The Congress party is making an effort to re-embrace Ambedkar in a bid to win back the support of dalits and other underrepresented communities. Dalits and other weaker groups lost many of the states where they had previously provided a consistent voting base for the Congress as a result of the introduction and implementation of neo-liberal policies that severely harmed their interests. After realizing how crucial it is to put on a pro-poor mask and to regain its lost voter base, it is now making an attempt to restore Ambedkar's importance in its strategy of courting the weaker portions. Sangh Parivar is also very interested in Ambedkar because it sees him as a major obstacle to the success of its

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# Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's philosophy in the contemporary India

## (Article on the eve of Mahaparinirvana)

"A great man is different from an eminent one in that he is ready to be the servant of the society."

– Dr. Ambedkar

One of the historical treasures that India cannot afford to overlook is Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar. In addition to drafting the Indian Constitution, he also battled for the rights of those in Indian society who were most oppressed and disadvantaged. His life, struggles, and books still serve as a beacon for the caste dialogue and struggle in India. He was posthumously awarded the 'Bharat Ratna', the highest civilian award in India, in 1990.

At the age of 65, Dr. BR Ambedkar passed away on December 6, 1956, following a protracted battle with diabetes. Nirvana Diwas is the name of Dr. BR Ambedkar. Millions of people pay their homage to the founder of the Indian Constitution on this day by travelling to Dr. Ambedkar's Samadhi in Mumbai, also known as Chaitya Bhoomi.

'Parinirvana' is a Buddhist term that simply refers to someone who has experienced nirvana both during his lifetime and after death. Because he rejected Hinduism and encouraged the Dalit Buddhist Movement in India, Babasaheb Ambedkar's death anniversary is known as Mahaparinirvan Diwas.

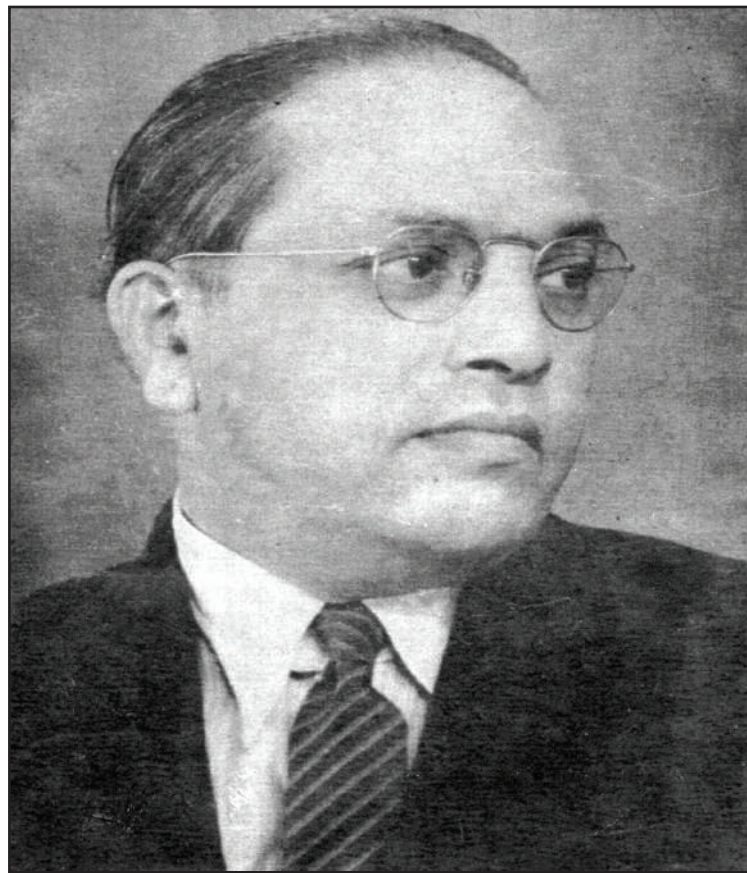
Babasaheb Ambedkar envisioned an equitable society for India, and Mahaparinirvan Diwas represents that vision. Mahaparinirvan Diwas celebrates Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar's work and beliefs, as well as the pivotal role he played in building the country after independence. One of the figures who fought for a social order free from the long-standing practises of oppression and denigration was Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. He made a significant contribution to the development of the country and was a learned, intelligent statesman. He spearheaded several initiatives to free the oppressed masses and guarantee human rights to millions of disadvantaged strata. He made a significant contribution to the formulation of the current Constitution of independent India, leaving a lasting impression. He serves as a representation of the fight for social justice.

Despite the fact that the Indian Constitution still upholds equal rights for all citizens 72 years after it was enacted, many of the worries raised by Dr. Ambedkar remain very much in force. People are still impacted by untouchability, injustice, and racial discrimination.

He has revealed new information on the social philosophy, political history, and growth of India, showing that they are nothing more than a "glorification of top castes and the exploitation of poorer strata of society." While the upper castes are glorified, the lower castes and the underclass of society are degraded. He thought that vested interests and its philosophers were responsible for

the caste structure and the untouchability thesis. The "Ambedkarism" response is still applicable because upper castes.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar believed that education must be widely disseminated in order to reform society and rid it of its ineptitude. Education eliminates prejudice, which reduces the exploitation and dominance of those who try to take advantage of the so-called illiterate people: "If the people get knowledge through education then they can face the problems created by the people who dominate them. Education reforms opinions, it tries to remove the walls built among the people. The biggest gift that is



given by the education is that it creates self confidence among us which is considered as the first stage of our development."

Philosopher in the conventional meaning of the word, Dr. Ambedkar was not. He didn't develop a philosophy for philosophical purposes. He formed his opinions on how men and society function. He didn't have an abstract or esoteric point of view. It was more realistic and useful in its approach. His entire corpus of work was devoted to helping the impoverished in India. Dr. Ambedkar supported a federal perspective of the state as a thinker with a realistic vision of the state. He envisioned a federal polity in which minority' interests might be safeguarded by achieving a balance of dependency and independence among the various regions of the federal state.

Ambedkar conveys his opinions on parliamentary democracy in his writings and speeches. Parliamentary governance is "governing by discussion rather than fisticuffs," according to Dr. Ambedkar. In a speech he gave on October 28, 1951, at D.A.V. College in Jalandhar,

Punjab, he listed three key characteristics of the parliamentary system of government. He asserts that hereditary dominance is destroyed by parliamentary government. The head of state serves only as a ceremonial representative. The two pillars are the presence of an effective opposition and free elections. Elections must be free and fair in order for there to be a peaceful and nonviolent transition of power from one part of the community to another, even though resistance is needed for a free political climate. According to him, influential businesses that have a big impact on a nation's political climate are hostile to free and fair elections. In the current state of India, preserving the federal system of government and consolidating democracy remain major problems.

Ambedkar stated that the absence of obvious inequities in a society is the first prerequisite for democracy's successful operation in a lecture given to the Poona District Law Library's members on December 22, 1952. There can be no persecuted group. A class that is suppressed must not exist. According to a study, the richest 10% of the population in India hold 77% of the country's wealth. While the poorest 50% of Indians, who number 670 million, saw their income decline, the richest 1% took home 73% of the wealth created in 2017. India has 119 billionaires, but the Dalits' situation is getting worse, thus the country still needs Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy to guide it.

His beliefs in social and cultural reform through liberation, empowerment, and enlightenment are significantly influenced by Ambedkar's perspective on India's unequal social reality, which has endured as insurmountable in the collective memory. The idea of building democratic capital through the use of social service as a tool of assertion and empowerment has enormous promise for transforming a democratic system that is inspired by darkness into one that is filled with light. He has dedicated his life to the cause of eradicating the untouchables and has fully associated with the socially isolated groups in modern society. He began a lifelong struggle to free them from their centuries-long slavery and exclusion.

Inability to pass the Hindu Code Bill while serving as Nehru's first law minister made Dr. Ambedkar painfully aware that any socially progressive legislation would be opposed by those who preferred

the security of the status quo. In his resignation address, he expresses this beautifully: "To leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex, which is the soul of Hindu society untouched, and to go on passing legislation relating to economic problems is to make a farce of our Constitution and to build a palace on a dung heap."

Therefore, it is clear that Dr. Ambedkar was fully aware of the direction that events in independent India would take. As we transition from the era of Nehruvian state socialism to a capitalist economy that is openly globalising, Ambedkar's worries sound even more foreboding now. Are we not constructing "a mansion on a dung heap" for economic growth? The current guiding principle of "economic development at all costs" inevitably exacerbates social and economic disparities and tensions. It is not surprising that Indian society is becoming more and more divided even as the country struggles to break through as an economic superpower (or at the very least an Asian lion).

Egaloty, liberty, and fraternity are not important enough to capitalism for it to care about them. The state has an intrinsic duty to act as a countervailing force, mend the social fabric, and ensure that social development and economic progress go in the same direction during such periods of fixation with economic expansion. The concepts of Dr. Ambedkar must be adopted and discussed since India also rejected socialism.

Repeated incidents of rape, corruption, exploitation, exclusion, denial of justice, displacement, and deprivation mar the story of the growth of SCs and STs. Every 16 minutes, a Dalit victim is the victim of a crime, and 1,500 Dalit women are raped annually on average. Fraternity, where are you? As Ambedkar said many years ago, equality and liberty are nothing more than barren. Why should this upsetting situation go on indefinitely? Why are these rules and programmes carried out in such a soulless manner? Is this due to the state apparatus' intrinsic incompetence or is it being influenced by caste and class prejudices? It will take a lot of time to change self-defeating administrative practises and constraining mindsets over the course



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# Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Vision on Women Empowerment in context of Indian Constitution

## (Article on the eve of Mahaparinirvana)

Ambedkar's fight for freedom extended beyond achieving political independence and included goals such as the creation of an egalitarian, just society. He opened the ground for women's advancement and their release from long-standing social bonds. Ambedkar played a crucial role in the fight for equal rights for women, dalits, and everyone else, regardless of caste or social background. Even now, while developing policies for the advancement of women on a national and international level, his opinions are still significant. Due to the legacy of intellectual and socially conscious individuals like B.R. Ambedkar, India is one of the few nations that offers women enough chances. According to B.R. Ambedkar, "Unity is meaningless without the accompaniment of women. Education is fruitless without educated women, and agitation is incomplete without the strength of women". The women empowerment in society can be achieved through the modes of constitutionalism and social democracy. According to Ambedkar, "social democracy is a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form the union of trinity in the sense that to divorce from one to the other is to defeat the very purpose of Democracy."

In the past, women had respectable roles in the family and equal status in society. But the post-Manu phase, which still exists in some form, is when her status and position began to decline. Through his work on the maternity benefit bill and his efforts to educate the public about the state's obligations to women and the equal rights of women under the Hindu Code, BR Ambedkar issued a clarion call for the rights of women, which ultimately led to his resignation from the government. He held the opinion that society should not mindlessly adhere to long-standing traditions and practices. Only then will the society be rebuilt in accordance with democratic modern notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity if it is founded on logic and reason rather than on a groundless tradition of caste system.

In both public and private institutions, gender stereotypes about women and their roles still exist. Women still find themselves in a contradictory situation where, on the one hand, they are revered as goddesses and, on the other hand, they are still burned at the stake as dowry. There is still more work to be done, even if the government is taking affirmative action to end these crimes and disparities. The commitment of an enlightened reformer like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar serves as a torchbearer in such circumstances.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said, "I am a great believer in women's organization. I know that what they do to im-

prove the condition of the society if they are convinced. In the eradication of Social evils they have rendered great services and I will testify that from my own experience. Ever since I began to work among depressed classes, I made it a point to carry women along with men."

The works 'Rise and Fall of Hindu Women', 'The Women and Counter Revolution', 'The Riddles of Women', and 'Castes in India: their Mechanism, Genesis, and Development', in which Ambedkar presents the analytical study of artificially constructed gender relations under Hindu social order that not only shapes attitudes of Hindus toward their women



but also conditions women to confirm to a stereotype feminine be, effectively illustrate Ambedkar's vision related to women empowerment. He put every effort to imbibe the sense of Women empowerment in Constitution. These efforts depict from preamble to fundamental rights and Directive Principles of state policy. He worked hard to challenge the unfair gender relations under the Hindu social order so that Hindu society could be reconstructed along the modern democratic ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity.

Mook Nayak began this effort in 1920, and it persisted until his passing. He placed a strong emphasis on women's education, encouraged prostitutes to enter respectable professions, and had faith in the power of women's organisations to bring about social reforms and overthrow the conventional, stale Hindu mindset for women.

According to B.R. Ambedkar's thorough study on the strong position of women, "Manu" has significantly contributed to the social standing of women who once held important positions in a variety of statecraft positions and contributed significantly as

enlightened intellectuals in social life. The early Vedic period, gives somewhat a bright picture regarding women, they enjoyed equal rights with men, participating in different spheres. Both husband and wife enjoyed the property rights. Remarriage of widow was allowed. Women enjoyed a high status before 300 BC but after 300 BC there was a sudden shift in their status. In pre-Manu period women were free and equal partner of men. Manu propounded a theory of perpetual slavery of women in 'Manusmriti'. Manu considered marriage as sacramental and he was not in the favour of divorce. Thus a woman was compelled to lead a life

as a subject of males and object of pleasure without any right. Under the laws of 'Manu', women placed at lowest marginalized level where she can't afford any right like right to property and right to freedom etc. According to 'Manu' women had no right to study Vedas and to perform any sacrifice prescribed by Vedas.

Ambedkar proposed a number of ideas through the Hindu Code Bill to improve the Hindu system, one of which was the idea of civil marriages. He hoped that in the event of a civil marriage, caste and sub-caste would be abolished.

He favoured the idea of outlawing polygamy and pushed for the legalisation of monogamy.

He also rejected the sacramental nature of Hindu marriages and changed it to a contract based on the girl's consent.

He spoke out vehemently against the degrading customs that were prevalent at the time, such as the dowry system, which attempted to combine many types of "Streedhan" into one type of property. Ambedkar, the human race's saviour, spoke harshly to the marginalised groups.

He gave everything he had to the human race. The Preamble, fundamental rights, guiding principles of state policy, and numerous additional welfare laws implemented by the federal and state governments to address concerns of women's rights are clear indications of the influence of his thought.

Ambedkar gave clarion call to the depressed people and disseminate information so that there can be

awareness among poor, illiterate women for their rights and duties so that they can get for what they are entitled to get. He fought from tooth to nail to get passed the Hindu code bill, but in vain.

Due to this reason he resigned from cabinet. He was of the opinion that proper implementation of Social justice can usher the development of all.

He had found the historical causes of graded inequality and degradation of women in India which is rooted in 'Manusamriti' which held the responsibility of the decline of status women in Indian social order. He conceived the idea that caste and gender inequality both are inseparable. He said, "I cannot treat the problem in its entirety. Time, space and acumen, I am afraid, would all fail me, if I attempted to do otherwise than limit myself to a phase of it, namely, the genesis, mechanism and spread of the caste system. I will strictly observe this rule, and will dwell on extraneous matters only when it is necessary to clarify or support a point in my thesis".

He saw women as the main victim of the patriarchal social system oppressive, and suggested Buddhism as a strategy for emancipation from oppression of Hindu social order. Buddhism gives equality, self-respect to women and also supports education of women. He suggested that education, inter-caste marriages and inter-dine system can help to break the shackles of slavery of patriarchy.

Ambedkar considered women as a parameter of the progress of community. Government has tried to give due position to the women from time to time through various initiatives and laws which include special provisions for working women. Some of these are; Legal Practitioner (women) Act 1923; Maternity Benefit Act 1961; Beedi and Cigar Act (condition and employment) 1966; Bonded Labour System (abolition) Act 1976; Equal Remuneration Act 1976; Centralsponsors schemes for the universalization of education such as *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, 86th Amendment Act 2002, Early Childhood Care and Education, National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary level, Mahila Samakhya Programme for the empowerment of women*. In January 1992, the National Commission for Women was set up by an Act of Parliament to protect the specific interests of women and provide them legal protection in case of any form of exploitation. It helps financially to various organizations and institutions to organize

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# Relevance of the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar in 21st century

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Hindutva mission and finds his ideas and personality to be quite problematic. By sanitising and misrepresenting Ambedkar's ideas, it is attempting to hijack him in an effort to get around this obstacle and turn him into a supporter of the revanchist ideology of the Parivar. Sangh Parivar is implementing a two-pronged plan to realise this: first, they are attacking the dalits and bullying them into submission; second, they are appropriating Ambedkar's personality by distorting his ideals.

India had some of the worst national communal bombardments following independence, with perpetrators still at large and effects still being felt. Not losing sight of the fact that these attacks were in fact directed against the democratic and secular principles that form the cornerstone of the Constitution drafted under Dr. Ambedkar's direction. He was the first law minister of independent India and chairman of the constitutional writing committee

thanks to his academic accomplishments. He fiercely fought against caste society and upheld individual freedom. He stirred up conflict and enraged Hindus by asserting that Hinduism is the cause of the caste system. This prediction is coming true now more than ever. Since 2014, there has been a definite correlation between Ambedkar's ideology and Hindutva politics. Nearly every political party extols his qualities, despite the fact that the plight of Dalits, minorities, and other disadvantaged groups has not improved since his departure.

Both Ambedkar's leadership of the committee that drew the independent Indian Constitution and the deft way he "piloted the draught" in the current Constituent Assembly must be acknowledged. But that is insufficient. Through the "diversity of political and social principles that fertilised Indian thinking" he gave during the course of his extensive political career, Gandhi significantly influenced India's decision to accept the

parliamentary system of government, as is widely known. For the discussion to proceed, it may be more important to focus on the distinction he made between "political democracy" and "social democracy," which he defined as "each man with one vote" and "one man with one value," as well as his caution that political democracy based on the divisions, discrepancies, disparities, and exemptions of traditional Indian society would be like "a palace built on cow dung."

In order to establish if there is a developing rapport or dissonance between Dr. Ambedkar's ideal of democracy and the situation that exists today, we also need to look at the country's current condition of things. Through this lens, we should assess our role to overcoming the obstacles in our way. We must remember the huge burden that the republic's other "founding fathers," who included the leaders of the Independence struggle, undertook while we honour and remember the great colossus that was

Ambedkar. In a nation where there is a serious shortage of education and widespread illiteracy, this group worked together to secure the right to vote for each and every adult person. After years of work, the right to vote is currently enjoyed by many Western countries. The development of the Indian Constitution and fundamental liberties, however, was overshadowed by the gruesome Partition riots.

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# Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's philosophy in the contemporary India

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of 70 years. The state should work toward achieving political, social, and economic justice for the most vulnerable groups if we as a society are to have any regard for and sincere devotion to the Constitution and its lofty goals. To identify the cause of the apathy that permeates administration of development and law enforcement, this necessitates

Despite the fact that periodic affirmations and overdrives are sometimes seen as a part of political and in-

tellectual theatricals, the state never feels the need to show genuine compassion or a sense of obligation toward the wellbeing of Dalits and tribal people. What is sorely lacking is a sense of urgency to hasten societal change and put the incidents of rape and exploitation, violence, and injustice in the past. It must be ingrained in the civil and police administration's DNA with an unwavering political resolve that manifests itself in defiance of the pull of the political parties' caste and class structures.

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# Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Vision on Women Empowerment in context of Indian Constitution

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programmes for spreading awareness of women's rights and legal safeguards, so that the purpose of women's protection can be achieved. Earlier the issues and problems of women were held by Ministry of Social Welfare. In 1986 separate department for women and children constituted and in January 2006 the department was elevated to the status of full-fledged independent Ministry which also aimed to move from welfare to the development approach of women empowerment. Planning, implementation and coordination with other departments are the part of administrative efforts for women empowerment.

Various schemes of care and protection like swadhar, swawlamban, swayamsiddha and working women hostels etc are the outcomes of its efforts. Rashtriya Mahila Kosh was established in 1993 for easy access of credit for women which con-

sequently leads economic empowerment of women. Recently Govt. has amended maternity benefit bill to extend its benefit to women working in corporate or private sector. Government included the special clause for reservation of women in employing the workers under MGNREGA. Recent local governing bodies election Panjab Government has increased the reservation for women from 33 % reservation to 50 % reservation so that political inclusion of women can be increased. India as a signatory of UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women is strongly and sincerely committed to achieve its objective; in pursuance of its objectives in April 2001 national policy on empowerment of women was adopted. The major purpose of this policy is to bring social change with respect to attitude towards women and women empowerment.

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# Some Issues related to preparing New Agricultural Policy of Punjab

On December 5, 2022, Punjab Agriculture Minister Kuldeep Singh Dhaliwal said in a discussion on 'Agricultural Development Model of Punjab - Some Policy Issues' held by the Punjab State Farmers and Agricultural Workers Commission that a New Agricultural Policy of the state will be prepared by the beginning of the financial year 2023-24. According to him, the geographical situation of the state, soil health, and water availability will be the basis of the New Agricultural Policy. Here, it is important to know that in the last one decade, two drafts were prepared regarding the formulation of Punjab's agricultural policy, but they did not get anywhere. In 2013 under the leadership of Dr. G.S. Kalkat and in 2018 under the leadership Ajayvir Jakhar two different drafts were prepared related to the agriculture policy of the state, but the governments of that time did not discuss these drafts and prepare an appropriate agricultural policy based on them.

COVID-19 pandemic has

time to time regarding the number of farmers and agricultural labourers and the non-availability of data on rural artisans, it is necessary to ensure a minimum level of income for the workers of these three agricultural classes through which they can fulfill their basic needs of life like food, clothing, housing, education, health care, clean environment, and social security in a respectable manner.

Due to the hard work of Punjab's farmers, agricultural labourers, and rural artisans and excessive use of states' natural resources, the country was able to overcome the problem of huge shortage of food grains during the 1960s. Small in size (1.54 per cent), the state of Punjab has made an excellent contribution to the Central Pool of Food Grains for a long time. In 1979-80 this contribution was 67.7 per cent in respect of wheat and rice. Although this contribution of Punjab has decreased as a result of the fact that the central government has been giving priority to the development of the agricultural

sans, the increase in minimum support prices of agricultural commodities will not directly benefit these classes as these classes have nothing else to sell in the market except their labour. The ever-increasing use of machinery and herbicides in the agricultural sector has drastically reduced the days of employment for agricultural labourers and rural artisans. In spite of these facts, the fixation of minimum support prices of agricultural commodities on the basis of Swaminathan's recommendation and their legal guarantee are of utmost importance for the agriculture sector.

The minimum support prices of agricultural commodities are mainly fixed by the central government. The procurement agencies of the central and state governments purchase some agricultural commodities for the central government at these prices. Although this year the Punjab government has purchased some quantities of Moong (green gram) at its minimum support price,

state depends primarily on minimum support prices and assured procurement of agricultural commodities by the central government. The state government can make a positive contribution regarding land use. By making policies related to chemical fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides, herbicides and other chemicals used in the agricultural sector, the state government can contribute positively for improving soil health, protecting the environment from pollution, and ensuring access to clean drinking water.

A very commendable contri-



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**Export and import policies of agricultural commodities are formulated and implemented by the central government which affect the income of the agricultural sector dependent sections. The state governments do not have any rights in this regard. The central government has control over most of the institutional sources to meet the financing requirements for agricultural production.**



made this fact clear that bread is most important for human life. Humans can survive without cars, bangles, airplane travel, phones and other luxuries, but human life is not possible without bread, bread can only be provided by the agricultural sector. Realizing the importance of bread for human life, all the countries of the world should prepare and implement such agricultural policies which would be helpful for sustainable agriculture. Many aspects need to be considered regarding the formulation of New Agricultural Policy of Punjab. These considerations include ensuring a minimum level of income for agricultural dependent farmers, agricultural labourers, and rural artisans, maintaining groundwater levels, improving soil health, protecting against environmental pollution and ensuring supply of clean drinking water. Some issues need to be considered regarding the success of the above aspects.

Data on farmers and agricultural labourers in Punjab is not available from any source other than the 2011 census. Statistics of rural artisans in Punjab are not available from any source. The number of rural small artisans in Punjab is continuously decreasing, for which the use of machinery in the agricultural sector and the use of plastic in the general life of the people are mainly responsible. According to the 2011 census, there are 19.35 lakh farmers and 15.88 lakh agricultural labourers in Punjab. Leaving aside the questions raised from

sector of other states, even during 2020-21 this contribution is 25.9 per cent. One aspect that needs attention in this regard is that when natural calamities hit the agricultural sector in the country, then Punjab's contribution to the Central Pool of Food Grains of the country increases. This is particularly true in the case of drought.

Some issues should be considered regarding the classes dependent on the agricultural sector of Punjab for their livelihood. Farmer organizations of Punjab including the other states of the country and some political parties have been demanding and struggling about fixing, giving legal guarantee and purchasing agricultural commodities on the basis of Swaminathan's recommendations. Although the central government fixes minimum support prices for 23 agricultural commodities, some of these commodities are being procured from only a few states. As per Swaminathan's recommendation, ensuring 50 per cent profit on total agricultural production costs would make agriculture a profitable business for farmers. By doing this, as the size of the farm will increase, so will the total profit of the farmers. Even if this happens, there will not be any significant increase in the income of marginal and small farmers and agricultural labourers and rural artisans. Marginal and small farmers have very little surplus to sell in the market. Due to the landlessness of a very large number of agricultural labourers and rural arti-

the purchase of today's main crops wheat and paddy is beyond the budget of the state government. If the Punjab government procures wheat and paddy produced in Punjab itself, where will the finance for it come from? In this regard the state government will face serious problems for storage of these commodities and for the inter-state movement of these agricultural commodities approval of the central government will be required. The state government of Punjab can only play a complementary role in this regard by increasing its financial resources.

Export and import policies of agricultural commodities are formulated and implemented by the central government which affect the income of the agricultural sector dependent sections. The state governments do not have any rights in this regard. The central government has control over most of the institutional sources to meet the financing requirements for agricultural production. The state government is not in a position to make any major contribution in this regard. The central government has the right to fix the prices of the main inputs required for agricultural production like diesel, chemical fertilizers etc. or to transfer them to the unregulated market due to which the state government cannot play any important role in this regard.

The agricultural diversification needed to improve soil health, maintain groundwater levels, and protect the environment from pollution in the

contribution that the state government can make in relation to land use is to promote cooperative farming. In the state, the AAP government has brought and is bringing a lot of land under the control of panchayats by getting rid of illegal encroachment from panchayat and shamlat lands. The main purpose of utilization of income derived from panchayat and shamlat lands is to carry out public welfare works. Dalits have a legal right to cultivate one-third of the panchayat lands, but even for this they have to pay rent, it is considerably less than the market rent. A research study by Professor Bina Aggarwal has revealed the fact that there are more than 68,000 cooperative agricultural groups of landless women in the state of Kerala. These groups do farming by taking land on contract. The production of these groups is 1.9 times and the net economic profit is 5 times that of ordinary farmers. Cooperative farming helps in reducing production costs and increasing income. As far as Punjab is concerned, cooperative farming should be started from panchayat lands on a priority basis. It should be ensured that one-third of the Panchayat lands are given to Dalits, one-third to women and one-third to landless farmers for cooperative farming without taking any rent so that the socio-economic conditions of these sections who depend on agriculture for their livelihood can be improved. Financial and other concessions are also to be given to cooperative farming groups.

# Uniform Civil Code (UCC): A cursory Analysis

The issue of UCC is again in the news with a private member's bill introduced in the Rajya Sabha. With a view to make the things easy to understand for the common man, I thought of sharing a common man's take on the subject. The bill, inter alia, seeks to "provide for the constitution of the National Inspection and Investigation Committee for preparation of Uniform Civil Code and its implementation throughout the territory of India and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto". The bill was supported by the ruling BJP and opposed by the opposition, as expected, on the respective party lines. UCC repeatedly remained on the agenda of the ruling BJP and other right wing Hindu outfits right from independence in 1947, framing of the constitution and thereafter. As such it remained a controversial issue. BJP and other proponents quote Article 44 of the Constitution which reads, "Shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India" and underline that it was the will of the majority of the constitution makers to have UCC that is why it was stipulated in the constitution under the Directive Principles of State Policy. On the other side the Congress Party and other parties in the opposition argued that time was not ripe to have UCC as it would tend to fragment the social fabric of the country which was threat due to various factors. The opposition argued and said that the proposed legislation was against the principles enshrined in Article 26B and Article 29(1) of the Constitution, which allow people "to manage its own affairs in matters of religion" and the right to conserve distinct language, script or culture.

The Constituent Assembly discussed and debated the matter extensively and decided to insert the issue of UCC under the Directive Principles of State Policy. The Chief Architect of the Constitution, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was, prime facie, in favour of UCC as his personal motivation was to reform the society of graded inequality of which the socially depressed classes and the women folk were suffering for centuries. He was of the view that the UCC aimed to provide protection to vulnerable sections including women and religious minorities, while also promoting nationalistic fervor through unity. BJP and proponents of UCC often tend to take shelter under Ambedkar while pursuing their agenda in this regard. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a visionary and pragmatic leader and a nationalist to

the core. India is a multi-cultural and multi-racial society. The Hindu conservatives were interested in maintaining the Hindu traditions with regard to civil matters of marriage, divorce, inheritance and share of women folk on one hand and the Muslim minority were keen to retain the personal laws like Shariat as India was a secular state which guaranteed religious freedom. Dr. Ambedkar agreed to insert the UCC under the Directive Principles of State Policy, I think, against his own liking. The objective of Article 44 of the Directive Principles in the Indian Constitution was to address the discrimination against vulnerable groups and harmonize diverse cultural groups across the country. Dr. B R Ambedkar, while formulating the Constitution had said that a UCC is desirable but for the moment it should remain voluntary, and thus the Article 35 of the draft Constitution was added as a part of the Directive Principles of

the State Policy in part IV of the Constitution of India as Article 44. It was incorporated in the Constitution as an aspect that would be fulfilled when the nation would be ready to accept it and the social acceptance to the UCC could be made. Babasaheb Ambedkar warned and said in the Constituent Assembly, "No one need be apprehensive that if the State has the power, the State will immediately proceed to execute...that power in a manner may be found to be objectionable by the Muslims or by the Christians or by any other community. I think it would be a mad government if it did so." It was a far-sighted and pragmatic approach. We need to build "consensus" on the issue. The minority communities should also not adopt a hard attitude just for the heck of it as many of the Islamic states have opted for 'Common Law System and Civil Law Systems. The legal systems of countries all over the world are divided into two categories: common law systems and civil law systems. There are around 150 nations with predominantly civil law systems, compared to approximately 80 countries with common law systems. A Uniform Civil Code means that all sec-

tions of the society irrespective of their religion shall be treated equally according to a national civil code, which shall be applicable to all uniformly. They cover areas like- Marriage, divorce, maintenance, inheritance, adoption and succession of the property.

India was not a nation. Under the post independence struggle, we are trying our best to make it a modern nation as a 'Union of States' with its diversity and individual freedoms. We are to maintain this under its 'secular' identity as many democratic and federal countries like the USA have done. In the United States of America, States are independent legal entities with their own Supreme Courts, which follow their own practices and legal conventions. Even though there are common principles that govern these civil laws in the States in a manner that is universal across the nation.

Ambedkar was not only a constitutional expert but also a great social reformer to make India a cohesive country. In the face of stiff opposition, he was interested in safeguarding the interest of women and depressed classes and proposed changes which later came as Hindu Code Bills - The Hindu code bills were several laws passed in the 1950s that aimed to codify and reform Hindu personal law in India, abolishing religious law in favor of a common law code. Ambedkar even resigned, in 1951, from his coveted position as the Law Minister in the Government of PM Jawaharlal Nehru when PM Nehru could not carry forward the reform agenda of Ambedkar. Nehru could not convince President Rajendra Prasad who openly opposed the proposed Hindu Code Bills. He said, "My right to examine it (the bill) on its merits, when it is passed by the Parliament, before giving assent to it is there. But if any action of mine at a later stage is likely to cause embarrassment to the Government, I may take such appropriate actions as I may be called upon to avoid such embarrassment consistently with the dictates of my own conscience."

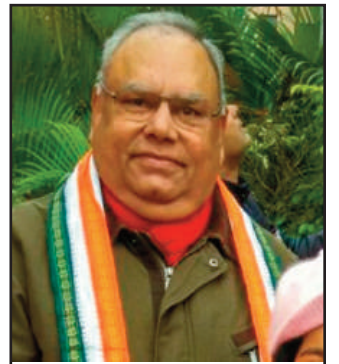
In this background, we need to

be balanced and practical in addressing this complex issue as advised by Babasaheb Ambedkar. It is a matter of satisfaction that so far our judiciary has acted pragmatically to reconcile the differences owing to Uniform Criminal Code as against Diversified Civil Code - While the criminal laws in India are uniform and applicable equally on all, no matter what their religious beliefs are, the civil laws are influenced by faith. Swayed by religious texts, the personal laws which come into effect in civil cases have always been implemented according to constitutional norms.

All said and done, I think Uniform Civil Code would be beneficial to the health of the society at large. I quote from an article on the subject which explains the matter further and puts the issue in its perspective, "Since India is an emerging and progressive country, and it is a bit disappointing to hear that we are not bolting our attention to achieve the core purpose of equality and secularism that we have committed to providing to our citizens. India can be a great nation only if the same laws relating to inheritance, marriage, family, land, etc. apply to all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed or community. All Indians will be treated equally in this way. The age-old religious customs and personal laws of our country are usually gender-based.

The Uniform Civil Code is an indication of a progressive modern nation. It is an indication that the nation has moved away from caste politics and religious politics. We as a nation are regularly striving towards the best possible economic growth, it might also be right to say that socially and culturally we have degraded to a new low.

A uniform civil code will help to improve the conditions of women in India. It will help to bring about changes in the age-old traditions that have no relevance in today's modern society, where women should be accorded equal rights and treated fairly. The uniform civil code in India will ensure not division on the basis of religion but unity by creating a sense of nationality."



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Goodie Takhar, PhD

# Felicitations to the great artist on his centennial birthday (11 December) The Tragedy King & Hero of Heroes: Dilip Kumar

There are shooting stars those come and go, some blaze brightly and then fade away, but Dilip Kumar was the brightest star, whose light never dimmed. The last emperor of Indian Cinema, Dilip had once ruled the silver screen with his glamorous prominence as an unmatched giant. The ultimate method-actor, Dilip chose his passions mindfully and chiseled them to exemplary standards. His versatility, incredible dialogue delivery and typical disarming smile made him the screen legend beyond his image of a 'Tragedy King'. There was aesthetic classical bliss in his acting and always worked to get under the skin of the character he was portraying. He had a flair for playing the tragic roles but also proved that he was second to none in comedic roles. The erudite and observant Dilip Kumar defined the modern

among the female members and they would fondly call him "Chico" (a lad in Spanish). Once, he made a fierce speech about India's freedom struggle. He was arrested and lodged in Yerwada Jail, Pune for one day.

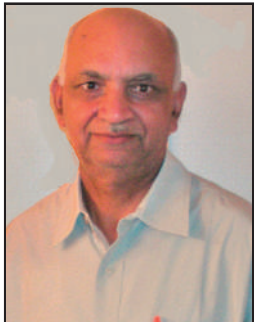
In 1942, he was introduced to Devika Rani, the owner of Bombay Talkies, by Dr. Masani. She was awestricken with the sensitive face and expressive eyes of young Yusuf Khan. He was enrolled by Bombay Talkies as an apprentice with a three-year contract at Rs. 500 per month. She considered Yusuf Khan too bland a name and rechristened him as Dilip Kumar, the name suggested by famous Hindi writer Bhagwati Charan Verma. He was launched as the second protagonist in their four-handkerchief melodrama 'Jwar Bhata' (1944) directed by Amiya Chakraborty. Dilip Kumar had a rough start and was derided as

the doomed, beautiful Anarkali (Madhubala) in 'Mughal-e-Azam' (1960). His performance as Salim has often been rated as among his best ever. The classic scene with a feather coming between their lips, which set a million imaginations on fire, was shot when both of them had completely stopped talking. Ganga Jumna (1961) is the poignancy of two brothers caught on opposite sides of the law, the lingering grip of feudal oppression in rural India, the struggle to reconcile family loyalty and revenge with the implacable law codes of the modern state. He gave a flawless performance and perhaps the greatest of his career. In Dil Diya Dard Liya (1966), a petered down Wuthering Heights, gave the battered lover's role all the gravitas. Equally unforgettable is his double-role turn in Ram Aur Shyam (1967), where he played twin

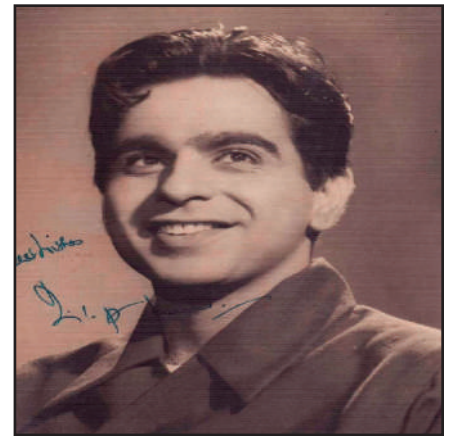
lead in 'Lawrence of Arabia' and also 20th Century Fox's offer of 'The Rains Came'. He declined to do Hindi films 'Baiju Bawra', 'Pyaasa', 'Mother India', 'Kaagaz Ke Phool', 'Dil-Daulat Aur-

Duniya' and 'Naya Din Nayi Raat'. Some of his films like Shikwa, Chanakya Aur Chandragupta, Omer Khayyam, Sanam, Raasta, Asarand Kalinga were shelved.

Dilip Kumar, the perfectionist, learnt nuances of Sitar playing to enact song sequence 'Madhuban



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artiste and how he can marry the didactic and the aesthetic schools. Dilip Kumar, a perfectionist, was the touchstone of acting and has inspired generations of actors.

His performances have been regarded as the epitome of emoting in Indian Cinema. Though he has done all kinds of films, he balanced a lightweight Shabnam (1949) with the intense Andaaz (1949), the ultra-serious Daag (1952) with the swash-buckling ebullient Jai of Aan (1952), and deep-in-the-cups melancholic Devdas (1955) with the entertainer Azaad (1955). His range of characters from being a revolutionary in 'Sagina Mahato' or Nehruvian socialist in 'Leader' to the underworld don in 'Vidhata', displayed a breadth mastered by few others.

Dilip Kumar was born as Muhammad Yusuf Khanto Lala Ghulam Sarwar Khan and Ayesha Begum on 11 December 1922 in Doma Gali, Mohallah Khudadad, Kissa Khawani Bazaar, Peshawar (now Pakistan). His father was a wealthy fruit merchant, who owned fruit orchards in Peshawar and Deolali. Yusuf got his primary education from Prestigious Barnes School, Deolali. In the late 1930s, his family was relocated to Mumbai. As the World War-II was raging, their fruit business got adversely affected. Yusuf did his graduation from Khalsa College, Bombay and took up a job in Army Canteen, Deolali.

After some time, he had his own sandwich-stall in Wellington Club Pune. The stall became popular

a 'monkey' by Baburao Patel of Film India.

His next film 'Pratima' (1945) also failed to click. He had shaky beginnings that eventually congealed into a luminous career through his determination. His third film 'Milan' (1946) fetched him popularity. However, his pairing with Noorjehan in 'Jugnu' (1947) created ripples and the film became a phenomenal hit. The box-office bonanza 'Shaheed' (1948) opposite Kamini Kaushal gave him a solid footing in Hindi film-dom. Another smash hit was 'Mela' (1948), a tale of star-crossed lovers whose destiny is molded by society's rigid rules. The megahit 'Andaz' (1949) established him as a talented actor.

In the early 1950s, he developed a distinct acting style and films like Jogan, Aan, Babul, Deedar and Sangdil helped him to leap to the peak. In Jogan (1950), he played an atheist who lived for the moment and his cynicism collided with Nargis's faith. 'Footpath' (1953), his first tryst with realistic cinema, was his truly memorable film where stark reality was mingled with thought-provoking romanticism. Devdas (1955) created a template for musical films based on tales of unrequited love. In Naya Daur (1957), he speaks for man versus machine, striking a blow for Nehruvian idealism and socialism in India. After Madhumati (1958), youth took to lurching with a Dilip Kumar gait, with sweaters tied around their necks.

He was the hapless Salim to

brothers separated-at-birth, a trope cemented firmly thereon, with great light-hearted gusto. He was absolutely brilliant displaying razor sharp comic timing.

Dilip Kumar took sabbatical after his triple role in 'Bairag' (1976). He staged a grand comeback after a six-year hiatus with Manoj Kumar's Kranti (1981). His larger than life author-backed role in Shakti (1982) confirmed his legendary status. In Saudagar (1991), he pulled it off effortlessly mixing memory with desire and comedy with anger. Dilip Kumar's first and last directorial venture 'Kalinga' (1996) was his dream project. He was playing justice Kalinga in the movie, however, this film got shelved midway for unknown reasons. His last released film was 'Qila' (1998) that featured him in a double-role as an evil landlord Jagannath Singh and his twin judge Amarnath Singh, who is left to solve the murder of his brother.

He was branded as 'the king of tragedy' after his portrayal of doomed lover in a chain of tragedy-films like Mela (1948), Shaheed (1948), Andaaz (1949), Babul (1950), Jogan (1950), Deedar (1951), Daag (1952), Shikast (1953), Udan Khatola (1955) and Devdas (1955). He plunged into an ocean of depression and on the advice of a London based psychiatrist, he changed the template and switched over to humorous roles in films like Azaad, Kohinoor, Leader, Ram and Shyam and Gopi.

Dilip Kumar turned down David Lean's offer to act as second

Mein Radhi ka Nache Re...' (Kohinoor), a true gem executed with such unabashed purism in Bollywood films. While Mohammad Rafi mostly gave playback to Dilip Kumar but Talat Mahmud's voice brought out the ultimate romanticism in him in Babul, Arzoo, Daag, Tarana and Sangdil. Some legendary songs picturised on him include 'Tu Kahey Agar Jeevan Bhar' (Andaaz), 'Maan Mera Ehsan, Arey Nadan' (Aan), 'Suhana Safar Aur Yeh Mausam Hasin' (Madhumati); 'Udey Jab Jab Zulfein Ter' (Naya Daur); 'Do Sitaro Ka Zamin Par Hai Milan' (Kohinoor) and many more. The suave performer known for his dedication, intensity and versatility had left behind a rich legacy of 62 films in a magnificent career graph that spanned five decades. His fifteen movies celebrated golden jubilee runs, while eighteen films were silver jubilee hits. He demonstrated his script-writing talent in 'Leader' (1964) and narrated the destructive events in 'Dharmaputra' (1961).

Dilip Kumar formed a famous troika with his illustrious contemporaries Raj Kapoor and Dev Anand. In fact, Dilip and Dev used to wander around the local Bombay in search of work. Dev would embrace and wish him invariably on his birthday 'Lale, you will live for a thousand years'. A good number of books on his life and times including his autobiography "Dilip Kumar: The Substance and the Shadow" (2014) have been written. He owned a blue Impala car with registration number 2424.

(Contd. on next page)

# The Tragedy King & Hero of Heroes: Dilip Kumar

(Continue from page 7)

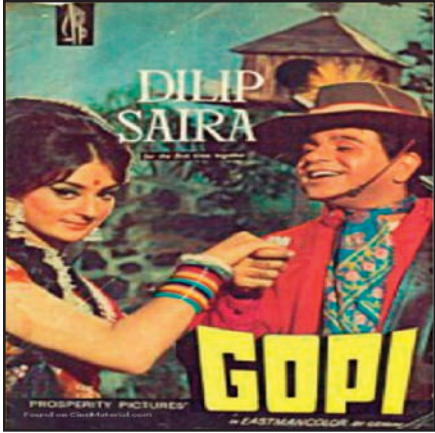
A graceful presence sans superficial gestures and a genuinely submissive attitude towards female beauty were unique to Dilip Kumar. The on-screen chemistry with his leading ladies produced sophisticated sensuousness. As a lover, he played

istani-origin woman, on 30 May, 1981 and divorced her on 22 June, 1983 after this alliance emerged in the public domain.

Dilip Kumar became the first recipient of the Best Actor Filmfare Award for 'Daag' (1952). Subsequently, he won the black-lady for

and crowded with people. Suddenly there is a commotion. There are shrieks and shouts. People are running in every direction, some stumble and fall. A mad dog is in the street. I panic and turn to run. The dog rushes out of the confused crowd and springs at me. I feel a sharp pain in

of shops. Before I recover from the shock, British soldiers arrive and start firing at the people. I take refuge under a low roof on the roadside, watching everything with fear-filled eyes. Suddenly a policeman pulls me out by the scruff of my neck and slaps me very hard. I fall, then pick



a man who worships women; from Kamini Kaushal to Madhubala to Nutan with a deference bordering on the platonic. He worked with all the leading actresses of his era except Suraiya.

After marrying Saira Bano and even before, there were some beauties in his life. Kamini Kaushal was indisputably his dream-girl, both had tremendous on-screen and off-screen chemistry. But a married Kamini Kaushal left him under family pressure. Then he found 'Dil Ki Rani' Madhubala. But their closeness did not find favour with her father Ataulh Khan, who tried to make the marriage proposal into a business venture. It was love at first sight for twelve year old Saira Banu. The wedding bells rang for Dilip Kumar and Saira Banu on 11 October, 1966. Dilip Kumar secretly married Asma Begum, a Pak-

best actor in Azaad (1955), Devdas (1956), Naya Daur (1957), Kohinoor (1960), Leader (1964) and Ram Aur-Shyam (1967). Government of India honoured him with Padma Bhushan in 1991 and Padma Vibhushan in 2015. He was felicitated with Dadasaheb Phalke Award in 1994. He created controversy by accepting Pakistan's highest civil honour 'Nishan-e-Imtiaz' during the Kargil war in 1998.

Dilip Kumar was suffering from prostate cancer and breathed his last on July 7, 2021 in Mumbai.

**A few leaves from his Diary:**

He was temperamental, moody and even hypersensitive. Some events in his life were mere trifles, while others had made deep wounds.

"I am a small boy. I had gone to fetch milk for the house. I am walking home leisurely on the hot dusty street, lined with sprawling shops

my right arm. I drop the milk can and run home crying. Blood is streaming from the bite just above my elbow. I have the mark of that wound to this day."

"An old lady's four strapping sons have been killed in a lorry smash-up. Relations are mourning for them up there in her house, I sneak in. The four gruesomely mangled bodies are laid on the ground. Beating of chests above, beating of chests below and the shrieking throng turns the night into a pandemonium of grief. It is a harrowing experience, etched deep into my child-consciousness."

"I am six or seven years of age. I am on my way home from my uncle's shop at the Kabul Gate. There is a great commotion in the streets. I see uniformed figures with rifles scurrying everywhere, some on the roofs

myself up and run blindly home, shots and cries ringing in my ears."

"Kulsum is young and very beautiful. She is the daughter of a Turkish prisoner and a Deccani Muslim woman named Halima. Her father died long ago. She and her mother live in a hut near our house. She and I go out to mind her flock of goats. She teaches me to climb trees and pluck mangoes. We are great friends".

"I am proud to call myself an Amiya Chakrabarty discovery. He gave me my much desired break in 'Jwar Bhata' (1944). For my first ever shot, I had to look intensely thinking, I was really confused, after ten takes Amiya canned the shot. He later worked very successfully with me in "Daag" in 1952, which earned me the title of tragedy king".

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