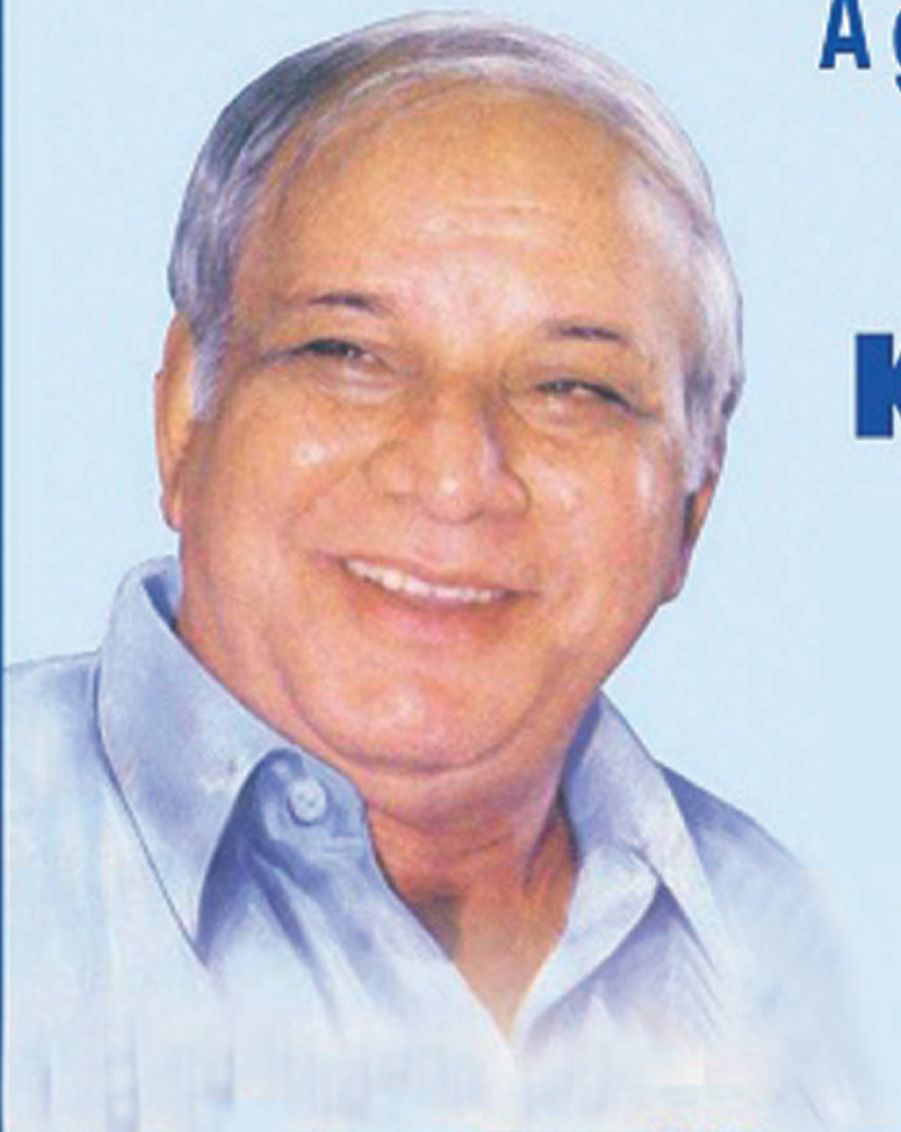




A grateful nation remembers:

Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram Ji



We take pride in entering 15th year of our regular publication of "Ambedkar Times". This all has become possible with the uninterrupted support of our supporters, contributors, readers and well-wishers. Congratulations to everyone.

Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times

Remembering Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram on his 89th Birth Anniversary

Prem Kumar Chumber
Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times & Desh Doaba

Babu Kanshi Ram ((15 March 1934 – 9 October 2006), venerated by his followers and admirers as 'Sahib' and 'Manyavar', continued the legacy of great Dalit struggle that began with the advent of Buddhism in India in the 6th century BC and slowly graduated through the strenuous efforts first of Jyotirao Phule (April 11, 1827 – November 28, 1890) and afterwards Bodhisattva Bharat Ratan Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (April 4, 1891 – December 6, 1956). Sahib Kanshi Ram provided a new form of leadership by invigorating political churning at the grassroots that instantly made a long-lasting impact on the imaginations of millions of lowest of the low and under-privileged artisans/service class people of India – constitutionally designated as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs). His sterling contribution lies in organizing the educated youth and varied SC and OBCs and motivating them with missionary spirit for the social transformation of the Indian society as a whole by emancipating and empowering them to rule the country. To achieve this mega goal – "Change the System" – Sahib Kanshi Ram founded the All India Backward and Minority Communities Employees' Federation (BAMCEF) in 1971 and Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangarsh Samiti (DS-4) in 1981 that eventually culminated into a larger political formation what came to be called Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in 1984. Sahib Kanshi Ram did not confine the strings of his newly launched socio-political process of empowering the lower castes to himself only. He, rather, let it loose to spread among his people who hitherto fore were prevented from entering the corridors of political powers by varied

Machiavellian machinations. He based his political strategy to prepare the way for his people to enter the parliament on the basis of the famous slogan of Dr. Ambedkar: "Educate, Agitate, Organise", and chiseled his innovative '85 vs 15' formula of 'Master Key' to unlock the portal of political power. He taught his people that they should prepare themselves to attain political power on the basis of 'bargaining and not begging'. He cycled day and night for months together to reach the lowest of the low to apprise them of their hidden numerical power that can win for them political power in the state and national democratic electoral processes. His dexterously prepared second line of young leadership belied the centuries old indoctrinated belief that Dalits are born only to serve! He proved the world that they have now come up to take over the reign of the rule into their own hands and became capable of writing their own destiny. The BSP under his pupil Mayawati ruled Uttar Pradesh, one of the most politically powerful states in India, for four terms as Chief Minister. Sahib Kanshi Ram taught millions of SCs and OBCs of this vast democracy how to convert their numerical strength into a potent electoral force to defeat those who thrived by dividing them in the name of caste, religion and false electoral promises. The forum of "Ambedkar Times" and "Desh Doaba" take immense pride in congratulating our contributors, readers and well-wishers on the 89th birth anniversary of Manyavar Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram Ji. We are also feeling proud to humbly state that www.ambedkartimes.com dedicated to teachings and life-works of Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia and Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram, has successfully completed its 15years of regular publication. We seek your support and encouragement and good wishes to continue with our this small effort in you services.

AMBEDKAR – Eight Letters - An Eightfold Path

Education without its Application is a state of lull.
 Agitation without Direction leads to a deep well.
 Organization without Unity of all will disperse soon.
 Belief without Reasoning is like catching the moon.
 Rights and Duties are complementary to each other.
 First Deserve, then desire sanctifies esoteric power.
 Rise up, be brave, under injustice ever kneel not.
 Look for an opportunity; hit the iron when it is hot.
 The teaching of all the Bodhisattvas is Moderation.
AAP DIPO BHAV, - a consciously considered decision



Zile Singh
 Ambassador
 I.F.S. (Retired)

Many congratulations

Many congratulations for beginning of the 15th year of continuous publication of English Weekly, Ambedkar Times. Mr. Prem Kumar Chumber deserves all admirations for his untiring efforts in the service of transparent and courageous journalism. I wish him big success in his future endeavors!



Ronki Ram (Dr.)

Shaheed Bhagat Singh Chair Professor of Political Science
 Panjab University, Chandigarh (India)

Congratulatory Message

The Ambedkar Times has crossed yet another mile stone and has entered in the 15th year of its journey through thick and thin. The paper was launched on March 15 the birthday of Babu Kanshi Ram as a wholesome tribute to the legacy of the great leader, second only to Babasaheb Ambedkar in the contemporary times.

Editor-in-Chief Prem Kumar Chumber has been doing a yeoman's service in carry forwarding the agenda and mission of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar, Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia

and that of Babu Kanshi Ram in the larger interest of the community and the society not only in India but also in foreign lands. It is a difficult work but Prem Kumar Chumber has been doing it relentlessly as a dedicated soldier of the community.

I take this opportunity to wish the Ambedkar Times and Editor Prem Chumber all the very best in the years to come. Further success and prosperity of Prem Chumber in this regard will be a befitting tribute to the community icon, Babu Kanshi Ram too.



Ramesh Chander
 Ambassador - I.F.S. (Retired)
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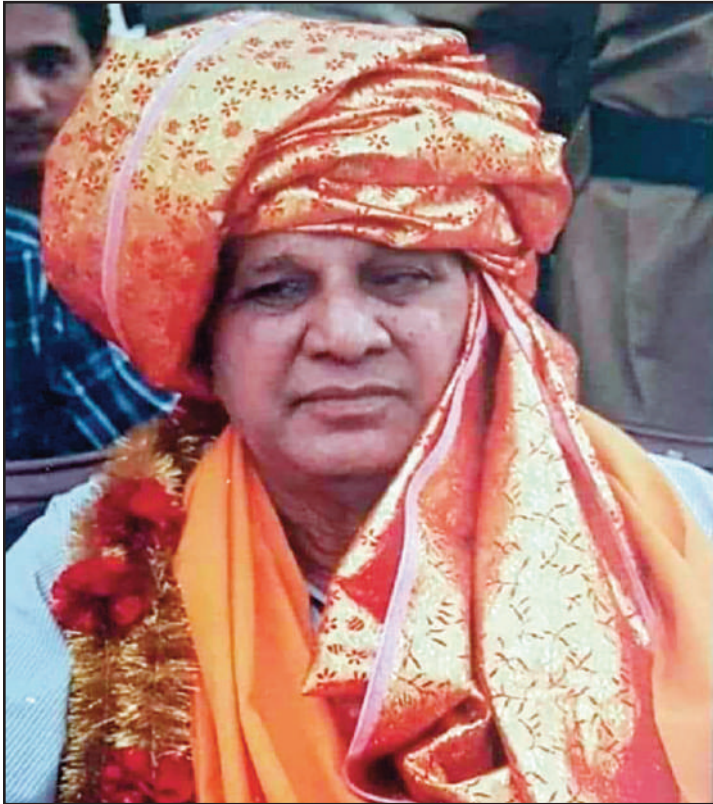
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HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS !!!

AMBEDKAR TIMES CELEBRATES 15th YEAR OF ITS PUBLICATION



Dear Mr. Prem K. Chumber,

It is a matter of immense pleasure to know that AMBEDKAR TIMES, a regular weekly Newspaper has entered 15th year of its existence on March 15th, 2023 which also celebrated 89th Birth Anniversary of Manyavar Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram Ji to whom the Paper is dedicated. It was your professional journalism and dedication which, I feel as a regular reader of "Ambedkar Times" ever since its inception, have been the corner stones of reaching this historic accomplishment. Ambedkar Times, joined by its sister Publication "DESH DOABA", has been steadily growing in its readership both in USA and abroad. Live coverage of some important community functions on Facebook is also an added feature of your services as its Editor-in-Chief. Other regular readers and contributors of Ambedkar Times, as I know, include some eminent and literary persons both in USA and abroad, as noted below: (1) Professor (Dr.) Ronki Ram, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Chair Professor of Political Science, Panjab University, Chandigarh (India) (2) Ambassador Mr. Ramesh Chander I.F.S (Retired). (3) Mr. Arun Kumar, General Secretary Federation of

Ambedkarite & Buddhist Organizations UK (4) Dr. Amrik Singh Sacramento (5) Mr. Raj Kumar Oshoraj, Vice President of Indian Buddhist Society, Toronto (Canada).

I wish and hope that your sustained efforts, inspite of all the challenges associated with the running of an enterprise like this, will be crowned with a prolonged growth and success in your readership.

I am also thankful to you for providing me the initiative and the opportunity for expressing my thoughts occasionally on various issues of public interest.

With best wishes in your future endeavors



O. P. Balley

Founder Member and Ex-Chairman
Shri Guru Ravidass Sabha Pittsburg (CA)
General Secretary:
Sri Guru Ravidass Sabhas (CA) USA



Ambedkar Times

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Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: Ambedkar Times

Heartiest Congratulations on Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji's 89th Birth Anniversary



Till the time we won't be successful in politics and not able to have power in our hands, the social and economic transformation is not possible.

Political power is the key to success.

Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji

Hans Raj Kajla and Kajla Family



Assemblyman Hoover's Representative Report

On Tuesday, the Assembly Committee on Public Safety once again rejected a common sense bill I authored (AB 257) which would have prohibited homeless encampments within 500 feet of a school, daycare center, playground, or youth center. The bill was killed on the same 2-6 party line vote.

Thank you to San Juan School Board Member Saul Hernandez and Rancho Cordova City Councilmember Garrett Gatewood for joining me to speak in support of this bill.

This bill was about one thing and one thing only: ensuring the safety of our residents and kids near parks and schools. I am disappointed that my colleagues voted down this bill today, but I will not stop working to keep our communities safe.

Update on Opposition to the Oil Windfall Tax

Last week I reported to you that I had begun circulating this letter calling on lawmakers to oppose the Governor's new oil windfall tax, because I believe

this proposal will risk fuel shortages, rationing, and price spikes at a time when gas prices are expected to reach \$7 per gallon in the coming months.

I am to give you an update



that 18 of my colleagues have agreed to sign the letter along with me.

We know why gas prices are so high in California: taxes, fees and

regulations drive up costs and restrict our fuel supply. The governor's tax plan is a distraction from those issues and could make things even worse. I'm grateful to my colleagues who are standing up for California drivers by opposing this new tax.

400 New Jobs to Assembly District 7

I am excited to welcome 400 new manufacturing jobs to my district with the Solar4America expansion! I am fully committed to improving our business climate in California and encouraging more investment like this in our communities. Thank you to Solar4America, and I look forward to this being the very beginning of expansion announcements.

Carmichael Chamber of Commerce 75 Years of Growth

My office was proudly in attendance at the Carmichael Chamber of Commerce 75 Years of Growth celebration last week. Since its inception in 1948, the Chamber has strived to be a resource and advocate for local



businesses and a strong community partner.

It was amazing to see so many local businesses and community members come together to celebrate. Here's to 75 more years of growth and success!

Visit from the Sacramento County Deputy Sheriffs' Association

It was great getting a visit from the Sacramento County Deputy Sheriffs' Association and officers from Long Beach at the State Capitol today. Thank you to all of our law enforcement partners for the sacrifice you make to keep our communities safe.

Assemblyman Josh Hoover Joins the California Problem Solvers Caucus

SACRAMENTO - Today Assemblyman Josh Hoover (R-Folsom) announced that he has formally been voted into the California Problem Solvers Caucus, a biparti-san group of legislators who are committed to reaching across the aisle to address

issues facing the California Legislature.

"I look forward to working with my colleagues in the California Problem Solvers Caucus to find bipartisan solutions to some of our state's biggest challenges," said Assemblyman

Hoover. "In an age of hyper-partisanship it is more important than ever to have leaders willing to work together to find common ground and bipartisan solutions."

The California Problem Solvers Caucus was formed in

2021 and contains members of both parties from both the Assembly and Senate. In the past, they have come together to advocate for things such as the suspension of the gas tax and funding for a California fire surveillance system.

Heartiest Congratulations on Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji's 89th Birth Anniversary



**Sahib Shri
Kanshi Ram Ji**

A community that doesn't have representation in the political power, that community is dead. *Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji*

ਭੁੱਲ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਬਾਬਾ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਮਿਸ਼ਨ ਅਧੂਰਾ। ਜੇ ਨਾ ਜੀਮਦਾ ਖੁਆਸ ਖੁਰੇ ਕਾਂਸ਼ੀ ਰਾਮ ਸੂਰਾ॥
ਅਮਰ ਦੜੋਚ ਦੀ ਕਲਮ ਤੋਂ



Amar Daroch with his family

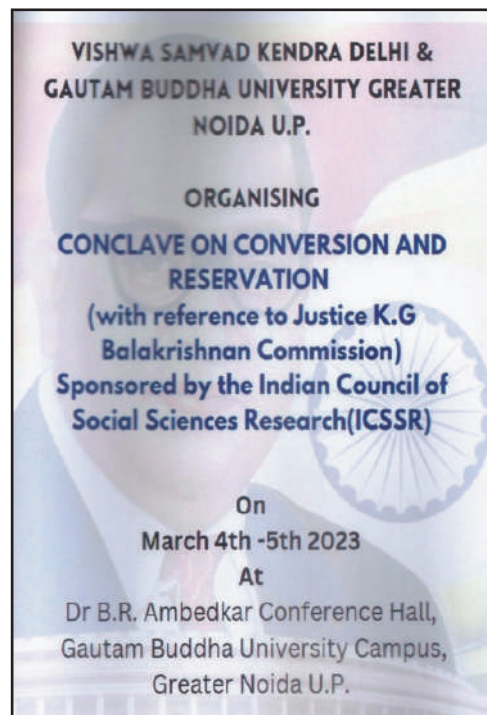
Conclave on Conversion and Reservation

Vishva Samvad Kendra and Gautam Buddha University hosted a two day Conclave on Conversion and Reservation on March 4-5, 2023 at the University at Greater Noida (Gautam Buddha Nagar (UP) with reference to the Justice K.G. Balakrishnan Commission on the issue of reservation to dalit converts to Islam and Christianity. The event was sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research. I participated in the Conclave, on an invitation by the organizers, as a delegate along with Who's Who from the academic, intellectual, opinion makers, social activists from all over India. It was, indeed, as expected, a well organized



uled Caste persons go through on converting to other religions in terms of their customs, traditions, social and other status discrimination and deprivation, and the implication of the same on the question of giving them Scheduled Caste status.

The organizers had indicated a number of relevant subjects on



special sessions to be addressed by the experts, intellectuals, academics, social and political activists at Dr. Ambedkar Auditorium and Swami Vivekananda Conference Hall. Dr. Pravesh Kumar, one of the Coordinators of the Conclave steered the inaugural session as Master of Ceremonies with great ability and acumen. Yet another highlight of the first day of the conclave was the ZERO HOUR held in the evening of March 4. Many of the delegates who did not get an opportunity to individually present their papers were given chance to have their say in an open session. I was one of the speakers at the Zero Hour. It was an



Ramesh Chander
Ambassador - I.F.S. (Retired)
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reservation to dalit converts to Islam and Christianity is a good and timely decision in the spirit of transparency and democracy and also – Sab Ka Sath; Sab Ka Vishwas and Sab Ka Vikas.

• RSS leaders were cautious on the issue of reservations to the SCs in the Hindu fold and were candid

event as a 'brain storming exercise' on the contemporary issue of concern and interest to the country and the society at large. Being a non-academic participant, I benefitted a great deal from the deliberations at the Conclave. I thought of sharing here some of my 'take home' impressions and reflections on the important issues of Conversion and Reservations for the benefit of wider audience.

The relevant provision in the Indian Constitution (Scheduled Castes Order of 1950) stipulates that "no person who professes a religion different from the Hindu, the Sikh or the Buddhist religion shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste." It has been explained that the exclusion of Christianity or Islam from these provisions is due to the fact that the oppressive system of untouchability is not prevalent in the Christian or Islamic societies. However there has been a persistent demand for including the Scheduled Castes who have converted to Christianity or Islam be given the benefits of reservation.

The Central Government appointed a Commission in October, 2022 under the Chairmanship of Justice K G. Balakrishnan (Former Chief Justice of India) with the following terms of reference;

(i) To examine the matter of according Scheduled Caste status to new persons, who claim to historically have belonged to the Scheduled Castes, but have converted to religion other than those mentioned in the Presidential Orders issued from time to time under Article 341 of the Constitution;

(ii) To examine the implications on the existing Scheduled Castes, of adding such new persons as part of the existing list of Scheduled Castes;

(iii) To examine the changes Sched-

which the delegates were invited to submit papers viz.: 1. Scheduled Castes and Reservation – History, Evolution and Development. 2. Indian Constitution and Reservation 3. Consequences of Conversion 4. Abrahamic Religions: Caste and Reservation. More than 60 delegates submitted their papers on various subjects of choice which were thoughtfully copied and compiled in a folder and circulated by the hosts. My paper: Social Consequences of Conversion also included in the said compilation. It was informed that by the time the Conclave was held more than 150 papers were received which would be compiled and disseminated in due course. These details only indicate the relevance and importance of the issue; Conversion and Reservation. Later I posted it in my blog which may be accessed at: <http://diplomaticitbits.blogspot.com/2023/03/social-consequences-of-conversion.html>

The Conclave, to my mind, duly justified this if we simply go by the level of participation and the in-depth deliberations at the two day event at the Dr. Ambedkar Auditorium of Gautam Buddha University, lush green and picturesque location in Greater Noida in the National Capital Region (NCR). The inaugural session of the conclave on March 4 was addressed by VC of Gautam Buddha University Dr. Ravindra Kumar Sinha, Alok Kumar of VHP, Former Minister and BJP leader, Sanjay Paswan and Former VC of Pune University and Member of the then Planning Commission now NITI Aayog, Dr. Narendra Jadhav who also Chaired the session. All the four dignitaries, made thought provoking statements with regard to the theme of the Conclave and set the ball rolling for the forthcoming Spe-

honour to address the august gathering of the elite of the intellectual circles. Appreciating the emerging 'oneness of thought' at the conclave on the various issue under consideration, I congratulated the organizers for inviting me to the event. My humble intervention based on my speaking Notes posted in the Facebook may be seen at: https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=pfbid04VGFAuxRU57r5k6V9J5E5vN1W9nHibVNLpkwGZ3jogWq6XRze9WC4k8UaAJLzgdhI&id=100001264001735&mibextid=Nif5oz

Besides going with the general thinking of the conclave, I mentioned in my brief intervention something different not to create any avoidable controversy but to put the things in perspective with regard to abolition of political reservations to dalits and reservation to OBCs and EWSs. The reasons for holding these views have been given firefly in my Speaking Notes available in the above link of the Facebook post of mine.

The concluding session held in the afternoon of March 5, gave a clear picture of almost unanimous thinking on the theme of the Conclave – Conversion and Reservation. The session was addressed by Justice B. Siva Shankara Rao, Retired Judge of the Telangana High Court and senior functionaries of the RSS including Dr. Surinder Jain, Joint Secretary of RSS. Executive Officer of Vishva Sambad Kendra, Vijay Shankar Tiwari gave the Vote of Thanks. It was a highly educative and beneficial experience to be there. Some of my expressions and reflections of the Conclave are:

• Government of India's decision to appoint Justice K.G. Balakrishnan Commission on the issue of

that these reservations would stay till the scourge of untouchability and caste discrimination remain. The main stream of the Hindu society should not be oblivious of this ground reality.

• Many of the delegates, duly and rightly so, appreciated that RSS and other cultural outfits have, of late, seen the writings on the wall and have decided to take on these, caste system etc., ills of the society head on and bring about the much needed Samrasta - an equitable social order in the society as stipulated in the constitution of India.

• There was almost unanimity that reservations should not be extended to the dalit converts to Islam and Christianity as these religions have no caste based discrimination on the basis of which reservations were extended to dalits in the Hindu fold.

• It was felt that it must be understood, the sooner the better, that these issues do not concern the dalits alone but to all the citizens of India and the society at large and should be dealt with as such.

• It was clearly evident that, of late, it has been realized by the main stream of the Hindu society that India would not be able to become 'Vishva Guru' unless and until we establish a caste less society and bring about Samrasta in the society.

Let me conclude this piece with the hope that some of my views on political reservation, reservation to EWS and even OBCs are taken in perspective. Samrasta and not reservations is the answer.

Reservations tend to support and encourage graded inequality which has inherit ingredient of divisiveness, the very negation of equitable social order.

Social Consequences of Conversion

I am writing this paper on 'Social consequences of conversion' with regard to my participation in the Conclave on Conversion and Reservation being hosted by Vishav Samwad Kendra and Gautama Buddha University on March 4-5, 2023. The Conclave is being held in conjunction with Justice B.G. Balakrishnan Commission on the issue of reservation to the dalit converts to Islam and Christianity. The Commission would submit its report to the central government in due course. I am neither an expert on the subject and nor an academic but an alert common citizen with a long experience as a career diplomat would try to do my bit in this regard. My take on the subject will not go to the theories and dictums propounded by academics, researchers and historians. I would confine myself to a simple narration of social impact or consequences of conversion, both socio-cultural and socio-religious, the two important aspects of conversion as I see happening around, particularly in India.

I am of the view that generally one remained what he or she was born. Only a microscopic number of people convert to another religion due to socio-cultural or socio-religious considerations. With regard to India, this fact is fully supported by our history. Right from the ancient times, the Indo-Aryan identity of Hindustan or India that is Bharat remained Hindu oriented as 'way of life'. From the 11th century onwards with the advent of Mugals and other Islamic dispensations, religious persecution and coercive conversion to Islam did happen but it could not change the overall scenario of Indo-Aryan identity and Hindu ethos. These facts have been duly recognized and registered by the researchers and historians. During the British Raj for about 200 years, some conversion to Christianity did happen, mostly in the Southern States of India, mostly on socio-economic considerations. But India still retained its Indo-Aryan identity with diverse Hindu traditions.

Till the partition of India – Pakistan and India at the dawn of independence from the British rule in 1947 on the basis of 'Two Nation Theory', Indian communities, Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, and Christians stood and worked together in the freedom struggle against the British. But owing to historical facts and compulsions, exploited to the hilt by the British rulers as a policy of 'divide and rule', Hindus and Muslims could not hold and stand together resulting in partition on the basis of religion. I would not go into these details here. The rationale and inevitability of Pakistan was duly analyzed and explained by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his book 'Thoughts on Pakistan', a masterly treatise on the subject.

India consciously and decisively chose to be a secular state with freedom of religion and faith as enshrined in the Article 25 of the constitution to be a liberal and open society with all its diversities, not that

there was no demand and intension to make Bharat a Hindu nation by the hardcore right wing Hindus, the main stream of the society and the majority community. But we opted to be secular.

With this background, let us come to the theme, social consequences of conversion. Experts are of the view that Religious conversion gives new identity to the communities converted which in turn leads to social mobility. The effects of conversion are not limited to personal change but also social and cultural change. Religious conversion not only transforms individuals but also transforms society as a whole.

A conversion from one religion to another can have the following effects – inheritance rights, marital rights, and maintenance rights, guardianship rights while affecting the entire social and political landscape of the country concerned. Since conversion entails a wide spread change, sometimes not desirable, conversion has become a big and alive issue, of late. The main stream of the society, Hindus stand against conversion as asserted by RSS Sarsanghchhalak, "Religious conversions result in exclusivity (and) take people away from their roots and origins. So we must try to prevent conversion." The right wing Hindu outfits intend to arrest the alleged disproportionate increase in Muslim population by discarding the Muslim Personal Laws pertaining to marriage and divorce and stand for Uniform Civil Code while Muslims intend to retain Shariat laws and link their separate identity with Muslim Personal Laws. The Hindu point of view on the subject remained a candid one as 'Conversions are the root cause of conflicts in the world. If there are no conversions in the world, then certainly there will be no conflicts.' wrote MSN Menon in the weekly mouthpiece of RSS.

The issue of conversion remained a controversial issue not only in India but also in the world as a civilization challenge. Mahatma Gandhi was also not in favour of conversion and said, 'Conversions are the cause of many an avoidable conflict.' He believed all great religions were fundamentally equal and that there should be innate respect for them, not just mutual tolerance. He felt a person wanting to convert should try to be a good follower of his own faith rather than seek goodness in change of faith. Of late, the BJP governments in the States, fully supported by the central government in Delhi, intend to address the issue of conversion; particularly to Christianity and Islam which is taking place, as they view it, by illegitimate means of money, al-

lurement and coercion.

It may not be out of place to mention that the only mass conversion took place in the contemporary times, was on October 14, 1956 when Babasaheb Ambedkar converted and embraced Buddhism along with several lakhs of the socially weaker sections of the Hindu society. He did his every best to set the house in order by reforming the Hindu society of the graded inequality based on the laws on Manu to begin with but failed miserably even after bringing in statutory provisions in the constitution of India to end caste based discrimination. Ultimately, he decided to

leave the Hindu fold and cajoled his followers to do so. The impact of Ambedkar converting to Buddhism would have been, to my mind, different and long lasting on the Indian society and social fabric, had he remained alive for more years. Babasaheb Ambedkar passed away, on December 6, 1956, soon after the historic conversion took place in Nag-

pur, the Deekshabhoomi. Ambedkar was an ardent Indian nationalist to the core. He studied various religions before opting for the Buddhism and took about two decades in fulfilling his public vow 'not die as a Hindu' he took in 1935-36. He did not intend to upset the social and national edifice but to bring about reform and make the large chunks of the depressed and oppressed humanity equal partners with dignity. This thoughtful decision of Babasaheb, fully explained and justified, did not get any organized opposition from the main stream of the society, rightly or otherwise, it is still a matter of debate and research. He said that 'There are two aspects of conversion; social as well as religious; material as well as spiritual' and added in his emotional outburst "Conversion is not a game of children. It is not a subject of entertainment. It deals with how to make man's life successful." On the issue of dalits converting to Buddhism, a scholar and an expert on the subject, Prof. Satish Prakash, has said which tends to set the matter in perspective, "Hindus don't convert to Islam or other religions en masse. Only Dalits are inclined to leave Hinduism en masse, and are willing to say so publicly." It fully explains the socio-cultural and socio-religious impact and consequences of conversion. Over the decades after independence in 1947, the successive governments instituted studies of the issue of conversion and reservation to integrate the marginalized sections of the society with the main stream of the society as desirable in a democratic and secular polity and diversified society comprising of a mind boggling popu-

lation of 140 crores – Hindus (75% including SCs and STs with 22%), Muslims (18%) and around 7% of Sikhs,

Christians, Jains, Buddhists etc. In the process, Sikhs and Buddhists were included in the beneficiaries of reservation, a temporary measure of empowerment as an affirmative action, to the socially and educationally weaker sections of the society.

All said and done, as I said earlier, not as an expert but a layman without propounding any theories and statistics, let me conclude this with a sort of prognosis:-

- Hindus, the main stream of the society, need not be apprehensive of any large scale conversion. They need to look inward and reform the society of caste based discrimination. Same is true for the Sikhs also who have also registered their resentment against the conversion activism of Christians.

- It has been observed, in the Indian context, conversion has not resulted in any consequential socio-cultural change in the converts. They remained attached, physiologically and emotionally, to the main stream of the society in one way or the other.

- Conversion so far, in the Indian context, has not made any dent on the demography of the country and it would remain so as analyzed by Pew Research Centre (PRC) and said, "The Muslim population's share would rise to 18.4%, whereas the share of the Hindu population would be 76.7% in 2050. This indicates no chance of having a higher Muslim population in India sooner or later."

- Reservations to the SCs and STs have not done much in changing the mindset of the caste Hindus and even Sikhs and also of the OBCs (with regard to ill-treatment and oppression against dalits) with regard to the caste system. Reservations have helped, to some extent, in bettering the economic and educational status of SCs and STs as an empowering factor as an Affirmative action.

- Since the reservations are a temporary measure, it should not be perpetuated much longer. There is no rationale to extend these facilities to Muslim and Christian converts as reservations have not served as an effective tool to end social discrimination.

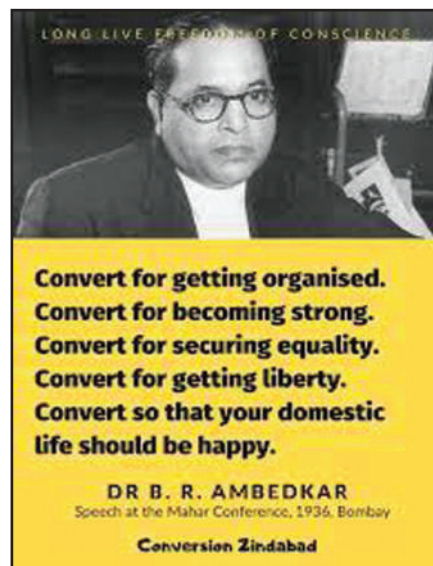
India's credentials as a "SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC" preserved and nurtured to maintain its multi-racial, multi-cultural character. It would obliterate need of conversion and we will live in a just and equitable order that is Samrasta)

(Paper of Ambassador

Ramesh Chander for Conclave on Conversion and Reservation)



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



DR B. R. AMBEDKAR
Speech at the Mahar Conference, 1936, Bombay
Conversion Zindabad

Dr. B.R Ambedkar's Vision on Empowerment of Dalit and Women Through Education

Introduction:

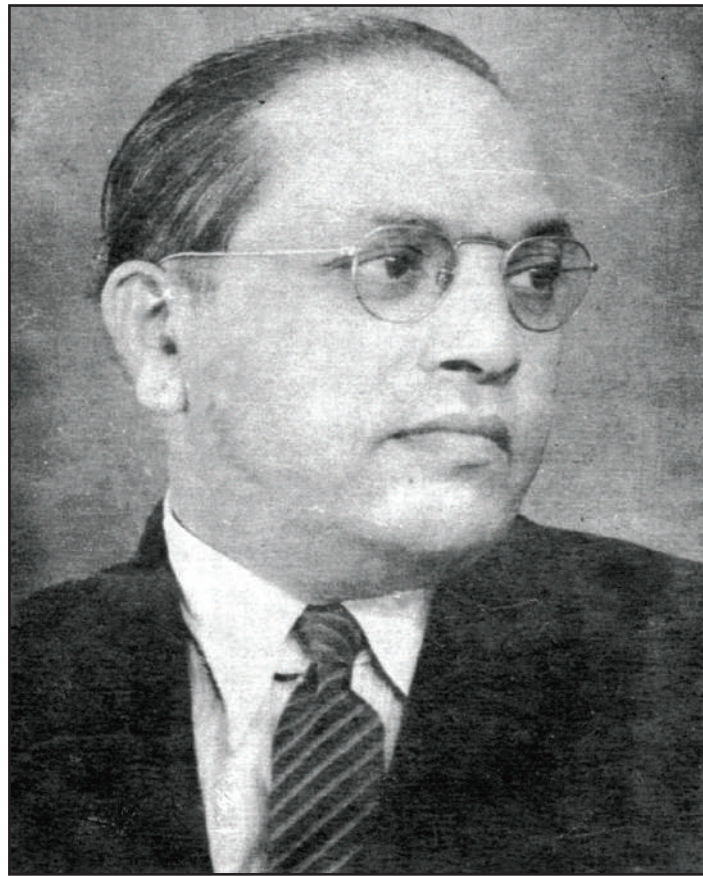
Concept of education and its significance

Education is a planned activity with certain goals in mind, such as knowledge transmission or the development of skills and character. These objectives might include the growth of comprehension, reason, kindness, and honesty. Dr Ambedkar was completely diverse in his mission to develop the character and skill of the downtrodden people of India. Hence, he is considered the educationist for the marginalised. He established Peoples Education Society in Bombay and Aurangabad to educate the students of Dalit community. His educational philosophy is reflected in his lectures, his published articles in various magazines and his work in the educational institutions. He said that every educational institute should be an agency of change society. Education is what changes a person's life and even their societal well-being. Education is the one that will have a positive impact on our future. Education is critical to personal growth and prosperity. The more you learn, the more you grow. A well-educated person will grow into a good citizen. Education is the means through which man has effected enormous positive changes in society and lifestyle. Education's worth cannot be emphasized. It is a path of self-discovery. It is vital to both an individual's and a society's overall development. Ambedkar encouraged logical thinking and a scientific attitude in the general public and students in particular in his talk at Elphinston College, drawing inspiration from the rational methods of the Buddha in the east and John Dewey in the west. John Dewey asserts that education plays a role in shaping a country's future. These thinkers and social reformers strongly impacted Ambedkar, who added another pillar in the form of educational advancement for Dalits and other minorities. He prioritised education in his quest to liberate dalits from the centuries-old repressive nature of caste-ridden Indian society. His concept of providing individuals with education and equal opportunities aims to break down barriers in the Indian Hindu religious caste system and to promote backward castes as well as all underprivileged populations.

Ambedkar described knowledge as having two purposes: acquiring it for the benefit of others and using it for one's own advantage. Education, He said, was the key to opening the doors of light, wisdom, and understanding. He devised an educational programme to help the downtrodden classes. "Educate, Organize and Agitate."- Dr B.R Ambedkar. For Ambedkar, education was of the utmost importance. He founded educational institutions through volunteer work and organizations; he was a staunch proponent of the state-sponsored modernization of the general populace's educational sys-

tem. According to Ambedkar, the only solution was education for all, especially the oppressed and backward classes. He saw education as a tool for bringing about the societal transformation he desired. He also saw education as a means of redressing all wrongs.

Education provides knowledge of societal norms and values. An individual must enlist the aid of education in order to advance in society since it offers a path for advancement. Education is one of society's most profound social institutions. It is the system that ensures the training and impartation of life skills and the art of living to new entrants to the society in order for them to live and survive in a specific environment with a culture that is passed down from generation to generation,



and it plays a critical role in transmitting culture, skills, and knowledge from one generation to the next. Education instils in the human mind the ability to think critically and make informed judgements. In other words, education makes man a logical animal. Education absorbs and transmits knowledge and information all across the world. An illiterate individual is cut off from all of the information and wisdom available through books and other media because he cannot read or write. In other words, he cut himself off from the outside world. In contrast, an educated man lives in a room with all of its windows open to the outside world.

Education is more than just instruction; it is a strong foundation for a certain conception of mankind. Education can save children who live in poverty from a depressing future of crime, prostitution, disease, squalor, and drug addiction. In this way, education can be a useful tool for realising morality in the extremely long but

impassioned journey towards peace. Maria Montessori said, "The life of the populations depends on peace and perhaps progress or extinction of the entire civilization" and strongly promoted the objective of Peace in Educational sciences¹. We must acknowledge that, contrary to what today's enthusiastic ideals suggest, education must also focus on self-discipline. First, teaching citizens how to handle conflicts peacefully assures that they won't resort to violence to do so. Second, education for peace produces individuals capable of fostering a peaceful community by instilling moral principles and a love for others. This sort of peace education focuses on a comprehensive definition of peace.

We might start with Littré's definition of education, "Education is

the collection of completed manual and intellectual habits, as well as the moral characteristics, that are developed." Education is more of an art than a science in his eyes. Aldus Huxley has said that the objective of education is "the guidance of young human beings towards freedom, justice and peace.". No doubt education is the process of forming intellectual and physical habits, as well as determination, emotional intelligence, and moral judgment (moral judgment and feelings). Education is a lifelong Endeavor with the goal of

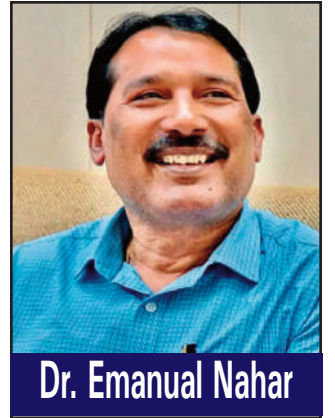
gradually and personally developing each individual. Still, education appears to be an unfailing tool for achieving a more peaceful environment where we may watch our children and grandchildren develop. It is feasible because education makes people more adaptable, open-minded, capable of critical thought, and sensitive. True intelligence and true wisdom can never lead us to violence because it is the result of intellectual and moral ignorance. Extreme poverty, as a severe problem nowadays is usually associated to violence through delinquency. Education makes man enlightened, makes him aware of this self-respect and also helps him to lead a better life materially. We can simply say that an act or event that shapes a person's intellect, character, or physical prowess is referred to as Education. The Main Objectives of this Paper to Highlights the Following Points:

* Major sources of impact on Ambedkar's thought towards educa-

tion.

* Ambedkar's vision on empowerment of Dalit education.

* Ambedkar's views on women education.



Dr. Emanuel Nahar

Major sources of impact on Ambedkar's thought towards education

Talking about Ambedkar, the progress of minorities and the fight against caste discrimination take precedence. However, his thought was far more deep and broad than that. He was born in 1891 to the Mahars, a family from the lowest social stratum. Because Brahmins were considered the highest and most privileged caste in Hindu culture, and Shudras were considered the lowest, Ambedkar was subjected to injustice from a young age. As a result of this immoral practice, he had to fight societal injustice caused by tyranny and repression.

Ambedkar was one of the few Mahar students who were allowed the option to continue higher study abroad; he attended the University of Columbia in America, where he earned his Master's and Ph.D. John Dewey was a renowned educator who had an impact on him. One of them was rationalist and pragmatic philosopher John Dewey.

"Without education, wisdom was lost; without wisdom, morals were lost; without morals, development was lost; without development, wealth was lost; without wealth, the Shudras were ruined; so much has happened through lack of education." - Jyotiba Phule. "Education was the best warranty of social change." - M.G Ranade

Ambedkar's thinking was also greatly influenced by M.G. Ranade, who was a major supporter of rationalism, evolutionism, and modernism, particularly in politics. Ranade claimed that education was the best and safest guarantee of social change since changes must first take root in men's thoughts before they may develop to their inevitable conclusion. Jyotiba Phule and Justice Ranade were two people Ambedkar looked to for realistic political inspiration. The best assurance of social change, in M.G. Ranade's view, was education. "Knowledge is the cornerstone of the man's existence and every effort must be made to sustain the intellectual stamina of a student and awaken his mind.". Ambedkar was fully aware that the oppressed could not acquire a decent level of living in society without education. He saw that educated Indians planned for the training of livestock and birds, but they barred the downtrodden from education and

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forced them to live in conditions worse than the cattle and birds. He remarked that if the Moon, Sun, Wind, and Water are intended for the use of all living beings, then why is education restricted to the upper classes?

Ambedkar encouraged logical thinking and a scientific attitude in the general public and students in particular in his talk at Elphinston College, drawing inspiration from the rational methods of the Buddha in the east and John Dewey in the west. John Dewey asserts that education plays a role in shaping a country's future. These thinkers and social reformers strongly impacted Ambedkar, who added another pillar in the form of educational advancement for Dalits and other minorities. He prioritised education in his quest to liberate dalits from the centuries-old repressive nature of caste-ridden Indian society. His concept of providing individuals with education and equal opportunities aims to break down barriers in the Indian Hindu religious caste system and to promote backward castes as well as all underprivileged populations.

Ambedkar described knowledge as having two purposes: acquiring it for the benefit of others and using it for one's own advantage. Education, He said, was the key to opening the doors of light, wisdom, and understanding. He devised an educational programme to help the downtrodden classes. "Educate, Organize and Agitate."- Dr B.R Ambedkar. For Ambedkar, education was of the utmost importance. He founded educational institutions through volunteer work and organizations; he was a staunch proponent of the state-sponsored modernization of the general populace's educational system. According to Ambedkar, the only solution was education for all, especially the oppressed and backward classes. He saw education as a tool for bringing about the societal transformation he desired. He also saw education as a means of redressing all wrongs.

In his words Dr. B.R. Ambedkar emphasizes "The backward classes have come to realize that after all education is the greatest material benefit for which they can fight. We may forego material benefits, we may forego material benefits of civilization, but we cannot forego our right and opportunities to reap the benefit of the highest education to the fullest extent. That the importance of this question from the point of view of the backward classes who have just realized that without education their existence is not safe".⁵ Ambedkar anticipated that through gaining education and information, many more individuals like him would take up the cause of Dalits. An educated Dalit mind would be agitated by the injustice and would struggle against it. Though Dr. Ambedkar rec-

ognized the indifferentism generated by the Brahmanical Social Order, he left it to the Brahmanical curriculum designers to solve this indifferentism. As a result, mental agitation has yet to be shown in proportion to education. He also saw education as a means of rallying oppressed classes for their emancipation. His wonderful exhortation to the people to **EDUCATE, AGITATE AND ORGANIZE**, is a clear proof of this.

He assigned the state a significant role in the area of education in his notion of state socialism. When Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the chairman of the Constitution Drafting committee He gave prime focus on educational rights for all the minority groups. Ambedkar thought that education can bridge all the gaps and let people achieve the status of being equal, what people lacked was education.⁶ Dr. Ambedkar did not see education as only a tool for a child's personality development or as a way to support oneself. Instead, he believed that the most effective tool for bringing about desired social change is education, which is also a requirement for every modern social movement because it requires coordinated effort. He pushed for courses that expose students to a broader range of information. He campaigned for scholarships and free ships for the poor. He saw education as a means for attaining social justice. He efforts as an educator were significant not only in bringing poorer parts of society into the development process, but also in providing fresh ideas on education as a weapon for achieving social justice.

He is a firm believer in the importance of education in alleviating poverty and inequality. He viewed education as a critical tool for societal change. As a result, education was given a revolutionary role in Ambedkar's vision. When Ambedkar became the chairperson of the drafting committee, he made provisions for minorities by adding Articles 29 and 30 to the constitution. The right to admission educational institutions managed or supported by the state was protected under Article 29 of the Indian Constitution. Understanding minorities all minorities, regardless of their basis for discrimination (religion or language), should have the freedom to establish and run educational institutions of their choice, according to Article 30 of the Indian Constitution. Ambedkar secured some governmental obligations by enacting certain constitutional provisions. Article 45 of the Indian Constitution's Directive Principles of State Policy provides for free and compulsory education for all children, and Article 46 mandates that the state take special care of the weaker groups in society, especially the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and other backward classes, by providing education and redressing the centuries-long injustice of depriv-

ing them of economic opportunities. The Indian Constitution reflects his values, philosophy, and quest for social justice. The Preamble, Fundamental Rights, and Directive Principles of the Constitution all highlight the building of an equal social order. Ambedkar believed that education will make a significant difference in the lives of the untouchables. He consistently encouraged his disciples to strive for greatness in their fields of study. Knowledge is a powerful freeing force. Why Ambedkar gave so much importance to education? According to Ambedkar, education is the finest tool for ending social enslavement and educating the downtrodden will enable them to rise and achieve social rank, economic development, and political freedom. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar formed the "Bahiskrit Hilakarin Sabha" to remove untouchables' issues and to raise their concerns to the government in order to create a new socio-political consciousness among the untouchables. "Educate, Agitate, and Organise," were the sabha's foundational ideals. It was a profound message to the individuals in the growth stage. Education has a significant influence on human civilization. It is acceptable to conclude that unless someone receives education, they do not constitute a person in the true meaning of the word.

Agitate: This word refers to a mental revolution rather than physical agitation. Ambedkar claimed that in order to get to the next degree of organisation, there must be a mental agitation. Organize: Well-informed, organized brains will readily unite for a single goal. Their agitated thoughts for a shared aim will enable them come together and fight as a single force for their shared objective.

To see the struggle for the advancement of Dalits and women produce lasting results, the teachings of Ambedkar—educate, agitate, and organize—must be upheld. Ambedkar thought that education was the most potent weapon for transforming society. Education inspires individuals to remove social issues because it supports the growth of knowledge, skill, character, and humanity. Education is the sole means of achieving humanity's longing for a society that supports justice, liberty, equality, and brotherhood.

II

Ambedkar's vision on empowerment of Dalit education

Social Justice is the primary goal of education. Ambedkar made it his life goal to give social justice to his oppressed brethren and the whole community. He got educated and powerful in order to attain his goals through education. In this sense, Ambedkar desired that "our sons should learn two things. First, to demonstrate that, given the opportunity, they are inferior to none in knowledge and capacity. Second, to

demonstrate that their mission is not only to pursue personal satisfaction, but to lead their society to be free, strong, and respected.⁷ Ambedkar believed that education should foster virtues like as justice, liberty, equality, fraternity, and fearlessness. He also believed that education should be able to offer work to those in need. This education will provide stability to society. He emphasized more on fraternity and emotional integration. His view on social justice was to remove man-made inequalities of all shades through law, morality and public conscience. He stood for justice for a sustainable society.

Having aimed to achieve that goal of social Justice Ambedkar gave utmost importance to education and character of human beings. In this regard he said that "education was a sword and being a double - edged weapon, was dangerous to wield. An Educated man without character and humility was more dangerous than a beast, he continued, to if his education was detrimental to the welfare of the poor, the Educated man was a curse to society."⁹ Ambedkar was an outspoken critic of the Hindu social order, which is founded on graded inequity. Its foundation is the caste system, which is the most significant hindrance to establishing social fairness. He throughout his life worked against this monster and he declared "Caste has destroyed the public spirit, caste has wrecked the feeling of public sympathy. The most prevalent social issues in Hindu culture were Because of a lack of information. Education is a method of empowering individuals and preparing them to deal with complexity, diversity, and change. Education promotes a sense of social responsibility, as well as strong and transferable intellectual and practical qualities such as communication, which help in individual growth. The aim of social justice is to remove inequalities based on sex, race, caste, power, position and wealth. Ambedkar wanted to bring about social justice to all Indian citizens. According to him, social justice was based upon liberty, equality and fraternity of all human beings. Social justice brings equal distribution of social, political and economic resources and rights to all individuals. He Believed Social Equality can only be achieved through Education. Education is the only medium which provides people the necessary way to get equal social status.¹⁰ Ambedkar's notion of social justice advocates for all humans' liberty, equality, and fraternity. He desired a social structure based on fair and equitable treatment of all people. His understanding of social justice is intertwined with his understanding of religion and morality. He was a religious man. According to Ambedkar, the core of religion should be human intelligence. It would be the motivator

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for human behavior.

For Ambedkar, education was an instrument to liberate the dalits from illiteracy, ignorance and superstitions and thus enable them to fight against all forms of injustice, exploitation and oppression.

According to Ambedkar, only education provides a fruitful and changing lifestyle because lower castes can work for their upliftment only through education. He made education as a special tool for eradicating all social injustices in Indian society. He felt that education may serve as a catalyst for social change by promoting equality. Individuals and communities are empowered when their spiritual, political, social, racial, educational, gender or economic strength is increased. From psychology and philosophy to the highly marketed self-help business and motivational sciences, the notion of empowerment encompasses a vast panorama of meanings, interpretations, definitions, and disciplines. He wished for people to instil in themselves the ideas of liberty and equality, which can only be accomplished via education.

He regarded education as a way to open the door to light and perception while also removing the realms of darkness and ignorance. He had done much to awaken the depressed class, to make them conscious of their predicament, to raise their voice, and to show them education as a means of political, economic, and social upliftment.

He compares education with the milk of tigress and adds that one who will drink it; won't sit calm. He says, "If you want to develop the society then you need to spread up the education."

According to Ambedkar, Knowledge is the key force to liberate the depressed and oppressed people. Because the lack of education allowed the marginalised group to accept themselves as a prey to privileged group. In same way he criticised the British for not giving emphasis on the education for lower class. So only by the secular education will make them understand the concept of liberty, equality and individual's rights. Because first the marginalised people should come out of the myth of inherent pollution that which was strongly influenced in the mind of lower caste people and that will create self-respect in their mind. Eradication should get start from the mind of marginalised and make them understand that one person must be

treated equally. By the education we can make other privileged people to analyse that caste system is a weapon against the humanity. But the focus of education is more on make the voiceless people to get their own voice against the exploitation.

For Depressed class the only method to end societal inequality is via education. They receive the tools they need for social survival through education. Education offers them the ability and opportunity to overcome poverty, illness, and backwardness. People cannot live in life unless they are educated, Ambedkar stated in one of his speeches. He believes that without education, individuals become engaged in society ills such as disrespect, repression, and sacrilege. As a result, it is the obligation of the government to accelerate by providing education. He thought that the government ought to be more involved in helping the underprivileged class to get an education. His ideas on education cannot be realised without the assistance of the government. He secured the active participation of government while he served as the Chairman of the Indian Constitution Drafting Committee by including Article 45 in the Directive Principles of State Policy. For the upliftment of the depressed classes he developed a program of education as a part of the general manifesto of Indian Labor Party before the general elections of 1937. To stamp out the illiteracy, he emphasized the necessity of full and compulsory and liberal education. He emphasized that many pupils from depressed classes did not have money. To overcome the financial problem which is acting against their studies, he stressed the necessity of scholarships in educational institutions.

The majority comprising the upper classes and upper castes in the Constituent Assembly ignored Dr. Ambedkar's plea to place Article 45 in Part III of the Constitution, thereby denying education the status of a Fundamental Right in modern India. Also Article 29 of the Fundamental Right describes the Cultural and Educational Rights protection of interests of the minorities.

III

Ambedkar's views on women education

Ambedkar's viewpoint on gender education is intriguing. He promoted not only men's rights but also women's

rights throughout society. He spoke about ending women's oppression and their marginalization in society. As Simone De Beauvoir observed, "Women are made, they are not born", Ambedkar also raised the question, "Why Manu degraded her (woman)? Ambedkar attempts to demonstrate how the Hindu Brahminical system constructs gender relations and distinctions, demanding women to adhere to a model feminine conduct, requiring them to be meek and subservient, suitable solely to a life of domestic and family obligations.

He emphasised the significance of Manu's restrictions on women's positions in establishing Hindu attitudes and perspectives on women, which are maintained and protected through Hindu personal laws based on shastras, caste, and endogamy, i.e. the foundation of Indian patriarchy. He argued against Manusmriti as a fundamental source that legitimises the denial of women's freedom, self-esteem, right to education, property, divorce, and so on by presenting them with a very lofty ideal.

He desired that women be educated primarily in home science and, to a lesser extent, in other areas. Men, of course, have the freedom to pursue a wide range of courses and studies. He emerges as an advocate of education and educational efforts for creating consciousness and Dalit mass liberation.

Ambedkar advocated for women's education to be made obligatory. He interestingly stated that women should be thoroughly educated in home science.

Throughout his life, Ambedkar worked tirelessly to end prejudice against untouchables and women.

Conclusion

In India, there is no other figure like Ambedkar, the Indian Crusader for Social Justice. He made major contributions to the Indian Constitution's Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. The fundamental rights provide freedom, equality, the abolition of untouchability, and remedies to ensure that rights are upheld.

No doubt, B.R. Ambedkar made education a special tool for eradicating all social inequalities. He stressed secular education, and through secular education we can understand the concepts of liberty and equality. No doubt, education makes men enlightened and also helps maintain dignity and self-respect in society. But the Question is how much state is successful to implement

the dream of Ambedkar saheb. But, today, states are escaping from social responsibilities and do not bother about basic roles, leaving education in the hands of market forces and the corporate sector (means commercialized).

State is only in the favor of the corporate sector, and the corporate sector is importing limitations by promoting Neo-liberal policies. Through these policies, depressed communities are facing more problems in the field of education.

It will increase the inequities and challenges to social justice. The education system has been become a business, and there is no proper budget allocated to this sector. Dropout of dalit children is (79-80)% also increasing day by day. Regarding the women, still illiterate (58.56)% among Dalit women. Secondly, there is no any secular outlook of our education system and not creating self respect and dignity of the men. Baba Saheb realised that there should be an effective implementation of secular education. He suggested that the state should provide compulsory education for all. The Government of India realised the importance of Ambedkar's thought on education and enacted the "Right to Education Act" in 2009.

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Goodie Takhar, PhD



We don't want social justice, we want social transformation. Social justice depends on the person in the power. Suppose at one time, some good leader comes to power and people get social justice and are happy but when a bad leader comes to power it turns into injustice again. So, we want whole social transformation.

Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji

Heartiest Congratulations on Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji's 89th Birth Anniversary



File Picture

Shri Amardeep Chahal with his Wife, Mother & Father

ਸਮੂਹ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਲਾਲ ਚਾਹਲ ਪਰਿਵਾਰ



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ਕਮਿਊਨਿਟੀ ਦੇ ਨਿਸ਼ਕਾਮ ਸੇਵਕ,
ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਬੋਲੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰ
ਦਾ ਸੱਚਾ ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ ਮੋਮੀ ਪਰਿਵਾਰ



**Holiday Inn Express,
DAYS INN
and
MOMI HOSPITALITY
INVESTMENT**



Left to right: Surjit Momi, Lali Momi, Harminder Momi, Rajinder Momi and Sodhi Momi

MOMI BROTHERS

A grateful nation remembers:

Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram Ji

We don't want social justice, we want social transformation. Social justice depends on the person in the power. Suppose at one time, some good leader comes to power and people get social justice and are happy but when a bad leader comes to power it turns into injustice again. So, we want whole social transformation. Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji



Heartiest Congratulations on Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji's 89th Birth Anniversary



**ਗੁਰੂ ਘਰ ਦੇ
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