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DR. B.R AMBEDKAR'S VISIT TO SOUTH INDIA: IMPACT ON REGIONAL DALIT MOVEMENTS

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Abstract

Being its historic leader and formulator of its enduring ideology Ambedkar was the dominating figure and active organizer of several Dalit movements in Maharashtra in particular and in other regions of the country general. In the words of Gail omvedt Dalit movements in any region necessarily means a study of Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar's role in it. By 1930's and 1940's he came to dominate the all India movement as well. Ambedkar toured extensively all over India inspiring the local Dalit leaders and regional Dalit movements. The branches of Schedule Caste Federation initially and later Republican Party of India extensively worked in consolidating the Dalit's in various regions. The present paper is an attempt to present details of Dr. Ambedkar's tour to south India namely the Hyderabad State, Mysore, Andhra – Madras, Karnataka and Kerala and the impact of Ambedkar's visits on the regional Dalit's movements.

Ambedkar's visit to Hyderabad State

During 1930s and 1940s Ambedkar visited the Hyderabad state many times. His visits tremendously impacted several local Dalit leaders and their activities. It was due to the pertinent efforts of Ambedkar that the political consciousness was awakened among many Dalits.

Ambedkar organized the first Dalit meeting at Makranpur of Aurangabad district on December 30th, 1938.¹ The present Milind College at Aurangabad was started by Ambedkar. Ambedkar. He is the first Dalit person to start a college in Hyderabad State. Initial support for the college was from the Nizam's Government. He used to feel that Hyderabad is a great educational and cultural centre.

He was a frequent visitor to Hyderabad city. During his visit in 1944 September two Dalit organizations gave call for public meetings and invited him to address on the same day. They are the Scheduled Caste Federation at Secunderabad and the other is Hyderabad's State Depressed Classes Association. He participated in the Secunderabad meeting². Dr. Ambedkar was much impressed with the enthusiasm and awakening among the 'Scheduled Castes of the State and he delivered a very powerful speech. He said, "The Hindus are claiming that the Depressed Classes as a section of their community and hence no representation need to be given to the Depressed Classes separately in the country. The Muslims on the other hand were recognized as a nation and were segregated by the Hindus. Muslims and other communities from small towns and villages were kept in subjugation and slavery. The rights of the Depressed Classes were being trampled down and none cared for them." Then he made it clear that the Depressed Classes were not a part of the Hindu Community, but they were a separate nation. Their goal, is "sharing of power" that could

only be achieved by the members of the community rallied under one banner and formed a united front. He spoke in Hindi and said that Dalits don't lag behind any others in the fight for freedom. However, they want the freedom of India along their liberation also. He also opined Dalits should be the part of the administration in independent India and gave a call to fight for their rights. Further he said that Gandhi agreed to the Muslim demands but not to the Dalit's demands.

He also spoke about the differences between the different organisations among Dalits and called for their unity. In the same meeting Smt. Rajamani Devi submitted a memorandum on behalf of the women. There were almost 1000 women in the meeting. Ambedkar said that unless women become part of the struggle the movement won't be successful. G.H.Subbaiah one of the contemporary Dalit leaders was very close to Dr. Ambedkar. He used to organise the frequent visits of Ambedkar to Hyderabad.

The depressed class conference of 1930 and even Poona Pact made little impact on Dalits in Hyderabad. Congress's initiative with Harijan Sevak Sangh was also little consequence. Ambedkar's call for conversion galvanised Dalit Community. Arigi Ramaswamy and B.S.Venkats rao organised Youth league of Ambetkarites at Hyderabad after attending the Maharashtra untouchable youth conference at Puna. Its aim was to support Ambedkar in leading untouchables out of Hindu fold. To organize vigorous campaign on socio economic disabilities, Bhagya Reddy Varma also supported this. In 938 B.S.Venkata Rao took initiative of forming Hyderabad State Depressed class association known in Urdu as *Pashta Qaum*, which was a politically oriented to Nizam state. In May 1939 it sent memorandum to the Nizam's executive counsel demanding Separate Electorates. Nizam initiated some reforms such as granting waste lands to Dalits and constituting one Crore fund to Dalit's education. Ambedkar discouraged the move of Dalit leaders for conversion in to Islam he denounce the Hyderabad declaration of independence by Nizam. He also denounced the tyranny of Razakar's atrocities.

During the 72nd Meeting of the external Relations Committee of the Nizam's government held on 3rd September 1932. He was presided over by the Prime Minister Akbar Hyderi, Dr. Ambedkar gave a special interview³. He said the gradual awakening of the depressed classes to a consciousness of their political and social rights and to the resentment threat to the caste Hindus. He demanded for a lumpsum grant of two Lakhs to work for the upliftment of the community. He also said that a grant made to him and his organisation would evoke the gratitude of the depressed classes all over India, including Hyderabad. The committee impressed on Dr. Ambedkar's arguments and granted funds. The generous financial grant was appreciated by Ambedkar. As promised by the Prime Minister Akbar Hyderi, the Nizam liberally donated 50 Acre of land and a sum of 12 lakhs of Rupees for the Milind Education Society established by him in Aurangabad. When Ambedkar attended the Round Table Conference in London the Nizam granted Rs. 12,000/- to meet his travel expenses.

Ambedkar was terribly upset on the partition of India, with regard to Hyderabad State he warned the scheduled castes in Hyderabad not to side with the Nizam and bring disgrace upon the community. He also appealed to Prime Minister Nehru to take speedy steps in evacuating the scheduled castes from Pakistan⁴.

Hyderabad State honoured him “as person of great eminence, high attainments and distinguished services one of the ablest lawyers, a pre – eminent legislator a champion of backward and Down trodden people of India” by conferring the honorary degree of D. Litt through the Osmania University on 12th January 1953.

Ambedkar’s visit to Andhra

Ambedkar’s visit to Andhra in September 1944 made a tremendous impact on the local Dalit leaders. The person who is instrumental in bringing Ambedkar to Andhra was Nandanar Hari. Ambedkar’s writings and his political activities were well known among the educated sections of the Dalits. They were eager to meet Ambedkar and they have assigned the task of bringing him to Nandanar Hari. At that time Ambedkar was the member of Viceroy’s Council. Hari went to Delhi and met Ambedkar. Impressed by his sincerity Ambedkar appointed him as the propagator of the Dalit movement by giving a salary of Rs. 500/- per month.

Ambedkar first visited Anakapalli, the marketing commissioner of the town Jonnala Mohanarao made arrangements for his meeting on 28th September 1944. Anakapalli Vyshya Sangham collected Rs. 50,000/- for Ambedkar’s visit. During his visit, the placards and banners featuring that, “The King of Kings and King of Dalits is coming....have a glimpse of him”, “like Booker Washington is a leader of American Negros, Ambedkar is a leader of the Untouchables. The Beacon Light of oppressed people the most learned leader is coming please come and see him”. The pamphlets were supplied all over the city. Ambedkar received tremendous welcome at Anakapalli station. He addressed a huge gathering and received the felicitations from the Vyshya Sangham, Depressed Class association and Prema Samajam. Ambedkar’s speech was in English, which was translated into Telugu. After the meeting. He visited the hamlets of Dalits and appreciated the awareness among them⁵.

On 29th September he visited Visakhapatnam spoke in the meeting and went to Palakollu. Ambedkar said that the political power and the partnership in the administration are very essential for the upliftment of Dalits. They should be ready to fight for their rights. From there he left to Eluru. On September 30th 1944 he addressed the gathering at Eluru. Pamu Ramamurthy, Nandanar Hari accompanied him throughout the visit. The Andhra Patrika published his speech, “I am not feeling sad about the persons who are jailed for participating in Quit India movement because everybody is under the purview of law. Do we want the freedom? How long the British stay is not our present problem. In Kakinada he spoke at the P.R.College from there he went to Ramachandra Puram. Eeli vadapalli made arrangement for Ambedkar’s meeting. After that he visited Gudivada on October 1st. There in the public meeting he said that Dalit should be self-supporting in educating their children. For the economic empowerment of Dalit he said that, he is preparing a plan for assigning the Banjar lands to Dalits.

The Dalitha Samakhya of West Godavari Principle Council of Eluru, The Christian Association members welcomed Ambedkar. Ambedkar was impressed by volunteers of the meeting. He criticised Gandhi at Eluru and Kovvali meetings and said that you should be ready for more sacrifices to get your rights. Thousands of Dalits attended the meeting at Eluru. This meeting was presided by Kusuma Venkata Ramaiah. On 23rd 1944 he visited Rajahmundry and spoke at Cosmopolitan Club. Kavuri Pattabhi Ramaiah, Kusuma Dharmana

felicitated him. When the poor Dalits stated their woes of sufferings to him Ambedkar commented with a grief that “whenever Gandhi visited the rich sections used to give huge donations whenever Jinnah visits the Muslims generously arranged funds to him but however whenever I go the wretched who don’t have enough cloths to wear or enough food to eat look towards me with a faith in their eyes that I remove their difficulties”.

Ambedkar’s Visit to Mysore and Karnataka

In contrast to the dramatic events in the Marathi and Telugu speaking areas, Mysore state (indeed all the Kannada-speaking districts), represented a kind of backwater in the previous decades of colonial rule. There was neither an Ambedkarite (as in Maharashtra) nor a Marxist (as in Andhra) challenge to Congress hegemony among the Dalits, or among the masses in general. Nevertheless, perhaps even because of this lack of a clear political challenge, the Mysore case allows us to discern some major themes of the bourgeois-Brahman incorporation of Dalits in modern India⁶.

Harijan Sevak Sangh was started by congress in Karnataka was active in Mysore and many other parts⁷. Ambedkar opposed Sevak Sangh on two points. He insisted that “goal of any organization should not be simply removal of untouchability but eradication of Chaturvarna the caste system itself.” Secondly the “leadership of Dalit should be in the hands of Dalits only”. Gandhi’s nationwide Harijan tour from 1932-34 gave birth to widespread activity in Kannada speaking regions. Branches of Sangh were started in Bijapur, Belgaum, Karwar, Mangalore, Kurg and Ballari⁸.

The dominant Gandhian brahmanic reform movement focussed on religiously defined moral upliftment in Mysore. The limitations of Non-Brahmin movement in princely state of Mysore weakened the Dalit movement. The Mysore Maharaja’s ban on Ambedkar’s entry into the state in contrast to the honoured guest treatment given to Gandhi showed the nature of reformism and constrains on Dalit movements. However the students in the hostels started by Harijan Sevak Sangh were aware of the Hindhuisation of Dalits. Congress leaders and few of the students expressed their views on Ambedkar like “When Ambedkar said two years ago that we can’t get any rights from Hinduism we agreed for the conversion but the Hindu’s fear untouchability conversions. Mysore officials themselves don’t agree that the temple should be opened to untouchables then what need do we have? For a religion that has no humanity.” Marxism and Ambedkarism never had much force in Karnataka however Ambedkar’s ideology appealed to the Dalits.

Ambedkar’s visit to Madras

In Tamil Nadu, the *Adi-Dravida Mahajan Sabha*, founded in 1892 by R. Srinivsan, could be considered as the first organisation of the Tamil Pariahs. In 1893 he organised the first conference of the untouchables and declared an open war on untouchability. On 7th October, 1895, he organised the second Dalit conference at the Victoria Hall in Madras. Till 1918, the Dalits were officially known as the Pariahs in the Madras province. In 1918 the *Adi-Dravida Mahajan Sabha* strongly urged the British government to change their name from Pariahs to Adi-Dravidas. A resolution to the effect was passed in 1922 by the Provincial Legislative Council as well.

R. Srinivasan, a scholar from the south India, was a close colleague of Dr. Ambedkar, on behalf of the *Adi-Dravida mahajan Sabha*, he represented the Dalits to the three round table conferences along with Ambedkar. Srinivasan was born on 7th July, 1859 in a poor Adi-Dravida family. He started a Parayan newspaper in 1892 for the awakened the Dalits. The round table conferences were the glorious period in his life. But in 1935 on the issue of conversion along with M.C. Rajah, President of All India Depressed Classes, he also differed with Ambedkar and remained away from the Ambedkarite movement till his death in 1945. He was one of the signatories to the Poona Pact along with Dr. Ambedkar.

Ambedkar, on his arrival in Madras in September 1944, received a memorandum from the Tamil Nadu Depressed Class Christian Association, it stated that since they were drawn from the depressed class, their social and economic position was the same as that of their brethren from the Hindu fold. It further observed that the caste of the Christians continued to retain their castes even after conversion and ill treated the depressed class Christians. The Missionaries did not involve any way to curb the attitude of the caste Christians. The memorandum, therefore, appealed to Ambedkar to redeem them from the slavery at the hands of caste Christians and other communities.

On September 22, 1944, Ambedkar was presented with an Address by the Madras Municipal Corporation at the Rippon Building. Members of the Congress Municipal Party were conspicuous by their absence. Replaying to the Address, Ambedkar said that he was not opposed to a National Government Swaraj or Independence. He however added that history did not warrant the assumption that once a Parliamentary was established on adult Suffrage; it would end all human sufferings. If the National Government fell in the hands of the governing class which believed in one community and one class being entitled to education and prosperity and that the people of other communities were born to live and die in servility, then a National Government in the hands of that class would not be better than the existing one.

In the evening Ambedkar was presented with an address by the Andhra Chamber of Commerce. The address was glad to note that Ambedkar as the Labour member, had gave a new orientation to the attitude of the Government towards labour and added that its main feature was the development of mutual understanding of the view points of employees and the workers and the Government. Immediately after this function, Dr. Ambedkar, was entertained by a tea-party by Kumararaja Sir Muthiah Chettiar on the lawns of “Chettinad House”.

On the 23rd evening the M. & S.M. Railway employees; belonging to both the scheduled caste and non - scheduled castes, presented a memorandum considering him as the Labour Member. In replay Ambedkar said that he was happy to see that in Madras for the first time workers of both the sections had joined together in a meeting and told them that they must stand together to put an end to their poverty. He further observed that “the capture of political power was far more important than organizing trade unions.”⁸

On the morning of September 24, he addressed a public meeting under the auspices of the Madras Rational Society at the Prabhat Talkies⁹. In the course of his speech he said that no country in the ancient past had such a tremendous and dynamic political life as the ancient Indians. India had been a land of revolutions in comparison to the French Revolution. The fundamental fact observed by Ambedkar, was that there had been in ancient India a great

struggle between Buddhism, Which had ushered in a Revolution, and Brahmanism, Which had launched a counter Revolution. The quarrel was on one issue and that was what is truth?’’Buddha said truth was something to which any one of the ‘Dasha Indriyas’ could bear witness. The Brahmins said that it was something which was declared by the Vedas. And analyzing aspects of the Vedas, Ambedkar further said that certain portions of the Vedas were a forgery introduced at a late stage. He added that so clever a people as the ancient Brahmins should have insisted upon fastening such tremendous sanctity and authority on such books as contained nothing but tomfoolery¹⁰. “Today we are in the grip of counter revolutionaries, and unless we do something very quickly”. He concluded, “We may bring greater disaster to this country.”

In the afternoon Ambedkar spoke at a luncheon party given in his honour by P.Balasubramanya Mudaliar at Hotel Connemara. Analysing the causes of the down fall of the non Brahmin party, he said that many of them tried to become second class Brahmins and it occurred to him that they had not abandoned Brahminism. Which they were lavishly aping, and holding to its ideal. He stressed the need for a good leader, good organization and a clear cut ideology for the non-Brahmin party¹¹.

In the evening Ambedkar was presented with addresses at the Memorial Hall, Park Town, by different scheduled castes federations and the south Indian Buddhist Association¹². Replaying to the addresses, he strongly defended the viceroy’s declaration on the communities’ position in the national life of India. He then turned to certain remarks made by Srinivasa sastri that Ambedkar presence at the international peace gathering would be inimical to the general interests of the country. Ambedkar frankly said that there was nothing disgraceful in the record of his own public life that would make it a shame for him to be seated at any international gathering on India’s behalf.

He added that Sastri was the lap dog of the British Government; and if he had achieved anything great or international popularity, it was particularly due to the fact that the British Government was pleased to make him a show-boy. And recalling some events from the proceedings of the Round Table Conferences (RTC), he declared that if India had been let down at the R.T.C., it was not by him or the scheduled castes but by Gandhi, Sastri and others. Although the Depressed classes had, he proceeded, a thousand excuses adopt the attitude that Sir Edward Carson had adopted saying “Damn your safeguards”, they are large – hearted enough to support the demand for Home Rule with a small condition attached to it, namely reasonable safe guards. In spite of the Brahminical rule under which the depressed classes were suffered for the past two thousand years, they were patriotic enough to ask for only just demands. He, therefore, appealed to Hindu brethren to reverse their mentality and said “Let us come to terms, and settle the question.”

During his visit in Madras, he had long discussion with E.V.Ramaswami, leader of the justice party, on the political problem in Madras. Ambedkar then went to Nellore where he was presented with addresses by the District scheduled Castes Federation, Christian Federation, the West Godavari Board and the Nellore Municipal council.

Replaying to the Municipal address, Ambedkar said that one of the defects which he had noticed in Gandhi was his complete lack of vision, and the founders of the congress must never have dreamt that just at the time when India was about to reach her destiny, she would be cut into parts. Turning to the problem of minorities, he said that Gandhi’s attitude to the

problem was the same as Lincoln had adopted towards the Negro problem. Passionately devoted to the union, Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Freedom for the slaves in 1862 to win the help of the Negroes for the Northern states¹³. Similarly, Gandhi wanted freedom but also *Chaturvarna Dharma*. He added that if a constitution accepted by all parties could be drafted, Gandhi could see the British Prime Minister as the single and solitary representative of India.

Since the departure of Cripps, Ambedkar worked furiously to impress upon the country and the British Government Depressed Classes were an important element and demanded a recognized place in Social, Economic and Political structure of Indian society. That was the long and short of his whirl- wind propaganda; and his arguments won the Viceroy over.

Describing this growing struggle of the Depressed classes, The Times of India in a balanced and editorial said; “Gandhi’s country – wide demonstration of friendliness with Depressed classes were more spectacular than real¹⁴. Experience unfortunately proved that the temporary flood of good will was more a demonstration of regard for the congress leader than an expression on genuine concern.”

The editorial added that reforms like temple entry, opening of wells and common cremation ground barely touched the fringe of the problem and any attempt to side track the issue would in the long run prove disastrous to the country’s interest.

When congressmen were debating the possible benefits they may derive from the Second Round Table conference well before it had begun, Periyar had noted that congressmen, including Gandhi who clamoured for political reforms, desired to enthrone *Manudharma* and thereby secure their own hegemony. The happenings in London confirmed Periyar in his opinion. A *Kudi Arasu* editorial observed just as how Mr.Malaviya was concerned about protecting Brahmanism, so are Dr.Ambedkar and Mr.Rettamalai Srinivasan committed to its destruction and went on to condemn Gandhi for his implacable resistance to accepting Ambedkar and Srinivasan as legitimate representatives of the depressed classes. Yet another editorial Titled “The Betrayal of Adi Dravidas by the Hindus” rebuked Gandhi maintaining that the so called Adi dravida leaders who had come to London were not really Adi dravida leaders and went on to denounce Gandhi’s purported request to Adi dravida students to support him and thereby humiliate Srinivasan and Ambedkar. ‘Kudi Arasu’ also reproduced article from the justice party’s Dravidian that supported the Adi dravida leaders’ demand for a separate electorate for depressed classes.

An editorial of the same date, also written by Gurusamy and titled ‘Gandhi’s Orthodox Fury’, examined in detail the correspondence between Ramsay Macdonald and Gandhi of the question of separate electorates; discussed the merits of separate as against joined electorates; argued the ‘fairness’ of Macdonald’s final award and condemned Gandhi’s fast as being direct explicitly against the Adi Dravidas.

When Dr.Ambedkar did sign the Puna pact, albeit, with great reluctance, Kudi Arasu examined the conditions and circumstances in which the pact had come to be forged, noted the marginal gains that had accrued to the Adi Dravidas but did not fail to remark on the effects of Gandhi’s fast which, it declared, was undertaken to gain the sympathy of the caste Hindus. It also reproduced Dr.Ambedkar statement of intent and explanation with respect to the Poona pact.

Apaduraiar wrote in his paper on the 'uses' of Gandhi's fast for the Adi Dravidas. Since Gandhi was an avowed *Sanatanist* and one who believed in the *Smritis* and the Bhagavad Gita, who desired to build a future *Ramarajya* and who wanted that each person should labour at the task he or she was born to, could one reasonably expect him to work out a scheme for the equal and peaceful coexistence of Adi Dravidas and caste Hindus? ¹⁶

Adi Dravidas, then constituted the Self-Respect movement in struggles launched by that movement. Even during the anti Hindi agitations they played a major role and one of the martyrs to the anti –Hindi cause was a young Adi dravida who died in prison. Periyar and the Self-Respecters were warmly supportive of Dr. Ambedkar. The conference of depressed classes of Central Provinces and Berar was held in Jalgaon on 29 May 1929 and was addressed by Dr. Ambedkar. *Kudi Arasu* in its report noted that this was the First Self-Respect Conference of Bombay Province. It was also reported that Periyar had sent his greetings to address¹⁷. Ambedkar's, 'The Annihilation of Caste' February 1937¹⁸ Almost every number of *Kudi Arasu* in 1937 carried advertisements for the book.

Both, Periyar and Ambedkar kept on challenging and attacking the institutions of god, *Brahminical* religion, the *Shastras*, temples and priest-craft and described them as the root cause of the exploitation and suffering of the *Shudras* and *Ati-Shudras*. Both of them were anti-congressmen and opposed the policy of Gandhi and Congress. Periyar used to tell people that there was no good and if he was stone left him speak out, else throw the stone into the dung-heap. Periyar also openly proclaimed the greatness of Buddha. On May 27, 1953 he asked his followers to celebrate the festival of Buddha and to break the idols of *Brahmin* gods.

Ambedkar's Visit to Kerala

Kerala during the mid 19th and the early 20th centuries witnessed many struggles against inhuman, unjust social order. In 19th century slavery was prevalent in Kerala. Modern Kerala came into existence in 1956 by uniting the three former princely State, Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. Kerala's inhuman, horrible and atrocious caste culture produced many social reformers and revolutionaries, and the most prominent among them are Vaikhundswami, Sree Naryana Guru (Ezhava), Aiyankali (Pulaya), Chattambi Swamikal (Nair), Pampadi John Josph (Cherama-Dalit Christian), Sahodaran Aiyappan (Ezhava), C.V. Kunjuraman, K.P. Vallon (both Pulaya and others).

Sree Narayana Guru's emergence and struggle has been the milestone development in the history of social change in Kerala. Although his struggle did not directly stand for the complete abolition of the caste system it made a clarion call against the caste terror and any kinds of discrimination. To carry out his mission and message the followers of Sree Narayana Guru formed the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogum (SNDP) on May 15, 1903 under the guidance of Narayana Guru himself. The SNDP produced a lot of social awakening amongst the caste-Hindu, especially the untouchables; Dr. Palpu, an untouchable, K. Ayyappan an atheist and the great revolutionary poet Kumaran Asan, another untouchable, were the close associates of the Guru and were the moving spirit behind the SNDP. Sree Narayana Guru's teaching of 'one caste, one religion and one god' was changed to 'No Caste, No religion and No god' by his disciple- Sahodharan Ayyappan, nicknamed as 'Pulayya Ayyapan'. After 1930, the SNDP frustrated by the caste rigidity of Hinduism, favoured the

policy of religious conversion. In 1935, in this regard, the General Secretary of All-Kerala Ezhava Youth Conference, Mr. K.C.Kuttan invited Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to preside over a meeting. This was the first visit of Dr. Ambedkar to Kerala. The people of Kerala liked Dr. Ambedkar's approach more in comparison to Gandhi's to resolve the age old problems of the untouchables. Mr. K.C.Kuttan was the strong admirer of Dr. Ambedkar's policy and fearless critic of Gandhi and his policies. Mr. Kuttan had no respect for Gandhi's efforts. He regarded Mahatma Gandhi as only a Hindu of the third class. The Viakom Satyagraha in 1924-25 and Gruvayur Satyagraha in 1931-32 was the counter actions that Gandhi and Congress adopted to check the rising aspirations among the untouchables and the damage control devise to curb Dr. Ambedkar's nationwide impact as well as the conversion movement initiated by SNDP in Kerala. Finally, Travancore Maharaja Shri Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma issued the Temple Entry Proclamation on November 12, 1936 opening the temples to all caste people including the untouchables.

Dr. Ambedkar "it may be recalled that in 1936 there was held in Travancore a conference of the Yezawa (Ezhava) community. The Yezahas are an untouchable community spread over Malabar. It is an educated community and economically quite strong. It is also a vocal community and has been carrying on agitation in the state against social and religious disabilities. The conference was held to consider whether the Yezawas should not abandon the Hindu religion in favour of some other religion. The Yezawas form a very large community and the cessation of so large a community would be a death-knell to the Hindus and the conference had made the danger real, wrote Dr. Ambedkar. The developments of temple entry programme and about the status of the untouchables in Kerala were communicated to Dr. Ambedkar by Sree Narayan Swami of the All-Travancore Pulayar Cheramar Aykia Maha Sangham, Quilon, in his letter dated, November 24, 1938. Dr. Ambedkar in his reply stated, "if the plan of temple entry is ultimately to deprive the untouchables of their statutory rights", then the movement is not spiritual but it is positively mischievous and it would be the duty of all honest people to warn the untouchables.

Ambedkar addressed a meeting in the Town Hall at Colombo and appealed to the untouchables there to embrace Buddhism. He told them that that there was no necessity of their having a separate organization. He also urged Buddhists in Ceylon to accept the depressed classes in Ceylon and look after their interests with Paternal care.

After the conference is over, Ambedkar visited, on his way back, Trivandrum and Madras. Addressing a meeting at the Legislative Chamber at Trivandrum, he declared that constitutional morality was more important than the constitution, and added that Democracy was succeed in India, both people and Government should observe certain moralities or conventions. Dealing with point of Impartial administration, he pointed to Britain and remarked that in India there were many instances of the party in power showing special favours.

Ambedkar then discussed general principles of the Hindu code Bill at the state Guest House with the Chief Minister, Advocate – General, eminent lawyers and retired judges from Kerala. During his stay in Trivandrum Ambedkar was taken round some of the temples in the city. And after observing minutely everything about temples and the Brahmin priest he exclaimed; "O what a waste of wealth and food!"

To sum up it is Dr. B.R.Ambedkar to provide the ideology and leadership of autonomous Dalit movement in various regions of India particularly as observed in south India Ambedkar exerted his leadership in the context of varied patterns of Dalit ideologies in southern India.

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