

भारतीय संविधानाबाबत डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकरांचा दृष्टीकोन  
 प्रा. आनंदा कांबळे] , e-, -] I V] , e- Qhy- Hkkskorh egfio | ky; ] dq dyh.

प्रस्तावना

20 vkkLV] 1917 yk fcfV'k Ijdkus Hkkjrkyk VII; k&VII; kus Lokra; ns; kph ?kksk.kk dsyh- R; kud kj ekVX; WpEI QMZ vgokykP; k rjrnphud kj Hkkjrh; kauk fcfV'k HkkjrK; k jkt dh; 0; oLFkr I gHkx feGkyk- ; k dkGkr Hkkjrh; ka kBh oxGs I fio/kku r; kj dj.; kP; k ekx.khus tkj /kyk- Lokra; pGoGhr dksxl us 1928 e/; s ekshyky ug; ; kP; k v/; {krS[kyhy , d ?kVuk I ferh LFki u d#u] I fio/kkukpk vkjk[kMk r; kj dsyk- i.k Hkkjrkr vly; k vud /kehZ ] tkrh; ] ekxkl o vLi'; urRokuh rls vkjk[kMk I okuk I ekou ?kr ukgh- I okukuh jkt dh; I Ukr I okuk ; kx; okVk nr ukgh- ; k I cch [kkrj ukdkyk- R; keGs Hkkjrkrhy fgnw eflYe] 'kh[k] vLi'; o vU; vYi I ; kad ; k I okuk ekU; gkby vls I fio/kku r; kj dj.ks vR; r fDy"V dk; I gkrs

संशोधन पध्दती iLnr I a kksku ys[k fyfg.; kl kBh xdkky; hu i/nrhp okij dj.; kr vkyk vli w] ; kl kBh ikFked o ng; e I k/kukpk okij dsyyk vkgs

प्राथमिक साधने — HkkjrK; k I fio/kkukckr MKW ckckl kgs vkMdkuh Lor% 0; Dr dsy; k fopkpk i jke' kZ ikFked I k/kukP; k vk/kjs ?kryk vkgs

दुय्यम साधने — ; k I nHkkzhy brj ys[kdkuh fyfgys ys[k] i qrd; I nHkZ xdk] orEku i=s o bVju/ bR; knh ng; e I k/kukpk okij dj.; kr vkyk vkgs

I fio/kku fufzhe/; s Hkkjrh; I ektrhy I oZ ?kVdkuk ; kx; ifrfu/khRo ns; kP; k -"Vhus MKW vkMdkuh iz Ru dsys 1929 e/; s dksxl dMw r; kj dj.; kr vky; k I fio/kku vkjk[kMkkkyk R; kauh fojok dsyk- dkj.k R; ke/; s Hkkjrh; I ektrhy I oZ ?kVdkuk I okukuh ; kx; ifrfu/khRo o vf/kdkj feGr uogrs I oZ ekos kd Hkkjrh; I fio/kku r; kj dj.ks gk MKW vkMdkpk -"Vhdks vxnh I q okrhi kl w fnl w ; s'ks

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ekshyky ug; ?kVuk I ferhus vLi'; ka kj [kp] ekxkl oxhZ cgtu I ektkP; k jkt dh; vf/kdkjuk ekU; rk fnyh ukgh- i.k eflYekP; k jkt dh; ifrfu/khRokl ekU; rk ns; kr vkyh- ; k foLe; dkjd Hksuhrhpok Agki kg dj.; kl kBh MKW vkMdkuh ^cfg"Nr Hkkjr\* e/; s 18 tkukjh] 1929 yk ^ug; dfeVhph ; kst uk o fgnw Fkkups Hkfor0; \* vli k vxys[k fygyk-

; kr fgnw I ektrhy tkrh; fo"kersy /kDdk u york] I ektrhy ofj"B o dfu"B v'kh fo"kerk r'khp Bow] ug; ?kVuk I ferhpok Lojkt; iklr dj.; kpk dVvy Mko vkg; vls MKW vkMdkj Eg.krkr- R; kps dkj.k Li"V djrkuk MKW vkMdkj Eg.krkr] ; k ?kVuk I ferhus eflYekuk T; k I oyrrh now dY; k] R; k I oyrrh ekxkl y; k fgnw fdok vLi'; kauk dk fnY; k ukgh- ^ed yeku o ck,, .krj nkSgh ekxkl ysys vkgs- i.k ck,, .; I j{k.kkP; k n"Vhus R; k nsgkr , d ekBk Qjd vkgs rls gk dh eflYekuk jkt dh; ckrhr I oyrrh fnY; kus ns k cMkyk rj cMly] i.k ck,, .; cMw'kdr ukgh- R; kp ck,, .krjuk I oyrrh fnY; kus ns k cM.kk ukgh i.k ck,, .; kpk uk' k gkby [kkl -\*

; k ug# ?kVuk I ferhojhy v{ks kpk fopkj djrkuk Hkkjrkrhy ck,, .; oknkp i Hkko Lokra; kP; k ekx.khoj vlyy fnl rls rlp eflYekuk jkt dh; I oyrrh nrkuk ck,, .; oknh vfHktu I Ukk Lor%P; k vLrRokyk dkskrkgh /kDdk i ksp.kkj ukgh] ; k ckchph [kkrjtek d#u jkt dh; I oyrrh nrs i.k fgnw/khy ekxkl y; kauk jkt dh;

I oyrh fdok vf/kdkj fnys rj rs l erP; k i krGhoj ; rhy- R; keGs ck,, .; oknykp vkOgku feGsy- gs vkOgku Fkko.; kl kBh fcfV' k dkyhu HkkjrRP; k jkt dh; vknkyukrhy vfHktu usRo feG.kkU; k vf/kdkjkæ/; p R; kps funkzyu djrkuk fnl rs R; keGs Lokra; feGkyj rjh fgme/khy ck,, .ksj ekxkl yV; k tkrhauk jkt dh; vf/kdkj feG.kkj ukghr v' kh jkt dh; 0; wjpk dsh tkr gkrh- MKW vkæMdj gh jkt dh; 0; wjpk Hksu ck,, .ksj ekxkl ?kVdkauk e[; iokgr vk.k.; kl kBh R; kauk jkt dh; vf/kdkj feGkys ikfgtr] ; kl kBh l æ"z djkr- R; kpk gk l æ"z ikjã fjd fo"kerkoknh l ektjpk u"V dj.; kl kBhpk gkrk- Eg.ktp l erkf/k" Bhr l ektkP; k fufeh l kBh gkrk-

I k; eu dfe'kuyk jk"Vh; dkxal us fojksk dsh- i .k vLi' ; kP; k ePrhl kBh MKW vkæMdjkauh vLi' ; kauk vko' ; d vl .kjs jkt dh; vf/kdkj feGkor] ; kl kBh Lora ernkj l ækckcr , d vH; kl iwz fuonu l knj dshs R; kr jk[kho ernkj l æ o i ks ernku i/nrh ; kph ekx.kh dsh- Hkkjr; l ektkrhy l oZ l epk; kr vLi' ; l epk; l okZ/kd i hfMr l epk; vLY; ku] R; kyk fo' ksk l j{k.kph xjt vkg] vl s MKW vkæMdjkauh er ekMys gh ekx.kh 6 dks/h vLi' ; kauk ekuoh vf/kdkjkæMs ?ksu tk.kjh gkrh- R; kph xgykefxjhr ePrk dj.kjh gkrh- ; k cjkj jk[kho tkxkps rlo eku; >kys rj e[ yeku] vLi' ; ] ck,, .ksj o vkyks bM; u ; kaukgh jk[kho tkxk ns ; kr ; kO; kr- vl gh i friknu ; k fuonukr dj. ; kr vkys gks

I k; eu dfe'ku' kh l gdk; kph Hkfedk ?ksAu vki ys Eg.k.ks fuonukru MKW vkæMdjkauh ekMys R; k fuonukud kj Hkkjrkrhy e[lye] vLi' ; ] ck,, .ksj o vkyks bM; u ; kP; k gDdkckcr Eg.k.ks ekMys i .k R; keGs MKW vkæMdkaj jk"Vfojkskh Eg.ku Vhdk >kyh- i .k R; kauh Hkkjr; l ektkrhy ekxkl yV; k ?kVdkP; k fodkl kl kBh jkt dh; gDdkph ekx.kh dj.ks pchps uOgrs dkj.k Lokra; kP; k i fØ; s gOkk ekxkl ?kVdkps i qmRFkku >kys rj rs 'kD; vks vU; Fk Lokra; kurj Hkkjr; l ektkrhy ikjã fjd l ekt 0; oLFk vLi' ; kauk ijr vks R; kp xgykefxjhr Bosy vl s MKW vkæMdkjks er gks

**गोलमेज परिषद**

I k; eu dfe'kuyk >kysy fojksk y{kkr ?ksAu fcfV' k l jdkjus fgnd.FkkuP; k l ño/kkukpk fopkj dj.; kl kBh Hkkjr; kP; k i frfu/khph xksyest i fj"kn yMuyk vkæf=r dj.; kr vkyh- Hkkjr; kP; k i frfu/khauk HkkjrRP; k l ño/kkukckcr fopkjofue; dj.; kph l ækh ghp , d vHkri wZ ?kVuk gkrh- i Fkep vLi' ; kauk gh Lora i frfu/khRo ns ; kr vkys gks MKW vkæMdj vkf.k vkj- Jhfuokl u gs vLi' ; kps i frfuf/kRo xksyest i fj"knr djr gks MKW vkæMdjkauh HkkjrRP; k Hkkoh l ño/kkukr vLi' ; kdfjrk

- 1½ l eku ukxfjdRo] 2½ enyHkr vf/kdkj
- 3½ l eku vf/kdkj mi Hkkskps Lokra; 4½ fo/kkueMGkr i g] s i frfu/khRo
- 5½ ukdU; kr i g] s i frfuf/kRo 6½ upl ku Hkji kbZ
- 7½ fo' ksk foHkxh; n{krk 8½ efi=eMGkr i frfu/khRo

; k ckchph ekx.kh dsh-

; k ekx.; k dj.; kekxs MKW vkæMdkph jkt dh; e[ l sxjh fnl u ; rs dkj.k vLi' ; kP; k i frfu/khauk feGkysy Lora eku; rpk mi ; ks d#u] MKW vkæMdjkauh vLi' ; kps l okkh.k fodkl kps jkt dh; ekxZ xksyest i fj"knr feGfo.; kl kBh iz Ru dshs MKW vkæMdkjRP; k fo|oreGp R; kauk xksyest i fj"knP; k frl U; k vf/kos kkr Hkkjr; jkT; dkjHkjkckcrP; k n"Vhdkskckcr iz kkl dh; vf/kdkjh] Hkkjr; us] fl=; kP; k i frfu/kh ; kph l k{k ?ks; kph tckenkj l kio.; kr vkyh- ; k Hkkoh l ño/kkukP; k rjrhckc l k{k ?kskuk MKW vkæMdjkauh Hkkoh HkkjrRP; k l ño/kku

vkjk [kMÓkkyk vñre ik#ikr us ; kpk dl kf' kus iz Ru dsyk- dk; ns khj ckchpk ri' kh] Hkkjrh; iz kkl ukryh dk; ã) rh o us Rokph vi {kk ; kpk ; k; l elo; l k/kr] HkkjrkP; k Hkkoh l ño/kkP; k ik#iky vñre #i MKW vkæMdjkauh fnyS

जातीय समस्या आणि मुस्लिमांची मागणी

HkkjrkP; k Hkkoh l ño/kkukP; k #ijskoj vk/kkjhr 'or i= 1933 e/; s ifl /n >kys ; k 'ori=kP; k vk/kkjs 1935 pk Hkkjr ljdkj vf/kfu; e r; kj dj.; kr vkyk- ; k dk; | kud kj fuokZpr ifrfu/khRo] l ñkjT; o vf/kdkj foHkkx.khr l ñi "Vi.kk fuf' pr dj.; kr vkyh- 1935 P; k dk; | kud kj ikrh; efi=eMGke/; sefl ye yhxP; k ifrfu/khpk l ekos k gks ks t#jhps gks s i.k dkxal us rls u djrk vki Y; k i {kkruw fuoMuu vkyk/; k efl ye fo/kk; dkauk efi=eMGkr ?ks ; kps /kkj.k Lohdkjys

; k /kkj.kkpk ifj.kke [kii p okbV >kyk- ekgeen vyh thuk ; kauh dkxal P; k ; k /kkj.kkyk fojksk dsyk- dkxal l ñnk efl ye yhxps Loræ vLrRo Lohdkj.; kl r; kj uOgrh- dkxal p jk"Vh; ck.; kph vl u] frP; k l ekj dks kR; kgh ?kVdkps Loræ vLrRo ekU; dj.; kph xjt ukgh- v'kk Hkkoursu Hkkjrkryh vYil ñ; kad ?kVdkdMs o vLi"; kadMs dkxal igkrkuk fnl rs R; keGs MKW vkæMdj l ñk vLi"; rk fuokj.kkckcr dkxal P; k Hkkiedfo"k; h l k' kad gks s

Hkkjrkph jkT; 0; oLFkk i pux/hr djhr vl rkuk] nçy l ekt ?kVdkauk nç [kkP; k [kkbZr yk/ys tkow u; ð ; kl kBh MKW vkæMdj kpk y<k l q gksk- R; keGs jktdh; l erkykP; k rilokpk voyæ dj.; kph dkgh vko'; drk ukgh- ; k dkxal P; k erkyk vkep fojksk vkgj vl s MKW vkæMdjkauh Li"V dsys ; ko: u MKW vkæMdj l ekt ?kVdkP; k l erP; k rilokckcr dk; e l tx vl yys fnl rkr- gh l txrk vxnh l ño/kkuke/; s l erP; k rilokyk dk; ns khj ekU; rk feGow ns ; ki ; ñ vl ysyh fnl rs dkj.k l erk l LFkkfir dj.ks gs R; kP; k dk; kps vfoHkT; o i Eke mfl "V vl Y; kps fnl u ; rs

जातीय प्रश्नावर डॉ. आंबेडकरांचा उपाय

Hkkjrh; Lokra; kP; k i fØ; s fgnl FkkuP; k Hkkoh l ño/kkukps ik: lk dl s vl koj ; kckcr Li"V cky.ks vko'; d gks s i.k Hkkjrh; cgnl ykd HkkjrkP; k Hkkoh Lokra; kckcr fo/kk; d l pook djhr ukghr- R; kP; kr fo/kk; d mik; l pfo.; kph dpr vkg s i.k dkxal P; k xks/krhy uohu mik; fufeZhf' kok; ] brj dks kR; kgh mik; kpk Lohdkj dj.; kr ; Å u; s ghp ckc ns kkrhy fo/kk; d fopkjl j.khyk ekjd >kyh vkgj vl s vl rkukgh ns kP; k l oZ k/kkj.k jktdh; ixrhps ekxZ MKW vkæMdj ns kkyk l pforkr-

dkxal vLi"; kP; k vekuoh; xykefxjhph l kxM R; kP; k jktdh; 'kDrhghurs kh ?kkyr ukgh- rl p ed yeku] 'kh[k] vkyks bñM; u ; k ?kVdkauk gh R; kP; koj fgnl xykefxjh yknyh tk.kkj ukgh] ; kph 'kk' orh ns ukgh- v'kk v'ok' kd i fjflFkrhr HkkjrkP; k Lokra; kph pGoG iæs tkr vl rkuk HkkjrkP; k l ekt 0; oLFkrhy gÜkk l oZ ?kVdkps vLrRo ekU; d: u] tkrh; ] /kfeZd ik; kojhy fo"kerk jk[k.; kl kBh l okauk l ær vl .kkjs l ño/kku Hkkjrkus r; kj djkoj vl s er 0; Dr djrkuk MKW vkæMdj Eg.krkr- tj fgnh ykdauh fgnh ykdka kBh vkf.k fgnh ykdP; k bPNs ud kj R; liph vuærh ?kAu ?kVuk r; kj dsyh] rjp gs 'kD; vkg s

HkkjrkP; k Lokra; pGoGhP; k ; k VI; kojhy l ñk"Z gk fgnl ed yeku] vLi"; ] 'kh[k] bñM; u f[kz pu] vkyks bñM; u] vkfnokl h tekri] fof' k"V fgri cZkh xV ; kP; k jktdh; gDdkP; k i klrh l mHkkZhy gksk- Lokra; feGkys rj R; k Loræ HkkjrkP; k l ño/kkukr l okps fgri cZk l g f{kr jkg.kkj dh] dkgh ?kVdkP; koj i kja fjd fo"kerph 'kksk.k 0; oLFkk yknyh tk.kkj- dh] tkrh; cgnl P; k vk/kkjkoj Loræ Hkkjrkryh

?kVd vkiY; kp tkrhyk l oZ'k Qk; ns d: u ?ks ; kP; k iz Rukr brjkps ' kksk.k dj.kkj-gk iz u eglokpk gkrk- v'kk vR; r eglokP; k iz ukøj ek= dkskrhgh 0; Drh l oZ ekos kd vlk mik; l pfor uOgrh- i.k Lokra; kph ekx.kh ek= djhr gksr v'kk ifjLFkr MKW vkæMdj ns kP; k l oZ k/kkj.k ixrhph mik; ; kstuk fdok l ño/kkukph emyrlos vkiY; k 6 eJ 1945 P; k Hkk'k.kkr l pforkr-

1½ cgd ā; kadkpk jkT; dkjHkkj rkrRodn"VÖkk xkgÖk ul w] 0; ogk; ñ"VÖkk vl; k; dkjd vkgs cgd ā; tekryh ifrfu/khRokP; k n"Vhus l kišk cgd ā; Ro nrk ; bñy- ijñd fryk d/khgh i wã . ks cgd ā; RokP; k tkjoj Hkjel kB ikrfuf/kRo nrk ; skj ukgh- 2½ ifrfu/khRokP; k n"Vhus dks kR; kgh cgd ā; tekryk brD; k tklr tkxk vl w u; s dh] T; keGs rh , [kk | k Nks/Ökk'kk vYil ā; tekhrP; k l gk; ; kus jkT; dkjHkkj d: 'kdsy-

3½ cgd ā; tekro brj dkskrhgh , d ifr"Bhr vYil ā; tekro ; kP; k , dtvheGs cger r; kj gkrk dkek u; } dh T; keGs brj vYil ā; tekhrP; k fgriækkciy bætky r; kj gkñy-

4½ tkxph foHkkx.kh v'kk n"Vhus dsyh ikfgts dh] cgd ā; kadkoj voyæw u jgkrk] vYil ā; kad tekrauh vkiyh , dtw dsyh rj R; buk Lor%ps ljdkj LFkkiu djrk ; kos

5½ cgd ā; tekrdMw T; k tknk tkxk dkæw ?ks ; kr ; rhy] R; kph vYil ā; kad tekrae/; s 0; Lr iek.kkr foHkkx.kh dsyh ikfgts

gk l pfoysk mik; tkr&tekrhP; k iz ukøj ; kK; mik; vkgs vls MKW vkæMdj kps er gksr gÖkk i/nrhud kj dks kR; kgh tekryk dæG ykd l ā; P; k cgerkoj brj tekraoj i HkRo xkto. ; kph l ñkh feG.kkj ukgh] ; kph rtcht gkrh- dkj.k MKW vkæMdj Eg.krkr] Hkkjrh; l ektkrhy cger tlekyk ; rj rs r; kj dsys tkr ukgh- R; keGs rs jktdkj.kkj vk/kkjys cger ukgh- gkp tkrhokpd cger o jktdh; cgerkrhy Qjd vl w] tkrh; cger l okP; k fgriækps ul rs Eg.kw jktdh; cger r; kj dj.kkj 0; olFkk fuekz k dj. ; kph i/nrh MKW vkæMdj l por gksr i.k gÖkk mik; ; kstuoJ ^VkbEI vKND bñM; k\*P; k vxys[kkr o vKw bñM; k gfjtu l oZ l ækps tujy l ØVjh Jh- BDdjcklik ; kwh Vhdk dsyh-

Hkkjrh; k l ño/kku fufe'hcker iLFkkfir l ektjpupk n"Vhdksu MKW vkæMdj kwh 1930 P; k ukxi j ; fky ^vKw bñM; k fMiæM Dykl s P; k\* vf/kos kukr ekM/yk gkrk- MKW vkæMdj Eg.krkr] ^Hkkjrhph l ektjpuk ikgrk\* T; kP; k gkrkr l /; k l ä Ükh o l Ükk i klr >kysy vkgs rs ykd p fgnh jkT; ?kVus kl w tknk l ä Ükh o l Ükk i klr d: u ?ks ; kpk vf/kdkj feGow ?krhy- gÖkk n"Vhdksukpk okjokj i R; ; ; s gkrk- dkj.k MKW vkæMdj kwh vLi' ; kP; k gDdkcker [kwi l æk'kz djok ykxyk- gk l æk'kz djrkuk Hkkjrh; jktdkj.kkrhy i Hkkoh ?kVdkwh l rrp MKW vkæMdj kwh /kjs.kkRed fu.kz i fØ; s kl w vyx Bø. ; kpk dl ks khus iz Ru dsyk- R; kpkp , d Hkkx Eg.kw dkxal us MKW vkæMdj kwh dkxal ckgjhy ekU; ojkrP; k cjkcj ?kVuk l ferhP; k fuoM.kuchl kBh vkæf=r dsys ukgh- i.k iqs l ño/kku l ferhoj fuoMw vkY; kuarj R; kwh vfHki r vl .kkj l oZ ekos kd l erkf/k"Bhr -"Vhdksu Hkkjrh; l ño/kkukr l ekfo"B dsyk- fu"d"kz &

Hkkjrh; Lokra; pGoGhrhy ck,, .; oknh vfHktu ?kVdkP; k fo"kerkoknh o ' kksk.kkP; k 0; olFkP; k fojkskr MKW vkæMdj gksr dkj.k gk iLFkkfir ?kVd l ño/kkukpk okij d: u vkgs R; kišk tkLr l Ükk o l ä Ükh feGosy- MKW vkæMdj iLFkkfir ?kVdkP; k ; k -"Vhdksukyk l r fojksk djr jkfgys vkiY; k jktdh; eRl ísxjhpk okij d: u R; kwh eflYe] vLi' ; ] ck,, .kkj v'kk l oZ ekxkl ?kVdkuk l eku

vf/kdj ns; kpk iz Ru dsk- gk iz Ru vñrer% Iño/kkukr jktch;] vkfFkd o  
 l kftd vf/kdj Hkkjrh; ukxfjdkuk lerp; k ikrGhoj now R; kauh iqkZ dsk-  
 lerkf/k" Bhr lert fufezhp R; kpk Iño/kkukckcrpk -"Vhcku loZkU; Iño/kku  
 fuekZk d: u iqkRokl vk.kY; kpsfnl w ; rs

### संदर्भग्रंथ

- 1- vkMdj MKW ckckl kgc] vuokn & ckck nGoh] ck,, .kh l kfgR;] l qkok izdk' ku] iqkZ f}rh; koUkh] 6 fml c] 2005-
- 2- vkMdj MKW ckckl kgc] jkT; vkf.k vYil [; kad] ; qk k{kh izdk' ku] ukxiy] i FkekoUkh] 14 , fiy] 2012-
- 3- ew ol r ¼ a k-½ MKW ckckl kgc vkMdj kps cfg"Ñr Hkkjr vkf.k enduk; d] f' k{k.k foHkkx egkj"V" ' kkl u] epb] i FkekoUkh] uksgc] 1990-
- 4- HkMkjs lat; vkj-] ekuorps uofuekrs MKW ckckl kgc vkMdj] fofue; i fcyds kUl ] epb] i Fke vkoUkh] uksgc] 2014-
- 5- xk; dokM fd' ksj] ?kVups f' kYi dkj ckckl kgc vkMdj] Jh xalko&on izdk' ku] iqks] uksgc] 2010-
- 6- dl cs jkol kgc] MKW ckckl kgc vkMdj vkf.k Hkkjrkph jkT; ?kVuk] l qkok izdk' ku] iqks] rrrh; vkoUkh] 28 Qocpkjh 2001-
- 7- [kMdj rkjpkæ] vkMdj rloKku % i phrh vkf.k vkf/kdj] l dsr izdk' ku] ukxiy-] i FkekoUkh] 26 vkkLV] 2009-
- 8- MKW vkMdj ys[ku vkf.k Hkk"k.ks [kM 18] Hkkx 2] 2002