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Dr. B.R.AMBEDKARAND HIS VISION FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN SOCIETY

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Babasahab Dr.Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar belongs to the rare class of great men who set standards of greatness for themselves and live up to them. In his own words "a great man must be motivated by the dynamics of social purpose and must act as a scourge and scavenger of the society." His life itself stands as a testimony to this ideal of securing human dignity to all. He avouched the mission of his life by proclaiming that "For the protection of human rights several great men have immolated themselves at the altar of duty. Better to die in the prime of youth for a great cause than to live like an oak and do nothing." Dr.Ambedkar embodied a peerless personage among all the national leaders who only had the moral propriety to assert that "I am a man of character." He waged a valiant struggle against the "diabolical contrivance to suppress and enslave humanity"—the Brahmanical system to make the subhuman and servile majority regain their human personality through social, economic, political and cultural emancipation. He declared that "Our battle is for Freedom. Our battle is not for few economic and political gains. Our battle is for the reclamation of Human Personality which was suppressed and mutilated..."

The range of Ambedkar's struggle for securing human dignity is very vast. He had to start from the Right to be Human to attain highest humane level. Dr. Ambedkar's ideas, writings and outlook could well be characterized as belonging to that trend of thought called *Social Humanism*. He developed a socio-ethical philosophy and steadfastly stood for human dignity and freedom, socio-economic justice, material prosperity and spiritual discipline. His name will glitter forever in the firmament of world history not only as a great social philosopher but also as a great revolutionary who dedicated his entire life for the amelioration of the teeming millions of the underdogs.

Academic training and social commitment

Ambedkar was thoroughly influenced by two illustrious personalities- Lord Buddha and John Dewey. Amidst scores of philosophers postulating on human misery, Buddha stands tall for his radical epistimo – psychological breakthrough shifting from substance thinking to process thinking. Instead of engaging in abstract speculation about the extraterrestrial origins and purposes of the universe and human existence, Buddha called for an empirical investigation into the actual conditions. Explaining the causal origination of the Brahminical society and the conditions in creating and maintaining a society as 'Alpajana sukhaya', Buddha sets out to reconstitute an equitable and harmonious society of 'Bahujana sukhaya' by rearranging the socio-economic and political relations grounded on morality. Ambedkar, following Buddha questions the determination of social position based on innate nature. He explains that the Bahujans are the victims in this schema of *Colonization of mind and capturing social order*.

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It is pertinent to note here that Ambedkar considers Buddha as a victim of the Brahmanical society, "Oppressed by the evils and misery then prevalent in the Aryan Society he renounced the world..." (BAWS.Vol IIIpp.165). Dr.Ambedkar found that the central message of the life of Buddha is reconstructing that Brahminical philosophy and society in the light of scientific enquiry, which he proclaims as the historic rebellion of Gautama Buddha.

He came under the influence of the outstanding American philosopher of the time, Prof.John Dewey at the Columbia University. Dewey had forsaken the then dominant Hegelian theory of ideas, and *formulated an instrumentalist theory of knowledge, which conceived ideas as instruments to solve social problems*. Ambedkar internalized Dewey's message, which considered philosophy, in its essentials, as criticism involving reconstruction. Ambedkar's teacher of public finance, Edwin R A Seligman who was then the professor of political economy at Columbia was firmly placed among the most outstanding students of public finance and history of economic thought at that time and when Ambedkar went to London, his teacher was an equally eminent economist, Edwin Cannan who was also an acknowledged authority on the history of economic thought.

Even during his student days Ambedkar in 1918 reviewed Bertrand Russell's work, 'The Principles of Social Reconstruction' and finds his thesis is shaky. Applying Russell's ideas to Indian society, he observes "Thus it is not survival but the quality, the plane of survival that is important. If the Indian readers of Mr. Russell probe into the quality of their survival and not remain contented merely with having survived I feel confident that they will be convinced of the necessity of a revaluation of their values of life (BAWS.Vol I, pp.487)."

His worldview

History, for Ambedkar was a story of man's increasing control over his destiny through the progressive development and application of his capacities. History is a phenomenon explicable in terms of rational-causal analysis. This historical framework provided for a standard of evaluation – societies were more or less progressive in relation to their historical level of development in the direction of rationalistic, humanistic, egalitarian condition. He rejected an exclusively economic interpretation of history and assigned great significance to intellectual forces and ideas in the process of history. He understood the history of India as one of progressive decline and degeneration, it s modern phase representing a collapse and crisis. Ambedkar argued with a wealth of textual and historical evidence that the retrogressive nature of Indian history was to be attributed to the presence and operation of the caste system and the ideological-institutional strangle-hold of Hindu religion which resulted in Spiritual Fascism.

But Ambedkar thought that historical evidence was overwhelmingly against the hope of internally saving Hinduism, and therefore the structurally unchangeable Hinduism had to be discarded. For him it was not merely a question of saving the Untouchables, but it was saving India as a nation though saving Untouchables.

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In a picture somewhat reminiscent of the Marxist agenda of the proletariat liberating society through liberating itself, Ambedkar maintained that the cause of Untouchables was bound up with the cause of Hindu society as a whole. This is because once the *process of gaining social justice* by the Untouchable started; it would *regenerate India as a nation* by undermining the caste system which was its foundation.

Dr.Ambedkar's thought has a view very much different from capitalist or communist view, or the Eastern or Western thought. It is a genuine interaction between Western liberalism and Indian reality as he experienced it and theoretically comprehended it. On the philosophical plane, he was rooted in *Buddhist dialectics*, *in reason and science*. On the socio-economic and political level, his ideas were grounded in the principle of *socialist democracy*. He had a definite agrarian programme and industrial strategy. He had a dream to enrich democracy. In his economic writings, Dr.Ambedkar made a blistering attack on the imperial economic policy and exploitation. Many professors in London felt that the view expressed by Dr.Ambedkar in his paper on "Responsibilities of a Responsible Government in India" and other works were of a revolutionary nature.

On the question of relationship between the polity and the economy, Ambedkar held a more complex view than ether Liberalism or Marxism. He postulated two superstructures upon the structure of society – the economy and the polity. Of the two superstructures, Ambedkar gave relatively greater weight to the economy than to polity, and that was why he found himself, despite obvious differences, close to Marxism (Rao.V.R, 2001). Unlike Marx, Ambedkar does not see the possibility of statelessness, while he does want castelessness first in India and later, classlessness.

His context

"The traditional system of caste was" according to Marx "decisive impediment to India's power and progress". But Dr.Ambedkar's dilemma was much more serious. Although he lived a century later than Marx, India was much behind Marx's time. His was a much more complex and arduous situation than Marx's. The Indian struggle for democracy was to begin at the level of consciousness, the mind. That is why the birth pangs of Indian democracy are so severe and recurrent.

The Pragmatic Philosopher:

Babasaheb Ambedkar says "All philosophies must be judged by their social products. Philosophy is no purely a theoretical matter. It has practical potentialities. Philosophy has its roots in the problems of life and whatever theories that philosophies propound must return to society as instruments of reconstituting society. It is not enough to know. Those who know must endeavor to fulfill". Thus Ambedkar did not lose sight of social problems of his day; he not only analyzed and came up with the solutions to the problems but strived hard to put them in action. The greatness of Ambedkar lies not just in espousing the foundations of a suffering society and providing

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a way out but by carrying out the mission of emancipation, himself. He operationalised his ideas into action for reconstituting society as pragmatic philosopher. In fact he has heralded a cultural and psychological battle against the system causing dehumanization, exploitation, coercion and suffering. He found it difficult to connect anyone among the 'educated' to team-up. "You can get thousands of Hindu youths to join political propaganda but cannot get one single youth to take up the cause of breaking the caste system or of removing Untouchability. Democracy and democratic life, justice and conscience which are sustained by a belief in democratic principles are foreign to the Hindu mind."

Ambedkar's exhumation of 'Society' in India:

Dr.Ambedkar held that there were two qualitatively different groups which had not only been historically central, but continued to be central, to social organization and social dynamics. These were caste and class. Historically, the Vedic Varna system, which was a class order, had been transformed into a caste order subsequently, and in modern India the nascent class order was continually and complexly distorted and defeated by caste order. This is the point of his challenge to Marxists when he asked them whether the Indian proletariat, caste-fragmented, can ever become a class in itself, let alone a class for itself. He explained with diligence that the formation of caste society, coupled with gender inequity is to safeguard the interests of the Brahminical groups in relation to other groups, maintain their moral and mental control over them, and preserve their position of power, prestige and privilege.

Denial of Existential Dignity

Ambedkar explained that the Brahaminical system denies the right to existential dignity to the Bahujans and relegates them a subhuman existence (Satyapal, 2010). As a consequence, they are denied three essential rights, viz., their *right to Identity*. All the identities that are attached to the Bahujans are not given by themselves, but are called by others. The identities like Anarya, Pisacha, Sudra, Atisudra, names of individual castes and even the surnames-all are insulting, demeaning identities and are the identities of suppression. The Bahujans are denied the *right to Choice of Occupation* and are forced to take up polluting occupations as hereditary occupations. "There are many occupations in India which on account of the fact that they are regarded as degraded by the Hindus provoke those who are engaged in it to aversion... all are slaves of the caste system. But all slaves are not equal in status" (Ambedkar, 1936:31). They are forbidden to exercise any *right to Access or Claim over Resources* of the society in which they live. On the whole, the caste system clamps social oppression, economic exploitation and political suppression which are worse than slavery (Ambedkar, 1917).

Mechanism and Perpetuation

Castes are divided into different classes of castes. A Hindu is caste conscious

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as well as class conscious. Whether he is caste conscious or class conscious depends upon the caste with which he comes in conflict. If the caste with which he comes in conflict is a caste within the class to which he belongs, he is caste conscious. If the caste is outside the class to which he belongs, he is class conscious. The basic weakness of the Hindu social order is that it does not recognize the individual as the centre of social purpose, for it is based primarily on caste and not on individuals. There is no room for individual merit and no consideration of individual justice. Rights, privileges and disabilities and duties are based on the caste to which the individual belongs. It can be understood from the analysis of Ambedkar that Brahmanical ideology as an *ideology of exclusion* which moulded a social order based on inequality where no two castes are equal and the divided castes are made to oppose each other (Satyapal,2011).

Enforced Poverty and Cultural Capital

Dr. Ambedkar is the first social scientist to find out several facets of dehumanization in the caste system, powered through the engine of religion. Before Dr. Ambedkar several attempts were made to paint caste as only a social aberration. The Hindus are the only people in the world whose economic order – the relation of workman to workman is consecrated by religion and made sacred, eternal and inviolate. The graded inequality puts the classes on a vertical plane not merely through conventions but through spiritual, moral and legal structure.

Ambedkar defined culture as a more fundamental category in which both politics and economics intersected. His diligent exposition of the economics of Brahmanism as the law of enforced poverty based on the dogma of predestination, conditioning the victims as willful vassals reveals the third dimension of capital, i.e the Cultural Capital (Satyapal, 2010). While economic capital refers to the command over economic resources, social capital relates to the resources based on group membership, relationships, networks of influence and support. Cultural Capital on the other hand, concerns forms of knowledge, skills and advantages that confer power and higher status in the society. Culture shares many of the properties that are characteristic of economic capital that any 'competence' becomes a capital in so far as it facilitates appropriation and unequal distribution thereby creating opportunities for exclusive advantage to individuals or groups in the society. Ambedkar presented an elaborate illustration of such cultural advantages which are monopolized by the twice-born and are used to condition the behaviour and attitudes of the servile castes for the social, economic and political dominance of the leisure castes. He was the first to trace out the relation between Brahamnical ideology, caste system and economic exploitation. These notions were comprehensively developed later into the concept of Cultural Capital. "To sum up, the Brahmin enslaves the mind and the Bania enslaves the Body". He delineated the Cultural Politics of Caste making knowledge as secret code and declares "never has society been guilty of prohibiting the mass of its people from acquiring knowledge" (BAWS, Vol.3:43-44). It is the system which deadens,

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paralyses and cripples the people from helpful activity.

The Necessity of Social Transformation:

In India, he analyses that there is no society at all. We have multitudes of societies based on caste. People are not born as humans. They are born into castes and imbibe such notions of mind which do not allow humane interaction among them. "The first and foremost thing that must be recognized is that Hindu Society is a myth... In every Hindu the consciousness that exists is the consciousness of caste. That is the reason why the Hindus cannot be said to form a society or a nation" (BAWS Vol.1pp.51). He explains the ethnocentric belief that the Hindu Social System has been perfected for all times has prevented the *reconstruction of the Hindu Society* and stood in the way of a revision of vested rights for the common good(BAWS Vol.1pp.269-70). He squarely blames "Brahmanism in instituting caste system has put the greatest impediment against the growth of nationalism" (BAWS Vol.3pp.304). "Unless the social order is changed, no progress could be achieved. The community cannot be mobilized either for defense or for offence. Nothing can be built on the foundations of caste. No nation, no morality".

Annihilation of caste- notional change

Ambedkar was thoroughly convinced that unless a casteless and classless society is created there will be no progress in India. This requires a social reconstruction and Ambedkar was very clear about the means to bring about this change. Ambedkar took up the reconstruction of Indian society on the foundations of democracy as a 'mode of associated living.' He asserted that Democracy, properly understood and applied would only be the panacea and initiated his public life in 1916 on this cause.

Differing with the Congress and other 'Nationalists', he declared that social revolution must precede political revolution so as to ensure that every citizen enjoy the benefits of political freedom."That political reform cannot with impunity take precedence over social reform in the sense of *reconstruction of society...*" (BAWS Vol.1pp.42;Vol.17.3pp.82). He reinstates his position that the worth of independence depends on the kind of government and the kind of society that is built up. "Indeed the vision of a New Order in a New India would very greatly strengthen determination to win freedom" (BAWS Vol.Xpp.41). Exposing the Jatpat Todak Mandal which aspired to '*Remodel Hindu Society*' (BAWS Vol.1pp.31,64) , Ambedkar stressed that '*Reconstitution of the society*' by annihilating caste and its ideological notions is the cure(BAWS Vol.1pp.42,66).

His Ideal society and Nation

Ambedkar explains that a human society should have *organic filaments*, an attitude of respect and equality towards fellow human beings. "In an ideal society, there should be many interests consciously communicated and shared. There should be *social endosmosis*." He envisioned Nation as a social amalgamation which elevates

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the low castes in to Citizens of equality. In Ambedkar's discourse, Nation is a power-homogenized fraternity and a democratic unity. He strived for Nation, as a new social formation characterized by a consciousness of unity and fraternity leading to increased, intensified non-discriminate social exchanges.

Ambedkar's Actions for Social Transformation:

Dr.Ambedkar in his grand scheme of reconstruction of Indian society, fought for rights of representation as democratic rights. Basing on the prorata of population, he reasoned that all sections of the society including women should get rights of representation spheres of education, employment, agriculture, industry, bureaucracy and governance of this country. Branding that the Brahmanical society is based on *Culture of Reservations*- keeping education, rule and economy reserved 100% for the Brahmanical castes and relegating the Bahujans to service, he wanted to usher in Democratic society based on the *Culture of Representations*. His memoranda to the Southborough Committee, Montague-Chemsfeld committee, Muddiman Committee and his arguments in Round Table Conferences are based on the rights of representation as democratic rights.

Assertion and Equal Citizenship

Babasaheb Ambedkar debunked all those reforms that question only the traditions but never intended to debase the ideological foundations of those customs as 'sectional reforms' rather than 'social reforms'. It was during the Mahad Satyagraha in 1927 that the 'aim' of the movement was proclaimed by Dr.Ambedkar as, "not only removing our own disabilities, but also at bringing about a social revolution that will remove all man-made barriers of caste by providing equal opportunities to all to rise to the highest position and making no distinction between man and man so for as civic rights are concerned". While the Mahad Satyagraha focused on 'social & legal equality' the Kalaram Temple Satyagraha focused on 'religious equality'. The Charter of Right and Demands of that Dr.Ambedkar presented before the Indian Statutory Commission commonly known as Simon Commission had a wider 'constitutional significance' for equal citizenship. While all the participants at the Round Table Conferences were busy with their Communal Representations (Hindu,Muslim,Sikh, Parsi etc.) it was only Dr.Ambedkar who raised the issues of Civic equality, Adult Franchise and Citizenship to all Indians.

Away from the Brahminism

The Conversion conference of 1936 enshrined the philosophy of 'human beings' and the ideology of democratic revolution comprehending not only Social, legal & civic equality but also religious equality. This event is significant that it helped members of the society to realize the necessity to understand that religion no longer be inherited but be examined rationally by everybody. It also is a deliberate attempt to debase the Brahminical culture that employ religion as the engine of oppression. Dr. Ambedkar

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remarked that if the bottom- most stone in a structure is shifted, those above it are bound to be shaken out of their position (BAWS Vol.17.3pp.240).

The movement from 1936 entered a new phase for attaining 'economic equality' along with social, legal, civil & religious equality, by the abolition of caste & class, considering both Brahmanism and capitalism as necessary evils. The formation of 'Independent labour Party' was a new experiment to formulate the government of 'labouring classes' who also happen to be the exploited castes in Indian social system. He held the view that ills were not due to machinery and modern civilization; they were due to *wrong social organization* which had made private property and pursuit of personal gain matters of absolute sanctity.

These equalities were to be achieved in the trinity of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' by Constitutional rights and guarantees, and much more significantly by the reconstruction of society based on this trinity principle. It was due to his thoughts on the above subjects which enabled a Constitutional scheme of Government of India Act, 1935 much ahead of democratic Constitution of Independent India.

Blueprint for a society- Constitution

Contempory Constitutional authority, Granville Austin has described the Constitution of India as 'first and foremost a social document with three broad objectives-ensuing unity, democracy and creating a social revolution. "The majority of India's Constitutional provisions are either directly arrived at furthering the aim of social revolution or attempt to foster this revolution by establishing conditions necessary for its achievement."

The Constitution of India bears the impression of Dr.Ambedkar's thought as a key instrument for National Reconstruction. He was the lone speaker at the Constituent Assembly of 1946, which discussed the frame work of future Constitution to underline the need to build up a cohesive society. "Our difficulty is how to make the heterogeneous mass that we have today take a decision in common and march on the way which leads us to unity. Our difficulty is not with regard to the ultimate; our difficulty is with regard to the beginning". In order to establish an inclusive society, Ambedkar looks at democracy, not as a political arrangement, but as "a mode of associated living. The roots of democracy are to be searched in social relationship, in terms of the associated life between the people who form the society" (Keer, 1962:480). He highlights fraternity as the root of democracy and without fraternity other ideals of democracy like equality and liberty cannot endure. He defined democracy as a "form and method of government where by revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed" (Keer, 1962:61).

The Constitution of India, in order to reconstitute the society on the democratic foundations of equality, liberty, fraternity and justice, incorporated legislations for equality and equal opportunity in all spheres of life. Road map is laid for a democratic and inclusive society through reservations as representations. In order to create social polarization among the victims of the Brahmanical social system, Ambedkar engineered

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the category 'Backward classes' would cover three principal components, the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward classes. And he addressed himself to the task of securing social justice for all the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in the country, under the mandate of a new constitution. It is to be underlined that the *Idea* is to break monopoly by proportional representations, *Policy*- is to Bring SC,ST, OBC on one platform in order to Break caste system as representations are for collection of castes, not for individual castesas Backward classes.

The Directive Principles strive to create a Welfare State and a just social order. Making the State responsible for social change, Article 38 contains the essence of these principles: "The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a *social order* in which justice-social, economic and political –shall inform all the institutions of national life". He announced that the people of India "Expect to happen in a sovereign and free India is a complete destruction of Brahminism as a philosophy of life and as a social order".

Ambedkar identified the functioning of moral order, observance of Constitutional morality as the conditions for the successful working of democracy. "Society must have either the sanction of law or the sanction of morality to hold it together without either, society is sure to go to pieces".

Buddhism for establishing Moral Society and New Social Order

Ambedkar found the means to develop essential social and moral conscience of the society for establishing democratic society in Buddhism. He holds that the essence of Buddhism consists not in the removal of suffering- which is only negative and incidental, but in the attainment of perfection, which is positive and fundamental – i.e. establishing a democratic society. He declared his mission to make India as *Prabuddha Bharat*, an Enlightened India.

New Identity, New Personality and New Social order

A Buddhist is an identity of an individual who is liberated from the bondage of dogma, an interrogator of the sources of oppression, a self consciously liberal and secular in world view. Dr. Ambedkar calls for a change in the personality of a Buddhist based on the ideals of *Pradgna*, *Sila* and *Karuna*- Competence, Character and Compassion, which he himself has embodied. He exhorts that Morality is not passive; it is pro active. To defend democracy, in its true sense, becomes the moral duty of every Buddhist.

Incompatibility of Ideologies and continuing contradictions:

The cherished aspiration of paving way for an inclusive society has not yet been realized, reasons too well known for Ambedkar. The unmitigated contradictions of our society have resulted in a situation that the laws are on the side of equality, and

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the customs that people follow in their daily lives are on the side of inequality.(From Dowry to several forms of corruption, Caste violence and Gender violence etc.,) This paradox is explained as the incompatibility of ideologies. "Indians today are governed by two different ideologies. Their political ideal set out in the preamble of the Constitution affirms a life of liberty, equality and fraternity. Their social ideal embodied in their religion denies them" (Keer,p. 459). He warned that "political democracy cannot succeed where there is no social and economic democracy" (Das ,Vol-I.30).

India Today

It is unfortunate that even after six decades of Constitutional policy, democratic ideals are yet to find firm ground among the citizens of India. Owing to illiteracy, poverty and powerlessness they are not in a position to make democracy work. The Fundamental rights provided to the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes in Article 15 and 16 of the Constitution, who constitute the majority i.e., Bahujans of the country, are being denied to a large extent in the pretext of dubious argument of merit(Fundamental Rights to Enabling Provisions). This equal opportunity legislation quite often drives the society to take emotional polemic positions (forum for justice!). The underlying problem is that method has been confused with the policy. Providing representations or fair access or equal opportunity being the policy, the quota mechanism is a method to secure fairness. (Thorat, 2008). In addition, Ambedkar's practical policy of bringing unity among the Socially and Educationally Backward Classes on the basis of their common victimhood (Scheduled Castes due to untouchability, Scheduled Tribes on the basis of isolation and Other Backward Castes who are socially and educationally deprived) as the platform of unity has been ignored, even by the victims of caste system themselves. It is because they still continue to be influenced by the ideology of exclusion, Brahminism which shapes their lives.

Globalization and the Tyranny of Twin Enemies

The social inclusion policy in India has been the outcome of several socio-political movements culminating in the Constitution, in which democratic foundations have been envisaged for establishing an integrative society with *one man- one value*. The policies centered on providing the right to equality and equity to all citizens through redistribution. Responsibility to realize this social policy rested with the State and the State remained the only institution with the capacity to side- step disempowering market and customary social relations. Several studies indicate the fact that in practice, the state to a large extent, not only failed to address the problems of poverty, exclusion and social injustice, but also actively served to reinforce them.

After opening up of public superintendence over the national resources in the name of Liberalization, Privitization and Globalization, conditions turned too favourable for the entrenched castes to transform *Cultural Capital into financial capital* (*Brahmin control over economy*). Vast tracts of land are being handed over to private

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individuals (SEZ), unbridled opportunities to establish profit-oriented enterprises, licensing educational mafia(The Right to Education Act legitimizes all schools, public and private, and by law legalizes inequal education) aided by the misinterpretations of the Statues; unchecked religious fundamentalism-all together resulted in the strengthening of Brahamnism and Capitalism which were declared by Ambedkar as the twin enemies to the society as a whole. In the pretext of development, the reins of economy are given to the individuals who have been already in possession of all kinds of capital, including Cultural Capital. But Ambedkar warned "It is not enough to keep development as the goal for India...it (development) should be at the socially desirable level". Globalization, based on the philosophy of libertarianism has produced inequalities not only in income and wealth but also inequalities in education and knowledge, leading to inequalities in human capital and technologies.

Since 1991, the 'Growth with a human face' facilitated-Growth without Development, Jobless growth, India's 75.6% daily income is less than 2\$ and 41.6% \$1.25 a day, much below compared to the Rs.60/- per day in NREGS, Hunger Deaths and Suicides, 57% of males and 62% females in Rural areas are "self – employed" – a strange term; Cut down subsides on Food (0.99% of GDP in 2002-03 to 0.66% of GDP in 2005-06) but bring up food security Bill!!!

One finds state disowning its responsibilities but talk about Corporate Social Responsibility. It is important to note that whatever the claims made for its efficiency and effectiveness, the so called private sector in India, which is in the hands of a few privileged castes, has never been renowned for its adherence to such collective goals as equity, social justice or social inclusion. If this situation is not corrected henceforth, as Dr. Ambedkar warned, will lead to the economic pauperization of the majority. In the light of Ambedkar's economic analyses, Globalization is only a process but the crucial problem is that a Conscious and determined minority creating conditions in their favour, over an amorphous and ignorant majority. This continues unabated even in the Post Globalization period also unless one heeds to the warnings of Babasahab.

'Democratic Deficit'

India today is in a situation which the Political Scientists refer to as 'Democratic Deficit' wherein "the failure of an elected government to fulfill the promises to the electorate". This type of democracy can also be understood as a *compromise between the 'power of the vote' and the 'power of business'*, with the governments negotiating the interface between the two. It is too well known that the 'corporate welfare' always wins out over 'social welfare' when economy gets tight. Hence Ambedkar warns "What they are doing is not to make India safe for Democracy but to free the tyrant to practice his tyrannies...Let not tyranny has the freedom to enslave". (p.238). Today Democratic Revolution is a label much used by many and particularly Marxists of all shades! The Communist Party India (M) declares its goal is to run People's Democratic Revolution while for CPI, it is National Democratic Revolution where as

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the Maoists aim to engage in New Democratic Revolution. On the other hand it is a Humanitarian Revolution that Dr.Ambedkar envisaged. "All the same we must not forget the vast difference that separates a revolution from real social change" (BAWS Vol.17.3pp.53). A revolution transfer political power from one party to another but what we require is a real social change in the relative strength of the forces operating in society.

Ambedkarism as a way to the World.

Hence, it is the responsibility of the civil society especially the educated sections to create social and moral consciousness and build a humane society. In an important way, Dr.Ambedkar thus gave expression to an inner need in India for a just social condition; on such basis alone can National well-being be secured. Though mindful of the great obstacles to the establishment of democratic arrangement in Indian society, Ambedkar was optimistic about a cohesive society. "I am convinced that, given time and circumstances, nothing in the world will prevent this country from becoming one and with all our castes and creeds, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that we shall in some way be a united people" (Keer, 1962:388). He exhorted the nation to preserve independence by establishing equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. World requires to be reconstructed for the public good, common good and universal good of humankind. Ambedkarism shows the way-out. It has a vision to build up a 'New World'.

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