

**Collective Transform and Cost-Effective Maturity in
Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's Vision of India**

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Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

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Abstract

Ambedkar was one of the pioneers of social justice in India. It was Ambedkar who provided new dimensions to the concept of justice. We regard him as the 'Champion of Social justice. He was himself a victim of social injustice, faced its difficulties; and he not tolerated the injustice, but boldly fought against them. Ambedkar had a liberal concept of justice. Like Gandhi, for Ambedkar, justice is simply another name of liberty, equality and fraternity. In this sense, the core value of Ambedkar concept of justice is human equality, equal distribution of the welfare materials and discrimination less society. Thus, the spirit of social justice, according to Ambedkar, gives a significant place to mutual sympathy and respect. Whatever he achieved, that would have been possible for his strength of character which manifested his individual charisma. As a statesman, scholar, crusader of downtrodden and above all a spiritual guide, Ambedkar has

left an indelible impression on the Indian History. His contribution to uplift the downtrodden made him a cult figure among the depressed classes. He now lives in the heart and mind of the millions of the suffering people. They now look at him as immortal soul whose memory will even guide the nation on the path of social justice, liberty and equality. Thus, Ambedkarism is of great relevance to Indian society even today in achieving social justice, removal of untouchability, in establishing equality and freedom and true democracy. Democratic socialism is the key note of his political thought and constitutionalism is the only way to achieve it.

Introduction

Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar is one of the greatest figures of modern India who liberated a vast section of the Indian people from the debased, dehumanized, irrevocable condition of divine slavery. That is why; he was called, with devotional fondness, *Babasaheb*, the father by the destitute who goes resurrected into humanity. The Dalit bahujans, pay homage and respect, adore and worship their messiah, Babasaheb. Like the Buddha, he never made any compromise with injustice, never cared for prestige and self-aggrandizement. He was an uncompromising rebel against social injustice and inequality. He worked relentlessly for the regeneration of humanity, for the well-being of mankind, for the transformation of man and society. He was a great social liberal. His vision was to produce a new social order based on the principles of justice, equality and fraternity. Thus, the idea of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity was the crux of his activities. He regarded justice is the foundation of moral order and justice is related with equality. Justice is to be secured through Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Equity signifies equality. In a nutshell, justice is simply another name for liberty, equality and fraternity so far as Ambedkar was concerned. In Ambedkar's philosophy, liberty and equality had a place, but he added that unlimited liberty destroyed equality and absolute equality left no room for liberty. To restrain absolute liberty, equality comes in picture. Equality recognizes equal basic rights of people. Positively, his social philosophy may be said to be enshrined in three words, liberty, equality and fraternity.

Objectives of the Study

1. To Study the Influence of Ambedkar's thought on Dalit's assertion in Indian Polity.
2. To Study the Dr. Ambedkar as a major contributor to Indian constitution.
3. To suggest remedial measures to improve the life status of Dalit's
4. To Study the Discrimination at higher level teaching in Ambedkar's thought.
5. Impact an alternative Economic implication of Dalit's schemes conceived by Dr. Ambedkar.

Methodology

I have studied mainly the primary Sources of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and his writings and speeches published in several volumes by the Higher Education Department, Government of Tamil Nadu, which helped me to assess his concept of justice and equality and his vision to reconstruct Indian society on the principles of justice, equality, liberty and fraternity. I have also used several secondary sources related to Dr. Ambedkar like his biographies, works, relevance and contributions, comparative studies and critical reflection on Ambedkar's socio-political and economic thought written by noted scholars, in addition to that, the Constituent Assembly Debates, Journals, Magazines and Newspapers provided me some understanding about an icon of

inspiration who never rested till the end in his struggle to establish an egalitarian social system in India.

Influence of Ambedkar's Thought on Dalit's Assertion in Indian Polity

In Post-independence India, the dominance of one political Party whose leadership was predominantly high Castes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Rajputs, Vaishyas) who had monopolized democratic institutions like Administration, Legislature, Judiciary, Bureaucracy, Ownership of land, Educational institutions and the media. From top to bottom it is controlled by the Caste Hindus. Ambedkar was convinced that the depressed class people cannot capture political power by joining in the mainstream political party. However, he was very much pragmatic and wanted his people to be a ruling Community in this country with separate Political Party. For him, it is not enough to be electors only, so also it is necessary to be law-maker. Hence, he strived hard to evolve untouchables into a formidable force on the political landscape of India. He located the political power in the people. Political power, to him, is the key to all social progress and the Dalits and Tribal can achieve their salvation by capturing political power and organizing themselves into a third party.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had given advice to the people of the Dalit's, Tribals and neglected Other Backward Classes in the country to get together and form a separate political party and organization of their own so that they can protect their self-respect and take their society forward in every respect. The Constitution of free India has made the Backward Classes, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes virtually the masters of the country. Joining hands with the Scheduled Castes for a political party may improve their conditions as SC and OBC constitutes majority of the population of the country. Keeping in mind all these factors Ambedkar formed the Scheduled Caste Federation in 1954, to give more emphasis on the caste politics and secure the interests of the Scheduled Castes. But the poor performance of the party in the first general election 1952 compelled Ambedkar to find out a new political strategy and finally SCF was converted into the Republican Party of India (RPI) in 1956, with the aim to bring together the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes into a single political platform.

Dalit and Bahujan Samaj Party

The term "*Dalit*" is a Sanskrit word. Though the term Dalit represents a broader social category of poor and downtrodden people, mainly the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes but in day –to- day usage in political discourse, the term is so far mainly confined to Scheduled Castes. When the Bahujan Samaj Party came to power in UP, Mayawati strongly attacked the upper caste people for using the term *harijan* in print and electronic media. Due to severe protest from different quarters of Dalit organizations the Scheduled Castes are being called Dalit. Ambedkar's dream to make it a national political party to liberate the depressed classes remains unfulfilled as the party remains confined within different sub-castes of Mahar Community of Maharashtra. The Republican Party of India was fractionalized and its leaders are under the control of upper caste party. Later the miracle of Kanshi Ram gave India to its most powerful Dalit Party (BSP).

In 1971 Kanshi Ram launched the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and Minority Communities Employees Association by applying the strategy initiated by Ambedkar to aggregate all castes and tribes who were victims of discrimination relating to their social status. In 1983 was used by Kanshi Ram to pave the way for the formation of Bahujan Samaj Party. Finally, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) was launched on 14th April 1984 on Babasaheb Ambedkar's birth anniversary. Kanshi Ram Saheb selected the Party flag and symbol as 'Elephant' and 'Blue Flag'. 'Babasaheb Tera Mission Adhura Kanshi Ram Kareng Pura' (Baba Saheb Ambedkar, your mission remains unfulfilled, Kanshi Ram will complete it). The Bahujan Samaj Party is the only representative party of the Dalits, exploited, and neglected, Backwards and poor people of other communities in the country. Finally, BSP became a national political party in 1996, at that time it was in the eighth rank. Mayawati's as a Chief Minister her main political focus was to appoint Dalit administrators in different sectors and create 'Ambedkar Villages' for the overall advancement of Dalit community.

Moreover, Kanshi Ram's effort to transform Bahujan Samaj into a political force was parallel with Ambedkar's policy. Despite of BSP's inconsistent performance in elections the party has emerged as a strong National political party in the era of coalition political scenario of Indian polity. The founder of Bahujan Samaj Party, the torch-bearer of self-respect and humanitarian movement of the BSP, "Bahujan Nayak" Manyavar Shri Kanshi Ram Ji's untimely and sad demise on 9th October, 2006 brought a huge shock to the people of Bahujan Samaj. During his life time Kanshi Ram had declared Kumari Mayawati as his 'political heir and successor'. Ehen Mayawati, the President of the party and Satish Chandra Mishra (Brahmin), now the National General Secretary of the party worked hard in bringing the upper caste people to BSP fold and also set up Dalit-Brahmin *Bhaichara* (Dalit-Brahmin brotherhood) Committee across the state. In 2007 Assembly election verdict BSP found its own 19th government. The BSP government has taken 'New Positive Reservation initiatives' for first time in our country giving reservation for Scheduled Castes/ Scheduled Tribes, OBCs, Religious minorities and Upper Castes in the state. The BSP is not against any Caste or ideology.

The Bahujan Samaj Party's Movement is humanitarian movement and it wants to establish an 'Equalitarian Social Order' breaking down the Unequal Social System of India. The unique character of BSP is that in Independent India, it is the first National Political Party of India founded by a Dalit and also led by Dalit leadership. Along with the Constitutional right to vote Dalits, BSP has given them power to vote. It is the Bahujan Samaj Party that given strength and power to Dalits and Backwards people to be a ruler of this country. To what extent did the authority of kings vary over distance and in relation to local conditions of geography and socio-economic organization?

Dr. Ambedkar as a Major Contributor to Indian Constitution

Dr. Ambedkar had imprinted his mark of talent and vision in drafting Indian Constitution. His statesman qualities can easily visible each and every article of Indian Constitution. Ambedkar preferred the parliamentary system in England than the Presidential System in America. Dr. Ambedkar described the role of President as "He is the head of the state but not the executive. He presents to nation but does not rule the nation. He is the symbol of the nation. His place in the administration is that of a ceremonial device on a seal by which the nation's

decisions are made known ... The president of the Indian union will be generally bound by the advice of the Ministers.

He can do nothing contrary to their advice nor can he do anything without their advice". He strongly supported for federal system. He said "The Draft constitution is, Federal Constitution is a much as it establishes what may be called Dual polity. This Dual polity under the proposed constitution will consist of the union at the center and the states at the periphery each endowed with Sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the constitution...The draft constitution can be both unitary as well as federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it is framed to work as a federal system. But in times of war it is so designed as to make it works though it was a unitary system".

Dr. Ambedkar supported the minorities' rights that "It is wrong for the majority do deny the existence of minorities. It is equally wrong for the minorities to perpetuate themselves. A solution must be found which will serve a double purpose. It must recognize the existence of the minorities to start with. It must also be such that it will enable majorities and minorities to merge somebody into one. The solution proposed by the constituent assembly is to be welcomed because it is absolutism which serves this twofold purpose". Dr. Ambedkar clarified about the criticisms of The Directive Principles of state of policy as "whoever captures power will not be free to do what he likes with it. In the exercise of it, he will have to respect these instruments of instructions which are called Directive Principles. He cannot ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a court of Law. But he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time".

Dr. Ambedkar stated about Article 32 that "It I was asked to name any particular article in this as the most important an article without which the constitution would be a nullity I would not refer to any other article except this one. It is the very soul of the constitution and heart of it". Dr. Ambedkar said about independent Election Commission that "the greatest safeguard for purity of elections, for fairness in elections, was to take away the matter from the hands of the executive authority and to hand it over to some independent authority". He remarked about the constitution as "It is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace time and in war time. Indeed, if I may so, if things go wrong under the new constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad constitution what we will have to say is that man is vile".

The Bhopal Declaration

Some of intellectuals among SC/STs and politician, social reformers gather in Bhopal in January 2002 and come with agenda for SC/STs empowerment known as The Bhopal Declaration. Accordingly, ensure that each SC/STs family will own enough cultivable land for socio-economic well-being. The law must be amended to ensure that lengthy litigation with the ulterior motive of denying SC/STs of legal redresses is not resorted to. Enact legislation and enforce the right of SC/STs, agricultural laborers to living wages, to gender parity in wages, to job security, to better working conditions and welfare measures, and ensure punitive measures against offenders.

Enforce with stringent measures the Bonded labor system (Abolition) Act, 1976 and abolish forthwith child labor to ensure freedom with dignity for all the SC/STs Make the reservation quota applicable in all the public and private educational institutions from primary to technical and professional levels. Implement effectively in letter and spirit the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 and Rules 1995, especially with regard to atrocities against SC/STs women, and accordingly prosecute the dominant caste leaders and their minions who stoke the fire of caste clashes and the police officials acting in connivance with them.

Ensure that in all state and national budgets allocations are made as per the proportion of SC/ST population and penal action taken against not utilization or diversion of funds meant for these sections. The state must assume sole responsibility in protecting the SC/ST. Make it statutory for parliament and state Assemblies to debate on the Annual Reports of the National and state level Commissions for SC/ST and Safari karmcharis within the following year, and ensure that these annual reports and the action-taken reports of the government are made public. Make reservation mandatory in the private and corporate sector in the same proportion as in the public sector. These are some of the suggestions of the Bhopal Declaration. But unless the mind set of upper caste Hindus changes the implementation of these provisions are not possible. Identity SC/STs and OBC are in majority in India. They should have their own identity in the Democratic society like India because of self-identity all these depressed castes people can organized themselves and fight for justice through democratic ways. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has shown us the path of conversion to Buddhism. All SC/STs and OBC should follow the way shown by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and embraced.

Buddhism will be the identity of depressed castes being in majority they can have their own government in democratic society and use the political power to empower themselves and establish the just society based on the principle of liberty, equality, justice, and fraternity. I conclude with the words of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar that, “turn in any direction you like, caste is the monster that crosses your path. You cannot have political reform; you cannot have economic reform, unless you kill this monster”.

Remedial Measures

Special Central Assistance (SCA) for the special component plan (SCP) is a major scheme for the welfare and development of SCs. Under the scheme 100% assistance is extended to supplement the efforts of the states/ UTs for ensuring rapid socio-economic development of SC specially those living below the poverty line. Allocation for 2005-06 was Rs 407.36 Cr. for economic development of these disadvantaged groups through income generating schemes, special financial institutions have been set up Namely Scheduled Castes Finance and Development Corporation (NSCFDC) National Safari Armchair Finance and Development Corporation (NSKFDC) National Backward Classes Finance and Development Corporation (NBCFDC) and National Minorities Development and Finance Corporation (NMDFDC) The Protection of Civil Rights (PCR) Act 1955, and the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities (POA) Act, 1989 are two important legal instruments to prevent/curb persistent problems of social discrimination, prevalence of social evils like untouchability and cases of exploitation and atrocities against these disadvantaged groups. But as I said earlier that, because of prejudice mind set of upper castes Hindus these tools are not implements in right spirit. The upper castes

Hindus always find different loopholes to avoid the implementation of the Act and therefore, the exclusion of SC/STs continued.

Discrimination at Higher Level Teaching

Thorat Committee was appointed by the government to find out the reported discrimination in India's most reputed All-India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in New Delhi. The report revealed that, the struggle that SC/ST students face to enter premier institutions of higher learning seems mild compared to what they have to put up with later. On top of coping with academic challenges and a totally unfamiliar environment, many Dalit students have to deal with the hostility that comes with being a "reserved category student". Most of the students complained that teachers were inaccessible and plain indifferent towards them. The committee found that over a period of time, SC/ST students have moved from their allotted rooms to be closer to other SC/ST students. The one-month of ragging to which the authorities turn a blind eye is sheer hell for these students since they are publicly subjected to caste-based questions, taunts and jeering. Many of the students said they moved because their rooms would be locked from outside repeatedly while they were in, vulgar abuse would be scrawled on the doors and it would be made clear that this would stop only if they moved to floors where other SC/ST students stayed.

They also faced social isolation, refusal to share books and notes and objections to sharing seats in class. As far as SC/ST faculty are concerned, their written complaints to the committee are of a serious nature, ranging from non-filling of reserved posts to denial of opportunities to develop better skills and gain further experience. Similar situations were revealed in the IIT Powai, in Mumbai two years back.

Economic Implication for Dalits

Bank credits to SC/ST to run their own businesses have also declined. Data from RBI shows the amount of credit per capita received by SC/ST declined from Rs 495 in 2003 to Rs 285 in 2011 and further to Rs 225 in 2014. In fact the number of small borrowable accounts of them declined from 77 to 23 per thousand. The Indian system of exclusion on the basis of castes has also been clearly reflected in the National Sample Survey Organization's (NSSO) Report (2014-15). It is revealed from the report that 40.94 % out of total population are OBC, 19.59 % are SC and 8.63 % are STs. Approximately 70 % of Indian population is backward castes population as per Hindu Social Order.

The second important point revealed by report is that, 91.4 percent of STs, 79.8 percent of SCs and 78.0 percent of OBC live in rural areas. The third point is that, the economic growth seems to be reflecting in the expenditure of urban India, which is spending nearly double the amount on an average compared to the rural areas. The per capita monthly expenses of people living in urban areas were Rs. 1052.36 a month as against Rs 558.78 of those in rural areas. With minor exceptions, the general level of spending of SCs and STs was lower than the OBCs and the others, while that of the OBCs was lower than that of others. According to the NSSO survey, the all India average spending by rural STs was the lowest at Rs 426.19, followed by rural SCs at Rs. 474.72, OBCs Rs 556.72 and others Rs 685.31. In urban India, STs spent Rs 857.46, SCs 758.38, OBCs Rs 870.93 and others Rs 1,306.10 in a month on an average.

These are the implications of social exclusion of SC/STs from main stream of development in our country. As an economic organization caste is therefore, a harmful institution in as much as it involves the subordination of man's natural powers and inclinations to the exigencies of social rules. Economic survey (2014-15) says, if people are healthy, educated and adequately skilled, they can participate fully and contribute more to economic development process. However, India's overall performance on human development has been poor in last decade. Infant mortality rate have been much slower than expected. There is widespread under nutrition among women and children and maternal and child health still remains areas of concern. UNDP's global Human Development Report (HDR) for 2005 ranks India at 127 out of 177 countries of the world in term of a composite Human Development Index (HDI) for 2015.

Special Component Plan

For raising SC/STs families above poverty line, there is a Special Component Plan (SPC) under which each central ministry and all state governments are supposed to allocate funds in proportion to the scheduled castes population. According to the Mid-Term Review of the 12th five year plan (2012-13) only 14 out of 37 central government ministries had complied with this.

It is reported in review of the state corporations, the National Institute of Financial Management (NIFM) in 2015 paints a shocking picture. Most of these agencies have parked their funds in fixed deposits instead of giving loans to needy SC/ST it's on an average; their equity–debt ratio was 65:35. The report says that there is widespread irregularity in selection of beneficiaries–cases of submitted lists not matching actual recipients have been recorded. Most state corporations have not prepared accounts for anything between 6 to 16 years. A Parliamentary Committee looking into the working of NSCFDC found that between 2011 and 2014, only 281 SC/STs artisans had been provided loans in the whole country. Another problem is declining allocation and even lower utilization. In the past decade, central government spending on welfare of SC/ST and OBC declined from a tiny 0.005% of the total non- plan revenue expenditure to 0.004%. Plan expenditure for this purpose declined from 2.4% to 1.6% over the same period.

Conclusion

Dr. Ambedkar's was a short life and yet a most remarkable one. He rose up from dust, from being treated worse than an animal to becoming the father of the Indian Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar was truly a multi-faceted personality. A veritable emancipator of Dalit's, a great National leader and patriot, a great author, a great educationalist, a great political philosopher, a great religious guide and above all a great humanist without any parallel among his contemporary. All these facets of Ambedkar's personality had strong humanist underpinnings. It is only regrettable that the press in the past as well as the contemporary has projected Ambedkar mainly as a great social rebel and a bitter critic of the Hindu religion. Critics of Dr. Ambedkar have ignored his basic humanistic instincts and strong humanitarian convictions behind his every act or speech throughout his life. Thus we conclude Dr. Ambedkar was one of the foremost makers of Modern India.

In conclusion, it can be said that this research gives closer and analytical insight into the thoughts of Ambedkar on equality and freedom and provides an answer to the question of whether we achieve religious tolerance, human equality and freedom, true democracy in the society, justice and peace in the light of political philosophy of Ambedkar whose memory will ever guide the nation on the path of justice, liberty and equality.

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