

Dr. B.R Ambedkar's Philosophy in Contemporary India: Threats and Relevance

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1. INTRODUCTION

Among the galaxy of thinkers and philosophers of India, Bharat Ratna Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar occupies undoubtedly the most important place. He was a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional personality whose contribution to modern India was significant and substantial. He was one of our most prominent political and social thinkers, whose ideas on various social and political problems such as caste system, the pernicious practice of untouchability, the emancipation of the downtrodden through political actions etc., open up new vistas and horizons¹. He did not develop a philosophy for its own sake. He was not a theoretician and theory-building was not his objective. As a researcher, thinker and writer he, no doubt, belonged to the realm of thought. He developed his ideas about men, society and their interrelationship. He was having all the ingredients of a thinker and a philosopher. He was not interested in arm-chair philosophy. Hence he was indifferent to epistemology in a sense. His philosophy was not abstract and obscurantist. It was more of a practical nature and realistic. It was not purely normative nor was it dogmatic. Dogma had no place at all in his ideas. His philosophy was, in fact, pragmatic and programmatic. He always tried to strike a balance between thought and action. In his search for a meaning to life, he tried to bring together the ideals of his thought and the realities of life. So he did not indulge in building up a metaphysical body of thought.

Dr. Ambedkar's political philosophy was not purely speculative and idealistic. He dismissed speculative, metaphysical and utopian theories. There were no romantic conceits in his ideology. The inadequacies of the metaphysical and theological doctrines were clearly expressed in his ideology of critical reason. Metaphysics, to Ambedkar, 'is like a blind man in a dark room, looking for a black cat which was not there. And theology to him, 'is like a blind man in the dark room, looking for a black cat which was not there but the theologian declared to have found there'. Though not a philosopher in the conventional sense like Plato or Aristotle, he nevertheless developed his own social and political ideals out of a clash between idealism and realism, empiricism and rationalism, naturalism and humanism, individualism and socialism, nationalism and internationalism². Political philosophy is not entirely based on the plane of speculative and ethical ideas. According to him it has to be essentially related to real human problems and issues, because social environment and political philosophy are complimentary. His political philosophy in a sense is an expression of vital human affairs and is a sincere attempt to bridge the gulf between theory and practice, materialism and spiritualism³. He had no sympathy and interest in a philosophy which did not study the actual human problems. His thought process arose out with the inhumane treatment meted out to his community by the caste Hindus. The servile class consisting of the untouchables and the Shudras were forever condemned to a life of poverty, ignorance, ignominy, hatred and contempt. His main concern was the total emancipation of the servile class from the clutches of the privileged caste Hindus. Ambedkar's ideology was not dogmatic, but a pragmatic one. It was based on utility, realism, love and wisdom. It was a quest for the realization of the ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity and social justice. It was specifically designed for social justice; and social justice, it may be said, appears like the exotic blooms of the orchid. It was concerned with the ending of all sorts of exploitation and oppression. The great merit of his ideology lay in its safeguarding of the individual and the abolition of untouchability. Neither there was a propensity for hatred nor to exaggerate anything in his ideology. Man constitutes the focal point of his philosophy and man is the chief subject of his study. He developed an unflinching faith in man and demonstrated fullest sympathy towards man in society. He declared that every man should have an opportunity to live a dignified life. He thought it was disgraceful for any person to live without self-respect which is so vital to honorable life. Individual and individuality is the key-note of his philosophy. It is not enough for man to just manage to survive.

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¹ Gandhi, M.K Harijan, July, 1936.

² Jatana, Dr.R, The Political Philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar, Pheonix Publishing Agency, Agra, 1965, p2.

Mere survival without culture is not worth it. One has to realize the difference between mere living and living worthily. Dr. Ambedkar's social and political philosophy is very much influenced by the philosophy of his inspiring teacher Professor John Dewey, the English Economists like J.M. Keynes, R.A. Selghman and the great English parliamentarian Edmund Burke, and back home Mahatma Jotibha Phule, whom he described as the 'greatest Shudra of modern India. But the most important and enduring influence on him was that of Buddha, the enlightened. The principles of Buddhism constitute a major component of his political philosophy. It is fact that, he got the idea of liberty, equality and fraternity more forms Buddhism than from the French Revolution. Of course the influence of Western Liberalism has been evident in his thinking. This study has already been categorized him as a liberal democrat in his political and philosophical persuasion, these influences on him helped to build up a philosophy based on a synthesis of rationalism and empiricism, idealism and realism, naturalism and humanism, materialism and spiritualism, individualism and socialism, and nationalism and internationalism. His philosophy was guided by a social dynamism. It was one of solving the problems of the social and political ills of mankind. His ideas and ideals revolving round the welfare of man through social and political action, respect for the dignity of man, respect for human rights, secularism, his belief in peace and non-violence, constitutional morality, social justice are some of the most valuable and enduring elements of his political and social philosophy which should guide us in building up a humane and prosperous society. His thoughts and philosophical exhortations should be the beacon light and guiding stars to mankind and we should rededicate ourselves to these values of his philosophy during the year of his Birth Centenary which is rightly declared as the 'YEAR OF SOCIAL JUSTICE'.

Ambedkar's philosophy is primarily ethical and religious. He thoroughly explored the Indian traditions and its philosophical systems in a unique way. He developed political concepts like democracy, justice, state and rights from his understanding of Indian society and the functioning of its institutions on the moral grounds. He was very critical of the institution of caste, which influences all the spheres of individual's life and the Indian society as a whole. His political theory is rooted in moral premises. It is as an ideal to be realized. He was very much critical about the Hindu social order. He argued that Hinduism is not qualified to be a community. Buddhism was projected as the ideal having the value of community grounding on morality. He considered that Buddhism attempted to found society on the basis of 'reason' and 'morality'.⁴

2. RELEVANCE OF AMBEDKAR'S PHILOSOPHY

In his Philosophy, Ambedkar exposed the hollowness of the Hindu social order which is reared on three principles - graded inequality, fixity of occupations for each class by heredity and the fixation of people within their respective classes. His ideology was a devastating attack upon the infallibility of the Vedas. In his rationalistic ideology all the old scriptures were false and fanaticism folly. Inequality was writ large upon the Vedas; liberty was the exclusive domain of caste Hindus, and fraternity was an illusion. The hope of justice in Varna system was a mirage.

Ambedkar's ideology is relevant because in it Man and rationality occupy a central position. The focus of his ideology is upon Man and his welfare. The criterion or standard by which all things are to be judged is rationality. The application of critical reason, critical analysis and scientific temper to dissect religion, politics and society were fundamental in his ideology.

Ambedkar's ideology reflected vision and action. Both were embedded in the Indian Constitution. His ideology was a reassertion of the doctrine of constitutionalism in the Indian context. His constitutional ideology was rooted in democratic values, safeguarding of the rights of an individual and prescribing the means to enforce the rights.

The Independence of judiciary is the hallmark of his ideology. By its power of judicial review, the judiciary plays the role of the guardian of the Constitution. Its power of judicial activism is meant to check the vagaries of the executive. One can, therefore safely draw the conclusion that his ideology is relevant for the building of a new, vibrant social order, exuberant in the dignity of an individual, and making him free from the fetters of ignorance, shame and humiliation. This is only one good ideology relevant to the situation, to resolve the contradictions and inequalities that prevail, and to usher in, a healthy social order full of life and energy - indeed a very bright and strong one. This is the significance of Ambedkar's ideology. Ambedkar may justly be called as one of the great prophets of enlightenment and modernity in the annals of modern India⁵.

³ ibid

⁴ Kataria Kanta, Relevance of Ambedkar's Ideology, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2015, ISBN-978-81-316-0720-6. P-140.

Dr B.R. Ambedkar's views on democracy, social and economic justice, gender equality, national unity and religious belief provide important inputs in quest for finding solutions to some of the demanding questions of present times. The relevance of Ambedkar will remain – democratic system is working, institutions are getting strength, caste system is getting negated though slowly, dalits are increasingly getting their say and rightly so, social integration is coming around. All these positive traits in Indian system and establishment have come about due to sound edifice given by Dr. Ambedkar.

The 2G scam and some wrong doing by the system are being pin pointed and checked by the CAG and other watchdog agencies. Dr. Ambedkar speaking in the Constituent Assembly highly placed the office of the CAG. The judiciary is active proactive. The executive is afraid of the parliament. The system of checks and balance is working. India has started asserting itself, as visualized by Dr. Ambedkar. While preparing the constitution of India Ambedkar specially kept in mind the plight of Socially discriminated people that's why he added Article 17 (Abolition of Untouchability), Article 46 (protect educational and economic interests of weaker sections). He also created and included many help lines in Constitution of India for social justice for the dalit classes.

Somewhat these constitutional provisions inspire government to pass certain acts for SC, ST welfare like - The Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955, SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989, and the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act 1993 (amended in 2013).

For political representation of depressed classes Ambedkar demanded separate electorate during the freedom struggle, but due to the resistance from Mahatma Gandhi an agreement was reached in form of Poona Pact in 1932. Under this pact an agreement for reservation of electoral seats for depressed classes was made. Post independence he added Article 330,332 in the constitution for reservation of seats in favour of SC, ST in Lok Sabha and State Legislative Assembly respectively. Thus reservation increased political representation of SC's in main stream politics this much that now SC's demands can be heard at national level. For example, in 2018 Supreme Court in Kashinath Mahajan Judgment introduced new provisions to the SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 for anticipatory bail, preliminary inquiry before FIR and arrest only after appointing authority's approval⁶. People of SC community raised their voices and was heard at the central level that parliament of India amended the SC & ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 itself in 2018 which added Article 18A to the act to make the Act more stringent. Later on Supreme Court accepted validity of Article 18A but with some extra provisions. No doubt, Constitutional provisions are reasonable, partible and applicable all solving all the social-economic and political problems. The drawback only in the implication process and it depends on executive, political class and state.

Ambedkar knew from the starting that education is the only tool that can help him in his fight against the caste based discrimination. Even today governments follow his ideals in educational development of downtrodden. In education system pre metric and post metric scholarships are provided to SC students. Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment is also setting up Dr. Ambedkar Centre of Excellence (DACE) to provide free coaching to SC students for competitive exams⁷.

Government of India also follows Ambedkar's ideals of Social Democracy in infrastructural development like in PM Adarsh Gram Yojana rural areas where more than fifty percent of population is SC will be developed⁸.

The Indian economy entered a new era with the New Economic Policy of 1991 which marked the onset of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation in the country. The policy generated a firm belief among masses that globalisation would do wonders to Indian Economy by streamlining economic growth and by bringing an end to the longstanding economic, political and social issues. In particular, it was expected that the problems of poverty, caste system, inequality, exploitation, financial instability etc. will have ready solutions. However, more than two decades after, not only the prevailing problems continue to haunt us but new issues have also cropped up. There have been various positive outcomes of globalisation such as communications revolution, increase in foreign trade, employment generation, expansion of medical, health and educational services and so on. There has been a sure march towards free trade as the economy is being opened up and controls are being reduced. In a nutshell, Indian Economy has observed a robust growth during the last two decades. However, there is an eerie similarity between the globalisation of today and the colonialism of the nineteenth century. Under the present scenario or in the age of globalisation Dr. Ambedkar's views are as relevant as these were during his times. Today, uncertainties are growing and growth lacks inclusivity as one-third of India's population still lives below poverty line.

⁵ *ibid*, p247-249.

Banking and insurance sectors have been privatised. There is however, a lack of financial inclusion. The agriculture sector which once observed green revolution is facing stagnation and the condition of farmers is deplorable. Industrial growth has decelerated however, monopoly capital and concentration of economic power is growing. Financial volatility is on the higher side as there are wide fluctuations in the value of our currency. Though there has been an expansion of social services, these have become prohibitively expensive and inaccessible to the poor. Though more employment opportunities have been created in service sector, there is a growing tendency towards adhocism and increasing working hours. All these are the consequences of privatisation and globalisation. Though globalisation is now firmly entrenched in our economic and social framework, we can still avoid some of its negative fallouts. For this, the government has to regulate the key economic sectors and indicators. Besides, the government should formulate its monetary and fiscal policies in such a manner that our basic social and economic objectives (as envisaged by Ambedkar) are not overlooked and we are able to have inclusive growth.

The new government is making commendable efforts in that direction and adopting economic ideas of Dr. Ambedkar. Prime Minister Narendra Modi has launched an ambitious programme under the name Make in India. The programme envisages transforming India by making it a manufacturing hub while eliminating unnecessary regulations, making bureaucratic processes efficient and making government more transparent, responsive and accountable⁹. Through this programme, our government expects MNCs to come to India for manufacturing products instead of just marketing products built elsewhere. The primary purpose of the programme is to challenge China's dominance in the world of manufacturing. The programme is likely to generate employment for taking advantage of our demographic dividend¹⁰." Besides, the Make in India Initiative, a number of programmes have been started to make growth more meaningful and inclusive.

3. THREAT TO AMBEDKARISM

1. NGOs and The Neo-Intelligentsia

There are so many organizations and NGO's in the name of Baba Saheb Ambedkar in India and abroad also. The NGO's are more interested in collecting money from the Government exchequer rather than spreading the real message of Dr. Ambedkar. The Neo-intelligentsia from amongst Dalits especially Bureaucrats, Doctors, Engineers etc. are least concerned and bothered about the significance of Ambedkarism and his philosophy. They relate Ambedkar with reservation only. They are busy enjoying their 'Pseudo Status' and want to enjoy all benefits on the name of Dr. Ambedkar in the society. Added to it is the fact that they are not at all telling their children about Ambedkar and other social reformers of Dalit society. Ironically most of them even themselves do not know about Ambedkar beyond reservation. In some cases, they have even started hiding their caste and identity also and marrying their children in upper caste Hindus. 'The Neo-Pseudo rich culture' in Dalits who have earned a lot after getting benefits of reservation is also a big threat to the survival of Ambedkarite thoughts. This class within caste in fact could have worked for spread of Ambedkarite thoughts but they are busy enjoying pseudo rich culture and are transferring same to their children. They are not creating an interest among their children to struggle in life, they make things easy for their children. In fact, they are not aware of the future implications of this fast emerging phenomenon of neo-pseudo rich culture. They shirk from discussing plight of their caste and their forefathers in front of their children. They hesitate to show their own identity and caste in public places.

2. Limited Space for Dr. Ambedkar's Philosophy

Some of the communal organizations, political parties and caste groups in India are providing limited space for Dr. Ambedkar's Philosophy and reducing the value of his ideas. Even some of the fanatic groups are mixing his philosophy with Hindutva and left Marxist ideology. These groups are playing politics to capture the vote bank. By creating such type of division, these groups' wants to show only that Dr. Ambedkar is a leader of Scheduled castes and wanted to give the status of sub-national leader in India.

History of India also certifies that Dr. Ambedkar was a mass leader because in 1942 and 1945, he organized big rallies of women and davits in the Bombay Province for the protection and upliftment of weaker sections of the society. On the other side, history also certifies that many fanatics' communal Hindu leaders did not want to see him as a national leader of India and gave him little space in the national politics.

⁶ <https://m.timesofindia.com/india/civil-dispute-cant-be-converted-to-a-case-under-sc/st-acts/amp/article/show/96838815.cms>

⁷ <http://ambedkarfoundation.nic.in/dace.html>

⁸ <https://pmagy-gov-in/aboutPMAGY>

3. Diminishing Use of Reservations

India's constitution, adopted in 1950, inaugurated the world's oldest and farthest-reaching affirmative action programme, guaranteeing scheduled castes and tribes - the most disadvantaged groups in Hinduism's hierarchy - not only equality of opportunity but guaranteed outcomes, with reserved places in educational institutions, government jobs and even seats in parliament and the state assemblies. These "reservations" or quotas were granted to groups on the basis of their caste identities. The logic of reservations in India was simple: they were justified as a means of making up for millennia of discrimination based on birth. It was a small way of compensating the millions of unfortunates who suffered daily the inequities and humiliations of untouchability. Reservations became more political in 1989, when the VP Singh-led government of the day decided to extend their benefits to Other Backward Classes (OBCs), based on the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. The OBCs hailed from the lower and intermediate castes who were deemed backward because they lacked "upper caste" status. Reservation as a solution to empowering people in a caste-ridden Indian society averred that reservation is losing its efficacy in an era where more jobs are being created in private rather than government sector. As caste system is deep-rooted in society and creates socio-economic imbalances, it is important to have reservations till such time that his disparity is removed from society in totality. Dr. Ambedkar said that reservation is a legitimate right not a concession.

Actually, the purpose of reservations is to uplift the Dalits and change their status and promote equality. But it is in fact that 61 percent of Dalits are agricultural labour, 56 percent Dalits have been reported living below the poverty line and about 47% are working in informal sector. In the public sector, 14 percent jobs are reserved for scheduled castes but 10 only percent were filled because there is no proper policy of implementation of reservation. Job prospects in government sector is responsible and escaping from their accountability. Today communal forces have agenda to stop reservation and on the other side, state is enforcing public sector towards corporate sector or wanted to establish open market system and from such type of system dalit cannot get social justice.

4. Neo-Liberal Policies and Dalits

Dalit intellectuals are extremely agitated at the destructive nature of neo-liberal policies. They are noticing the failure and diminishing use of reservations, which were termed as a 'boon' given by Ambedkar, realising that they cannot save reservations without fighting neo-liberal policies. They are also agitated at the attempts by the Hindutva forces to derail the debate on caste based oppression and inequality from political agenda by pushing forward their revanchist nationalism, revivalist patriotism and moribund feudal culture. These dalit intellectuals cannot break the existing disappointment in the dalit movement and move forward unless these forces identify specific ideas of Ambedkar which can help them fight against the forces that are trying to impose their hegemony by promoting neo-liberal policies, communalism and cultural reaction.

5. Politicization of Dr. Ambedkar

There's the cynical explanation: that the desperate scramble for Ambedkar's legacy is merely an extension of 'vote bank' politics. This would especially hold true after the BSP rout in the general elections, following which the national parties are keen to capitalise on the Dalit vote in the Hindi Belt. However, apart from the pragmatic considerations of electoral politics, there is much to be said for Ambedkar as a man whose legacy fits in perfectly into post-liberalisation India. Dr. Ambedkar received the Bharat Ratna in 1990 - at a time when India was moving towards economic liberalization and dealing with anti-Mandal protests. Ambedkar suddenly appeared to be the perfect founding father of the nation - ripe to be celebrated at last. His egalitarian credentials too, are beyond reproach - right through his life he was one of the most ardent spokespersons for the rights of Dalits, women and laborers. But most importantly for India's major Centre and Centre-Right parties, Ambedkar was an economic Liberal. It is this mix - the egalitarian and the capitalist - that makes Ambedkar a prime candidate for every major national party to appropriate, in today's India.

Every Political Party is talking about Dr Baba Saheb Ambedkar's life and work today. However, the interest shown by political parties on Ambedkar today has got other strong political reasons. The ruling parties in the last seven decades of independent India to appropriate the legacy of Ambedkar to suit their interests never were these efforts so intense as we are witnessing them today.

⁹ The Financial Express, 2014, Narendra Modi's clarion call to investors - Let's Make in India, soon the world will Come to us. News item, September 25.

¹⁰ Zelliott, Eleanor. 1979, Learning the Use of Political Means: The Mahars of Maharashtra, in Caste in India, (Ed. Rajni Kothari), Orient Longman Publishers, Delhi.

6. Merchants of Dalit Voters through Dr. Ambedkar

Dalit organizations, Dalit political parties and other political parties are doing permanent claims on Dr. Ambedkar and have opportunist alliance with dalit organizations. BSP is claiming itself as the only political party protecting interests of Dalits in India. The Congress party is trying to re-embrace Ambedkar with a view to win back the lost support of dalits and other weaker sections. Dalits and other weaker sections who remained for a long time as the solid vote bank for the Congress, started moving away from it in many states after the introduction and pursuance of neo-liberal policies which severely harmed their interests.

Fanatic groups are also showing keen interest in Ambedkar as it considers his philosophy and personality a huge hindrance for the realisation of its Hindutva project. To overcome this hindrance, it is trying to appropriate Ambedkar by sanitising and distorting his ideas and transform him into a supporter of Parivar's revanchist ideology Sangh Parivar clearly knows that it cannot erase the ideas of Ambedkar by simply attacking him. That is why it is pursuing the second part of its strategy – of appropriating Ambedkar, by distorting his teachings to suit the needs of their Hindutva project. They are campaigning that Ambedkar is a social reformer who had tried to reform and better Hinduism and a great nationalist who rejected Islam and Christianity, by converting to Buddhism, which is a part of Indian culture. They are trying to place Ambedkar in the pantheon of the leaders and ideologues of Sangh Parivar.

Communists are also showing greater interest now, than earlier, in the legacy of Ambedkar. Unlike the BJP and the Congress, Communists want to preserve and carry forward the radical part of Ambedkar's legacy in the interest of dalits and other weaker sections. Naturally, this elicited some well-meaning and some mischievous criticisms. Many of the detractors are questioning the sincerity of communists in working for the annihilation of caste system. Although Ambedkar's basic Philosophy and communist ideology are completely opposite poles, Communists have never failed to acknowledge the glorious efforts of Ambedkar in fighting caste system and for the welfare of dalits and other weaker sections. Communists intend to move forward by taking all the good in Ambedkar's legacy, identifying and developing those ideas that are useful for social change and leaving out those ideas and actions that do not suit the present times.

7. Policies and Programmes against Dr. Ambedkar's Approach

Caste in contemporary times has become a political tool for the ruling class to severe its social oppression over Dalits and also for economically exploiting the working classes. The present Government, while carrying forward its Hindutva agenda, it is simultaneously assisting the multinational corporates. While implementing pro-corporate moves like Land Acquisition Bill, Insurance Bill, Labour laws, corporate favor budget, 100% FDI in PSUs etc and paving way for to give more benefits to the corporate sector, it is communally polarizing the common people by the ban on cow slaughtering, Ghar Wapsi program and promoting Vedas etc.

7A. Education and Health in the Hands of Corporate Sector

State is escaping from social responsibility and leaving education and health in the hands of market forces and corporate sector. It will increase the inequalities and challenge to social justice. There is no proper budget for the both sectors even colonial practices are still continuing. The interference of the state in the affairs of education institutions is increasing day by day and secular outlook of education system is demising. In Indian society, the Dalit community cannot except social justice from the state.

8. Role of Ruling Classes

The ruling classes in our country are trying to convert Ambedkar into an innocuous symbol to suit their class rule. His statue has become an important part in this scheme. All Ambedkar's statues, without any variation, are sculpted with a copy of the Constitution in his hand, as if to show that he had done nothing substantial in his life, except for drafting the Constitution. There is no doubt about Ambedkar's role in the drafting of our Constitution and it isn't an exaggeration to praise him as the architect of our Constitution. Apart from Ambedkar's huge role in ensuring reservations for the weaker sections, we can clearly see his stamp in drafting a liberal and democratic Constitution. In spite of all these, we should not forget that the basic character of our Constitution is safeguarding private property. All those aspects concerning common people are relegated to directive principles, instead of making them fundamental rights. Anybody can understand what kind of Constitution would have emerged if Ambedkar was given complete freedom in its drafting from the memorandum he had submitted to the Constituent Assembly.

¹¹ Kataria Kanta, Relevance of Ambedkar's Ideology, Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 2015, ISBN-978-81-316-0720-6, p218.

9. Invoking Nationalism:

According to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar nationalism cannot be generated by slogans only, it is possible by providing adequate representation by providing adequate methods and by spreading of education among downtrodden people of the society and also by maintaining dignity of the Dalits. Dr. Ambedkar rightly said that anti-national feelings can only come due to economic conflicts and social injustice. Today, some of the fanatic groups in India are spreading terror and fear in society but these things are not helpful to create nationalism. It is only social feeling and oneness brings nationalism in the minds of the people not the slogans like – 'Laal Salam' or 'Bharat Mata ki Jai'. Whatever the colour – red, blue or saffron are only symbolic but not helpful for nationalism. Only the sense of belonging or social feeling can create nationalism stronger.

10. Present Political Democracy is not a Social Democracy

The present democracy is not a social democracy. It has destroyed democratic values and public spirit. Recently, atrocities on Dalits in Gujarat and Rohit Vemulla's case that caste based hierarchy, Brahminical caste based society still exists. Violence against Dalits is increasing day by day. Caste consciousness has become a serious threat to India's unity and integrity. Even Dalit Samaj has become de-facto.

Political Democracy – One man and One Vote was not enough, principles of liberty, equality and fraternity could not be divorced from each other. Even to save political democracy, it was necessary to ensure social justice and equality in our social justice and equality in our social and economic life at the earliest possible. Dr. Ambedkar in his final address in the constituent assembly argued that we must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless it lies at the base of social democracy. It means social democracy was the ultimate goal of his life because social democracy provides socio-economic and political justice and also creates social harmony and destroys caste system.

11. Minority Rights

In the Constituent Assembly, while advocating the rights of the minorities, Ambedkar proceeded on the assumption that national well-being depended upon the rights enjoyed by the minorities. He considered that constitutional safeguards for the preservation of religious, cultural and linguistic identity of the minorities would bend them to unite as one nation by the bond of fraternity. It would enable the minorities to become equal partners in nation-building¹¹. No doubt, Dr. Ambedkar included a lot of help lines and article 29 & 30 in Indian Constitution for minorities but now government of India is imposing a lot of limitations on educational institutions.

4. CONCLUSION

Ambedkar's political thought is still very relevant to not only the politics of India but also to politics in South Asia in general. Although, some faultiness emerged in the Indian society, in spite of these fault lines, there are problems within the society. The constitution is on track and India on rails. Institutions like Commissions, CAG. Public institutions are getting strength. His Philosophy is providing the Gap between practical and theory and also combining materialism and spiritualism. The whole credit goes to Dr B.R. Ambedkar. There is no way fault of our constitution provisions and drawbacks are only in implementation process. And it depends upon our executive, political class and the state. The constitution of India and its provisions are guiding us in difficult time and uniting spirit of our nation. In the conclusion, we can say there is need to change the mindset.

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