Reappraising B

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May 23, 2019

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Mapping B. R. Ambedkar's Thoughts of Inclusive Indian Nation

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Abstract

Dr B. R. Ambedkar is known best for his idea of 'annihilation of caste' and the emancipator of the untouchables. His thoughts can also be mapped as a blueprint for a modern Indian nation. Ambedkar's effort to make India as a nation through 'breaking the internal differences' is much debated and not widely recognized as he has still been confined only to his identity as a 'liberating leader of the Dalits'. Ambedkar's ideas – caste annihilation, securing rights to the depressed class, representation of different oppressed sections in political affairs, egalitarian economic arrangement, education, women rights, and democracy – all have the potentiality to be linked with his ideas of a nation which is inclusive in nature. His idea of social equality and cultural unity was path breaking in his period, even relevant in recent times too. Ambedkar's endeavour of annihilation of caste was no longer contradictory to his idea of nation-building. His major concern was how India would become a nation without a large number of people who seemed untouchables and thus socially excluded. He was aware of that the social solidarity is the key for struggle against colonialism. The struggle against colonialism would not be rewarding unless realizing social solidarity among different religious groups, castes, and communities. It was undeniably a great challenge to Ambedkar to make a link between his efforts to annihilation of caste and to build India as an inclusive nation which is discussed throughout this paper by integrating apparently diverse thoughts of B. R. Ambedkar.

Keywords: Nationalism, nation-building, inclusion, caste, representation, democracy.

Mapping B. R. Ambedkar's Thoughts of Inclusive Indian Nation

I.   Introduction

Dr B. R. Ambedkar, a well-known Indian socio-political thinker and activist, has immense influence to the modern India for his efforts to give India a new orientation. He is known best as the 'emancipator of the untouchables'. But he was, along with Dalit liberation, keenly interested in making India as an inclusive nation which is much relevant in recent times, less addressed and not widely recognized. He was, the author of this article is of the opinion, a liberating leader of the Dalits and, on the other hand, a thinker of an inclusive Indian nation, though, in general perception, both are to several extents incongruous to each other. Nevertheless, it claims that Ambedkar's efforts to 'annihilation of caste' were no longer contradictory to his ideas of modern Indian nation-building. His foremost concern was, in what way India would become a nation without a large number of people who are ostracized and regarded as untouchables. It was undeniably a great challenge to Ambedkar to conserve a symmetry between his own exertions to annihilation of caste and to make India as an inclusive nation which is discussed throughout this article by integrating diverse thoughts of B. R. Ambedkar.

II.   Inclusive nation and Ambedkar:

Now, Indian society might be examined by three theoretical contexts – exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism. Indian society is traditionally multicultural, multilingual, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious. Exclusivism promotes these inner divisions in the society by marginalizing 'the others', whereas inclusivism provides a shelter to all the differences, either through assimilation or through amalgamation, under one umbrella. Assimilation promotes the process in which minority groups are supposed to give up their own identity, while amalgamation is a process where minority and majority groups combine to form a new group. On the other hand, pluralism recognizes the differences by allowing all equally where each

sect retains its own identity sidestepping all the normativity. It is an arguable case whether Ambedkar was an adherent to inclusivism or pluralism. Since Ambedkar was keen to identify the degree of exclusion of the oppressed section and he called for annihilation of caste through social amalgamation then it qualifies that he spoke of inclusivism than pluralism. Because, to identify the nature, types, and dimensions of exclusion is crucially important to develop some schemes of inclusion, which can be formulated and implemented in order to eliminate the exclusion and reduce its intensity[1] and exactly what Ambedkar tried to do so.

Apropos of the ideas of nation, it can lightly be said that nation is a politically oriented social collectivity in which members are psychologically bound together by shared traditions and values. Though nation and state tend to be combined as 'nation-state'. But the two have different connotations: state is a politically organized institution having monopoly of exercising power over the inhabitants within a given territory[2]. It is not necessary that every citizen has a nationalist feeling to this politically organized institution of a given territory. Nation is a spirit of homogeneity towards the fellow habitants sharing a common culture, ethnicity, race, religion, and language or any one of these. Benedict Anderson conceptualized the nation as 'imagined community' since all the members physically never meet others but imagine nation as a sovereign community and it is grown largely with the development of print media and thus written language.[3] According to Walker Connor, a nation must be 'self-defined' while ethnicity may be 'other-defined'. Connor was of the opinion that nation is a mass phenomenon and it would be called as nation when majority of the people become nationally aware. The essence of a nation may be intangible but psychologically tightened.[4] The idea of nation-state has been popularized after the emergence of the concept that a nation should possess a territory for its own with a sovereign authority, and it became widespread between the sixteenth and nineteenth century in Europe. Though, nation comprises different connotations but mainly divided into two forms – cultural and political – culturally

homogeneous and politically sovereign. A group of people may achieve political right to self-determination on the basis of cultural homogeneity, but it would be hard to persist this right if that group is not internally tightened together. Therefore, nation-building has two primary wings: a political authority and an integrated community. Ambedkar, however, "did not believe that nations had to be necessarily based on a common religious-cultural identity; there were in fact several examples of multicultural nations"[5], nevertheless he tried to fasten people in India together through his exertion to annihilation of caste.

Amdebkar said, many politicians and historians tend to speak of 'Indian nation' without speaking of 'the people of India'[6] and ponder India as "a nation firstly because India has a geographical unity of the country and secondly because of the fundamental unity of the culture."[7] For Ambedkar, however, this line of thinking India as a nation is 'really to cherish a delusion'[8] because, he wrote,

> A nation is not a country in the physical sense of the country whatever degree of geographical unity it may possess. A nation is not people synthesized by a common culture derived from common language, common religion or common race. ... Nationality is a subjective psychological feeling. It is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. This national feeling is a double edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one's own kith and an anti-fellowship feeling for those who are not one's own kith.[9]

Taking into consideration the last sentence of the above quotation, it goes without saying that religious, caste, and class cleavages might appear as anti-fellowship feelings towards those who are outside of the groups. Ambedkar was aware of the demand of Pakistan based on the 'two-nation theory' and he thought "As a matter of historical experience, neither race, nor language, nor country has sufficed to mould a people into a nation."[10] Then, the religious

plurality, annihilation of caste, and egalitarian economic arrangements might be the foundation of Indian nation. Ambedkar also perceived, Gail Omvedt underlines, "the process of creating a nation as linked to a thorough critique of the Brahmanic aspects of Indian tradition and a recognition of non-Brahman contributions, such as those of Buddhism, as a basis for religious plurality"[11]. He chose Buddhism, because not only that it is free from any types of profanity within and revulsion towards other religions at least in theory, but also "for Buddhism is a part and parcel of Bharatiya culture" [and his] "conversion will not harm the tradition of the culture and history of this land"[12]. He did not choose Islam and Christianity because conversion to any of these two 'will denationalise the depressed Classes'.[13] Ambedkarite notion of inclusive nation was, therefore, primarily based on 'breaking the internal differences, division and barrier' from the Indian society and also it had an adherence to the Indian tradition, culture and history. Once he said, "my confident hope is that we can be a nation provided proper process of social amalgamation can be put forth"[14]. The 'missing link' between Ambedkar and inclusive Indian nation can be considered in three parts:

A. Political nationalism or social nationalism?

Arun Shourie, an eminent journalist in India, distrusts Ambedkar's role in Indian freedom struggle against the colonial power in his widely as marketed as burnt book '*Worshipping False Gods: Ambedkar and the Facts which have been Erased*' (1997). Shourie has a recurrent argument that Ambedkar and Dalits did not participate in the freedom struggle and Ambedkar had intended to send the message that the Dalits in this country must live under the compulsion of the Hindus who, supposed widely, achieved the independence for India. Shourie intensifies his writing to break two popular myths: firstly, Ambedkar and the Dalits had participated in the nationalist movement, and secondly, Ambedkar played a crucial role for drafting of the Indian Constitution; and Shourie calls him 'the false Manu'. For Shourie, Ambedkar, being flattered into self-importance, became not just an accomplice of imperial

politics, but became the best of agent of the British[15]. Here, however, Gopal Guru finds "author's extra-academic intention and the serious distortions in the book of Ambedkar's understanding of national movement"[16]. Christophe Jaffrelot examines the judgement of Shourie on Ambedkar as "primarily a response to the increasing popularity of Ambedkarism and to the recent rise of power of Untouchables who question the social status quo"[17]. Ambedkar, with intent, dropped the Congress version of national movement which was more politically organized rather than socially integrated. Since a large numbers of profane people in India, called Dalits[18], are socially peripheral then how India could fight unitedly against the colonizers demanding the right to self-determination as a nation! Ambedkar was aware of that the social solidarity is the key for the struggle against colonialism. Unless achieving social solidarity among different religious groups, castes and communities, the struggle against colonialism would not be rewarding. Then, one identity is to be created for nation, i.e. Indian, by transgressing the differences among various identities. In this context, it would be interesting to quote B. T. Ranadive, once who said, "the anti-imperialist struggle, the growing sense of national unity, the anti-caste agitations and the revolt, were all parts of single process – the formation of a modern nation, with its different sections demanding equality and common status in new polity"[19]. At that time of the freedom struggle, when most of the Congress leaders put emphasis on political aspects of nationalism, while Ambedkar laid emphasis on social aspects of nationalism viz. securing citizenship, equality, justice, etc.[20] Ambedkar's own fashion of nationalism and demands for freedom from internal serfdom, oppression, subjugation and exploitation was not a smaller amount than the freedom from British rule since "freedom from an alien rule was no more significant than the freedom from internal forms of slavery, oppression and exploitation"[21]. Though, Ambedkar was not as much active as Gandhi or Nehru, but his very idea of social solidarity by breaking the internal differences is not ignorable as well as no longer least in the history of struggle against

colonialism and to build India as an all-inclusive nation. A few lines might be interesting here:

> During the British rule, issue of political independence got precedence over the social reform and therefore social reform continued to remain neglected. He [Ambedkar] calls upon the Hindus to annihilate the caste which is a great hindrance to social solidarity and to set up a new social order based on the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity in consonance with the principles of Democracy.[22]

Notwithstanding, Ambedkar had favoured the British rule, but he favoured till that limit which was needed for the progress of the then stagnant, superstitious, caste based Indian society. He had not favoured the British rule forever.

B. Inclusive Development Policy:

Taking lead from the previous point it is noteworthy that, Ambedkar understood the development of all, particularly of the oppressed section in society, is needed to India to be a true nation. Thus, development policy should be inclusive. Definitely, Ambedkar's conception of nation-building associated with the development policy which is inclusive. It is inclusive since all the sects of Indian society are included in this mechanism which has four components.

Claim for equal rights for all and equity in opportunities – For upliftment of the oppressed sects of society, there should be some rights and constitutional safeguards to protect these rights. The oppressed sects are oppressed by their distressed economic, educational and, of course, social conditions and non-accessibility to the opportunities. They are discriminated as they face discrimination to access the socio-economic and educational opportunities as accessed by the 'entrenched castes'[23]. Therefore, rights are to enabling the

oppressed socially, educationally and economically. Safeguards are to ensure enjoying the rights. Ambedkar was keen to confirm equal rights for all which he called 'citizenship rights'. Ambedkar had own mechanism for social reformation for ensuring equal rights for the unprivileged people which was totally different from the path of the then Caste Hindus. According to Ambedkar,

> the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal, I was given to understand, to be an organization of Caste Hindu Social Reformers, with the one and only aim, namely to eradicate the Caste System from amongst the Hindus. As a rule, I do not like to take any part in a movement which is carried on by the Caste Hindus. Their attitude towards social reform is so different from mine that I have found it difficult to pull on with them.[24]

Ambedkar's path for safeguarding equal rights for the untouchables were included to: firstly, the position of the untouchables in respect of other castes; secondly, need to have equal rights; and thirdly, the methods of ensuring equal rights. Equal rights could only be ensured through 'annihilation of caste' by termination of endogamy since, according to Ambedkar, "origin of Caste in India for, as I have established before, endogamy is the only characteristic of Caste and when I say Origin of Caste I mean The Origin of the Mechanism for Endogamy"[25]. Moreover, equal rights will not be adequate unless equity in opportunities for enjoying the rights. In other words, disparities in society in terms of consuming rights ultimately pervert equal rights guaranteed in substantive level. Thus, he was keen for firstly, legal safeguards against discrimination, and secondly, reservation for the discriminated groups. Because, unless legal safeguards, discriminated people would be remained discriminated.

Provisions of rights in the Constitution and in other statutory forms – How can the rights of the people be ensured those who are unprivileged or 'the other'? Ambedkar truly

understood that it can be done only through the codified law. For nation-building, rights of the unprivileged or underprivileged must be ensured and it can only be achieved through constitutional safeguards. The more legal safeguards for extermination of discrimination would be done, the more rights of the underprivileged would be ensured. That is why Ambedkar once wrote:

> Soon after it became definite that the framing of the future Constitution of India was to be entrusted to a Constituent Assembly, the Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation asked me to prepare a Memorandum on the Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes for being submitted to the Constituent Assembly, on behalf of the Federation. I very gladly undertook the task.[26]

In the Memorandum on the Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes entitled 'States and Minorities', Dr. Ambedkar had expressed his concern regarding constitutional safeguards of the minorities and Scheduled Castes[27]. For Ambedkar, the Scheduled Castes are no longer creamy layer than the minorities. He said, "Those who hold the view that the Scheduled Castes are not a minority might say that in this matter I have gone beyond prescribed bounds"[28]. Since the Scheduled Castes are undergoing more social, economic and educational worse condition than the citizens and other minorities, so "Scheduled Castes are more than a minority and that any protection given to the citizens and to the minorities will not be adequate for the Scheduled Castes"[29] and the minorities and Scheduled Castes require safeguards against "the tyranny and discrimination of the majority"[30]. He gave much concentration on the minorities and women also. As a first law minister of Independent India, he guided the Hindu Code Bill as an approval of women's rights like, property rights even of married and widow female successor. Then, Ambedkar was not only a leader of the Dalits but a liberator of all the caste-oppressed.

Egalitarian economic arrangement and education – Ambedkar had the consciousness that, the social solidarity among the Indians never be built up unless equal access to income, capital assets and economic opportunities for poor including all discriminated groups. The prosperity of any nation much depends on economic foundation of the society. Uneven economic development or accumulation of capital in hands of a few people may lead to collapse of the development of a nation. Since India is primarily agrarian society, so he stressed upon the agricultural problems. He, also, concerned about the industrialization, because industry is for progress of the nation. According to Ambedkar, holdings of lands by few people or concentration of the land property in a few hands is an acute problem of Indian agriculture, and for this reason various disadvantages must be arisen like economic disparities, utilization of resources, maximization of cost, low productivity, inadequate income, and poor standard of living. Some thoughts of Ambedkar regarding economic reformation had been reflected in the manifesto of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), a political party formed by Ambedkar. These are: principle of state management and ownership of industry wherever it was in the interest of the people; amend or alter any economic system that was unjust to any class or section of the people; bringing legislation to regulate the employment of factory workers, including fixing their work hours, making payment of adequate wages, providing bonus and pension scheme; and providing social insurance[31]. According to Ambedkar, concentration of land or 'monopoly' in agricultural capital might affect the productivity of agriculture which is related to the size of holdings of land, capital, labour and other factors. With this thought the 'Land Ceiling Act' is passed after Independence. Slavery and exploitation of Labour must be abolished because these are tied with the caste system and affecting the economic development. The idea of democratic socialism has been reflected in his prescriptions for solving the economic problems. These were: collective farming according to rules regulations and directions issued by the

government, agriculture should be the state owned industry, nationalization of industries, economic holding of land or equal distribution of land, minimum wages to the labours, life insurance policy to the farmers, etc. Ambedkar was keen to analyse taxation policy of the then India. His formulas regarding taxation are: There must be an equity in taxation; tax should be based of the taxable capacity or income; tax exemption may be provided till certain limit; tax should be imposed on payers capacity and not on income; land Revenue tax should be more flexible and subject to revise time to time[32]. Then, the strategies of the economic development, prescribed by Ambedkar, were for upliftment of the downtrodden people based on egalitarian policy and no longer slightest than the class conception of socialism as, for Ambedkar, caste system should not be treated merely as a division of labour but it should also be treated as a division of labourers[33].

Ambedkar also said that the salvation of the depressed class lies in "higher education, higher employment and better ways of earning a living"[34] since education and economic development is attached closely. For promotion of education of depressed class, he established 'Depress Class Education Society' in 1928. Apart from education, he gave emphasis on the character building. An educated man without character, to him, is not less dangerous than a beast and if education of a person results injurious to the welfare of the poor then it became a curse to the society. So, character is no less important than education[35].

Representation and participation for the unprivileged – Ambedkar was interested in solving the question that how individual opinion could be transmitted into the public action. He tried to resolve the much debated issue on individuality versus collectivity. According to him, unless personal representation democracy may be the government for the people but not the government by the people[36]. That is why he prescribed personal representation and this way a government will turn into a 'popular government'. Ambedkar wrote "As the Government is the most important field for the exercise of individual capacities, it is in the

interest of the people that no person as such should be denied the opportunity of actively participating in the process of Government."[37] Ambedkar argued for representation system in accordance with the social division of the whole population of India. He said that Indian population divided into many religious groups – Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Jews, and Parsees; and Hindus are divided into – touchables and untouchables[38]. Every group has its separate interests. Popular government must reflect the interest of all the groups. Success of a popular government is subject to secure the interests of the groups. So, Ambedkar proposed separate electorate for separate class as a true representation and participation system for the people in India. Separate electorate is not similar to separate nation or separate state, but the people of a community will choose their representatives from their own community. This proposition of Ambedkar, however, has not been granted yet. Apart from separate electorate he preferred reservation for the equal representation of various religions as well as Hindu untouchables in legislature, executive, and public service. Moreover, Ambedkar sought to solute the communal problem through representation in the Legislature, Executive; and in Services[39].

C. Democratic framework for nation-building:

Democracy is not merely a political doctrine but a social doctrine also. Democracy is, probably, the best way to initiate nation-building in every multicultural, multiethnic, multilingual state. But, democracy should be against the 'tyranny of the majority' to protect the minority, i.e. caste, religious, linguistic, ethnic[40]. According to Ambedkar, to protect minority rights, democracy would be the best form of socio-political ideology. For Ambedkar, "popular Government is not only Government for the people but by the people"[41]. That is why he opposed 'tyranny of the majority' and any types of concentration of power since concentration of power is one of the major enemies of democracy. It was a major concern of Dr. Ambedkar "who always emphasized that political democracy would be

incomplete without economic and social democracy"[42], because, as he said, "social and economic democracy are the tissues and fiber of a political democracy. The together, the tissues and fiber, the greater strength of the body"[43]. Then, as stated before, social solidarity can only be guaranteed through a new social order based on liberty, equality and fraternity assured by the principles of democracy. However, considering 'tyranny of the majority' in a liberal representative democratic state, the rights of the minority as well as all the oppressed can be protected through define some rights as 'fundamental rights' in order to these rights could not be breached by the representatives, even by the majority of the representatives. Now, questions might be elevated that which rights are to be incorporated into fundamental rights and which are to be not, and/or how existing gestalt of 'fundamental rights' is to be changed. Incorporation of new rights under fundamental rights or alteration of existing structure of fundamental rights may be possible through reasonable deliberations and arguments among various opinion, in a democratic process upon which Ambedkar had given emphasis.

III.   Conclusion

In this concluding part, the thought of Mahatma Gandhi, father of the Indian nation, on nation-building process might be remarkable for the betterment of understanding Ambedkar's viewpoint. Suhas Palshikar, like some other researchers, underlines the parallels between the two legends that Gandhi and Ambedkar both tried to imagine a community based on justice and fraternity, both took non-violence as their path for social transformation, and both laid emphasis on the question of emancipation[44]. Yet, the ideological differences between Gandhi and Ambedkar are very pertinent in terms of their views on nation-building process, particularly building an integrated community. Gandhi never said about an integrated nation but he had a faith on philosophical anarchic and decentralized *gram-Swaraj* based on *sarvodaya* or upliftment of all. Though Gandhi favoured the untouchables or the *'Harijans'*,

and fought against untouchability as a corruption of Hinduism[45], but, for Gandhi, the *Varna* system was the cornerstone of the Indian nation. He expressed his anxiety pertaining to the negative effect of closing down the *Varna* system from the Indian society. Gandhi deemed that the process of nation-building might be affected if the *Varna* system is abolished from the Indian society forcefully, since the *Varna* system is the primordial characteristic of the Indian society. Despite Gandhi was in favour of the reformation of the *Varna* system, albeit he did not think that the relation between the *Varna* system and the untouchability is sacrosanct. He was optimistic that the *Varna* system can be sustained without anathema of the untouchability. Ambedkar's idea, on the other side, substantively different from the Gandhian ideology. Ambedkar believed that the curse of the untouchability is rooted deeply in the *Varna* system and it has been anathematized socially[46]. Thus, "if Gandhi was Bapu, the 'father' of a society in which he tried to inject equality while maintaining the 'Hindu' framework, Ambedkar was Baba to his people and the great liberator from that framework"[47]. Ambedkar's alternative path for nation-building in India was no longer less valued than the way of nation-building conceptualized and practiced by Gandhi and the leaders of the Indian National Congress because "while Gandhi fought for freedom from colonial rule, Ambedkar fought for a broader liberation from exploitation and oppression"[48]. Ambedkar did not want merely to liberate the downtrodden people, but tried to begin an 'alternative subaltern discourse' of nation-building *vis-à-vis* the approach of nation-building largely epitomized by the monolithic 'elite discourse'. As his biographer Dhananjay Keer said, "Ambedkar has played the part of destiny in the liberation of suppressed humanity in India"[49], therefore, his inclusive development policy is not only for those who are suffering from the Caste institution, but also for those groups suffering from identity crisis like ethnicity, religion, gender, etc. For that particular reason Ambedkar called for change the social order based on social division like caste system. He said very passionately that, "You cannot build anything

on the foundations of caste. You cannot build up a nation, you cannot build up a morality. Anything that you will build on the foundations of caste will crack and will never be a whole."[50] Now, in this age of social crises, India needs the inclusive development policy within a true democratic framework. So, his idea of annihilation of caste, economic planning, education, representation are for achieving the social equality and cultural unity; in broader sense, devoted to the nation-building. If India wants to be a successful nation then she needs to go beyond the tyranny of the majority and any types of concentration of power which will ensure the fraternity, equality, and justice among people, and thus her inclusive character.

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Notes and References:

[1] For details see, T.K. Oommen, *Social Inclusion in Independent India* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014), p. 1.

[2] For giving definition of the state, I lay emphasis on the definition given by Max Weber in his lecture 'Politics as a Vocation' (1918) as: "state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." Among many definitions, the Weberian notion is much relevant to me.

[3] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised. (London and New York: Verso, 2006).

[4] Walker Connor, "The Politics of Ethnonationalism", *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1973.

[5] Gail Omvedt, *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India,* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2008), p. 96.

⁶ For detailed discussion see, B. R. Ambedkar, 'The Triumph of Brahmanism', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 3, compiled by Hari Narake, 2ⁿᵈ ed. (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), Vol 3, pp. 308.

⁷ B. R. Ambedkar, 'The Triumph of Brahmanism', p. 309.

⁸ B. R. Ambedkar, 'The Triumph of Brahmanism', p. 309.

⁹ B. R. Ambedkar, 'The Triumph of Brahmanism', p. 309.

¹⁰ B. R. Ambedkar, 'Pakistan: A Nation Calling for a Home', in Vasant Moon, ed., *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 8 (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. 34.

¹¹ Gail Omvedt, *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*, p. 100.

¹² Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, 3rd ed. (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1971), p. 498.

¹³ For details see, Christophe Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability: Analysing and Fighting Caste* (Delhi & Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2005), pp. 120-123.

¹⁴ Government of Maharashtra, *Source Material on Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and the Movement of Untouchables,* (Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, 1982), p. 31.

¹⁵ Arun Shourie, *Worshipping False Gods: Ambedkar and the Facts which have been Erased,* (New Delhi: ASA, 1997), p. 229.

¹⁶ Gopal Guru, "Understanding Ambedkar's Construction of National Movement", *Economic and Political Weekly,* vol. 33, no. 4, 1998, p. 156.

¹⁷ Christophe Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, p. 150.

[18] Ambedkar used the term 'Dalit' in 1928 for Scheduled Castes people keeping in mind the conditions faced by them. See, Anupama Rao, *The Caste Question: Dalits and Politics in Modern India* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2009), p. 50.

[19] B.T. Ranadive, "Caste, Class and Property Relations", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Annual Number, February 1979, p. 337.

[20] Gopal Guru, "Understanding Ambedkar's Construction of National Movement", p. 157.

[21] S.M. Gaikwad, "Ambedkar and Indian Nationalism"*, Economic and Political Weekly,* vol. 33, no. 10, 1998, p. 516.

[22] M.B. Chitnis, et al. 'Introduction', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 1, compiled by Vasant Moon (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. xiv.

[23] By the 'entrenched caste', I want to denote the dominant caste in society but they are not numerous as upper caste people are less numerous in society, but they are still hegemonic. The term 'entrenched caste', coined by Rajni Kothari, means economically, politically and ritually high caste but may be numerically small. See Rajni Kothari, *Politics in India*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2012), p. 252.

[24] B.R. Ambedkar, 'Annihilation of Caste with a Reply to Mahatma Gandhi', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 1, compiled by Vasant Moon (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. 27.

[25] B.R. Ambedkar, 'Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 1, compiled by Vasant Moon (New

Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. 14.

[26] B.R. Ambedkar, 'States and Minorities', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 1, compiled by Vasant Moon (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. 383.

[27] B.R. Ambedkar, 'States and Minorities', p. 391.

[28] B.R. Ambedkar, 'States and Minorities', p. 383.

[29] B.R. Ambedkar, 'States and Minorities', p. 383.

[30] B.R. Ambedkar, 'States and Minorities', pp. 383–84. The term 'tyranny of the majority', conceptualized by Alex de Tocqueville and later by John Stuart Mill, means the situation when the political and social majority turn into tyrant in a so called democratic society. Among many other tyrannies, Mill said, the social tyranny is more dangerous since it provides a least opportunity to be escaped and it penetrates more deeply into every parts of the life. See, John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty (1859)* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2011), pp. 8-9. I think, Ambedkar took the notion of Mill while prescribing a society based on equality. Ambedkar was also concerned about the intensity of social tyranny.

[31] Gail Omvedt, *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*, pp. 74–75.

[32] B.R. Ambedkar, 'The Necessity for A Change', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 6, compiled by Vasant Moon (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. 231.

[33] Christophe Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, p. 75

[34] Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar*, p. 229.

[35] Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar*, p. 305.

[36] Kunal Debnath, "Ambedkar's ideas of nation-building in India", *Studies in People's History*, Sage, vol. 5, no. 1, June 2018, pp. 104-110.

[37] B.R. Ambedkar, 'Evidence before the Southborough Committee on Franchise', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 1, compiled by Vasant Moon (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. 247.

[38] B.R. Ambedkar, 'Evidence before the Southborough Committee on Franchise', p. 250.

[39] B.R. Ambedkar, 'Communal Deadlock and A Way to Solve It', in *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 1, compiled by Vasant Moon (New Delhi: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment, Govt. of India, 2014), p. 367.

[40] Kunal Debnath, "Ambedkar's ideas of nation-building in India", p. 109.

[41] B.R. Ambedkar, 'Evidence before the Southborough Committee on Franchise', p. 247.

[42] Jean Drèze, "Introduction: Chomsky in India", in Noam Chomsky, *Democracy and Power: The Delhi Lectures* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2014), p. xi.

[43] B. R. Ambedkar, *What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables,* (Bombay: Thacker & Co., 1946), p. 207.

[44] Suhas Palshikar, "Gandhi-Ambedkar Interface... when shall the twine meet?" *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 31, no. 31, August 1996, pp. 2070-2072.

[45] For details see Christophe Jaffrelot, *Dr Ambedkar and Untouchability*, pp. 60-61.

[46] Attitudinal differences between Gandhi and Ambedkar on the *varna* and caste system in Hinduism are outlined in the work of T.K. Oommen. See, T.K. Oommen, *Social Inclusion in Independent India*, pp. 38-39.

[47] Gail Omvedt, *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*, p. xv.

[48] Gail Omvedt, *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*, p. xv.

[49] Dhananjay Keer, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, p. ix.

[50] B. R. Ambedkar, 'Annihilation of Caste with A Reply to Mahatma Gandhi', p. 66.