

## The Transformative Politics of India

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*The depressed classes will never be solved unless they get power in their own hands:*

*-B.R Ambedkar*

### Abstract

Caste plays a vital role in Indian society since ages. The notion of caste is the permanent phenomenon which locate in the lowest place for dalit-bahujans in Hindu religion and also eternal in lowest end of the hierarchy. The enlightened philosophers like B R Ambedkar and Kanshiram and many had rejected life of pollution based of caste which divide the untouchables and bahujans. However these two individuals had imagined and created in both inner and outer world to be the winners and victory in the capturing the politics for the establishment of the egalitarian society in India. Therefore the literature and action based politics of Ambedkar and Kanshiram has advocated that the basis of politics of untouchability as a separate and distinct element in the national politics. Thus the article explains the how does Buddhist philosophy helps to overthrow the untouchability or life of pollution in order to build a new social order in civil society as well as in political society. Thus the article describe Buddhism as a vehicle to attain happiness, liberation, wellbeing and freedom for the majoritarians. This article emphasis on four different developments in understanding Buddhist politics under Bahujan Hitaya and Bahujan Sukhaya for highest transformation of socio -eco , cultural, political and spiritual.

### I) Introduction

In the first prison note book Gramsci describes that in western nations the capitalist class society, dominance is maintained through political society refers to “the armed forces, police, law courts and prisons, together with all the administrative departments concerning taxation, finance. It also include social institutions of civil society like the church, the educational system, the media etc. are the two ways of challenging hegemony – a “war of maneuver” or “frontal war”, which is different from a “war of position”. (Mihir Shah : 2014:37-42). Notably, poverty is concentrated mainly in two communities, the scheduled tribes (STs) and the scheduled castes (SCs), and some groups in the Other Backward Classes. As per the Global Wealth Data Book 2014 reveals that the richest 1 per cent of Indians today won nearly half (49 per cent) of India’s personal wealth. The rest of us 99 per cent are left to share the remainder among ourselves. The top 10 per cent won nearly three-quarters (74 per

cent of the country’s personal wealth). The remaining 90 per cent share a meager quarter. At the other end of the spectrum, of the world’s poorest 20 per cent people, nearly one in four are Indians. (Hindu 4/7/15).

### II ) Meaning Of Dalit -Bahujans

The term Bahujan, literally, means ‘the many’, or ‘majority people’ means the masses ‘who have been devoid of humanity for centuries’ in contrast to ‘a handful who take their pleasure, call themselves superior and live at the cost of the masses’. The term arose around 1906 within the Satyashodhak movement in Maharashtra. Excluded from bahujans are ‘not merely Brahmins but also the educationally advanced castes as well as merchant castes’. The concept has a class content as it ‘tends to exclude the aristocratic and wealthy among non-Brahmins’, though, if the upper classes came from a primarily peasant or poor non-Brahmin. (Badri Narayan : 2012-106)

According to Kanshi Ram, Bahujan, democracy society means the rule of the majority, in India, surprisingly, the majority has been exploited by a small handful that comprises a mere 15 per cent

of the total population. Kanshi Ram believed that in spite of internal differences, the different castes of the Bahujans can have the same allegiance. The concept of 'Bahujan kalyan', or development can come not only through difference of opinion with the oppressors but also the dissent against oppressive politics. Therefore, the main aim of his political philosophy became 'rule by Bahujans', which would be democracy in the real sense.

According to Ambedkar the Dalit Bahujans in India means : "People who rely upon majority rule forget the fact that majorities are of two sorts : (1) Communal majority and (2) Political majority. The political majority is changeable in its call composition. The political majority grows were as were as the communal majority is born. The admission to a political majority is open. The door to a communal majority is closed. The politics of a political majority are free to all to make and unmake. The politics of a communal majority are made by its own members born in it. If there is so much objection to a political majority, how very fatal must be the objection to a communal majority. In the book "States and Minorities", Ambedkar stated that : "Unfortunately for the minorities in India, Indian nationalism has developed a new doctrine which may be called the Divine Right of the Majority to rule the minorities according to the wishes of the majority. (A.G. Noorani : 2015:61-66)

### III ) Ambedkar: Dialectics Of Caste

In his work "What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables", Ambedkar described the cardinal principles of the 'philosophy of upper caste as follows: 1) graded inequality between the different classes; 2) complete disarmament of the Shudras and the Untouchables; 3) complete prohibition of education of the Shudras and Untouchables; 4) ban on the Shudras and the Untouchables occupying places of power and authority; 5) ban on the Shudras and the Untouchables acquiring property; 6) complete subjugation and suppression of women.

Ambedkar had fundamentally advocated about the shaping and sharing of political values among dalits and Bahujans to solve their socio, economic, political, cultural, spiritual problems. Politically speaking dalits & bahujans were lacking of eight fundamental political values which are

classified as (1) wealth (2) power (i.e. a higher office or voice in a party council) (3) Respect (favourable publicity) (4) well-being (Luxurious entertainment) (5) Affection (acceptance in a family circle) (6) Enlightenment (inside dope) (7) Skill (access to advanced training) (8) Rectitude (moral support form a cymial group) and other hand there are seven goals that governs these values are (1) Freedom (2) Rationality (3) Democracy (4) Subjective (5) Equality (6) Security (7) Progress appropriate inclusion. (Michael Haays & Henry Skariel: 1970:157)

The dialectics of castes in the opinions of Ambedkar in his book Annihilation of caste can be understood as a) caste as anti-social. b) caste resists the spread of civilization. c) caste and the non-emergence of common culture. d) caste prevents expansion of the Hindu Religion. e) caste as power of group over individuals. f) caste kills public spirit. g) caste as by product of chaturvarna. h) caste as not only a division of labour but as division of labourers. i) Hindu society is a myth. Hence his comprehensive study on caste based Indian society consists in the notions, sentiment and mental attitudes of the people towards men and things. It is common experience that certain names become associated with certain notions and sentiments, which determine a person's attitude towards men and things. (B.R. Ambedkar : 1936:27)

And therefore he suggested that dalit bahujans to convert into Buddhism as moralizing force which is based on liberty, equality and fraterinty. And at last he gave a notable famous slogan for dalit bahujans To EDUCATE (Dhamma) – To AGITATE (for liberty, equality & fraternity) – To ORGANISE (as a party to rule a nation).

### IV ) Buddhism: Dialectics Of Dignity Equals & Self Respect

The first major movement against the caste system was the rise of Buddhism in 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. to work for the welfare & happiness of the masses under the Bahujan Hitaya and Bahujan Sukhaya in ancient times. Gautam Buddha, the founder of Buddhism consists of more than 82,000 ways of awakening, underlined the unity of humankind. He professed that all human beings are equal, irrespective of caste and creed, have a common predicament of life and face dukha (suffering).



Buddha proposed four noble truths: 1.Life has inevitable suffering, 2.There is a cause to our suffering 3.There is an end to suffering 4.The end to suffering is contained in the eightfold path for salvation. He also ‘rejuvenated and reorganized the prevailing social and religious system by denouncing the ritual sacrifice and priesthood of Brahmins and laid stress on the individual’s own efforts to achieve nirvana’ (salvation). Contrary to the Brahmanism of his time, “the Buddha taught the essential equality of the possibilities of liberation available to all’. The Buddhist ideology not only acquired popularity but it also became a state religion in ancient India under Ashokan Rule. (Surinder S. Jodhka : 2012:108)

Scholars such as Phule in *Gulamgiri* Isothere Thass,. Narayana Guru attempted to make knowledge and spirituality integral to the democratic endeavour without opting for religious conversion. Phule appreciated the work of Christian missionaries and did not see them as an arm of the colonial power but did not seriously pursue the option to Christianity either Ambedkar waited for long to embrace Buddhism, and when he did so, he sought a Buddhism that distanced itself from existing Buddhism’s. (Valerian Rodrigues 2005:11)

**V ) Kanshiram: Dialectics Of Unification Of Power**

Before Kanshiram, Dr. Ambedkar was leading the dalits from the dark ages to the age of enlightenment. But unfortunately this did not happen because just before reaching the age of enlightenment the dalits slipped and fell and lost their way into the Chamcha Age. According to him, between 1931 and 1932, Gandhi and the Congress together systematically destroyed Ambedkar's efforts to take the dalits from the age of darkness to the age of enlightenment.

To strengthen Ambedkar’s vision, Kanshiram transformed the slogan ‘abolish caste system’ into ‘promote caste system’ to mobilize dalits for the restoration of their caste identity and self-esteem, as a Political Mission in UP by establishing a Bahujan Samaj Party for Dalit Bahujan transformation. The major research observations and experiences had taught Kanshiram that the Dalit Bahujan politics had converted to chamcha age after Ambedkar . Inorder to transform this chamcha age of dalit bahujan politics to self

respect ruling class, he established the Bahujan Samaj Party as a mission to attain the egalitarian society. Kanshiram had strongly advocated that, we don’t want social justice, we want social transformation. While social justice depends on the person in the power .Suppose at one time, some good leader comes to power and people get social justice and are happy but when a bad leader comes to power it turns into injustice again. According to Kanshirams observation in ground political leaders, he had classified into various political behaviors as stated in the name of various categories For example Scheduled caste chamchas,Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Castes, Aspiring chamchas Minority, Helpless chamchas ,Political Chamchas, Ignorant Chamcahs, Enlightened of Ambedkariate Chamchas ,Chamchas of the chamchas ,Chamchas in Foreign countries.He also disagreed with Ambedkar's demand for a separate electorate for dalits even though both wanted dalits to attain respectability and glory in mainstream society. Kanshiram's idea was to transform society into a *samta muluk* (egalitarian) society, with each caste seen as equal and having its own caste identity, and this was the philosophical underpinning of the Bahujan Samaj Party.

**VI) Conclusion**

Thus, the dalit bahujans has right to vote may exist in principle, but in practice it may be taken away by coercion or coaxed away by material incentives at the time of elections. He often said that politics is for power to attain values and power cannot be acquired without struggle. For Kanshi Ram, BSP was not only a party but a movement, a mission, and he along with his followers used to address BSP as a mission, not as a party,. In the etymological sense, the word misison is message. However, Kanshi Ram said, ‘It’s our ethical responsibility to take 150 years old mission towards its real aim’. started by Mahatma Phule and nurtured by Shahuji Maharaj and Baba Saheb Ambedkar.

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