

RECLAIMING DIGNITY: THE ROLE OF DR. AMBEDKAR IN SHAPING DALIT LIBERATION DISCOURSES

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Abstract

Dalit movements from the very beginning have been based on different ideological strands in different parts of the country. The aim of the Dalit movements began as a protest movement to achieve socio-political transformation in the status of Dalit community in India. The word 'Dalit' refers to the existential conditions of a group of people who were earlier known as 'Untouchables'. Untouchability is a deeply ingrained consequence of the caste system and is an unacceptable and harmful social practice. It was abolished when the Indian constitution came into effect in 1950. In spite of its legal abolition, untouchability continues to be practiced in different forms and degrees in almost all parts of India even today. Dalits are struggling hard to reclaim their human dignity and self-respect. Dalit have been ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly subjugated by the upper caste Hindu societies for centuries. They have been fragmented and oppressed by the hegemony of Brahmin culture. Dalit movement asserts right and privileges to the Dalits. The rise of Dalit movements is an example of how Dalits have become a new social and political community. This research paper aims to explore the brief history of Dalit movement and mobilization in India from below. This paper focuses the historical context and evolution of the Dalit movements and politics, focusing on the pre-independence and post-independence period as well as the key role of main Dalit leader Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in the Dalit movements in India.

Keywords: Dalit, Movement, Politics, Caste, Society, Untouchability, Discrimination.

Introduction

Simply put, caste is a defining feature of the Indian society and Dalits are a product of India's caste system. For castes to last, the Dalits are necessary. Their emancipation, as diagnosed by Ambedkar, is thus homologous with castes. The castes thus constitute an intimate context for the Dalits (Teltumde, 2016). The Dalit struggle for social justice, political power and democratisation of the socio-cultural and political spaces in colonial and post-independence India has been shaped by their position in the Brahmanic social order, the chatur varna vyavastha. As the very name clearly suggests, the system is constituted by four varnas: the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras. Thus Dalits have neither a designated space nor recognised position within this official of the social order; this, in turn, forced them to remain outside the system (Gundimeda, 2015).

First a few words on what 'Dalit' is. 'Dalit' is the term preferred by the politically active, previously called 'untouchables' in India. In Marathi it means literally 'Broken Men', and today it is generally translated as 'downtrodden', 'the oppressed' or 'the suppressed and exploited'. It is a political term, introduced during

the mid- 19th century by the anti-caste leader Jotirao Phule. The term 'Dalit' became more popular among politically conscious 'untouchables' during the first half of the 20th century, and was used explicitly in opposition to the terms 'untouchable' and 'Harijan'. Dalit activists have expressed that the term 'untouchable' is derogatory and discriminatory, as it is derived from Hindu notions of purity and pollution and suggests that untouchables are so polluted that they should not be touched. The term 'Harijan' means 'Children of God' and was introduced by Gandhi in order to uplift the position of the 'untouchables'. Dalit activists have argued that 'Harijan' is a revisionist term because it does not imply any revolutionary changes of the caste hierarchy.

However, this name has been adopted by the people otherwise referred to as Harijans, or 'Untouchables', and has come to symbolize for them a movement for change and for the eradication of the centuries-old oppression under the caste system. In legal and constitutional terms, Dalits are known in India as scheduled castes. There are currently some 166.6 million Dalits in India. The Constitution requires the government to define a list or schedule of the lowest castes in need of compensatory programmes. These scheduled castes include converts to Sikhism but exclude converts to Christianity and Islam; the groups that are excluded and continue to be treated as 'untouchables' probably constitute another 2 per cent of the population.

However, the origin of Dalit mobilisation and movements in India is not a new phenomenon. It has a long tradition spanning millennia when it took the form of a socio-religious movement by some social revolutionaries in the colonial period. The main goal of Dalit movement were to transform the age-old hierarchical structure of Indian society based on liberty, equality, fraternity and social justice as envisaged by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. During this long period, the nature of Dalit movement has varied from issue to issue, from context to context. Sometimes it has involved active resistance against the age-old caste-based discrimination, deprivation and economic exploitation or sometimes agitates established for self –identity, self-dignity. Sometimes it has taken a very militant shape based on radical issues and agendas. However, the nature of Dalit movements and politics has changed sharply during the last few decades. From the active period of Ambedkar to 1980 comprehensive Dalit movements and politics with radical issues has been shown frequently in different parts of India. After that period, the situation changed enormously, and Dalit mobilisation became much more dependent, fragmented, weak and localized. Moreover, the fragmentation of Dalits into different caste and subcaste groups and the rightward shifting of the newly emerging middle class and the masses for their immediate personal gains has also been visible. (Mandal,2022).

A Brief History of Dalit Movements and politics in India

Pre- Independence Movements

In India, Dalit movement was first started in the colonial period in the nineteenth century or early in the twentieth century. Many social revolutionaries emerged with their pivotal voices against the deprivation, discrimination, exploitation and untouchability of Dalits by the upper castes in caste-ridden Hindu society.

Mahatma Jyotirao Phule in Maharashtra, Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy in Tamil Nadu, Bhagya Reddy Verma in Andhra Pradesh, Acchutanand in Uttar Pradesh, Narayan Guru and Ayyankali in Kerala, Manguram in Punjab (Kumar, 2018) Harichand and Guruchand Thakur in Bengal were especially notable for the relentless fight for the Dalits. During the colonial period, the anti-caste movements in the form of non-Brahmin solid movements and Dalit movements were organized in different parts of India. The leading figures of this more significant anti-caste movement were Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, Periyar, Baba Saheb Ambedkar, with many others. All the social revolutionaries attacked exploitation in the social, economic, political and cultural fields. All the anticaste movements were popularly known as Dalit movements in Maharashtra, the Ad-Dharma movement in Punjab, Adi-Hindu movement in UP, Narayan Swami Guru's movement in Kerala, the Adi-Dravida movement in Tamil Nadu, the Adi-Andhras movement in coastal Andhra, Adi-Hindus in Hyderabad, Namashudras movement in Bengal (Omvedt, 1994).

If we look at the background of the Dalit movements before independence, then we can see its starting in the movement of Bhakti period. Mainly this movement begins in the 15th century. All sections of people of the society played their active part in this movement. In this, social reformers like Kabir and Ravidas were in the lead role. All such personalities rejected the caste system prevalent in Hinduism and talked about right, justice and equality through their writing which affected all sections of the society. This time another popular movement such as Neo Vedantic movements and non-Brahmin movements played an active role in some parts of the country. These include people like Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj. The constant belief of such social reformers was that the caste system was a political institution created for the betterment of the society and not on the basis of natural or religious specificity (Dhankhar, 2022). The another main Dalit leader and social reformer Jyotirao Phule was a middle-caste social revolutionary who is regarded as the forerunner of both the Dalit and low-caste movements and politics in India. Through his Satya Shodhok Samajh in 1873, he tried to organize peasants, backward castes and Dalits to challenge upper castes' hegemony in caste-ridden Hindu society. He started 'Non- Brahmin Movement' known as the 'anti-caste movement'. He attempted to demystify several Hindu concepts. Narayana guru is yet another contributor to the Non- Brahmin Movement who championed the cause of all the downtrodden including 'untouchables'. He was the founder of the Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam movement which originated among the ezhavas (toddy tapars) of Kerala in the late 19th century. The ezhavas were considered 'untouchable' in the traditional caste hierarchy in Kerala. The Non-Brahmin Movement in Tamil Nadu came vigorously alive with the aggressive leadership of E.V. Ramasamy Naicker, popularly known as Periyar. Periyar began his Self- Respect Movement in 1925 and its primary objective was to discard the priestly service of the Brahmins and their value-systems by resisting the tenets of Hindusm. Periyar wanted to established an entirely new pattern of values in which all people, irrespective of their caste, creed or sex, could enjoy equal self- respect. He advocated the need for separate non- Brahmin or Dravidian country. In 1944, the Dravida Kazhagam came into being with its primary demand being a separate non- Brahmin

Dravidian nation. It later went on to become a political party. However, The Self – Respect Movement later broke down into many separate entities because of internal politicking (Kumar, 2019).

However, all the above social reformers played an important role to their activities, mobilisation and movements towards upliftment of all exploited, oppressed section of people and particularly Dalits community in Indian society.

However, Baba Saheb Ambedkar, the architect of Indian constitution as well as main popular leader of Dalits emancipation and movements, who played the most decisive role in Dalit movements and politics in India. He made important contributions to the anti- caste at a national level. An ‘untouchable’ himself, Ambedkar championed the cause of the ‘broken men’, as he termed Indian ‘untouchables’, he fought relentlessly throughout his entire life to ensure equality, social justice, self- respect and freedom for them. Ambedkar stood for the social liberation, economic emancipation, and political achievement of the downtrodden, a task that had never been undertaken by high caste Hindu leader with so much vigour and force. He imagined a radical reconstruction of Hindu society and it could not happen without the intensification of the caste and class struggle.

It was an indisputable fact that movement has been centred on him during his lifetime and after. His life and endless struggles gave birth to a new awareness among the Dalits people. The social, economic and political demands took a new path when he formed the Independent Labour Party in 1936. It is established for the interest of the labourers of all castes in general and specially in Dalit castes. The party won a few provincial elections and successfully organized the most significant radical peasants protest against the landlords allying with the Communists. He widely accepted the Marxist analysis of class struggle so far as economic issues were concerned. He believed that capitalism and Brahmanism are the two separate systems of exploitation, one to be fought by class struggle and the other by caste struggle. Initially, he insisted that caste be added to a class approach. However, at the end of his life moved away from this analysis (Omvedt, 2001). It will not be exaggerated that Ambedkar was the only leader who spread the Dalit movements in all parts of country. The main objectives of all the movements under his leadership are to end all forms of social exploitation, oppression, discrimination, and violence, attain right, equality, liberty and social justice, including self-dignity and selfesteem, and challenge the upper castes social hegemony. Within a short period, the Independent Labour Party got dissolved. After going through the experiment of the Independent Labour Party, he constituted the All India Scheduled Castes Federation in 1942. However, the performance of this organization in electoral politics was not at all impressive (Vora, 2004).

Post –Independence Movements

After Independence the Dalit movement and mobilisation took a new way. The Republican Party of India (RPI) was the first Dalit political party formed by the post-Ambedkar leadership in independent India. The death of Ambedkar in December 1956 delayed its formation to 22 April 1958. However, the Maharashtrian experience with Dalit political parties is unique in comparison with other states. Rather than forming a

narrow communitarian party based on lower caste identity to obtain the support of Dalits, the state has experimented with two kinds of broad-based parties of the underprivileged: a liberal republican party that was meant to appeal to all working class and poor, and a radical alternative, which sought to combine both caste and class through a Marxist-cum-Ambedkarite ideology. There was also parallel emergence of Dalit Sahitya (literature of the depressed section) that highlighted the problems Dalits face in a hierarchical society. The party was formed by working committee of the All India Schedule Caste Federation (AISCF), which was established by B.R. Ambedkar in 1942. The formation of the RPI took place at the site of the conversion of Buddhism in Nagpur and was presented by 3,500 delegates from all over India. A number of smaller organisations working against caste oppression since the 1940s also came together to form the party. In keeping with its attempt to establish a broad base, the party took up both class and caste based issues but it did not attract the non-Dalit poor and it did not develop, as hoped, into a broader movement based on the support of the poorer sections. An important reason was that the leadership was not clear regarding the kind of party they had formed of the SCs only – or of all the poor leading to factionalism and constant splits. The constitution of the party expected it to ‘organize the peasantry, landless labourers, workers in factories, and other wage earners’.

However, the RPI has failed to mobilize the backward castes and Muslims and convince the non-Mahar Dalits. But the setback of Dalit politics became inevitable when the RPI was fragmented due to tactical differences and personal ambitions of the leadership. It may say that the entire Dalit politics has lost track after the sad demise of Baba Saheb Ambedkar. The contemporary Dalit leadership was in no way matched with the vision and ability of Ambedkar. After his demise, Dalit movements and politics became fragmented due to the personal ego, greed, selfishness and opportunism of Dalit leadership. As a result, independent Dalit politics during the 1960s became very weak, sporadic and localized.

Starting in the 1960s, and particularly in the early 1970s, the character of Dalit politics began to change. The vacuum was filled by the rise of a more radical alternative in the early 1970s the ‘Dalit Panthers’ and the ‘Dalit Sahitya’. The Dalit youth in Maharashtra expressed their anger and protested against the Dalits continuous discrimination, violence and atrocities. They were angry over the co-option of Dalit leaders and the egotism of Dalit politicians. Some Dalit writers and reformers from Maharashtra warned the government in the early 1970s through a leaflet that if firm steps are not taken to control the violence and atrocities, they would take it into their own hands and even plan an armed revolt (Shah, 2001a). The agitation had a radicalizing impact upon the low educated Dalit people in some states and led to formation of many militant groups such as Karnataka Dalit Sangharsh Samiti, Andhra Dalit Mahasabha, the emergence of journals such as Dalit Voice by V.T. Tarsekhar in Bangalore, a Dalit Panther unite in Gujarat. It is in this context that Namdev Dhasal and J.V. Pawar these two Dalit writers formed a radical, militant organisation of ‘Dalit Panthers’ in Mumbai in 1972 drawing upon both Ambedkarite philosophy and Marxism. They are inspired from the Black Panthers Movement in the US and believed that violence could be used, if necessary (Kumar, 2004). Dalit Panthers was a movement of radical and revolutionary ideas mainly of young

educated Dalit revolutionaries, their main aim was to combat caste discrimination, violence, atrocities and fight for the rights of Dalits. The movement started a cultural and literary movement in Maharashtra but this cultural and literary movement transformed into a political movement, they organized many protest, marches and published manifesto to raise awareness throughout country. Initially, they had no clear declared ideology and Ambedkar's vision served their needs until they brought out their own manifesto. The Dalit Panthers in their 1972 manifesto discussed Dalit as 'a member of SC and tribes, neo-Buddhist, the working people, poor peasants, the landless and women as well as all those who are being exploited socially, economically, politically and in the name of religion'. The word Dalit among the DPs has a class connotation unlike in Uttar Pradesh where it is based purely on caste discrimination. Maharashtrian Dalit writer Gangadhar Pantwane argues that, 'Dalit is not a caste; Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution. The Dalit believes in humanism. He rejects existence of God, rebirth of soul sacred books that teach discrimination, fate and heaven, because these have made him a slave' (Contursi, 1993).

The movement faced many problems early, as they could not resolve the central issue of Dalit identity. Was it to include all the oppressed sections of society or only the Dalits? Was it to include only the neoBuddhists or all Hindu SCs? Despite their revolutionary ideology and programs, the Dalit Panthers failed to achieve the total transformation that Baba Saheb Ambedkar envisaged and did not last very long (Omvedt, 2001). On 7 March 1977, Dhasal and Pawar announced the dissolution of the Dalit Panthers movement. Dalit Panthers launched a Namantar Andolan (name change movement), was a Dalit and Navayana Buddhist movement in Maharashtra, aimed to renaming Marathwada University to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar University. The movement was started in the 1970s and achieved a partial victory in 1994.

The post-Ambedkarite ideology is best understood by examining the writings of Kashi Ram, the ideologue of the BSP. The BSP began as a social movement but entered the political arena as a political party in the late 1980s. The BSP formed in 1984 more than 30 years after independence, claims to be an Ambedkarite movement-turned party. In 1984, BSP is the most tangible form of Dalit movements and politics in North India named the Bahujan Samaj Party. It led to a new beginning of Dalit mobilization and politics under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. The BSP began as a Bahujan movement that constitutes the majority of the downtrodden. More important it was an identity constructed to unite the backward and SCs, who as Kashi Ram pointed out, together constitute more than 50% of the population in UP. But the attempt to create a Bahujan Samaj failed by the early 1990s due to fundamental differences with the backwards. Subsequently, the BSP has described itself as a Dalit movement or party, whose aim is to provide self-respect, dignity, and empowerment to all sections of the ex-untouchables. Kashi Ram visualized two stages: first capturing power through mobilization and electoral victory against the Brahmins and in the second phase the revolution would penetrate deeper into society, transforming it. The roots of the BSP – its ideology, leadership, and organization are different from other militant Dalit movement. It arose out of a

middle class trade union organization of government employees- BAMCEF formed in 1976 by Kashi Ram made up of the educated and better-off groups among Dalit (Pai, 2013).

However, a major shift took place in the ideology of the BSP, in the early twenty first century, under the leadership of Mayawati. With the weakening of identity politics in the Hindi heartland, the BSP decided to transform itself from an avowedly Dalit party to a broader 'social rainbow coalition' or savarna party with a Dalit core, and to rethink its strategies of electoral mobilization in order to gain the support of the upper caste (Pai, 2007). A basic point that Mayawati put forward was that her party had never been against the upper-caste communities or Hindu region, but was opposed to caste oppression. Though the true mission was to build an egalitarian society free of caste divisions, the BSP had been misrepresented as an anti-upper-caste party (Shah, 2002a).

In the post-Ambedkar era, Kanshi Ram and Mayawati are the most prominent figure in Dalit emancipatory politics but critics think both leaders established very unprincipled, opportunistic, bargaining and agenda-less politics in India. This agenda-less politics is the negation of Baba Saheb's agenda-based radical Dalit politics and movement. Because Ambedkar always had broader social, economic and cultural programs backing his political thrust but political power is the single point program of BSP. The BSP firmly believed that everything else would automatically flow from capturing political power. Despite their agenda-less radical politics, BSP had established a robust electoral presence in northern India. It had gained tremendous electoral support in UP, where it had formed the government four times in the 1990s and the year 2007 under the leadership of Mayawati. The Dalit parties, including Bahujan Samaj Party, are in a deep electoral crisis because many Dalit political leaders and their supporters have migrated to non-Dalit parties. Although Mayawati is still a prominent Dalit leader, the BSP party faces an existential crisis (Pai, 2020). It is true that post-Ambedkar Dalit politics has challenged some crucial aspects of atrocities, discrimination and exploitation but failed to show the path of radical transformation of Dalit emancipation (Mandal, 2022).

Nowadays, we witnessed a new wave in Dalit mobilisation and politics. Some young Dalit leaders and supporters led a few movements and organisations like Bhim Army and Azad Samaj Party by Chandrasekhar Azad, the Una Atyachar Ladat Samity by Jignesh Mevani in Gujarat and the Vanchit Bahujan Aghadi by Prakash Ambedkar in Maharashtra. These young, educated and popular new generation Dalit leaders represent a new aggressive and militant Dalit politics. One of the most important actions by the Bhim Army was the protest rally against violent atrocities on Dalits by the Thakur at Saharanpur in April 2017. (Guru, 2004). Of late, the Congress party has co-opted two young Dalit activists and leaders—Jignesh Mevani and Kanaiya Kumar.

Moreover, the mainstream political parties are now trying to accommodate the Dalit masses into their party fold. So it is not the appropriate time to say the fate of the new wave of Dalit movement and politics.

Role of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's in Dalits Liberation Movements

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was a pivotal figure in the Dalit movements and consciousness of Dalits, dedicating his entire life to fighting for the rights and dignity of Dalits (formerly known as "untouchables") and other marginalized communities in India. Basically Ambedkar is the father of Dalit consciousness in India who played an important role in emancipating the Dalits community. He played various strategies, including legal protest, social reform movements, and political advocacy, to challenge the deeply entrenched caste system and promote social justice. However, if we want to know Ambedkar's role of Dalit liberation movement and Dalit emancipation struggle we need to see his life struggle. If we throw light on Ambedkar's life, there are two dimensions of his life in which first is his social life and second is his political life. If we look at Ambedkar's social life, it is clearly visible that he starts his social life with the 'Mahad Satyagraha' movement. The Mahad Satyagrah on March 20, in 1927 was a first social movement led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to give social rights to the Dalits and challenge caste based discrimination in India. This landmark protest focused on the basic right of the Dalit community to give the 'Chawdar Tank' in Mahad, Maharashtra, which had been traditionally denied to Dalit. The movement symbolized a broader struggle against the caste system in India as well as drew attention to the injustices faced by Dalits community. By publicly drinking water from the tank, Ambedkar drew water from the tank and consumed it. Now March 20th the day of the Satyagraha observed as Social Empowerment Day in India ³. Later in December 1927, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his followers symbolically burned the copies of 'Manusmriti' the traditional Hindu legal text at the same location. This act was a symbolic protest against the text's endorsement of the caste system, caste-based discrimination and especially to women and lower caste inequalities.

In this sequence, Ambedkar did the second Satyagraha in March 1930, the second biggest movement for the entry of untouchables in the famous Kalaram temple of Nashik. The Kalaram temple formed a significant role in the Dalit movement in India when Ambedkar led a protest demanding that Dalits to be allowed into the temple. This movement formed a significant role in the anti-caste movement in India. However, Ambedkar was not getting great success from these movements (Dewani, 2022). But what was visible was the fact that awareness about their rights was definitely coming among the Dalits. Ambedkar considers as the first political Dalit leader and he was the one who was far more modern than the leaders of his time due to his remarkable activities. Then, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar the first political leader, who represented the depressed classes at the Round Table Conferences in London, demands for separate electorates to ensure political rights for Dalits. Another activities for Dalit upliftment such as The Poona Pact 1932 was a negotiate agreement between Gandhi and Ambedkar on the political representation of depressed classes (now called the Scheduled Caste). This pivotal settlement secured reserved seat for the Depressed Classes from the general electorate across various provinces. After that Gandhiji's fast unto death and the Poona Pact agreement recognize Ambedkar as a new political leader in Indian society.

However, a radical reconstruction of Indian society, as Ambedkar imagined it, could not happen without the intensification of the caste and class struggle. Since Hinduism is founded on scriptures which

sanctioned the caste-based social order, a just solution could only be possible through the annihilation of the Indian caste system. Ambedkar created several protest his writing, magazine against the caste discrimination in society. In 1924, Ambedkar founded the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha (Society for the Welfare of the Excluded), aimed at promoting education among the Dalits and improving their socio-economic status. He started many periodicals like “Mook Nayak” (Leader of the Silent), “Bahishkrit Bharat” a Marathi fortnightly in 1927 to give a voice to millions of voiceless people. In the same year he also launched the Samaj Samata Sangh to give social equality among untouchables and to encourage inter-caste marriage, among other objectives. The Janata a weekly, was started by Ambedkar during this period and formed the Samata Sainik Dal (Social Equality Army) to voice the concerns of the Dalits⁴.

In 1936, Ambedkar's announcement of leaving Hinduism and writing a succinct article like annihilation of caste brought uproar in Indian politics. With the passage of time, Ambedkar put himself in a strong position. Ambedkar began to be counted as a main leader in Indian politics. With this, Ambedkar founded many political and social organizations. Some of the important organisations mainly the Independent Labor Party, Republic Party, schedule caste federation organization was created in 1937. From 1942 to 1946, Ambedkar maintained his image as a nationalist leader, and in 1946 he was appointed to the Constituent Assembly. After that he was made the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly, he played a crucial role in shaping the Indian Constitution, which included principles of justice, liberty, equality, and abolition of untouchability. He is known as the father of constitution in this country. Some analysts also call him the modern Manu. Broadly, He opened the doors for the emancipation of the Dalits community as well as all marginalised section of society in India. During independence to present day, all the Dalit leaders and agitators of the organization in India considered Ambedkar as their leader. Dalit movements in India were always started with Ambedkar and his valuable thought as the focal point. The end of his Dalit struggle he dismayed and frustrated with the negative attitude of upper-caste Hindus, towards the end of his life, he rejected Hinduism and embraced Buddhism in 1956, along with millions of his followers, which advocated a casteless and classless society. All the political and social organizations in present-day India talk about carrying forward the ideological legacy of Ambedkar. But despite all this, the caste system still prevails in the society. Although the caste barriers have relaxed a bit in the present time, but there is a long struggle in ending the caste system completely.

Conclusion

The study concludes that ‘Voices of Dalit Liberation Movements in India and the Role of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’. The emergence of Dalit movement indicates that Dalits have now become speaking subjects. Dalit movement can be understood as a voicing of the hopes and aspirations of a group of people who were earlier nameless, faceless and voiceless under the caste system, who were now able to speak and assert their identities as new political subject. There is no doubt that the traditional hierarchy system of Indian society has been changed to a great extent by the Dalit movements. It has encouraged democratic ideals of liberty, equality and social justice among people of different castes and classes. However, Dalits have to go

a long way in achieving the goal of the socio-economic transformation of Indian society as they are internally fragmented into various castes and sub-castes and are scattered almost all over the country. Despite their immense political potential, Dalits could not bring about social revolution due to their fragmentation and disunity. It has to rise above mere protest and revolt against the suffering of Dalits and launch a movement for socio-economic transformation based on radical agendas and programs. However, for the sake of power, personal interests and ambitions, Dalit leaders compromise with their ideologies and gradually lose their support base. Under the changing situation, Dalit leaders have to develop new ideologies, take new social strategies and tactics, and make grand solidarity for restructuring the existing society and emancipation of the Dalits and other marginal sections of Indian society. In this context, Ambedkar had correctly envisaged the idea that we have to fight against the twin enemies of Brahmanism and capitalism at the same time. These two are responsible for the perpetuation of caste in India. It is no doubt that the Dalit movement and mobilisation formed a new path through the Ambedkar's struggle who fought for the rights; liberties and equalities of the all downtrodden and particularly Dalit people in the society entire his life. The sole motive of Ambedkar's movement was to establish the equal status of all classes and castes in society. Ambedkar's was always inspiring for the Dalit struggle. During independence to present day, all the Dalit leaders and agitators of the organization in India considered Ambedkar as their leader. Dalit movements in India were always started with Ambedkar and his valuable thought as the focal point. Various literatures of Ambedkar play an important role in awakening the Dalit society. All the political and social organizations in present-day India talk about carrying forward the ideological legacy of Ambedkar. But despite all this, the caste system still prevails in the Indian society. Although the caste barriers have relaxed a bit in the present time, but there is a long struggle in ending the caste system completely. So, we can say Dr. B.R. Ambedkar not only leader of Dalit liberation movement he was a great man of Dalit community for their all kind of upliftment as well as all marginalised section of Indian society. Ambedkar one and only person who was feel and think very deeply for Dalit right, equality, justice and their self-respect, so his role is very significant of Dalit liberation movement in India.

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