CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction:

There is a plethora of literature available on the phenomenon called ‘Globalization’. The literature comes from almost all disciplines of knowledge in general and social sciences in particular. The process of globalization even if is as old as humankind, the present wave of globalization do have very distinguished features and hence the interpretations of globalizations are also many leading towards the confusion.

It is noteworthy to acknowledge that even if the globalization prima-facie seems to be an economic phenomenon, its first interpretations and the first attempt to define it came from the sociologist. It will be a grave mistake to understand globalization by studying it with the help of any one single discipline. Any segmental approach to study globalization will be inadequate keeping in view the vastness of the subject, its complexity and its all pervasive nature. The multiple aspects of the globalization are interwoven with each other and therefore one has to take a holistic view to understanding the concept and process of globalization.

The theoretical framework for this study consists of the review of literature on the globalization as a concepts and literature on its other aspects. For the convenience of the study the literature reviewed have been classified into three categories as: Studies about theoretical aspects of the globalization, Previous Empirical studies on globalization and the Specific studies related to Dalits, (Dalits is a political terminology which also includes Neo-Buddhist as one of the category). Apart from this the relevant theories of globalization has also been discussed and an attempt has been made to developed a new theory- Dr. Ambedkar’s Theory of Socio-Economic Emancipation of Dalits keeping in view the context of globalization.
Review of Literature

The review of literature is broadly divided into two parts namely general studies and the studies specific to Dalits / Neo-Buddhist

The General studies are further be subdivided into:

a) Studies on Theoretical Aspects of Globalization and

c) Studies Specifics to Dalits /Neo-Buddhists

2.1 General Studies about Theoretical Aspects Of globalization

Mathew V Kurian. (2004) in his article, ‘Globalization and its Socio-Economic Impact,’ the author opines that multiple views prevails on nature of globalization as well as its socio-economic impact. He has discussed the various theoretical aspects of globalization and its socio economic impact.

The basic perception of the author is that the present day globalization is imperialist’s globalization. He points out that the phenomenon of globalization is viewed from three perspectives:

1. Globalization as a programme or project. 2. Globalization as a process, and 3. Globalization as an ideology.

While elaborating on each of them the author argues that Globalization as a programme was initiated and sustained by the TNCS who wants absolute freedom of operations in the entire world Globalization as a process means it is the current imperialist stage of capitalism as a world system. Globalization is also an ideology in the sense that it represents neo-liberalism. Regarding the socio-economic impact there are broadly three schools: First school considers globalization as the panacea for almost all ills. They perceive that the market led economy is the most efficient one and its benefits could be percolated to the most vulnerable sections of the society. Second school holds that the globalization is of reality and despite of its negative effects, it can be made workable through proper institutional
management. The third and strong school holds that the globalization is a imperialists agenda catering to the interests of only TNCS. This author argues that after examining the specific issues of globalization the impact can be seen in the following areas like social and economic exclusion, contract labor, employment and unemployment, privatization of public sector, globalization and food insecurity (Withdrawal of state from PDS problem of food of the poor people is made worse), political impact of globalization, the militarization impact of globalization and ecological impact of globalization.

Behrman Jack N. (2003) ² in his article, ‘Transformation of society: Implications for globalization,’ opines that transformations, both personal and institutional have occurred throughout the history, and are repeatedly occurring more or less extensively and intensively some are voluntary or guided others are evolutionary or involuntary and globalization is one of such transformation (p. 121) However, the author points out that if globalization is to be socially acceptable and sustainable, it must be accompanied by complementary moves in social and political orientations which will require reconfiguration of existing value systems.

Malcolm Waters (1995) ³ in his book, ‘Globalization,’ provide a detail account of various theories of globalization, (both old and contemporary theories) apart from giving the outline about how the future world look like. The author argues that in a globalize world there will be single society and culture occupying the planet but this society and culture will not be probably harmoniously integrated. It will have high differentiations and chaos.

Huntington Samuel P. (1997) ⁴ in his book, ‘The Clash of civilizations and the Remaking of World Order’, argues that the new world that is going to shape in the globalize era would be different in many ways. The culture and cultural identities will play a dominating and divisive role in this new world order rather than economic and politics. The people will identify themselves with cultural groups, ethnic groups, religions communities and at the broadest level with civilization which they shares with other groups living in other part of the world. The author is
of the firm opinion that in this new world the most pervasive, important and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor or other economically defining groups but between people belonging to different cultural identities.

Kalyam Raipuria (2000) in his article, ‘Conference of economists: A Report’, argues that the opposition to the globalization by the economist in India is based on the perceived economic and social ill effects in the last decade namely rise in poverty, inequalities in income and wealth, rise in fiscal deficit, and above all regional disparities leading to a fall in real wages in some states.

HA-Joon Chang (2003) in his Article, ‘kicking away the ladder: Neoliberals Rewrite history,’ the author by giving historical account of today’s developed countries like Britain and USA argues that these countries have reached to the stage of prosperity by using tariff protection and subsidies to develop their industries. The ladder which they have used to reached to that position, they kicked it off because they no longer needed it and are now forcing the other developing countries in the third world and fourth world to opt for free market economy, giving up state controlled economic Development.

Singh Arun kumar (2004) in his article, ‘Globalization, Sovereignty and Human Rights: A perspective,’ points out that the current phase of globalization has three characteristic features such as shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders. He further points out that globalization is a political, social, and cultural process, but it is foremost an economic process.

Dierckxsens Wim, (2000) in his book, ‘The limits of Capitalism-An Approach to Globalization without Neoliberalism’, argued that there are alternative to the Neoliberal globalization and proposes the need for discussion and action to avoid the model of Neoliberalism. The present model according to the author has led to world wide exclusions of masses from the processes of development and it has given rise to various social problems like unemployment, social and economic inequalities and insecurities in various forms.
Saroj Malik (2004) in his article, “Contradictions and challenges of globalization: Need for an Alternative,” highlights the contradictions, drawbacks and discontents of globalization in general and its impact on Indian society in particular. The author further argued that Gandhian ideas could be a better alternative to globalizations and its discontentment.

Medury Uma (2004) in her article, ‘Changing Complexion of Public Administration in the globalization era: Some Emerging Issues,’ opines that globalization is bringing far reaching changes in political, economic, social and cultural spheres. The author is critical about the notion that globalization is irreversible and inevitable and expressed the need to replace the notion that there is no alternative.

Mishra Sweta (2004) in her article, ‘Globalization and gender issues in India’, argued that globalization has mixed impact on women. On one side we finds that gender inequalities are less severe today than it used to be half a century ago, as a result of globalization, women’s educational prospects have improved on one side, on the other side, globalization has also resulted in increased physical violence against women on a global scale and they have been marginalized not only economically but also politically and socially.

Bisht Pushpa (2004) in her article entitled, ‘India under globalization facing an Unequal World,’ argues that State Vs Market economy is not new and historically it can be traced back to Adam Smith. Adam smith has advocated free competition and lesia role for state. The author opines that in a problem fraught economy like India, such approach will create several imbalances and laissez fairyisms and liberalization a western model of economic development could not be suited for India. The role of the state becomes extremely crucial in a country like India, since social and economic justice can only be realized only by strengthening India’s socialist frame work.

Karuna Chanana (2007) thinks that economic liberalization and globalization are having an impact on higher education world wide. The relationship between
Government and universities are changing all over the world. The author points out that Universities have been forced to downsize and the language of efficiency and accountability associated with the corporate world is being used to run and evaluate universities. According to him all these changes have an impact on pursuing equity issues. The author also brings into notice the gender issues involved in globalization, since globalization is accompanied by an increased focus on techno-sciences which have gender implications because women are less likely to be involved in those areas.

**Gupta K. L. and Harvinder Kaur (2004)**\(^{14}\) in their book, ‘New Indian Economy and Reforms,’ have tried to expose the shortcoming in the new economic policy and its implementation. They are of the opinion that the Indian economy is capable of achieving high growth rates in response to the implementation of appropriate economic reform polices and higher growth rates in future can only be achieved through further deepening of the economic reforms.

**John Bellarny Foster (2003)**\(^{15}\) in his article on, ‘The Failure of global Environment Reform,’ the author opines that capitalistic world economy as a whole is experiencing global recession and the countries of south are hardest hit and are caught in worsening economic crisis over which they have no control.

**Debendra K. Das and Vishnudeo Bhagat (1994)**\(^{16}\) argue that global experience with privatization in different countries indicates a mixed scenario with respects to its success and failure. The countries which have abruptly under taken privatization in a most hastily manner have faced most difficulties where as countries which started in a systematic fashion with well designed policy are successful.

**Jain Niraj (2001)**\(^{17}\) his book, ‘Globalization or Recolonization,’ is an extensive critic of the policy of NEP/Globalization. Terming it as recolonisation he opines that the third world countries are being transformed into the economic colonies of the developed imperialist countries that had once before colonized them directly.
in the name of free market and free trade in 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. The author opines that globalization has catastrophic effects on the livelihood of billions of people throughout the third world.

Radhakrishanan P. (2004)\textsuperscript{18} in his article, ‘Religion under globalization,’ has thoroughly discussed the relationships between the globalization and religious fundamentalism. The author argues that the globalization is not merely an economical phenomenon but it has multiple manifestations such as political, social, cultural and religious.

Steger B. Manfred \textsuperscript{19} in his book, ‘Globalization: A very short Introduction,’ explains and critically examined the various dimensions of globalizations like economic dimensions, political dimension, cultural dimensions, ideological dimensions etc. and argues that the concept of globalization is a contested concept. The author also explores theories of globalization particularly the theory of neoliberalism and its historical evolution. (P.37-41)

John Baylis and Steve Smith Ed. (1997)\textsuperscript{20} a book, ‘The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations,’ comprised of the various articles related to the globalization by eminent scholars in the designated fields, ranging from history of globalization to the theories of globalization and other international issues.

Dunne Timothy (1997)\textsuperscript{21} in his article, ‘Realism’ discussed the theory of globalization. He argues that realism is the dominant theory of international relations, because, it provides most powerful explanations for the state of war which is the regular condition of life in international system- A bold claim made by realists in reference of their tradition. From 1939 to the present, leading theorists and policy makers have continued to view the world through realist lenses.

Dunne Timothy(1997)\textsuperscript{22} The author in his article, ‘Liberalism’ has discussed in detailed one of the most contemporary theory of globalization called ‘Liberalism’ by giving its various types the author has illustratively provided the contribution
made by various thinkers in developing this theory and he has also extended it to cover the theory of Neoliberalism.

**Hobden Steve and Jones Wyn Richard (1997)** in their article, ‘World System Theory’, gives the detailed account of the origin of World System theory as one of the important theory of globalization which explains the present international politics. The author finally argues that the present theory is discomforting because it is made to ensure powerful and the wealthy continue to prosper at the expenses of the powerless and the poor.

**Bhagwati Jagdish** (2004) in his book, ‘In defense of globalization,’ argues that economic globalization is the favored target of many of the critics of globalization because they see globalization as the extension of capitalism throughout the world and present economic globalization has caused many social ills today, like poverty, increased in child labor, erosion of unions, labors rights, democratic deficits, harming of women, culture and environment. The author strongly denied the claimed made by the opponents of globalization by pointing out that the poor countries that turned away from the globalization had missed the opportunities to benefits from the globalization process. He disregards the view shared by the young people who think that globalization as an economic system cannot address the question of social justice, in fact according this author globalization as a system can destroy privileges and open up economic opportunities to many. The author also rejects the claim that globalization do not have human face. Finally, the author opines that some of the ill effects of globalization can be overcome by molding the institutions and policies of the respective state and NGOs can play an important and constructive role in the era of globalization.

**Joseph Stiglitz, (2002)** in his book, ‘Globalization and Its Discontents,’ strongly criticized the approach of World Bank and International Monitory Fund on imposing their agenda on Third world countries. Dr. Stiglitz argues that capital market liberalization has pushed, despite the facts that there is no evidence showing spurs economic growth. Economic policies that evolved into the
Washington Consensus and introduced in the developing countries were not appropriate for countries in the early stage of development. The author further argues that the protest to these policies around the world has made economists and Governments to think of alternatives to these policies.

Albert Breton, (2003) in his paper, ‘Federalism in a Globalizing world: Challenges and Responses,’ has discussed how by breaking down national borders globalization is affecting the functioning of the governments founded on the federal principle. According to the author, globalization is accompanied by the transferred of the task of supplying goods and services which were hitherto catered by the public sectors to the private sectors. This will change the distribution of political power in democratic societies in favor of corporate capital and against institutions that bear responsibility for the general welfare of the people.

William F. Rayon (2001) in his article, ‘Globalization, Religion and New Promising Role of NGOs,’ author remarks that Globalization and its consequences are much more pervasive and destructive than just restructuring of worlds economic system. The author expressed concern about ignoring and destroying the local cultural and spiritual values by the TNCs. He calls upon the governments to encourage the non profits organizations to foster the spirit of volunteerism rather than urging them to imitate the practices of business.

Held and McGrew (2000) in their book, ‘Global Transformation Reader,’ opines that arguments about globalization had divided then into the ‘globalists’ and ‘skeptics’. The skeptics according to them are those who considered that globalization is primarily ideological or mythical construction which has marginal explanatory value. On the other hand the ‘globalist’ rejects the assertion that the concept of globalization can be simply dismissed as purely ideological considerations. They think that the globalization is reflected in real structural changes in the scale of modern social organization.
**Peter Custers (2001)** in his article, ‘Protests Against G-8 in Genua: Globalization from Below,’ draws the attention towards the strong protest faced by the heads of the G-8 countries in their conference held in the Italian Port city of Genua from July 30 to July 22. The author argues that the Genua protests were a symbol of human solidarity against the inhuman policies of globalization and liberalization.

**Rath Nilkanth (2000)** in his article, ‘Making the Economic Transition Smooth: Better late than Never,’ argues that many of the consequent problem the economy has been facing today appear to have been arisen from the unthought-of consequences of such a turn around, without putting in place the necessary policies and institutions not only to make the transition smooth but also to provide the instrument for preventing or checking the undesirable consequences of unbridled freedom in the economic field.

**Mitra Kamal Chenoy (2006)** in his paper, ‘Mumbai WSF 2004: Broadening of Anti- liberalization and Anti-communal alliance the media ignored’, the author analyses and explains the success of the 4th WSF. The 1st outside Brazil ended on Jan 21st 2004 after six days of intensive discussions, rallies and cultural events and mobilization of over 100,000 people including 15,000 from more than 100 countries came together to protests the neoliberal globalization and its failure to provide equitable and sustainable development. The author observed that this massive mobilization marks both the broadening of the antiliberalization as well as anti-communal alliance for the first time.

**Galbraith John Kenneth (1964)** his book, “Economic Development” is the collection of articles made out of speeches given by the author when he was in India in the early months of 1961. He had delivered a series of lecturers on economic development to the university students at the university of Madras, Calcutta, Bombay, Rajasthan, Patna, Mysore, Gujarat, etc. The author discussed the purpose of economic development, Development as a process,
development planning and practices, Role of Education in economic development and highlighted the eight causes of poverty.

Bhardwaj Prem R. (2003) in his article, “Globalization: Politics of US hegemony and democratic Processes in Developing Countries. The meaning of the term globalization is so vague and ambiguous that its interpretations vary from analyst to analyst. Its sphere cannot be merely restricted to the series of economic processes at International level but it incorporates political and social phenomenon across the border.

Frederic Landy and Basudeb Chudhari (eds.) (2004) a book entitled, ‘Globalization and Local Development in India: Examining the spatial Dimensions’, is a result of monthly seminar on, ‘from the global to the Local: Economic liberalization and development,’ held between 1997 and 2000 in CEIAS, Paris. This collective volume is an interdisciplinary work of group of French social sciences scholars who have specialized on India. The book takes up a realistic appraisal of globalization and its impacts on India. The author argues that it is a very complex process to evaluate how economic transformations, affects social institutions, cultural changes. Depicting India as a land of contrasts, the author further argues that this country is capable of launching satellites and yet not been able to bring literacy to more than 65 per cent of its population. It exports software but cannot make the budget on food expenses of households. It is a country where the wealth of some city centers contrasts sharply with the poverty in the slums or in many villages.

James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer (2001) in their book, ‘Globalization Unmasked: Imperialism in 21st century,’ explored the ideological dimensions of globalization exposing the class project behind it. The author argues that ‘inevitability’ of globalization and adjustment or submission of people all over the world to free market capitalism depends on the capacity of dominant and ruling classes to bend people to their will and make them see the interests of capitalist as their own.
Roy Sumit (2005) in his book, ‘Globalization, ICT and Developing Nations: Challenges in the Information Age,’ emphasized the need of NGOs to fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the state. The author argues that Non-Governmental organization are emerging as important players in monitoring, questioning and increasingly channelising resources to support domestic and global policies to fulfill the specific needs of the poor and the marginalized in the developing countries.

Odegar D Heggade and M. R. Bhavathi, (2001) in their article, ‘Second Generation Reforms : Issues and Directions,’ the authors argues that, there are many issues in the second generations reforms and the foremost is related to use of terminology or concepts like first generation economic reforms. This paper argues that, since the processes of economic reforms are not completed, it is wrong to use the term second generation reforms for various other reforms now initiated or planned to be initiated at the state and Rural-Urban local self Government levels. They may be called as other supportive reforms for continuing the already initiated major economic reforms during 1990s.

Pant S. K. and Pandey Alok in a paper, ‘Social Sector in liberalized Era,’ opines that there has been a paradigm shift in the development policies due to the LPG and social sectors like education, health and medical care, housing and sanitation, drinking water etc. are greatly affected by those new policies. The author argues that economic development should be matched by the development of social sector if the process of development is to lead to increase in welfare of the common man.

Raimong Vaurynen, (2005) the author in his article entitled, ‘Globalization Inequality, Poverty and Justice: Empirical and policy Issues,’ argues that inequality has become a major issue in the debates concerning globalization and its effects on individuals, social groups, regions of nation states. The merits of globalization are assessed, to a large degree on the basis of whether it enhances or diminishes poverty and inequality. The author refers to the goals set up by the UN
(Millennium Development Goals-2000) and the benchmark setup by the World Commission on the Social Dimensions of globalization in its recent report, for the success of globalization.

**Biradar R. R., (2006)**[^40] in his article, ‘Rural Non-farm Activities in India: Growth and distress diversification,’ opines that growth of Rural non farm activities (RNFAS) is seen as an important strategy to address the problems of unemployment and poverty in rural areas. The paper concludes that annual growth rate of workers in non-agriculture is found to be high as compare to the growth rate in agriculture workers as well as total workers.

**Allen J. Scott, (1998)**[^41] in his book, ‘Regions and the World Economy: The coming shape of global production, competition and political order,’ opines that the social theory today is preoccupied by the visions of a shrinking world and a new global order. The author strongly disagrees with those who have asserted the end of geography. The author in fact argues that geography now assumed enormous importance because of the shrinking of modern world and geography has always played a major role in shaping historical outcomes.

**India Vision 2020, Report, Planning Commission, Govt. of India.**[^42]

The report attempts to draw a road map for India’s Development in the light of ongoing globalization and liberalization of Indian economy. The planning commission in its report said that economic growth, rising levels of education among the young, expansion of employment opportunities for the working age population, slower population growth and declining infant mortality, will not eliminate and may even aggravate inequalities between different age groups, the sexes, income groups, communities and regions, unless specific corrective steps are taken for leveling the different degrees of capacities and opportunities of the masses. The vision 2020 must have a special focus on bridging the existing gaps in the various levels of development and endeavor its best to fulfill the constitutional commitment of raising the status of the vulnerable groups. The

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report further highlights the concept of development in its true sense by saying that development must be people centric.

Qureshi M. U. (2006)\textsuperscript{43} the author in his book, ‘Elements of Social Evolution,’ argues that the process of globalization has generated universal discontent and disenchantment prevails not only in the developing but also in the developed world too. The author expressed the need to analyze as to what lies at the root of such discontentment. The author opines that the issue of globalization needs to be examined in all its dimensions.

Newell Peter (2001)\textsuperscript{44} in his paper entitled, ‘Global Challenges to the Future State,’ provides a critical overview of some of the challenges to the future state posed by the process of globalization from the perspective of developing countries in particular. The author opined globalization does not pose much challenge to the existing state authority. The author further argues that the importance of global processes for the lives of poor is exaggerated and ignores the other internal problems that many states face such as corruption and poor infrastructure.

Schuurman France J.\textsuperscript{45} his edited book, ‘Globalization and development studies: challenges for 21\textsuperscript{st} century’, is based on the papers presented in the workshop on, ‘significance of globalization as a concept, theory, discourse and or as as an ontological process,’ organised by the institute of Development Studies of the University of Nijmegen in November 1997. The author is of the opinion that the social sciences have their methodologies rooted in the late 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} century which are counterproductive to understanding this global age. The author argues that globalization has changed domains within development studies.

Oscar Ugarteche \textsuperscript{46} (2000) in his book (Translated by Mark Fried), ‘False Dilemma-Globalization: Opportunity or Threat? tried to assess the impact of globalization on the various countries of the globe. The author opines that the current form of globalization is going to exclude a large part of the world and bestows only a few countries’ purchasing power and a high level of productivity.
Yadav S. B. 47 in a edited book, ‘A decade of WTO and Indian Economy,’ consists of articles/research papers on various aspects and provisions of WTO that have far reaching implication on Indian economy.

Sundar I. 48 (2006) in his paper entitled, ‘Globalization and Social Development,’ discussed the globalization and social development issues. The author argues that the globalization has created lot of social concern both in developed and developing countries. Author’s points out that the globalization has resulted in gross human right violations for millions of workers, peasant’s farmers and indigenous communities and also suggests policy measures to over come these problems.

Nathuramka L. N. (2006)49 in his paper, ‘WTO- a Decade of its performance and Tasks Ahead,’ opines that even if the objectives of WTO, like that of IMF and WB, are quite laudable but it’s over all achievement has not been much desirable so far. The author argues that WTO has been a target of criticism by opponents of globalization, for the very reason that WTO protects the interests of few developed countries and voice of poor countries and NGOS is not heard in it and vital decisions are taken in a closed door rooms by a group of rich countries.

Mohd Izhari Ahmad, 50 (2006) in his article entitled, ‘Impact of WTO on inequalities, poverty and growth in developing countries,’ examines the consequences of globalization for developing economies in terms of its impact on employment, real wages, poverty, income inequality, and economic growth. The author is of strong opinion that the policy of globalization are socially malign on several dimensions and these policies led by IMF and implemented by the developing countries have serious implications on their societies in terms of decrease employment in public enterprises, deregulation of labor market for flexible real wages, elimination of food subsidies, increased agricultural prices, depreciated currency etc.

Bairwa R. C., (2006) 51 in his paper, ‘WTO and Higher Education’, points out that we are living in an age of globalization that is capitalistic and new colonial in
its very nature. IMF, WB and WTO are the main driving organs of global capital to implement this neo imperialistic project of globalization. The author argues that developed countries want to maximize its private profits at global level in the name of ‘free trade’ not only of capital, goods and technology but also of social services such as health and education by converting them into saleable commodities.

Mohnty Manoranjan, (2001)\(^{52}\) in his paper entitled, ‘On Concept of Empowerment,’ opines that for about two decades after mid sixties there was a plea to put politics in command and accordingly development strategies and growth models were assessed. But situation changed in 1990s, economics was put into command and growth of production and modernization of technology and management were supposed to be the central goals of development and the old concept of growth with social justice was replace with the new goal of development with empowerment. Oppressed groups such as Dalits, tribes, unorganized workers, poor peasants and women all are engaged in struggle for power. Where the document of on summits conferences, and also declarations of the national governments, eloquently stress their commitment for the empowerment of the people and the context in which the term is popularized and used make it a questionable concept. The author finally argues that instead of allowing the oppressed to expand their realm of political struggle, this notion of empowerment actually limits it.

Singh Prem (2004)\(^{53}\) in his article, ‘World Social Forum: Myth and Reality’, unfolds the flaws in the WSF and futility of its agenda. The author observed that the individuals and the organizations opposing to anti-people policies of globalization are themselves opposed each other and this strengthens the forces of globalization. The author concludes that the issues discussed in the WSF are teeth less, they are not meant to bite the mentors of globalization.

David Ray Cox (2001)\(^{54}\) in his article, ‘Marginalization and the Role of social Development: The significance of globalization, the State and Social
Movements,’ explores the nature of marginalization, in the modern world, focusing particularly on the context to which its widespread occurrence is consequence of the impact of current trends in globalization and resulting the weakness of nation state. The author is of the opinion that marginalization is a phenomenon of great significance in the modern world as there is a more insidious forms of marginalization or social exclusion where societies simply have no significant role for a particular section of population.

Sen Amartya, (1997) in his book, ‘On Economic Inequality,’ opines that the concept of equity and justice have changed remarkably over a period of time. The very concept of inequality has also gone through radical transformation and a modern welfare economy is not concerned about income distribution.

**Report of the National Seminar (2003) on Impact of liberalization and globalization on Rural Livelihoods** the report is the outcome of the national level seminar organized by NIRD on 18th May 2002 on the above mentioned theme. In all thirteen papers were presented in the above said seminar focusing upon the various aspects and issues about the liberalization and globalization with reference to its impact on rural livelihoods.

**Reddy A. V. S. and Thapliyal B. K. (2003) in a research paper, ‘Impact of Liberalization and Globalization on sustainable Rural Livelihoods’,** presented in a national seminar opines that India which followed a socialistic pattern of development had to follow the trends in world trade, by announcing the national policy of Economic Reforms and Liberalization in 1991-92. The author argued that with liberalization of trade in agriculture, Indian agriculture is now exposed to the competitive environment in the global market under the WTO regime which could be rewarding as well as threatening to farmers.

automatically solves problems of poverty and inequality. The author contrasts the explanation favored by the World Bank and other proponents of globalization who argues that bulk of the global poverty is because of the failure of the producers to engage with the globalization. The author has highlighted that fact that the experiences of the countries those who participated in the process of globalization shows that instead of solving the problem of poverty it has widen the inequalities in those countries.

**Stephen Analil (2005)** 59 his edited book, ‘Development Agenda of Third World Countries Under the WTO Regime,’ is based on various studies of the impact of globalization on poverty and developmental strategies of the third world countries under the WTO regime. The book contains sixty three papers by eminent scholars and researchers from different parts of the country. These papers mainly deals with nearly thirteen various aspects of globalization namely impact of globalization on development and its dynamic, different aspects of WTO and WTO led trade liberalization along with Information and Technology revolution, impact of globalization on Indian Economy, Impact of globalization on agricultural sector and impact of globalization on small Scale Industries, Some papers deals with implications of reduced role of public sector and handing over of public sectors to the private owners.

**Mushtaque Ahmad, Nawab Ali Khan (2005) 60** in their article, ‘WTO and developing nations’, opines that the Narasimha Rao Government signed WTO agreements without consulting any of the likely victims in the country. The author argues that even today, many of the commitments under the WTO agreements remain secret. WTO was seen as a vehicle of prosperity but over the last seven years of its operation it has brought poverty to the already poor developing countries.

**Menon Rajiv, N. (2005) 61** in his article, ‘The Globalization Script,’ opines that the globalization has shaken the political system, markets, culture, environment,
technology, living standards and national security of many countries in the world. The new international order fell upon the world so suddenly that these Nations and their economies could not cope up with this paradigm shift.

Selvaraj V. (2005) in his article, ‘WTO – A pro- Rich Forum,’ is of the opinion that WTO and its policies are in favor of rich nations and MNCs and it is not in favors of poor people and developing countries. Trade rules are being commonly violated by the rich countries and their MNCs and WTO remains mere spectators, according to the author.

Rodrigues Branda and Kamat Manoj S. (2005) in their article, ‘Agriculture in India and the WTO: Developmental Agenda and Confronting Challenges’, points out that the agriculture is the backbone of Indian economy which provides direct employment to 65 per cents of its working force and contributes to nearly 29 per cent of its GDP. With India signing the WTO agreement agriculture was brought under new trading regime which has posed severe challenges to the Indian farmers and agriculture.

Bello Walden (2002), ‘Deglobalization: Ideas for a New World Economy,’ the author in his above cited book traced the genesis and development of the current system of global economic governance and provides the alternatives to it. The author argues that the World Bank, IMF, WTO and group of seven have promoted this economic globalization. Marginalization of south in the world economy and the dubious role of Britain woods institutions in preventing the Asian economic crisis in 1997raised the question of their credential. The author finally provides for an alternative to the present world economic management by suggesting a fundamental shift towards decentralized, pluralistic system of global economic governance allowing the countries to follow development strategies sensitive to their own values.

India, argues that the 180 years of colonial rule has devastated India and sent it back to the medieval period and last 15 years of globalization has reversed what little was achieved after the independence. Calling globalization as the crisis management programme to save the stagnated capitalist countries of the world its implications are not only limited to the economy but it is determining political decision making and penetrating into every aspects of the social-cultural life of the people.

Srivastava Ravi, (2007) in his article, ‘National knowledge Commission: Meeting Social Goals or Neoliberal Reform?’, criticizes the role of National Knowledge commission for its clear negligence towards the booming private education sector. The author points out that NKC’s analysis of education system is based on the public education system whereas no attention is given to the growing private educational sector. Mr. Shriva stav argues that NKS’s talk about reforms in public education system but it is silent on how and why the private education system be reform? The author is doubtful whether the NKC is meant for pursuing our social goals or it is pursuing the agenda of Neo liberalism.

2.2 EMPIRICAL STUDIES
K. Seetha Prabhu , (2001) UN sponsored study on, ‘Economic Reforms and Social Sector Development-A study of two Indian States , (Maharashtra and Tamilnadu) explores the impact of stabilization and structural adjustment programmes on social sector expenditure of two Indian states. The major findings of the study shows declined in social sector expenditures by 1 % in Maharashtra in the first year of the reforms but increased substantially in the succeeding years. In Tamilnadu there was a reduction in social sector expenditure in the year 1992-93 and 1995-96. The allocation for social services did not suffer any cuts in the reforms years except in 1992-93 by a nominal amount of five per cent.

Gupta S. P. (1996) in his research paper, ‘Recent Economic Reforms in India and their Impact on the Poor and Vulnerable Section of Society,’ has deeply
discussed the micro and macro impact of present economic reforms introduced in July 1991. At macro level the study shows that there has been a significant deterioration in consumption both in rural areas and in urban Areas. Coming to the estimation of poverty Ratio (number of poor below poverty line expressed as % of Total), the study finds that prior to the reform of 1991-92 the poverty ratio showed a heavy declined. Since 1991-92 this trend has been halted and a significant reversal is noticeable. With regards to the absolute number of poor the historical trends shows heavy reduction in numbers both in rural and urban areas during 1990-91 and 1992. However the numbers rose by almost 20 million immediately after post reform period. Looking at the effects on employment the study finds that the rural unemployment seems to have increased since 1990-91, this is in contrasts to the trend of declining unemployment since 1977-78.

**Khga Ajamaddin, (2006),** his study, ‘Poverty In Urban Area,’ study deals with the policies and its impact on the urban poor with reference to the, ‘Socio-Economic Status of Urban Poor in class- I Cities of Orissa,’ The study found that due to low educational level and lack of technical skill most of the slum dwellers are engaged in informal jobs such as daily laborers, domestic servants, private jobs, petty traders, cleaners, hand cart pullers, and rickshaw pullers. Few of them were engaged in formal jobs such as peons, attendants and watchmen. In the studied cities 68.14 per cent of families were living in below poverty line.

**Hanamantha Rao C. H. and Hans Linnemann (1996)** their edited book, ‘Economic Reforms and Poverty Alleviation in India,’ is a collection various articles from experts authors on Economic Reforms and its impact on poor, poverty, social sectors etc. The authors in their introductory remarks opines that in the post reform period, the rate of inflation has been quite high over a long period, considering India’s pre-reform experiences. The rise in prices of essential commodities like food- grains was even higher. The authors attributes this to the on going economic reform process.
Goyal S. K. and K.S. Chalapati Rao in their article entitled, ‘Washington Consensus and India- Experience of last decade’, the draws attention towards the claimed that after the initial programme of macro-economic stabilization, the economy will enter a high growth path. The experience has however been mixed. The author opines that after a brief period of recording high growth rates the economy entered as slow growth phase during the second half of 1990s, while the over all growth rates has not been very much different from the experience of 1980s. Even the industrial production could not achieve sustained high growth rates. Studies have shown that, not only the growth performance of industry during 1990s was worse than that in 1980s; the growth during 1990s was shallow with heavy emphasis on consumer goods at the cost of basic, intermediate and capital goods.

Gangal Vijay k. (2005) in his article entitled, ‘LPG Regime: An Agenda of India’s Second Generation Reforms,’ argues that the Indian economy made a remarkable progress in some areas like GDP, per capita income, domestic savings and agriculture activities. In the industrial fronts, according to the author, there was a mixed trend where as in external sector, the significant improvement was registered. The author has opines that there have been significant improvements in the macroeconomic stability of the country as a result of the LPG.

Peter A. Van Stuijvenberg in his article, ‘Structural Adjustment in India-What about Poverty Alleviation?’ reviews the history of India’s economic planning and describes the fall out of India’s adjustment programme. He observed that implementation of adjustment programme was accompanied by significant social costs. While reducing external and internal imbalances through a reduction in aggregate demands, unemployment figures rose and real per capita incomes declined. Moreover, the need to reduce the budget deficits implied that spending on education, health and other social services was put under strain and that food subsidies were curtailed. As a result, nutrition levels and educational achievement
of children could well deteriorate, citing the UNICEF, the author thinks that poor would be affected by this stabilization program.

Kundu Amitabh (2000) in his paper, ‘NEP And Urban Poverty In India,’ argues that several scholars and administrators have criticized or opposed the NEP on Ideological ground but due to the lack of reliable data the protagonists of NEP have suggested the Government should go ahead. He points out that, most programs pertaining to basic services were financed primarily through the centre, there has now been a distinct shift of responsibility from Central to state Government and local bodies. These changes have had adverse effects on the availability of basic services to the urban population, particularly the poor, since many state governments has closed down the programs with discontinuation of central assistance.

World Bank Country Study: India (1996) The World Bank country study entitled, ‘Five years of stabilization and reforms and the challenges ahead, presented case studies carried out in four states namely, Tamilnadu Maharashtra, Panjab and Uttar Pradesh. The study aimed at two questions: 1. How the poor in India fared since 1991 and what has been the likely impact of reform and stabilization measurers on their income and living standard and 2. How well have safety nets programmes worked to protect living standard of the poor. In the study it was observed that across all regions, respondents in both rural and urban areas reported no dramatic changes in their standard of living; in fact few respondents were aware of economic policies started in 1991. The study found marked regional disparities.

Chelliah (1999) is of the opinion that there were favorable effects of economic Reforms on the economy as India did not suffer any drop in total GDP growth rate. In the external sector, by citing (Bhata, 2003), he observed there is a tremendous growth in foreign investment, remarkable growth in export, and no balance of payment problem after 1991-92.
Bhatta, (2003) in her research study, ‘Second Generation Reforms: Some Issues,’ has discussed impact of structural Reforms. The study found that, structural reforms led the economic growth to rise over 7.3 per cent in 1995-96, but fell to 5.9 per cent in 1999-2000. The investment – GDP Ratio has grown during 1994-97 and inflation rate has fallen from 12 per cent in 1990-91 to 2.9 per cent in 1999-2000. The industrial production has risen from 9 per cent in 1990-91 to 12.8 per cent in 1995-96 and fall subsequently but recovered to some extent in 1999-2000. Current account deficits improved drastically from 3.2 per cent of GDP in 1990-91 to 1.0 per cent in 1998-99. There has been no balance of payment crisis since 1991-92. India’s external debt which was 41 per cent of GDP in 1991-92 declined to 23.5 per cent by 1998-99. Finally, the author suggests that the second generation reforms should correct some of the bad effects of first generation reforms, especially on social aspects.

Diwan and Chakravarthy (1993) in his empirical study argues that India is not competitive in international comparison and hence free trade for India degenerates into creating more debt, dependency and eventually a depressed economy.

Pushpa P. (2006) in her article, ‘Three word ‘Mantra’ LPG and its impact on Indian Poor- A view Point,’ author states that the long, much awaited journey of 15 years on the roads of LPG and WTO has set the global stage for national and international scrutiny of its impact in the creation of new world in the 21st century. Further, he argues that the voices across the world seem to accuse the rich nations because these countries are trying to keep the poor and developing nations where they want them, through the WTO regime. The paper concludes that the developing countries like India need to sharpen public investment in agriculture, education, health care, road, power, water and other infrastructure, especially in the rural areas to mend the gap between rich and poor.

Ujagare D.V. and Murtadak J. B. in their paper, ‘Impact of Globalization,’ argues that the last ten years of reforms have transformed India much more dramatically than most realize. They give us the statistical data on important
indicators of human development to prove their viewpoint. Some of the observations made by them are like GDP have grown from Rs. 6.93 lakh crore to Rs. 22.94 lakh crore, exports have zoomed from Rs. 44000 crore to Rs. 209017 crore, food grain production has jumped from 176.4 million tones to 211.3 million tones, poverty level has gone down from 37 per cent in 93-94 to 26 per cent today. The author attributes all these achievements to the policies of globalization initiated by India 12 years ago.

**Bhatt P. R. (2001)** in his article entitled, ‘Second Generation Reform: Some Issues,’ argues that there are negative effects of economic reforms on the economy and these reforms were unfavorable to the poor in many ways. About the employment there are no evidences that employed persons have increased after the reforms. The author further points out that income distributions was against the poor as the gross domestic savings as a percentage of GDP have declined from 23.5 per cent in 1990-91 to 19.5 per cent in 1993-94, but increased to 24.1 per cent in 1997-98. By citing the findings of several studies conducted in India and abroad the author concludes that the economic reforms have adversely affected the lives of rural and urban people.

**Ruddar Datta, (2001)** in her article, ‘Second Generation Reforms: Need for Changing Growth Strategy,’ the author argues that it will be more appropriated to call second generation Reform as second phase of economic reforms by ignoring the time dimensions of the reforms. The author points out by quoting the World Bank Report (2000-2001) that 44.2 per cent of the Indian population was living below poverty line which means that 419 million persons are living in extreme poverty in India, and the share of India in the world’s total poor work out to be 34.95 per cent. The author therefore calls for a clear and immediate strategy for poverty reduction by facilitating empowerment of the poor. The empowerment of poor according to author means enhancing the capacity of the poor to influence decision making in the state Institution that affect their lives.
Rumar B. Das (2001) in a paper, ‘Employment Scenario under Globalization,’ has discussed the following six important factors that led to the different countries including India to adopt for the policies of globalization. 1) External debt crisis in many developing countries 2) Excessive fiscal deficits in many developing countries which resulted into unmanageable foreign exchange deficits. 3) System of central planning became corrupts and inefficient in developing countries. 4) Public disgust with operation of welfare state in the industrialized countries which lead to rise of Reaganism and Thatcherism 5) The collapse of socialist regimes in East, Europe and finally 6) The spectacular growth of income and standard of living of east and south east Asian countries through market and trade. The author disagrees with the popular notion of feminization of jobs and opines that the present economic reform particularly in India will display the female workers from high productive activities to low productive activities. The author further says that globalization of prices (and not income) and nationalization of poverty are likely to bring further economic strain on women in term of work burden and curtailment of family expenditures. Therefore feminization of work is likely to result in feminization of poverty (p: 160) in the end the author expressed concern about the social fall out of the globalization which are detrimental to the society in the long term.

Talwar Sabana and kullar M.S.(2001) the authors in their paper entitled, ‘Harmony in Economic and Social Liberalization,’ opines that despite of impressive economic growth after the reforms it has not at all improved human conditions from the view point of promoting ‘Human Face of Development’. Human Face of Development is considered as, ‘Social liberalization’ which is yet to take place in the new millennium. The authors called upon to give top priority to this sort of development in second generation reforms otherwise the present economic liberalization will not be sustained. The author finally concludes that the reforms have promoted growth to some extent but equity has suffered in all spheres including education.
Thorat Sukhadeo and Shenggen Fan (2007) in their article, ‘Public Investment and Poverty Reduction: lessons from China and India,’ discussed the comparative picture of the strategies adopted by the two neighboring countries India and China and points out that the investments in public sectors has mainly been responsible for bringing down the poverty. The authors argued that China achieved success in reducing rural poverty during the past two decades, despite the global slow down in poverty reduction. The author attributes this to the series of policy and institutional reforms initiated by the China along with equal access to social services and public investments in rural areas.

2.3 STUDIES SPECIFIC TO DALITS

Iyer Gopal K., (2000) his paper, ‘Liberalization, Blue Revolution and Land Reforms,’ analyzes the impact of blue revolution on the environment and land policy in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and Karnataka. According to him one of the immediate impacts of blue revolution is the dilution of land reform measures particularly the land ceiling and tenancy policy.

Kumar Raj, (2000) in his article, ‘Globalization and Dalit Culture,’ argues that Dalits needs globalization because they want to be a part of the mainstream. He points out that Dalits wants openness because their rich cultural heritage has been submerged, the globalization will make them to come out of the forced cultural silence and speak to the world. The author opines that Dalits are not against globalization what they opposed to is the fact that MNCs cater to the consumer needs of the upper caste/class and ignored to the basic needs of the poor Dalits. The author finally called upon all the Dalits to understand and be a part of globalization rather than oppose it.

Saxena Ashish (2005) in his paper, ‘Quest for subsistence of Dalits in the era of Globalization: Some Critical Reflections,’ the author opines that the effects of globalization on Indian society in general and Dalits in particular are felt since
1990s. The author warns that if globalization were superimposed on a poorly educated and poorly trained labor force with poor system of governance and infrastructure it would not lead to growth nor reduce poverty.  

**Teltumbade Anand (2005)** his book entitled, ‘Anti- Imperialism and Annihilation of castes’, is the expanded version of the paper presented in the post MR convention held at Calcutta. The author has a strong conviction that the issue of caste is of paramount importance in the context of neo-liberalism and looking at the history of leftists in India, they have never taken it seriously. The author further argues that the left discourse in India have historically neglected to acknowledge the caste as problem and they have failed to understand that caste is one of the most important economic and social institutions which has a structures as well as the superstructure. Their understanding that once the materialistic based of the society is removed or destroyed the caste system will collapse automatically is a false truth. The author acknowledges the facts that the anti imperialist in India only talk about external imperialism as an enemy but conveniently forgets the internal imperialism imposed by he upper castes in India on the lower castes. He further opines that the anti feudal struggle, anti imperialistic struggles do not take the cognizance of the caste realities in India and hence the struggle against the inhuman policies of neoliberalism remains fragmented. The author concludes that unless the caste is annihilated first one cannot expects the participation of India’s vast exploited people like Dalits in the struggle against the external imperialism.  

**B. Krishna Murthy (1995)** in his article, ‘The Buddhist Dhamma. the Marxist Class Struggle and social Equality: Ambedkar’s view points,’ the author has made an attempt to make an assessment of the two important methods of social change proposed by the Buddha and Karl Marx that is Buddhist Dhamma and the Marxists class struggle as a means of social transformation. The author starts with presumption that was made by Dr. Ambedkar that, Is there a religions solution to problems-Economic and social arising out of class exploitation? The answer given by Dr. Ambedkar was affirmative because Buddha speaks about
exploitation of one class or group by the other class/group some of the important ingredients which are useful for ending the exploitation in the world are highlighted by the author few of them are:

1) The function of religion is to constructs the world and make it happy and not to explain its origin or its end.

2) The unhappiness in the world is due to conflict of interests and the only way to solve it is to follow the Ashtanga Marga.

3) The private ownership of property brings powers to one class and sorrows to another.

The author points out the same ingredients in Marxist Theory of class struggle which were talked by Buddha and argues that the social ends sought by the Buddhists Dhamma and the Marxists are the same and there is a great similarity between the two methodologies. Dr. Ambedkar evaluated these two methods of social transformation and found that the means provided by the Buddhist approach are more superior and of permanent nature where as the means provided by Marxist Theory are short sighted, based on violence and dictatorships and hence they are not the permanent solution to human problems. In the end the author concludes, Buddhism can play an important role in the post revolutionary phase. The author highlighted the observation made by Dr. Ambedkar that the communists might use Buddhism as an ultimate aid to sustain communism when force is withdrawn, Buddhism can be seen as important bases for the moral development of the individual in the post revolutionary phase as by then the material bases for exploitation would have been destroyed and the Buddhism would be needed for ideological restructuring of the human attitudes on the lines of collective consciousness.

Omvedt Gail (1996) in her talk on, ‘Family values and indigenous Culture: Who is afraid of Globalization and why?,’ has strongly argued that Dalits wants to
be and they should be a part of globalization. Their resistance to globalizations is largely because of the Indian brahmanic elites who wanted to keep the country closed off and considered all outsiders as barbarians.

Jadhav Narendra (1993) in his book, ‘Dr. Ambedkar’s Economic Thoughts and Philosophy,’ has reviewed and analyzed the relevance of Dr. Ambedkar’s economic thoughts and his philosophy keeping in view the present economic scenario. The author argues that despite of Ambedkar’s basic training in economic discipline the world knows nothing about his economic contribution to the evolution of economic as a subject. The author has illustrated the Ambedkar’s various views on the economic problems of India which poses Dr. Ambedkar as an economist of high stature. The author, however, did not take the note of his most relevant book in today’s context and that is, ‘Small Holdings in India and their Remedies,’ in which Ambedkar has discussed the problem of agriculture sector in India.

Sarkar R. M. (2006) author in his paper, ‘Dalits in India: Past and Present,’ analyses the possible negative and positive implications of the process of globalization on Dalits population in India. The author opines that the globalization is a central driving force that is reshaping modern societies and world orders and no society escapes from its reach as it recasts traditional patterns, creates new hierarchies and most crucially reshaped the power, functioning, authority and goals of national government. The author strongly argues that Globalization has made an adverse impact on all social groups which have already been pushed down by centuries of oppression. He further points out that in the last one decade the livelihood of Dalits communities have became miserable.

Mishra Keshari Bikram (2006) the author in his paper entitled, ‘Dalits and social discrimination: Reexamining the caste system in 21st century’, draws the attention towards kind of society that we may have in the 21st century looking at the changes taking place. He opinions that the caste system has always acted against a section of people of its fold, ostracized them, violated their human rights,
dehumanized their existence, discriminated them, segregated their location, deprived them of their dignity, robbed them of their basic conditions of human existence. The author argues that castes system is the worst form of hierarchy and brahmanical world has made negative contributions to its persistence. The author disagrees with the scholars who assert that caste as a system has collapsed today.

Verma D.K. (2004) in his article, ‘Social Policy Framework for IT and Social Transformation of Dalits,’ the author argues that the benefits of the IT could not reach to Dalits in India because of the caste base inequality. He also points out that the economic and technological empowerment of individuals fails to bring social empowerment of collectivity because unlike west, the Indian social reality is expressed in collectivity and not in individuality. Therefore, author suggests a general social policy frame work for IT focusing on transformation of collectivity rather than individual empowerment of people. Mr. Verma further opines that the present policy of IT does not attempt to bring radical change in the social structure. Therefore, the author concludes that IT in our country has a low value in terms of social transformation.

Mungekar Bhalchandra (2004) in his book, ‘India’s economic reforms and the Dalits: An Ambedkarian perspective’, discussed the thinking of Dr. Ambedkar on various issues ranging from untouchability to economic of caste system, State socialism, India’s economic policy, Democracy, Industrialization and capitalism. The author outlines the main features of economic reform and discussed its impact on Dalits in India. He points out that during the eighties the employment elasticity of economic growth had declined across the sectors of economy, and more particularly in manufacturing sector. The author argues that during the seven years of economic reforms 1991 – 92 to 1997 – 98, real wages of unskilled agricultural laborers declined in many states and this must have worsened economic conditions of SCS and STS in those States. Finally, the author concludes that rise in poverty and dismantling of the welfare state are the consequences of the new economic policy of which Dalits would be the main sufferers.
Chalam K. S. (2003) 97 in his article, ‘New Economic Policy: The Dwija project,’ argues that the new economic policy is the conspiracy of Dwijas (Upper Castes) to maintained and continued their supreme position in the existing Social order which was challenged by the Dalits and Bahujans by way of their increasing representation in power structures which was made possible by the reservation policy. The author further argues that it was not in their benefits to continue in the same system which had started minimizing their monopoly and dominance. During the Kaliuga caste order seems to have been disturbed. It is only to restore the order, successive governments have been trying to implement the policies which will restore and strengthen the traditional Brahanical social Order.

Jogdand P. G. (2000) 98 his edited book is based on the paper presented in two days National seminar on, ‘Impact of New Economic Policy On Dalits In India’, organized by the department of sociology, University of Pune, on Dec. 9-11, 1996. Book contains several articles covering various aspects of NEP and its impacts on Dalits. The author has expressed severe concern about NEP and its philosophy to rely more on the market forces, and minimizing the role of public sector and allowing the private sector to come on its place. He warns that unemployment problem and income inequalities could increase if the role of public sector is reduced. The author argues that the reservation policy has been instrumental in creating a microscopic middle class in Dalit communities and the new policy is a systematic attempt to put an end to reservation policy which has played a major role in instilling a hope among Dalits.

Bharat Patankar (2000) 99 in his article entitled, ‘Caste system, New economic policy and Dalits: Alternatives of the Movement,’ discussed the caste system and its characteristics along with its relevance to capitalism and liberalization. Mr. Patankar points out that today’s capitalist class is formed out of old castes and communities like Brahamins, Banias, Khatriyas, Kayassthas and Parsis and the hierarchy within the capitalist class and exploiting classes is determined mainly by their caste origin. The author further opined that new incarnation of imperialism is
bringing about radical changes in the society. Pointing towards its effects on Dalit’s, he argues that, new industries based on knowledge and information, and development of R and D units of various industrial houses, the majority of Dalits despite reservations, scholarships, have remained a part of unorganized sector. With increased in atomization the jobs in the existing unorganized sectors will be restructures and they are not going to go to the unorganized workers of today. The author also opines that the increasing commercialization of education, the freedom to get education is already becoming meaningless, particularly for highly specialized educational branches through which only rich people can be enrolled into knowledge based Industries. It will also create a new division of labor force based on knowledge based Industries. Brahmins and other upper castes will be the main entrants in pure knowledge based Industries and the lower rungs of the Industry will be filled up in the by Dalits.

Palshikar Suhas (2000)\(^{100}\) in his article, ‘Caste, State and Political economy,’ opines that Castes in India provide sustenance to inequality in Indian society and state was expected to provide legal basis for removing caste inequalities and pursue an ideology supportive of the anti caste. There are two factors which affects the relationship between caste and state. The author argues that, almost one decade has passed since some changes in the economy were superstitiously introduced by Indian state (NEP / SAP / liberalisation policies), certain distortions are likely to stem from economic changes which will adversely affect the social interventionists role of state. These economic changes have the potential of altering the economic dimension of caste and this will threw up new challenges for the anti caste discourse.

Thorat S. K. (2000)\(^ {101}\) in his article,’ New economic policy and its impact on employment and poverty of schedules castes, ‘provides vital stastics on situation of scheduled castes vis-à-vis employment and poverty in relation to the impact of new economic policy. The author brings out the fact that growth of employment in the organized sector of the economy (public and private together) dropped from
more than 1.7 per cent per annum in late 1980s to 1.2 per cent in 1991-92 and 0.6 per cent in 1992-93. The trends clearly indicate that rural non-agricultural and urban informal employment has suffers the most under new economic measurers. The author further point out that reservation policy is badly hit by NEP.

**Gail Omvedt, (2000)** in her article, ‘Economic policy, poverty and Dalits,’ discussed the journey of government’s development policy from Nehru model to Narsimha Rao’s liberalization. She points out that NEP began in 1980s with slow liberalization but in 1991 there was a decisive change with the official adoption of NEP by the Narsimha Rao Government. By giving the government estimates on poverty she argues that though the figures shows declined in poverty in the post reform period, it is negligible as compare to the declined in poverty in other Asian countries. By distinguishing Indian reform from that of China she thinks that unlike India, China’s economic reforms focused mainly on rural areas, forming household responsibility system. Finally she opines that, the alternative new economic policy is needed to have a genuine and significant reduction in poverty and to lay the basis for growth with social Justice and release the energies of the poor.

**Rajawat Mamta (2005)** in her book on ‘Development of Dalits’ discussed the economic thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar in compare to Marxist Economic thinking in the light of globalization. The author argues that Ambedkar’s ‘Moral Economy’ which is outlined in Buddha or Karl Marx is not contrasted either to a market economy or a planned economy as such but rather presents a alternative that will make both market and state work for the good of the people. Finally, the author concludes that looking for the most effective combination of state, market and community, Dr. Ambedkar would have supported the kind of globalization that would help the Dalits and other sections of the poor to establish their full place in a world heritage.

**Mandar Harsh (2004)** in his book, ‘The Ripped Chest: Public Policy to the Poor in India,’ argues that the neoliberal policies work mainly for the business of
capital, but not for poor and marginalized sections. The author insists on a strong and active state, regulated markets, legislative interventions for equity and strong genuinely democratic institutions of participatory governance and public accountability. The book also examines the status of ex-untouchables and concludes that despite of growing social and political mobilization and extensive state intervention, Dalits continue to subsists in condition of abject poverty and illiteracy and are victims to the unsociability and atrocities in larger part of the country

Ambedkar B. R. (1989) in his essay, ‘Rock on which Hindus have built their house,’ has ponder over the socio-economic and political downfall of Dalits and backward classes in India. The author discussed how and why the caste system in India did not vanished while similar system in other part of world have been vanished with growth of civilization. He strongly argues that Hindu Religion has made caste system a divine and sacred thing. He also opines that economic activity has always remained outside the sanctity of religion. Hunting society was not without religion but hunting, as an occupation was not made sacred by religion. Hindus are the only people in the world whose economic order-relation of work man to work man is consecrated by religion and made sacred, eternal and inviolate.

Ambedkar B. R. (1979) his book, ‘State and Minorities’, is a blue print of his economic thinking and is a memorandum submitted by the author on behalf of All India Scheduled Caste Federation to the constituent Assembly. Along with many other things the Memorandum prescribed the economic policies and programmes to address the basic needs of country. Some of salient futures of his economic policy are as follows-

1. Key Industries shall be own and run by the State.
2. Industries which are not key Industries but basic Industries shall be own and run by the State.
3. Agricultural shall be State Industry.
4. The land acquired by the Government shall be so distributed that there shall be no landlord and no tenants and no landless laborers.

Dr. Ambedkar assigned an important role to the State in framing and implementing free India’s economic policy. In explaining the purpose behind this proposal Dr. Ambedkar said, ‘the main purpose behind his proposal was to put on obligation on the State to plan the economic life of people without closing every avenue to private enterprises and also provide for the equitable distribution of wealth. His economic scheme is well known and recognized as State socialism.

It is to be noted that Ambedkar’s, over all views on India’s economic policy were not included in the constitution fully. He was of the opinion that State should command the economic policy and it should be a part of constitutional law, so that these policies couldn’t be removed by future legislatures. But this could not be realized due to the strong oppositions from the ruling upper castes.

**Kuber W. N. (1973)**\(^{107}\) in her study, ‘The critical study on Dr. Ambedkar’ has discussed different aspects of Dr. Ambedkar’s contribution towards the Indian society and Dalits in particular. The author has critically analyzed the Dr. Ambedkar’s social, economical, educational, political, cultural and religions views on Indian society. The author observed that, according Dr. Ambedkar the fundamental cause of India’s backward economy was the delay in changing the land system in India’s villages. The study points out that Dr. Ambedkar stood for progressive transformation of society, removing glaring social and economic inequalities that were due to capitalist system. The author concludes that Ambedkar’s ideas of economic relationship was rational so far as it insisted on economic welfare of the poorer and regarded economic values as a means and not as an end in themselves.

**Teltumbde Anand (2003)**\(^{108}\) in his article, ‘Globalization Assessing Impact on the Dalits in India’, Dr. Teltumbde, while assessing the Impact of Globalization on Dalits as poor, Globalization with respect to poor according to him is based on trickle down effect and it is not oriented to benefit the poor. The phenomenon has
left behind calamitous consequences to the poor people all over the world contrary of its found claim about boosting economic growth. Quoting from world Development Report, 1996, the author points out that since its operation over the last two decades growths has been falling in about 100 countries, reduced the income of about 2 billion people. 1 billion people, 30 % of world’s work force is either jobless or unemployed, even in imperialist country 100 million people live below poverty line, 30 millions are unemployed and more than 5 million are homeless. While discussing the impact of Globalization on Dalits the author opines that Globalization has restricted the constitutional space for Dalits. Commenting on the caste system and Globalization the author argues that the popular notion that Globalization which promotes modernity, has weaken the caste and feudalism and there by it is beneficial to the Dalits in socio-cultural terms this inevitably turns out to be bluff. History has shown that capitalism did not dent the castes system but made skillful use of it in dividing the labor.

Thorat S. K. (2002) 109 in his article, ‘Ambedkar’s economic Ideas and liberalization: Emerging Challenges before Dalits,’ discussed the Dr. Ambedkar’s perspectives on economic development and also provides data on situation of Dalits /SCs in the post-reform period. The author points out that according to Dr. Ambedkar’s view industrialization of India was the soundest remedy for its agricultural problems as it would reduce the surplus labors in agriculture. Poverty in India, according to him was due to economy being made entirely dependent upon agriculture alone. Agriculture has failed to produce sufficient food to feed its people; the roots were to be found in the maladjustment of its social economy, according to Ambedkar. Finally, Mr. Thorat concludes that the new economic policy proved to be harmful to the Dalits and poor in terms of rise in poverty, unemployment and caste based market discrimination.

Chandra Ramesh and Sangh Mittra (2003) 110 the authors in their book, ‘Dalits and their Future,’ discussed the impact of Neo-Buddhism on the Dalits in India and abroad. The authors opine that the direct impact of Neo-Buddhism among the
downtrodden masses on the whole at national level is evident in the emergence of Dalit society. The author referring to the impact of Neo-Buddhist elsewhere in the world points out that there is a definite impact of Neo-Buddhism in the United Kingdom, US and many other Western countries.

Sharma Sanjay P (2003)  the author in his book entitled, ‘Dr. Ambedkar : A Crusader of Social Justice,’ has discussed in detailed how a religion like Neo-Buddhism is used by Dr. Ambedkar as an instrument to achieve social justice and addressing the social and economic problems of the Dalits. The author opines that neo-Buddhism does not restricts its influence in the spiritual realm only, it is helping people to an all round development in every sphere of life.

Patvardhan Sunanda (1965) in her Ph. D. thesis investigated the changes in internal structure of six scheduled castes in the urban areas of Pune city. It is the record of the pattern of behavior as it is today and the description of the material changes, the compromises and the non –changes are revealed particularly in the case of Mahars, who are the most numerous and advanced among all the scheduled castes, because of their conversion to Buddhism enemas in 1956. On the one hand published material was collected and on the other 100 families each from three major castes (Mahar, Mang and Chambhar) were selected and 30 families from three different minor castes were selected likewise in all 390 respondents were interviewed. The study found that not a single ‘Mahar’ had kept up his original occupation in this urban sample. Ambedkar’s leadership and the awakening of self-respect, and conversion to Buddhism are some of the important reason for change of traditional occupations in case of Mahars. In case of other two major Scheduled Castes, Matang and Chambhar they still follows the traditional occupations. On educational transformation the study finds that ‘Mahars’ have made good progress in education, compared to the other untouchable communities. However, the researcher observed that their position in rural areas is still unchanged. They are still backwards educationally and economically, compared to higher castes. (p. 95)
Shastree Uttara (1981)\textsuperscript{113} her Ph.D. thesis, ‘Neo-Buddhists: As a Marginal Group in India’, aims at examining the marginal characteristics of the Neo-Buddhist as a group and the changes brought about in their behavior and lifestyles because of their conversion to Neo-Buddhism. The study was conducted in the city of Pune. Preliminary house hold survey of 212 households was conducted from the residential clusters of Neo-Buddhists. Out of this survey of 212 households a further simple random sample of 100 cases was drawn for the detail enquiry by using a guided enquiry schedule. The study found that acceptance of Buddhism was mainly motivated by the desire to raise one’s status. The findings revealed that economic position of the whole group was low. (P. 415) After the conversions the Neo-Buddhists were expected to reject all aspects of Hinduism- their fasts and festivals, God and Goddesses. However, this study reveals that the complete negation of the old has not been still possible for them, their religious practices consists of the elements of both the pattern traditional Hindu ‘Mahar pattern’ and Buddhists pattern. However, the study observed the changes in performance of marriage and funeral ceremonies, in adoption of new festivals like the ‘Buddha Jayanti’, ‘Ambedkar Jayanti’, and observance of fast to honor ‘Buddha Pournima’.

Johannes Beltz (2005)\textsuperscript{114} in his study, ‘Mahar, Buddhist and Dalit: Religious Conversion and Socio-Political Emancipation,’ interviewed 299 Buddhists from urban areas of Maharashtra, particularly from western cities like Mumbai and Pune. The respondents were taken from various spectrum of society from slum dwelling Buddhists to a university Professor Buddhists, the main purpose of the study was how the ex-untouchables perceived themselves as a Buddhists and how Buddhism has worked as a tool of emancipation for the untouchable/Mahars in Maharashtra. The study is an interpretation of oral and written texts. The Interviews constitute a primary source; the secondary data includes original work of Ambedkar published by various editors and government of Maharashtra and Dalit autobiography in Marathi.
The author argues that modernization, industrialization and liberalization of the market have not contributed to the destruction of caste system; it is still omnipresent and prevalent in the Indian society. The author gives a detail explanation of the contemporary Buddhists Movement in Maharahtra and its vital impact on the Dalits in other parts of the country. He also analyzed the role of Dr. Ambedkar and his philosophy in uplifting the Dalits masses and giving them a new identity as Buddhists. The author points out that conversions has brought the psychological changes, it has changed their lifestyle and the way of life completely by giving them new out look But much could not be achieve on economic front. Most of the Buddhists occupy low paid jobs; they are unemployed and excluded from society and the situation is worse in villages where in two third of Buddhists live today.

Roy David R. (2003) in his article, ‘the challenge of Global Capitalism: The Perspective of Eastern Religions,’ opines that although various Asian tradition, have not commented on capitalism, their teachings do include many statements about poverty, wealth creation and other economic themes. The implication of these claims for globalizing capitalism can be developed in the context of Buddhism. The author argues that Buddhism is not a world denying religion. These concerms are reflected in the Buddhists attitudes towards wealth and poverty. According to him, the main issue is not how poor or wealthy we are, but how we respond to our situation. (p. 233). The author thinks that Buddhism do not encourages poverty or denigrates enterprise or wealth. At the same time Buddhism does not approve of a life devoted to acquiring wealth. The ultimate goal of liberating may be more difficult to pursue if we are destitute, but a life focus on money may be as bad, or worse.

for an urgent need to redefining Dr. Ambedkar as a revolutionary icon by linking the Dalit Theory and practice to the revolutionary struggle in the light of Globalization. The author also examines and analyzed the post Ambedkar Dalit movement starting from Dabasaheb Gaikwad to Kanshi Ram. The author is of the opinion that the petty bourgeoisie out look of the Dalits leaders, coming from middle class have killed the revolutionary spirits of Ambedkarites Movement and the author also argued that the most Ambedkarites Dalit movement have ignored the cultural and material aspects of Dalits emancipation project. The authors reviewed Ambedkar views on issues like exploitation, capitalism, imperialism, constitution, democracy, liberal democracy, socialism, State, Buddhism, Marx and Communism so as to pose Dr. Ambedkar as a radical thinker, whose revolutionary Theory could be useful to march the Dalits movement forwards to face the challenges of globalization.

**Kochar Rajesh (2004)** 117 in his article, ‘Decentralized Middle Class: Global Escape from Mandal,’ points out that, coincidently or otherwise, globalization in India has been accompanied by the socially more momentous process of Mandalization, involving transfer of political power to numerically stronger but hither to marginalized middle caste groupings known as OBCs. If globalization had not taken place, it is very likely that Mandalization would have eventually produced a new equilibrium state in which the upper castes would have willy-nilly accepted a diminished role and status consistent with their actual numbers. The author argues that Globalization has disrupted this social process by providing a way out.

**Bardhan Pranab (2001)** 118 in his article, ‘Social Justice in the Global Economy,’ argues that social justice still has a future in the globalize world even if many advocates of social justice are in some state of despair, some of them fear that social Justice is a lost cause in a global economy. The author has tried to analyze the opportunities and insecurities caused by globalization and argued that a great deal of social justice still remains within our grasp despitess of the real constraints
posed by the globalization. The author further point out that today globalization is not an option but indisputable fact of life. Instead we should try to harness the forces of globalization to benefit human welfare and try to limit some of its adverse effects by making the globalization work for the working poor. The author opines that social justice must have an efficient economic base to be sustainable.

**John Harris (2001)**\(^{119}\) the author in his article entitled, ‘Globalization and World’s Poor: Institutions, Inequality and Justice,’ argues that Globalization is a controversial term but it is also a justifying ideology that claims that the world has moved permanently into a new and promising era. The paper recognizes that globalization poses great threats to employment, livelihoods, and human security. The author is of the opinion that there can be no secure future for any of us unless we promote greater global social justice. The author therefore advocates for, intervention in the interest of equity and justice by recognizing that benefits of market driven growth will not automatically reach to poor people. The author expressed the need for global political institutions to better manage and counter balance global market and to help promote social justice.

**Bhatt Umesh (2005)**\(^{120}\) his book, ‘Dalits from Marginalization to Mainstreams,’ argued that the impact of reforms/Globalization on poor can be assessed along several dimensions like food security, inflation and employment.(P:167) and observed that the reform have reversed the two decades long declining trend of poverty. The author points out the fact that in many countries similar reforms are being worked for many years and also there are numerous studies assessing the impact of these reforms on various sections of population and most of them are unanimous in noting that there was a fall in standard of living of subject country for majority of population that has led to wide spread riots and socio political unrest (P:182)The countries where in these reforms have success stories are the countries which have their own specific historical setting, their creation of preconditions for success and strategies they have followed. The author finally points out that atrocities on Dalits have been risen after the Globalization.
Teltumbade Anand, (2007)\textsuperscript{121} in his article, ‘Khairlangi and its Aftermath: Exploding some Myths,’ the author in the above cited article explores the important issues in the light of Khairlangi incident. The author unfolds various myths that economic development would lead to the elimination of caste, author argued that incident of Khairlangi and the atrocities taking place against the Dalits everywhere have proved that the recent economic development did not carry any meaning to Dalits and their questions. The spontaneous reactions of Dalits in the aftermath of Khairlangi showed the discontents of Dalits about the government and its policies on one hand and on the other it also reflects the failure of Dalit politics in Maharashtra.

Thorat Sukhdeo (2005)\textsuperscript{122} in his article, ‘Why Reservation in Private sector is necessary,’ argues and provides reasons for a reservation policy for the private sector as a remedy against discrimination in labor, capital and markets. The author points out the fact that discrimination on the basis of race, religion, ethnicity, national or social origin exists in many nations under diverse social, economic and political systems. In order to correct the imbalance in terms of access to capital assets, employment, education, political participation and other spheres, these countries have turn to practices like reservation, affirmative action, positive action or equal opportunities policies. The author bring to the notice that the affirmative action policy in many of these countries was to begin with used for both public and private sector, but in India despite of the prevalence of discrimination, private sector was exempted from applying a reservation policy. He further points out that all the mainstream economic theories indicate that economic particularly market discrimination has multiple consequences. It hampers economic growth and induces income inequality among the subgroup in the society. The author at the end concludes that the reservation in private sector is needed in India for equity as well as economic growth.

Rodrigues Valerian (2005)\textsuperscript{123} in his article, ‘Ambedkar on Preferential Treatment,’ argues that the opponents of preferential regime do not consider the
principles that persuaded Dr. Ambedkar to propose such policy of preferential treatment. The author argues that, Dr. Ambedkar’s preferential treatment was based on social inclusion and the significance of public presence. Preferential treatment provides an opportunity to persons and groups who have hitherto been denied social presence and were excluded in public life.

Guru Gopal (2005)\textsuperscript{124} in his paper, ‘Corporate Class and its Veil of Ignorance,’ expresses his views on the ongoing debates on reservation in private sector in India and the response of corporate class in India. The author opines that corporate class has remained skeptical on the question of reservation and its response now is vehement and vociferous if not humiliating altogether. The author raised several questions about the credentials of corporate world vis a-vid social justice and asks the basic questions to them- What is the notion of social justice that the corporate class has developed over the period of time? Was it ever committed to social justice? What extent this class has taken a moral lead in facilitating a dignified accommodation of Dalits into a more diversified opportunity structures within the private sector? Have they created diversity based on modernity or have they retained the four fold division represented in the Verna system? The author argues that the corporate class itself is the beneficiary of state protection in a variety of ways but the corporate class began to deviate from social justice/social vision the moment it acquired both capacity and confidence to compete without support of the state.

Babu Shym D. (2006)\textsuperscript{125} in his article, ‘Ensuring Liberalization: Economic and Social,’ opines that liberalization in the present context only means ‘economic liberalization,’ The author argues that Liberalization may be associated with ‘liberalism’ but it does not contain any liberal elements of individual liberty, tolerance, rule of law, equality and so on and they cannot be taken for granted in a society in which caste and communal divisions and discrimination are a rule not an exception. Quoting Dr. Ambedkar, he points out that, political democracy did not ensure social democracy and in today’s economic liberalization, a parallel
process is missing to free the society from oppressions and age old caste prejudices.

Thorat Sukhdeo (2005) in his article, ‘Caste System and Economic Discrimination: Lessons from Theories,’ discussed the essential features of caste system as an economic organization. The author argues that caste system in India is based on unequal and hierarchal assignments of economic rights between the castes and the manner in which the caste based customary rules related to right to property, occupation, employment, wage, education were devised, left no choice to the untouchables except to serve the higher castes as wage laborers.

The paper also reflects on the most neglected theoretical questions of linkages between economic deprivation (Poverty) and economic discrimination. The author points out that there are at least three theoretical formulation/approaches to unfold the economic logic of caste system. a) Mainstream Neo-classical economic approach b) Marxists approach to the caste system c) Ambedkar’s perspective on the caste system. The three theoretical stands on the caste system share a common view that the caste system has its material foundations (p. 72) The author finally concludes that there are more than seven areas in which economic and market discriminations is prevalent in India:


Thorat Sukhadeo and Macwan Martin (2005) in their article, ‘Liberalization and Dalits,’ argues that Globalization has always existed in one form or another but the new globalization involves the withdrawal of the state or minimum role of the state in economic and social governance of the economy and the policies and programmes which had build up the wider participation of the state during the 1950s to 1980s are reversed. The authors point out that many of these policies were devised keeping in view the interests of Dalits and poor and reversal of these policies are going to create adverse impact on the poor and the discriminated groups like Dalits. Given wide spreads market failure associated with caste and
untouchability based discrimination and denial of access to basic service like education, land, housing, health and employment, the author strongly argues for the necessary state intervention in the market based economy.

Despande Ashvini (2005)\textsuperscript{128} in her article, ‘Do market discriminate: some insights from economic theories,’ reflects on the theoretical aspects of market discrimination in the light of oppositions from private sectors to reservations in private sector. The private sector in India has opposed the affirmative action on the ground that markets do not discriminate between individuals based on their identity. It values efficiency and merits. However, the author observed that certain sections of society like Dalits are under represented in the private sector and the degree of under representation increases as one goes up the corporate ladder. Theoretical neo-classical economic literature says that market can and do discriminate base on the identity, and there is more likely that under representation of Dalits is due to the discrimination and not due to the presumed lack of merit.

Dutta Subhabrata (2002)\textsuperscript{129} a paper, ‘Abolition of Poverty in India: A Realistic Appraisal,’ is based on the secondary data of the state as well as country taken from different journals, govt. Publications, expert opinions and World Bank reports. The paper basically analyses the reasons for the failure of poverty alleviation efforts and argues for reviewing the policies, procedures and strategies for poverty eradication programs. The author has listed economic reforms apart from the other reasons for the failure of poverty eradication programs in India. The author in the end argues that economic reforms presents a major challenge which arises from globalization and marketisation and our efforts for socio-economic freedom are going to be overwhelmed by these forces. The basic needs like food, education, health and even environment are in danger and going out of the reach of the poor and under privileged. The benefits of these policies are not trickling down to masses the author argues.

Oommen M.A.(2000)\textsuperscript{130} in his article, ‘Globalization and Poverty in India: Some explanatory Hypotheses,’ examines the impact of economic reforms on poverty
in terms of growth rate in employment, trends in poverty and inequality, annual percentage change in real wages in the post reform periods, IMR in selected states, expenditures made by union Government and state Governments on health and Education, trends in number of beneficiaries falling under poverty eradication scheme like IRDP and PMRY, etc. The author opines that economic reforms do not directly address the poverty and the question of poverty have been suffered because of globalization.

Deshpande Rajeshwari(2002) in her paper, ‘Bhandwali Vikas Ani Jatiprashna,’ presented in a seminar on, ‘Jati Sanstheche Badalte Aadhar,’ Organized by Samaj Prabodhan Sanstha on 22nd August 1999, argues that the globalization and liberalization has made the caste institution more complicated and it has given rised to a new middle class belonging to the upper caste. Globalization and liberalization has root out the democratic culture and it has mainly been responsible for the concentration of material resources in the hands of few upper caste individuals. The author has appealed for the leaders of social movements to take up the issue of economic exploitation of the lower castes in on going process of globalization.

Kurne Anjali (1997) in her Ph. D. thesis, ‘Ethnic Identity and Social Mobility: A case study of the Buddhist in Pune,’ analyzed the relationship between the ethnic identity and social mobility among Buddhist community in the city of Pune and argues that the assertions of new identity as Buddhist by the Dalits/Mahar had lessen their social disabilities, dis-privileges, oppressions and led to their upward mobility and socio-cultural change among them was a result of conversion to Buddhism.

2.4 THEORIES OF GLOBALISATION

The reviews of the theories available on the globalization can be divided into two categories as old theories and the contemporary theories of globalization. There are many theories which tried to explain some dimensions of the globalization in
isolation like World Culture theory, World Polity theory etc. The researcher after reviewing all such theories selected three theories which are more relevant to understand the phenomenon of globalization in the light of the reach and scope of this study. The three theories selected and discussed are - Realism, World System Theory and Liberalism which includes Neo-liberalism. Apart from this to bring and explained the Ambedkarites perspective on Globalization, an attempt has been made to articulate and theories the original thinking of Dr. Ambedkar in the present context of globalization- a new theory, called, ‘Ambedkarism : A theory of Socio-Economic Emancipation of Dalits’, haven attempted to put forth by reviewing the relevant literature available today.

1. Realism
Realism is the dominant theory of international relations. Because it provides most powerful explanations for the state of war which is the regular condition of life in international system- A bold claim made by realists in reference of their tradition. From 1939 to the present, leading theorists and policy makers have continue to view the world through realist lenses.\(^\text{133}\) The prescription it offered were particularly well sorted to Americas rise to become the global hegemony (or leader) Realism taught American leaders to focus on interests rather than ideology, and to realize that great power can coexists even if they have antithetical values and beliefs.\(^\text{134}\)

**Core Elements of Realism.**
1. State is key actor and statism is the term given to the idea of state as the legitimate representative of the collective will.
2. The first priority of the state is to ensure its survival
3. Self help is the principal of action in an anarchical system, where there is no global government.\(^\text{135}\)

**Statism**
Realist considers the meaning of sovereign state in terms of use of force. There is a relationship between the state and use of legitimate force within a given territory.
The basis of use force by the state is the unwritten contract between the individual and the state that we trade our liberty in return for a guarantee of security. Once security has been established, civil society can begin. But in the absence of security there can be no art, no culture and no society.\textsuperscript{136}

The realist argues that whilst the state is able to exercise authority (legitimate power) internally, in its external relations, and sovereign state coexists with other state in an anarchic system. In anarchy, state competes with other state for security, markets, influence and so on. What kind of power are Realist talking about? why do state struggle for power? Why is the accumulation of power? Is the power means to an end or an end in itself? These are important question, which has always puzzled the Realists.\textsuperscript{137}

The contemporary structural realists have recently sought to bring more conceptual clarity in their understanding of world political system. \textbf{Kenneth Waltz} tries to overcome the problem by shifting the focus from power to capabilities. He suggested that state can have various capabilities like size of population, economic capability, resources capability, military strength, political stability and competency.\textsuperscript{138}

\textbf{Survival:} The primary objective of all states is survival. Modern realists believed that the realm of international politics requires different moral and political rules than those apply to domestic politics. The tasks of understanding international politics and need to protect the state at all costs place a heavy burden on the shoulders of the state leaders. Henry Kissinger, the academic realists who worked as a secretary of state during Nixon presidency, said that, a nation’s survival is its first and ultimate responsibility it cannot be compromised or put to risk (1977). Realists argue that state is the supreme good of there can be no community beyond borders. Without a common cultures, and common institutions, the idea of an international community is seriously premature.\textsuperscript{139}
**Self Help:** Kenneth Waltz’s path breaking work, the theory of international politics brought to the realist tradition a deeper understanding of the international system within which states coexists.

Waltz argued and differentiated between domestic politics and international politics. According to him:

- Key difference between them lies in their structure.
- In the domestic polity citizens do not have to defends themselves
- In the international system there is no higher authority to prevent and counter the use of force.
- Security can therefore only be realized through self help. But in the course of providing for one’s own security, the state in question will automatically be facing the insecurity of other states. Term given to this is security Dilemma.
- Security dilemma exists (According to Wheeler and Booth, when the military preparations of one state create an unresolvable uncertainty in the minds of other states of to whether those preparations are for defensive purpose or for offensive purpose.
- Is there any escape form security dilemma?
- There is divergence opinion in the realist camp.\(^{140}\)
- Structural realist believes that security dilemma is a pyramidal condition of international politics.

On the other hand historical realist believes that even in self help system, the dilemma can be mitigated by the principle mechanism operation of balance of power. Throughout the history of the modern states system, the balance of power has been considered to be essential to preserving the liberty of states. Maintaining a balance of power therefore becomes the central objective in the foreign politics of great powers.\(^{141}\)
All varieties of Realism are united in view that the balance of power is not a stable condition. The balance of power is broken either through war or peaceful change and new balances emerge.

In the self help system of international politics the logic of self interests mitigates against the provision of collective goods such as ‘security’ or free trade. In case of latter, according to the theory of comparative advantage, all states will be wealthier in a world that allowed freedom. States or groups of states (EU) can increase their wealth by pursuing protectionists policies logical outcome of this is that the remaining states also becomes protectionists resulting into the collapsing international trade of world recession that reduces the wealth of each state.

The contemporary liberal solution to this problem is through the construction of regimes. In other words, by establishing patterns of rules, norms and procedures as embodied in GATI, WTO. States are likely to be more confident about other states will comply with the rules and that defectors will be punished.142

**Different types of Realism** 143

Articulating a unified theory of realism has been criticized by many writers sympathetic to the tradition (M.J. Smith, 1986:3). Consistent with the argument that there is not one realism but many.

1 Classical Realism (up to 20th century)
2 Modern Realism (1939-79) and
3 Neo- Realism (1979on words).

An interesting question to ask is whether the Realism will have the last word? Many contemporary theorists would argue that the disciplines centre of gravity is already shifting away from Realism towards a new kind of liberalism, a theory more appropriate for the post cold war era. More radical voices argue that we needed transformations in our political imagination in terms of widening our sense
of community beyond the confines of the sovereign state which realist takes for granted.\footnote{144}

2. World System Theory

Compare to realism and pluralism, this theory presents a rather unfamiliar view of international relations. World system theory aims to expose a much deeper and hidden truth of world politics which occurs within a structure which shapes, determines and define those events. That structure is that of a world system organized according to the logic of global capitalism. In addition to presenting a rather unfamiliar view of world politics, world system theory is also discomforting, for it argues that the effect of the structure of the world system is to ensure that the powerful and the wealthy continue to prosper at the expenses of the powerless and the poor.

The theory also argues that there is a gross inequality today in the world, according to 1996 United Nations Human Development Report, the total wealth of the worlds 358 billionaires is equal to the combined incomes of the poorest 45 percent of the world population (Steve Hobden and Richard Wyn Jones, 1997: 926). The structure of a world system organized according to the logic of global capitalism in such a way that the ‘good life’ of the few is dependent on the misery of the many.\footnote{145}

The world system theorists are influenced by the ideas of Karl Marx and Marxism. The world system Theorist is reiterating an argument made by Karl Marx who claimed that:

“Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality at the opposite pole.”\footnote{146}

\textbf{Origin:} Most of the writing of Karl Marx on the international affairs is of journalistic type. He did not incorporate the international dimension into his theoretical mapping of the contours of capitalism. Taking into the consideration his writing on various societal and economical issues there is a sheer possibility that Marx’s work would be contingent and unfinished. After his death many those
who have taken inspiration from Marx’s approach, like Hobson, Luxemburg, Bukharin, Hilferding, and Lenin have tried to utilize Marxian ideas to analyze the international sphere. 147.

Lenin argued that capitalism has entered into the new stage its highest and final stage with the development of monopoly capitalism. One of the effects of this is capitalism now have to be viewed in a broader international context, rather than the predominantly domestic context scrutinized by Marx. This departure from Marx had a far reaching implication in understanding the upcoming new world order. 148.

Lenin’s theory of imperialism could alerts us to two important features of the world system approach to understand the world politics:
1. All politics- International and domestic takes place within the framework of a capitalistic world economy.
2. The contention that states are not the only important actors in the international relations, social classes are also significant. 149

Immanuel Wallerstein: The world system is the central feature of Wallerstein’s work. He contends that the appropriate unit for the study of social or societal behavior is a world system (1991). He argues that all social phenomena, from poverty to ethnic conflicts in various parts of the world have to be understood in the context of this larger entity called “world system.” He further argued that the efforts to distinguish between, economic phenomena and political and socio-cultural phenomena are misleading. Nothing in the system can be understood in isolation and holistic approach is the only way to understand that phenomenon. Secondly any one designing to explain changes within the system must seek to focus upon internal dynamics responsible for change rather than external factors, this means that if the system were cut off from the external influence the outcome within the system would be identical. 150

Wallerstein argues that history has witnessed two types of world systems
1. World Empires System
2 World Economic System

The main area to distinguish between these two systems is how decisions about resource redistribution are made.

**In a world empire system** a centralized political system uses its power to redistribute its resources from peripheral areas to central core area.

**In the world economic system**, there is no single centre of political authority, but rather we finds multiple centers of powers, resources are therefore not distributed through any centralized power but through the medium of market.

However, Wallerstein further says that even though the mechanism for resource distribution is different in both the system, the net effect in both is similar and it is the transfer of resources from the peripheral areas to the core.\(^{151}\)

**The modern world system** is an example of a world economy. According Wallestein, this system emerged in Europe somewhere at the turn of the 16\(^{th}\) century, and thereafter it expanded to other parts of the globe to implicate every corner of the world into its ambit and driving force behind this expansion and incorporation has been the ‘ceaseless’ accumulation of capital or capitalism.

Thus the modern world system is above all is a capitalists system of production for a sale in a market for profits and in appropriation for of these profits on the basis of individual or collective ownership

**Modern World System in Space and Time:** The modern world system can be described in terms of space and time. The spatial dimensions focus upon the differing economic roles played by different regions within the world economy Lenin’s theory of imperialism talks about a core periphery division based on a geographical division of labors. According to this view, core is home to those production processes which requires the highest levels of skills and greatest concentration of capital, whilst periphery as source of raw materials. However, Wallerstind has controversially included another economic zone in his description of the world economy, an “**intermediate semi periphery**”.
According to Wallestein semi peripheral zone plays an intermediate role within the world system displaying the combination of characters common in both the zones. Because of this hybrid nature, the semi peripheral plays important economic and political roles within the modern world system.

According to World system theorists, the three zones of the world economy are linked together in an exploitative relationship in which wealth is drained away from the periphery to the centre.  

In order to understand the dynamics of the interaction of these three dimensions/zones of modern world system, over time, Wallestein introduced one more dimension and that is temporal dimensions. It is these when combined with the spatial dimensions determines the historical trajectory of the system. Wallerstein has outlined four temporal processes at work in the modern world system. They are as follows:
1) Cyclical Rhythms.
2) Secular Trends
3) Contradictions and
4) Crisis.

**Crisis in the Modern World System**

Modern world system is entering its period of crisis. The world stability which is gained by geo-cultural forces combined with the political organizations of modern world system is presently losing its balance, because of the overpressures. Given the collapse of Soviet Union and set backs to leftist’s states, is it not the case that there is no alternative to the free market economy and liberal democracy? Wallerstein belief that current world system is passing through a serious trouble/crisis. He outlined the sources of crisis as

1) The economic source of crisis.
2) Political source of crisis
3) Geo-cultural sources of crisis.
World System Theory and Globalization: Globalization is the name given to the process where by social transactions of all kinds increasingly takes place without accounts for national or state boundaries with the result that the world has become “one relatively borderless social sphere”. The trends in globalization includes, growing integration of national economies, awareness about ecological interdependence, proliferation of companies, social movements and intergovernmental agencies operating on a global scale, and a communications revolution which has been mainly responsible for the development of global consciousness.

The world system Theorists would certainly do not deny that these developments are taking place and its importance today. However what they reject is any notion that they are novel in origin. They are continuation of the trends that have long accompanied the expansion of capitalism (Chase-Dannr: 1994). According to world system Theorists like Wallerstein, the world has long been dominated by a single economic and political entity- the modern world system which has gradually incorporated all of humanity within its grasp. Within this system, all elements have always been interrelated and interdependent. National economies have long been integrated to such an extent that their very nature has been dependent on their position within a capitalist’s world economy the only ‘new’ is an increased awareness of these linkages and the growing awareness about the ecological and environmental degradation. The growth of MNCS does not signify any major change in the structure of modern world system.

The danger of adopting an historic and uncritical attitude to globalization is that it can blind us to the way in which reference to globalization is increasingly becoming part of an ideology of elites within world system. Globalization is now regularly cited as reasons to promote measures to reduce workers rights and lessen other constrains on business. Many business enterprises pressurized the state by arguing that unless businesses are allowed to function without any constraints, they will not be able to compete in a globalizing economy.
3. Liberalism:

In the 20th century, liberal thinking influenced policy making elites and public elites and public opinion in the number of western states after the First World War an era often referred in academic circle as Idealism.

There was a brief resurgence of liberal sentiment at the end of the World War II, with the birth of the United Nations, although these flames of hope were soon extinguished by the return of cold war power politics (Timothy Dunne, 1997:148). The end of the cold war has seen a resources of liberals as western state leaders proclaimed a New World Order and liberal intellectuals provided theoretical justifications for the inherent supremacy of liberalism over all other competing ideologies.

One of the most respected contemporary theorists in liberalism is Stanley Hoffmann, once famously wrote that international affairs have been the nemesis of liberalism. Essence of liberalism according to Hofmann is: Self restraint, moderation, compromise and peace ‘where as the essence of international politics is exactly the opposite: troubled peace, at best or the state of war (Hoffmann, 1987) 155

Varieties of Liberalism

Liberal thinking on International relations originated with the various plans for peace articulated by philosophers and theologians from the early sixteenth century. Early liberals rejected the ideas that conflict was a natural condition for relations between states. In 1517, Erasmus first talked about a familiar liberal theme that war is not profitable. To overcome it kings and princes of Europe must desire peace and perform kind gestures in relations with fellow sovereigns in the expectations that these will reciprocated. Other early liberal thinkers placed an emphasis upon the need for international structures to constrain international ‘out laws’. Towards the end of 17th century, William Penn advocated a ‘Diet (Parliaments) of Europe. Penn envisaged that the number of delegates to the parliament should be proportionate to the power of state and legislations to pass
required qualified majority voting (75 per cent of the delegates). These broad sketches of ideas from some of the progenitors of liberal thinking in international relations shows from Pemis plan for ‘Diet’ in 1963 to the treaty on European union in 1992 there are common themes underlying liberalism.\textsuperscript{156}

**Three Patterns of thoughts As Principle constituents of liberalism:**

1) Liberal Internationalism
2) Idealism
3) Liberal Institutionalism

1) Liberal **Internationalism:** Immanuel Kant (18\textsuperscript{th} century philosopher) and Jeremy Bentham were two leading liberal Internationalists, both were reacting to the barbarity of international relations (low less state of savagery) Kant believed that human potentiality can only be realized through the transformation of individual attitude as well as the binding of states together into some kind of federation (In this sense Kant advocates for an international Institutions). The liberal internationalists believes that democratic forms of governments are inherently superior. For Kant the imperative to achieve perpetual peace required the transformation of individual consciousness, republic constitutionalism and federal contract between the states to abolish war. This federation can be a permanent peace treaty rather than a ‘super state’ actor or world government.

Jeremy Bentham tried to address the specific problem of the state’s tendency to resort to war as a means of settling international disputes. He is for the Establishment of a common tribunal. Plans for a permanent peace imply an extension of the social contract between individuals in domestic society to states in the international system- in other words subjecting the states to a system of legal rights and duties. Liberal internationalists unlike idealists believed that a law governed international society can emerge without a world government.\textsuperscript{157}

2) **Idealism:** Like liberal internationalism, the era of idealism (From the early 1900 to 1930s) was motivated by the desire to prevent war. However, many idealists were skeptical that laissez faire economic principles, like free trade,
would deliver peace. Idealist, like A Hobson, argued that imperialism the subjugation of foreign people and their resources was becoming the primary cause of conflict in international politics. Hobson further argued that imperialism resulted from under consumption within developed capitalist societies, this led capitalists to search for higher profits overseas which became a competitive dynamic between states leading to war.

The First World War shifted the liberal thinking towards the recognition that peace is not a natural condition but is one which must be constructed. Woodrow Wilson, the former, US president and perhaps the most famous advocate of an international authority for management of international relations also reiterated the need for creation of international institutions to secured peace and regulate the international anarchy. Security could not be left to secret bilateral deals and a blind faith in the balance of power. Like domestic society, international society must have a system of governance based on democratic procedures for coping with disputes and an international force which could be mobilized if negotiations failed. League of Nations was the general association, which the idealists willed into existence. Collective security system was central to the idea of League of Nations. Although the League of Nations was the principal organ of the idealist interwar order, it is important to note that other ideas which dominated liberal thinking in early 20th century- education became an vital addition to the liberal agenda.

Outside of the military security issue area, liberal ideas made an important contribution to the global politics even during the cold war. Principle of self determination championed by liberal internationalists for centuries signaled the end of empire. The protection of individuals from human rights abuses was enshrined in the three standard setting documents.

1) Universal Declaration 1948
2) The convent on economic, social and cultural rights and
3) Convent on civil and political Rights
The problem of the uneven distribution of wealth and power between the developed and developing world is one which has been championed by a succession of liberal state leaders, from the 1980 Brand Report to the recently published 1995 Report by the commission on global governance, chaired by Ingvar Carlson (the Swedish Prime Minister) and Shridath Ramphal (Former Secretary General of the Commonwealth).

3) Liberal Institutionalism:

The collapse of the League of Nations signified the end of idealism. Yet certain fundamental tenets remained. Even in the early 1940s, there was a reorganization of the need to replace the league with another international institution with responsibility for international security and peace.

1) David Mitrany (1943) an integration theorists argued that transnational co-operation was required in order to resolve common problem.

2) Positive benefits from international co-operation lies at the core of liberal institutionalism and remains central to neo-liberal institutionalisms.

3) The work of liberal institutionalists like Mitrany has provided an important impetus to closer co-operation between European states.

4) By the late 1960s and early 1970s a new generation of scholars (Particular in the U.S.) influenced by the European integration literature, began to examine in greater analytical depth the impact of modernization on the state system, they rejected the state centric view of the world adopted by traditional realists and behaviourists.

5) World politics According to liberal institutionalists or (Pluralists as they are often called) were no longer an exclusive arena of state.

6) Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye argued that centrality of other non state actors such as interests groups, TNCS and international NGOS had to be taken into consideration (1972)
7) Most important contribution of pluralism was its elaboration of interdependence, due to the expansion of capitalism and the emergence of the global culture. 160

**Liberalism and Globalization**

Previously discussed three elements of liberalism could be updated as a response to globalization by attaching prefix ‘Neo’ to each of these elements.

**Neo- liberal Internationalism**

Kant philosophical sketch on perpetual peace is that liberal status to not go to war with other liberal states one of the ‘big ideas’ in he theory practice of international relations in 1990s in known of democratic peace thesis. (Ibid: 155) Although empirical evidences seem to support the democratic peace thesis, the supporters of democratic peace must provide an explanation as to why war has become unthinkable between the two liberal states. Over two centuries ago Kant argued that if the decision to use force was taken by the people rather than by the Prince, frequency of the conflict would have been drastically reduced, here Kant is talking about the conflict between liberal and non-liberal state and this has proven to be contrary to the historical evidence. Therefore an alternative explanation for the ‘democratic peace thesis’ might be that liberal states tends to be wealthy and therefore have less to gain and more to lose by engaging in conflicts by the poorer authoritarian states. Finally we can say that liberal states tend to be in peaceful relationships with other liberal states. This is further brought to the notice of world community by Francis Fakuyama (1989) in his thesis “End of History”, which celebrated the triumph of liberalism over all other ideologies, contending that liberal states are more stable internally, and more peaceful internationally

At the political level, the powerful states in the international system are able to use institutional structure to bring the other non-liberal states into their
orbit, (Liberal world) e.g. Russia if wants to be a member of G-7 group, it must demonstrated liberal credentials first.

About the third world countries the most effective tool to bring them into the ambit of liberalism was confidentiality: Policies developing countries must perceive in return for economic benefits. (Conditions imposed by IMF, W.B. WTO) more recently compliance to human right norms, Good governance etc.

**Neo-Idealism:** like idealist of interwar period, neo-idealists have a good deal in common with liberal internationalism both share a commitment to democratic forms of government, and both believe that interdependence breeds peace. Neo idealists believe peace and justice are not natural conditions; they are the product of deliberate design. Encouraging or even coercing non-liberal states to become more democratic is only a part of bringing truly liberal world into existence. Neo-idealists believes that international institutions needs to be reforms in order to make them more democratic and global social movements must be brought into the decision making process since they are more closer to the people than the government Neo-idealists are more prone to point to the dark side of globalization than liberal internationalists.

**Neo-liberal Institutionalism:** In 1980, pluralism metamorphosed into neo-liberalism. The most important and substantive revision to pluralism concerns the shift from a state centric approach to the world politics (Keohane and Nye, 1977):\(^{161}\)

**Neo-Liberalism:** The doctrinal basis of today’s globalization is provided by the neo-liberalism that represented the revival of economic liberalism propounded by Adam Smith in his famous book titled ‘Wealth of Nations’. The economic liberalism advocated the abolition of government intervention in the economic sector and considers free trade as the best way for the nation’s economy to
develop. These ideas were liberal in the sense of ‘no control’ and ruled the world through 1800 and early 1900s till the great depression of early 1930s and later on replaced by the theory of British economist John Maynard Keynes.  

The Core Principles of Neoliberal Institutionalism Can Be Highlighted Into Four Categories.

1) **Actor:** Liberal institutionalisms take for granted state as a legitimate representation of society; Neo-liberal institutionalisms admit the importance of Non-state actors but places them subordinate to the state.

2) **Structure:** liberals broadly accept the structural condition of anarchy in the international system, but it does not mean co-operation between the states is impossible as it is demonstrated by the international regimes.

3) **Process:** Integration at the regional and global level is increasing Formation of EU is considered as vital for the future neo-liberal institutionalism.

4) **Motivation:** States will enter into co-operative relations even if another state will gain more from the relations.  

2.5 Ambedkarism: A Theory of Socio-Economic Emancipation Of Dalits.

“The British have an Empire. So have the Hindus. For is not Hinduism a form of imperialism and are not the untouchables a subject race, owing their allegiance and their servitude to their Hindu Master? If Churchill must be asked to declare his war aims how anybody could avoid asking Mr. Gandhi and the Hindus to declare their war aims.”

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Ambedkar’s main aim was to liberate and emancipate the ‘untouchables of India’ from the yoke of Hindu social slavery, to achieve this object he fought, relentlessly, the unjust society on all fronts-Social, Religious, Economic and Political. Ambedkar was clear that the real emancipation of Dalits could only be possible under the self rule and exhorted Dalits to have it as their aim.
his contribution in social, political, law and Religion is well acknowledged by the Indians, his contribution to Indian Economy has been overlooked and remained underestimated not only by the ordinary people but by the so called experts in the areas of Economics. His economic ideas are more relevant today than ever before since the ruling elites have done away with what they had promised in the constitution. Dr. Ambedkar did not develop a full fledged economic theory, he developed a general Theory of caste system of which economic dimensions was an integral part. Dr. Ambedkar examined the economic foundations of the caste system and its characteristics. He was the first thinker who initiated a debate on Economics of Caste system. He was probably the first thinker to analyze economic dimensions of social maladies in India, such as, Caste system and untouchability. Even the fact that the Constitution of India is said to have embodied more economic and financial provisions than any other constitution in the world which can be attributed to influence of Dr. Ambedkar as an Economist. Much of Dr. Ambedkar’s economic thinking is reflected in his writing as follows:

1. Administration and Finance of East India Company - 1915
2. Evolution of Provincial Finance of British India – 1917.
3. Small Holdings in India and their Remedies. 1919
5. Annihilation of castes (1936)
6. States and Minorities (1947) and
7. Buddha and Karl Marx. (1956)

Whether Dr. Ambedkar was socialist, liberal democrats, a Reformer, a revolutionary or constitutionalists, an emancipator and a modern ‘Bodhisattav’ the different facets of his personalities reflects all these. As a socialists he is different than the traditional socialists in India and in Europe. While making his point very clear and exposing the fallacy of so-called pseudo socialists he said:

Can the socialists ignore the problem arising out of the social order? The socialists of India following their fellows in Europe are seeking to apply the
economic interpretation of history to the facts of India. They propound that man is an economic creature and his activities and aspirations are bound by economic facts, that property is the only source of power. They therefore, preach that political and social reforms are but gigantic illusions and that economic reforms by equalization of property must have precedence over every other kind of reform. One may contend that economic motive is not the only motive by which man is actuated. That economic power is the only kind of power no student of human society can accept. That the social status of an individual by itself often becomes a source of power and authority is made clear by the sway, which the mahatmas have held over the common man. Why do the millionaires in India obey penniless Sadhus and Fakirs… that religion is the source of power is illustrated by the history of India where the priest holds a sway over the common man often greater than magistrate…”  

Then Dr. Ambedkar concludes that Religion, social status and property are also sources of power and authority, which can control the liberty of others. If liberty is the ideal, if liberty means the destruction of dominion which man holds over another than it can not be insisted upon that economic reform are the only kinds of reform worth of pursuit. If the sources of power and dominion are social and religious then social reform and religious reforms must be accepted as the necessary sort of reforms. Dr. Ambedkar goes further and question the socialists in India that, 

Economic reform, which they want, cannot come about unless there is a revolution. The revolution must be led by the proletariat. Will the proletariat of India combine to bring about this revolution? They will not join revolution unless they are convinced that they will be given due share after the revolution and there will be no discrimination on the basis of castes and creed. The assurances of socialist that they do not believe in caste will not suffice… can it be said that proletariat of India, poor as it is, recognize no distinctions except that of rich and poor? , Can it he said that poor in Indian recognize no such distinctions of caste or
creed, high or low?. If the fact is that they do, what unity of front can be expected from such a proletariat in its action against the rich? and therefore how can there be a revolution if the proletariat cannot present a united front? and even if by chance or by some freak of fortune a revolution does take place and socialist come in power will they have not to deal with the problem of caste/social order How a socialist state in India can functions for a second without solving the problem of castes. Ambedkar argues that caste system is defended even today and it is defended on the ground that caste system is another name for division of labor and it is a necessary feature of every civil society and there is nothing wrong in the caste system. Ambedkar argued that it is not only the division of labour but it is also division of laborers. Caste system is not merely a division of labors it is a hierarchy in which the divisions of laborers are graded one above the other… this division of labour is not spontaneous; it is not based on a natural aptitudes. Social and individual efficiency requires us to develop the capacity of an individual to the point of competency to choose and make his own career. This principle is violated in a caste system. Individuals are selected not on the basis of trained original capacities, but on the basis of social status of parents. Dr. Ambedkar drew the attention that industry is always changing. With such changes an individual must be free to change his occupation otherwise it would be impossible for him to gain his livelihoods. The caste system will not allow Hindus to take up occupation which are not assigned to them by heredity, caste system becomes a cause of unemployment in our country.

Dr. Ambdekar as an economic of high stature was convinced that capitalism in present form as an economic system could not solve India’s basic problems of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and socio-economic inequality. Dr. Ambedkar’s, over all views on India’s economic policy were not included in the constitution fully. He was of the opinion that State should command the economic policy. State’s economic policy should be a part of constitutional law. So that these policies could not be removed by future legislatures. His economic
thoughts are well reflected in a Memorandum, “States and Minorities,” submitted by Dr Ambedkar on behalf of All India Scheduled Caste Federation to the constituent Assembly. Along with many other things the Memorandum prescribed the economic policies and programmes to address the basic needs of country. Some of salient future of his economic policy which is popularly known as ‘State Socialism’ are as follows:

1. Key and basic industries shall be own and run by the State.
2. Private Industries shall have the scope in industries other than key industries.
3. Agricultural shall be State Industry.
4. The land acquired by the Government shall be so distributed that there shall be no landlord and no tenants and no landless laborers.

**Buddha, Karl Marx and Gandhi M. K.**

Dr. Ambedkar in his essay ‘Buddha or Marx’ argues that most of Marxist propositions have been historically invalidated as the proletariat has not became increasingly immiserated and revolutionary, State has not withered away after revolutions. Marx’s assertions of private property as the origin of exploitation and of class conflict remain, in Ambedkar’s words a residue of fire, small but still very important (Moon 1990, requoted by Rajwat Mamata, Ibid). Ambedkar turn to Buddhism with what may be called ‘Moral economy’ solution to the problems of exploitation.

There is a great similarity in the philosophy of Buddha and Karl Marx as both talks about the exploitation of one class by the other but what differs them is the means to end the exploitation. Some of the points which are found to be common among them are:

1) The function of religion is to constructs the world and make it happy and not to explain its origin or its end.

2) The unhappiness in the world is due to conflict of interests and the only way to solve it is to follow the Ashtanga Marga.
3) The private ownership of property brings powers to one class and sorrows to another.

Dr. Ambedkar evaluated these two methods of social transformation and consider that the means provided by the Buddhist approach are more superior and of permanent nature where as the means provided by Marxist Theory are short sighted, based on violence and dictatorships and hence they are not the permanent solution to human problems. Dr. Ambedkar believed that Buddhism creates a society aim at by the communist that is a society bases on equality but without dictatorship or force. One of the major problem with the communist was they never considered caste as a problem. In a ‘base’ and ‘structure’ debate, for the communist caste is not the ‘base’ it structures which will collapse automatically once the economic problems are taken care of. Dr. Ambedkar never agreed to their economic interpretation of history saying that economy is not the only source of power.

Dr. Ambedkar never rejected Marxism simply because of the role of force unlike Gandhi he did not see non-violence as absolute or religiously based principle. This argument is that we cannot (and Buddha did not) renounce force when it is necessary to obtain justice. [Buddha] certainly would not have exempted property owners from force if force was the only means for the end. But this kind of force was not necessary, Dr. Ambedkar argues, because equality and abolition of private property was achieved in the Bhikhu Sangha through voluntary means, and second because morality and welfare state could ensure that private accumulation of wealth did not lead to impoverishment.

Moral Economy and Dr. Ambedkar: Provoked by the failures of state socialism as in Russia and by the resurgence of issues of identity, culture and spirituality, many theorists and activists are countering their attack on immorality of commercial capitalism and writing about the need for moral economy. Ambedkar would have agreed as it was his main criticism on Marxism. But Ambedkar’s ‘moral’ economy differs from the version put forward by many in
India and abroad. The guiding theme for their moral economy is a neo-Gandhian Hinduism upon which Ambedkar would have been thoroughly disagreed. Morality in economic life required according to him, a firm rejection of pseudo morality of traditional ‘Hinduism’ it had to be grounded in the there revolutionary values-liberty, equality and fraternity and it presumed the overcoming of poverty through the development of human productive forces Ambedkar look at this as a universal ideals, necessary for the welfare of the Bahujan Samaj.  

In contrast to Gandhian nation of ‘limitation of needs, Ambedkar never accepted the equation of morality with suffering, poverty, asceticism or renunciation of money and consumption. As he wrote “This time honored complaint of the moralists against love of money finds its justification in the economic circumstances which gave rise to particular belief… at a time when the whole world was living in a ‘pain economy’ as did the ancient world and when the productivity of human labor was extremely low in short the whole world was living in poverty, it is natural that moralists should have preached the gospel of poverty and renunciation of worldly pleasures only because they were not to be had (Moon, 1990). Dr. Ambedkar’s moral economy then was to be one of abandon and wealth accumulation. His rejection of Christian glorification of poverty is consistent with this. It seems at the end of his life the returned to his first insight,” the trouble… is not with property but with the unequal distribution of it. 

**Dr. Ambedkar and Globalization**

Dr. Ambedkar’s major writing on economic issues in the early 1920s bear the mark of general mainstream economic perspective. It shows the identification with working classes and critiques of imperialism. He was attracted towards Keynes economic ideas but had differences about his theories which lead to the exploitation of labors. After 1930s there was a gradual change in his economic thinking and height of his economic radicalism came in late 1940s. The central ideas of his economy in the context of Liberalization includes:

1) A Socialist framework with parliamentary democracy.
2) Efficient and productive working of public sector undertakings.
3) Planned Economic Development.
4) Emphasis on industrialization to reduce the pressure on agriculture.
5) Capital investment in agriculture sector to improve the productivity.
6) Focus of planning on the labors, poor and socially downtrodden.
7) Provision of protection against economic and social discrimination in the form of reservation policy for downtrodden.
8) General belief in the scientific development and modern technology.¹⁸³

As against of these main elements of Dr. Ambedkar’s thinking the New economic policy is bases on free trade and drastic reduction in social and economic role of the government…hence the policies and programmes which were designed by Dr. Ambedkar in 1950s and 1960s are being completely reversed. They were frame keeping in mind the interest of the poor and disadvantaged sections of the society. Reversal of these policies is going to create adverse consequences for the poor and the socially deprived sections of the society.¹⁸⁴
Chart 1: Ambedkar Vs. Globalization, comparative policy prescriptions

<table>
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<th>Policy Prescriptions of Globalization</th>
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<td>Neoliberalism as Ideology</td>
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<td>Statelessness, Withdrawal of State</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protective Discrimination</td>
<td>The law of merit- a bluff</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democracy(Social and Economic)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Equality, Brotherhood and Fraternity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Inclusion</td>
<td>Social Exclusion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brahmanism And Capitalism as two Enemies of Dalit-Bahujans</td>
<td>Further consolidated their positions in open Market Economy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Principle of Moral Economy</td>
<td>corruptions, bribes, Economic crime, scams rampant</td>
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<td>Nationalisation of Land for its Redistribution among the landless poor</td>
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<td>Privatization of Water, electricity and pro-capitalist housing policies against masses</td>
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Source: Kirtiraj D. C. 2007 185

The Way Out…Buddha’s Way

The last years of Ambedkar’s life were preoccupied with Buddhism. Ambedkar began to look towards Buddhism as the solution not only to problems of caste system but also to economic exploitation of the poor and Dalits 186. From the methodological points of view Dr. Ambedkar looked at religion as an instrument of social revolution which will ultimately lead to socio-economic emancipations of Dalits and downtrodden. He preferred ‘Buddhism’ a way out for the cause of socially deprived communities. He used it as a weapon to establish a new society based on the new values-liberty, equality and fraternity. Since the root of the problem lies in Hinduism as a religion and religion is the necessity of poor
and downtrodden. He stood for the complete destruction of Hinduism and bringing Buddhism in its place. The religion based on injustice and immorality was replaced by another religion (Buddhism) based on Justice and Morality to create a new social order.

**Globalization: Buddhist Perspective:** It will be interesting to study as to how Buddhist philosophy looks at the phenomenon of globalization and what relevance Buddhism has in a globalizing world or in a global village. At the outset let us make it clear that there are many Buddhism, Buddhism is practiced in different forms in different regions of the world. The Buddhism filtered by Dr. Ambedkar is widely called as Ambedkari Buddhism. It is a type of ‘Buddhism’ in its own way. Raosaheb Kasabe a well known thinker and a Ambedkarite called it as ‘Ambedkars Nav Yan’\(^\text{187}\). It is neither Heena Yan nor a Maha Yan. The Buddhism as preached by Dr. Ambedkar in his highly celebrated book ‘Buddha and His Dhamma’ has a lot of relevance in the context of globalization. The globalization is marked by prosperity at one end and the disparity at the other. The social processes of globalization have completely destroyed the moral and ethical framework of the society, leading to the increased in violence, conflict, bribery and corruption. The State as an Institution of social governance is shrinking day by day. The society like ours, which is already, fragmented into castes and sub-castes it becomes necessary to find some kind of mechanism, which will bind them together. This mechanism can be a religion based on science and morality- here Buddhism stands at the first place. Because in Buddhism Dhamma is Niti and Niti is Dhamma(Ambedkar 1992) In a speech delivered by pope John Paul II to the papal Academy of social social sciences on 27\(^{th}\) April 2001, said about globalization, ‘as humanity embarks upon the process of globalization, it can no longer do without a common code of ethics.'\(^\text{188}\)

Buddhists teachings do not include a developed economic theory, but it does have important economic implications, which can be further developed in order to responds to the new world order being created by globalizing capitalism.
Buddhism does not separate economic issues from ethical or spiritual ones. Distribution issues of who gets what, and how they get it, always has moral dimensions, so that issues of production, exchange, and distribution should not be left only to the dictates of the market place. If some people receive much more than they need, and many others receive much less than they need, some sort of redistribution is necessary and ‘Dana’ is the traditional way of redistributing wealth or income.  

From Buddhists perspective, it is more difficult to ignore that capitalism often promotes and even requires greed in two ways is continue desire for profits and “In order to keep making that profit consumers must continue wanting to consume more According to UNDHR Report of 1999, world spent at least and 435 billions in the previous year on advertising excluding PR and marketing. Higher incomes have enabled many people to be more generous, but increased Dana has not been the main effect because capitalism is based on the principle that extra capital should be used to generate more capital, rather than redistributing our wealth and the Buddhists king was encouraged to do. For Buddhism is an essential human attribute if we are to be happy, importance of self- limitation, which requires some degree of non-abetment from things and therefore from the markets that buy and sell them.

Buddhism is not a world denying religion. Buddhism does not advocate transcending this world in order to experience some other one. Rather, it is better understood as attaining a wisdom that realizes the true Nature of this world including the true nature of oneself. This does not mean that Buddhism encourages poverty or denigrates enterprise or wealth. Buddha emphasized many times that the goal of the Buddhists path is to end our Dukkha (sufferings- ill being or unhappiness). He summaries his teaching into four noble truths and none of these implies that poverty is a desirable state, rather it is a source of unhappiness in itself, and also makes it more difficult to follow a spiritual path. Nevertheless, Buddhism does not approve of a life devoted to acquiring wealth. The ultimate
goal of liberating may be more difficult to pursue if we are destitute, but a life focused on money may be as bad, or worse, Shakyamuni warned repeatedly against the danger that; “Few are those people in the world who, when they obtain superior possessions, do not become intoxicated and negligent, yields to greed for sensual pleasures, and mistreat others.\(^{192}\)

An intense drive to acquire material riches is one of the main causes of our Dukkha. It involves much anxiety but very little real satisfaction. Buddhism does not claim that wealth is in itself an obstacle in following the spiritual path. Property acquired, wealth has traditionally been seen as sign of virtue. This is because, wealth creates opportunities to benefit people and cultivate non-attachment by developing one’s generosity. The problem with wealth is not its possession but its abuse. Wealth destroyed the foolish, though not those who search for the goal (Dharamapada, vense 355)

In short, what is blameworthy is to earn wealth improperly, to become attached to it, not to spend it for the well being of everyone, to squander it foolishly, or use it to cause suffering to others.\(^{193}\)

**Conclusions**

There is no dearth of literature on the ‘globalization’ The wide range of literature on globalization is quite confusing and contrasting when it comes to the theorization and impact of globalization on the weaker sections of the society. In fact, there are very few empirical studies done on the impact of globalization on the marginalized and weaker sections of the society like Neo-Buddhists. The theorization of the phenomenon of globalization is also based on the understanding and perceptions of the western thinkers. The theories of globalization does not reflects Indian perspectives on globalization neither it reflects the perspective of third world and fourth world countries. This gaps in theories has been tried to bridge by explaining the Ambedkar’s perspective on globalization.
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