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A DOCUMENT FOR FOREIGNERS

**APARTHEID
IN
INDIA**

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By

V. T. RAJSHEKAR SHETTY

1978

Price—Re. 1

FOREWORD

This is the text of the document (prepared by ~~Mr.~~ V. T. Rajshekar ~~Shetty~~, a veteran journalist and a well-known writer) presented by me as the representative of the Indian Untouchables at the Asian Racial and Minorities Conference held in New Zealand in the middle of Nov. 1978.

The document evoked so much of response that when I finished reading it, almost half the audience, including the president of the conference, was in tears. They were literally shocked on hearing this horror story from this land of non-violence practising a religion ^(Hinduism) which claims to have taught the world both "universal toleration" and equal respect to all human beings.

Grandhi's
~~They~~ All of ~~them~~ admitted this is the first time a foreign audience outside India is given such a truthful picture of 80-odd million Untouchables who together with the tribals are the real and original owners of this great country, *with the world's most ancient civilization.*

In view of the world-wide demand for this historic document, we have come out with this book so that it may serve as a guide to sympathetic foreigners trying to know India, its well-kept secrets about its most important problem - the problem of Untouchables. Perhaps, there is no other literature of this kind so scientifically and in a nutshell explaining this world's No.-1 problem. And we hope that those foreigners benefitted by it will write to us how they can help us in our mission of liberating India.

Support
This is ~~our fourth and the most important~~ publication and we are very much encouraged by the tremendous response to the literature brought out by us.

Jan. 20. 1979.

D. M. Thimmarayappa
Convener, Dalit Action
Committee, Bangalore,
Karnataka, S. India.

APARTHEID IN INDIA

V. T. RAJSHEKAR ~~GUPTA~~

1. ~~INTRODUCTION~~ / stat

We are forced to come out with this document to expose a closely guarded secret kept by the ruling class of India forming about 10 per cent of its 800-odd million population living in grinding poverty, misery and squalor. The outside world does not know that in India there is a problem called untouchability. And when they come to know of this they will be stunned.

Hence, this document is meant for sympathetic foreigners and researchers who are interested in getting a correct picture of India, one of the most ancient civilisations in the world, but today described as the "sick man of the world".

The ruling class of India comprising the Government (which ever political party that is in power), bureaucrats, press, and professionals, industrial-landed interests, academic-cultural-religious leaders, banking-financial sector, has successfully given an impression to the outside world that Buddha's and Gandhi's land of peace and Ahimsa (non-violence) is wedded to the highest and noblest ideals of truth, toleration, justice, freedom and equality. If at all there is any perfect working model of parliamentary democracy in the world, it is in India - the living example of socialism and secularism. Indians and the Indian Government as the chosen representatives of the Buddha and Gandhi never hesitated to fight against any kind of breach of human rights not only inside the country but also outside. It is in accordance with this that India is observing the International Anti-Apartheid (1978-1979) year now with great fanfare. Indian Foreign Affairs Minister A.B. Vajpayee went to the UN General Assembly and delivered an eloquent speech on the floor of the world forum denouncing the practice of apartheid not only in South Africa and other African countries but also racial discriminations in U.S.A., U.K. and other countries. The Indian Prime Minister Morarji

or Indira Gandhi have ²

Desai has been always first in condemning violation of human rights in any part of the world. Since India has given birth to some of the greatest saints and savants and produced the world's holiest of the holy scriptures, its heart bleeds at the very sight of the slightest injustice in any part of the world. That is why cow slaughter is prohibited. Even the death of an insect is mourned.

But what is the position inside India? Nobody has described the prevailing situation better than the ^{rank No. 1} number 2 man in the Indian cabinet, Jagjivan Ram, Defence Minister, "Statesman", New Delhi (3-10-78). Differences of caste and creed in India have assumed a more terrible form than the racial conflict in the U.S.A. against which Mr. Martin Luther King fought. Mr. Jagjivan Ram said in New Delhi on Monday, comparing untouchability with Apartheid. (Statesman, Oct 3, 1978)

Speaking at a function in Town Hall, organised by the Martin Luther King Society to celebrate Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary, the Defence Minister pointed out that a Brahmin could not be distinguished from a 'bhangi' (of the sweeper caste) on the basis of appearances. The same applied to a Muslim and a Hindu, while the contrast between a black and white was quite obvious. And yet the prejudices in this country were as terrible as in the U.S.A. he added.

Coming as it is from a person so highly placed as Jagjivan Ram, it must give the correct picture of the land of non-violence. Jagjivan Ram was referring to the position of India's 80 and odd million untouchables who are called "scheduled castes" in India's official documents but popularly known as "Harijans" (meaning children of God), a name given to them by M.K. Gandhi, hailed as the Father of the Nation.

This document, therefore, is intended to give a true picture of the Indian untouchables to foreign friends lest they get the impression that India is the land of most perfect democracy in the world.

In this connection we would like to inform you that the Government did not allow a foreign firm, Thames Television, to make a

Indira means son = woman in authority - a name in India

sons & godmen

because low is a sacred animal

Add here

Add here: by the Hindu as a sacred pig - but a meeting one

Add A

Tanaka

TV film on India's untouchables on the ground that it will give a bad picture of the country to the outside world. The ruling class does not mind having something stinking inside its house but outsiders should not get a smell of it. That is why the filming was banned. Except one senior Indian journalist, Kuldip Nayar (of the 'Indian Express') who had lodged a strong protest against this double standard of the Government, the rest of the Press either kept quiet or supported this measure.

② What is untouchables? 2 defn: 1. those who are untouchables
 ③ POPULATION original inhabitants.

The total population of untouchables is given as 80 million (1971 census) forming about 15 per cent. But this figure does not take into account the vast number of untouchables who have converted themselves to Buddhism, Christianity and other religions but at the same time suffered from the stigma of untouchability.

Leaders of untouchables have complained that the census figures of untouchables are very much suppressed by India's ruling class. Census is a matter of first rate concern in all countries wedded to "democracy" based on adult franchise. Since politics in India has become a game of numbers, census figures assume all the importance. It is the number that gives the added political weight. That is why census figures are deliberately cooked up and this complaint is often heard not only from India's untouchables but also from 61 million Muslims (official figures) forming about 12 p.c. of the population. (India has the second biggest Muslim population in the world). The main reason why the untouchables suffered at the census is because quite a number register themselves not as "scheduled castes" but Hindus—the country's single largest religion. That being so, the census figure cannot be taken as the correct picture of India's untouchables.

It is said that India's untouchables and tribals (officially 7%) will together form a formidable one-third of the country's total population.

Since they are scattered in all villages & they are segregated they have no capacity to assert their rights. Almost cent percent powers and authority had added to their misery.

Since such a strength will upset the balance of power of the ruling class, it deliberately suppresses the population figures of not only untouchables but also tribals, and Muslims.

3/ much much **NON-VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE :**

In this land of Ahimsa (non-violence,) how are the untouchables treated? Most of the countries, particularly the feudal-capitalist countries, have their own lowly people, who are treated as second-rate citizens.

The late Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, hailed by the Hindus as the maker of the Indian Constitution, top most leader of the Indian untouchables and the most revolutionary figure of modern India, has the following to say on this problem :

"The Romans had their slaves, the Spartans their helots, the British their villains, the Americans their Negroes and the Germans their Jews. So the Hindus have their untouchables. But none of these can be said to have called upon to face a fate which is worse than the fate which pursues the untouchables. Slavery, serfdom, villeinage have all vanished. But untouchability still exists and bids fair to last as long as Hinduism will last. The untouchable is worse off than a Jew. The sufferings of the Jew are of his own creation. Not so are the sufferings of the untouchables. They are the result of a cold calculating Hinduism which is not less sure in its effect in producing misery than brute force is. The Jew is despised but is not denied opportunities to grow. The untouchable is not merely despised but is denied all opportunities to rise. Yet nobody seems to take any notice of the untouchables—much less espouse their cause".

(Dr. B.R. Ambedkar : "Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of Untouchables" - Bhim Patrika Publication, Jullundur, India, Page 11.)

This observation of Dr. Ambedkar was made as far back as 1943. Since then Israel was formed and the problem of the Jews solved to a great extent.

churches. Mother Theresa, the Nobel laureate, who operates in India, has not lectured about them. Add here Rev. Dr. Bawa's of St. Albert's

5

Even the Negroes of America have had significant changes in their status. The American Negro forming about 11 p.c. of the U.S. population passed from his non-violent manifestations of 1963 through the crescendo of violence of 1967. The American Black Power has managed to put fear into the heart of the Whites.

Similarly, the Blacks of South Africa have abandoned the path of non-violence and taken to armed struggle after the Sharpeville massacre. The African National Congress has managed to focus world attention on the struggle of the Blacks. Apartheid is discussed the world over. Similarly, the Palestinians have been shaking the entire world and had attracted international attention to their problems. *though defeated and driven out of Lebanon in 1982, they gained the world sympathy.*

But not the Indian untouchables. In sheer number, they may excel the American Negro or for that matter any other struggling racial or religious minority group taken as a separate unit. But what is the use of this huge mass of population? Their voice is not only unheard outside India but even inside India they are not heard. *their is a cry in wilderness.*

Why nobody talks about the problems of India's untouchables? The UN General Assembly has had debates on the problem of Blacks, Palestinians and other groups who have been denied human rights. But the UNO has not so far cared to spare a thought to the world's gravest problem—the problem of India's untouchables. Nobody has so far complained to the world organisation—not even a representative of the victims. *Allegation by Human Rights Commission near the World Council of Churches.*

What is the actual position of the Indian Blacks who are not only untouchables but are unapproachables and unseeables. *unthinkables: -*

“The Untouchables had different names in different parts of the country. They were called Outcastes, Untouchables, Pariahs, Panchamas, Atishudras. Avarnas, Antyajas and Namashudras. Their social disabilities were specific and severe and numerous. Their touch, shadow and even voice were deemed by the caste Hindus to be polluting. So, they had to quit the way at the approach of a caste Hindu. They

were forbidden to keep certain domestic animals, to use certain metals for ornaments, were obliged to wear particular type of dress, to eat a particular type of food, to use a particular type of foot - wear, and were forced to occupy the dirty, dingy and unhygienic outskirts of villages and towns for habitation where they lived in dark, insanitary and miserable smoky shanties or cottages. The dress of the males consisted of a turban, a staff in the hand, a rough blanket over the shoulder and a piece of loin cloth. The women wore bodice and rough sarees barely reaching the knees.

“ These Untouchable Hindus were denied the use of public wells and were condemned to drink any filthy water they could find. Their children were not admitted to schools attended by the caste Hindu children. Though they worshipped the gods of the Hindus, observed the same festivals, the Hindu temples were closed to them. Barbers and washermen refused to render their service. The caste Hindus, who fondly threw sugar to ants and reared dogs and other pets and welcomed persons of other religions to their houses, refused to give a drop of water to the Untouchables or to show them iota of sympathy. These Untouchable Hindus were treated by the caste Hindus as sub-humans, less than men, worse than beasts. This picture is still true in villages and small towns. Cities have mostly overcome this state.

“ Their miseries did not end at this. As they were illiterate, ill-treated and untouchable for ages, all public services including police and military forces were closed to them. Naturally they followed hereditary occupations. Some of them plied trades of a lower and degrading order such as street-sweepers, scavengers and shoe-makers. Some skinned carcasses and ate carrion, tanned hides and skins, worked in bamboos and cane, and mowed grass. Others who were more fortunate tilled the land as tenants, worked as labourers in fields, and a great number of them subsisted on food or grain given to them as village servants. Thus being deprived of social, religious and civic rights, they had no chance of

No religion has sanctioned caste & untouchables as
in Hinduism, untouchables are kept as a nation &
Genius & so on. Use the argument of Ambedkar in
Why So for conversion?

bettering their conditions and so these untouchable Hindus lived
the life of a bygone and dead age, dragging on their miserable
existence in insufficient accommodation, insanitary surroundings
and social segregation. In short, they were born in debt and per-
ished in debt. They were born Untouchables, they lived as
Untouchables and they died as Untouchables"

("Dr. Ambedkar; Life and Mission", By Keer Dhananjay,
1954 - Pages 1-2) *Even their shadows over population.*

Govt of India can
afford to experiment
with untouchables

This position of untouchables has ~~not~~ ^{hardly} changed a bit since 1954.

** Here note how Indian class is different from class.*

4. ROLE OF THE PRESS

Why the world press which has not failed to take up ^{so} very
many causes, failed to focus the plight of the Indian untouch-
ables? This is because the outside press is not aware of the
situation in this "land of love and compassion."

Why should we talk of people outside India? Even inside
India quite a large number of people are totally unaware of the
situation. In urban India, rarely anybody talks of untouchability
"Where is untouchability now? It is all gone. The Constitution
itself has abolished untouchability. So it is all over."

This is the normal answer a foreigner gets if he tries to
question Indians. A Japanese journalist attached to a leading
daily told ^{me} recently that during his ten-day stay in Madras,
the country's third largest city on the South-eastern coast of
India, he ~~did not meet~~ ^{could not introduce to} a single untouchable nor anybody raised
this subject. It is only on coming to Bangalore that he heard it.
Foreigners touring India normally come into contact with the
ruling class which consists of upper ^{high} caste Hindus. Whether it
be a journalist, professional, teacher or student he or she will
invariably belong to an upper ^{high} caste in the Hindu religion. So
much so, those belonging to this ruling class are normally
oblivious of the problem of untouchability and such of the few
who know it will see to it that it is hidden away from the foreign
eye. The foreign visitor never is taken to the uglier spots (slums)
of urban areas and if they happen to visit villages, segregation.

by chance

1954

Ambedkar could become so a great & ...
because of the British rule which ...
... gave him all out encouragement. ...
... in the village life, is never explained. Since in

India it is difficult to distinguish a touchable from an untouchable (as in the US (where skin colour is the indication) even for an Indian, we can very well imagine how difficult it is for a foreigner.

The African Blacks have their own journal to publicise their struggle. The American Negroes and the Palestinians are also equally powerful through their organisation. They have resources. A number of books have come out on their problem

not only from sympathetic outsiders but from their own writers. But not so with India's untouchables. They have no organisation of their own on a national scale.....Not a single press. Barring the late Dr. Ambedkar, the untouchables have not even had a proper leadership. Parliamentary politics has split the elite among untouchables between different political parties dominated by ~~cast~~ Hindus. No intellectual leader or outstanding writer has sprung up from their rank after Dr. Ambedkar's death.

They are not only paupers but centuries of protein deficiency has made them dullards, physically weak, mentally retarded, socially outcasts, economically impoverished. They lead the life of animals. *At least dogs are allocated in the town but not an untouchable* *Culturally deprived.*

Because of the physical stamina of Negroes they have produced outstanding athletes, cricketers and singers. They have actors, writers and very many creative thinkers. So too among other struggling groups. *Black in Research*

But not so among untouchables of India. How can the untouchables produce a writer, thinker, actor or sportsman when the flower is nipped in the bud? Where is the chance to grow? *Every*

When the whole world outside his community is hostile to him, when there is no press to support his cause, no writer to blow his trumpet, how can he ever make his voice heard? It is not even heard inside. So the Indian untouchables are languishing-unsung, unwept. They have no voice inside their own country, how can they be heard outside? *This is the*

and pointing to original in habitants
India.
We have just made a modest beginning by
... an English fortnightly

desire adjustment

How do we say the problem of Indian untouchables is more serious than that of an American Negro or the Blacks of South Africa? The answer is simple: in these countries, the black man or woman may be employed as a household servant, a wet nurse or a baby-sitter. Such a servant can cook food for the white and serve it too. But not so in India. The Indian untouchable not only cannot enter the house of a touchable (Hindus) but even his very sight is prohibited. He is thus both untouchable, and unseeable and unapproachable. When the very sight of an untouchable brings pollution, what to speak of a touch? That is why the untouchable of India is segregated. Every Indian village (please note India is a land of villages) is divided into two worlds - the area inhabited by touchables and the area of untouchables. No touchable ever comes anywhere near the ghettos inhabited by untouchables. This is the case in every village from centuries and even to this day. Ever heard it in any part of the world?

65. WHO IS AN UNTOUCHABLE?

Having said so the foreigner will be naturally curious to know who is an untouchable. Let me tell our foreign friends that India is perhaps the most complicated country in the world. It is difficult even for Indians to understand it. Scholars among Indians have not been able to unravel the mystery that is India. Its 2,500 years old religion, Hinduism, stands like a colossus ageless and deathless, not only withstanding every onslaught, but getting fresh props as years pass. The most important institution created by Hinduism—the third largest religion in the world—is the caste system: a four-fold division of the Hindu society arranged on the basis of ascending order of reverence and descending order of contempt. This hierarchical caste system—an ingenious invention—is a fantastic institution, the depth of which cannot be fathomed by even Indian social scientists, let alone foreign experts. It can be compared to a pyramid. The Brahmin belonging to the ritually purest and the highest caste group stands at the apex of this pyramid. The following is the descending order of contempt :-

degree

1. Brahmin
2. Kshatriya,
3. Vaishya
4. Shudra

76. THE ROLE OF BRAHMIN

~~Each~~ A person's caste is deciding on the basis of his birth.

Each caste group is divided on the basis of their profession-fixed and permanent - reserving the intellectual pursuits to the Brahmin. Though forming just about five per cent of the total Indian population, ^{Brahmins} they are the most powerful caste in India, without whom the country cannot think or act. Brahmins control everything not only as "intellectual" leaders but even as political and Government leaders. The ruling class of India consists principally of the Brahmins described as the "bhoodevatas"

(Gods of the earth). Dr. Ambedkar says : The Brahmins are a governing class is hardly open to question. There are two tests one could apply. First is the sentiment of the people and second is the control of the administration. I am sure there cannot be a better and more decisive test than these two. As to the first, there cannot be any doubt. Taking the attitude of the people, the person of the Brahmin is sacred." (What Congress and Gandhi have done to untouchables - page 194 - Thacker and Co. Bombay, 1945).

As to the second test, take a caste statistics of those occupying the top position in the country. Anybody can get the answer. Of the ~~four~~ Prime Ministers that India had, ^{two} ~~three~~ were Brahmins :- Jawharlal Nehru, his daughter Indira Gandhi and Morarji Desai, ^{and Indira Gandhi's son} A majority of Ministers in every central cabinet are also Brahmins. From birth to death and even after death, Brahmins are consulted by all the rest of the population.

India cannot think without Brahmin. India cannot live without Brahmins. They have a stranglehold on the life of this country. The entire "sacred scriptures" - the Vedas, the Upanishads, the two Puranas, the Bhagavad Gita, The Manu Smriti-are mostly

1. graded inequality between the different classes.
2. complete disarmament of the Shudras and the untouchables.
3. complete prohibition of the education of the Shudras and the untouchables.
4. ban on the Shudras and the untouchables occupying high places of power and authority ;
5. ban on the Shudras and the untouchables acquiring property
6. complete subjugation and suppression of women.

Inequality is the official doctrine of the Brahmins and the lower classes aspiring to equality has been looked upon by them and carried out by them, without a remorse as their bounden duty. There are countries where education did not spread beyond a few. But India is the only country where the intellectual class, namely, the Brahmins not only made education their monopoly, but declared acquisition of education by the lower classes, a crime punishable by cutting off of their tongue, or by the pouring of molten lead into the ear of the offender. The Congress politicians complain that the British are ruling India by a wholesale disarmament of the people of India. But they forget that disarmament of the Shudras and the untouchables was the rule of law promulgated by the Brahmins.

Indeed, so strongly did the Brahmins believe in the disarmament of the Shudras and the untouchable that when they revised the law to enable the Brahmins to arm themselves for protection of their own privileges, they maintained the ban on the Shudras and the untouchables as it was without lessening its rigour. If the large majority of people of India appear today to be thoroughly emasculated, with no manliness, it is the result of the Brahminic policy of wholesale disarmament to which they have been subjected from untold

(14) Change is however very much there. But it is in form. The Hindu does not believe in any change in content. Even an American educated nuclear scientist ~~and~~ is modern in his dress & form habits but his thinking¹⁴ is ancient.

ages. There is no social evil and no social wrong to which the Brahmin does not give his support. Man's inhumanity to man, such as the feeling of caste, untouchability, unapproachability and unseeability is a religion to him. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that only the wrongs of man are a religion to him. For, the Brahmin has given his support to the worst wrongs that women have suffered from in any part of the world. Widows were not allowed to remarry. The Brahmin upheld the doctrine. Girls were required to be married before 8 and the husband had the right to consummate the marriage at any time thereafter, whether she had reached puberty or not did not matter. The Brahmin gave the doctrine his strongest support. The record of the Brahmins as law givers for the Shudras, for the untouchables and for women is the blackest as compared with the record of the intellectual class in other parts of the world. For no intellectual class has prostituted its intelligence to keep his uneducated countrymen in a perpetual state of ignorance and poverty as the Brahmins have done in India. Every Brahmin today believes in the philosophy of Brahmanism propounded by his forefathers. He is an alien element on the Hindu society. The Brahmin vis-a-vis Shudras, untouchables are as foreign as the German is to the French, as the Jew is to the Gentile or as the White is to the Negro. There is a real gulf between him and the lower classes of Shudras and untouchables. He is not only alien to them but he is also hostile to them, there is no room for conscience and there is no call for justice." (Ibid Page 203-205)

Rural India has changed very little from the time this was written. It is because Hindu India does not believe in change. When there is so much of a gulf between the ruling class and the rest, between touchable Hindus and the untouchables itself, one can very well imagine the chasm between the the ruling class and the untouchables. It is like the North Pole and the South Pole. "In other countries, there is, at

What is why India is a stagnant society. A new society. But Hindu religion has made Indian mind of class the ⁵ ~~is~~ ^{direction} in the society.

at the most, a hyphen between the Governing class and the rest. In India, there is a bar between the two. A hyphen is only separation ; but a bar is a severance with interests and sympathies completely divided. In other countries, there is a continuous replenishment of the governing class. In India, the governing class is a close corporation in which nobody, not born in it, is admitted." (Ibid - Page 220.)

8. HINDU RELIGION :

Foreign friends may wonder why India is like this. Why Indians are behaving like this strange way. The answer to this question is to be found in the Hindu religion which has conditioned the Hindu mind. "Hinduism preaches separation instead of union. To be a Hindu means not to mix, to be separate in everything the real genius of Hinduism is to mix, to divide caste is another name for separation and untouchability typifies the extremist form of separation of community from community from community" - (Ibid-Page 179)

That is why Hindu India is not a nation and can never be nation. It is a group of nationalities. Each caste is a separate nation. Language has further divided the people. Factually, the Hindus and the untouchables are divided by a fence made of barbed wire" -Ibid - page 179.)

9. SEPARATE STATEHOOD :

It was only the British who for the first time united India under one Government and the moment they left in 1947 it got divided into India and Pakistan. The Nagas are demanding a separate state. This way India will get divided and sub divided. Hindu religion divides and not unite the Indians. No.

There is no Indian in India. Any visitor to India can make out this in no time. Even in USA, the Hindus have ~~the same~~ caste ~~break~~ caste rules.

Therefore, the untouchables of India also for the first time demanded a separate homeland or "dalitastan" when the

They are basically dishonest. Hindu religion of are enemies to the working class.

Democracy is a foreign to Indian soil. In any other country it is a prison house of war. In India the people are in a predicament but in India the people are in a predicament.

They are fighting for

20 (circle) it also

¹⁶ ~~we~~ were forced to come out of ~~the~~ ^{with} this ~~demanded~~ ^{demands}
inhuman tortures, burning of untouchables reached a climax
in the state of Maharashtra in the middle of 1978. The Govern-
ment itself has admitted that the atrocities against untouchables
have been going up year after year. A Hindu fascist organisation
called the RSS has managed to ^{take} control of the ruling Janata
party and the Government and this is the reason for the increasing
number of atrocities on untouchables and Muslims since early
1977. The ~~latest~~ killings of untouchables that enveloped a whole
state of Maharashtra were on a simple issue of renaming a
University after the ~~late~~ Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the greatest
leader of untouchables and perhaps the greatest Indian since the
Buddha. It was just a pretext. The touchables, ^{the Hindus} who form the
majority in every village, were waiting for an opportunity to
pounce on the untouchables. And the Hindu prejudice poured
out in full fury as never before and they pounced on the untou-
chables like mad dogs. The Marathwada massacre both in
intensity and total damage will exceed all other previous atrocities
on untouchables. Never before the country has witnessed such a
wholesale war on the untouchables. The real cause was not the
renaming of the university but the constitutional safeguards given
to the untouchables. Even these little crumbs of bread, bones and
skin thrown at those waiting outside the grand feast in the Hindu
household led to heart-burning.

The Marathwada massacre has ^{conclusively} proved the fears
of Dr. Ambedkar that the majority rule (democracy) in India
means the rule of the majority community which in turn means
the touchables. ^{The Marathwada massacre has followed}
^{the Gujarat massacre on untouchables as a sequel.} And such
These touchable Hindus control the Government, the police,
the judiciary, press and everything-military also. And whenever
there is any violence against untouchables the whole world comes
down on them. The latest Marathwada massacre of untouchables
has proved this once again. So it is an organised ^{violence} conspiracy
against a friendless, helpless, social leper. They are neither
allowed to live nor die. So the untouchables hover between life
and death. They are a living dead. Do you know this?

Cher is a daily feature in the life of
an untouchable. They are kicking, killing,
burning & roasting in a daily feature in India

That is why ~~the~~ millions of untouchables have become restless & chafed with disgust with Hinduism. The 1981 mass conversion & inter-caste marriages in South India is a historic event to let us know the catholic Hindus of that event & their presence that Hinduism will never learn. ~~They have~~ ^{with least anything in favour of anything}

That is why we say democracy can never work in Hindu India. "To put the matter in general terms, Hinduism and social union are incompatible. By its very genius Hinduism believes in social separation which is another name for social disunity and even creates social separation. If Hindus wish to be one they will have to discard Hinduism. They cannot be one without violating Hinduism. Hinduism is the greatest obstacle of the Hindu unity. Hinduism cannot create that longing to belong which is the basis of all social unity. On the contrary Hinduism creates an eagerness to separate" (Ibid-Page 179).^x

Add her

10. INDIAN MARXISTS:

The Marathwada ^{caste war on} anti-untouchables riots ^{that} raged for full 10 days and enveloped a region inhabited by 10 million people in which hundreds of untouchables suffered have once for all exposed the Indian Left parties both in theory and practice. The leadership of these parties ^{is in the hands of} dominated by upper castes, particularly Brahmins, it has failed to take note of the social problems arising out of the caste system. The problem of untouchability is never discussed by these parties which blindly interpret the Marxian dialectics without suitably modifying the theory and tactics to suit the peculiar Indian conditions as Mao did in China. The Indian Marxists speak only of "class-struggle" and not of "caste-struggle." Since "class" consciousness may exist only in urban areas, that too among the industrial labour, the Marxist influence could hardly penetrate the rural areas—not to speak of the untouchables who have been totally left out of the Left movement. What is the use of a Marxist party that does not inspire the socially lowest and economically poorest ^{in the form} ^{proletariat?}

The upper caste Indian Left leadership ignored the untouchables because it found the issue inconvenient. The very fact that in the Marathwada massacre ^{Guarant last war} no left party has sided with the untouchables proves the total disenchantment of the untouchables with Indian Marxists. They don't know that as long as caste system remains it will pose the biggest danger to class struggle.

And if they know that caste is hindering "class struggle" then they are conscious coming up

The untouchables are defeated. 3 India had
The revolution, their born proletarians would have
been the greatest beneficiaries. but - also the
Evolution leadership of the peasant parties
discharge the burden of the revolution and
take on the debt.
They are well to do & are the
include the poor & the
Rhetoric of the untouchables will bring
them to a state of
which the poor & the

The untouchables are defeated. 3 India had
The revolution, their born proletarians would have
been the greatest beneficiaries. but - also the
Evolution leadership of the peasant parties
discharge the burden of the revolution and
take on the debt.

It is the "caste" that brings unity in Hindu India and not "class".
Every election is fought on caste basis and even Marxists know
this. follow this.

Gail Omvedt, an American social scientist, who had made
the most scientific study of the Marathwada massacre, says:

"Having denied the reality of caste except as illusory part of
the super structure, it is no wonder that communists (in India)
have never initiated and led a democratic movement aimed
specifically at abolition of caste discrimination...."

(Frontier - Page 40 - Sept. 30. 1978)

Having ^{been} let down by Hindus including the Marxists
II. LET DOWN BY EVERYBODY

This way, the untouchables have been let down not only by
the ruling class but even by the Left parties. They are friendless.
The constitution of India has abolished (on paper) untouchability.
It is nearing 30 years and untouchability continues in full fury.
That is because the constitution abolished only untouchability
but not the caste system. As long as the caste system is not
abolished untouchability cannot be abolished. The ruling class
knows it and that is why it has no plans to abolish the caste system.

That means India's ruling class does not want to abolish
untouchability, because it brings lot of socio-economic benefits
and more than anything else the bulk votes of the untouchables
to the ruling class. They are the vote bank which
bring money for loans. Add here

The untouchables may be big in number but they are poor, so
weak, so terror-stricken. They have neither political, economic
nor social status - almost 100 per cent illiterate. They are
desperate. Darkness stares at their faces. Under such a helpless
state how can they organise any opposition against a heartless
Hindu society? [The untouchables by themselves will not abolish
untouchability because it has done them so much of good. It has
many advantages.]

Without destroying Hindu religion, untouchability cannot go.
But are they in a position to do this impossible job? No. Never.
The very thought of such a thing will bring them death. Nay.

They are themselves getting Hinduised. One day 2
hats & other rituals have been given to
at the temples

a or lower over his previous position on a...
Matter. Hindus are no exception. In the last 10
years for their obnoxious. They have to die in millions
before the set parliament. 19

12. APPEAL TO UNO

The Commission set among them

Hence, in all humility and in utter helplessness they are forced to demand a separate homeland within India. Not because they want to be separated but because the touchable (caste) Hindus have no mind to live in peace with untouchables. And untouchables feel that under a democracy, the people have a right to demand what they want. Since India has proclaimed to the world as "the only perfect democratic country in the world", it must accede to the demand of the untouchables for a separate homeland.

And in this endeavour for a separate homeland, the untouchables of India, the single largest persecuted, mayhemed minorities of the world, want to approach the UNO and its Human Rights Commission and the World Court and anybody who has a soft corner in his or her heart. The Blacks of Africa, the Negroes of America, the Palestinians and other struggling groups, persecuted minorities the world over, whose problem all put together would pale into insignificance before that of the Indian Untouchables - may please lend a sympathetic hand in their fight for survival, shed a tear or two over the living corpses.

Do you know that India once belonged to them? And today the very owners of India are being butchered?

The Untouchables also know that there are any number of Whites who are sympathetic to the urges of the Blacks and Negroes just as there are some touchable Hindus inside India to the plight of the untouchables. Such of them are requested to spare a thought to the world's most heinous crime that is perpetrated inside India. Untouchables urge upon foreign journalists and writers to take up the cause of these "Wretched of the Earth", and focus international attention on this cleverly concealed part of the Indian life. Expose the truth to the whole world. Let the mask of Hindu humbug be torn and its ugly face of hypocrisy paraded all over.

We also appeal to the Marxists in China, Russia and other

vertical handwritten notes on the right margin, including a circled phrase "Add here".

Handwritten notes in red and black ink: "Hindus are managers of untouchables because they feel that use of... with property & privileges will conceal the demand..."

Handwritten notes in black ink: "But the untouchables know full well no man... of world's most heinous crime... The world's corner... The world's corner... The world's corner..."

Handwritten notes in black ink: "Custom class... The last..."

directs ~~with~~ the struggle for
untouchables - the born revolutionaries.
our dictatorship is ~~perpetrated~~ in India
will take the shape of dictatorship for
death. 20

countries to clear the cobwebs from the minds of their Indian counterparts. Let them impress upon the Indian communists that the untouchables form the most revolutionary segment of the Indian population and that India will never have a revolution without them. *Such an appeal is bound to fall as the deaf ears - though marks the way forward.*

Communists of the world outside, please note that the Indian untouchables are a dynamite. Their body is like steel and the mind ^{is} a volcano. *They are an explosive like Communism.* They would burn the whole land once ignited. Somebody has to lit the dynamite and it will explode and when it explodes the whole world will tremble. The untouchables will assure that the Indian revolution of their dreams will surpass even the Chinese revolution in every respect. And the untouchables will tell you when India goes Red the whole world will go Red.

etern. but that
assure
We long for Revolution, we yearn for Revolution, we pine for Revolution and we are prepared to die for Revolution. Let hundreds of untouchables die so that others may live in peace. This country is ours. Therefore, we love India more than anybody else. *the African invaders* We want to liberate India from *the African* tyranny and this most gory form of apartheid.

perpetrating minorities in the world

Friends of the world please help us to usher in that Revolution.

S. S. S. S.
—o—

The Document was Circulated by Mr. D. M. Thimmarayappa, Convener Dalit Action Committee, Karnataka-India, who represented the Untouchables of India at the Asian Race and Minorities Conference held at Auckland, New Zealand, from Nov. 10 to 17-1978.

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His first major work, "Dalit Movement in Karnataka", brought out by an international publishing house, (CLS, Madras, Pages 130, Rs. 12, 1978) is considered the most comprehensive study on the struggle of untouchables and oppressed castes.

Apart from this he has authored innumerable other works : (1) Conspiracy Behind Communal Riots (a study of India's Muslim problem), (2) The Relevance of China (3) How Marx Failed in Hindu India, (4) Havanur and the Bible of the Backward Classes (5) Crocodile Tears on Harijan Atrocities (6) "Harijan" atrocities - Why blame Police (7) Dalita Sahitya (Kannada).

His studies on different aspects of untouchability and the problems arising out of it have been translated to different Indian languages.

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