
WHO IS

RULING

INDIA ?

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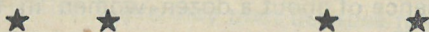
DEDICATION

The book is dedicated to Com. A.S. Jayaram, Bombay, who has been a great tower of strength to the Dalit Sahitya Akademy & the *Dalit Voice* in particular.

Part I

WHO IS RULING INDIA ?

BERTRAND RUSSEL : Without rebellion, mankind would stagnate, and injustice would be irremediable.



MAO TSE-TUNG : I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work. We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports.

Comrades,

You must excuse me for speaking in English. I come from Bangalore city which may be called a little Tamil Nadu. About 30 per cent of the people there speak Tamil. The Tamil-speaking people here are more virile than the Kannadigas. All of us in Bangalore need a working knowledge of Tamil, otherwise we cannot manage. I can manage with Tamil but cannot deliver a speech. You must therefore excuse me for speaking in English. Mr. Veerapandian will translate to Tamil.

Like the caste system, language is also a great divider in India. This is one of our great tragedies in India. The message of Periyar could not travel outside Tamil Nadu because he was confined to that State and the language of Tamil. Mr. Veerapandian and other nationalist comrades have been requesting me to visit Thanjavur for a five-day tour. But I am not in a position to spare more than a day, because we are making preparation to go to China, the most revolutionary country in the world. We are leaving in the first week of October, 1980. Devaraj Urs should have been the leader of the delegation. But since he had a massive heart attack, as the president of the India-China Friendship Association, Karnataka, I am made the

leader of the delegation. Before leaving for China, I have to go to Vizag to attend an anti-caste conference. Because of these reasons, I am not able to spend more than a day in Thanjavur.

The presence of about a dozen women in this gathering is something great. That shows the progressive trends of Tamil Nadu. I have been going round different parts of India, but wherever we go we meet only men. But when I inaugurated the "Anti-Brahmin Domination Conference" at Tirunelveli organised by the Dravida Kazagam, there was a huge gathering of women. That shows that Tamil Nadu is the leader in many respects.

Tamil is the purest Dravidian language. For example, in Kannada and also in Malayalam, there is no word to say scheduled caste which is an English word. You have the word: "Thazthapatta". In Kannada, we call 'asparsha'. But asparsha is a Sanskrit word. It means one who cannot be touched. But in Tamil, you have got 'Theendathe'. It is a very beautiful word which you cannot find in any other language in India. That is why Tamil is the most beautiful language because it has no Sanskrit word. It was the original language of India. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has said, untouchables who as the original residents of India before the Aryans invaded, spoke Tamil. That is the greatness of this language.

I have been invited to this place to speak about the contribution of Periyar to social change. You people here are experts on Periyar. The role of Periyar as a social revolutionary, his contribution to social change, that is the subject on which I will speak today.

SOCIAL CHANGE

Every body is speaking on 'Social Change' because it is the raging fashion of the day. Even those who are engaged in working against social change are speaking and writing on this. Because it helps to speak on a subject that is the topic of the day.

There is a lot of confusion in India today on different aspects pertaining to this subject. What India needs today is social change and not political, economic or legal change. Many people are under

the impression that India is a poor country. It is true that more than 50 to 55 per cent of the Indian people are living below the "poverty line". Why are they poor? Are they poor because of economic exploitation? Are they poor because there is no proper law to protect them? Are they poor because the Government has not helped them to improve their lot?

Periyar was of the opinion that poverty is not so much due to economic exploitation as it is due to social exploitation. So, what India needs is not political change, not economic change, not constitutional or legal change, but social change. This is the most important contribution of Periyar and this is the subject on which I speak today.

Thanjavur district is the one district selected in Tamil Nadu for intensive development under the agricultural field. In Karnataka, they selected the Tungabhadra area for "green revolution". In Tamil Nadu, they selected Thanjavur district. But with all these developments of Thanjavur, which is the Cauvery delta area with perennial water supply, what is the position today? What has happened to the mirasdars? They are as strong as they were. A survey was made about Thanjavur district by an American social scientist. I forget the name of the person.... I think Epstein.... that person has made a survey of Thanjavur and Tungabhadra districts. Crores of rupees have been pumped into Thanjavur district by the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the World Bank to develop Thanjavur district. Where did it go? Mirasdars became richer. How did Keelvenmani (burning of untouchables) happen in Thanjavur district? Agricultural labourers continue to be poor even today. And you know a majority of the mirasdars are Brahmins? Why the economic development of Thanjavur district has not benefitted the agricultural labourers? The crores of rupees pumped into economic development has benefitted only the upper class people. This is true not only of Thanjavur district but every other district in India.

Since independence, India has achieved tremendous economic progress. You can make direct trunk call, STD call to any

big city in India today. It was not there 5 years back. You have got TV. Many railway lines have been doubled. In Calcutta, they are going to have a tube railway (metro) that will be completed within 10 years. Over Rs. 120 crores spent. When completed it may cost more than Rs. 500 crores. Similarly, the development of textiles, about 120 varieties of cloths are available in India. In terelyn alone, there are different varieties. If you want woollen suit, you can get any variety, colour,. You can also get any variety of sarees. But there is no mill in the whole country to manufacture sarees for the poor women. And that sarees and dothies manufactured for the poor are worse than bandage cloth. We fired space rockets, Aryabhata, Rohini and what not, but cannot make one good blade for shaving. We have achieved tremendous industrialisation in India and almost every city has been developed because of industrialisation. Electronics, pharmaceuticals have made big progress. Urban boom but rural decay. We have got the best engineers, we have got best hospitals; we have got innumerable banks. We have the second largest scientists in the world. Our trading system is almost perfect. If there is a 5 paise rise in gold price, Thanjavur merchants will come to know it within 10 minutes. Our cinema industry is the biggest in the world. We have got films in Tamil, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, every language. Almost everyday one new picture is produced. India is the largest producer of films in the world. Along with the cinema industry, cinema theatres are also coming up. And in some cinema theatres they have winding staircases. Bar-attached cinema houses. Drive-in cinema theatres, fantastic progress.

The development of the hotel industry is fantastic. I had been to Aurangabad-a small district headquarters like Thanjavur. They have got two five-star hotels there. In Bangalore city, two more five-star hotels are under construction now. In Bombay, you can't get a room in any hotel. I am telling you all this to impress upon you the gigantic economic development of India. A big economic development is taking place. Tremendous progress has been achieved in drug, textile, fashion and cinema industries. Construction industry is booming. But all these economic developments, did it

help the poor people of India ? Rich people became richer and the poor became still poorer.

I can tell you about Jagjivan Ram. He is an Untouchable. It is said he is worth several crores of rupees. Charan Singh used to call him the richest politician of India. He may not be richer than Indira Gandhi, who is alleged to be having Rs. 360 crores in a Swiss Bank alone, according to RSS papers. It is said she withdrew only Rs. 60 crores during the 1980 Lok Sabha election. So, Rs. 300 crores are still lying in the Swiss Bank, says RSS. Jagjivan Ram is not so rich as Indira Gandhi. Yet he is one of the richest politicians in India. Economic development of Jagjivan Ram is something unimaginable. But what is the use ? He is still an Untouchable.

A 'phariah' even if he becomes a millionaire, he continues to be an Untouchable. The point that I am driving at is economic change will not lead to social change: Whether it is a country's economic development or a society's economic development or whether it is the individual's economic development, it will not lead to social change. This is the speciality of India. Karunanidhi, I was told, belongs to a very backward class. Barber? Even if he becomes the Prime Minister of India, he cannot get rid of his caste. In Madras city, I met a friend of Basavalingappa (an Untouchable Minister in Karnataka). This friend is a rich contractor. Still he is an Untouchable. You must have read reports of how Jagjivan Ram was not allowed to unveil a statue of Dr. Sampurnanand at the Varanasi Sanskrit University and how after the ceremony the Brahmin boys washed the statue with "holy" Ganga water to cleanse the polluted touch of an Untouchable. An Untouchable remains Untouchable even if he is the Deputy Prime Minister of India.

I hope, I have now convinced you that with any amount of economic development, an individual's social status will not change. So, what is the conclusion? Economic change will not lead to social change. This is what Ambedkar had also said. (1)

(1) "..... to leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex, which is the soul of Hindu society, untouched and go on passing legislations relating to economic problems is to make farce of our Constitution". (quoted by Dr. A. M. Rajsekhariah, in his book "B. R. Ambedkar-The politics of Emancipation", Sindhu Publications, Bombay-1971-page 323).

Our Marxist comrades say (with the lone exception of CPI's S.G. Sardesai. ⁽¹⁾ that when there is industrialisation in India, caste system will automatically vanish. According to them when there is industrialisation, it will lead to revolution. Gunnar Myrdal has spoken of India's Marxist Brahmins. ⁽²⁾ But there has been tremendous economic development and industrialisation in Germany which is among the most highly industrialised countries in the world. Italy is also a big industrialised country. And America, as you all know, is the leader of all the industrialised countries. So too Japan. Why there has been no revolution in all these countries. Why there has been no social revolution there? Germany, Japan and America also have their poor people and slums. The rich people there are lolling in wealth. Our Marxist comrades are therefore totally wrong, when they say industrialisation will lead to economic development and in turn to social change. Did industrialisation solve the problems of the Negroes of America? Did it remove racial discrimination in UK?

(1) S. G. Sardesai: "That is why, the view that industrialisation and mass struggles on economic demands can, by themselves, eradicate caste distinctions in the process of time, has to be clearly rejected as mechanistic. It has been disproved by the experience of more than half a century" - "Class Struggle and Caste Conflict in Rural Areas" (-CPI Publication, 1979-page 13). This is the first-ever effort at a new thinking in the Left movement. While the CPI at least has produced some literature on the problems of Dalits and Muslims, the GPM, calling itself the more radical, has not attempted any thinking, on these lines. Its Howrah Party plenum resolution is put in cold storage.

(2) "Even the Communists do not take a stand against religion in any of the South-Asian countries. In spite of its obvious relevance for all those who want to modernize South Asian society, Marx's declaration that religion is the opium of the people is never quoted. What is insisted on in India and constantly preached by those intellectual leaders who support the modernization ideals is that religion should be relegated to private life; it should not influence those in public life. While occasionally a bow is made to religion in the abstract as a force for creating good citizens - which from their point of view must be contrary to truth, if popular religion is meant - the secular character of the state, public institutions, education, politics and business is constantly stressed. Any division of people according to religious creed is branded as "communalism" and put on a par with "casteism, provincialism and linguism" as a danger to national consolidation. This position cannot be shared, of course, by the leaders of the communal political parties; yet even they mostly play down the religious issue publicly and use it in an almost underhanded way. The official views, where are a legacy of the liberation movement, do not prevent all political parties, including the Communist Party, from exploiting religious communalism for their own purposes in elections despite public condemnation of such manoeuvres". (Gunnar Myrdal, "Asian Drama", Penguin-1968-page 107-108).

So this is the point that you have to remember : that industrialisation will lead to revolution, industrialisation will lead to "class struggle", is totally wrong. Our Marxists may say that India is not sufficiently industrialised, therefore we have to wait. But we have the example of Italy, Germany, Japan and America hitting peak industrialisation. Why there has been no revolution in those countries ? That means even if India is industrialised, there is no possibility of revolution in India. I think I have sufficiently argued the point that economic development will not lead to a social change.

POLITICAL CHANGE

Now I will come to the second point. It is often believed that political change will lead to social change.

Let us examine this proposition. Gandhi and many others thought once the British are driven out and India becomes independent, milk and honey will start flowing. All the ills of India were attributed to the British. But the Whiteman is driven out. In what way India has improved ? Are the low castes, Untouchables of India enjoying the fruits of independence ? So independence for whom ? It is independence for the Marwaris to exploit the poor without any restrictions. That means the poor low castes of India have not gained from the political independence of India. After India became independent, how many political parties have come and gone ? India was being ruled by the Congress party - by Jawaharlal Nehru for about 10 to 15 years. After he died there was a slump in the Congress party. And SVD (Samyukta Vidyak Dal) Ministries took over in MP, UP, Orissa and other North Indian States. I think you remember the SVD era. That is a new political development. SVD Governments ruled for about 3 or 4 years and then they collapsed Again the Congress party came back to power. Then the Congress party got split at the Bangalore AICC session. S. Nijalingappa, Sanjiva Reddy and Kamaraj Nadar and all their followers formed the Old Congress and Indira Gandhi's was called the New Congress. All the newspapers and people went gaga over this "historic" development.

Indira Gandhi nationalised banks, removed privy purses and dismissed Morarji Desai. It was then said India had entered a new era. People danced in the streets. Enthusiasm soon fizzled out. Whole thing got back to the old rut. Oppression increased. The poor who voted her got fooled. Then she was forced to bring the Emergency. The people once again thought that Emergency will give new life to India. All the so-called "anti-social forces", like Veeramani (D.K. general secretary) were put in jail. Sanjay Gandhi era began. RSS was banned. But within two years Emergency also died. And along with Emergency Indira Gandhi also got defeated in the election. Janata party came on the crest of J.P.'s "Total Revolution". When the Janata party swept the polls, it was hailed as India's second Independence. There were again street dances. Delirious scenes. What happened? Again disappointment. People said this Janata Government proved more bogus than Indira Gandhi. There were series of communal riots in Jamshedpur and Aligarh, caste riots in Belchi etc. Janata leaders started quarrelling. RSS infiltrated key Government sectors. Defence force also. There was an election and the entire Janata Party was wiped out. The very same people who kicked out Indira Gandhi brought her back to power. Now what happened? She has massive majority in Parliament. But with all this Indira Gandhi is sinking. Stable government need not mean good government. In Moradabad, a thousand Muslims were killed on one single day - August 13 (1980) Id Day celebrations. There were communal riots in Aligarh and in several places including Delhi. As this new political earthquake took place Sanjay Gandhi was discovered to deliver the goods. They said that Sanjay Gandhi is going to save this country. He was lionised. But poor fellow died in an air-crash.

(As this book is under print Rajiv Gandhi era has begun with his election to the Lok Sabha).

What I am trying to tell you is that there has been lot of political changes in India. DMK ruled in Tamil Nadu,. Now ADMK has come. Tomorrow BDMK may come. There may be CDMK, DDMK & EDMK and so on. But the poor will remain poor, rich people will be

richer. During elections, we all think that heavens will come down. But after the election all the spirit vanishes. Same old exploiters will direct the drama.

This is about the so-called bourgeois political parties. What is happening in the Marxist-ruled States? In Kerala, in 1959 when EMS Namboodiripad became the Chief Minister he headed the first Communist ministry in India. People then said India will become Communist in 10 years. What happened? Nairs with the help of Brahmins removed EMS. Indira Gandhi went to Kerala and dismissed the EMS Government. The Congress party came to power. Now again there is a united front Ministry led by the CPM. I have toured Kerala intensively. In Karnataka, we have a better land reform than in Kerala. I inquired with Untouchables in Kerala. They said the CPM regime is anti-Dalit. Recently, I met an IAS officer of the Kerala Government. He belongs to Elava (Nadar) community. He told me he was removed from an important post because he was a low caste man. The CPM Government is as much an upper caste ministry as the RSS Government led by Vajpayee. The communist Ministry in Kerala is not able to nationalise the plantations. And landlords are having a gaytime in Kerala. The position of Untouchables has not improved. In Tamil Nadu at least the backward classes are enjoying good "reservation". But in Kerala there is no "reservations". The Backward Class (Nettur) Commission report in Kerala is not yet implemented, because the Marxists do not believe in "reservation". Not only that, we received complaints from the Kerala rationalists that any member of the Communist party (CPM) attending rationalist meeting will be expelled from party. Because of this anti-Dalit attitude of the CPM, Untouchables are driven to take shelter in RSS. Can you think of Dalits joining RSS? Christians joining RSS?

What is the position in West Bengal? In the Jyoti Basu Ministry, there is not even a single SC or ST cabinet Minister. Recently, an article of mine which appeared in "Caravan" was translated and published in 'Unmai' and 'Viduthalai' (Tamil journals).

One CPM leader from Madras called Chintan contradicted what I have said in the article. In a statement published in some Tamil daily, he said that there are three SC & ST ministers in West Bengal. And he has also given the names of the three Ministers. Veeramani (DK General Secretary) wrote to me asking whether this was correct. My article, "Class and Caste Struggle", (1) which is the subject that I dealt with in the "Caravan" article, was first published in the Statesman of Calcutta. The city of Calcutta is the headquarters of West Bengal State. In that article also, I had said that the Jyoti Basu's Ministry has no Cabinet Ministers of SC/ST. The Statesman is published from Calcutta and also from Delhi and this article was published one year ago. Nobody had so far contradicted my charge. Based on the same theory, the subject was further developed and published in Caravan. Nobody contradicted my Caravan article also. But how did when it was translated and published in "Viduthalai" and "Unmai" in Madras the Marxist leader contradicted it? Chintan has given the names of three Ministers. I do not remember the names of all the three. But I remember the names of two. One B.B. Mandal. But B. B. Mandal is the President of India-China Friendship Association. I am the President of the India-China Friendship Association, Karnataka unit. Mandal and myself are friends. Mandal belongs to the Forward Bloc party, not CPM. Apart from this, he is not a SC but belongs to the backward class (OBC). It is a United Front Ministry in Bengal. CPM candidate is the Chief Minister. Chintan has given another name-Mandi-which is a tribal name. Apart from this a third name. I have forgotten this name. But Mandi is a Minister of State. Ministers of State have no status. They have no right to sit in the cabinet meeting. We are interested in cabinet Ministers.

I therefore repeat there is no Cabinet Minister in the CPM Government belonging to SC/ST. There are, I think 72 SC and ST MLAs in West Bengal Assembly. What about Marinjhapi affair?

(1) "Class-Caste Struggle-Emerging Third Force" has come in the form of a booklet published by the Dalit Action Committee.

You must have heard about this. I had been to Calcutta and had discussions with Calcutta Dalit friends. Marinjhapri is a small island in the Bay of Bengal. This particular island is a tiger-infested place. All those people who are settled in this island are Untouchables from Bangla Desh. The Jyoti Basu Govt. opened fire on the Untouchables. There was lot of trouble and I wanted to go there. But I was not permitted to go. The CPM Government in West Bengal is as much anti-Dalit and anti-minorities as the RSS. There is no difference in their thinking on social issues even though politically they are two different parties. In India, political parties differ from each other as a vote-catching gimmick. But on social issues, they all think alike. Marxists and even Naxalites are no different. This is because the leadership of every party is in the hands of the high castes and high caste interests are common, identical in which ever party he is.

You must know what is the cause of the tribal uprising in that area now. Tribals were originally in CPM. That is how CPM captured power in Bengal and Tripura. You might have heard about Tripura which is also having the CPM Government. It is a small State. The entire people have voted for CPM. The Chief Minister Nripen Chakravarti is a Bengali Brahmin and today the very tribals who voted the CPM are fighting against the CPM. The fight in Tripura is against CPM by the tribals. One tribal leader, I forgot his name, in a place called Mandai, he alone had killed 300 people. In places like West Bengal, Tripura and Assam tribals are quitting CPM because the Marxists are going against the interests of tribals. That is why the Untouchables are not evincing interest in the Left movement because of this. (1).

(1) S. G. Sardesai : "One does not become a revolutionary, definitely not a Marxist-Leninist one, by fighting for the abolition of economic exploitation and political freedom alone. One has to fight not a whit less against social inequality and injustice, for social equality and freedom without this, democracy and socialism are meaningless. The fact remains that despite all this vast masses of Harijans, even including the militant Dalit Panthers, many of whom are close to us, feel that we do not fight for their right of social equality, social emancipation. The dalits who join our party often get isolated from their own community". (Class Struggle and Caste Conflict in Rural Areas -A CPI Publication -1979-page 22 & 23).

I am not trying to criticise the Marxists or anybody. What I am trying to tell you is that political change will not lead to social change in India. There has been a lot of changes in the State level also. The Congress party got divided and Marxist Ministry was voted to power. But poor people continue to be poor, rich people continue to be rich. In West Bengal, those who control the Marxist Communist party are the Brahmins, Kayasthas and Baidyas. Jyoti Basu is a Kayastha. He is not a Brahmin. That is the community to which Jayaprakash Narayan belonged. Pramode Das Gupta, the boss of the West Bengal CPM, belongs to the Baidya Community. He is the CPM strongman. He is the man who controls power in the West Bengal CPM. The Brahmins, Baidyas, Kayasthas, the three topmost Communities, control West Bengal even today. These three communities control West Bengal whether it is the Congress party or the Communist party. And that is why every party including the CPM is anti-Dalit, anti-OBC, anti-tribal and anti-minorities. What is the use of political changes in India ?

So, I have completed the second point i.e. political change in India will not lead to social change.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL CHANGE :

Now I am going to the third point. One highly qualified professor said that the whole problem of India will be solved if every voter is given an identity card. Bogus voting will stop. Whole thing is so simple—pass a legislation making identity card compulsory to every voter. This is his diagnosis. Electoral reform. Presidential form of Govt. Family planning must be made compulsory. That is the panacea for all the ills. So people, even highly learned, are under the impression that legal and constitutional reforms can change India. For the slightest provocation and sometimes to deliberately delay matters, we pass legislations. We are so fond of legislations, laws and more laws ().

(1) Referring to the jungle of law that is India, the Statesman's (15-7-1981) New Delhi special correspondent says: "From 1952, when the country's first elected

of dowry! It is often complained that there is no proper law, there is no proper legislation; corruption is rising; dowry is increasing. Immediately Tamil Nadu Assembly will meet and ban dowry. And there is a legislation to control black-market. Will legal change i.e. fresh law, a new law, will result in social change? If law can bring about social change, we could have had the best country in the world. When the Constitution itself has abolished untouchability, why untouchability did not go? There is a specific law in India banning dowry. Is there no dowry today? There is a law to curb, control and punish blackmarketeers. Is there no blackmarketing going on? Any body who is evading income-tax can be punished according to law. But are the rich people paying income-tax? Prohibition is clamped in some states, but plenty of drink is available. Hundreds of laws are there in the statute book. I was just discussing about the land reforms in Thanjavur district. Land reform is there. But everybody has found a way-out. Bring any law in India. The culprits can find an escaperoute. It is not possible to bring about social change through law and legislation. Whenever we see something defective, we jump to the conclusion that there is no proper law. We must enact legislation. Immediately Parliament or State Assembly will come out with a legislation. As a reporter, I have attended Parliament session and State legislature also. At every Lok Sabha session or Assembly session, fresh legislations are churned out. Hundredes of legislations have been enacted and they are

Parliament was constituted, until last year as many as 1,873 Central Acts were passed. Add to it the State laws, rules and regulations and you have, legislatively, one of the most prolific countries in the world.

“Recently, a High Court Judge had publicly commented on it and said that there was a plethora of unwanted and unenforceable legislation. On the other hand, politicians in power have often accused the judiciary of standing in the way of implementation of socio-economic measures. Wherein lies the truth?”

“Of the Central Acts passed until last year, the largest, 631, come in the category of fiscal and financial measures. Then there are those pertaining to commerce and industry (167), labour (95), banking, currency and insurance (84) transport and communications (79), parliamentary (63), Constitution amendments (44) and sundry other subjects.”

“The pieces of legislation on the social side amount to 50, quite a few of them could be said to remain on paper and some are more observed in the breach.”

printed as the law books, and stored in cupboards—then allowed to gather dust. Law is there for everything but there is no will to enforce it. As for the Untouchables, there are any amount of legislations. But neither the executive, the police, judiciary or Parliament is interested in their enforcement. What is the use of “Fundamental Rights” enshrined in the Constitution to a poor, starving man? His right is the right to starve and die.

I hope I have convinced you that economic change, political change and legal change will not be able to bring about social change. This is what Ambedkar had also said. ⁽¹⁾ It is because the economic change, political change and legal change will not affect the upper caste and the upper class. These changes—economic change, political change and legal change—will not touch the ruling class-caste. The Government may order anything, legislate on any thing but the ruling class-caste will not obey what is inconvenient to them. If the “ruling class” says “no”, the Government can do nothing. The “ruling class” is therefore above the Government. The ruling class is above the Prime Minister. The ruling class is above the Supreme Court. And this ruling class is above the Constitution also. No, It is above the country also. Why? Because, it is the ruling class. Any body who is not serving the ruling class will be removed. No, mercy. This ruling class is not even interested in the country. If a foreign invader comes and if that invader offers enough temptations, this ruling class will not hesitate to welcome the invaders also. Read the Indian history, and you will know yourself as to who invited the Huns, Greeks, Portugese, Muslims, British, French. This ruling class is prepared to sell India if it benefits its class-caste interests.

(1) “You cannot have political reform, you cannot have economic reform, unless you kill this monster”. (of caste)—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, “Annihilation of Caste” —Bheem Patrika Publications—Jullundur—1975—page 49).

THE RULING CLASS

If the ruling class says 'yes' the country must say 'yes'. The ruling class says untouchability must continue, but the Constitution rules abolishing untouchability. Who wins the battle? The ruling class wins the battle. The Constitution got defeated. There is a legislation that every nationalised bank must give 18 per cent jobs and loan to SCs. The Constitution has earmarked 18 per cent share in recruitment and in admission to educational institutions to SC/ST. But the ruling class said 'go to hell'. If the ruling class says that it shall be done; nobody can question it.

That is why we must know the difference between the "ruling class" and the Government. Poor people are wondering that the Government has passed an order in their favour. Why it is not being implemented? Once, the then Chief Minister of Karnataka, Devaraj Urs, was telling us that he had allotted 10 acres of land to the scheduled castes in his constituency. This he did the moment he became the Chief Minister. He completed his first term as Chief Minister. Even at the end of the first term, the 10 acres of land which he granted to SCs was not given to them. The Chief Minister may himself order but the ruling class said "don't give it". That is why these lands were not given. So what is this ruling class that is above everything else? If you do not solve this riddle, you cannot solve any other problem. A correct answer to this problem holds the key to all other problems.

Many poor people come to us daily mostly Untouchables. They bring the Government order granting some land to them. But complain that the land is not given to them, even after several years. Why the land is not coming to them even if the Government gives the land? If the ruling class says 'no', it cannot come to him.

Which is this ruling class? What is its class and caste character? This is the point that you have to correctly understand, because our strategy has to be formed on this basis. The purpose of my today's

lecture is to make you think. Indians, particularly Hindus, hardly think. Ambedkar says : "Unfortunately thought in India is rare and free thought is rarer still. This is particularly true of Hindus". (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar - Pakistan or Partition of India - Thacker Co., Bombay, 1945-page 404). India has not received a single Nobel Prize after Independence because we have not produced any genius. A genius is a thinker. How can there be a thinker when we have stopped thinking ?

Ambedkar and Periyar EVR gave us thoughts that breath and words that burn. They set fire to the cobwebs in our brains. Amid the still, stagnant, stinking, polluted waters of India, the thoughts of Ambedkar and Periyar are the two flowing, tinkling streams with fresh drinkable water. These two great persons of India had also identified the ruling class and stressed the need to destroy them. They have also given us the right strategy and a formidable weapon to destroy them. But what did we do with them ? what treatment we gave to their thoughts ? How kind we were to these great pathfinders ?

Without destroying the ruling class, we can make no change in India. What constitutes this ruling class? The Brahmins form just 5 p.c. of the Indian population. And another 5% of the neo-Brahmins : industrialists, big landlords, etc. form the ruling class. A section of the legal and judicial professions, press, financial institutions, administrative services, professionals fine arts constitute this ruling class. Some politicians also come under this. But not all. This ruling class totally comes to about 10 per cent of the Indian population.

DIMENSIONS OF INEQUALITY

To reinforce our argument we have included the following passage from a paper of D. Barreto on poverty in India : To prove what we say it is enough to examine a few elements of our economic organisation namely the consumption, income and poverty pattern.

CONSUMPTION PATTERN

Percentage groups of the population	Total annual expenditure in crores of Rupees
1. Top 5%	3640
2. Next 6%	2502
3. Next 30%	9915
4. Next 80%	6126
5. Next 30%	3504

We do not need much comment to emphasise the blatant disparities in the consumption of the different groups. It is enough to focus that the top 5% consume slightly more than the bottom 30% of the people, and that the top 10% (group 1 and 2) spend for their consumption a little less than twice the consumption expenses of the bottom 30% of the people (group 5). Another study has shown that the consumption of the lowest 40% of the people represent 10.7% of the total consumption while the consumption of the top 10% represent 27.1% of the total consumption. (D. Barreto of I.S.I. in a paper, "Poverty in India").

INCOME DISTRIBUTION PATTERN :- True one could object and say that the consumption pattern does not reveal the picture as it merely conveys an idea of the expenses for the consumption. It is agreed that people could have more money that they spend for their consumption. It is time that the real picture is presented through a complete breakdown of income distribution according to the groups. A study conducted in 1968-69 by the National Council of Applied Economic Research gave the following income distribution pattern:-

1. Top 1% of the households enjoyed 10% of the total income.
2. Top 2.5% of household enjoyed 18% of the total income.
3. Top 10% of household enjoyed 34% of the total income.
4. Lower 50% of household share in the income was 22% of the total income.
5. Lowest 15% of the household share 4% of the total income.

We can therefore rightly assume that the disparities and the low standards of consumption are the expression of disparities in the income of the people. To understand how tremendous are these disparities, it is enough to say that according to the same study in 1968-69:-

- the average per capita income per day of all rural households was 68 paise.
- one crore people had an average income per day of 27 paise
- 5 crore people had an average income per day of 32 paise.
- 10 crore people had an average income per day of 42 paise.

With this income pattern, the lowest class, can hardly survive if survival is possible with 27,32,42 paise per day. These data are for 1968-69, but if we conduct surveys, we will come to the same conclusion today.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION :

Our study of disparities would be incomplete if we do not go little deeper to investigate the pattern of ownership (to which the income distribution pattern is very much related) in our country-ownership of rural, urban and industrial property.

Barreto gives in the following table, the evolution of the distribution of rural property in India since Independence :

LAND DISTRIBUTION PATTERN

Acres	1951		1961	
	% of rural households	% of total cultivated land owned	% of rural households	% of total cultivated land owned
1. Land less	23.09	————	26.3	————

2. Upto 2.5	38.15	6.15	31.3	7.1
3. 3.5 to 10	25.99	28.49	30.0	33.8
4. 10 to 25	9.17	29.11	9.5	31.0
5. More than 25	3.60	36.17	2.9	28.1

We will not comment in detail on these figures. To clearly focus the pattern of land distribution it is enough to say that the top 12.8% of the rural households in 1951, and 12.4% in 1961 owned 65.2% and 59.1% of the total cultivated land respectively. (groups 4 & 5). At the bottom (groups 1 & 2) the landless and small peasants represented 61.24% of the rural households in 1951 and 57.6% in 1961. The table has also the advantage of showing that the land concentration pattern has hardly changed during that decade. Unfortunately, we do not have a detailed study for the present, but a recent official study has shown that nothing basically has changed in the rural set-up. According to a Government report in 1971, the top 2.85% of the rural households own 28.84% of the total area. The bottom 44% of the rural households own 1.59% of the total cultivated area. This report only confirms the trend that was perceptible in the table: the situation of those who are at the bottom, is not only not improving, but, on the contrary, is getting worse.

We can only conclude that after 34 years of Independence, the rural structure has hardly changed in spite of all the talk about land reforms and the bluff around "garibi hatao".

As far as the urban property is concerned, we know that 57% of the urban property is concentrated in the hands of the 10% of the urban population that 29% of the urban population has 23% of the urban property. On the other hand, the bottom 10% of the urban population owns 1% of the urban property.

In the industrial field, the same phenomenon of concentration of property can be observed. Indian industry is heavily monopolistic in the sense that the majority of share capital, invested in the industries, is concentrated in a few companies. It is common

in India, to talk of 75 to 100 monopolistic companies, which hold most of the industrial capital. According to the official report of the committee on Distribution of Income and levels of living, presided by Mr. Mahalanobis, the assets of 86% of the companies represented 14.6% of the total industrial capital. On the other hand, 1.6% of the industrial companies control 53% of the total industrial capital. In 1970, the share capital of the top 75 houses represented 53% of the total industrial capital. Their share was only 45% in 1961-62. As C. T. Kurian rightly maintains, the ownership of shares is much more concentrated than the ownership of land. The passage quoted above from a paper by D. Barreto of the Indian Social Institute, Bangalore, amply proves the extent of power enjoyed by the ruling class. But Barreto refers only to the economic power which under Indian conditions, has only a secondary value. Social and religious power is far above political and economic power. Nay those who wield economic and political power are subordinate to the social and religious forces. This is the unique feature of India. The ruling class in India therefore includes social, economic, political, religious and administrative powers.

This ruling class forming 10% p.c. of our population is above the Government. It is above law. It is above the country. It is this ruling class which we have got to destroy. Any amount of constitutional change, any amount of reform is of no use. It is the cause of our degradation. It is this ruling class which controls the whole country and its government too. Its economy, politics and the whole society. It is holding the strings. The rest of them are puppets. You must have seen the puppet show. If the ruling class pulls the string, Karunanidhi raises the hand like this...If the string becomes loose....his hand will fall and head will bend. The ruling class holds the strings. Whether Karunanidhi or whether Annadurai or any Chief Minister or any Prime Minister in India, the string is with the ruling class. Do you know how this ruling class perpetuates? It says: "work for economic change". It also says: "work for legal change".

But it never asks you to work for social change. This is where Periyar comes.

Periyar, Ambedkar and Lohia are the only three people in independent India who worked for social change. That is why, these three names will remain in history. All those who work for economic change, political change and legal change, will vanish into air. Thrown into dust bin of history. Economic change is temporary; political change is temporary. Legal change is no change at all. What is permanent is social change. China had a real social change. That is why it is on the top of the world. We confined ourselves to political, economic and legal changes that is why we are at the bottom of the world. Beggar nation, Political, economic and legal changes are nothing but cosmetic changes.

That is why I have spoken today about Periyar as a social revolutionary. That is the greatness of Periyar. That is why Periyar asked his people not to contest elections. Do you know what happens if we contest elections? Suppose, I have to contest election tomorrow as an MLA, I have to go round the constituency.... I will promise one well, one house, etc. Those who contest election have to give promise for economic benefits. But if you promise social change, no vote will come to you. First of all nobody will vote for you and even if you go about with the slogan of social change they will think you are a bloody fool. Our political set-up, electoral system, education and whole thing is geared to shortrange economic gains. In this rat race we forget lasting solution which can come about only through social change. But what do we do? We mistake symptoms to disease and go on applying medicine to cure the symptoms. What happens? Patient dies.

Periyar was the one man who correctly understood that social change must come first. If social change is achieved, political, economic and legal changes will automatically follow.

CREAM THEORY: But economic change, if it comes first, you know it is temporary. You know the cream theory? You boil the milk. When you boil the milk cream is formed. You remove cream; again some amount of cream is formed; you remove that cream also. In another 5 minutes new cream is formed at the top. What is the cream? The cream is the essence of milk. Quintessence of milk. Just as new and newer creams are formed on the top of the milk, new and newer exploiters emerge through economic development. The exploiters suck and syphon all the benefits to themselves. More economic development means more benefit to exploiters. That is why industrialisation is of no use. I cannot say economic development should not be there at all. But preference should be given to social change. If economic change alone is undertaken without the latter, it will be like milk shedding all its essence to the cream. The top 10 per cent (cream) has syphoned off all the economic benefits of industrialisation. The standing example for this is Tamil Nadu. If the followers of Periyar had listened to his advice correctly, Tamil Nadu would not have had this tragedy. You know what happened? He asked his followers not to contest the elections. Do you know what happens if you contest elections? Why a political party contests election? It contests election to win and thereby capture power. The moment it comes to power, it has to fulfil at least a fraction of its promises. So quick results must be produced. Quick results will come only if shortrange economic programmes are launched. The moment economic development starts, like the cream, its benefit is sucked by the 10 per cent. Like the cream, it reaches the top. Social development is forgotten. That is why our entire time is wasted on producing quick economic results which hardly help the poor but immensely help make the rich richer.

That is why Periyar advised his followers not to contest the elections. Despite his advice they contested elections. A new

party was formed. The Brahmins became very happy. Soon it got split. D M K became ADMK; ADMK will become BDMK. It is a split. It will further split. The ruling class is having a hearty laugh. The ruling class is happy because it got the attention of the Periyar followers diverted to shortrange political and economic gains and thus succeeded in making them forget about longrange benefits of social change. Our Marxist comrades also failed by taking to parliamentary path.

Political parties are only dividing India. On one side, the caste system is dividing India. And on the top of the caste system, we have got political parties to further divide us. Language is another great divider.

Tamil Nadu is the standing example to prove that Periyar's principles should have been strictly followed. I do not know if it has become too late to save Tamil Nadu. MGR has driven the last nail on the coffin. Whatever it is, I am still hopeful that the future belongs to Periyar. He has told us that social development must be given the top-most priority.

Rationalists like you should not play into the hands of the political parties. I am not saying that you should not vote. You may cast your vote if you like. But do not take active part in the existing political parties all of which are not interested in social change. Spare your time for social development, social movement, because we have to get ready for the war.

The war has already begun. You see that tribal area is in flames in the North and North-East. Muslims and Christians are being treated as second-class citizens. Muslim life has become the cheapest. Untouchables are being throttled. That is why they are embracing Islam. Backward classes are totally neglected. They are becoming poorer than Untouchables.

I read in the paper yesterday that Chinmayananda has been operated in the U.S. heart surgery. Chinmayananda is a

richman's swamy. He is a Nair from Kerala. He is the representative of God in India. But no God could save him. He has to rush to a famous surgeon in America. (1) The scientific development has reached such height in America and in other places that it is possible to undertake heart surgery. When man can go to moon, what else is not possible? "Impossible" is a word that should be removed from our dictionary. Every thing is possible. Man is the master of the society. You can shape it as you like. If India is anaemic, sickly state, ineffective, a living corpse, dead though not buried, because we allowed the "ruling class" to keep it so. India cannot live unless this heartless ruling class is butchered.

SLAVES ENJOYING SLAVERY

But the beauty of the whole thing is India as a country, as a nation, may be dead. But Indians are not dead. No doubt over 50 per cent of them may be "living dead". Neither dead nor alive. But the top 10 per cent is perhaps as rich as some of the richest in the world. This tiny minority is worried about "environmental pollution" when the whole Indian society is polluted to the core.

Look. The poor are also "happy". Otherwise how on earth they are not rebelling against this world's worst form of exploitation? The "Karma theory" is keeping them happy even in the midst of their misery. Karma, destiny has created a dreamland. Everything is reserved for the next birth. Not that they are afraid to protest. The fact is that they don't know that they are the victims of such a brutal exploitation. This is the only country in the world where the slaves are enjoying their slavery. This is a ghastly state of affairs in any nation. None can save a set of slaves when they start enjoying their slavery.

1) As this book is getting printed (1982), Chinmayananda has again rushed to the US for a second heart operation.

The poor are living in a "culture of silence". The Hindu religion, God, Karma theory, rebirth, sacred scriptures, Godmen, temples, priests, our education system and the whole oppressive state machinery have jointly conspired to keep the masses mesmerized permanently. A state of everlasting trance. That is why in India even the poor are "happy"-enjoying their slavery. For those who have never known what it was to be free, how could they be expected to appreciate the struggle for their rights? They, the Wretched of the Earth, never had the freedom to know what it is to lose it. And much less to gain it. What a fantastic country!

Every state policy is geared to make the rich richer. To increase exploitation. If you go through the tax policies, industrial and agricultural policies, education system, you will get convinced of our argument.

Land reform is dead. Nobody talks of it now. Not even the Marxists. Nothing has basically changed in India since independence. Because we do not believe in change. Look at the industrial licensing system. It is designed to allow the monopolist to grow richer. India's top 20 big business houses received the largest number of industrial licensing between 1969-71. Please read the Reserve Bank annual report. You will know this yourself.

Look at the educational system. The 1971 census says over 70% of the country still remains totally illiterate. That means our primary task should have been to make the people literate giving the highest priority for elementary education. But look at our different five-year plans. If you see the distribution of expenditure on education, the first five year plan allotted 56% on elementary education including pre-primary. In the second plan, it got reduced to 35%. In the third, it nose dived to 30%. In 1966-69, it hit the rock bottom: 20% and in the 4th plan to 28.5%. On the other hand, the investment on higher education

has been going up steadily. Allotment to university education has increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ times while that of elementary education is halved. Why this? Because higher education helps the upper caste-class—the ruling class. The high caste boys and girls pass MBBS and settle down in the US. Now the trend is towards West Asia - petro dollars. We hate Muslims in India, but love their money abroad. The elementary education is neglected because it helps the lower castes. Because the ruling class knows the danger of educating the low castes. Keep them poor; keep them illiterate. But go on promising a heaven. They are so innocent that they will go on believing. This is what the Bhagawad Gita had also said.

The situation is very much the same in expenditure on health. While China was able to solve the three basic requirements of man—food, clothing and shelter and later also fulfilled health and education, we are stuck in the very first.

We are not saying that the ruling class is out to kill the poor. No. No. No. The rich want the poor. Otherwise, who will till the land, lift the garbage, clean the latrine? Who will produce the food, build houses, work in factories? Goose that lays golden eggs. The poor are needed to produce wealth for the rich to enjoy. Their job is to do and die without questioning where and why. Therefore, the ruling class now and then comes forward with generous "social welfare schemes". Compassion, love, generosity, charity. Poor feeding. That is why Rotary club, Lions club, Tigers club, Bisons club are formed. A shed for the cobblers. Homes for beggars. Bourgeoisie genoristy. Houses for slum-dwellers. Subsidy for fishermen to buy boats. Licensed prostitution. Red-light district. The bourgeoisie in India is afraid of the masses. It fears that the masses may turn violent. That is why non-violence is needed. For inventing this, Gandhi was given the title of Mahatma. Non-violence is meant for the masses. But violence is reserved for the classes. Ahimsa Paramodharama. Sarvejana Sukhino Bhavantu. A Lok Nayak,

JP, came forward with "Total Revolution". All these stunts are invented to see that the hungry do not turn angry. Hinduism as an ideology has replaced violence.

The exploitation is so acute that under its very weight the existing high caste-controlled capitalist system is definite to collapse. The ruling class is fully conscious of this fact. So now then it comes forward with grandiose schemes to hoodwink the masses. New props to a crumbling edifice. "Reservations" is one such scheme through which the ruling class can fish out the best out of the Untouchables and tribals and make "Government Brahmins" out of them. "Reservations" have helped only the ruling class by forming a cream in the SC & ST cauldron of milk. A new class of exploiters is born and they are instantly alienated from the rest. Reservations help to divide the Untouchables. Reservations have helped the ruling class to such an extent that even if the SCs and STs & OBCs start an agitation to scrap it, the ruling class will not oblige.

All these schemes help the ruling class to keep the exploited low-caste masses and minorities from searching the real causes of their exploitation. Anything will be done to see that the low castes do not think. The capitalists have started newspapers and journals for this purpose. The cinema industry is coming out with one new picture a day by seeing which the masses will get doped and drugged. Films are rendering an excellent service to keep the masses mesmerized. Hundreds of poor youth and women stand in queue for hours and after seeing it go home so happy "forgetting all their worries". Films, therefore, have proved to be the best and the cheapest entertainment media. Counter-revolutionary technic. Radio, TV are all employed to tell the poor that the cause of the poverty is price rise, unemployment, inflation, over-population, evil of drink, lack of leadership, parliamentary system, political leadership, lack of Bhakti, moral crisis and hundred other reasons.

But the ruling class will never tell them that the cause of

India's poverty and its misery is the ruthless exploitation and oppression resorted to by the ruling class itself. The existing ruling class is responsible for the whole topsy-turvy system. If the ruling class has to go, we must have revolution leading to total transformation of the society as it happened in China. The existing social-cultural ethos of the country has to be destroyed. We must aim at total liberation by destroying the castes. The ruling class and its culture can be destroyed only under a revolution. Nothing short of that. Revolution cannot be imported. Nor will it come like a magic. It cannot be tailor-made. Revolution is not given but taken. We have to struggle to get it. We have to fight for it. It is internal. Not external. If you want, you can have a revolution in 10 years or less than that. It is in your hands. If you want it you can have it. If you realise that the existing socio-economic structure of India is oppressing you, then you have to 'revolt'.

Somebody may say: "What is the use of I alone realising this? What can, I just one single individual do? Nobody is coming with me. If I revolt alone, I will be crushed. So why not be mum?" Edmund Burke said silent spectators are dangerous. He said: "All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that the good men remain silent". The crooks and the corrupt triumph in India because the intellectuals are keeping mum because they have also turned dishonest. Therefore the youth should not get the doubt that it is no use rebelling.

One who gets such doubts is a coward. Revolution will come only when an individual decides to revolt. Revolution starts first in the mind of a person. Then in his house. And from there, it spills over to the streets. Later it envelops the society and then the country. The beginning of the revolution is in the mind of a person. It originates there.

So the first duty is that of an individual. It is for the individual to first refuse to accept the existing ruling class. It is for an individual to first get angry and decide to overthrow the existing setup. This individual decision is the beginning of the revolution. So don't say: what is the use of one person deciding

to revolt? So an individual is most important. Those who have a commitment will have to sacrifice. They have to pay for their commitment. There is no time to waste.

Remember. India's ruling class is watching you. It has employed the police to keep track of your movement. It has the army. It knows that you are planning a revolution. Even if you are alone, even if the revolution has taken place in your mind that is enough. Even an individual may be crushed. You need not join hands with other like-minded people. To that extent the ruling class may be cruel.

Not only the ruling class is not interested in revolution but will do its best to prevent revolution. Because it knows that revolution means sure destruction of its properties, pleasures, privileges. So it is no wonder that it will do its best to preserve and perpetuate itself. Therefore this tendency is natural in any ruling class. The ruling class is not expected to produce a revolutionary. Dr. Ambedkar had rightly said ⁽¹⁾ that India's Brahmins have produced any number of learned people, but not a single intellectual. Only an intellectual can be a revolutionary. So if we find any amount of counter-revolutionaries among Brahmins, it is because they form a part of the ruling class. Every ruling class is essentially counter-revolutionary. This is true all over the world. No Brahmin can be a revolutionary. This is true of Marxist Brahmins also. Therefore asking a Brahmin for social change and revolution is like handing over lambs to the care of the wolf.

The real, genuine revolutionaries can come only from the revolutionary class itself. Untouchables and tribals are born

(1) "...a man who is born a Brahmin has much less desire to become a revolutionary. Indeed, to expect a Brahmin to be a revolutionary in matters of social reforms is as idle as to expect the British Parliament, as was said by Leslie Stephen, to pass an Act requiring all blue-eyed boys to be murdered". — Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, (Annihilation of Caste—page 89).

revolutionaries. It is only such oppressed groups that can bring about the revolution. Not a Brahmin who learnt Marxism in America. There may be an exception to this rule like M.N.Roy. But as a rule, the high castes will not produce a revolutionary. Their caste character will come in the way of their becoming a revolutionary. Look at E.M.S. Namboodiripad, S.A. Dange. (1)

The task of revolution is not easy. It will not come just like that. The ruling class is ever vigilant. It is also dangling lollipops to woo away the disgrunteed, to buy away those ready to be bought. Hundred and one temptations are ready. They have the mass media. The Government is on their side. Nay. It is its creation. Then you have the religion and gods. The cultural shock. Cinema - the Karma theory. The ruling class will do everything to divide the oppressed. The division, fragmentation, vivi-section is done through the caste system, language and political parties. No effort will be spared. The ruling class knows fully well that the masses are not united to fight for liberation. Therefore mass awakening, concientization must be given the top priority.

The first and foremost pre-requisite is to become angry. Refuse to accept the existing socio-economic system. Once you reject the system, the second task of destroying the ruling class will become easy. Let the revolution begin first in your mind. That is the beginning of revolution. The spark will spread like a prairie fire.

I inaugurated at Tirunelveli the "Anti-Brahmin domination

(1) Says Sharad Patil: "The high caste youths brought up in the caste defending Vedantic nationalist traditions of Tilak built up the Indian Communist movement. Com. S. A. Dange... declares the Brahminical methodology of the historiographer to be entirely Marxist. The outlook of the communist leaders and Marxist indologists regarding Indian philosophy, history and culture being Brahminical, it was but inevitable for them to remain dogmatic in applying Marx's historical materialism to India." (Marxism and Phuley-Ambedkarism 1980-page 7).

conference", but soon there was another^o conference at the same place sponsored of course by the Brahmins. But it was mostly Thevars and Nadars who took the lead. These two (O.B.Cs) are backward communities. They got the greatest benefit from the Periyar's movement. How can they follow the Brahmins? I request the backward class leaders. There are still some good people in that community; I know that; but it is for the Dravida Kazhagam to educate the backward class people.

After the Tirunelveli Conference, I came to Madurai and went to a nearby village called Korayur. In that Korayur village (Ramnad district, but 30 miles from Madurai), the entire Untouchable population had embraced Islam. We got the information in Bangalore. I wanted to know why this conversion had taken place. So I went to that village and spent one whole day. That village is divided into two blocks—there is a road running in the middle of the village. On one side, the caste Hindus live, on the other side the Untouchables. The caste Hindus are Thevars (O.B.Cs). For the past several years, constant fight was going on between the two. I went there and asked them why they embraced Islam. They said this was the only way to escape from the tyranny of the Hindus (Thevars). I do not want to enter into the merit of the question. Thevars are very backward people. I know it. But how did the very same people hold a conference at Tirunelveli and condemn the Dravida Kazhagam conference? I request the Dravida Kazhagam people and the rationalist people to think on it. That is why my one request to you is that your strategy has to be correctly adopted. Dravida Kazhagam movement and the rationalist movement must embrace the Untouchables; and they should be considered as our best friends. I am not going to enter into the question of strategy here because that is outside the perview of my speech. I wish Thanjavur rationalist conference all success and I thank you very much for inviting me.

(Speech delivered by Com. V. T. Rajshekar
at the Thanjavur Rationalists Association,
Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu, on 21-9-1980).

PART II

HOW INDIA'S RULING CLASS IS UNIQUE IN THE WORLD

What is wrong in having a ruling class? A governing elite? In every society in the world there is a minority of intellectuals which rules. A governing elite is necessary. Therefore, what is big about the Indian ruling class? Every country has its rulers and the ruled. What is wrong if India has its own? Not only every human society was divided into two strata - a ruling minority and a majority that is ruled, but all societies must be so divided. Man's liberty to imagine and execute new and newer things will be curtailed if there is no ruling class.

Advocates of such a "ruling class theory" should know that the ruling class wherever it existed, was essentially antidemocratic. Advocates of such a theory in India go to the extent of saying that even Russia and China have their own ruling class. The Communist Party is the other name for the ruling class in such societies, they say. Therefore, it is necessary that we go little deeper into the different ruling class theories in the world and find out how far the Indian ruling class is different from others.

Gaetano Mosca is considered the first in the world to formulate (in 1884-96) a systematic ruling class theory. The English version of his book is entitled, "The Ruling Class" (McGraw Hill, New York, 1939). Vilfredo Pareto developed the theory. His French student Marie Kolabinska further expanded it. Harold Lasswell in his book, "The Comparative Study of Elites" (Hoover Institute Studies, Stanford, 1952) has devoted himself particularly to the study of political elite. C.J. Friedrich in his book, "The New Image of the Common Man", has pointed out that the 19th century elite theories based on Carlyle and Nietzsche, Mosca and Pareto were nothing but attempts at reviving and hoisting on the society the ancient ideas of social hierarchy aimed at putting obstacles to the spread of democratic ideas. Max Weber in Germany and Pareto in Italy were supported by status quoists.

Karl Mannheim having once insisted that elite theories are undemocratic later changed his opinion. But one thing can be safely said that all these ruling class theories including the Indian one are essentially opposed to Marxism. Ruling class theorists like Mosca, Pareto and others say there will always be a ruling class. History of all societies, past and present, is the history of its ruling class. There will always be a ruling class and hence exploitation. Gifted people are destined to govern, idiots serve. That is why all ruling class "superman" theories oppose democracy and socialism. The idea that the community should be ruled by a group of superior individuals figure prominently in Plato's thoughts and the philosophy of Brahminism of India. The Brahmins of India are called the "Bhoodevatas," the gods of the earth, in their "sacred books".

C. Wright Mills in his book, "The Power Elite", (Oxford University Press, New York, 1956) prefers to describe the ruling class as a power elite. Some writers say that popular voting and governmental restrictions have reduced the power of the governing elite even in capitalist countries like the U.S., U.K., Germany, Italy etc. But T.B. Bottomore does not agree with this view. He says in his book, "Elites and Society" (Penguin Books, 1974): "What seems to have taken place in the democratic countries up to the present time is not so much a reduction in the power of the upper class as a decline in the radicalism of the working class". (Ibid page 41) Socialism, particularly as it is practised in India has helped the rich to become richer and the poor to lose their militancy. Bottomore gives the example of the rule of Brahmins. "In India, the Brahmins, during the ages when they were most powerful, were also substantial landowners, and they were closely allied with the landowning warrior castes in the imperial and feudal periods of Indian history. On occasion, they themselves founded ruling or noble houses, and there seems to have been, at times, an amount of movement of individuals and families between the Brahmin and Kshatriya (warrior) castes, which the doctrine of

castes exclusiveness expounded in the classical texts do not indicate". (Ibid Page 41). Brahmins, he says, exercised power even on properties not owned by them. This power is derived from the Hindu religion. Whatever the Brahmins did, it was done in the name of god. Divine sanction.

The Brahmins of India have falsified every ruling class theory in the world. And that is why while the history has proved to be the graveyard of aristocracies, the Indian aristocracy of Brahmins is reigning supreme—unquestioned and unrivalled. Nay. Going stronger day by day. Pareto might have defended the ruling class theory on the basis of what he calls "elite circulation"—the ascent and descent of individuals, the rise and fall of the social groups. He suggests that if the ruling class is relatively open to superior individuals from the lower strata it has a better chance of enduring. Marie Kolabinska says that the elites which receive elements from outside themselves are in a better position to endure than those which exclude such elements. What she means is a mobile society. This may be the case in societies outside India's Hindu society — the gates of the ruling class are kept open. Fresh blood is pumped in and the ruling class gets reinvigorated. From this it is clear that advocates of the ruling class theory, like Mosca, Pareto, Schumpeter etc. permitted circulation of the blood. According to Pareto a declining elite is restored to vitality by the recruitment of new elements from the lower strata of the population.

No doubt, in India also the vitality is restored through the process of Sanskritisation and Westernisation. Untouchables benefitted by the constitutional reservations climb up the ladder of society. This serves two purposes: They are alienated from their poorer, illiterate, village-dwelling caste counterparts and secondly their newly-acquired values serve as props to higher caste interests. In this way, the newly-educated Untouchables swell the ranks of the exploiters with minor exceptions. So too

the touchable Shudras. The ruling class is therefore getting new and newer props and thereby getting stronger day by day.

Mosca, Pirenne and Schumpeter have proved right in the case of India where their theory says that new social groups may be formed in a society as a result of economic and cultural changes. The Brahmins of India have realised that the economic development of the lower castes of India is absolutely essential in their own self-interest, while social development is strictly discouraged. "Economic uplift" is undertaken at least in a half-hearted way. So much so, the anti-Brahmin movement which was once raging so furiously got blunted as the Brahmins were able to syphon into their system many non-Brahmins and particularly those immediately below them like the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Land-owning shudras have been fully with the Brahmins. Nay, their watchdogs. So much so, the anti-Brahmin movement is virtually dead in India.

Be that as it may, all these elite theory studies do not apply to India. Mosca, Pareto, Pirenne, Schumpeter and others have also spoken of circulation of individuals. But not so in India where the ruling class not only does not admit anybody, but does not even believe in it. The ruling class of India is therefore, unique in the world.

How is it unique? Pareto says revolutions occur when the rate of circulation of individuals is too low. As we have already stated, except for swelling the ranks of the exploiters through Sanskritisation and Westernisation, the gates of the ruling class have not been opened to anybody other than Brahmins. It is a water-tight compartment. Because, a Brahmin is a Brahmin because he is born Brahmin. Status comes from birth in Hindu India. A person born in a particular caste dies in the same caste. There is neither a promotion nor a demotion. So how could there be a circulation of individuals between the elite and

the non-elite in India? If the circulation is too low, says Pareto, revolution is imminent. If this is so, India should have had a revolution long back.

Other writers have spoken about the rise and fall of elites. But India has not so far witnessed such a fall. The reign of the Indian ruling elite is eternal. The Buddha was the only person who administered a big blow to the ruling class but within a couple of hundred years, after his death, the ruling class regrouped and regained its supremacy. Buddhists were ruthlessly killed and tortured by Brahmins to re-establish Brahmin supremacy.

C. Brinton in his book, "The Anatomy of Revolution" cites the following condition for revolution: economic progress in a society, bitter class antagonisms, desertion of the ruling class by the intellectuals, inefficient government and a politically inept ruling class. All these conditions have been permanently existing in India, but the country did not have revolution. In fact, as days pass, the condition in India is getting chaotic. Still there is not even a remote chance of the ruling class losing its balance. As long as caste system and "Karma (destiny) theory" remain, there will not be a ghost of a chance of revolution.

If in every other country of the world including capitalist countries, the ruling class has been admitting those below and any failure on its part had led to a shakeup and threatened its existence, why in India alone the ruling class has been shutting out others and at the same time safe and secure? Going strong? What is the secret of its survival? Its unquestioned, unbroken reign? What is so unique about it? How could it become an unparalleled institution, a wonder of the whole world?

These lead us to yet another question: who is an intellectual? Intellectuals, says T. B. Bottomore, are different from the

intelligentsia which once meant all those who had university education. Later its denotation was changed to mean all those engaged in non-manual occupations. The intellectuals, on the other hand, are generally regarded as comprising the much smaller group of those who contribute directly to creation, transmission and criticism of ideas ; they include writers, scientists, artists, philosophers, religious thinkers, social theorists, political commentators". (Elites and Society, Penguin, 1979, Page 70). The group may include the profession of teaching, journalism, but its characteristic feature-direct concern with the culture of a society-is sufficiently clear, says Bottomore.

Intellectuals are there all over the world. So also in India. In some societies, the intellectuals have come close to being a governing elite. Max Weber's study reveals that at least 30% of them were recruited from a social level below the elite.

The only exception to this rule is India. And this answers the questions raised above. "In India, the Brahmins constituted themselves a ruling stratum in the society, but there are important differences from the case of China, for the Brahmins were a hereditary caste, and their training was religious rather than literary" (Ibid, Page 71). The ruling class of India is unique because whatever literature its "Intellectuals" have produced, it is done as part of its religion. While in every other country, the intellectual class has been different from a priestly class, India is the only country where its intellectual class has been also the priestly class. Not only that. It is a hereditary class. In no other country its intellectual class has this double qualification of being priestly as well as hereditary. And that is why it has become a closed society. A unique institution.

Precisely because of this, every ruling class theory has proved wrong when it comes to the question of India. Bottomore refers to a Polish revolutionary Wacław Machajski's theory that

the socialist movement actually expressed the ideology of dissatisfied intellectuals. This theory again does not apply to India, which has proved to be an exception to every rule. It is said that most of the revolutions of the 20th century have been led by intellectuals. But the Indian intellectual class being also a hereditary class, fully armed by the divine right conferred upon it by religion and god, played the role not of a revolutionary but that of a counter-revolutionary

Mosca pins high hopes on the intellectual class when he says: "If there is any social class prepared to set aside, if only for a while, the private interest, and able to perceive the common good with the detachment needed, it is certainly the one which, thanks to its exacting intellectual training, has what should make for nobility of character, for broad horizons and for enlarged faculties,that class, and that class alone, will freely sacrifice a present good in order to avert a future evil".

This is no doubt a beautiful definition but alas the Indian intellectual class does not fit into it. Why the Indian intellectual class is different from the rest in every other society of the world? Since the answer to this question is so aptly and beautifully given by India's greatest revolutionary after the Buddha, it is better that we quote B.R. Ambedkar in full at least for the sheer beauty of his language:

"Whether you accept the theory of the great man as the maker of history or whether you do not, this much you will have to concede that in every country the intellectual class is the most influential class, if not the governing class. The intellectual class is the class which can foresee, it is the class which can advise and give lead. In no country does the mass of the people live the life of intelligent thought and action. It is largely imitative and follows the intellectual class. There is no exaggeration in saying that the entire destiny of a country depends upon its

intellectual class. If the intellectual class is honest, independent and disinterested, it can be trusted to take the initiative and give a proper lead when a crisis arises. It is true that intellect by itself is no virtue. It is only a means and the use of means depends upon the ends which an intellectual person pursues. An intellectual man can be a good man but he can easily be a rogue. Similarly an intellectual class may be a band of high-souled persons, ready to help, ready to emancipate erring humanity or it may easily be a gang of crooks or a body of advocates of a narrow clique from which it draws its support. You may think it a pity that the intellectual class in India is simply another name for the Brahmin caste. You may regret that the two are one; that the existence of the intellectual class should be bound with one single caste. You may regret that this intellectual class should share the interest and the aspirations of that Brahmin caste, which has regarded itself the custodian of the interest of that caste, rather, than of the interests of the country. All this may be very regrettable. But the fact remains, that the Brahmins form the intellectual class of the Hindus. It is not only an intellectual class but is a class which is held in great reverence by the rest of the Hindus. The Hindus are taught that the Brahmins are Bhudevas (Gods on earth). The Hindus are taught that Brahmins alone can be their teachers. Manu says, "If it be asked how it should be with respect to points of the Dharma which have not been specially mentioned, the answer is that which Brahmins who are Shishthas propound shall doubtless have legal force."

When such an intellectual class, which holds the rest of the community in its grip, is opposed to the reform of caste, the chances of success in a movement for the break-up of the caste system appear to me very very remote." (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: "Annihilation of Caste", Bheem Patrika Publications, Jullundur, India, 1975).

Bottomore also agrees with the assessment of Mosca and Karl

Mannheim and cites the example of Poland, Hungary, Cuba where the intellectuals have played a prominent part in radical and revolutionary movement. But alas the Indian intellectual class has not produced a single revolutionary.

India is therefore a vast intellectual wasteland. It has not produced a single Nobel laureate after Independence. An intellectual should not only think but make others think. Eternal pursuit of truth should be his obsession. To go in search of truth, one must have extraordinary courage, honesty. Therefore, an intellectual must be an extremely courageous man. J.B.S. Haldane, a great scientist, himself became a guinea pig for his own scientific experiments. He locked himself up in an airtight chamber, less than a cubic metre in volume, for 14 hours. He underwent similar personal crucifixion many times. But is there any Indian intellectual who has subjected himself to such personal torture? "Intellectuals in India have not given evidence of the independence of thought, probity and moral fibre which are the essential requisites of a true intellectual", says G.D. Khosla. (The Statesman, Aug. 2, 1981)

For all these reasons, the Indian ruling class has become unique in the whole world. In India Marxism is opposed both by the conservative, traditional, religious section of intellectuals and also by the Western-educated ultramoderns. If at all any intellectual has joined the Marxist movement in India, he has done so with the object of using Marxism to sabotage the little chance of revolution in India. More and more intellectuals are finding Marxism a safer course. Firstly, it gives them respectability and secondly it helps them check the rising militancy of the low castes. Bottomore has come to the very same conclusion long back. "India presents us with an extreme situation in this respect, for although the Communist party there constitutes at present the principal opposition to the ruling Congress party, the intellectual influence of Marxism, or of any revolutionary ideas is slight. In

India, few of those who can be described as intellectuals in the modern secular sense are in any consistent, radical or effective way critics of their society, or creators of new social doctrines which can inspire popular action and for the most part the influence of the intellectuals is assimilated to that of the new middle classes as a whole, whose style of life brings about small and gradual changes in taste and manners. The existence of the hereditary intellectual elite—the Brahmins—from which many of the modern intellectuals come, ensures that they remain attached in manifold ways to the religious and social ideals of the traditional society; and even the recruitment to intellectual occupations from a wider social area, which might tend to diminish this attachment, has so far failed to produce a self-confident, modern intellectual class, which could assume a leading position, because of the divisive forces of caste and regional loyalties". (Ibid, Page 102)

This is the main reason why the Indian ruling class is a unique institution, unrivalled in the whole world and standing unchallenged at home.

India's ruling class is getting fresh feathers with the revival of Hinduism. The beauty is it is holding the leadership of both the ruling Congress Party as well as the Brahmin revivalist para-military organisation called the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (R. S. S.) Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, leader of the ruling Congress Party, was shot dead by the RSS and later it adopted "Gandhian socialism" as its political doctrine. There is hardly any ideological difference between the philosophy of the ruling Congress Party (now headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi) and the RSS. In fact, the RSS and Indira Gandhi are secretly in league on preserving and perpetuating the leadership of the Indian ruling class. The very purpose of the RSS existence is to continue and strengthen the Indian ruling class. And at the time of writing this, the RSS is doing this job splendidly through Mrs. Indira

Gandhi. As long as RSS is there, she will permanently rule India. RSS, therefore, is actually helping her to remain in power.

The Indian ruling class is busy enriching itself at the cost of the rest of the society. Fully taking advantage of the Western education and modern scientific development, it has fortified itself as a prosperous island amid this vast pauperised, dehumanised sick society that is India—pushed from the Third World to the Fourth World. At the time of writing this, the World Bank ranking of India is 11th poorest country in the world. The planning process is subverted. Corruption is institutionalised. Democracy is dethroned. Caste exploitation has reached unmanageable heights. Minorities like Muslims are killed daily. Christians are treated as second-grade citizens. Women are burnt. Untouchables and tribals live the life of sub-humans. There is no limit to the violence of the Indian ruling class in this holy land of non-violence.

No doubt, Indira Gandhi is the single most popular leader of India, enjoying a charisma which no ruler had ever enjoyed in independent India. She has surpassed the charisma of Gandhi or her father Jawaharlal Nehru. But this leadership is no use because as Bottomore says it does not "express adequately and pursue steadfastly, the ideals of these social classes, which constitute the great majority of the population and which are struggling at the present time to escape from their age-old confinement to a life of poverty and subservience".

As already stated every ruling class is anti-democratic and anti-socialist. But the Indian ruling class possesses not only these two universal qualities but has a third and a bigger qualification: it is anti-human. Therefore, the destruction of this inhuman Indian ruling class should be the prime concern of not only the exploited sections inside India but also those waging a war against a similar system all over the world. The Indian

ruling class is the deadliest in the world. Because it is not only obstructing the Indian revolution but through that the world revolution as well. Therefore, the destruction of the Indian ruling class should be the prerequisite for all those interested in establishing socialism and through that a world government of universal brotherhood. If India goes socialist, the rest of the world will automatically follow. India, therefore, is the prime obstacle to world revolution and India's ruling class is coming in the way of such a world revolution. Therefore, it is the duty of revolutionaries all over the world to help destroy the Indian ruling class.



AFTERWORD FROM PAGE-44

AFTERWORD

This tiny book is not intended to be a scholarly work but meant for India's vast persecuted minorities—dalits (Untouchables) tribals, backward classes, Muslims, Christians and other toiling masses comprising over 70 pc of its 800-million population, as also those struggling groups in other countries of the world. We hope it will serve as a guide for those who very often face the problem of being confronted by the "ruling class" at every stage. The problem of the world and Hindu India in particular is the problem created by its ruling class. The dalits and its persecuted minorities always get deceived by the ruling class, by its very Enemy. The paradox is that the dalits and minorities, the very victims of this rapacious ruling class, is fanatically and furiously engaged in the thankless task of saving the very cause of their ruin. The cow licks the very hand of the butcher who is leading it to the slaughter house. The dalits and other persecuted minorities of India are like this cow. So innocent, So ignorant, So gullible, that the very Enemy is taken into confidence as the best and the most trusted friend and well-wisher. Even after being very often stabbed in the back, this Enemy is still continued to be counted as their friend, philosopher and guide. The greatness of India's ruling class is that it can pass as nectar even as this deadly poison is corroding and cutting the throat of those drinking it with glee and gay abandon. There is no room for truth, honesty, sincerity, not even the common courtesy in this ruthless game of exploitation played all in the name of *Dharma* (Hindu religion) and god.

This statement of ours is endorsed by The *Indian Express* Washington correspondent T. V. Parasuram in a dispatch published in his English daily (Bangalore edition—Feb. 17, 1982). He reports about a controversy going on in the columns of the *New York Times* about a three-year-old study of the British High Commission in India saying: In

Hinduism there is no good or evil as in the case of dualistic religions such as Christianity, Judaism or Islam. A natural concomitant of the absence of sin is the lack of ideal about truth. There is little place in the Hindu ethos for truthfulness, social service or moral courage. The pre-occupation is with the internal development of the individual. While in every country, politics is a career, in India it is a business." Parasuram then quotes the *New York Times* saying: "A number of Indian social scientists have noted that individual rather than collective redemption lies at the heart of Hindu practice and that as a result social responsibility is generally narrowly defined." Foreign scholars and also unbiased Indian experts now agree that Hinduism is the root cause of India's corruption, its poverty and its myriad ills. Therefore we thought we should explain the wonder that is India so that its persecuted minions could correctly identify the Enemy. One cannot fight the Enemy without knowing who is the enemy. Alas, the dalits and other persecuted minorities are not able to fight the Enemy because they do not know who is the Enemy. It is only after knowing the Enemy, one can study the Enemy and plan the strategy. Without even knowing who the Enemy is, how can anybody study the weaknesses and strong points of the Enemy? Let alone reaching the stage of fighting the Enemy, they do not know who the Enemy is. They are therefore more busy fighting among themselves. This is the greatest tragedy of India. Many sympathetic foreigners and our Marxist comrades outside anxiously ask us when India's persecuted minorities would explode into a revolution. To such of them, we hope this work will serve as the answer. We also hope it will help the dalits and other persecuted minorities to know who is ruling India and thus unmask the Enemy.

In the foregoing we have already analysed how India's ruling class has been getting stronger, adding fresh feathers as years fade into centuries, while every other ruling class in other parts

of the world is wilting and withering if not dead and gone. Here we want to make an important point. Persecuted minorities elsewhere are also fighting their respective ruling class: South African Blacks against White racists, Palestinians against the Israeli Zionists, Sri Lanka Tamils against Buddhist revivalists, Burakus against the Japanese rulers. Similar fight is also going on in Afghanistan, Philippines, Argentina, South Korea, many African countries. All the bloodshed the world over is due to the ruling class fight to retain its properties and privileges. It is but natural for every ruling class to preserve and perpetuate its properties and privileges. As long as there is private property there will also be desire to possess it. It is human nature. Property is the root cause. Remove property, 99 pc of the friction automatically disappears.

Whenever we meet persecuted minorities of other countries they charge their respective ruling class with "fascist tendencies". In the political vocabulary of the world there is as yet no word which carries a more abusive meaning than *fascism*. Indira Gandhi is called a "fascist" by her angry political enemies. Experts have not yet coined a word which can convey our anger in full measure and replace the term *fascist*. Our most hated enemy committing the most barbarous crimes against humanity is always called *fascist*. Hitler, the worst tyrant that we have seen in recent history, is by far the best symbol of fascism. But do the different persecuted minorities fighting their own ruling class know who are the founding fathers of fascism? ".....the roots of the philosophy of fascism can be traced in the divine philosophy of the *Gita*" (*Fascism*, M. N. Roy, Jijnasa, Calcutta, 1976-page 12) Hinduism indeed is the proud father of fascism and this was clearly admitted by Schopenhauer and his disciple, Nietzsche. India and Hinduism (Brahminism) are thus the real ancestors of fascism. Hitler and the German fascists have acknowledged their Aryan ancestry. M. N. Roy says: "....the testimony of Hegel, the greatest modern

exponent of philosophical spiritualism, whose absolute idealism is hardly distinguishable from the philosophy of Vedanta." (ibid page 26) Swastika was the symbol of Hitler but borrowed from their Aryan ancestors whose modern version, R.S.S. (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh), India's fascist party, is still retaining it.

Therefore, as the ruling class is crumbling in the capitalist West, its pillars are naturally looking to Hindu India's "spiritualism" for support and sustenance. This is the secret of "spiritually hungry" Whites flocking to India and seeking solace in saffron robes and sacred thread, sitting under the foot of Gurus and godmen. Hence the growing Western effort to "spiritualise science". Western scientists are being brain-washed by these "spiritual" thugs to take to TM, Vedanta. The Western multinationals along with the Indian Big Business is financing these "projects". And in days to come more and more capitalists in the West will look up to India to save their properties and privileges. Because the crumbling ruling class of the West can be saved and its decaying capitalism rejuvenated only by the surviving ruling class in the whole world through its spiritual genius: the magic wand of Hinduism. Why do the sinking ruling class of different countries look up to Hindu India? How the Hindu spiritualism can give the *kayakalpa* (rejuvenation) to the other sinking ruling classes? The secret lies in the fact that Hinduism as an ideology has so beautifully replaced violence. What a magic! In S. Africa, the White ruling class is using violence to suppress its Black servile class. The White racists have not made a secret of it. Apartheid is enforced through violence. In India too its ruling class is suppressing and oppressing its dalits and persecuted minorities but not through violence. But non-violence (*ahimsa*, the Gandhian magic word.) The Blacks know their Enemy because it is not at all making a secret of its terror. They know who is using violence against them. So too in other countries, where the ruling class is using violence and also saying that it is using violence to crush its minorities. In all these

countries, the ruling class by its actions has become the open enemy because it uses violence. But not so in India because Hindu India "does not believe in violence". Then how does it suppress its minorities? Not by violence but through an ingenious ideology that is called Hinduism. All Untouchables, tribals, other low castes are told to be "good Hindus," and the moment a low caste person considers himself as a "good Hindu" and behaves as a "good Hindu" as prescribed in the Hindu sacred scriptures, he automatically becomes a slave and serf of the high caste owners of property and privileges. If the persecuted slave himself willingly becomes a slave without a murmur, a word of protest, where is the need to use violence? This is what we meant when we said that in Hindu India the slaves are enjoying their slavery, In South Africa, the slaves are protesting but in Hindu India, the very slaves are enjoying their slavery. This is the difference. Where is the scope for violence in such a situation? This is what we mean when we say ideology has replaced violence. The work carried out by guns in Africa is done in a much better and effective way through Hinduism. Is it not something great?

Very rarely largescale violence breaks out in India barring those against its 12 pc. (official figure) Muslim population. But Untouchables are not killed by Hindus as they do with Muslims. In Moradabad in Indira Gandhi's own state of Uttar Pradesh 1,000 Muslims were shot dead within an hour or so in 1980. Particularly in South India, there is hardly any instance of mass murder of Untouchables except one in Kilvenmani in Tamil Nadu in 1968 when 43 were burnt alive. Because, the Hindus are a "peace-loving people" noted all over the world for their "great tolerance", the ruling class is able to ensure the servility of its slaves through Hinduism by using it as an ideology. Ashok Rudra, a noted Indian economist, says in the *Economic & Political Weekly* (26-12-1981):

“As is well known, it is one of the fundamental tenets of Marxism that the hierarchic structure of society with some classes producing use values and some other classes appropriating a surplus out of it and distributing it among themselves is held together in the ultimate analysis by violence. We advance as a hypothesis that this particular role in Indian history was played not by violence but by ideology. Ideology no doubt plays the role of smoothing over frictions in all societies : the ruling class ideology is meant to thwart, muffle and confuse class struggle in all class societies. In that there is nothing special about India. What is special about India is the stupendous success that was achieved by ideology in India in this role. Violence has of course been not in the least lacking in Indian history. But that is violence as between different claimants to political power all belonging to the same ruling class. We are talking of the absence of violence between the exploiting classes and the exploited classes. We are suggesting that it was never found necessary by the exploiting classes to use violence to make the exploited classes accept their exploitation and oppression. We are suggesting that the result was achieved by the use of ‘dharma’ which, it may be recalled, literally means ‘something that holds together’. The Sudra was indoctrinated to accept without protest the *Sudra-Dharma* and the Chandala lived his life according to the canons applicable to his station. Dharma put the highest premium on the acceptance of one’s station in life and the existing social order and precluded any idea of rebellion. If Marx talked about the history of mankind being the history of class struggles he had before his mind the history of Europe which is full of instances of slave revolts and serfs fleeing from their lords. Indian history, however, does not provide any evidences of the Untouchables revolting against the upper castes.The substitution of physical violence by ideology is recognised even by the strong protagonist of Indian feudalism, R.S. Sharma, who writes: ‘But where was the need for military service if the people could be persuaded to behave themselves and to acquiesce in the existing order’? It is not only in the relation between

the direct producers and the appropriators of surplus that the Brahmanic ideology with its Jati Dharma and the theory of 'Karma' eliminated the need of violence; the same is true of every other social relation of oppression. A glaring example is the way women have been made to accept not just an inferior status but a degradation unparalleled in any other society. The Indian male however never had to invent any such horrible contraptions to ensure his mental-peace. The ideal of 'Patibratya', driven deep into the very marrows of the Indian female, made her follow the examples of Sita and Savitri while her husband could indulge himself with any number of wives and concubines and cheerfully mount his funeral pyre after his death. What we are talking of is physical violence, corporal punishment and in extremity, annihilation. It goes without saying that in moral terms the ideology we are talking about is violent to an utmost degree. To the best of our knowledge, this particular role of ideology as a substitute for violence has not received the attention of historians and social scientists it deserves. As is well known, unlike Christianity and Islam, Brahminism never conquered by annihilating or by forcefully converting people worshipping non-Brahmanic gods. Tribes were not eliminated. They were assimilated. The functional divisions within the tribal society were preserved and given caste denominations. The local god and goddesses were incorporated into the Hindu pantheon by equations being invented between them and established Hindu gods. The essential point which we are aiming at is the absence of physical violence made possible by an astute manipulation of ideology. (as quoted in the *Dalit Voice* of Feb 16, 1982).

That is why the ruling class the world over is looking to Hindu India for leadership. Many Westerners say that they are simply fascinated and bewitched by the beauty of Hinduism. The Guru business has become a multi-million dollar proposition. The White Christians passing through the hippy cult are now well on the lap of Hinduism. And with the recent "conversion to Hinduism" by the grandson of the American millionaire Henry Ford, the Hindu

spiritual leaders have caught their biggest fish both from the publicity point of view as well as the dollar diety.

So who is more dangerous—the White racists? German Fascists? Military dictators of South Korea? All these are no match to the Indian ruling class. Because every other ruling class is looking up to Hindu India for solace and succour. Every fascist ruler gets inspiration from a philosophy which was originally perfected in India and exported abroad. Therefore all those who are struggling against their respective ruling class will have to trace the source of energy for their tormentors. The destruction of the Indian ruling class should be the concern of not only the Indian persecuted minorities but all other minorities similarly persecuted the world over. The Indian ruling class is the sole stumbling block for world peace.

Therefore we appeal to Blacks, Palestinians, Marxist groups, Koreans, Sri Lanka Tamils, Burakus, Canadian French & all other persecuted minorities that while they should continue to fight for their rights for their homeland, they should spare a thought to India's ruling class—the fountain head of fascism—whose destruction should be very much on their agenda as its destruction would very much ease their task and also help establish world peace. The moment India's ruling class falls, every other fascist regime in the world will automatically collapse. When the root is cut the tree naturally falls. US, the citadel of world capitalism, knows this too well and, therefore, doing its best to nourish the roots of this mighty banyan tree. Therefore the Indian ruling class is not merely the Enemy of the Indian persecuted minorities but the Enemy of the whole world. If India goes socialist, the entire world will go socialist. Hence it is the task of all persecuted minorities to help support our war against India's ruling class. We have absolutely no confidence in India's high caste Marxist leadership which by its actions has proved to be with the ruling class. Marxists outside India should take note of this stark truth. During our tour of China, we had enough occasion to speak to some Marxists

of that country and they appear to agree with us. Through our different works we have unmasked the hypocrisy of the Indian Left movement. Therefore we do not want to deal with it here.

This is the fourth work under the Dalit Sahitya Akademy started under the inspiration of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand. Our earlier work *Brahminism* (DSA No. 1-1981) was acclaimed by a noted French historian, Leon Paliakov, who in a letter to a friend in Tokyo had said that he would cite portions of our work in the book he was writing on the direction of the UNESCO. Some of our works have been translated to Japanese. Almost every work is rendered to Indian languages. With the publication of the *Dalit Voice* (The Voice of the Persecuted Minorities), an English fortnightly from Bangalore, DSA has become sufficiently popular among the English-knowing dalits and other persecuted minorities. We have a long way to go. We thank all our well-wishers for their support. The 20th century is ending with another 18 years. And with it the Gandhian Era will come to an end. The 21st century shall be the Ambedkar Era. The dalits and the persecuted minorities must get ready to take over. Will the ruling class of India hand-over the power on a silver platter? No. So we have to get ready. Lot of preparations are needed to establish the Dictatorship of the Dalits.

We thank Miss Bina Rani for assisting in the production of this book and also the management of M/s. Adarsh Printers for the splendid job.

V. T. RAJSHEKAR

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Dalit Sahitya Akademy,
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THE AUTHOR

V. T. Rājshekar (49), a noted journalist and writer, is the author of over dozen works on the social problems—Untouchables, caste system, tribes, backward classes and minorities—some of which have been translated to foreign and different Indian languages.

After having worked in major English dailies of India for 20 years, he became (1981) the editor of the *Dalit Voice*, hailed as the only English journal of its kind for India's vast persecuted minorities.

A Marxist and rationalist, he led a goodwill delegation to China (1979) and participated in major dalit struggles in Marathwada and Gujarat.

He is currently engaged in a study of the "class-caste struggle", a theory that is fast catching up in view of its suitability to Indian conditions. Such an indigenous Marxism combining the "class struggle" theory of Marx and the "caste struggle" theory of Ambedkar, Periyar and Lohia can only trigger the Indian revolution, he says.