

# HOW MARX FAILED IN HINDU INDIA

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## PREFACE

A gigantic country like India with a mammoth 600-million population—fast going downhill—should be a matter of international concern. For the first time after Independence, the country has reached a zero growth rate.

There have been such an all-round deterioration—economic, social, cultural, political, educational and even moral—that this country with a so-called ‘glorious cultural heritage’ is now being called the ‘Sick man of Asia’.

While the plight of the untouchables and tribals, forming one-third of the country's population, and the ‘Other Backward Classes’ has dipped to rock bottom, the other 10% of the elitist population is enjoying unprecedented prosperity—monopolising the whole gamut of day-to-day activity.

And yet the whole mass of humanity in this subcontinent has shown no sign of unrest—let alone a desire to better its lot. The country looks a picture of contentment and perfect peace. This is the wonder of all wonders at a time when country after country is getting liberated in dramatic sequence.

India has thus become a sociological wonder to the whole world. While the thinking sections the world over are worried about this country, Hindu India is totally indifferent, if not somewhat philosophical. What are the

reasons for this peace of the graveyard that is India? It is these that I have sought to analyse in this thesis which will be equally topical in the country's existing political situation caught between Mrs. Gandhi's fake socialism and Jayaprakash Narayana's bogus 'Total Revolution'—with the C.P.I. and the C.P.M. more busy running at each others throat rather than crushing its enemies.

The outline was published in a prestigious New Delhi journal some years ago and the tremendous reaction that it created when this stark truth was exposed to public gaze and the encouragement that I got from the country's sociologists, Marxian thinkers, Dalits and fellow journalists made me develop the thesis into a book form. I can dare say, that this is the first time that anybody is coming out with this theory to explain the failure of the Indian Left movement. Since its publication is delayed, many friends desired to have this outline.

I will be the happiest person if this booklet provokes a debate and a heart-searching among our Left leadership and particularly the cadres.

BANGALORE

May, 1, 1978

V. T. Rajshekar

## THE AUTHOR

V. T. Rajshekar was till 1979 the Deputy Chief Reporter of the *Indian Express*, Bangalore, South India. A Marxist, Ambedkarite, a prolific writer, his articles have appeared in several leading newspapers and journals in India and abroad.

Author of about 20 books, many of them translated to different Indian and foreign languages, he is presently the Editor of the *Dalit Voice*, considered the only English organ of the Untouchables and other persecuted minorities of India.

Apart from the caste system, the problem of Untouchables, tribals and backward classes, his other field of specialisation is India's Muslim problem.

He was dismissed from the *Indian Express* (1979) for taking up the cause of the Untouchables, Muslims and other persecuted minorities. Since then he is engaged in a study of 'class-caste struggle', a theory that is fast catching up in view of the failure of the communist movement in India.

As the first president of the India-China Friendship Association, Karnataka, he led a goodwill delegation to China in 1980. Again he visited China in 1983 as a representative of the Indian Untouchables. He is connected with several All-India organisations of Dalits, Muslims, Christians, Backward Classes, Marxists and rationalists.

## How Marx Failed in Hindu India

Let not anybody mistake that this is an anti-Communist tirade by a bourgeois agent. Yes. Such a charge was hurled at me by some people when an article under a slightly different title appeared in a Delhi journal in 1974. The article provoked a big controversy and became the subject of debate in many Communist circles for quite sometime. Many people dubbed me as an anti-Marxist and said that this was an article written at the instance of agent provocateurs. But I am happy to tell you that the same journal published over 15 letters endorsing my thesis and a majority of them were from Marxists themselves. Besides, I also received a letter from the late A. K. Gopalan, who was then ailing at the Vellore Hospital, also endorsing my thesis. I had discussions with P. Sundarayya, Jyoti Basu, and all of them agreed in principle with my analysis. And this is what emboldens me to further reiterate my thesis and I hope my observations will be taken in the right sense as a well-wisher of the Left movement.

My friends in the C.P.I., C.P.M. and the Naxalite groups know me and my philosophy too well. I am happy they

consider me as a well-wisher. They like the sincerity behind my approach. Therefore, let not anybody mistake me as a Communist-baiter. I have great faith in Marxism and I sincerely work for revolution in my own humble way. After making my stand clear to ward off any possible misinterpretation of my thesis, let me now proceed to state my case.

World history has amply proved that to this day no superior political philosophy has emerged excelling Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Over half the world population is under the spell of this philosophy and as days pass more and more countries are coming under its influence. Millions of people in non-Communist world are craving for Communism.

But what is the position in India? No other country in the world is more ripe for revolution than India. Jaya Prakash Narayan had been repeatedly telling that the country was fast heading towards revolution and in fact started his brand of 'Total Revolution'. And some others said the defeat of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her Congress party would trigger off a revolution. The C.P.M.-L groups had circulated leaflets as early as 1974 saying that revolution has begun in India.

The poverty and misery of India is so much, exploitation by the country's 10 p.c. of the elite is so merciless that it is, but natural that anybody should predict that a bloody revolution is imminent in India. The country is stagnant. Our rank in the U.N.O. is 105th while China, which got

liberated two years after we became independent, today is a mighty Super Power-leader of the Third World. There is no point in quoting statistics to give the magnitude of India's poverty because the Government, the Planning Commission and R.B.I. and everybody knows it. The country is fast sliding back. In the international conclaves India is being described as a beggar nation—because there is no country from which we have not borrowed. India is called the 'Sick man of Asia'. Why not the sick man of the world? This is a sick nation, we are a sick society.

While on one side millions are starving, sick, unemployed, untouchables being subjected to torture, malnutrition killing the very human genius, 10 p.c. of the country's elite are growing richer and fatter. There is no limit for their enjoyment. They control everything and still not satisfied with what they possess.

### **Divided Left Movement :**

Under such circumstances, it is but natural for people in our Left parties, J.P. and George Fernandes to predict revolution. We have a fairly strong Left movement in India. Beginning from pro-China C.P.M.-L at the extreme Left, we have the C.P.M. by far the most popular, and the pro-Moscow C.P.I. The sacrifices made by our Left leadership to the cause of working class unity is something creditable. Nobody can doubt their sincerity. We have a very dedicated, first class band of Left leadership. But

what did the Marxist movement in India achieve except getting satisfied with 10 p.c. of the country's votes ?

A writer in 'Frontier' (February 12, 1977) frankly admitted: 'It must be stated that the Indian communist movement is passing through its darkest days. Confusion, hopelessness, division, disintegration and self-suspicion, bordering on self-negation are the chief manifestations. The situation is pretty bad.' He adds: 'Why is it that the Indian communist movement with 52 long years of history, effort and sacrifice failed to influence the masses significantly, failed to become a decisive force in social life? What are the causes? What is the principal cause among them?'

These are not my words, but that of 'Frontier'—which has years of dedicated service to the cause of Left movement.

### **Communists missed the bus :**

The Marxian theory of revolution is based on class struggle—a struggle between the different economic classes. Marxists approach to history sees the struggle between the contending classes as the principal driving force in the developing of human society. Marx closely examined the struggle of his day and discovered the 'Laws' of the struggle between 'Classes'. The central theme of this notion is that poverty brings revolution. And it is based on this theory that Russia and China and many other countries had their own revolution. India too has similar



'Classes' and India too has the extreme poverty to trigger of a revolution: If India does not have a revolution, no other country in the world will have one.

This is the firm hope of many well-wishers outside India and also the fond desire of our comrades in the Left movement in India. India is said to be ripe for revolution. Ask anybody he will say revolution alone is the solution for India's myriad ills. They yearn for revolution—J.P. is the greatest votary of revolution—a 'total revolution'—not an ordinary revolution. But why there is no revolution? Why, not even a distant sign of it?

Nobody has summed up the plight of the Left movement in India better than Dr. S. Subramanian Swamy, M.P. and the R.S.S. ideologue. The Statesman (April 18, 1977) carried the following report from its Calcutta correspondent: "Dr. Subramanian Swamy told the reporters at Calcutta Airport yesterday that communists of India had 'missed the bus'. He felt that the R.S.S. was a strong force and it would be able to provide the 'needed leadership'. He said that 'Marxism has failed in India' and added: 'the communists should now search for another country'."

The outburst of this youthful Harvard economist may appear exaggerated but I am sure this frank statement would at least make our communists to deeply ponder over the existing plight of the Left movement in India.

What makes Dr. Swamy and his tribe so confident is that for the first time in the country the R.S.S.-Jan Sangh

combine has been able to capture the State power. Not only it has gained respectability but also it has been able to neatly divide the country's corrupt, bickering bourgeois into two national parties—the Congress and Janata. Formerly, the Left movement had to contend with only one enemy: the Congress monolith. But the R.S.S.-J.S. combine persuaded the bourgeois to build a national alternative and ride to power on the crest of the wave of unpopularity that swept away the equally reactionary and corrupt Congress led by Indira Gandhi. With the birth of Janata, the Left movement has now one more enemy. The Brahmin-Bania/landlord ruling clique in India may be today divided into Congress and Janata, but both are equally united, determined and single-minded in crushing the Left movement. So, instead of one the Left movement has to now fight on two fronts. The danger has increased and the chances of Left parties joining a coalition at the Centre has further diminished.

This is the formidable additional obstacle which is facing the Left movement apart from the social counter-revolutionaries to which, I will come later. It is the birth of the Janata led by the R.S.S. - Jan Sangh fascist forces that has brought so much of confidence to persons like Dr. Swamy and I earnestly request our Left leaders not to dismiss his outbursts as a silly statement but as a gospel truth uttered as the spokesman of the R.S.S. - Jan Sangh combine. The very fact that not a single of his statements has been so far either contradicted or criticised by the R.S.S. - Jan Sangh leadership demands our all-out attention. Professor Swamy is the rising star of the R.S.S. - Jan Sangh combine and needs to be carefully watched. His words may

well prove prophetic and I see clear signs of his dream coming true.

### Counter-revolutionary force :

Although from the point of view of poverty, exploitation and widening gap between the haves and have-nots, one may jump to the conclusion that a revolutionary situation does exist in India, the actual situation in Hindu India is that it is actually in the grip of a grim counter-revolution. What is happening in India today is not a revolution, but the multi-pronged revolution against revolution. Dr. Swamy and his tribe can clearly see this but our Left leadership has failed to discern it.

## I CASTE SYSTEM

And the first and the foremost counter-revolution is led by our caste system which is the firm foundation on which our magnificent mansion of Hindu religion is built. Marx perhaps overlooked the counter-revolutionary nature of castes. All protest movements against Hinduism like Jainism, Buddhism, etc., has failed to make a dent on Hinduism.

Russia and China too had their own religion. And still Marxism could inspire the people of these countries to class struggle, because the people there were divided

only into 'classes'—high and low, rich and poor, exploiter and the exploited. But in Hindu India not only we have these economic classes, but these classes are divided into castes. The unique feature of Hindu India is that 'classes' cut across 'castes'. And 'castes' cut across 'classes'. There are poor people even among the Brahmins, who stand at the apex of the caste pyramid. But the pity is that they are not prepared to fight the rich people of their own caste. This is the case of the poor people in every caste and sub-caste and the greatest wonder of the Hindu society is that there are quite a lot of poor in every caste and sub-caste.

Apart from this, every caste has a grade and, therefore, even a low caste derives lot of consolation in the fact that in the scale of castes it is above some other caste. Because of this gradation, the scaling of castes, it is impossible to organise a common front against the caste system. Every caste derives some benefits from the caste system. How then to excite Hindu India with the Marxian slogan of class struggle? Karl Marx told the workers of the world to unite: You have nothing to lose except your chains, he said. But the artful way in which the social and religious rights are distributed among the different castes, whereby some have more and some have less, makes the Marxian slogan quite useless to whip up the Hindus against the caste system. Therefore in Hindu India we cannot have a general mobilization of the people to attack the caste.

Apart from the four major varna of Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vysya and Shudra, we have at the bottom the

Panchamas—the fifth category which is outside the four-fold caste—hence called the outcaste or the untouchable—condemned to the most gory form of apartheid that would put to shame even the Negro problem of the U.S. or the South African Apartheid.

And no effort is being made to destroy caste—only untouchability is abolished in the Constitution. But since untouchability is part of the caste system which in turn is the bedrock on which Hinduism is built, even this has continued despite all the lip sympathy of Gandhi and his tribe.

Nobody has so far made any attempt to destroy caste. But on the other hand, the institution of caste is getting new and newer prop. Our parliamentary system of Government assuring one man-one vote is the strongest prop for caste—because the majority caste 'grooms its own leaders. Marathas have been able to throw up a Y. B. Chavan, Lingayats a Veerendra Patil, Kayasthas a J. P., Jats a Charan Singh. So why destroy caste when it is so useful?

## II KARMA THEORY

The theory of Karma which is also part of Hinduism is the second most powerful counter-revolutionary force, that will frustrate any attempt to make a man assert his rights—let alone rise up in armed revolt. Ask anybody in

Hindu India—even Christians and Muslims are fast getting contaminated by this poison weed—he will tell you that if he is what he is today it is because of his Karma. Everything is pre-determined. If a person meets with a car accident it is because of his fate. If a poor man wins a lottery, it is because he was destined to become rich.

If at all anybody has any revolutionary zeal even that will be killed by this Karma theory. This along with the theory of punarjanma (rebirth) has played havoc. Everything is written on the forehead. Every suffering is taken as something that is predestined. Nobody protests in Hindu India. Even the most suffering bears it with equanimity. If a person is rich it is because of the punya that he has accumulated in his previous birth. If a person is poor, it is because of his sins.

The Karma theory has converted Hindu India into a country of lazy lots. They are not a people in hurry. Because everything is reserved for the next life. This theory has ruined our economic, social fabric and it is very effectively used by the exploiting classes to keep the poor as poor.

### III GODMEN

The third most important category of counter-revolutionaries is that of our godmen who abound in this holy land. A Hindu may live without a God but not a godman. He will not mind if the God is attacked or abused but he

will run into rage if his favourite godman is attacked. You know what happened to Dr. H. Narasimhiah, Vice-Chancellor of Bangalore University, when he tried to probe into the tricks of Saiya Sai Baba—the richest and the most powerful godman of India. These godmen are effectively assisted by a horde of hereditary priesthood, crafty and cunning, manning the hundreds of temples—those dens of corruption—dotting the length and breadth of Hindu India.

#### IV ASTROLOGERS

Coupled with these godmen are the fourth category of counter-revolutionary forces, namely a mighty army of astrologers, soothsayers, palmists, astro-palmists, pandits-planet-gazers, bird-watchers, witchcrafts, sorcerers, black magicians and host of such thugs and humbugs who practically run this country right from Central Government to gram panchayat. From the Prime Minister downwards everybody consults them. And no work done and no decision taken, no function held without consulting them. From birth to death they guide us and even after death year after year. Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi and Morarji Desai—nobody has been an exception.

Religion is so much steeped in us that even hard-boiled Marxists succumb to it. I have seen Marxists going round collecting money for temple renovation. Privately, many Marxists go to Tirupati and Sai Baba.

J. P. has become a great devotee of Sai Baba. It is a funny country.

## V R S S—JAN SANGH REVIVALISTS

Over and above these four varieties of counter-revolutionary forces, we have in this country yet another powerful force which combines in itself the vigour, the venom and the fire power of all the above cited four other forces, the R.S.S.-Jan Sangh hydra-headed serpent. Lately, it has developed new fangs after capturing the government at the Centre and the States in the Hindi heartland. Many people dismiss these R.S.S.-Jan Sangh combine as a thing unworthy of notice because of its tiny numerical strength. Let me warn such simpletons that R.S.S.-Jan Sangh is not what it looks. It is an invisible force. It is not a political party or a cultural organisation. Their number may be small. But the form is not that matters. It is the content. The-R.S.S.-J.S. is not a party. It is a thought. A philosophy. And a philosophy cannot be destroyed by either banning it or lobbing the members in jail as Indira Gandhi did it. And in Hindu India, with its growing desire for Westernisation among the English-educated and Sanskritisation among the illiterate Shudras, the R.S.S.-J.S. has a glorious future. As the elitist-oriented education spreads among the masses, the R.S.S.-J.S. will gain more and more votaries. A Hindu in his relentless pursuit for pleasure and power finds in R.S.S.-J.S. an ideal philosophy and a way of life.



With the 'Hate-Muslim', 'Hate-Christian' slogans as its trump card, the R.S.S.-J.S. will continue to mesmerize the vast Shudras and keep them under the thumb of Brahmins and Banias who control this fascist organisation.

With Left parties badly divided and the bourgeois consolidating itself, I will not be surprised if the R.S.S.-J.S. combine captures the whole country and impose a Brahmin-Bania dictatorship in another five years. We are in for a fascist dictatorship and I see clear signs of it.

The C.P.I. and C.P.M. are busy fighting between themselves each supporting one of the bourgeois parties without realising that both are equally united and determined in crushing the Left movement.

## VI GANDHISM AND THE CULT OF NON-VIOLENCE

One of the greatest tragedies of this country is the dangerous cult of non-violence which has been given a new lease of life by Gandhi and Gandhism. This so-called humanist philosophy terribly afraid of the proletarian revolution, has laid the ideological and cultural foundation of fascism by concocting a curious mixture of science and spiritualism with a view to bringing about a counterrevolutionary force. From a philosophical and cultural point of view, Fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism and science—which many American agents are trying to promote

through Transcendental Meditation (T.M.), Hare Krishna cult etc. And I have been long trying to impress upon our Left leaders that Gandhi and Gandhism are the ideological prop of the Indian Fascist culture but many a Left leader privately agrees with my assessment but is not prepared to say it in public or even conduct an ideological class to expose the philosophy. They say that if they denounce Gandhi and Gandhism, they would be hurting the 'national sentiments' and may lose their little followers. What is the use of a Left movement that is not prepared to call a spade a spade?

With the Janata takeover, Gandhism has now become the national philosophy. The R.S.S.-turned Hindu Mahasabha leader Godse might have killed Gandhi but the R.S.S.-J.S. has found in Gandhi and Gandhism a new light and a new hope. The very killers of Gandhi have now become his greatest admirers. The R.S.S.-J.S. has fallen in love with Gandhi and Gandhism which will be used by them to impose a worst type of Fascism that Hindu India has ever seen, before which the Indira Gandhi dictatorship will pale into insignificance.

It is Gandhi who gave a new life to non-violence—a cult that has over-awed even our Marxists, forcing them to give up their revolutionary path and take to parliamentary democracy. Non-violence is a dangerous concept deliberately popularised by the property-holders and upper castes to keep their possessions intact from the hungry mob.

If violence starts the very first victims will be the property-holders and our crafty priest-craft and knowing

this full well they have clung to Gandhism which provides the safety philosophy in which they can seek refuge.

It is our misfortune that instead of tearing the mask hiding the ugly face of Gandhism, our Left leaders go out of the way to assure the bourgeois that it will usher in Communism only through non-violence, through the ballot box and not through the barrel of gun. Even a faction in the pro-China C.P.M.-L. (Satyanarayan Singh faction) has given a pledge to 'abjure violence'.

## PARLIAMENTARISM

The magic of Ahimsa has not spared anybody and even our hard-boiled Marxists are under its spell. With the all-pervading mania for 'parliamentary democracy' sweeping the country, even our Left leaders have turned reformists. While Marxism seeks to achieve reforms as a by-product of revolutionary activities, the C.P.I. and C.P.M. thinks that by introducing reforms after capturing the Government through the ballot box, they will be able to further the cause of revolution.

Lenin (Collected Works—Moscow—1967—Vol. 16-PP 307-09) has clearly warned against Marxists taking to parliamentary path. By entering into such a coalition or alliance with the bourgeois parties it is not the Marxists that will gain but the bourgeois. 'Opportunism is opportunism for

the very reason that it sacrifices the fundamental interests of the movement to the momentary advantages or consideration based on the most short-sighted superficial calculations,' he said. That does not mean that the Communists should never enter into Government prior to the capture of State power. Lenin entered the Duma (parliament) to wreck it from within but to our Communists in Hindu India contesting elections and forming Government is not the means to an end but the end itself. This is the tragedy.

By taking to parliamentarism, our Communists have diffused class struggle. It will not be possible to bring socialism in Hindu India through the ballot box. Only some hotch-potch reforms can be brought like our make-believe land reforms which is no socialist solution. The masses having expected a lot from a Marxist-led government will be soon disappointed and will vote against it when the chance come. This will be the fate of the Jyoti Basu government also.

## VII. TRADE UNIONISM

Another important roadblock on the country's march towards revolution is our trade union movement. Not that I am opposed to trade unionism. Such a movement is necessary to mobilise the industrial workers and peasants towards revolution. But in Hindu India, unfortunately, our Left leaders have conducted the movement in such a way that it has hindered our march to socialism.

Trade unionism has pampered the organised labour at the cost of the vast unorganised sector. The agricultural labourers forming the bulk of the working class are virtually ignored. In fact, the organised labour has proved to be a counter-revolutionary force in India. The big bully. Instead of fighting for socialism they have converted trade unionism into wage slavery. Organised labour has become fairly affluent that it is more on the side of the exploiters than on the side of the exploited. The unorganised sector and agricultural labour constitute over 90 p.c. of the working class but, alas, our trade union movement has not touched them. The organised sector is not even bothered about them. But the pity is if any well-wisher points out the defects of this aggressive, ever-hungry, ever-thirsty organised sector, he will be instantly dubbed a reactionary and, therefore, even those who are seriously worried about the drift in the trade union movement keep quiet.

Employees in government, banks, insurance, railways, ports, public sector units, P and T, etc., can paralyse the working of these vital sectors and, therefore, they can hold the society to ransom and thus gain quick wage rise. More the bargaining power the higher the wages. There is no end to the desire of this organised sector and so much so the government goes on conceding their demands, neglecting the workers in the unorganised sector.

Trade union movement has thus got seriously distorted in Hindu India and our Left leaders bear the full responsibility for this distortion. Trade unionism as it is

organised in India today will prove a set-back to socialism. Nay, our organised sector has jumped into the bandwagon of other counter-revolutionaries.

### VIII ROLE OF ARMY AND POLICE

The officers in our Defence forces and the police—recruited as they are from the class of exploiters—constitute one of the biggest enemies of Left movement. Along with officers of the I.A.S., judiciary, they will be the first to crush any revolutionary movement because they know that any revolution will take away their property and their high caste status in society. So, this class has no sympathy for the Left movement, and this is yet another unsurmountable problem facing the Left movement and for which our Left leaders have never applied their mind.

In all other countries where a revolution had taken place, the Left movement had fraternised the Army and the police and a section of them had joined hands with the revolutionary struggle. Indeed, the success or failures of the revolutionary struggle during the past 100 years had important relationship with the size of the desertion and defection of the armed force of the old regime to the revolutionary side. With the modern craze for building up the armed forces, any victory of popular uprising against standing armies has become well nigh impossible, unless of course the revolution is able to win over, or at least paralyse, a section of the armed forces. Marx, Engels,

Lenin and Mao had laid great stress on fraternising and winning over the armed forces. But our Left leadership in India as to this day did not apply its mind to this vital aspect of infiltrating the armed forces, the police-the steel frame and the judiciary. They are only busy issuing press statements.

They have not even been able to influence the country's cultural front which is still dominated by the upper castes reflecting mostly the decadent bourgeois values. The R.S.S.-Jan Sangh has a stranglehold on our entire education system, all cultural institutions, newspapers, radio, cinema. Efforts are being made by the Janata government to rewrite Indian history to suit Jan Sangh concept to say that Taj Mahal is a Hindu temple.

## VEDANTA AND MARXISM

Faced with such a situation the Left movement looks totally paralysed. Starved of funds. This is because our Left leaders, whether of C.P.I., C.P.M. or even the C.P.M.-L, are mainly drawn from high castes possessing the very trait they condemn in others. It is because of their upper caste background, they have refrained from attacking the caste system and other dangerous values in the Hindu religion which is essentially a counter-revolutionary philosophy with heavy fascist traits.

Instead of furthering Marxism, this Brahmin-dominated Left leadership is trying to destroy the little remaining

revolutionary zeal among the masses by poisoning their minds. The most glaring example of this worst kind of brainwashing is the bold attempt to impress upon us that all the wisdom of Karl Marx was derived from the Vedanta. No less a person than S.A. Dange, the winner of the highest Lenin Order, endorsed the above thesis propounded by his son-in-law, also a top C.P.I. Leader, Bani Deshpande, in his book, 'The Universe of Vedanta'. No doubt, the thesis was immediately rejected and disowned by the C.P.I. but the fact remains that even such eminent persons cannot get over their Brahminical background.

Having failed to tackle the different counter-revolutionary forces cited above, our high caste Left leadership has heavily compromised with parliamentarism and gradually betrayed the working class. Hundreds of dedicated Marxists have died in chill penury and cold blood without pushing the country even an inch towards revolution. A. K. Gopalan, one of our greatest Left leaders, was an M.P. till he died but what did he achieve? If the Left leadership succeeded in taking two steps forward today, under the influence of the above counter-revolutionary forces they will have to take three steps backward tomorrow. Under the onslaught of Hinduism, the Left leadership has strayed from Marxism and turned into tiny reformist-groups believing not in Marxism but in 'tokenism'. A number of our Left leaders are leaders only in newspapers—daily issuing some statement or the other to keep themselves in news.

The country's vast untouchables are not only socially the lowest but also economically the poorest. The Dalits



should have been the first to fall in love with Marxism because more than anybody else it is our Dalits who need it most for the sake of social change. It is only the Dalits who could be the true revolutionaries. But the very fact that Marxism has failed to penetrate the bastis and slums of these untouchables reflects badly on our Left leadership—its strategy and tactics.

## SOLUTION

Having said this, I will have to conclude this paper by offering my solutions to this perplexing problem that is worrying all those impatiently waiting for revolution.

But before I get down to it, I will have to make a fervent appeal to the leadership of the three Left parties to unite and forge a common minimum programme before they merge into a single united party of the working class. I know the difficulties facing such a move for unity. The bourgeois and the press it controls is fanning the flames of disunity. Even in the midst of such a crisis I am glad to know that talks are going on for a Left unity. This is a must.

The fundamental mistake of the Indian Left movement is its blind adherence to the Marxist-Leninist path of class struggle without taking note of the peculiar conditions of Hindu India. Perhaps the very class character of our Left leadership will not allow them to destroy the Hindu value system.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism cannot be blindly applied to Hindu India which has its own specialised problems. So it is necessary that we should evolve our own indigenous philosophy—Indianizing Marxism: the theory of ‘class struggle’ should be welded to ‘caste struggle’.

In this country we have the great philosophy of ‘caste struggle’ evolved by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the greatest leader of the untouchables, Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy India’s greatest rationalist leader who gave three successful non-Brahmin governments to Tamil Nadu, and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, India’s first political leader to make a happy blending of ‘class’ and ‘caste struggle’. The philosophy of Kerala’s great sage, Narayana Guru, also offers a type of caste struggle. There is a need to synthesise all these philosophies of ‘caste struggle’ with the philosophy of ‘class struggle’ as propounded by Marx, Lenin and Mao and thus evolve an indigenous Marxism.

This means, along with economic issues, our Left leadership must launch simultaneous struggle on social, cultural, religious and educational fronts. They must first win over the country’s vast untouchables and tribals—the most militant class—forming a third of this country, and the Muslims, forming another 13 p.c. of the population, and launch a massive struggle for their liberation. They must forge what I use to describe as the ‘Harijan-Muslims axis’. They shall form the vanguard of the revolutionary movement.

## CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Unlike in China, where a 'cultural revolution' followed the socialist takeover, under Indian conditions it is necessary that the Left leadership should first concentrate on launching a 'cultural revolution' which alone can pave the way for a socialist takeover. It is our bourgeois culture which is preventing a revolution. So, this culture must be first destroyed. And it is possible only through a 'cultural revolution' which should destroy the existing Brahmin-Bania controlled bourgeois religion, culture and education. Every available teacher, student, artist, writer, social worker must be won over to become the foot soldier of such a 'cultural revolution'.

J.P. launched his total revolution but has failed. When he asked the Brahmin boys to throw away their sacred thread, he was snubbed by A.B. Vajpayee. To that extent, there is resistance for social change in Hindu India. In these circumstances, I don't know how a 'cultural revolution' aiming at uprooting our very Hindu value system can be launched. I don't think such a cultural revolution will find support even from our existing Left leadership.

Perhaps, India will go on like this—neither living nor dead. Getting abused, laughed at and kicked in the international arena. All the time bragging about our 'glorious cultural heritage'. And this is how we have been from centuries and this is how we will be in future.

also—unless a World War breaks out (chances are remote)—in which the toiling masses may get a chance to overthrow our ageing Left leadership and put a new, refreshing revolutionary leadership that will take the country towards revolution.

The present rulers of India will neither allow the people to die in large scale because that at least may provoke a revolt. Nor will they give the masses literacy which again may bring awareness and thus provoke a revolt. Both ways there is no chance of an internal revolution.

**This is how Marx Failed in Hindu India.**

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