Chapter 3

Ideology and Dalit Movement

Discrimination does not exist, at least not in a legal sense, until a court (and, really the Supreme Court) says so. A judicial finding of discrimination has an uncertain quality about it. The finding is empirical, analytical, and policy driven. Questions of fact, of law applied to the facts and of who bears the burden of proof. In addition, a lower court's finding of discrimination is subject to reversal on direct appeal or years later when and if the issue comes to the court again in another case. Thus, a careful review of judicial determinations (the best evidence available) is inconclusive evidence of the existence of even a legally controlled concept of discrimination.

Roy Brooks

Roy Brooks' observation about racism in America also holds good for castism in India. Is our caste system lesser evil than racism practiced elsewhere? In this Post-civil rights era we Indians still practice discriminatory castism. To understand and analyze Dalit Literature it is imperative to look briefly into the caste system and practices of India, while examining the concepts of Ideology in Dalit Movement.

3.1 Caste in India

There are several theories that explain the rise, growth and sustenance of caste system in India such as, the Divine Plan theory, Racial Antipathy
theory, Occupational or functional theory, etc. A "caste" is not a class. Caste is something more than a class. The caste structure is not based on economy or wealth. Economy does not determine social ranking in caste system. It is the caste, which determines an individual’s social position in the social hierarchy. The second aspect, which distinguishes caste from class system, is the ascriptive nature of the social status, which the individual acquires that cannot be improved or changed. The persistence of the caste system as a socio-historical reality over the centuries and the changes it has undergone or has been undergoing at the present times are not easy to grapple with and are even more difficult to explain. Stratification of society is a universal phenomenon but caste as a system is peculiar to India. Contrary to what some Hindus and intellectuals say, caste is not found in other countries: what is found in countries that did not come under the influence of Hindu culture is not really castes but caste-like practices. Caste is characterized by birth and ascribed status. The caste system ensures prestige, power and privileges for some and inherited deprivation and subjection for a large number of people who were forced to work and produce wealth to keep the upper castes in comfort besides doing all unpleasant hazardous jobs. The caste system is based on graded inequality and therefore those who suffered from deprivation and destitution could not unite and protest against the system. In India patriotism and caste cannot go together. M. N. Srinivas views caste as being functionally interrelated in a ‘system’ contributing to the vertical integration of a rigidly stratified society, or as autonomous ‘groups’ serving common purposes and striving for common ends. Viewed as the former, caste constitutes a
‘structural principle’ of society, and viewed as the latter, it acts as a ‘dynamic force’ in interest articulation, collective mobilization, and social movement. In its operation the caste system is a multidimensional phenomenon. Its most visible and therefore most widely recognized dimension has been the rigid socio-economic inequalities determined on the basis of birth and the consequent inhumanity and injustice.

All those who write about caste usually start with the theory of cosmogony as propounded in the last part of *Rig Veda* (Purusha Sukta) and end with Manu who codified Hindu law and gave it divine sanction. *The Gita* and the *Puranas* including epics like *Ramayana* further strengthened it. Not to mention, any attempt to go against the established practices and customs was suppressed and any alternative way of living to the one that was practiced was subtly either adopted into the main practice with modifications or treated as incompetent and intolerant variants. (One example is the Shivite sect of the Hindu religion.)

The major challenge to the established Hindu way of living came from Buddhism. The Buddha rejected the Vedas, supremacy of the Brahmans and transmigration of the soul. He founded a new way of living or religion, based on the principle of equality, compassion and loving-kindness. In his *Sangh* he admitted people belonging to all castes – Brahmans, merchants, soldiers, chandals or untouchables, butchers, courtesans, etc. – and laid down the law for governing the Sangh. Another potential threat to Hinduism appeared in
Jainism. Brahmanism, the key factor in Hinduism, did not relish the emergence of Buddhism or Jainism for they threatened the Brahmanic society and power and prestige of the upper castes. They waited for some time, consolidated their power and struck. As a consequence, Buddhism was abolished from the land of its origin but in the process a few of the teachings of the Buddha had to be adopted and incorporated in the teachings and philosophies of Brahmanism. Neo-Hinduism, which thus emerged, was different from the Brahmanism, the religion of sacrifices and ‘yajnas’ but still continued to lay emphasis on caste, purity, defilement, untouchability, etc. Nevertheless, the supremacy of Brahmans was maintained.

Ambedkar has very clearly brought out the contradiction in the Vedas, which is the source of the caste system in India that places indigenous population as outcasts in society. On the issue of who created the caste system, Ambedkar felt that there is no uniformity. The Rig Veda says that the four varnas – Brahmana, Khsatriya, Vaisya and Sudra – were created by Prajapati. It does not mention which Prajapati (as there were several Prajapatis mentioned at various stages in the evolution of Hinduism) created the four varnas. But even the point that Prajapati had created the caste system is disputed. Few Hindu theologists believe that the caste system was created by Brahman while few others feel that it was created by Kashyap. But a vast majority believe that the varna system was invented by Manu. On the issue as to how many varnas were created, again there is no uniformity. The Rig Veda
says that four varnas were created while other authorities say only two varnas were created namely, Brahmana and Sudra.

Even though we come across several castes in the present time in the form of sub-castes and sub-sub-castes, the basic distinction of caste as outlined in the Vedas — Brahmana, Khsatriya, Vaisya and Sudra — is still maintained. The present day castes are divided and multiplied, according to Ketkar⁵, due to the following reasons:

1. Four original Varnas
2. Castes which were supposed to be produced by mixture with pure and mixed castes
3. Castes which lost their status due to the neglect of sacred rites
4. Castes due to the exclusion of persons from the community
5. Slaves and their descendants
6. People excluded from community of four varnas as well as their descendants⁶

Ghurye felt that “a close study of the names of the various minor units, the so called sub-castes, within the major groups reveals the fact that the bases of distinction leading to the exclusive marking off of these groups were first territorial or jurisdictional separateness; second mixed origin; third occupational distinction; fourth some peculiarity in the technique of one and the same occupation; fifth sectarian difference and sixth dissimilarity of customs and last adventitious circumstances suggesting certain nicknames.”⁷
3.2 Untouchability

Untouchable is the word used by Ambedkar for those castes lowest in the Hindu scale of pollution. It first appeared in 1909. Untouchability has become an integral part of the Hindu society over the centuries. However, the main cause for the practice of untouchability is Brahmanism, which is entombed in the Hindu society. Concepts like purity, defilement, etc., which are exclusive to the Hindu society and the mainstay of Brahmanism. In the four varna system of Hinduism, mixed marriages was (is?) not encouraged by the society. The fourth caste, Sudra and the progeny of the mixed marriages among the other castes are generally treated as low caste people and untouchables in the society. Moreover, a person may be regarded as an untouchable if he undertakes any of the following occupations according to Narada, a lawmaker after Manu:

Know that there are two sorts of occupations: pure work and impure work; impure work is that done by the slaves. Pure work is that done by the labourers.

Sweeping the gateways, the privy, the road and the place for rubbish; shampooing the secret parts of the body; gathering and putting away of the leftover food, ordure and urine.

And lastly, rubbing the masters' limbs when desired, this should be regarded as impure work. All other work is pure...

Thus have the four classes of servants doing pure work been enumerated. All the others who do dirt work are slaves, of whom there are fifteen kinds.

Dr. Ambedkar compares the slaves of the ancient times with the modern untouchables. "...the untouchables like the slaves are owned by the Hindus for purposes which further their interests and are disowned by
them, when owning them (untouchables) places them (Hindu owners) under burden. The untouchables can claim none of the advantages of an unfree social order and are left to bear all the disadvantages of a free social order.”

Literary historians agree that untouchables were never involved in literary processes as they were kept outside the realm of literary activities. In general, the literary engagement was restricted to the upper castes of the society. It is evident from the literary history that most of the literature produced by the upper caste Hindus by and large reaffirmed and justified the caste system and social discrimination. It is interesting to note that while most of the literary production was directly or indirectly related to the dominant Hindu religious practice that advocated the stringent practice of Varna system, some competing religious discourses like the ‘Veerashaivam’ of Andhra Pradesh canvassed for the removal of caste and gender differences. These discourses, like Palakurki Somanath’s Basava Puranam, talked vaguely about the presence of nomadic and aboriginal tribes that were allowed to perform religious activities in particular temples on particular days which otherwise are inaccessible to these untouchables. However, the same discourses, like those of Mallikarjuna of Kakatiya Kingdom (early 11th & 12th Centuries) critically accused counter-Hindu religions like Buddhism and Jainism for breeding disorder in the society thus leading to the brutal execution of several followers of Buddhism and Jainism. If one wonders as to who constituted the majority of the followers of Jainism and Buddhism those days, they were obviously people from the lower castes of the society, prostitutes and ‘dasis.’

While the ‘Veerashaivam’ discourses made a mock appeal for the alleviation
of castism on one hand, works like *Kridabharam* of Vallabha Raya on the other hand, demonstrates very clearly that the lower caste people were not Hindus. The reasons sited by him are that the lower castes do not practice the religious rituals and death rites of the upper caste Hindus; they are obsessed with magic and stunts; and they worship pagan, local demi-gods and deities like ‘Kakatamma,’ ‘Ekaveera,’ ‘Mailarudeva,’ ‘Musanamma,’ ‘Muhuramma,’ etc. Commenting on the status of untouchables during the early 10th and 11 the centuries (A. D.) K. Satyanarayana in his *Andhrula Samskriti – Charitra 2* (The Study of History and Culture of Andhras, Part 2) says that they are degraded, downtrodden and demoralised to the extent that they resigned to their fate and did not even think about fighting for social equality.

3.3 Dalit and Subaltern

The concepts of caste system and untouchability pose us the question —Who is a Dalit? Members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, neo-Buddhists, the working people, the ‘landless’ and poor peasants, women and all those who are being exploited politically, economically and in the name of religion. Depressed classes are the sum total of the untouchable castes of India. To begin with, there is no generic name of common acceptance that actually describes this large group of people. To day they are called untouchables, low-castes, pariah, panchama, outcaste Hindus, Protestant Hindus, Adi-dravidas, Harijans, scheduled castes, etc. First used by Swami Shardhananda, word ‘Dalit’ denoting the depressed classes, is more popular
than 'untouchables', its English expression. By the early 1980s there were more than 105 million untouchables distributed throughout peninsular India. The exact number is difficult to determine, because government statistics do not account for those who are converts to non-Hindu religions, even when their neighbours demonstrably treat them as untouchables. At the lowest estimate, the untouchables account for more than one out of every seven Indians. Nearly 90 percent live in India's rural villages, compared to (approximately 80 percent of) the higher caste population. Although untouchables are commonly clustered together in segregated hamlets at the edge of a village, they are a small and vulnerable minority in any given region. As a result, making resistance to exploitation and violence is very difficult for them. The 1971 Indian census figures show that 52 percent of the untouchables workforce were landless agricultural labourers, compared to 26 percent of the non-untouchable workforce. Even the untouchables literacy rate is very poor compared to that of the other communities in India.

Dalit community by no means is a homogenous category. Language has been a dividing line. Only recently has there been any substantial pool of Dalits with a command of several languages, including English, who could serve as human links between Dalit movements in different linguistic regions. Each untouchable caste within Dalit community has also been defined by the same social rules of endogamy (in the Indian context, marriage exclusively within the caste community) that shape the entire Indian caste system. The result has been the development of variety of distinctive Dalit sub-systems
with significant difference in the direction and pace of mobilization for change. For example, Chamars consider Mahars as their inferior and the latter regard Mung still lower in the scale of humanity. In a tacit way, it also means that there is a potential for social conflict among these sub-systems that might make cooperative effort difficult among Dalits. The problem is all the more acute because the individual hierarchic ranking of hereditary castes that permeates the dominant society does not stop at the social border of Dalit community. Some untouchable castes have long regarded themselves as superior to others, and even imposed their internal ‘touch-me-not-ism’. But all these sub-systems of Dalits are united by a common feature of poverty and degradation due to the contemptuous treatment they suffered at the hands of the caste Hindus. One of the contemporary Dalit movement has been its explicit rejection of the older divisive strategies by which a given untouchable caste would seek its own liberation by trying – usually unsuccessfully – to distance itself from other untouchable castes. Now the goal of the movement is liberation of all Dalits – and this means dismantling the burden of centuries.

Even the process of approximation to the upper castes’ code of conduct, which M. N. Srinivas has described as Sanskritization, could not help the Dalits to cross the barrier of untouchability. For example, the Chamars of an Indian village who gave up beef eating and changed their caste behavior in order to get greater respect from the higher Hindu castes received “at best recognition, certainly not approval”.12 The attempt of Jatavas of Agra who wanted to become Kshatriyas in the initial period of their uplifment soon
changed into a turbulent political movement. The Dalits constitute not only a socio-cultural group but often an economic class too. A number of social studies have revealed that Dalit women make up a large number of prostitutes in India. It has also been established by these studies that 90 percent of those who die of starvation and attendant diseases are Dalits. Their untouchability and poverty support each other – their untouchable status accentuates their economic exploitation and their deplorable economic conditions strengthen their polluting social status.

Nirmal Minz in his essay on “Dalit Tribals: A search for common ideology” explains that Indian consciousness is that of the dominant group. It is caste oriented. The subaltern consciousness of the Dalits and tribals have not been taken seriously, it is true that we should articulate it as it exists among Dalits and tribals. The subaltern consciousness should represent the consciousness of an oppressed nationality in our country. This consciousness manifests anger, rejection, and protest of the existing dominant socio-economic, political and religious situations in India. But this consciousness includes the positive human values of a social order. This is particularly true of tribal subaltern consciousness of an egalitarian, community ownership of means of production, and distribution according to needs, and a democratic form of government in which leadership is always of Panchas-corporate and consensus in decision making.
Trilok Nath\textsuperscript{15} traces the steps taken to enable the Dalits to politically participate to the efforts of colonial period.

A 1997 report issued by the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes underscored that “untouchability”—the imposition of social disabilities on persons by reason of their birth in certain castes—was still practiced in many forms throughout the country. The report described a number of social manifestations of caste-based discrimination in the 1990s: scheduled-caste bridegrooms were not permitted to ride a mare in villages, a marriage tradition; scheduled castes could not sit on their charpoys (rope beds) when persons of other castes passed by; scheduled castes were not permitted to draw water from common wells and hand-pumps; and in many tea-shops and dhabas (food stalls), separate crockery and cutlery were used for serving the scheduled castes.\textsuperscript{16}

The prevalence of “untouchability” practices was also noted by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 1996, while reviewing India’s tenth to fourteenth periodic reports under the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.\textsuperscript{17}

Although constitutional provisions and legal texts exist to abolish untouchability and to protect the members of the scheduled castes and tribes, and social and educational policies have been adopted to improve the situation of members of the scheduled castes and tribes in protecting them from abuses,
widespread discrimination against those people, points to the limited effect of these measures. The Committee is particularly concerned at reports that people belonging to the scheduled castes and tribes are often prevented from using public wells or from entering cafes or restaurants and that their children are sometimes separated from other children in schools, in violation of article 5 (f) of the Convention.

Most Dalits in rural areas live in segregated colonies, away from the caste Hindus. According to an activist working with Dalit communities in 120 villages in Villapuram district, Tamil Nadu, all 120 villages have segregated Dalit colonies. Basic facilities such as water supply and medical facilities exist exclusively in the caste Hindu colony. "Untouchability" is further reinforced by state allocation of facilities; separate facilities are provided for separate colonies. Dalits often receive the poorer of the two, if they receive any at all.18

As part of village custom, Dalits are made to render free services in times of death, marriage, or any village function. During the Marama village festival in Karnataka State, caste Hindus force Dalits to sacrifice buffaloes and drink their blood. They then have to mix the blood with cooked rice and run into the village fields without their chappals (slippers). The cleaning of the whole village, the digging of graves, the carrying of firewood and the disposal of dead animals are all tasks that Dalits are made to perform. In villages where Dalits are a minority, the practice of "untouchability" is even more severely enforced. Individual attempts to defy the social order are frequently punished
through social boycotts and acts of retaliatory violence further described below. Activists in Tamil Nadu explained that large-scale clashes between caste communities in the state’s southern districts have often been triggered because of Dalits’ efforts to draw water from a “forbidden” well or by their refusal to perform a delegated task. Dalits have responded to ill treatment by converting, en masse, to Buddhism, Christianity, and sometimes Islam. Once converted, however, many lose access to their scheduled-caste status and the few government privileges assigned to it. Many also find that they are ultimately unable to escape the treatment as “untouchables.”

It is shocking to know that Dalits as a social group, are still the poorest of poor. A negligible minority has managed to escape poverty limits and maintained to reach at a reasonable level of prosperity with the help of certain State policies like reservation and political patronage. In social terms however, all Dalits, irrespective of their economic standing, still suffer oppression. This social oppression varies from the crudest variety of untouchability, still being practiced in rural areas, to the sophisticated forms of discrimination encountered even in the modern sectors of urban life. Although, the statistics indicate that Dalits have made significant progress on almost all parameters during the last five decades, the relative distance between them and non-Dalits seems to have remained the same or has increased. More than 75 per cent of the Dalit workers are still connected with land; 25 per cent are marginal and small farmers and the balance 50 per cent are landless labourers. The proportion of Dalit landless labourers to the total laborers has shown a steady
rising trend. In urban areas, they work mainly in the unorganized sector where the exploitation compares well with that of a feudal rural setting. Out of the total Dalit population of 138 million, the number of Dalits in services falling in the domain of reservations does not exceed 1.3 million including sweepers; less than even a percent. And this too would be grossly misleading, as out of this 1.3 million the relatively well-off group A and B officers (in which most of the clerical staff of the PSUs are also included), count only 72,212 as against 131,841 sweepers.

The problem is that the Dalits cannot assert a differential identity without distinguishing it from a context; and in the process of making distinction, the Dalits also assert the context at the same time. And the opposite is also true: the Dalits cannot destroy a context without destroying at the same time the identity of the particular subject who carries out the destruction. It is a very well known historical fact that an oppositionist force whose identity is constructed within a certain system of power is ambiguous to that system, because the latter is what prevents the constitution of the identity and it is, at the same time, its condition of existence. And any victory against the system also destabilizes the identity of the victorious force. At its very limit, understood as mere difference, the discourse of oppressed and the discourse of the oppressor cannot be distinguished. The reason for this was, if the oppressed is defined by its difference from the oppressor, such a difference is an essential component of the identity of the oppressed. But in that case, the latter cannot express his identity without asserting that of the oppressor as
well. The main consequence that follows is that if the politics of difference means continuity of difference by being always an other, the rejection of the other cannot be radical elimination either, but constant renegotiation of the forms of its presence. Gramsci was well aware that in spite of the extreme diversity of the social forces that had to enter into the construction of a hegemonic identity, no collective will and no sense of community could result from such a conception of negotiation and alliances. Because, negotiation, however, is an ambiguous term that can mean very many different things. One of these is a familiar process of mutual pressures and concessions whose outcome only depends on the balance of power between antagonistic groups. It is obvious that little or no sense of community can be constructed through that type of negotiation. The relation between these two groups can only be a potential war. It is at this place the hermeneutic circle completes its path leading the two groups to negotiate on the verge of war. This process continues until the circle is broken. This negotiated confrontation or confrontational negotiation constructs a discursive site for the testing of ideologies.

3.4 Ideology and Movement

Central to any social movement is an ideology that provides impetus to collective mobilization and orientation towards change. Ideology is crucial in that it distinguishes a movement from any organized effort involving
collective mobilization. Ideology according to the OECD, is the manner of thinking characteristic of a class or an individual. A movement implies sustained pursuit of shared and collective action which is either organized or spontaneous. The process of social mobilization includes meetings, campaigns, demonstrations, conferences, and literature expressive of interests and beliefs of a group. Interest, which is immediate in terms of motivation and demands, is rooted in a more fundamental belief system which is called ideology. Thus Andre Beteille defines movement as a kind of collective behavior mobilized on the basis of a belief which redefines social action. A social movement has to justify the need for social change. It therefore must develop sooner or later a comprehensive ideology or a theory which should be convincing to the movement participants. The shared ideology forms the basis of the identity of the group in a movement. While an ideology directs the course of events, the results of the events themselves have a crucial influence on the character of ideology, changing the pattern of communion with different symbols and codes. Thus it is a dynamic symbolic system. It helps towards the codification of beliefs and myths in order to define a group's aspirations and responses to reality. Ideology then is closely related to the problems of identity, i.e. the way in which a group perceives itself in relation to other groups and vice-versa. Ideology is based on the structural conditions of existence of the concerned group, on the one hand, and the level of consciousness and resources, on the other. A movement may start with an ideology or acquire one in the course of its development. It may also shift the ideological positions depending upon the situational demands and
appropriateness criterion. In any case, it is continually revised in the light of subsequent events and the reaction of the opposition reference groups. A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavor to promote a change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegal means, revolution or withdrawal into utopian community. The social mobility and change that are brought about by protest movements are based on challenges, dissent, confrontation, aggression and revolt, as opposed to acquiescence. All movements have political implications even if their members do not strive for political power. Heberle\(^{20}\) holds that all social movements fulfil two key functions in societies: they help both in the formation of a common will or a political group-will, and in the process of socialization they train and recruit political elite. According to Smelser\(^{21}\), treats structural strain as the underlying factor leading to collective action or movement. ‘Structural conduciveness’ leads to the origin of a movement when there is a strain on the sub-systems within the structure of a society. This is closer to the Marxist notion of ‘relative deprivation’. Nativism and revivalism also lead to social movements. Nativism is an attitude of rejection of everything alien—persons, culture, or rejection of everything from the dominant society, for example, Dalit Movement and ethnic politics. In revivalism, the aim of the movement is to return to a former era of happiness, to go back to a golden age, to revive the previous conditions of social virtue, for example, right-wing nationalist Hindutava Movement of Vishwa Hindu Parishad.
While Tafuri considers the Marxist concept of ideology important, Foucault prefers the notion of discursive technologies [or practices] since it does not imply any truth to unmask. One understands the exercise or "tactics" of domination ... in terms of actual tangible procedures that determine the forms of experience in which we find ourselves. The term ideology has a checkered history, from Napoleon Bonaparte verbally undercutting his political opponents, to Manfredo Tafuri's preoccupation with Marxist false consciousness. Most generally it has suggested a shading of the truth - but in the extreme, a massive non-violent deception cast over a whole class of people, masked by irrational appeal to some small, seemingly inclusive, but ultimately only partial truth.

Michel Foucault and Michel de Certeau, reject the idealist absorption with purely mental operations, taking up the more inclusive analytic of "practices," (sometimes - "discursive technologies"), whereby what we do as well as what we believe is to be understood. That is, each in their own ways analyze the development of our specific patterns of actions, non-discursive as well as discursive, including the mundane spatial-temporal bodily actions of routinely inhabiting the physical world, and our conceptual, classificatory, schematizing, representational/ expressive actions, everyday and extraordinary.

An ideology is popularly held to consist of fixed ideas, for example that fundamentalism is root of all evil breeding communal violence and caste
conflicts. In discourse, however, ideologies produce inconsistencies, typically linked to the basic contradiction between favouring human rights (inclusive theory) and restricting who should have them (exclusive practice). For example, suppressing the Irish independence movement and arresting people in the name of revolutionaries by the British is part of the British political ideology, whereas, England can choose to fight for the cause of independent Kosovo in Yugoslavia on grounds of humanitarianism and human rights violation. This is true for USA in Iraq about Kurdistan, etc. This is also true of Indian political scenario where several separatist and autonomy movements are seen as part of an ambiguous democratic process. That is, we can observe the same concept being used in discourse for opposite images of different social groups. The discursive constructs make it possible to ignore or excuse the ‘infringement of rights’ from both sides. Ideology can also harness language for inverting things into their opposites. Political speech and writing are largely the defense of the indefensible. For example, the 1930s & 40s things like the continuance of the British rule in India, the Russian purges and deportations, the dropping of atom bombs on Japan or the present day ‘war preparations’ as a means to ‘keep the peace’ can indeed be defended but only by arguments that are too brutal for most people to face. Therefore, political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question-begging, and sheer cloudy vagueness. Defenseless villagers are bombarded from the air, the Inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called ‘pacification’, for example, in Vietnam, Iraq, Yugoslavia, India, etc. Yet such glaring abuses should not
distract us from the subtler 'politicizing' of public discourse at large and also the discourses of the home, the school, and the workplace, where delicate hierarchies of power are played off to block or undermine solidarity. As the material crisis worsens the battles for diminishing the world resources are fought in the disguise of cultural differences. The de facto multiculturalism of most modern societies is fiercely attacked by militant right wing monoculturalism that mystifies claim to cultural supremacy for the elitists (the upper caste communities in India and the middle- and upper classes in the West) behind an allegiance to the values of 'law and order', 'patriotism', 'family' and 'morals' (Hindu or Christian or Islam). Few people would object to such values or, if they do, right-wing discourse has a gallery of buzzwords ready to hurl at them: 'soft on crime', 'unpatriotic', 'satanic' and of course, 'leftist'. Predictably, the chief targets of right-wing monocultural discourses are ethnic minorities, lower class or lower castes and religious minorities, where old feelings of racism, communalism and colonialism can handily be reawakened (if they ever were asleep). A leading discourse strategy is to transform the victims into victimizers by hatching conspiracy theories and making the minorities and their defenders into scapegoats for the economic and political problems actually caused by the specific interests of the dominant castes and classes. For example, look at the following headlines from various International Newspapers, leave alone Indian Newspapers:

Our tradition of fairness and tolerance is being exploited by every terrorist, crook, screwball, and scourge who wants a free ride at our expense. (Daily Mail, 28 Nov 1990).
Nobody is less able to face the truth than the hysterical ‘anti-racist brigade’. Their intolerance is such that they try to silence or sack anyone who does not toe their party line. (The Sun 23 Oct 1990)

Liberal academics [have] abandoned scholarly objectivity to create academic disciplines that were in actuality political movements ... ethnic studies, race and gender studies, women’s studies, etc. have one intent only, that is, undermining the [American/Traditional] educational system through the transformation of scholarship and teaching into blatant politics. (Florida Review 12 Oct 1990).

Such a discourse betrays a characteristic motivation gap: making victims into victimizers requires accusing them of seizing initiatives to do things for which they could have no reasonable motivation, such as ‘academics’ striving to ‘undermine the education system’ that gives them a livelihood. The discourse either does not mention the real initiative coming from the right wing or else portrays it only as a fight back. Historical parallels to anti-Semitic discourse of the Hitler era are all too patent. Discourse analysis must not just describe and demystify the discourse of cultural confrontation and victimization. If we make angry counter attacks on racists, we get drawn into their own mode of confrontational discourse. Developing alternative strategies is a bare necessity to tackle the situation.

In India, there is a multiplicity of endogamous and mutually exclusive caste and sub-caste groups. They are hierarchically structured, in a graded inequality, based on ritual purity. Dalits are the most economically oppressed, culturally ostracized and politically marginalized people in modern India. The liberation of Dalits is the only sure way for the liberation of the Indian people.
The primary motive of the Dalit Literature is the liberation of Dalits in particular and the liberation of the oppressed in general. It is fundamentally a cultural activity coming under the broad movements of Dalit political liberation. It is cultural politics. It takes the form of protest. In the traditional Indian literature, there was no place for labour class Dalits. If at all Dalits did write their writings were regarded as non-canonical, base and undeserving. The term “canon” denotes a set of officially recognized “sacred” books. Literary critics never claimed a sacred status for their canon (Shakespeare might have been great but he wasn’t actually God). By analogy, however, the literary canon has normally been seen as “authentic” and “inspired” in ways that other texts are not. Dalit literature does not come under the category of canonical literature. Writing, reading and the various associated social practices that facilitate writing and reading are very clearly immensely important human activities. This helps us to analyze and explain how writing is produced, received, distributed and exchanged.

Literary works of prominent thinkers have always played a great role in changing society. The writings of Rousseau and Voltaire were undeniably responsible for the French Revolution of 1789. The literature of Marx, Lenin, and Gorky inspired the revolutionaries of Russian Revolution in 1917. For Dalits, it was the writings of Ambedkar that inspired them to continue the movement that was started by him. Though innovative, protest literature by itself lacks the component of collective action. However, the Dalit Movement and the Dalit Literature are so inter linked that it is impossible to think of one
Marcuse's Critical Theory\textsuperscript{22} and Theory of Generation Gap explicated in the report of the Indian Secular Society and Maratha Mandir bring into focus our understanding of a literary movement as a movement of a counter culture. The critical theory formulated by Herbert Marcuse formed the spirit behind the counter cultural movement in the USA. He was considered one of the stalwarts of black movement, the women's liberation movement and the hippie and beatnik movements in the USA. Marcuse was opposed to the 'new economism' of capitalist society, particularly American society. He argues that in a society whose totality is determined by economic relations to the extent that the uncontrolled economy controls all human relations, the working class, becomes tame, is no longer in possession of its political bearings and revolutionary potential, and in fact, willingly acquiesces in its own exploitation and becomes a staunch and conservative defender of the status quo. The power of corporate capitalism stifles the consciousness and imagination of the common masses, particularly the youth. Its mass media adjust their rational and emotional faculties to the market, and its policies steer them in defense of its domination.
The counter cultural movement is reflected in a systematic linguistic rebellion, a rupture with the linguistic universe of the establishment. The subculture groups develop their own language. Thus, the hippies and the blacks redefine the concepts of dominant civilization when they say “Black is Beautiful”. Non-conformism becomes evident in everything—language, dress, lifestyle, music, art, etc. The critical theory supported thinking all over the world has accepted that a Cultural Revolution is necessary to bring about changes in society. The radical character in contemporary art seems to indicate that it does not rebel against one style or another but against style itself, against the form of art, and the traditional meanings of art. In late 1960s, when the Marcuse theory first began to ride high, the press did its best to create a sensation over every student action, depicting these as the only or the most militant expression of struggle against the establishment. Nihilist and terrorist tendencies were evident throughout the world, and this had an impact on Indian youth too. It was a turbulent period in India. The ideologies propagated by Marcuse, Debrey and Fanon had filtered into India through the mass media and influenced Indian intelligentsia. This was the period when negation in different fields was explicit through agitation and protests. The revolt aspect became more prominent. The youth wings of every political party were revolting against the social system and their party leaders. The new wave in literature carried the tone of negation too. In Bengal there was the literature of the ‘bukhi pidi’ (hungry generation), there was ‘nagna kavita’ (naked poetry) by the Digamabara Kavulu in Andhra Pradesh and the
literature of Kanchan Kumar Amokh (a Naxalite Writer) in Utter Pradesh. In Maharashtra, this negation was expressed through the Little Magazine movement in 1967, which challenged and protested against the monopoly of established caste Hindu writers' ideology in the literary field. The young writers were creating a new form and style of their own and the various regional magazines gave them a forum. Social norms were flouted through lifestyles. The long beard, the 'kurta', the slippers and the shoulder bag were common style of the youth during this period. According to the youth, the concept of happiness had been freed from any ties from bourgeois conformism and relativism. Indulging in sensuous pleasures according to the dictates of instinct became the norm. The linguistic revolt is visible in the Dalit literature with its rustic, obscene and arresting language, which was a rarity in Dalit writings before 1940s.

The report of the Indian Secular Society and Maratha Mandir states that the concept of generation gap is a characteristic of all societies which are modern or in the process of modernization. It also says that the generation gap is a complex phenomenon. This theory reflects the total disillusionment experienced by the youth of 1960s India, with special reference to the youth of Maharashtra. This study is the report of five-member inquiry committee appointed to examine the causes of the Worli riots. The theory of generation gap traces two phases in the evolution of youth. First, there is the phase of adolescent’s alienation from his father or father figure, which is a part of the process through which the youth asserts his/her independent personality. This
phase involves the rejection of the values the father stands for, but positively it involves participation in an autonomous youth culture with its distinctive life style, norms, idioms, art forms, manners, etc. The emergence of such a youth culture becomes possible only when a large number of youngsters find themselves thrown together for a fairly long period of time, as in colleges, hostels and places of employment.

The emergence of this youth culture coincided with the period when, for the first time in the history of India, a sizable number of Dalit youth began going to college. They were naturally drawn towards this culture, which was in revolt against the traditional Hindu middle class way of life. This culture has acquired respectability and a role, which was to fight against the hypocrisy of the higher castes, which tolerated and even sanctioned inequality and social oppression. In general, this theory throws light on the prevailing discontentment and disillusion amongst the youth.

The new promise of powers to Indians by the British as set out in Montagu-Chelmsford reforms gave a new boost to the Indian polity. This was the period of advancing mass struggles and ideological upheavals. The Indian working class began its major era of organization with the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress in 1920. This period also witnessed several peasant struggles throughout the country. In the context of growing radical mass nationalism, this increasing activism of peasants, workers, Dalits and non-Brahmins could have provided a basis for militant, combined struggle.
But this process was upset by the crystallization of Hindu-Muslim identities and formation of right wing nationalist movements like the Hindu Mahasabha (1915) and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (1925). Worker and peasant struggles, Gandhism, Hindu-Muslim tensions and rise of Hindu nationalism, and non-Brahmin political formations all provided the ideological and organizational environment within which early attempts at organizing the Dalits took place. At the same time, Dalit initiatives put pressure on the society, making the issue of 'untouchability' a politically salient one. This process first began in Nagpur in Maharashtra under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar and later spread to Hyderabad, Mysore and other parts of the country. Three important events mark the birth and consolidation of Dalit movement in India. First, we have the Depressed Classes Conference of 1930 organized by Ambedkar soon after his return from the Round Table Conference in London. This heralded the social radicalism of 1930s in India. The second is the 1942 Depressed Classes Political Conference in which the Independent Labour Party was wound up and the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation was established. This conference planted the seeds of Dalit identity and consciousness in India. The third event is a religious protest called the Diksha of 1956 where several Dalit masses embraced Buddhism. One important aspect of Dalit movement is its link to the socio-economic conditions of India.

As we discussed earlier, several Little Magazines came into existence and propelled the Dalit movement towards the present day situation. Kisan
Faguji Bansode, a Marathi peasant, started several papers, the *Nirikshak Hindu Nagarik* (1918), *Vithal Vidhvasak* (1913), and *Mazur Patrika* (1918) with an aim towards social emancipation of Dalits through literature. Ganesh Akkaji Gavai, another Marathi, the first Dalit member of the legislative council founded ‘Mahar Library’ and ‘Mahar Shudrak Mandal’ dedicated to the life of Dalit Mahars. However, these leaders were swept by the growing tide of nationalism and took the position of Tilakites and pro-Hindus. Soon, they realized the impact of Brahmin-dominated nationalism and joined the Ambedkarite sect. Anti-Hindu militancy was frequently expressed in the writings of Bansode. In a 1909 article of the Little Magazines, he wrote:

> The Aryans—your ancestors—conquered us and gave us unbearable harassment. At that time we were your conquest, you treated us even worse than slaves and subjected us to any torture you wanted. But now we are no longer your subjects, we have no service relationship with you, we are not your slaves or serfs...We have had enough of the torture and harassment of the Hindus...If you don’t give us the rights of humanity and independence, then we will have to take our own rights on the basis of our strength and courage, and that we will do.24

This non-Aryan theme and the declaration of autonomy was the common rhetoric of the non-Brahman Satyashodak movement with its strong antagonism to Brahmans and Hinduism and to the national movement.

The Dalit movement of the 1920s was caught between the currents of opposite polarity. While some Dalit activists tried to work out a model integrating the Dalits with the Hindus making use of Sanskritic reforms drawing on Bhakti movement and supported by the nationalist Hindus,
Ambedkarites invoked the Dalit autonomy with an ideology that expressed the contradiction in such a move and rejected Brahmanic and Bhakti religious traditions. This rejection gave rise to militancy among the Dalit youth. This militancy meant militancy in both social and economic sense, including an opposition to capitalism in the mills and the ‘landlordism’ in the rural areas. It is interesting to note that Tilakite and Gandhian congress leaders opposed these movements. However, Ambedkar continued his support to these Dalit movements. While the call of Diksha by Ambedkar converted the Dalit masses in Maharashtra to Buddhism, in Andhra something different happened. Most of the Telugu Dalits embraced Christianity. Alarmed by the conversion, caste Hindus took up the process of educating and uplifting the Dalit masses. Veereshalingam Pantulu established Brahmo Samaj in Andhra Pradesh and advocated widow remarriage, removal of untouchability and abolition of dowry, prostitution and corruption through his writings and speeches. This tendency can be seen clearly in the two famous novels from Andhra written about Dalits.

Malapalle (Mala hamlet or Mala village) by Unnava Laxminarayana, describes the social and economic effects of commercialization in the Krishna-Godavari delta and the response of Dalits to this. Agricultural laborers are depicted as realizing the manipulative potential of the new wage system in eroding real wages; use of coercion, preventing cattle from grazing on private lands, beating of Dalits and eviction of poor peasants from their lands are
shown, along with a major crisis of traditional cultural values. Kargopal summarizes this in *Caste-Class Dimensions* as follows.

The main reason presented for the absence of class-consciousness is the hegemony of the Hindu world-view conditioning the consciousness of Harijans. This prevents them from revolting. This theme is presented through a character who finds several philosophical explanations for their degenerating living conditions...His elder son...opts for Gandhian model of resistance which broadly fits the Hindu philosophy of action. He joins the 'panchama' movement launched by the scheduled castes [and] attempts to organize his caste people. But the landlord who smacks the potential of the movement violently kills him. This act...gets absorbed by the peace loving nature of these groups coupled with the manipulations by the ruling elite and the intervention of the state. This indicates not only the structural constraints in which poor Harijans were locked but the cobweb of consciousness which permitted them little concerted and organized action. (pp. 2-3)

*Harijan Nayakudu* (Harijan Leader) written by N.G. Ranga reflected the ideological positions of a peasant leader. The protagonist of the novel is a Harijan social reformer who agitates on various issues, opposing the violence against and abuse of Dalits, organizing inter-caste marriages, establishing schools, fighting for entry into temples and use of public wells. While kammams belong to the landlord community and are upper caste Hindus, Dalits are bonded labourers in the Kamma farms and household. There is no love lost between these two communities, as they are diametrically opposite to each other in the Marxist framework. But the president of the village denounces the ill-treatment of Dalits publicly to the surprise of his caste members. This splits the village into a bipolar world of confrontation with visible success in the nationalist Hindu reformation process. Dalits are depicted as allying with
the peasant (kammas) in contrast with the kamma landlords who do not soil their hands.

Dalit movement and ideology in Andhra Pradesh needs to be understood from a different angle. The Nizam’s rule of Andhra gave a distinct flavor to the cultural conditions in the region. Not only that Dalits were converting in large numbers to Christianity, they were also equally attracted to the anti-Hindu life style of the Muslims. However the Dalit fascination towards Muslim culture soon came to an end as the orthodox Islamic identity became a hurdle in their way. The Dalits had to choose either Islam or Hinduism. As Dalit movement developed, it did so within a dangerously polarizing Hindu-Muslim tension. Dalits faced pressure on both sides, to identify themselves as either Hindus or Muslims. In some ways there was closeness in Dalit-Muslim relations in Hyderabad area, but it was a closeness characterized by ambiguity. The relationship was expressed in a saying quoted by a Dalit activist—‘The Dalit colony is the Muslim-in-laws’ place—meaning that Muslims took wives or girls from Dalit communities. But this was an unequal relationship. In the devadasi custom among the Dalit Mala and Madiga communities, the basavis or matangis very often had relations with affluent or noble Muslims in Nizam’s empire. When the Dalit reformers moved to stop this custom, in 1920s, it resulted in Muslim antagonism. Muslims were ‘always after our girls’ was a Dalit complaint. The closeness thus had a clear element of sexual exploitation in it, though Muslims did not observe untouchability. This brings into significance an interesting story
about Dalit-Muslim relationship. This 400 years old story is about Hyder Ali, the King and Bhagyamma, the Dalit woman. This story tells us that the present city Hyderabad was earlier called Bhagyanagar after the name of the Dalit women who won the heart of Hyder Ali. While other exploited sections of the society identified both Hindus and Muslims as the oppressors, and still others were led into the Hindu fold, there was some Dalit attraction to Muslim culture in Hyderabad. The period between 1920 and 1940 saw a clear split in the Hyderabad Dalit community on this issue. The increase in communal tensions between Hindus and Muslims left Dalits with only one alternative—Christianity.

Religious conversion did not solve the problem of untouchability as expected by the Dalits. The emergence of partly educated Dalit middle class searched for alternative movements of Dalit identity. Dalits throughout south India believed that the theme of ‘Adi ideology’ would solve the Dalit problem. The Dalits of Andhra Pradesh called themselves Adi-Hindus and held four conferences between 1912 and 1924. Along with the traditional aims of internal reform like establishing schools for Dalits, removing social evils, organizing bhajan mandalis, etc., the aims of the organization included ‘removing ignoble appellations and spreading the identity of Adi-Hindu’. This term spread among sections of north Indian Chamars, claiming them to be ‘exploited and conquered original inhabitants’. The Adi-Hindu conferences of 1927 and 1930 described the depressed classes or Adi-Hindus as ‘descendants of the original inhabitants of the country who were rulers and
owners of land of their birth before the advent of Aryans to the country. This was familiar anti-caste radicalism. But adi-Hindu also carried with it the connotations of Hinduism, which the Dalits disliked. In south India, while caste Hindus made a discrete silence about the issue, Dalits of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh were involved in a controversy as to whether the Adi-Hindus are Hindus. The Adi-Dravida Educational League argued that, judged by the history, philosophy and civilization of the Adi-Dravidas, the real aborigines of the Deccan, the depressed classes are, as a community, entirely separate and distinct from the followers of Vedic religion, called Hinduism. The League’s contention was that

1. Hinduism is not the ancestral religion of the aborigines of Hindusthan.
2. The non-Vedic communities of India object to being called Hindu because of the inherited abhorrence of the doctrines of the Manusmriti and like scriptures, who have distinguished themselves from the caste Hindus for centuries past.
3. The Vedic religion which Aryans brought in the wake of their invasion was actively practiced on the non-Vedic aborigines,
4. These aborigines, coming under the influence of gradually and unconsciously adopted Hindu ideas and prejudices. This argument was deplored by Adi-Hindus.26

This was clear posing of the autonomy-integration dichotomy in terms of religious and cultural identities. This issue gradually emerged as a pan-Indian Dalit issue. Common themes can be traced underlying all the British, princely and Gandhian paternalism. The decade of the 1920s was dominated by the Brahmin-non-Brahmin conflict in Mysore state, but this was elite-based, with no rural connection, little articulation of broad Dalit ideology and
no effort at mass mobilizing. Caste associations formed after 1905 included the Veerashaiva Mahasabha, the Vokkaliga Association, the Adi-Dravida Abhivrudhi Sangha and the Kuruba Association. This period witnessed Brahmin sponsorship of Dalit organizations as a strategic reaction to the threat from non-Brahmin political domination. The ideological theme of Brahmin sponsorship did not go beyond the ‘panchama’ identity of the Dalits—the proclamation of ancient greatness and an ancient community degraded only because it was poor. There was little mention of oppression and exploitation. Caste conflict and untouchability, albeit their presence in the society, were not mentioned conveniently by the Hindu reformists. The silence of Dalits was appropriated by the Brahmin organization as they started championing the Dalits cause, allowing them to use temples, roads, public places, tanks, while stressing on internal reform such as cleanliness, giving up meat-eating and the drinking of alcohol. This move on the part of Brahmin organizations was strategic and was not genuine as such a move hardly helped to eradicate untouchability. This can be illustrated from the Government of Mysore Statement (1927) that

The aim should be to Hinduize them (meaning, the Dalits) more and more, for they belong to the Hindu community really, and to offer them every facility to remain in the fold...Alienated, they will introduce an additional element of heterogeneity which will in future complicate the already difficult problems of administration.  

However, 1917 saw the beginning of the downfall of such caste Hindu patronage and the rise of a new self-directed Dalit movement. The context was the political turmoil of 1917-20 period, when almost all communities
were being mobilized around the issue raised by the Montague-Chelmsford reforms; the immediate issues were those of who would represent untouchables. The implications of the so-called reforms were much more profound. It is at this time that a young Mahar, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar emerged on the scene of Dalit movement. It was then that Ambedkar made his claim to alternative leadership, in three steps: submitting testimony to the Southborough Committee on the Reforms; appearing at two major conferences on the untouchables; and initiating a journal, *Mooknayak* (Voice of the Mute). Ambedkar said:

> The right of representation and the right to hold office under the state are the two most important rights that make up citizenship. But the untouchability of the untouchables puts these rights far beyond their reach. In a few places they do not even possess such insignificant rights as personal liberty and personal security. These are the interests of the untouchables. And as can be easily seen, they can be represented by untouchables alone. 28

This reminds us of Gayatri Spivak’s questioning of upper caste elites right to represent the subaltern which is as ironic as the First World’s representation of the Third World (or Fourth World?).

The 1927 Mahad satyagraha turned the Dalit movement into a liberation struggle and established Ambedkar as the Dalit (Human) Rights Leader. The first day of the hunger strike, March 20, is till today observed as *Asprushya Swatantra Din* (Untouchable Independence Day), the day of the mass struggle of Dalits to assert their human rights. To support the movement, Ambedkar started the weekly magazines *Janata* (Masses) and
Bahishkrut Bharat (Outlawed India?). However, one can not but agree with Omvedt’s argument about the origin of the Dalit movement. She feels that Ambedkar was and is a crucial force to the spread of social movement but there are other instances in the history that account for Dalit movement, in different times. It is in this context Mahatma Gandhi’s role in Dalit movement is important. While Ambedkar advocated the Dalit Autonomy, Gandhi advocated the Dalit Patronage Movement.

Ambedkar had his first meeting with Gandhi in London in August 1931, and it took place in a turbulent atmosphere. According to H. C. Kamble’s narration, Gandhi treated Ambedkar with a lack of even normal politeness, while Ambedkar responded with condemnation of the Congress, walking out after a scathing speech ending with the famous statement, ‘Mahatmaji, I have no country.’ This was not dialogue, but confrontation. They confronted each other again at the conference, each speaking with emotion and eloquence, with the self-assurance of leaders who can gather masses behind them. Each claimed to speak on the behalf of untouchables. There was a vast difference in points of view, with Ambedkar stressing the need for political power for the Dalits, and Gandhi arguing for reform and protection from above. Gandhi said: ‘What these people need more than election to the legislature is protection from social and religious persecution.’ But the emotional quality of the debate indicates an even deeper clash. Ambedkar replied.
We cannot deny the allegation that we are the nominees of the Government, but speaking for myself I have not the slightest doubt that even if the Depressed Classes of India were given the chance of electing their representative to this Conference, I would all the same find a place here... The Mahatma has always been claiming that the Congress stands for the Depressed Classes, and that the Congress represents the Depressed Classes more than I or my colleagues can do. To that Claim I can only say that it is one of the many false claims which irresponsible people keep on making, although the persons concerned with regard to these claims have invariably been denying them...the Depressed Classes are not in the Congress."\(^{30}\)

Gandhi responded:

The claims advanced on behalf of the Untouchables, that to me is the unkindest cut of all. It means the perpetual bar sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the Untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself in my own person to represent the vast masses of the untouchables. Here, I speak not on behalf of the Congress, but I speak on my own behalf, and I claim that I would get, if there was a referendum of the Untouchables, their vote, and that I would top the poll...I would rather that Hinduism died than that Untouchability lived. Therefore, with all my due regard for Dr. Ambedkar and for his desire to see the Untouchables uplifted, with all my regard for his ability, I must say in all humility that here the great wrong under which he has laboured, and perhaps the bitter experiences he had undergone have for the moment wrapped his judgement. It hurts me to have to say this, but I would be untrue to the cause of the Untouchables, which is as dear to me as life itself, if I did not say it. It will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due sense of responsibility, and I say that it is not a proper claim by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole of the Untouchables of India. It will create a division in the Hinduism, which I cannot possibly look forward to with any satisfaction whatsoever. I do not mind untouchables, if they so desire, being converted to Islam or Christianity, I should tolerate that, but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in store for Hinduism if there are two divisions set forth in the villages. Those who speak of political rights of Untouchables do not know their India, do not know who Indian society is today constructed, and therefore I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing I would resist this with my life.\(^{31}\)
This confrontation resulted in Congress elite organizing several Dalit meetings and producing Dalit Leaders who took Anti-Ambedkarite stance borrowing from the ruling class ideology in 19th century Europe. This ideology takes individuals and their groups as basically selfish units as its premise. It holds that individuals and social groups progress only through competition. It had however to take cognizance of weaker sections in the society, paradoxically in a large number, who cannot enter this competition openly and hence could potentially be spoilers of the game. The French Revolution had demonstrated this potential in ample measure. As the Whigs in the English Liberal party had thought the best way to ward off revolution was to adopt a liberal generous attitude toward the lower classes. The upper classes should make concessions gracefully and in good time, and not wait until the lower classes are roused to exact them. If a revolution happens, it doesn't show that the people are bad and should have been repressed more thoroughly repression is self-defeating. What it shows is that the upper classes were not wise enough and self-confident enough to make reasonable concessions in good time. It accommodates the relatively weaker sections by extending them some concessions or aids for some time, basically to equip them for the competition. The State performs the role of a referee in this competition. This State is supposed to be run by the representatives of all social groups. However, all the rallies and the threat of fasting by Gandhi fizzled out and Ambedkar emerged as the unchallenged Dalit leader. Ambedkar was confirmed in his belief that the caste system was exploitative and that autonomy was necessary. ‘Untouchability’ was not just a peripheral
evil that could be removed without basic changes in the system; the system was inherently exploitative. Since only the exploited can remove exploitation by destroying a system and fighting their exploiters, autonomy was necessary; ‘the emancipation of Dalits had to be the act of Dalits themselves’. This gave Ambedkar a natural tendency to look to Marxism, the theory and practice of historical materialism which was reaching India by that time with emphasis on concepts like exploitation, contradiction and self-emancipation of the exploited.

There is no doubt that communism entered India with something of an explosive force in 1920s. At a time when Marxism was penetrating as a powerful ideology, Indian communism was marked by a central lacuna of indifference to caste conflicts. This is evident from E. M. S. Namboodaripad’s comment on Dalit movement in his *History of Indian Freedom Struggle*, 50 years later –

However, this was a great blow to the freedom movement. For this led to the diversion of people’s attention from the objective of full independence to the mundane cause of the upliftment of Harijans 32.

This brings to light an interesting attitude of the Marxists towards Dalit Movement. The communists fighting for untouchable rights proposed a confrontation with Ambedkar, denouncing him as a ‘separatist’, ‘opportunistic’ and pro-British. The Communist Party of India’s Political Thesis makes the following claim about the Untouchables.

Forming the most exploited and oppressed section of our people, the six crores of untouchables are a powerful reserve in the
struggle for democratic revolution. The Congress, led mainly by bourgeoisie leaders belonging to the upper castes, has consistently refused to champion the cause of the untouchable masses and to integrate the struggle for social and economic emancipation of the untouchables with the general struggle for national freedom. This has enabled reformists and separatists leaders like Dr. Ambedkar to keep the untouchable masses away from the general democratic movement and to foster the illusion that the lot of untouchables could be improved by reliance on imperialism...To draw the untouchable masses into the democratic front, to break down the caste prejudice of the upper caste workers and peasants, to unite the common people of all castes against their common enemy—such are tasks faced by the party. This task will have to be carried out by a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie of the upper castes as well as against opportunists and separatist leaders of the untouchables themselves. We have to expose these leaders, tear away the untouchable masses from their influence, and convince them that their interest lies in joining hands with the other exploited sections that only the victory of the democratic revolution will emancipate them from social degradation and slavery. Every discrimination against the untouchables must be denounced as a bourgeois attempt to keep the masses disunited, and every just demand of theirs must be fought for as a part of the common struggle for people's rights. 

However, tenets of communism soon infiltrated the Dalit movement in the form of unified working class movement by early 1940s. A serious critical article on Marxism appeared in a 1936 issue of Janata and was reprinted in 1938 as front-page article entitled ‘The Illusion of the Communists and the Duty of the Untouchable Class’. In taking the relations of production as the basis of the ‘economic interpretation of history’, the article made a clever twist or reversal in the often used architectural analogy of the ‘base and super structure’. To build the strength of the working class, the mental hold of religious slavery would have to be destroyed. The removal of untouchability and caste discrimination is thus the first stage in the struggle for the Indian revolution, and it is impossible for socialists to by pass it.
However, Ambedkar adhered to some basic assumptions of Marxism in fact throughout his life. He had successfully negotiated these assumptions in his writings on Buddha and Marx. Aspects of post-colonial Dalit movement would be dealt at a later stage in this chapter. We shall discuss here the relation of Marxism to Dalit Movement, which directly draws our attention to the treatment of Caste and Class in India in the context of over all economic organization of the state.

Caste and Class are viewed as the two most significant dimensions of social stratification. They are considered as closely interrelated, almost inseparable, basic processes of social life. It is one thing that caste is viewed as a sole model for analyzing Indian society or class is used for analyzing caste and power, but it is quite different in real life as caste and class are not only highly differentiated categories internally, but their complexities signify the vast ramifications of structured social inequality. Debate on caste and class has covered wide-ranging issues related to indicators of status, levels of equality and inequality, cultural and structural interaction, occupational mobility, etc. Conceptual schemes to analyze these issues highlight structural versus attributional, and corporate versus individual dimensions regarding the nature of caste and class in India as systems of social stratification. The caste-class divide was never as rigid as reported in various writings, and hence Indian society was also not as rigidly structured as depicted in several accounts of the caste system. The 'ideal' and 'actual' status was never the same. Inter-caste marriages produced 'mixed-castes'. Contradictions within the caste system and
influence of external forces of change on it rule out the possibility of it being what is called in cultural studies, *Homo Hierarchicus*. A long history of discontinuities, break downs, contradictions and changes in the nature of the caste system also negate its absolutist, unchanging and holistic nature.

Both inequality and equality have been built into the ideology and practice of the caste system, and change has taken place in both as well as in the nexus between the two. Despite the priestly superiority of Brahmans over all other castes, the functionary lower castes enjoyed some 'ritual status,' certainly not comparable in any way with that of Brahmans. The status and the protection accorded to them by the caste Panchayats enabled them to protest against the injustices meted out to them by the upper caste patrons. Hence, a critical re-examination of caste as a system of ideas and rituals, and class as a system of relations between the rich and poor may be necessary. The structural and ideological changes, which were intended to bring about annihilation of the caste system, have promoted it in many ways contrary to expectations, both explicitly and implicitly. The caste system has never been uniformly rigid/flexible in different parts of India, and therefore, it has affected differently the other 'orders' of social life.

There is a long history of anti-upper caste movements in India, a testimony not only of the structural and ideational changes, but also of accretions, alterations and withdrawals in the caste system. Besides caste,
the quality of agricultural land, infrastructure for cultivation, trade and commerce, invasions and migrations, and power determined social status and mobility are also significant besides the question of caste-ranks.

A shift from the emphasis on 'cultural' criteria has made the distinctions based on economic and political power the focal theme in the study of the caste system. Surfacing of incongruities between caste and other domains shows diminution of caste as an all encompassing system and the emergence of a new nexus with economy, polity, migration and religion as interlocking sub-systems. Since agrarian relations, economic transactions and service relations have changed, the caste system too has changed a lot setting the process of 'role-reversal.' A couple of studies have highlighted the role of migration, education, occupation, power, style of life, ownership, control and use of land, inter-caste feuds, competition and bargaining for higher wages as the changing criteria of status-determination and the caste-class nexus.

Castes are 'discrete', segmentary and flexible. Class relations can be analyzed by juxtaposing them with caste, kinship, marriage and family. Studies of the nexus between caste and class have highlighted the multifaceted nature of social stratification. The structural-historical perspective in particular is found relevant for analyzing the historicity of the nexus. What is more important here is the fact that the studies of caste and class have moved away considerably from the hierarchical model of consensus, resilience and summation of roles and statuses. These studies
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A shift from the emphasis on 'cultural' criteria has made the distinctions based on economic and political power the focal theme in the study of the caste system. Surfacing of incongruities between caste and other domains shows diminution of caste as an all encompassing system and the emergence of a new nexus with economy, polity, migration and religion as interlocking sub-systems. Since agrarian relations, economic transactions and service relations have changed, the caste system too has changed a lot setting the process of 'role-reversal.' A couple of studies have highlighted the role of migration, education, occupation, power, style of life, ownership, control and use of land, inter-caste feuds, competition and bargaining for higher wages as the changing criteria of status-determination and the caste-class nexus.

Castes are 'discrete', segmentary and flexible. Class relations can be analyzed by juxtaposing them with caste, kinship, marriage and family. Studies of the nexus between caste and class have highlighted the multifaceted nature of social stratification. The structural-historical perspective in particular is found relevant for analyzing the historicity of the nexus. What is more important here is the fact that the studies of caste and class have moved away considerably from the hierarchical model of consensus, resilience and summation of roles and statuses. These studies
have emphasized the emergence of ‘caste free areas', downward social mobility and incompatibility of the pollution-purity principle with the entrenchment of middle and lower castes in politics and modern jobs. The increased quest for equality among the weaker sections as well as the highly aspiring middle castes and classes too overrides the traditional bases of status and power.

Both caste and class are corporate as well as individualistic entities; and the two have fixity as well as flexibility. Caste is not being replaced by class, and caste is still changing rapidly finding a place for itself in non-conventional and secular domains of social, political and economic life. Whichever caste aspires to use it for upward social mobility makes use of the 'caste idiom'. The castes which become economically and politically dominant also make use of caste for further upward social and cultural mobility. Caste is appropriated for economic and political goals in the first instance, and for socio-cultural mobility afterwards. It is opined that instead of 'caste and class', it would be appropriate to refer to it as 'class and caste'. However, there is no uniform pattern of the nexus between caste and class.

In India (for example, in Bihar) caste is becoming a political process in which class and power are inherently embedded. Caste has changed, it has discarded some of its dysfunctional elements in today’s context and has also become a 'resource', a means for some of its members.
What is needed today is an appropriate conceptualization of this complex situation rather than an undisputed adherence to the conventional concepts of 'caste', 'class' and 'power'. Caste-class-power nexus needs to be accepted as a concept signifying the dynamics of the inter-connection between social, economic and political dimensions of India's social reality particularly since independence.

In his essay, "Caste, Class and Politics in Colonial Bengal: A Case Study of the Namasudra Movement of 1872-1937," Sekhar Bandyopadhyay showed how the Namsudras received encouragement in a struggle against high caste Hindu from the colonial rulers, not because they espoused their cause but because the British wanted to slow down the progress of upper caste Mandarins in their own interest. In the essay, "Caste and Power in West Bengal," Ranabir Samaddar argues that the struggle of the SCs is social as well as political. The continuity of the caste and class together indicates persistence of the caste-class nexus that existed in the British period. The left-front government has not done much to break this rigid nexus as the middle peasantry has acquired a stable place in the system. Though the poor peasantry has not pauperized further during the left-front regime, but class contradictions have not sharpened further as expected during the regime of the present government under the leadership of Jyoti Basu.
"Caste-Class Situation in Rural West Bengal" an article by Srijnan Halder, examines how the rural middle castes have become a political force to reckon with due to improvement in their economic position. But the situation in West Bengal is somewhat different from that of the neighbouring state of Bihar and some other states like Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Despite economic betterment and some political clout, the middle castes in Bengal are not able to de-entrance the upper caste from control of superior positions in professions, bureaucracy and higher educational institutions. In fact, the middle castes have not been able to come up to a level that they could challenge or compete with the near monopoly of the upper castes.

In his essay, "Caste, Class and Landholding in the Analysis of Technology and Agricultural Production in Bihar," Shaibal Gupta finds that to a considerable extent large landholdings are still owned by the upper castes, but the modern inputs into agriculture are not properly appropriated by them, hence low productivity. This is not true about the middle castes as they have even production with smaller landholdings and lesser. Thus, social background of the people engaged in agriculture becomes one of the most significant factors in agricultural production.

In his work on "The Orissan Society: Past Trends and Present Manifestations," Bhairabi Prasad Sahu observes that backward agriculture and aborted industrialization have helped in consolidating the
pre-capitalist formation. This sort of sectored control by the upper and middle classes has also prevented the lower classes to revolt against their oppressors.

In the essay, "Caste and Kulaks in Eastern India: A Comparison of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal" by Arjan Ghosh, the author highlights that perspective on caste and class needs reformulation keeping in view the dynamics related to these in contemporary India. Mobilizations based on the categories like 'backward classes', 'Dalits', 'Bahujan Samaj', 'Dravidas', etc., suggests that caste is no longer used just as a local endogamous group or a group enjoying a given ritual ran in caste hierarchy. Ghosh argues that caste has not disappeared but rather has reconstituted itself. Caste operates as a system of social hierarchy in some backward areas, but as a means of social identity it persists throughout India. The emergence of the class of kulaks and rejuvenation of caste as the basis of social identity have harmoniously co-existed. Economic prosperity has not necessarily resulted in the rejection of caste as an evil, rather, caste is being accepted in its new forms.

"Kanshi Ram and the Bahujan Samaj Party," an article by Gail Omvedt, shows how the BSP is a unique political innovation on the Indian political scene as it claims to bring together all the Dalits of the country under a single banner. Initially, the party adopted an 'anti-party'
stance by refusing alliances with other parties and participation in political activities. The party is also against the rhetoric of the left.

The co-authored essay, "Caste, Land and Political Power in Uttar Pradesh" by Intiaz Ahmad and N. C. Saxena seeks to examine the interplay between caste, control over land and political mobilization in rural UP. The authors observe that the urban trading and professional castes like Banias, Kayasthas and Khatris who had acquired zamindari rights in the eighteenth century, lost it due to the abolition of the zamandari system after independence. These castes entered politics and for some time they were quite strong, but their power declined with the increasing tendency of seeking support on the basis of caste. Numerically, these castes were not strong and hence lost out on the support, which was simply based on education and other secular criteria. The middle castes are making a dent in politics, but are way behind compared to their counterparts in Bihar, AP and Karnataka. However, a caste or a federation of castes has become the basis of social identity for mobilization among the power-seeking members of different castes.

In his essay on "Feudalism, Caste and Class in Rajasthan," K. L. Sharma argues that in the feudal princely states, class was determined on the one hand by feudalism and on the other by caste. After the abolition of
feudalism, caste and class have come closer because of the absence of the mechanism, which affected the two systems in a graded manner.

Since all the members of a caste do not enjoy a similar economic position, caste and class cannot be equated. Ghanshyam Shah makes this observation in his essay on "Caste Sentiments, Class Formation and Dominance in Gujarat." The economic destinations within a given caste are not necessarily antagonistic, and the political elite of this caste generally have the support of upper economic stratum from within and outside their caste. The business class (merchants and industrialists) and rich peasants enjoy dominance in contemporary Gujarat. The fact is that these two classes do not hold formal positions of power and yet together they form the real power elite. The businessmen and rich peasants belong to the upper and the middle castes of Banias, Brahmins, Rajputs and Patidars. However, all these castes are differentiated internally.

"Caste and Class in Maharashtra," an essay by Sharad Patil examines the persistence of the caste-class nexus in the resurgence of religious fundamentalism in the form of Shiv Sena, and cultist ideology in the name of neo-Buddhism/Ambedkarsim.
In his essay, "Class, Caste and Ideology in Maharasthra," Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar, like Sharad Patil⁶⁶, discuss the problem of caste-class nexus vis-a-vis ideology. The 1980s were marked by two sets of confrontations: First between the Hindus and the Muslims; and second, between the upper caste Hindus (savarnas) and the SCs/STs (Dalits). The authors emphasize on the increasing Hindu militancy and the changing character of the Hindu identity in Maharasthra. They point out that caste-based conflicts must be analyzed in terms of the class hierarchy in the state because they are deeply rooted in the material interests of the warring groups. A process of class formation has set in, cutting into the hegemony of the upper castes. The appropriation of the state and its policies for development by the upper and upper middle castes/classes has come under severe attack from the 1960s onwards. "Agrarian Tensions in Rural Marathwada: A Case of the Shiv Sena," by Surendra Jondhale⁴⁷ examines the prolonged intense agitation in 1978 against the proposal of renaming the Marathwada University after Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. This agitation was followed by a short lull but soon the silence was broken by an anti-reservation movement. The communal and casteist organizations have discovered a new device by attacking the Dalits collectively with a view to hide/misguide the identity of the culprits. Besides this social boycott of the Dalits and forcible grazing of animals on their fields has become a routine affair. The root cause of violence and atrocities against the Dalits is their exploitation and the denial of minimum wages to them.
In his article on "Caste, Class and Politics in the Tanneries of Kolhapur," Gopal Guru\textsuperscript{48} observes approvingly the inherence of class in caste as the big tannery-owners appropriate a great deal of surplus based on the work done by the poor tannery-workers of their own castes.

"Caste and Land in Colonial South India," a comprehensive essay by A. Nagaraja Naidu,\textsuperscript{49} highlights that in the colonial period, in South India, the lower castes were Dalits and perceived the upper caste landlords as their enemy and not the British as the latter were not directly exploiting them. The upper castes, being the early beneficiaries of education, first entered into the British revenue administration and later became entrenched in politics. They were nominated to the legislative council representing the landed aristocracy. In such a situation 'freedom' for the country had hardly any meaning for the Dalits.

In his essay, "Caste and Class in Rural Andhra: A Historical Perspective," A. Satyanarayana\textsuperscript{50} notes that there has been a gradual decline of the power and authority of the landed class as a whole. The zamindars and Brahmins have lost their hegemonic authority since the late 1950s, when land reforms were introduced in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Consequent upon land reforms, a class of rural rich emerged from among the principal agricultural castes, which in fact became a threat to the Zamindars and Brahmins. Soon this 'new class' began to displace the
traditional dominant castes/groups, and also received the support of a large number of people as its members belonged to the numerically preponderant castes.

Caste goes beyond the boundaries of kinship and family ties as it involves specialization of labour/work on a wider corporate basis. In his article, "The Formation of Caste Society in Kerala: Historical Antecedents," Rajan Gurukkal traces the genesis of the caste system in Kerala and observes that the actual formation of castes took place in the temple-centered Brahmin villages having agrarian activities. Brahmins, landlords and temples played a crucial role in the multiplication of castes and sub-castes. The peculiar systems of land relations and service tenure were responsible for the creation of the system of hereditary occupational groups. The Brahminical ideal of 'ritual status' was instrumental in converting these groups into 'endogamous castes'. Ultimately, the society was stratified in terms of higher and lower groups based on the ritual status accorded to various castes/sub-castes. Such a stratified society based on Brahmanical prescriptions had the tacit approval of the king (ruler) as it was in his interest too to appoint officials and secure professional services on a hereditary basis to ensure the stability of his rule.

"Caste-Class Situation in India" by A. B. Bardhan argues that a class of people has upheld the ideology of caste, and has kept it alive even in the most adverse of situations. In his essay on "Caste, Class and Social
Consciousness: Reflections on Contemporary Indian Situation," Javeed Alam\(^5\) looks at the constitution of social consciousness in contemporary India with regard to caste and class. Rapid shifts in the consciousness of the same very people ranging from democratic struggles to communal and sectarian fights have been observed. Alam considers class, caste and social consciousness as aspects of a totality, that is, the social being. These are being transformed via retarded capitalism.

Let us now return to the Postcolonial Dalit Movement of Independent India tracing its ideological effects and epistemic formations. Once caste included class. In response to the Communist criticism, Ambedkar and the Dalit movement joined hands with the freedom struggle, which silenced the Indian Marxists. In 1948, Ambedkar published *The Untouchables*, in which he argued that they had been "broken men", fragments of defeated tribes, which did not give up Buddhism when Brahminism triumphed in India, and were barely tolerated outside the village of settled tribesmen. The Nehru era saw the growth of liberal democracy in Indian politics directed at improving the conditions of the depressed sections of society through the policy of protective discrimination and through the enactment of new laws to abolish socio-economic disparities. The influence of liberalism on Ambedkar is more pronounced after he accepted the role of the Chairman of the drafting committee for the Indian Constitution in collaboration with the Congress. Inspite of his proposal of State socialism submitted to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation, his position amounted
to an ideological somersault that could not be helped for situational compulsions. Practically this period was marked by transition to modernity according to the new democratic values enshrined in the Constitution. Even the Dalit movement led by Ambedkar rejected the adventurist efforts such as Telangana Agitation (1946-51) and the Tebhaga Agitation of West Bengal (1946-47).

Another significant aspect of the Dalit Movement is the mass conversion of Dalits to Buddhism on 15th October, 1956 following the call given by Ambedkar. Ambedkar had the idea of religious conversion since 1935. Disdaining the slow moving pace of Hinduism and in the light of his bitter experience and frustration with the reformers who led his people into deeper self-degradation. Ambedkar felt that conversion to Buddhism is the best way to transcend the caste hierarchies. Paying his tribute to the Lok Sabha on 6th December, 1956 on Ambedkar’s sudden demise, the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said,

... the way he will be remembered most will be as a symbol of the revolt against all the oppressive features of Hindu Society...he rebelled against something against which all ought to rebel and we have, in fact, rebelled in various degrees.54

Ambedkar’s call for conversion gave a new identity to the Dalit and initiated the neo-Buddhist movement in India. Apart from this aspect, there was another significant development in the Dalit Movement—it is the evolution of present day Dalit Literature. The first Dalit Literary Conference was organized in Bombay in 1958. It was in this conference, through a
resolution (No.5), a formal label *Dalit Literature* was given to the literature written by Dalits and that written by others about Dalits. While the literary scene was witnessing extensive activity, the Dalit Movement was reorganizing and reshaping into a new formation. The post-Nehru era saw the emergence of the militant Dalit Movement. The reform movements led by the upper caste leaders were concerned with the amelioration of the conditions of the backward classes in general and the depressed classes in particular, in keeping with their liberal ideology. Unlike the earlier movements initiated by the outsiders, the movements in which the Dalits participated have consciously and voluntarily brought about a sea change in their socio-cultural identity and self-definition. Such movements are the results of conscious efforts on the part of the deprived to mitigate their deprivation, secure justice and demonstrate their power. Being highly affected with the ethos of the liberation movements all over the world and enraged because of the disparity between raised expectations and reality, the Dalit youth came forward to rectify the historical injustice with a clenched fist. This resulted in the formation of a new revolutionary organization under the banner Dalit Panthers in 1972. Impressed by the 1966 Black Panthers movement of the United States, the Dalit panther movement—the subaltern insurgency, which definitely contributed to the improvement of the status of Dalit community—originated in India. It is at this stage the ideology of Racism percolated into Dalit movement. The Dalit Panther movement suffered weakness because of it was loosely organized, though the movement gathered momentum right
from the beginning. W. E. B. Du Bois' comment on racism might hold good
to the Indian Dalit Movement:

Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own
house?...the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil,
and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world
which yelds him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him
see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a
peculiar sensation, the double consciousness, the sense of
always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of
measuring one's soul by a tape of a world that looks on in
amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,—an
American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled
strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged
strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.55

The connection between Dalit literature and Dalit Panther
movement runs very deep. As a matter of fact, the Dalit Panther
movement is the political expression of the spirit of protest and
rebellion, which was being consciously developed through the medium
of literature. The Dalit Literature was an all out plebian attack on the
orthodox establishment. The literature created by the Dalit writers was
rebellious and explosive. Most of the Dalit writers belonged to the
middle classes and were educated and city-bred and belonged to the
middle class and were well aware that neither their new religious status
nor their new social standing entirely removed from them the stigma of
untouchability. Prior to the Dalit Panther movement there existed a
literary organization named Pragat Sahitya Sabha. It was founded by
the communist-oriented literary figures like D. K. Bedekar, Surve
Baurao, Bagul, etc. After reading translated Russian, Chinese and
Bengali literature and Prem Chand's classics, these writers became aware of the need for a new rebellious literature. Following the Black Panthers style, obscene and violent language was also used in the literary narratives.

By 1980s, the idea of the 'New Dalit Revolution' or 'Dalit Democratic Revolution' was becoming a hegemonic one. This movement interrogated the traditional socialist ideology that never proposed the 'end of history' but accepted the opening up of alternatives working towards an egalitarian society. The Dalit reinterpretation coupled with Ambedkarite rationalism, had major themes to offer, and indeed the unraveling of Nehruvian secularism as well as socialism meant that an engagement with the more rabid upper caste Hindu 'fundamentalist' forces had to revolve around the creation of an alternative cultural tradition. Thus by the 1990s, Ambedkarism and Dalit themes were gaining ground everywhere as an alternative ideological framework. As the necessity for 'combining' economic and social themes could no longer be denied, the scope for dialogue was inevitable. Thus it is imperative for us to know about the Dalit Movement out of which sprang the Dalit Literature embodying and contributing to the Dalit Ideology.
Endnotes


4. Ibid.


6. Ibid.


8. Narada. Chapter V. Quoted in Peter Robb.


http://www.hrw.org/reports/1999/India/India994-04.htm

Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid.


40 Ibid, pp. 9-10.

41 Ibid, p. 11.

42 Ibid, p. 11.

43 Ibid, pp. 11-12.