Chapter II
Caste and Racial Similitude

Untouchability and Racial Prejudice:

“Untouchability” and “racial prejudice” are terms which deliberately carry connotations of degradation, humiliation, and inhuman oppression on a particular section of human beings. The inhuman treatment of humans against their own kind in terms of social, political, economic, racial and cultural prejudice is heart rending. Indian untouchables suffer due to caste and racial prejudice. In order to find the similarities between casteism and racism, a detailed analysis on both caste and race has been given. Economic instability is one of the vital causes behind social disparity and humiliation.

Reality and Fiction in Ondaatje’s Novels:

Ondaatje in *The English Patient* shows his skill in fusing reality with fiction, as he believes “a novel is a mirror of walking a road” (Ondaatje 97). The illicit nature of the patient’s love affair is mirrored in Hana’s relationship with Kip. The setting is Second World War, where the whole of Europe is fighting their wars in North Africa, in which the desert and the Italian villa becomes a vital setting. The desert extends beyond time, connecting people across ages with a shared experience. The patient has used the desert to lose himself, to shed his nationality and identity. “At once harsh and beautiful, the desert acts as an intensifier, heightening the drama and the tragedy in human relationships” (Marie). Here the tragedy is mainly associated with their national identity during the stress of wartime.
Historical Events in *The English Patient*:

The Second World War that took place in 1942 is reviewed in *The English Patient* and in the process the central issues of the war change places with peripheral concerns. The psychological and physical traumas, mutual love and understanding surface under the sinister impact of war. But undiscovered shattering experiences dislocate these central issues and shift them to marginal positions. This is not distortion of history but a new mode of viewing it.

Michael Ondaatje responded to a letter in ‘The Globe and Mail’:

> From Homer to Richard III to the present, literature has based its imaginative stories on historical events. We read the epics and literary works to discover not the facts of the Trojan War, but the human emotions discovered in the story. ... *The English Patient* is not a history lesson but an interpretation of human emotion-love, desire, betrayals in war and betrayals in peace in a historical time [emphasis added]. ... The facts of the history behind *The Crucible* or *Richard III* is the raw material often chronicled by historians with a political dogma or a party line to protect. Some are true, some are false (compare the histories of the War of the Roses or the Second World War written at the time and those written now and they still continue to be revised.) (Adhikari 46-47).
Emergency and Caste-based Conflicts in *A Fine Balance*:

Set in the mid-1970s India, Rohinton Mistry’s *A Fine Balance* contains a multi-layered plot with complex characters that are locally embedded and globally imaginable. The novel’s plot consists of incidents, such as experiences with the country’s forced sterilization programme during the time of Emergency and caste-based conflicts, its themes are globally relevant and observable. These include the strength of the human spirit, the common need for community and belongingness.

*A Fine Balance* is a subtle and compelling narrative about four unlikely characters that come together in circumstances no one could have foreseen soon after the government declared a ‘State of Internal Emergency’. Mistry in this novel moves his focus to multicultural India, where a great deal of importance is given to the Dalits. Two major character’s ill-treatment, namely Ishvar and Om, due to caste is showcased. This novel teaches the importance of leading a fine balance in adverse circumstances.

**Untouchability in India:**

In India, untouchability is the by-product of caste system. Caste oppression is a glaring feature of the Hindu society. In ancient India, the Aryan and Anaryan races created a sense of high and low. These races contributed to the formation of the Chaturvarna: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. V.T. Rajashekar says, “This hierarchial caste system, a primitive but ingenious Aryan invention is a fantastic institution if taken seriously as anything other than a technique of oppression” (Bheemaiah 15).
Untouchables do not come under the four varnas, they are the Avarnas who occupy the fifth position in the caste hierarchy. The stigma of pollution engulfs even the minds of the lower castes like the Shudras, as they refuse to render their services to the untouchables. Untouchables are called by different names such as “‘Asprishyas,’ ‘Antyajas’, ‘Shwapakhas’, ‘Chandala’, ‘Mathangas’, ‘Panchamas’ etc.” (Bheemaiah 15). Gandhi termed them ‘Harijans’ (children of God) but Dr. B. R. Ambedkar opposed the term and called them ‘Broken Men’ and ‘Depressed Classes’. The term ‘Scheduled caste’ was recommended by the Simon Commission and it was adopted by the Government of India.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar eventually shifted to using Dalit, a concept that is rooted in Marathi to refer to the Scheduled Castes. The term Dalit which means ‘untouchable’ is applied to the suppressed and exploited people in all spheres of life. Untouchables are addressed in a disrespectful way as “Arey”, “Vorey” for men and “Vosai”, “Eme” for women by the upper castes in the villages of India. Dalit in the modern age takes a wider connotation and being broadened to Dalit Bahujan which includes Shudras too (Bheemiaiah 16).

Gandhiji took up many social reforms; he said “untouchability poisons Hinduism as a drop of arsenic poisons milk”. However Ambedkar and Gandhi had a rift in their views on untouchability. While Gandhi began to reform the caste system he strongly believed in the traditional system of hierarchy, he tried to make it more human. On the other hand Ambedkar tried to root out the problem of untouchability from the grassroot
level, he was not concerned about reforming but in abolishing untouchability. “The Mahatma’s leadership of the Depressed Classes was sentimental and assumed. The leadership of Ambedkar was natural, actual and practical” (Bheemaiah 20).

Dr. Ambedkar’s and Kanshi Ram’s Views on Untouchability:

To understand the present caste system the views of DR. B.R. Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram seems to be vital. Badri Narayan article titled “Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram—so alike, yet so different: A merger of their separate approaches can lift the Dalit movement out of its current crisis and lead it towards success” reads as follows:

The western education of Dr. Ambedkar influenced him to place his values “at the centre of Dalit emancipation. On the other hand raised in a village, Kanshi Ram prioritised pragmatism” (Narayan). The Dalit movement in India, which started nearly 100 years ago, is facing a crisis today. This crisis is at both the ideological and political levels. Scattered Dalit movements are found in some form or the other at various State and regional levels. These movements are based on Babasaheb Ambedkar's ideas and have evolved directly from them.

The Dalit movement in U.P was inspired by Ambedkar. However, it also created tensions within the Dalit movement because of the conflict between “Ambedkar's values and ideals-based ideology and Kanshi Ram's practical and pragmatic politics” (Narayan). The Dalit movement in Maharashtra which followed the path shown by Ambedkar has not yet been able to fulfil his dreams. Kanshi Ram’s emergence and his success in politically empowering Dalits in Uttar Pradesh is undoubtedly the second-biggest event in the history of Dalit movement since Ambedkar.
Kanshi Ram organised the Dalits of U.P into a wider category called Bahujan Samaj. Mayawati brought them under the bigger umbrella of ‘Sarvajan’. “The experiment failed in the last U.P. Assembly elections” (Narayan). To understand today's Dalit movement in U.P., it is important to study the ideological differences between Ambedkar and Kanshi Ram, since a lot has already been said about their similarities.

“The ideological differences between Kanshi Ram and Ambedkar arose mainly from their education and backgrounds” (Narayan). While Ambedkar studied at Columbia University and was trained in Western knowledge tradition, Kanshi Ram was born in a small village in Punjab and trained in the school of Pune's Dalit politics. Because of Ambedkar's western training, his ideological ingredients were derived by seeing Dalits in the context of history. Kanshi Ram's political arguments in favour of Dalits on the other hand merged historical and mythological contexts. This is because he understood the mythology and folk-based culture and society of U.P. Kanshi Ram initially tried to follow Ambedkar's path that had been adopted in Maharashtra. However, he changed course and asserted that although Dalit politics got its grounding in Maharashtra, it grew and was nurtured on the soil of U.P. Ambedkar called the politics of emancipation of marginalised groups the ‘Dalit movement’ while Kanshi Ram preferred to term it the ‘Bahujan movement’, avoiding the use of the word ‘Dalit’.

Ambedkar provided an ethical context to the politics of Dalit liberation since morality was very important to him. Kanshi Ram chose to be pragmatic in his attempt to politically empower Dalits unmindful of the means of acquiring it. Kanshi Ram believed that until a casteless society
was formed it was necessary for Dalits to strategically use their caste as a tool in their own emancipation and to dethrone Brahminism (Narayan).

While Ambedkar saw the abolition of the caste system as vital for Dalit emancipation, Kanshi Ram and Mayawati favoured the awakening of Dalit and backward identities in order to link these with the Bahujan movement. “Kanshi Ram and Mayawati transformed Ambedkar's ‘slogan, ‘abolish the caste system’-propagated in his book, *Annihilation of Caste* — into ‘promote the caste system' to mobilise Dalits towards the restoration of their caste identity and self-esteem.” (Narayan).

Kanshi Ram viewed caste as a double-edged sword and he wanted to use it in a way that benefited the Bahujans but destroyed Brahminical hegemony. Kanshi Ram's idea was to transform society into an equal society with all castes seen as equal and each having its own caste identity. This dream of an equal society was the philosophical underpinning of the BSP.

Kanshi Ram's and — by consequence, the BSP's — ideology was based on Ambedkar's theory of the ‘origin of the Dalits' (arising from a Aryan-non-Aryan difference). But crucially, Ambedkar had refused to accept Manu as the founder of the caste system in India while Kanshi Ram gave Indian politics the new concept of ‘Manuvad'. Kanshi Ram always kept in mind Ambedkar's motto that political power was the master-key for Dalit liberation and that acquiring this master-key should be the Dalit war-strategy. But he used to say that Ambedkar learnt from books while he had learnt from his own life and people. He further said, ‘He used to gather books; I tried to collect people (Narayan).
If the Dalit movement in India is to succeed, a new strategy has to be developed by analysing both the similarities and differences between Kanshi Ram and Ambedkar. The Bahujan-Sarvajan movement in Uttar Pradesh may want to borrow from Ambedkarite values in its U.P. experiment while the Dalit movement in other parts of India may learn from Kanshi Ram on how to mobilise new Dalit Politics.“Social reformers like Jyotibai Phule who inspired Ambedkar, Periyar Rama Swamy, and V.R. Shinde launched social movements against the caste system in India” (Bheemiah 21).

Definition of Caste:

The word ‘caste’ is of Spanish and Portuguese origin. ‘Casta’ means lineage or race. It is derived from the Latin word ‘castus’ which means ‘pure’. The current spelling of the word is after the French word “Caste” which appears in 1740 in the “academies,” and is hardly found before 1800. Before that time it was spelt as “cast”. As Sridhar Ketkar observes, “caste” was used in the sense of race or breed as early as 1555 A.D (Bheemaiah 42).

The Spanish word “Casta” was applied to the mixed breed between Europeans, Indians (American) and Negroes. But “caste” was not used in its Indian sense till the seventeenth century. Ketkar observes: “The Indian use is the leading one now, and it has influenced all other uses. As the Indian idea of caste was but vaguely understood, this word was loosely applied to the hereditary classes of Europe resembling the castes of India who keep themselves socially distinct.” (Bheemaiah 42)
Nesfield defines ‘caste’ as “a class of the community which disowns any connection with any other class and can neither intermarry nor eat nor drink with any but persons of their own community.” In this context, Ketkar gives a definition of his own: “Caste is a social group having two characteristics: 1) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; 2) the members are forbidden by inexorable social law to marry outside the group” (Bheemaiah 44). Each one of such groups has a special name by which it is called. Several of such small aggregates are grouped together under a common name, while these larger groups are but subdivisions of groups still larger which have independent names. Several castes and sub-castes put together make Hindu society. Commenting on caste, Narmadeshwar Prasad says, “When status is wholly predetermined, men are born to their lot in life without hope of changing it, and then class takes the extreme form of caste. . . . Caste is a complete barrier to the mobility of class. In principle it involves an absolute and permanent satisfaction of the community” (Bheemaiah 44).

Constraints of Caste in A Fine Balance:

Ishvar and Om in A Fine Balance can not escape the constraints of their caste. After experiencing a series of hardships including having their jhopadpatti demolished and joining the ranks of the homeless, they are taken into custody one day while shopping at a market place and dragged off to one of the notorious ‘family planning’ clinics in the countryside. There they are forcibly sterilized and recognized by an official whom Om had previously offended, thereby he is castrated. They return to the city, Om clearly unable to marry and Ishvar unable to work as both his legs have been amputated
because of the gangrene that sets in after his sterilization operation. For them, the combined forces of change and tradition lead not to a step upwards with the successful return to their village, but a plunge downwards with their final days lived as beggars on the streets of the big city.

In the quiet street outside the house, he [Maneck] began strolling along the footpath. Up, towards the end of the street, then down again, to Dina Aunty’s house. After several turns, he saw two beggars rounding the corner from the main road.

One sat lumped on a low platform that moves on castors. He had no legs. The other pulled the platform with a rope slung over his shoulder. His plumpness sat upon him strangely, like oversized, padded clothes. Under his arm he carried a torn umbrella (Mistry 607-608).

Atrocities on Women in the name of Caste:

In *A Fine Balance* there is Roopa, Dukhi’s wife silently crying over being raped in the orchard, as her only choice was this or the even harsher ill treatment by the owners. Dukhi is helpless and even fears confronting her on it as he guesses what might have happened. Even he knows there is no choice in this matter. The villagers undergo merciless punishment under the hands of the upper castes but they dare not go to the police or higher authorities. They are well aware of the consequences of such acts (i.e.) even harsher punishments, which could be death. An illustration of this cruelty is depicted through the life of Narayan who is tortured unto death as he voiced out his
voting rights. Police is of no help as they switch allegiance according to power and money.

Even in the official level there are discriminations in the name of caste. Most elected representatives are facing harassment and are complaining that even the police and the administration are not supporting them.

It took us days to get the police to file a complaint. I was victimised because we are from the lower caste and my mother-in-law was doing some good work for the village. The upper caste men could not tolerate it, they wanted her to toe their line and when she refused to, they accused me of being a witch and of performing black magic on another woman,” said Ram Peari (Ramachandran).

The Origin of Caste System in India:

The nature of caste system and its origin can be inferred through historical order. The vital truth is that foreigners have been dwelling in India from time immemorial. According to sociologists, Dravidians were the first settlers of India and then came the Aryans. Thereby the pre-Dravidian settlers were the natives of India (Bheemaiah 44).

The aboriginals or the native Indians lived a half-civilized nomadic life. There were successive attacks by the more developed races on the aboriginals. This was done to increase their strength by numbers and to gain economically as well as administrative power. The aboriginals of India were first attacked by the Dravidians who wanted to have a settled life. They had no class distinction among themselves and thereby did not
make the aboriginals their slaves. With the passage of time, they completely mingled with each other and became one united social force. The Aryans made the second largest attack. The culture and civilization of the mixed races of the Dravidians and aboriginal reached a higher stage of development. The Aryans were also on par in their progress. The Dravidians and the Aryans were quite different in their social and religious spheres. On account of the apparent differences, there were fierce encounters between the supporters of the two cultures. As Senart Emile observes, “The interbreeding inevitable between conquerors and conquered, between invaders and aborigines succeeded in modifying the essential differences but not in effacing the consciousness of the past.” (Bheemaiah 46)

The Aryans made slave of the defeated aboriginals and were given a low status in their social order by allocating them the duties of serving other people. “Those who refused to become slaves were driven away into forests and they remained aboriginals with their social, economic and cultural distinctions. They could not mix with any other race” (Bheemaiah 46). These people were divided into two classes gradually. “Some became nomadic tribes and others adopted such vocations as kept them roaming from place to place. These nomadic people were called ‘Criminal Tribes’ and they still survive in the forests and the mountainsides” (Bheemaiah 46).

In the early Vedic period there were only two main classes – Aryans and Anaryans, the aboriginals and the nomadic criminal tribes. Commenting on Varna, Senart Emile says, “Varna was first employed to distinguish between two different and
hostile people; it characterized the one by the relative whiteness, the other by the blackness of its skin” (Bheemaiah 47).

The old structure of society drifted towards new horizons. During the Rig-vedic times there were only two classes, the Anaryans who were hostile towards Aryans. ‘Dasa’ and ‘Naga’ had the same connotation in the Vedas. According to B.R. Ambedkar, Dasa and Naga both referred to the Anaryans who were efficient rulers before the Aryans took over. The existing untouchables are none other than the Nagas or Dasas in the historical continuity.

The defeated Dravids were taken as Dasa. During the formation of Varna-Vyavastha (caste system) the Dasas along with the defeated aboriginals were given the name of Shudras. “The aggressive Aryan was responsible for dividing the people into classes and the victory of the Aryans over the Anaryans gave rise to the caste system” (Bheemaiah 47). As Gail Omvedt observes, “Caste system is a social division of people of the same race.” In fact the caste system came into being long after the different races of India had co-mingled in blood and culture” (Bheemaiah 48).

“The people who are called ‘Dasyus’ or Dasas in the Vedas are indeed regarded as ‘Shudras’ in Shastras like Brahmanas and Manu-Smriti” (Bheemaiah 48). From the Rig-Veda “it is understood that colour and physical stature determined the class of a person even in the Vedic period” (Bheemaiah 48).

In the Vedic period, the caste was not adhered by birth but by virtue of their karma. “But there was a furious struggle between the Arya and Anarya and an Aryan could be made a slave after being defeated in struggle” (Bheemaiah 48). Thereby it is
clear that there was no canon of caste by birth though the Varna system was fully established and symptoms of casteism were also visible. But its basis was an occupation. The rights and privileges of Brahmins in comparison to other Varnas were made as secure as possible.

“After the end of the Vedic era comes the age of the *Brahmanas, Upanishads* and then the *Sutras*. The Varna- Vyavastha in this age became a permanent social institution” (Bheemaiah 48). In due course the caste system became too rigid that the discrimination was never bridged up. During the *Ramayana* age, the *Varna-Vyavastha* became more rigid and the conditions of the Shudras grew very miserable.

The Principles of Varna:

In *A Fine Balance* there is Pandit Lalluram who is said to be the most learned and is believed to be a person of righteousness from whom even a Dalit can get justice. When Dukhi confronts him regarding the ill-treatment meted out to his sons for entering into the school premises, he replies that everyone has to stick to their own Varnas.

The age of *Ramayana* assigned occupation to the people according to their Varnas. The principles of Varnashrama dharma were strictly followed. Varnashrama dharma is said to be based upon the guna-karma principle the *Bhagavad Gita* believes in it. Many restrictions existed for Shudras in the age of *Mahabharata*. It was not an exception from the caste system. It had been said in the *Mahabharata*. “A Shudra should not perform the sacred Agni-hotr. His marriage should not be performed according to the religious methods. His marriage was not a sacrament but only a means to satisfy sexual desire” (Bheemaiah 50).
The Shudras only duty was to serve the other Varnas. The cruel norms it practiced against the Shudras were reflected in the *Mahabharata*. The Varnas were based on karma and not on birth even in the age of *Ramayana*. For example a Shudra can become a Brahmin by virtue of his deeds.

Sunder Lal Sagar quotes from *Bajrasuchi Upanishad*: If man were a Brahmin by caste then many rishis were born from other castes; Vyas was born from the daughter of a Mallah [boatman], Paaraasara from a Bhangi [sweeper caste], Vashishtha from a Vaishyaa [prostitute], Vishwamitra from a Kshatriyani, Agastya from a pitcher [Ghara] etc. (Bheemaiah 50)

Sunder Lal Sagar cites from *Vayu Purana*:

If a father has four sons, they should belong to one caste. In a similar way, Parmeswar [God] is the father of all. Therefore, there should be no caste distinction in human society. As the fruits of the Gular tree in its top, middle and bottom are similar in colour, form, touch and taste, so are born human beings from a ‘Virat’ Purusha Parmeswar [God]. There should be no caste distinctions among human beings. (Bheemaiah 50-51)

The caste system was in its infancy in Vedic times. The Brahmanic and Puranic age witnessed the rapid growth of caste feelings and gradually it grew rigid. “The Chandal is said to be born of a Brahmin mother and a Shudra father” (Bheemaiah 51).

Sundar Lal Sagar mentions from the Matang Jataka that sixteen thousand Brahmins were excommunicated because of eating the abandoned food of Chandalas: “Even a Brahmin
committed suicide as a penance after it was known to that entire community that he had eaten a Chandala’s abandoned food”. (Bheemaiah 51)

Caste and Pollution in *A Fine Balance*:

Thereby we see how people lived for the sake of following meaningless tradition accepted as societal norms. The Brahmin did not commit suicide because he had merely eaten the forbidden food but because it was “known to all”. In order to avoid the slanderous tongues he was ready to give up his own life. The penance was done out of “shame” rather than guilt. The very sight of a Chandal was enough to pollute a man. In *A Fine Balance* there are instances of pollution, how the very presence of Ishvar and Om in the school was enough to pollute their learning. There is another instance where one of Dukhi’s friends Dosu got a whipping for getting too close to the upper caste well. The concept of pollution is unfathomable. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar tried to find the reason for the upper caste’s stringent hold on pollution but failed.

Casteism remains one of the aspects of Indian life that is hardest to understand. “It is unlike other forms of prejudice, where antipathy is linked to envy or desire; an anti-Semite will ask why ‘they’ do so well in business, and a white racist will fear and envy apparent black physical prowess” (French 266). Prejudice against outcastes is built on the idea that you will be polluted if you go near them. Their service is needed to do menial jobs and then they are discarded as untouchables because they do such jobs hence they come under the vague concept of ‘pollution’. Casteism remains as an example to illustrate the thorough exploitation of the Dalits who live on the fringes of the society. It is a uniquely powerful form of social control, since it is total and self-replicating. The
higher castes can only remain high if they have others to look down upon. “So in the not too distant past, a boy would brush against an elderly sweeper in a corridor and his mother might whisper to him: ‘Don’t touch, you will get a scale or turn into an insect!’ A prayer of purification might follow” (French 266). This would lodge in the child’s memory, and even as he grew older and less traditional- or even international, living in Europe or America- the instinctive responses, the flinch, remained.

How can Untouchability be abolished?

Certain forms of untouchability are still prevalent in today’s society and it can be abolished by the change in the mentality of the people. On April 27th there was an article in The Hindu reported by Mohamed Imranullah S. from Madurai under the title “Court appreciates SP for ending caste animosity: To say human being is untouchable is to deny God: Asra Garg”. The Madras High Court Bench appreciated Madurai Superintendent of Police Asra Garg for efforts taken by him in putting an end to long pending hostility between Caste Hindus and Dalits of Villoor near Madurai through talks.

Some forms of untouchability was in existence in the village. Mr. Garg said that Dalits were not allowed to ride their vehicles through streets occupied predominantly by Caste Hindus in the village. Double tumbler system was also practised in tea shops and Dalits could not dare to sit on the benches in the local eateries.

The efforts bore fruit as leaders from both the communities signed an agreement on April 24 agreeing to iron out their differences and live peacefully. It was also resolved that all our efforts would be taken to ensure that no form of untouchability
should be practised in the village. The other terms of the agreement stated that Dalits should not be forced to perform menial jobs. At the same time, they must not prevent any individual who willingly assists Caste Hindus and exaggerate small personal and trivial issues as a communal problem.

“The age of the Smritis and Sutras marked the climax of Varna-Vyavastha” (Bheemaiah 52). The feeling of untouchability grew stronger in this age. The demarcation in the name of caste was so strong that the people were divided forever and they could never mingle together. Sunder Lal Sagar says that “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar concluded in one of his books that the idea of untouchability was formed in the Sutra period and the Varnas assumed numerous caste names. The moment the Varna Vyavastha became caste system; it created feelings of ‘low’ and ‘high’” (Bheemaiah 52)

A number of foreign invasions took place, after the Buddhist age. The Muslims invasion was noteworthy as the rulers patronized caste system. They openly supported untouchability. The British rule did not open the gates for reformation in the field of Shudras and untouchables. The inhuman treatment of the untouchables was practiced throughout India. Even the shadow of the untouchable could be a source of pollution. “The Brahmins shoe had a higher regard in religious functions than the head of a Shudra” (Bheemaiah 54)

Psychology behind Caste System in *A Fine Balance:*

Aiming at the adverse and deleterious effects of class or caste hierarchy Mistry indicates that the feeling of superiority so much dwells within the human being that everyone wants to show himself as superior to others. The example is reflected in *A Fine
Balance when there comes out some instances of class hierarchy even among the untouchables. For instance, the sweeper community is inferior to the tanner community. There is a caste within a caste. It can be seen in the conversation between Narayan and his mother for trying to sew the rags of a lower untouchable who is below them. “What-all nonsense is this, calling him back tomorrow? We are not going to deal with such low-caste people! How can you even think of measuring someone who carts the shit from people’s house?” (Mistry 133).

The suppressed marginalized voice of Narayan’s mother implies the fact of casteist dominance and marginalized psyche of the untouchables. Narayan’s mother is marginalized and belongs to an oppressed class. Yet she is preventing her son to work for someone lower than their caste. This reveals her psyche which has always seen others dominating her and her family and when a chance comes to show her superiority she is not willing to let it pass by silently. On the other hand there is Narayan who thinks rationally and points out that there is no difference between them and the upper caste people who have treated them so badly if this caste within a caste is going to prevail.

The present caste system is the product of a long historical evolution. Chaturvarna Vyavastha is the source of the present caste system. The caste system which was born in the form of Varnas was opposed vehemently from time to time. Unfortunately there were also circumstances that helped to continue and propagate it. There were a number of terminologies which was used to describe the lower castes. “The report of the Inspector General of Education for the year 1914-15 had a reference to the words ‘Panchama’ and Depressed Classes were introduced some time later in the last
century in British official records. It was only in 1932 that this word was officially defined as only meaning the ‘untouchables’ ” (Bheemaiah 54).

Mumtaz Ali Khan says, “Dr. B.R. Ambedkar demanded inter alia a change of nomenclature. He proposed the words ‘Protestant Hindus’ or ‘Non-conformist Hindus.’ Finally as recommended by the Simon Commission, the term ‘Scheduled Caste’ was adopted by the Government.” In 1933 Gandhiji coined the term, ‘Harijan’ meaning children of God. The Constituent Assembly used the word ‘Scheduled Caste’ while drafting the constitution. (Bheemaiah 55)

The untouchables have the lowest ritual standing and economic position and they are traditionally subjected to burdensome social and civic disabilities. ‘Regars’ or ‘Chamaars’ are traditionally engaged in tanning and carrying off dead animals. They also make new shoes and mend old ones. They fulfill leather needs in agriculture for upper caste Hindu farmer in villages. Ishvar and Om represent the Chamaars in Mistry’s A Fine Balance.

Caste Hierarchies:

Some of the fragments of society depicted in A Fine Balance involve caste hierarchies. In the novel, Pandit Lalluram, a Chit Pavan Brahmin who “descended from the purest among the pure” (Mistry 111), praises the division. He says to Dukhi Mochi that without the caste system “there would be chaos in the universe” (112). This would help to agree with Chatterjee’s view in which the caste system ideally helps to establish
order in the social structure. Ishvar’s parents Dukhi and Roopa both come from the Chamaar caste of tanners and leather workers. Mistry writes:

Besides tanning and leather-working, Dukhi learned what it was to be a Chamaar, an untouchable in village society. No special instruction was necessary for this part of his education. Like the filth of the dead animals which covered him and his father as they worked, the ethos of the caste system was smeared everywhere (Mistry 96).

There was an article reported by D.Karthikeyan under the title “Hapless Dalit girl child a victim of superstition.” The life of the five-year-old Dalit girl was sacrificed based on the superstitious belief that the sprinkling of her blood at the construction site will give the proposed structure life and enduring strength. There are two categories: “a sacrifice made to please supernatural possessors of the land for obtaining the title of the land; and another to bring the proposed structure to life by warding off evil spirits”. This case belonged to the second category.

A People's Union for Civil Liberties team led by R. Murali, principal, Madura College, found that the murder could have had no economic or social reason as all people in the colony were Dalits. The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) demanded Rs.10 lakh compensation for the family of the victim.

The salient feature of the caste system has been the close association between caste and occupation. Since caste system is ascribed by birth it led to a hereditary profession. This association between caste and tradition is so strong that even when a
person has given it up he will be known by traditional calling. The Shudras serve the other Varnas but not the untouchables. Even in *A Fine Balance* there are instances where Ishvar and Om are seen as Dalits even when they have left their hereditary profession as cobblers and become tailors.

Caste System in the 21st Century:

The daily news recorded in Tamil Nadu in “The Hindu”, a leading newspaper, from January 2012 to May 2012 tells us about the existence of caste system even in the 21st century where education is said to be given the upmost importance. The saddest part is how the roots of castes have corrupted the young minds even in the educational sphere. Though the feeling of untouchability seems to be on the decline, its roots are strong in Hindu culture. Governmental efforts to eradicate untouchability and ameliorate the miserable lot of the untouchables have shown a limited success. P.S. Choondawat observes;

The problem of untouchability which always remained a part of our society and is deeply rooted in our culture for centuries, will take its own time to die. Today the problem seems to be more of a psychological nature, i.e., people in their day-to-day activities do not manifest directly that behaviour which reflects discrimination towards other castes (Bheemaiah 57).
Mistry as a Reformer:

Mistry as a reformer deals with the cruelties of caste discrimination, untouchability and rural backwardness in *A Fine Balance*, deftly narrating the casteist bigotry and an intricate and confusing political situation in Indian society. The insecurity of social milieu, identity crisis and caste categorization are the chief features coming out in *A Fine Balance*. With the illustrations of ruthless exploitation, tormentations, atrocities done on the poor and Dalits, Mistry mentions the facts that do not favour or rather question the achievement of independence of India. He mentions that though India has got independence from colonialism, for the poor and the downtrodden nothing has changed.

The Failure of Government to bring Change:

The failure of government to bring change in the condition of untouchables and incidents of casteist cruelties are pointed by Mistry through the words of Narayan:

> Government passes new laws, says no more untouchability, yet everything is the same. The upper-caste bastards still treat us worse than animal . . . . More than twenty years have passed since independence. How much longer? I want to be able to drink from the village well, worship in the temple, walk where I like (Mistry 142).

With the progress made in the educational sphere and in the day-to-day affairs, the upper caste Hindus visits the houses of lower castes without any inhibition. This good relationship seems to be a mere eye-wash. In fact upper castes do not accept water,
food or any other eatables from the house of the untouchables. P.S. Choondawat further points out:

This peculiar attitude of upper caste Hindus shows that pollution based on physical touch is now not observed strictly. But the other form of pollution based on accepting water and food is observed strictly. This is a paradoxical situation in which one form of untouchability has disappeared, but other forms of untouchability still exist. (Bheemaiah 57)

In the course of time even though many moved to other occupations such as agricultural activities, their sting of pollution has not left them. In the course of time pollution came to be determined by birth. Thereby making the untouchables believe that their position is divinely ordained. This is the same notion for racism as it is determined by birth. The improvement in the economic condition of the untouchables is pre-requisite for their emancipation from traditional bondage. “Occupational mobility directly influences the standard of living, education, social mobility, social status, ritual status, political status etc. The modern occupational structure of the untouchables ensures good economic conditions” (Bheemaiah 59).

Omvedt (1992:131) writes, "class and caste are no longer absolutely correlated: economic differentiation has affected almost every caste."

Development of capitalist agricultural relations in India after independence broke this correlation. This internal differentiation of castes has meant that virtually all castes, regardless of their rank in the ritual hierarchy, have members in different class positions. Upper castes are
diverse in class terms and lower classes are diverse in caste terms . . . . 

Social reproduction of capitalism and disorganization of class formation are why caste is not simply an atavism in today's India (Natraj 229-230)

Surveying the impact of social and political movements on the Indian caste system in the mid-20th century, theorists of caste were beginning to aver that while castes might still exist, the caste system was dying.

Citing the writings of Edmund Leach and F.G. Bailey, Dumont writes: "If interdependence is replaced by competition, caste is dead.... There remain groups that one continues to call 'castes'; but they are set in a different system" ([1970] 1998: 227) . . . . For no longer is caste defined in terms of endogamy, heredity and relative rank (although such identifiers are implied), but as a "political faction" in competition with "other such factions for some common economic or political goal" (Leach 1960:6).

(Reddy 548)

Dalit Leaders:

The Dalit politics of the 21st century sheds light on the caste identity in the political realm. The article titled “For Mayawati, a do-or-die battle: !: It talks about Dalit politics and how Dalit parties have evolved.”. This is one example on the political realm of Dalit leaders.
As U.P.'s two premier parties remain locked in mortal combat, it is becoming increasingly clear that the BSP's “plus vote”, a product of the party's incredibly successful sarvajan (all communities) experiment of 2007, is slipping away. It talks about Dalit politics and how Dalit parties have evolved (Gupta).

The reason is that Mayawati has become interward after her major victory bringing BSP back to power after 16 years. Unlike her earlier days she has given complete control to some of her key ministers and officials. In the process she not only became inaccessible but also inefficient in her surprise inspections. “In some places, people lay down in front of her car, and she had to impose a virtual curfew during her tour” (Gupta).

One of the major complaints was the misuse of the Scheduled Caste Act against the upper caste in rural areas. “As Mayawati slackened her hold on the administration, the rot entered the party organisation as well, with corruption entering the ranks of its ‘life force’, the BSP's powerful coordinators, known in party circles as the ‘superpowers’” (Gupta).

The irony is that even though her own vote base is intact, and a majority view across communities is that Mayawati's administration was superior to that of her predecessor both in terms of governance and crime control, “the tide is turning against her, largely because of the way caste interests are playing out in the State” (Gupta).

The colonial census effectively brought back a Brahmanic ideal of caste by “privileging the chaturvarna system and issues of social precedence and rank over functional explanations” (Reddy 549). Thereby in the late 19th and early 20th centuries
it ironically gave "rise to a competitive politics that began to make caste the basis for political mobilization on a new scale"(549). Strong anti-Brahmin movements emerged in Madras, Mysore, and Bombay.

Education and Caste:

The Ethnicity of Caste Indian State onto the more traditional ‘varnaati’ distinctions was mapped a new caste nomenclature, which divided society into forward Castes (usually Brahmins and other propertied communities) and Backward Classes (BCs), and Scheduled Castes and Schedules Tribes (SCs and STs).

Though the reservation system has improved the lives of the untouchables economically they are not socially liberated. In fact it emphasizes on the caste system, this is clearly visible in one of the article titled “Dalit students shun this government school: 54 children eligible for primary schooling from these families prefer private schools.” Across the country, doors of even private schools are set to open for the weaker sections, thanks to the Right to Education Act, but here is a government primary school run by a local body in Nagapattinam district of Tamil Nadu that does not have a single Dalit student.

Until the mid-1980s, Dalit children from these two habitations were being enrolled in the Panchayat Union Government Primary School at Pachayankadu, but after their illtreatment based on caste there was a mass withdrawal in protest. These children were then welcomed by a private school which was run by a caste Hindu. But until today, they stay away from the panchayat union school located in their midst.
“The long and complicated history of the evolution of these new categories reflects the complex diversity of caste practices across the country and the difficulties of determining the constitution of "backwardness" at any level beyond the most intimately local” (Reddy 550).

The [then] Home Minister would later remark that such emphasis on caste as the Report had would only heighten the "dangers of separatism" and that although caste was without doubt the bane of Indian society, the official recognition of specific castes would serve only to perpetuate, and not to dismantle, caste as a social institution (Reddy 551).

At the same time as the debate over the issue of reservations was separating and classifying caste groups, caste organizations were drawing these same diverse groups together politically. “The late 1960s and 70s were years of Marxist agitations and Communist Party led agrarian uprisings all over India . . . . A Marxist group calling itself the Dalit Panthers, clearly inspired by the Black Panther movement in the United States was one such, convened in Maharashtra in 1972” (Reddy 551).

By the time Kanshi Ram established the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP; literally, "Party of the Majority" just over a decade later in Uttar Pradesh, however, the foci of caste- based politics were clearly shifting. “On one level, there was still the critique of new class hierarchies among caste groups, this time those that were being produced by State-adopted policies of reservation” (Reddy 552). Even random analysis of BSP rhetoric indicates that the Party saw only one battle line, and it fell between the upper castes and Dalit bahujans. “If wide caste alliances had become important in the early 70s
and all the more so in the 80s, the BSP's initial successes were still limited” (Reddy 552).

The second Backward Classes Commission- better known as the Mandal Commission, was constituted in 1976 by the Janata Party, keeping an electoral promise made in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi's infamous Emergency, as early as 1978, and with upper caste discontentment over reservation policies rising in the background . . . . what was perhaps unique about these agitations, what stuck in the mental images of the time, was one aspect of their method: self-immolation, images of which were carried far and wide by the print media, requiring almost no language to convey meaning . . . . So fierce was the rhetoric, and so powerful the images, it is no wonder that the word "Dalit," and with it an entirely new political understanding of caste, came into vogue following the Mandal agitations. Mandal did not by itself precipitate such an understanding, but it did give incipient Dalit groups a new sense of urgency, conscientizing the OBC community, and "bahujanising" or welding together, as Kanshi Ram never independently could, SCs, STs, and OBCs into a broad social base. The door was opened, from that point on, to an openly bahujan based, bahujan controlled electoral politics (Reddy 552-553)
“To integrate conceptually the relationship between caste and politics, one must appreciate that the pure ritual hierarchy operates only when backed by wealth and power” (Gupta 409). There are multiple caste order hierarchies as each caste finds superiority in relation to others. This can be substantiated from their origin tales, which, without exception, claim an exalted past regardless of the actual status a caste occupies in the present. “With the breakdown of the closed village economy and the rise of democratic politics, the competitive element embedded in caste has come to the fore. This has resulted in the collapse of the caste system but also in the rise of caste identities” (Gupta 409).

The article titled “Compensation rates for SC/ST victims raised by 150 per cent” states: The Union government has enhanced the compensation to the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes victims of different categories of atrocities from minimum Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 50,000 and maximum from Rs. 250,000 to Rs. 500,000.

Divya Trivedi article states that The Scheduled Castes and Tribes have been denied over one lakh crore rupees during the Eleventh Plan, Uttar Pradesh has been most efficient in the allocation and utilisation of the funds. On the one hand we have the rise in the compensation rates on the other we have the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes denied over one lakh crore rupees during the 11th plan.

As M.N. Srinivas, following G.S. Ghurye, suggested years before, “caste was not about to disappear, but was adapting itself variously in response to prevailing social moods” (Reddy 554). The fact that such efforts at categorization are “inherently reformist” (Reddy 556) means also that "backwardness" cannot remain an objective
criterion for long, as we have seen. “It inevitably becomes emotionally and politically charged, transforming the discourse on caste reform from a matter of present and practical necessity into an overarching narrative about social suffering and oppression, human rights, social justice and more” (Reddy 556). As caste seems to acquire the ethnic character it also becomes closely associated with the lower caste, in the same way as race is associated with African Americans or other visible minorities. In this, it is quite in keeping with the O.E.D's definition of the ethnic as "designating a racial or other group within a larger system" (1989, emphasis added) (Reddy 556).

There are hereditary differences among human beings and some of them have geographical correlates. “Some genetic variants that produce physical or behavioral deficits occur significantly more often in some areas, or in some ethnic groups, than in others” (Cartmill 651). However, there are no intellectual supports for the race concept. “If races are defined as geographically delimited conspecific populations characterized by distinctive regional phenotypes then human races do not exist now and have not existed for centuries” (Cartmill 651). Resistance often relies on the very constructions it is trying to subvert and replace. The Dalits Ishvar and Om were trying their best to free themselves from the shackles of the caste system. They assert the importance of caste system by identifying them as Chamaars and then presenting themselves to be Darjis as an improvement in the social ladder of caste system. Their very resistance relied on caste system which they were trying to subvert. “This identity is both a manifestation of the power of dominant concepts and an unsettling challenge to the goal of moving beyond binaries in the formation of fluid, flexible, and egalitarian identities” (Penrose 687).
Discrimination is a word with both positive and negative connotations. On the one hand the positive meaning would be the ability to distinguish between the binary opposites like the good and the bad. On the other there is the negative use of the word where discrimination is practiced against people of different colour, physical type, gender or sexual orientation. All human beings make value judgements which are changing and contextual concerning other people and things. “Under certain circumstances this fluidity of judgment gets stuck, so that certain things or people are always evaluated in a particular manner: gold always appears valuable; some groups are always denigrated or treated poorly irrespective of compartment or the morality of their actions” (Gosden 2).

Colour Discrimination in *The English Patient*:

Kip in *The English Patient* presents to be a suitable example of racism as irrespective of his noble job of being a bomb defuser for the British army he is always treated with difference among his colleagues in relation to his brown skin. Hardy was Kip’s new associate who had come with him to Italy. “There was always hesitation by the soldiers to call him ‘sir’, but Hardy barked it out loud and enthusiastically” (Ondaatje 225). Kip discovers himself to be an animal reacting to protect itself. As later after defusing a bomb Kip realizes he was not frightened down there he was just angry with his mistake or the possibility of another joker. Only Hardy he realized keeps him human now. “He has walked up Italy with eyes that tried to see everything except what was temporary and human. . . . In the years of war he has learned that the only thing safe is himself” (Ondaatje 230). Hana did not believe she could fully become his lover. “He
moved at a speed that allowed him to replace loss. That was his nature” (Ondaatje 289-290). Hana knows Kip as one,

. . . who has grown up as an outsider and so can switch allegiances, can replace loss. There are those destroyed by unfairness and those who are not. If he asks him he will say he has had a good life- his brother in jail, his comrades blown up, and he risking daily in this war (Ondaatje 289).

As a soldier who has had a difficult life both at war and at home, Kip is a conflicted and complicated character. Ondaatje takes free license with Kip, employing him as a lens through which to explore Anglo-Indian relations during a period of chaos for the British Empire. Kip's experiences in India with his brother who harbours deep resentment toward the West and with fellow soldiers in England who react with reserve to his brown skin highlight the strained and skeptical relations between two parts of one large Empire. As an Indian man serving in the British army, Kip straddles two worlds, walking a fine line between adopting Western customs and losing his national identity.

However, the news of the atomic bomb brings the reality of the outside world back into the sheltered environment of the Italian villa. When Kip hears about the United States' bombing of Hiroshima, he screams, falling to his knees. His pain comes not only from the shattered lives of the Japanese people, but from the shattering of his own ideals. Kip's brother always distrusted the English and keeps telling Kip that one day he will open his eyes to see their true nature. Despite his older brother's anti-western warnings, Kip has put his faith in the west, adjusting to its culture and doing all he can to save it from destruction. He denies, in his own mind, that the west could be as oppressive to
Asia as his brother claims. The explosion of the atomic bomb symbolizes the destruction of Kip's entire belief system. The bomb's intrusion on their villa highlights the fact that events and realities are not isolated. What happens in Japan touches the very heart of emotions in a small villa in the hills of Italy. Kip responds to the news of the bomb by running away, escaping his life in the villa. He views his running away as a flight from the oppression of the west. Ultimately, however, Hana's suspicion that Kip can so easily move on is confirmed, as he finds himself tied to the life he once led. Kip's emotional tie to Hana transcends time and geography, and transcends even the great realities of nationality.

Ethnic Minority Students:

Even in the present scenario there are glimpses of racism found in the occupational and educational sector. Lanre Bakare article states that, life for an ethnic minority graduate in 2012 isn't easy. Some tuition fees have trebled, being able to afford university is just the first challenge for ethnic minority students.

When the economic crisis was just taking hold in 2008, research revealed that white graduates were finding work more easily than their ethnic minority counterparts. They showed that 66% of white graduates found work within a year compared with 56.3% for black, Asian or other ethnic minority students. The gap seems to have widened since, with Office for National Statistics figures (including non-graduates) showing more than half of black men aged 16-24 and available for work in the UK are unemployed. Since 2008 this figure has doubled, rising from 28.8% to
55.9% in the last three months of 2011, leaving many feeling like they’ve been left behind.

Otherness:

When there is such rigidity of judgment which adheres to people there are certain modes of otherness such as gender and race. Racism occurs when judgment about people are made by their physical feature. “Value judgments’ concerning people and things are linked to power; systematic judgments’ are often used systematically to disempower” (Gosden 2). In the twenty-first century racism and its effects are keenly recognized but the history has to be brought to light. Is race a natural way of understanding human difference and thereby attributed in all times and places? Does a notion of race inevitably give rise to racism? In all human societies there is a sense of self and other being prevalent, but there is little knowledge about the operation and the consequences of such concepts.

Race brings about the understanding of power and inequality.

One pervasive argument about racism is that it is a product of colonial and capitalist relations over the last few hundred years, so that nothing like it existed in earlier periods of human history. Following this line of argument the fact that people of colour had a narrow range of roles, such as plantation worker, miner, household servant or slave, led to the attachment of a low-caste designation to their bodies and appearance. Lowliness of social and economic position transmuted into attitudes adhering to the body, helping to produce a thorough-going racism.
Categories deriving from everyday encounters were reinforced by the racial sciences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. 'As it emerged in the later eighteenth century, the idea of "civilization" was seen as the destined goal of all mankind and was in fact often used to account for apparent racial differences. But in the nineteenth century more and more men saw civilization as the peculiar achievement of certain "races'" (qtd. in Gosden 2).

Throughout Europe there was a mass of data created through skull measurements, but also concerning skin colour, hair type and the general shape of the human body. “Here physical type was thought to be the key as to why some populations were more developed than others. Race was a constant element of self-understanding as well as a means of creating types for the ‘Other’ and this was part of its power” (Gosden 2).

“Race turns into racism when variability in outward appearance is thought to correlate with other characteristics such as intelligence or moral character” (Gosden 3). Such views contradict the human belief that all men are born equal. A stress on equality make people to believe that human potential are distributed across populations in a complex manner and not stereotyped to a particular race.

Views stressing equality and critiquing race were most urgently put forward in the aftermath of the Second World War to counter the direction of Nazi science. Montagu was very much a part of UN attempts after the war to deal with the bases and implications of racism, and his
Statement on Race (Montagu 1950) was an interpretative gloss on the Statement by Experts on Race Problems issued by UNESCO in 1950. Here a range of people, from biochemists, to psychologists, geneticists, physical and social anthropologists and educationalists (to name just some), allowed for some possibility that human variation could be seen in terms of race, but dismissed any claim that racial divisions might be the basis for other human capabilities . . . . However, such works did contain the basis for the most prevalent contemporary view, which is that race exists solely as a social construction, as an idea and not as a fact grounded in biology (Gosden 3).

One central question of these immediately post-war discussions was whether racism is found only in modern times. The starkest exposition of this last idea is Bauman’s (1989) “Modernity and the Holocaust”. Bauman sees racism as having a pre-modern root developed partly through romantic notions of folk and folk origins. However, it is only in modern times that racism has become an effective instrument of political practice.

Domination and Victimization:

Another important discussion on race contains the settler societies such as North America. The fact that native races were unable to resist the whites was taken to be a sign of some races being able to dominate better than others. Early modern capitalism and colonialism also drew in other groups as a source of labour, creating significant black populations in the Americas through slavery. To say that black people have not
enjoyed the full fruits of the American dream is a statement of the obvious, but Mullins shows that racial differences are not that easy to spot archaeologically and the investigation of poor, mainly black, neighbourhoods helps overturn stereotypes concerning poverty and powerlessness.

Mullins also takes the view that race is a social construction, seeing it as a 'subjectivity that seeks to disempower particular groups'. MacEachern tackles one of the main planks of racist thought - the idea that intelligence differs between racial groups and that such perceived differences have a long evolutionary heritage. A view that intelligence (as measured by IQ tests) has an evolutionary basis would, if accepted, provide a very different view from one which emphasizes nurture . . . . Elsewhere in the American continent, in Latin America, Curtoni and Politis explore the links between race and primitivism, two complex concepts with a linked history. The mapping of groups in Latin America was done within a spectrum from advanced to primitive where these evaluations were tightly tied to physical characteristics. They also demonstrate that diffusionism was often an important means of showing the spread of superior forms of life, borne in turn by superior sorts of people. Ideas linking race and achievement are the IQ test writ large - some populations were brighter and more creative than others, so that their superior forms of life were the systematic outcome of the application of inherited ability (Gosden 4).
Colonialism in *The English Patient*:

The futility of war is also projected through Kip's character. His presence in Italy as a sapper, jeopardizing his life for the British and the Americans, is an example of how colonial powers used those they colonized. The voice of the "other" (Carravaggio) rightly exclaims: “You are being used, boyo . . . . The trouble with all of us is we are where we should not be. What are we doing in Africa, in Italy? What is Kip doing dismantling bombs in orchards, for God's sake? What is he doing fighting English wars?” (Ondaatje 128-129).

Caravaggio’s inconvenient question raises the problem of natural justice, and in so doing he subverts the mainstream history of English-Canadian-Indian involvement in the Second World War. The trials and the tribulations of the colonized have rarely penetrated into traditional, scientific history; they have been conveniently obliterated. But in this novel, Kip rages after the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima:

I grew up with traditions from my country, but later, more often, from your country. Your fragile white island that with customs and manners and books and prefects and reason somehow converted the rest of the world . . . .

You and then the Americans converted us with your missionary rules. And the Indian soldiers wasted their lives as heroes so that they could be pukkah. You had wars like cricket. (Ondaatje 301)

Americans, French, I don’t care. When you start bombing the brown races of the world, you’re an Englishman. . . . [Carravagio thinks] They
would never have dropped such a bomb on a white nation. (Ondaatje 304).

The last few centuries has seen the devastating nature of racial politics thereby it is no wonder that many see racism as restricted to the modern world. However, other readings of history are possible. “Smedley (1993) argues that pre-modern politics did have notions of race, although these did not give raise to racism as one of society's most powerful arenas for legitimating power, providing a carefully nuanced view of the history of the concept and practices surrounding it”. (Gosden 4)

Isaac argues that racist thought was pervasive in both the Greek and Roman worlds. There was a general view, he argues, that human characteristics were acquired from the environment in which people lived, so that groups were shaped by the external world and not through the inheritance of bodily substance. Race differences were perceived, but had a very different root, which was not fundamentally genetic (to use our modern term). The worry for expanding imperial powers, in Isaac's view, was that moving into less favourable environments would eventually have a debilitating effect on the conquerors. Such views remind us of particular strands within geography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which linked climate and human physical and mental characteristics (Taylor 1946; see also Head 2000 for a longer discussion of such thought). Not only was race a potent category in Greece and Rome, Isaac contends, but discussions of race by ancient writers provided inspiration for thinkers of
the Enlightenment when they were constructing modern conceptions of race. (Gosden 4-5)

Dichotomy between Barbarian and Civilized Peoples:

“To look at Mesopotamia, Bahrani feels, is to glimpse a very different world from our own in which spatial distance is the key to foreignness and not biology” (Gosden 5). The dichotomy between barbarian and civilized peoples was seen in terms of social action and morality and not race. On the other hand, Bahrani argues strongly, “race was basic to a scientific understanding of world cultures” (Gosden 5) when studies of the ancient Middle East were constructed in the 19th century. It was assumed that the same racial lens for viewing the world existed from the fourth millennium onwards. “The modern analyst projected their analytical categories onto the past and wrote and thought as if the people of Mesopotamia constructed their world through racial categories” (Gosden 5). Ballard paper disagrees as he “discusses a colonial 'Pygmy mythology' in which people in a range of continents, principally Africa, Asia and the Pacific, were seen to belong to a distinct race in which lack of stature and so-called primitive cultural traits were seen as correlated” (Gosden 5). Pygmies were viewed as original inhabitants whose physical and cultural characteristics are linked, and were thrown out by later groups.

As Susan Castillo points out, at mid-century the United States was being ripped apart on the issues of slavery; question of racial definitions were something that directly affected the lives of the American people. In the United States at this period, the issues of racial difference and biological evolution were being hotly debated between
monogenists, who held that humans had originated as a single type but that due to environmental factors had evolved into various racial groups, and polygenists, who felt that human kind, had from its earliest beginnings been divided into distinct races (107).

Racism in Workplace among the Educated:

Racism is a reality in today’s scenario. The newspaper evidence sheds the spotlight of racism in workplace among the educated people. A few excerpts from ‘The Guardian’ newspaper from July 1-20 2012 illustrates the situation vividly. Starting with the latest news, there was an article written by Lisa O’Carroll titled “London Olympics 2012: the Voice wins victory after stadium snub: Britain's biggest black newspaper finally granted press accreditation for venue by Olympics authorities”.

Britain's biggest black newspaper, the Voice, has finally been granted press accreditation for the Olympic stadium following an intervention by London mayor Boris Johnson and other leading politicians. The Voice launched an attack on the BOA earlier this week after it refused to give the paper a press pass, despite the high number of black British participants in the Games and the obvious interest in the black community in stars such as 100m gold medal winner Usain Bolt.

Emerson notes the impossibility of fixed racial categories, and describes the differences and divergent criteria of certain scientists of his day:

This writer [Knox] did not found his assumed races on any necessary law, disclosing their ideal or metaphysical necessity; nor did he, on the other hand, count with precision the existing races, and settle the true
bounds; a point of nicety, and the popular test of the theory. The individuals at the extremes of divergence in one race of men are as unlike as the wolf to the lapdog. Yet each variety shades down imperceptibly into the next, and you cannot draw the line where a race begins or ends. Hence every writer makes a different count.

Emerson makes the simple but very astute point that racial difference is an elusive concept, and hermetically separate racial categories are impossible to establish based on empirically observable criteria. (Susan Castillo 108)

Racial Mingling in *The English Patient*:

Emerson argues in *English Traits* that it is precisely the racial mingling in the British Isles that has made England a world power. Thereby he contradicts Knox, who believed that racial mingling was unsustainable as the occasional hybrid of the species was doomed to disappear as an inferior specimen.

Emerson correctly perceives the existence of diverse British ethnicities, with London as the locus of central power and Ireland, Scotland, and Wales as economically and culturally marginalized peripheries . . . . Aware, perhaps, that he was on shaky ground, Emerson then recounts a series of popular mythologies and stereotypes of the different ethnic groups in Britain, describing the Celts as poets and the Scandinavians as pirates, lambasting the Normans as 'greedy and ferocious'. . . . (qtd. in Susan Castillo 109)
The key to British imperial success is believed by Emerson to be the hegemony of the Saxons, as it is synonymous for Emerson with the inhabitants of the London area. Kip's experience in *The English Patient* highlights the way in which the British empire was built by the colonial powers. The intermingling of the races strengthened Britain during World war II. Though Kip is born of a different nation-albeit part of the British empire he finds a nation to which he attaches himself both in his attitude and attributes. Such an understanding of Kip's connection to a nation sheds light on the English patient's connection to his own nation, as the patient himself invites this comparison. The patient has left his European home and joined the nation that is the desert. There, like Kip, he has found his skills to be useful, and perceives a way to erase his past so that he may be known and valued for what he has to offer the people of his new nation, the desert. Escaping one's nation, then, becomes a larger metaphor for escaping one's past, and creating a new identity: one that is based on personal character.

Race and Gender Differences in Job Authority:

There are race and gender differences in authority of income. Despite the overall advancement in the socio-economic level of the minorities and the working women, race and gender proves to be important obstacles in attaining authority in workplaces. Promising explanation for the race and gender disparities in workplaces concern the racial and gender demography of the workplace and the tendency of the authority elites to reproduce themselves through both exclusionary and inclusionary processes.
Job authority is psychologically rewarding; it brings status both inside and outside the workplace; it is related to job satisfaction, autonomy, class consciousness, class position, voting behavior, party identification, and political views . . . . As such, it comes as no surprise to learn that it is unequally distributed by race and gender in American society and cross-nationally. (Smith 511)

Chitrangada Choudhury article titled “American, black and unemployed: people's panel” states: the jobless rate among black Americans is well above the national average. The latest US government figures show that unemployment among the black community not just remains the highest in the country but has now risen to 14.4% – double that of rates among whites.

The employer-side explanations of race and gender discrimination in authority states that the discrimination is rooted in the majority members who occupy positions of authority are interested in maintaining their hegemony over such positions and do so by excluding candidates who differ from them in racial and gender identity. Max Weber's (1968) idea of "social closure," its recent application to analyses of race and occupational segregation, the concept of "statistical discrimination," and class conflict approaches, may each be classified as a conscious act of exclusion on the part of authority elites. On the societal level, social closure underscores the idea that political and social elites preserve power and privileges by limiting opportunities for mobility to themselves. There are two additional processes of exclusion: Minorities and women are likely to be segregated into the kinds of jobs, work settings, and industries that do not
confer authority, but even when such factors are taken into account, they are still less likely than their white male counterparts to exercise authority.

Race and Tenants:

A similar situation is found in the current society where tenants are demarcated by race. An article written by Hugh Muir titled “Hideously diverse Britain: The law's the law even for landlords: You are not above the law because you are looking for tenants to share with” states:

I'm peering at the adverts in a newsagent's window in east London, and this feels like rolling back. "Double room for a Muslim female or two friends to share with decent Muslim family." As does this. "Double bedroom available. South Indian girl or couple only." And this. "A Nepalese family and we are looking to rent a room for Nepalese people."

Backwards, and probably illegal.

According to Kanter, importantly, the higher up the organizational chain of command, “the more unstructured, non-routine, and subjective are the criteria for authority attainment. In this context, shared understanding, solidarity, commitment, and trust are better facilitated in settings where gender homogeneity exists” (Smith 521). The bottom-up ascription has been described as an attenuating strategy whereby, at the bottom of organizational hierarchies employers actively seek to match subordinate groups on the basis of race and ethnicity as a means of reducing perceptions of discriminations on the part of subordinate racial minorities.
Similarities or differences in the race/ethnic and gender characteristics of one's co-workers and superiors may either enhance or decrease one's workplace experiences. Studies show that heterogeneous group interaction increases negative workplace experiences and decreased mobility chances for white men (Tsui & O'Reilly 1989, Tsui et al. 1992, Smith 2001), but white men benefit most from working in co-ethnic occupational structures (Smith & Elliott, forthcoming) (Smith 523).

The Minority Issue in workplace: Illustrated in *A Fine Balance* and *The English Patient*:

In *A Fine Balance* there is a strike going on in the early chapters against the influx of South Indians into the North as their jobs are being occupied by them and the local people are threatened by their livelihood. Ishvar and Om are also illtreated as tailors due to caste discrimination. In *The English Patient* there is Kip whose race hinders him from bonding with his colleagues, who treat him inferior and ignore him due to his racial difference.

Andrea Palatnik article states

South Asians were 23% of the estimated two million immigrants working in New York in 2010, the second largest migrant community after Latinos (27%). A report published on Wednesday sheds some light on the way Bangladeshis, Indians, Pakistanis and Nepalese (the four largest national groups within the community) are getting by in New York. The grassroots community organization that conducted the
survey, had the findings in the survey point to an exploited, underpaid and often harassed workforce, a situation that only worsened after the 9/11 terrorist attacks since many south Asians are Muslims – and those who aren't are usually taken for Muslims by police officers during stop-and-frisk operations, they say. More than half of the respondents make less than the minimum wage of $7.25 per hour, 83% in the case of retail employees . . . . The huge majority (95%) doesn't have any type of health insurance, and only one fifth of them gets paid for sick days (when almost half of New Yorkers do, in comparison).

Wright pointed out that it would be misleading to assume that "all racial discrimination is really disguised class oppression"(Smith 527). Instead, he presumes that racial disparities may take place during the pre-labor market and promotional stages of the employment process. From the researches it is noted that, “racial disparities in income occur because blacks receive comparatively lower returns than whites to their human capital investments, even when they occupy similar levels of authority and are located in the same industries” (Smith 527). These patterns are associated with the changes in the structure of the economy, increases in the unemployment of the blacks, and opposition towards antidiscrimination legislation and social policies which are designed to improve the economic life standards.

Similarities between Casteism and Racism:

Now having analysed race and caste, the similarities between them are brought out.
Certainly, such collapsing of caste into race is not a new phenomenon in Indian history. From H. Risley's use of late-nineteenth century European race science in anthropometric research aimed at categorizing and enumerating the castes of India, to Max Muieller's articulation of the Aryan theory of race, to the consequent development of Tamil/Dravidian politics in Tamil Nadu, caste has frequently been redefined and politicized by being drawn into wider discourses about race (Reddy 544).

The colonial concept of caste as race was predicted on the scientific theories of race, mostly seeking to establish physical links between the castes of India and the races of Europe; instead caste and race are seen as comparable systems of oppression in the present collusion.

In other words, even though most Indian observers would question the suggestion that "Dravidians" are racially African (or African-American), many would not reject the poster's other claim that Dalits, Blacks, and people of the "South" in general are similarly disenfranchised, despite their vast cultural differences. That "race" is a socio-cultural construct is by now accepted as part of the social sciences, so connections between groups cannot any more be established phenotypically, but they can still be established conceptually, it would seem, paving the way for a resurgent politics of caste (Reddy 544).
Casteism and Racism – Close Cousins:

“The plight of the Indian Dalits, is argued by Prof. Larry as similar to that of the black Americans. Because dalits are not racially different from their upper caste neighbours, casteism may not be racism by formal definition, but caste based discrimination bears enough similarities in practice, in outcome, in struggle to end it that it may well be called as close cousin”. Dalits have much in common with the black Americans, in a way Martin Luther King’s civil right movement inspired the dalits to be more aggressive in their struggle.

The similarities between casteism and racism is found to be in abundance as stated by Prof. Glasco Larry,

The most obvious and direct similarity is that many Dalits, especially in southern India, had been slaves of the upper castes. After emancipation in the 19th century, their fate resembled that of the newly emancipated blacks in the U.S., who were quickly forced into a condition of neo-slavery or debt-slavery, called peonage. The same happened to many Dalits, who work even today as bonded or debt-labor in a form of neo-slavery. Dalits, like blacks a century ago, suffer extraordinary violence at the hands of those who dominate them.
Illtreatment in *A Fine Balance*:

In *A Fine Balance* we find the illtreatment of the dalits by the upper caste. An example of the cruelty and the arbitrariness that characterizes their treatment by their betters is illustrated by the following quote:

For walking on the upper-caste side of the street, Sita was stoned, though not to death- the stones had ceased at first blood. Gambir was less fortunate; he had molten lead poured into his ears because he ventured within hearing range of the temple while prayers were in progress. Dayaram, reneging on an agreement to plough a landlord’s field, had been forced to eat the landlord’s excrement in the village square. Dhiraj tried to negotiate in advance with Pandit Ghanshvam the wages for chopping the day; the Pandit got upset, accused Dhiraj of poisoning his cows, and had him hanged (Mistry 108-9).

As Prof. Larry points out official government statistics show that “Dalits suffer more than 100,000 murders, arsons, and rapes annually”. Dalits, like blacks, are given jobs that others shun. Blacks formerly dominated among garbage haulers, Dalits today clean the nation’s latrines. “Dalits live in segregated settlements in the countryside and, like America’s blacks, in ghettos in the cities”.

Merciless Punishment meted out to Dalits in *A Fine Balance*:

In *A Fine Balance* we learn how the dalits in the cities lived in the jhopadpatti and in their villages lived in segregated settlements. “The village was by a small river, and the Chamaars were permitted to live in a section downstream from
the Brahmins and landowners” (Mistry 96). Just as at one time blacks could not drink from the common fountain, today Dalits cannot drink from the village well. In *A Fine Balance* we learn how Dalits are punished even for getting too close to the well. As Dukhi tells his wife, “Dosu got a whipping for getting too close to the well. He never learns” (Mistry 96).

Like blacks a century ago, the bulk of Dalits are landless labourers working in rice and cotton plantations. Like blacks in the pre-Civil Rights South, Dalits must do all sorts of things to show deference to their superiors. They remove their shoes, for example, when passing through an upper caste village; in the US, blacks used to get off the sidewalk of Southern towns to allow whites to pass. Like Blacks, Dalits cannot be served in many restaurants; if they are served, it is in separate glasses and cups. Upper caste men have access to Dalit women, by force if necessary; but Dalit men dare not date or try to marry an upper-caste girl under pain of death and mutilation by a lynch mob, like the sexual-based lynchings of US history (Prof. Glasco Larry).

In *A Fine Balance* we learn from Dukhi how Buddhu’s wife had been humiliated by shaving her head and making her walk naked through the square for refusing to go to the field with the zamindar’s son. Dalits are given all sorts of negative associations—stupid, lazy, dirty—not too unlike the stereotypes of blacks in the US.
Casteism and Religion:

Dalit is someone who is simply born to dalit parents. Casteism is seen to be different from racism in the sense that it is based on religion and not biology. But a dalit who leaves Hinduism and becomes a Christian, is simply a Dalit Christian. It becomes a stigma from birth to death no matter how the circumstance of the individual is improved. The association of untouchability with pollution is not because the dalits are subjected to do menial jobs as ¾ of the dalits are landless agricultural labourers. Many dalits work for debt slavery rather than chattel slavery. The interests of these debts are too high, thereby the bondage of slavery is passed from one generation to another. Therefore both casteism and racism is a stigma which the individuals can not escape. Commenting on racism Kenneth C. Clark says, “A system of racism and segregation corrodes the human spirit from the first conscious awareness that one is rejected and stigmatized because of the colour of one’s skin” (Bheemiah 24). However in the urban areas the conditions of the dalits are better compared to rural ones. But the point remains that it is still not abolished. Racism and casteism though abolished by law is still prevalent even in the 21st century where education is widespread.

As Prof. Glasco Larry states the struggle for dignity though the same for both casteism and racism, it is quite complicated for the dalits.

The Dalit struggle differs from that of American blacks in one crucial, tragic way. America was founded on the ideal of freedom and equality. Of course, slavery and racial discrimination contradicted those ideals, but that very contradiction provided key leverage for
ultimately making the removal of racial discrimination and inequality part of the realization of what America is all about. Indian society has been based on Hinduism, and the good news about Hinduism is that it has traditionally been one of the world’s most tolerant religions when it comes to matters of faith. The bad news about Hinduism is that it is the world’s religion most committed to the doctrine of inequality. Inequality, as embodied in caste, is one of its cardinal principles, and it is this unfortunate doctrine that makes caste a much more intractable problem than religious conflict, and makes the Dalit struggle a much more difficult challenge than was that of blacks in America.

The focus is on caste at a contemporary moment at which it claims and is unevenly granted the international spotlight, both by highlighting its peculiarity to India and by underscoring its alignment with other social groupings; most notably race is seen in a special context. It is the Third UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (henceforth WCAR) held in Durban in 2001. Since the Indian government's refusal to include caste on the agenda spurred a massive Dalit opposition campaign, and several heated debates about the relationship (or lack thereof) of race to caste. The Indian Government had an ally in Andre Beteille, a veteran Indian social anthropologist, who pondered the wisdom of expanding "racism" to other forms of social exclusion. Not only had the "researches of several generations of anthropologists" (Reddy 557) concluded that racial classifications
were biologically untenable, "[e]very social group cannot be regarded as a race simply because we want to protect it from discrimination” (Reddy 557). For Beteille, then, equating caste with race was both "scientifically nonsensical" and "politically mischievous". Assuming that "race" does continue to exist as a social reality, the experiences associated with it are virtually indistinguishable from those produced by caste. “Both race and caste are forms of discrimination linked to descent, to anticipate the terminology that allows the concepts to be articulated by the U.N.” (Reddy 558).

The issue, for Dalit activists and intellectuals, is one of prejudice: caste discrimination, they argue, is by now systemic and institutionalized, rests on ethnocentric theories of cultural superiority, results in social segregation, causes sometimes horrific violence and untold forms of social suffering, has specific material consequences, comes attached to notions of purity and pollution and so for all these reasons, is not only comparable but in fact tantamount to racial discrimination . . . . The issue of whether in theory "caste" is "race" is therefore moot, since it is the experience of caste, the shared structural positioning and the resultant "moral agony," that articulates the two categories. Both are reduced to their oppressions, and located within an economic and social "system" that perpetuates such subjugation (Reddy 558-559).

Acknowledging the number of legal provisions either abolishing discriminatory practices or offering protections to disadvantaged communities, but also recognizing the significant lag in attitudinal change and the attendant problems with law enforcement,
the focus of the paper and also of Dalit discourse in the post-Mandal era shifts to the "hidden or invisible discrimination that a Dalit would encounter" (Reddy 559)

Casteism and Racism – Human Right Violation:

If caste was not synonymous with race, casteism and racism were both comparable forms of human rights violations, Dalit activists argued; the WCAR should properly be a forum to address both sets of issues. “Several of those involved in the debate complained that the U.N.’s very framing of the issue of race was "Eurocentric" (Pinto): "Since racism is defined from the western paradigm," wrote Prakash Louis, "casteism is 'eliminated' from their purview" (qtd. in Reddy 561). This criticism aside, activists focused their energies on articulating caste with race as institutionalized systems of discrimination and therefore as human rights violations so as to ensure opportunities for discussion of the issue, if not at the Conference itself then certainly at the NGO Forum that was to assemble outside the conference gates. By this connection, the vague and elusive "hidden or invisible discrimination that a Dalit would encounter" (Reddy 562) is given shape and form, and indeed ironically rendered internationally visible by its transformation into a "hidden apartheid." (Reddy 562)

The term "apartheid," of course, carries both specific and generalized meaning. The two prior World Conferences to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1978 and 1983, both held in Geneva) had been preoccupied with the regime of apartheid in South Africa, characterizing it as nothing short of a crime against humanity . . . . "apartheid" becomes shorthand for the most egregious instances of systemic and overt racism
that necessarily and automatically educe (or should educe) severe international condemnation. (Reddy 562)

So, only in the post-apartheid era does "apartheid" come to fully evoke a kind of universal abhorrence that caste (still) does not. “Even the Indian journal Seminar titles its issue on the debates over caste and the WCAR "Exclusion,“ with the "X"
dramatically enlarged on the cover: a wry comment on the barring of Dalits from a conference that, in effect, celebrates South African victory against apartheid” (Reddy 563). Gestures such as these symbolically and metaphorically unite Dalit experiences with those of Africans and African Americans; the vocabulary of race/racism, by its common tropes, enables the universalization of caste.

Almasy’s and Kip’s attempts to elude Nationality:

Nationality and identity are interconnected in *The English Patient*, functioning together to create a web of inescapable structures that tie the characters to certain places and times despite their best efforts to evade such confinement. Almásy desperately tries to elude the force of nationality, living in the desert where he creates for himself an alternate identity, one in which family and nation are irrelevant. Almásy forges this identity through his character, his work, and his interactions with others. Importantly, he chooses this identity rather than inheriting it. Certain environments in the novel lend credence to the idea that national identity can be erased. The desert and the isolated Italian villa function as such places where national identity is unimportant to one’s connection with others. Kip, who becomes enmeshed in the idea of Western society and
the welcoming community of the villa's inhabitants, even dismisses the hyperawareness of his own racial identity for a time.

The comment on racial discrimination and political distancing is what Proust calls the "gross dimensions of social phenomena," and yet fictionalized history "evokes the essentially non-finite quality of existence." The imagination, perception, and communication of human experiences through fictionalized history open up many new dimensions of life that history cannot dream of. *The English Patient* is a human story in the loom of history (Adhikari 51)

Ultimately, however, the characters cannot escape from the outside reality that, in wartime, national identity is prized above all else. This reality invades Almásy's life in the desert and Kip's life in the Italian villa. Desperate for help, Almásy is locked up merely because his name sounds foreign. His identity follows him even after he is burned beyond recognition, as Caravaggio realizes that the ‘English’ patient is not even English. For Kip, news of the atomic bomb reminds him that, outside the isolated world of the villa, western aggression still exists, crushing Asian people as Kip's brother had warned. National identity is, then, an inescapable part of each of the characters, a larger force over which they have no control.
If Caste were Defined as Race in India:

"The goal is not identity but affinity," writes Visvanathan,

Race was the most universal language of condemnation. Race moved mountains like the UN, the foundations and the corporations. If caste were defined as 'race in India,' one retained local turfs but could use international forums to embarrass the official Indian image. A moralistic, moralising state could be caught flatfooted in international forums (qtd. in Reddy 564)

Indeed, the comparative frame of his argument is established by the declaration in the title to Louis volume, that "Casteism is [more] horrendous than racism." Louis is not alone in making such an argument. The Ethnicity of Caste Indians in South Africa at the time of Gandhi’s early non-violent agitations there, Kancha Ilaiah writes:

They [Indian Nationalist leaders] never realized that similar, in fact more horrendous, intolerance was practiced in India because of caste. They never thought that the pain they suffered was much less than the pain the Indian lower castes suffered...The Indian upper caste elite who suffered racism abroad had a liberative channel from that treatment when they came back home, but for the lower castes there was no such liberation at all. It was/is a long draw out suffering without much hope. (qtd. in Reddy 567)
Not only does Ilaiah repeat Louis’ words, but he also points to a narrative about caste that underlies their common position, and this one about timelessness, the continued and unchanging existence of caste as a brutal system of oppression over "thousands of year”.

Racism, Chakrabarty writes, "is thought of as something that the white people do to us. What Indians do to one another is variously described as communalism, regionalism, and casteism, but never as racism...[F]or me, the popular word racism has the advantage of not making India look peculiar" (qtd. in Reddy 570). To be sure, caste may still continue to exist in its more "traditional" form, “as an endogamous, hereditary, hierarchical (and so also oppressive) social institution, but when that traditional form, unevenly reformed and "substantialized" over the past hundred years, becomes a vehicle for "global mobility," caste comes to acquire ethnic character” (Reddy 571). At WCAR 61st session (held in 2002), the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination adopted a recommendation which, in effect, makes descent based discrimination inseparable from its manifestation as caste: “General Recommendation XXIX "strongly condemns descent based discrimination, such as discrimination on the basis of caste and analogous systems of inherited status, as a violation of the (international) Convention (on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination” (Reddy 572).