

Approved at
The Adi Andhra Convention
Held on 6th December 1968, at Hyderabad (A.P.)
INDIA



SCHEDULED CASTES
MEMORANDUM
TO
U. N. O.

To

His Excellency U. Thant,
Secretary General
United Nations Organisation
New York, U.S.A.

Your Excellency!

I enclose herewith a copy of the Memorandum and resolutions approved at the Adi Andhra Convention held on 6th December 1968 at Hyderabad along with speeches delivered on the occasion by Sri P. L. Subrahmanyam B.E., A.M.I.E., the President and Sri K.R. Veeraswamy M.A. the Principal speaker of the convention for your kind perusal and action.

BHIM BHAVAN
Hyderabad-20
Date 10-12-1968

Yours in Dharma
E. V. CHINNAIAH
Secretary

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Sri P. L. Subrahmanyam,
B. E., A. M. I. E.

Dear Adi-Andhra Brethren!

I extend you a hearty welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee to attend this Historic Convention of Adi Andhras... a convention held perhaps for the *first time* to represent our grievances to the World's Highest Forum—*The United Nations Organisation*.

Time has now come to feel ourselves proud and announce boldly that we are Adi Andhras. The Hindu Society has treated us for centuries as *Chandalas-as Untouchables-as Unseeables and Segregated* us and kept us *Away* from their villages.

According to puranas and other Hindu literature, we are said to be the original people of this country and owned this country and the so called "Caste-Hindus" were only migrants.

Well, whatever might be the facts of the past—we know our position from the times History of this country was written—that the Hindu society has kept us oppressed and down-trodden dumb-folded humanity! This statement is an undoubted and undisputed fact. We constitute 22 percent of the total population of India and nearly 95 percent of the agricultural labourers are from these communities.

After we attained Independence Mahatma Gandhi has coined a new name "*Harijan*", for our community and tried to squeeze us into the Hindu-fold by coercing and compelling our top leaders to accept the "Joint Electorate system." I request you all to give your careful thoughts, whether this compulsion

of Gandhiji is not a great injustice done to this community and try to understand the pros and cons of this act.

As far as we can see from the Historical facts, we clearly know that we had no relation with the "Hindus".

Our houses were kept away from their houses. We were not allowed either to mix with them or be partners with them in any affair. We had our own separate hamlets and our own temples of worship and even the Gods or Goddesses whom we worshipped were also treated as untouchables and demon-Gods and Goddesses were considered unfit to be worshipped by them. Now, in spite of the fact that we had absolutely no relations with the Hindu Mahatma Gandhi using his weight and influence as a Mahatma-squeezed the throats of "Fifteen Crores of Untouchables" with a wet cloth, which resulted in a living death, just to keep the population of the Hindu Society at a higher level and not because the Hindu Society had love or compassion towards these unfortunate untouchables and this is quite evident from the treatment we are experiencing at their hands even after independence for the last 20 years. The Congress Government have not done us any good. Instead hatred and malice are on the increase. I am neither abusing nor criticising Mahatma Gandhi personally. I do not deny his Greatness. The whole world has exclaimed in one voice and called him "Mahatma" and I also join them.

But one should not be afraid of telling the "Truth" which Gandhiji had loved so much. I would ask the Hindus to put their hands on their hearts and answer this simple question. How far has Gandhiji's action in compelling, and squeezing, untouchables into the Hindu-fold, benefitted the untouchable to conquer the social disabilities?

What is the fate of the "Removal of Untouchability Act of 1950"? Are not these papers lying locked up and sealed in steel almyrabs of the Central Secretariat? Has any one of Mahatma Gandhi's heirs made even an attempt to implement this Sacred Act?

As far as I could know, and the information made available to me, one case of practising untouchability was said to have been brought before a Magistrate, some years back in East Godavari District. It seems the Caste-Hindu magnates compelled an ex-Member of the Legislative Assembly who belonged to the Untouchable community to give evidence against his own untouchable brethren and thus got the case dismissed. The administrators of law have agreed that this Act is defective and not strong enough for implementation. All the Ministers of Social welfare in the country have assembled at New Delhi some time back and unanimously resolved to recommend to the Central Government to amend the "Removal of Untouchability Act" as it was not suitable for implementation. It has taken 20 long years, just to understand that this most Sacred Act was un-implementable. Perhaps the Legislators, Parliamentarians-Ministers in the State and in the Centre all were all along ignorant of the this glaring fact.

While the fate of our Legislators remaining thus, do you know how the members belonging to this Untouchable community are working in the Governmental Machinery for monthly wages? Just make an attempt to open your eyes and see for yourself what is going on around you. There are sufficient number of I.A.S. Officers of whom some are promoted to District Collectors Cadre. Do you know that not even a single Scheduled Caste I.A.S. Officer is in charge of a District as District Collector and Magistrate?

The fate of the Officers belonging to the Untouchable Community in other Departments also remains the same. Almost all are kept in the loop lines only on the plea that these Untouchables are not up to the mark.

These officers are in a very delicate plight and predicament. They shiver in their shoes to raise their heads and look at an Untouchable brother who approaches him for some help. Any slightest indication of help by our officers to his fellowmen when brought to the notice of the ruling bosses will make officers career undone! He will be dubbed as a communalist and in the name of disciplinary action his future will be sealed.

There are very few Officers who belong to this Untouchable Community who would be able to reveal their caste. It is a well-known fact that the Caste-Hindu will not hire his house to any Officer if he knows that the Officer belongs to an untouchable community.

Many Officers are plodding on their weary way concealing the name of their Caste. When our people are being persecuted thus, the Caste-Hindu people joke at us saying, the whole land is yours and many Gazetted Officers belong to your community.

Let us turn our eyes towards the villages. It is said that the social Welfare Department is spending an amount of Rs. 4½ crores annually! This was called *Harijan Welfare Department* to start with, but this denomination got changed later as *Social Welfare Department* by an ex-Minister belonging to the Backward Classes. With the intention of completely eliminating these Untouchable communities from the scope of obtaining help from that Department? Now it is said that only a portion of the amount is being spent for the Welfare of the Untouchable Communities.

It is said that about seventy or eighty lakhs of rupees are being allotted every year for the acquisition of land for house-sites and that this amount is being surrendered every year on the plea that the acquisition could not be done. In this respect, I would request you to consider carefully this act of acquiring house sites around the existing hamlets of untouchables by the Government. I would also bring to your notice the attempts made by the Government of Andhra Pradesh some years back to perpetuate segregation by constructing permanent and pucca houses, far away from the places where the untouchable hamlets existed. In certain cases they have taken them away by two or three miles from the existing places. But as luck would have it, this attempt was stopped, but the acquisition of house sites around the existing hamlets of the Untouchable is still going on. I would ask you to pay a careful attention and see whether this process does not perpetuate segregation?

This is a subject-not only to be taken up by the Legislators, the Officers of the Community, but by the fifteen crores of the people belonging to this untouchable community of this country.

Let us request the Government to put a stop to this acquisition of house sites around the existing Adi Andhra hamlets:

It has been agreed to by the leaders of the country 20 years back to remove this segregation and they have also passed Enactments to reward an Untouchable who secures a house site within the Caste Hindu locality, with a sum of rupees fifty and help him construct his house within the Caste Hindu locality. But the practice now being adopted by the Government is quite contrary to its previous policy.

If the rulers of this country really mean removing this segregation, they should see that the Mala and Madiga hamlets are removed immediately and merged with the other Hindu Society. When they do not have the will to do it.—I think, it is not necessary for us to remain anywhere near them.

Let us have our own cities and towns. We must sever all connections with the Caste Hindus. Let them give us that piece of land required for us. Let us have our own State. We are by birth hard working-people and we can make any barren land into most fertile land!

Wake up Adi Andhras !!

Why Hesitate ? Fighten up your belts !!!

I am not against the idea of peaceful co-existence; but when the Hindus are not prepared for it, there is no other go except to sever all connections with them.

Let the words-*untouchability* and *segregation* be wiped out.

The Second subject is regarding our *Religion*.

Mahatmatma Gandhi has strongly advocated that we belong to the Hindu-fold, but we do not belong to that Religion as Hinduism is not a religion as such. It is only a Society of Intelligent but selfish citizens of ancient India, who wanted to live happily by exploiting the Weaker Sections. It is crumbling down and I don't think it will survive long!

Baba Saheb Ambedkar is our Father-Redeemer, and An Avatar. It is our duty to follow his footsteps.

Let us have our own Religion and let us construct our own cities and towns. Let us put our decisions before our rulers of this country and at the same time we want to bring it to the notice of the Highest Forum of the World—*The United Nations Organization*.

O! young budding leaders of the community, I have not come to rouse your feelings to a mutiny at the present juncture, but let us understand things calmly and coolly.

Our ancestors were forced to go hanging earthen pots and broomsticks to their necks and waists in order that they should spit in the pots and wipe out their foot prints with broom sticks while walking in the village streets. After the advent of British Regime in India—Christian Missionaries came to this country and converted several lakhs of people from these untouchable communities into their faith and it is estimated that not less than 80 per cent of the present Christian population belong to this untouchable community only. Similarly, 50% of the present Muslims of India today belong to the untouchable community.

Baba Saheb Ambedkar took a vow not to die as a Hindu and accordingly he renounced his mortal coil only after he embraced *Buddhism*. He converted several lakhs of Untouchables of India into *Buddhism*. Take into account the untouchables converted into other religions, the total number would be 24 crores as against the present strength of 15 crores. Even as is, if we consider the strength by caste-ward, the untouchable are the biggest, but to what effect? We are being exploited

and persecuted by the Higher Communities—and we are the most down-drodden lot among the 400 crores of human species in the World. This is a well-known fact. The practice of hatred and cruelty and the inhuman actions exhibited by the Caste-Hindus for the last one year are self-evident to testify their hatred, and cruel-hearts. The little sympathetic approach they had towards the untouchables, 20 years back is fast vanishing and hatred, malice and cruelty are taking their roots well into the minds of the higher Castes.

In the name of forming a classless and casteless society in the country, they are subjecting the 15 crores of untouchables to great misery and unhappiness,

You should clearly understand that this exploitation and persecution is not only limited to the poor labourers alone but they are extended even to the enlightened and economically sound untouchable officers working in the Governmental machinery. Even for vague and baseless allegations, they make a simple mistake a mountain-high and in the name of disciplinary action, they are persecuted and punished and they have none to plead on their behalf.

You, Youngsters and Would-be Leaders and patriots!

Do you want to remain as dumb-spectators? Persecution and exploitation by the caste Hindus upon our untouchable brothers and sisters have reached the climax. Do you want to rise up to the occasion and take up the responsibilities on your shoulders and take part in the struggle and establish a peaceful co-existence in the country and make every one of this soil happy and content or do you want to remain as dumb spectators? 'Blessed are those who are awakened to the cause', said our Baba. Resolve yourselves - dedicate yourselves and pledge to this onerous job: Boost up your feelings. Feel that you are as much a human as any one living in any nook or corner of the world. This *feeling* is absent in us for centuries-may-it was forcibly removed from our people and we were put to oblivion:

If you have decided to act please hear my advice. *The first and foremost*—See that the *Mala* and *Madiga* villages are merged into a single and homogeneous body and fusion of blood as desired by own Babasaheb Ambedkar must take place in great intensity.

This is not an ambitious desire but a common and the least human desire.

Stop the Government's action in acquiring house sites a round the existing hamlets to perpetuate segregation. Our leaders are playing the fiddle and perhaps there is no use blaming them. They say that they could secure the position they are now in, without the help and votes of the *Untouchable Community*. Representatives of the *untouchables* getting elected to legislatures and parliament only to secure of stooges to Hindus is a pitiable paradox. I don't think it will be help. Up ful for us to depend on these people to reach our goal.

Think over and come to a definite decision. If you agree, we will approach the rulers for a peaceful settlement and also inform the International Forum regarding our legitimate and minimum demands, as human beings.

Our approach shall be based on *Truth* and *Non-Violence* only. For Centuries our ancestors lived and practised *Truth and Non-violence* only.

In case the Rulers do not agree to our reasonable demands made peacefully and constitutionally, I think there is no other way left open to us but but relentless struggle as our Baba Saheb has ordered us to do.

When the Caste-Hindus refuse to take us with them into their villages, let us have our own *Separate Settlements* completely severing all relations with them.

I warn you, my young men, that if you remain static our community may go back to the stage of centuries back, with a mudpot to the mouth and a broom-stick to the buttocks.

If you are prepared to lead this community to a peaceful bliss you should resolve yourselves and pledge at the altar of *Truth* to serve and sacrifice with abiding and undying faith.

Caste Hindus say that this centuries-old practice may not be possible to be wiped out suddenly. I don't think they have made any attempt during these twenty years to remove a tithe of *Untouchability* and *Segregation*.

Order succeeds a complete disorder. The Disorder in the Hindu Society has reached its climax, accumulating its sins for several centuries and it is bound to burst, because it is ripe now. And no force on earth can prevent this doomed end. We must save our men at all costs.

March ahead - Adi Andhras !

Victory shall be ours !

Jai Adi Andhra

MEMORANDUM

TO
**U. THANT, SECRETARY GENERAL
UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION**

BY
**The Adi Andhras (The Scheduled Castes
of Andhra Pradesh, India)**

APPROVED AT

THE ADI ANDHRA CONVENTION
Held on 6th December 1968

AT
**HYDERABAD-A. P.
(INDIA)**



Sri P. L. Subrahmanyam reading his Presidential Address.



Sri E. V. Chinnaiah, the Secretary of the Convention,
reading the Memorandum to U. N. O.

Scheduled Castes (Yesterday)

India, the second largest country in Asia has a total population of fifty crores out of which about fifteen crores are constitutionally known as scheduled castes. They constitute nearly one fourth of the total population of India occupying the lowest position in the Indian society. Though they are tagged to the Hindu religion they form a distinct and separate group leading the life far worse than a serf or a slave. They live separately, drink separately, eat separately, worship separately and when died are buried separately. For centuries they lived as untouchables, unseables and unapproachables. The Hindu Smriti called them *Anthayajas* or *Avarnas* (out castes) and deprived them all the basic rights. They had no right to possess property, no right to learn, no right to employment and no honourable place in public life. Never in the history and no where in any other part of the world could be traced a community so serviled, so humiliated, so blasted and blighted as the depressed classes of India.

Romans had slaves, the Germans their jews, the British their helots and Americans their Negroes, but none of these servile races were debarred from physical contact as the untouchables in India. In brief the down trodden masses of India were used by the Hindu Society not only as the beasts of burden but also as the beasts of prey.

When the Muslim invasion took place in the first quarter of 18th century it offered many new chances for the untouchables. Since Islam offered them equality and brotherhood lakhs of sensitive untouchables have embraced the religion. Again when Guru Nanak founded a new religion based on worth as the measure of man some lakhs of untouchables in Punjab have embraced it. Then came a heap of invasions by the British, Portugese, Duch and French followed by their common christian missionary religion. Christianity offered scores of new opportunities to untouchables. An untouchable, who according to Manu Smriti, the sacred scripture of Hindu religion, was barred from learning or even listening to Hindu scriptures, after conversion

Your Excellency !

INTRODUCTION

We have the honour to submit this memorandum on behalf of Ninety Five lakhs of Adi Andhras in Particular and fifteen crores of scheduled castes (Adi Bharathis) in general, to the United Nations Organisation through Your Excellency and hope, the U.N.O. that has guaranteed through its Charter of Human Rights, to all citizens of the world, equality and protection against all forms of discrimination and exploitation, would look into the Himalayon problems of the down trodden masses of India and save them from their terrific plight.

We wish to make it clear that we took this decision to approach the highest forum of the world through this memorandum after having exhausted all hopes of remedial measures by the Government of our land and with a firm hope that the U.N.O. would stand by its promise made under article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which reads :

"The United Nations, the specialised agencies, state and non Governmental organisations shall do all in their power to promote energetic action which, by combining legal and other practical measures, will make possible the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination. They shall, in particular, study the causes of such discrimination with a view to recommend appropriate and effective measures combat and eliminate it".

We narrate here under the social, economic and political conditions of the Scheduled Castes - past and present-so that Your Excellency and all the Honourable delegates of the U.N.O. could form an *upright* opinion of the suffering masses and view their future sympathetically.

to Christianity, could not only learn but could master all the scriptures of christianity and become a priest! This was a revolutionary opportunity for untouchables and lakhs of them have availed it.

When the foundations of the Hindu religion began shaking as the result of repeated mass conversions of untouchables into Islam, Sikh and Christianity, the custodians of the Hindu religion came to their senses. Many reformers like Chaithanya, Tukaram, Ramanuja, Basava and Raja Ram Mohan Roy tried their best to refashion the Hindu society giving a honourable place to the down trodden masses, but the Sanathanists (the orthodox and arrogant class of Hinduism) have countered every such reformistic attempt. An attempt made by Brahmanaidu, a non brahmin Prime Minister of Palnad Kingdom of Andhra Desa, to give equal social position to untouchables resulted in a great war bringing two neighbourly Kingdoms in to ruins.

When the struggle for Indian Independence was started in the first quarter of 20th century, some reformers like Narayan Chandawadkar and vital Sindhe also started the struggle for the liberation of the untouchables. Depressed Classes Mission Society in Maharashtra, Adi Hindu Social Service League in the erstwhile Hyderabad State, Adi Andhra Mahajana Sabha in Andhra, Adi Dravida Sangham in Madras, Adi Karnatak Sabha in Mysore were established giving new hopes and aspirations for the untouchables.

The first Indian Round Table Conference held in the year 1930 at London to re-draft the constitution of British India had given an unique opportunity for the depressed classes of India. The British Government recognised them as a separate entity like Muslims, Christians and Sikhs and offered them a chance to represent their problems and to place their proposals for adequate constitutional safeguards.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sri Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan representing the depressed classes at the Round Table Conference submitted a memorandum to Ramsay Macdonald, the then

Prime Minister of Great Britain and Chairman of the Round Table Conference with eight pertinent conditions for the inclusion in the constitution. They were: (1) Equal citizenship, (2) Free enjoyment of equal rights, (3) Protection against discrimination, (4) Adequate representation in Legislatures, (5) Adequate representation in services, (6) Redress against prejudicial action, (7) Special Departmental Care, (8) Representation in Central and State Cabinets.

Taking an unbiased view of the Indian social and economic situation the British Government agreed to all the eight conditions of the memorandum along with the demands put forth by Muslims, Sikhs and Anglo Indians. But no sooner the British Prime Minister had announced the Communal Award granting reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes with separate electorates, Gandhiji, the so called well wisher of the untouchables, started what came to be known as **epic fast** in protest against separate electorates for Scheduled Castes.

Giving top priority to the national interests and viewing the life of Gandhiji as improtant for the Independence of India, the Nationalist, Dr. Ambedkar withdrew his demand for Separate Electorates. Poona pact was signed by both Gandhiji and Ambedkar that imposed upon the Scheduled Castes the joint Electorate System. But neither Gandhiji nor his henchmen kept their promises to eradicate untouchability, to grant equal rights and opportunities to Scheduled Castes. Every so called reformistic attempt by Gandhiji like Temple entry or eradication of untouchability turned at last into a ridiculous farce. The orthodox section of the Hindu society have intensified their activities of discrimination particularly after Independence.

Scheduled Castes (Today)

Election of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution was deemed a great opportunity for scheduled castes. Rightly so, Dr. Ambedkar did everything he could using all his intellect, erudition and power and secured certain constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Castes. Law may be good but when implemented by

the bad and dishonest men the desired effect of the law would remain a dream. Same thing happened with the safeguards granted for the Scheduled Castes in the constitution. Let us review various articles of the constitution, pertaining to the Scheduled Castes and its implementation during the past 18 (eighteen) years:

Articles 14 and 15 of the Indian Constitution guarantees every citizen equality before law and prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. But in practice the term equality before law is almost always administered in favour of the vested interests and discrimination on grounds of caste and religion continue even in administrative levels. The Scheduled Castes have no access to village wells, tanks, public places of worship and bathing ghats even to-day.

Findings of the Parliamentary Committee constituted under the Chairmanship of Sri Eliyaperumal M. P., are very glaring examples. (Indian Express, dated 29-10-1968).

1. At Porbunder, Gandhiji's birth place, separate water taps are kept for Scheduled Castes.
2. Schedule Castes women are not allowed to wear ear rings.
3. At Neyveli (Madras) Scheduled Castes man riding bicycle is an offence.
4. A Scheduled Caste man living in the house of a caste Hindu was driven out at Akola (Maharashtra)
5. In certain parts of Himachal Pradesh Scheduled Castes can not touch the houses of Hindus.
6. Scheduled castes are debarred from entering the Hindu temples in almost all the villages and towns.
7. Two Scheduled Caste men were shot to death for curving their mustachs upwards instead of downwards.

Article 16 of the Constitution guarantees equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. The following data will speak for the article:

Out of twenty four Governors (Leaunuant Governors included) not a single one is from Scheduled Castes. Out of scores of Ambassadors and Consuls not a single one from Scheduled Castes. In Central services the representation of Scheduled Castes in Class I services is 1.8% as against 12.1/2%, Class II Services 2.44%, Class III services 1.10%, Class IV services 16.64%. (Scheduled Castes Commissioners Report 1966).

By Article 17 of the Constitution untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. Any eye witness to Indian social position can tell that untouchability is being practiced to-day in a way worse than before.

No less a person than Union Cabinet Minister Sri Jagajivan Ram made an open admission at a meeting of the Scheduled Castes legislators and Backward classes held at New Delhi (P. T. I. September 1, 1968) that separate water jugs are kept for Scheduled Castes in the Central Secretariat Offices. Scheduled Castes students have to eat in a separate mess at Agra University (Eliyaperumal Committee Findings). In a village of Adilabad district two Scheduled Castes men were beaten with shoes and fined rupees five each for entering into a tea stall.

Article 46 of the Constitution directs that the state should promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Any one can understand the depths of feeling and forethought with which the above Article was incorporated. But it is under the very nose of this Article the Scheduled Castes are being put to horrors, terrors and tortures of unprecedented nature. We furnish hereunder certain glaring incidents occurred within ten months of this year (1968) :

1. An Adi Andhra Boy of Kanchikacherla (A. P.) was tied to a pendal post, drenched with kerosine and burnt to death. His offence? He was alleged to have stolen few brass utensils worth few rupees (Visalandhra, dated. 5-2-1968)
2. About 1,500 Scheduled Castes people of Mungeli (M.P.) were attacked by armed Hindu Goondas and five Scheduled Castes people including a woman were killed. (The Peoples Herald, dated. 29-2-1968).
3. At Nidoni (Mysore) about 40 houses of the Scheduled Castes were set on fire and nine persons were burnt alive (Report by Sri S. S. Arakeri, M. A. LL.B., M. L. A.).
4. At Basmat (Parbhani District) two Harijans were burnt alive (Link, dt. 2-6-1968).
5. A bright Scheduled Caste student of a Lucknow school was done to death by his Hindu class mates within the school premises (Link dt. 2-6-1968).
6. Three Scheduled Caste women were paraded Naked in the streets at Sirsagaon (Aurangabad) (Link dt. 2-6-1968).
7. A Scheduled Castes boy of Navalki (Gujarat) was done to death by police constables. (Anti Corruption dt. 26-5-1968).
8. An Adi Andhra man of Naurur of Guntur district (A. P.) was done to death by fustigation in the presence of local Panchayat heads, (Indian Express, dt. 12-8-1968).
9. Two Adi Andhra women of Pippara of West Godavari district (A. P.) were caught at a market place on an alleged theft, raped and beaten till they fell unconscious and were thrown on a road side, (The Peoples Herald, dt. 30th June 1968).
10. On 29th July 1969, the police party led by the in-charge of Bakewar police station (U. P.) raided the house of Ramcharan, a poor Scheduled Castes man, took his wife and

son to the house of the Chairman of the town area of Lakhana, made them naked and the police forced the mother to lie down on the floor and compelled the son to rape her.

—Statement by Mr. Rajnarayan M. P.

11. Son of a poor Scheduled Castes woman was beaten severely by police of Mehrauli police station near Delhi and the son later reported missing. The mother complains her son had been killed by police.
12. Two Adi Andhras of Anneboyinapalle of Nellore district (A. P.) were killed and later burnt into ashes (Anti Corruption dt. 1-9-1968).
—Patriot dt. 21-8-68
13. On 25th August 1968 a Scheduled Castes man was beaten to death by three persons of Amrapura village of Salvi taluk (Gujarath).
14. An Adi Andhra man of Kanchikacherla was killed at the instigation of the Hindu Kamma land lords. (Indian Express dt. 3-10-1968)
—Patriot dt. 16-9-68
15. An Adi Andhra man of Tunikapadu of Krishna District (A. P.) was shot to death by the surpanch of the village.
—Visalandhra dt. 6-10-68
16. Three Adi Andhra men of Peravali of Guntur District (A. P.) were assaulted by the Samithi President, according to Telegram received by Sri D. Sanjeevaiah
—Patriot dt. 7-10-68
17. At Kishanpur of Fatepur District, (U. P.) two Scheduled Castes ladies were criminally assaulted by the police station House officer.
—Patriot 6-11-68
18. An Adi Andhra man of Thimmapur of Anantapur District (A. P.) was caught on an alleged theft, his hand

and paraded naked on a donkey.

—Report by B. Rukmini Devi Ex. M. L. A.

19. Two scheduled castes women of Khulu village (Orissa) were raped in the presence of their husbands and brothers.

—Orissa Report.

20. A Scheduled Castes leader of Bahera village (U. P.) was brought under police remand on a flimsy allegation by the local Thakurs and his two eyes were forcibly removed by the Thakurs while he was in police custody.

—U. P. Report.

21. A Scheduled Castes woman of Akola (Maharashtra) was beaten black and blue, raped and paraded naked in the streets.

Scores of such instances have left unnoticed since they could not be exhumed.

Articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution provide reservation of seats in Parliament and Legislatures for Scheduled Castes. But in application instead of Scheduled Castes electing their own candidates to parliament and Legislature Hindus being majority elect the Scheduled Castes best suited to their political advantage. The Joint Electorate system always helps the Hindus and works disastrously for the Scheduled Castes. In brief this joint electorate system has produced political quistlings among Scheduled Castes.

Just as Gandhiji claimed Scheduled Castes as part of Hindu religion only in order to save Hinduism from its sure perdition, the reservations with joint electorate system is imposed and extended from time to time much against the wish of Scheduled Castes only to keep congress in power. By reservations Congress obtains a definite amount of strength both in Legislatures and Parliament. But for these reservations the Congress would have lost its power long ago, and would have vanished if reservations with joint electorate system were to be ended by 1960 as directed in Article 334 of the Constitution.

Under article 338 of the Constitution a special officer for Scheduled Castes and Tribes is appointed by the President to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Recording the reports of incidents and atrocities and submitting an annual report to the Parliament once in a year apart, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes have no powers to take action on those committing atrocities.

Scheduled Castes (Tomorrow)

Your Excellency! After twenty years of Independence and eighteen years of Constitutional functioning in India, the social, educational, economic and political conditions of the Scheduled Castes have remained unchanged. The Hindu society by its hold on agriculture, Industry, Administration and power has become an unquestionable ferocious force and is making a calculated attempt to suppress the Scheduled Castes further and it may even annihilate them if left unchecked. You know very well what had happened to Jews during the Nazi regime. Lakhs of Jews were killed in concentration camps under the direct orders from the Nazi dictator, Adolf Hitler. Such Nazi forces are raising their heads here in India under the slogan Hindu Rashtra and power is slowly passing into their hands. Under such Hindu Rashtra India would be a veritable chamber of horrors and terrors for Scheduled Castes and other minorities. Hindus, by tradition, training and temperament, have developed a chronic habit of exploiting and terroring others like Scheduled Castes and other minorities. We wish to make it absolutely clear that we, the Scheduled Castes, were never Hindus and could never be Hindus. Hindus have no right to claim us as a part of their religion, so long as we are left to dwell separately and so long as we are treated as social lepers. A Muslim will not kill another Muslim or a Christian will not kill another Christian or a Sikh will not kill another Sikh on grounds of social discrimination whereas the Hindu would not hesitate to kill a Scheduled Castes man if the later challenged the social superiority of the Hindu.

It is under such hopeless, hapless and helpless situation we approach the highest forum of the world, the U.N.O. seeking help, support and justice.

The United Nations General Assembly has done a high level form of humanitarian service by adopting at its meeting held on 20th November, 1963 a charter on *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*.

Article 1 of the U.N. Charter of the Human Rights has rightly reviewed that discrimination on grounds of race, colour or ethnic origin would ultimately disturb peace and security among people. The discrimination on grounds of caste and religion in India, we are afraid, may lead to civil war or even world war as it happened in case of Germany.

Article 2 of the U.N. Charter is intended to take special and concrete measures in appropriate circumstances in order to secure adequate development or protection of those put under discrimination and exploitation. We sincerely feel it is appropriate time for the U.N. to intervene, investigate and render justice to the Scheduled Castes.

Article 7 of the U.N. Charter guarantees every one the right to equality before law and to equal justice under the law. Part 2 of the Article offers an opportunity to seek redressal from discrimination "through Independent National Tribunals." We, the Scheduled Castes beseech the U.N.O. to appoint an Independent National Tribunal under the said article with directions to investigate and ascertain complete information with regard to social, economic and political situation of the Scheduled Castes in India.

Article 10 of the U.N. Charter guarantees that the United Nations should do all in its power to promote energetic action, which by combining legal or practical measures would make possible the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination. We, the Scheduled Castes approach Your Excellency through this memorandum banking chiefly on this assurance.

The U.N.O. has given due cognizance to the problems of Negroes in America and Rhodesia and Apartheid in Africa. But the Scheduled Castes who constitute nearly one fourth of the total population of India and the population of which is more than

the populations of most of the member nations of U.N.O. have the problems more voluminous in proportion and more crucial in nature than the problems of Negroes or Apartheid.

Hope your Excellency and all the honourable delegates of the U.N.O. would understand our plight and render justice before it is too late.

We also enclose herewith the resolutions that have been unanimously approved and passed at the convention for your kind perusal and cautious consideration and action.

RESOLUTIONS

Passed Unanimously at the Adi-Andhra Convention held on 6-12-1968 at *Hyderabad*.

1. Saperate Electorates :—

Experience of the past three General Elections and bye-elections held in India has proved that the Joint Electorate system has deprived the Scheduled Castes of their right to send their true and effective representatives to parliament and Legislatures and has given the Hindu Majority the virtual right to nominate members of the Scheduled Castes who are prepared to be tools of the Hindu majority.

The Bhandara Parliamentary Constituency bye-election held in the year 1955 at which the universally acknowledged leader of the Scheduled Castes, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was defeated by a political novice despite majority support of the Scheduled Castes Kurnool parliamentary Constituency Election held in the year 1967 at which the former Minister, Chief Minister, Union Cabinet Minister and the president of the All India Congress Party, Mr. D. Sanjivaya was defeated by the Hindu majority are two glaring examples to show that the Joint Electorate system is dubious, defective and detrimental to the interests of the Scheduled Castes.

Hence the Adi-Andhra Convention demands that the Joint Electorate System be abolished and the system of Separate Electorates be introduced in its place.

2. Saperate Settlements :—

The Adi-Andhra Convention holds that so long as the Scheduled Castes continue to live on the out skirts of the Hindu village, as an alien people, they will continue to remain untouchables and be subjected to tortures and tyrannies by the Hindus and will not be able to enjoy free and full life. For the better protection of the Scheduled Castes from the Tyranny of the Hindu majority and to enable the Scheduled Castes to develop their fullest manhood, to give them economic and security, the Government of India should take immediate necessary steps, for the transplantation of the Scheduled Castes from their present habitations and form saperate Scheduled Caste villages and towns away from Hindu villages and towns.

3. Saperate Panchayats :—

Experience of the past 15 years show that the system of Panchayat Raj helps only Hindus to capture political power from village panchayat level to Zilla Parishad level through which they capture all the legislatures and parliament in India and keep the Scheduled Castes and other minorities under suppression and exploitation.

The Adi-Andhra Convention demands the Government to establish Saperate Panchayats for Scheduled Castes and funds be allotted to them in proportion to their population.

4. Newspapers.

The Adi-Andhra convention records with gratitude the role certain daily news papers and periodicals have played in exposing the atrocities and discrimination to which the Scheduled Caste were subjected to by the caste conscious capitalist class, and holds the Dailies and periodicals have done their job as the "Fourth Estate" of the society courageously facing the threats like black-listing and ban. The Convention hopes that the Dailies and periodicals would continue to speak for the fallen and the weak even in future.



SRI K.R. VEERASWAMY M.A.
Principal speaker of the Convention

**Speech delivered by Shri K.R. Veeraswamy M.A.,
Ex-M.L.A. at the Adi-Andhra Convention held on
6th December 1968, at the Adi-Hindu Bhavan
Hyderabad.**

Brothers, Sisters and well wishers of my community !

To day is the 12th Death Anniversary of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, the Messiah and Deliverer of the 150 million Scheduled Castes of India. I indeed congratulate the conveners of this convention for holding this united convention of the Adi-Andhras on this auspicious and solemn occasion. Today is the day of the reckoning of our past achievements and the formulation of new policies and programmes for the political, economic and social advancement and development of our suppressed and submerged people. Today is also the day of dedication of our people for the ideas, objectives and policies for which the great Doctor Ambedkar lived and died. Today also is the day of pledging ourselves solemnly to the service of our downtrodden people.

Twenty one years had elapsed since our country became free, and eighteen years since it became a Sovereign Democratic Republic and gave to itself a free and unfettered written constitution. We the Scheduled Castes of India belong to the world of the under-dog and the under-privileged. Let us examine the position and plight of the Scheduled Castes in the light of the present prevailing doctrine of Indian nationalism. Unfortunately for minorities in India, Indian nationalism has developed a new doctrine which may be called the Divine right of the majority to rule the minorities according to the wishes of the majority. Any claim for the sharing of power by the minority is called communalism while the monopolising of the whole power by the high caste majority is called nationalism.

Our needs are caste needs and sectarian needs, not the needs of the people as a whole or the needs and interests of the nation. Needs based upon eternal, in effaceable and indestructible castes. People may say, I am talking of conditions as existed in some ancient or medieval period and not prevailing

now. I say here and now, that caste is the **obiterdictum** of our country. There is no doubt that from the time of the great Buddha till today many a great reformer had come and tried to tackle the problem of caste and remove it. Their attempts at eliminating caste have been like employing few explosives to blow-up the Himalayan mountains. Only an unparalleled earthquake eruption should occur under the Himalayas and only then they will tumble down. So also an unparalleled social revolution of that magnitude, intensity and proportion can only destroy the demon of caste, otherwise, other remedies applied to destroy caste are mere palliatives.

This spirit of caste is pervading the entire atmosphere in the country. Though the central and state Governments have passed the civil disabilities acts abolishing caste and untouchability, their implementation is a dreary affair. Those who are entrusted with the task of implementing these acts are themselves the victims and slaves of caste. Since caste being the Allaiddin's lamp that yields and gives all the choicest blessings to the possessor, and so those having the insignia of caste strive and struggle to perpetuate and maintain it.

If one examines the caste of capitalists, industrialists, business men, trades men and other rich classes, it will be found that they all belong to the category of high caste. Before money capitalism, caste capitalism existed in the country. Caste capitalism gave birth to money capitalism in India. Just as in money capitalism, the capitalist wants to block the entry of others into his world, so too in the domain of caste capitalism, the caste capitalist does not want the presence of the lower caste proletariat to enter the portals of his caste and enjoy the blessings of his life. Caste is a completely barred citadel for the low-caste underdog. On account of caste capitalism all the departments of Government have become monopolised, manned, manipulated and run in the interests of caste capitalists, and the lower-caste people have to remain as the boot-lickers and lapdogs. This is not ancient history but the history of India in December 1968.

Reservations for Scheduled Castes in services have become mere mementoes in a museum. The caste-capitalists do not want the entry of the low-caste proletarians to step into the holy precincts of their monopolised services, lest they pollute and blasphemé their hallowed sanctuaries. Hence the destruction of caste capitalism, the mother of all inequalities, and injustices in the country must precede the destruction of money capitalism. (Cheers)

Thus the Scheduled Caste under-dog after independence has not made much advancement in any direction from that of his position prior to it. He is under-paid, ill-clad, ill-housed and symbol of exploitation. Then where lies the namely.

As I said before, that with the heralding of freedom the broad objectives of service and sacrifice have resiled far, far into the gloomy darkness of self interest. Every one wants to take advantage of every other person. The capitalist and moneyed man wants to exploit and suck the blood of the labourer, the business man wants to suck the blood of the consumer, the money lender that of the debtor, the banker that of the depositor, the doctor that of his patient, the lawyer that of his client, and in this way pyramydically the structure of exploitation grows and every one tries to exploit and trouble every other person. The spark of humanity seems to have been dried up in us. By freedom we have come to mean unchecked liberty to exploit other men.

Our national leaders lecture and harangue day in and day out, that we should try to curb our self interest in these critical days and try to serve our country to the best of our selves. But these seem to have no effect on us. We seem to be more selfless on international problems than on national ones. They get up huge meetings and parades to show their sympathy to the suffering men in viet-nam, South Africa, Rhodesia, Middle-East etc and not to the depressed, suppressed and sub-merged untouchables of India. Why do they not get up gigantic mass meetings, mass rallies and movements to obliterate caste, corruption, bribery, black marketing, hoarding and spread the gospel and message of equality and frater-

nity. I do not mean we must shut ourselves from contacts with outside world. This world is an inter dependent world, where space, time and distance have been cut short to the greatest limits. Shutting ourselves from the outside world means catastrophe. What I actually mean is, any nation to become great internationally has to be stable and strong internally. No nation can become or had become great in the world with millions suppressed, exploited, discontented and disgruntled. The bane of Indian life had been over philosophising and theorising.

Now coming to the method of building up of the nation, The nation cannot be built-up without raising national morality and character. In the light of its past history, past tradition, past out look, our national Character cannot be built up by the mere doing out of sermons, homilies and lectures on national character, national self-lessness and national service, but by strict controlling and regimentation of all departments of life in the country.

The present day state is a social service state. Not the state of *laissez Faire*, every one unto himself, the survival of the fittest. If this theory is to be followed in the present context of things the fate of millions becomes worse beyond description. The idea of the state as conceived by Hegel cannot hold good in the present circumstances. He said, "Nothing short of the state in the actualisation of Freedom" we cannot idolize the state to the extent of completely crushing and suppressing the freedom of the people. Our theory of the state as per our Indian background shall be combination of Hegelianism and Socialism. Our Government has to be a Government of relentless missionary leaders to do the greatest good to the people as a whole. It shall be a kind of dictatorial Government to the extent of safe guarding and defending the liberties and rights of the people against the exploitation of vested interests, whether they be of caste, money or economic power. It shall have to be a Government where the entire means of production and the ownership of the resources of production shall vest in the state alone. It shall be a state where there will not be privileged classes, favoured

associations, cliques, cabals and JUNTAS. Where there will not be competition and exploitation between man and man.

We in India have reached a stage where two things face the Government and the people. Introduce radical socialism for the greatest good of the many in the country or face, economic and social cataclysm. In short our country 'has to be based upon a thoroughly centralised and planned economy and not on the present type of motley coloured individual state economy. To define in the words of a great writer, 'The remedy is planned economy, not a theatrical blue print, not a longrun project, but a practical, short term plan relative to the immediate needs, circumstances and ready resources of the country. Where problems are many and available resources are few, a policy of priority is absolutely necessary. In any way, the time has come when the unplanned, uncoordinated and in many ways mutually antagonistic activities of different authorities, central and state should be ended and the country's economy should be placed under a coherent and well designed plan'.

This sort of centralised plan cannot fructify without a ruthless Government of platonian philosopher kings at the centre whose aim shall be strive, to seek and struggle to attain the greatest good of the greatest number, and never yield to the hummings, intrigues, manipulations and musings of money cliques, economic cabals, political juntas and kartels of industrialists.

The worship of the nation and the state is the need of the hour and our Government has to inculcate that spirit even by ruthless means. Not the worship of the individuals. We are an independent nation and let us not live in the land of slogans. Mere shouters and demagogues do not make a nation. Let us become a nation of tenacious, self-sacrificing and self adjusting people, sacrificing our self interest for the common good, and our watch words to be, 'My people, my country, and my nation'. The other way, lies exploitation, misery, vengeance and the country's freedom in peril.

After Independence the British and native rulers, kings and princes have vanished, yielding place to democratic rulers, kings and princes in the shape of cabinet ministers, ministers of state, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries with all the pomp, grandeur and resplendence of the native rulers at the cost of public exchequer. This is the glaring difference between the native and democratic rulers. The native rulers enjoyed at cost of private exchequers. Gandhiji's principles of high thinking and simple living have become only deluding slogans for public and foreign consumption with our present day rulers. The entourage, the huge mansions, the limousines and the paraphernalia of our democratic rulers pale the past grandeur, pomp and splendour of our kings and rulers in to insignificance.

In the past we had in India a strong foreign Government with subordinate feudal states. But today we in India have a weak Indian Government with subordinate native democratic rulers warring with each other for the fishes and loves of office, for petty inter-state boundaries and for the sharing of the waters of interstate rivers as if they belong to enemy states. The cabinet of each state in the country is ruled and presided over by certain persons belonging to the most powerful landed castes of the respective states. The vast majority of millions belonging to the Scheduled and other backward castes have no proper and effective representation in the Governments either at the centre or the states. Their representation is the most nominal and effete.

The same is their case with regard to their representation in services. Their constitutional reservation in services is a mere will-o-the-wisp. Their representation in the higher services is hardly 0.2% and their only representation is in the class IV services. Their representation in foreign and diplomatic services even after 21 years of Independence is zero. There is no one from the Scheduled Castes as Governors, High Commissioners or as ambassadors. Particularly their representation in services is being under mined by the invasion and dangerous instrument of British Imperialism, (for suppressing and eliminating patriotic persons from the administration).

services in the country) that is, the system of 'Confidential files' with this weapon the constitutional representation of Scheduled Castes in services is being destroyed and undermined with a set-purpose, programme and design. The seniority and constitutional representation of Scheduled Caste persons are simply being destroyed with a just noting in their confidential files, that they are 'in efficient'. No body seems to define that 'undefinable' word 'efficiency'. It is just like the 'Devil Quoting the scripture' to execute his own nefarious ends and purposes. (Applause)

The Government of India if it wants to be true and sincere in its implementations of all the provisions of the constitution with regard to their services and around progress they must give up using the 'Democles Sword of Confidential file system and its concomitant instrument 'efficiency' for all service personnel in the country, particularly the Scheduled Castes. A prescribed minimum qualification and a prescribed service seniority alone should be the sole criteria for giving jobs and promotions to the Scheduled Castes. No other criteria should be applied in their case. Otherwise even for ages they will never be effectively represented in service cells with governance of the country. Any amount of service cells will not solve the service grievances of the Scheduled Castes so long these service cells are dominated by persons belonging to the higher castes who will be dominating and presiding over these cells in their two fold capacity as judicial and administrative officers. These cells should be entirely constituted and manned by Scheduled Castes non-officials and service personnel with pleni potentiary powers to veto the decisions of the Government or else a separate and full fledged secretariat to deal with all the problems affecting the Scheduled Castes should be constituted by the Government under a Joint Chief Secretary to Government, so that no other secretary of any Department of Government would veto the decisions of the Secretariat for the Scheduled Castes usually the decisions of any Secretariat, are final, except in rare cases. Otherwise a super ombudsman should be appointed to deal with all the grievances pertaining to the Scheduled Castes whose decisions shall be binding on the Government.

The share of the Scheduled Castes in the economic power in the country is negligible. Though the Government of India had declared its faith in a socialist pattern of society and socialism, it has through its long and unfettered rule of 21 years consistently encouraged and nourished capitalism and capitalists in the name of mixed economy. According to expert economists, so far the Government of India had spent Rs. 32,000 Crores on planned development in the country and 50% of the money had gone into the coffers of Industrial magnets, businessman, private entrepreneurs and contractors (A prolonged Applause). It had enriched the capitalists beyond humon imagination. What is the rise in the per-capita income of the common man in the country after independence? It is not even 50%. Where as the income of the capitalist and the rich man has risen by more than 100 times his income. Out of the income rise of the commonman in India, What is the income rise of the Scheduled Caste person after independence? It is not even 25% of the average income of the common citizen in India let alone the Scheduled Castes people becoming small industrialists business men and entrepreneurs in any considerable number after independence.

Land to the tiller is a beguiling slogan of the Government to lull the Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes into a false sense of complacency and security. The landed gentry in the Country is distributing the land binami among themselves under the various consolidation and ceilings acts of the various Governments and thus depriving the excess lands to be distributed to the land less Scheduled Castes peasants and agricultural labourers. Hence we want state ownership in agriculture with a collectivised method of cultivation. Otherwise the Scheduled Castes will not be able to share any benefit in agriculture, which is the basis of economic power in the country. So long the Scheduled Castes depend on the high caste Hindus for their economic sustenance, they will not be free with all their political rights and safeguards. Hence the economic dependence of the Scheduled Castes on the high caste Hindus must be removed and shattered for ever. Secondly the Scheduled Castes should be able to man the police and the

magistracy in larger numbers, since these are the most potent instruments of power between the Scheduled Castes and the higher caste Hindus.

Today the scheduled castes of India are the hewers of wood and drawers of water. They remain in the backwaters of Indian economy. Let us look at the rural India where the scheduled castes live; the same thatched, dingy and insanitary havelis and huts, outside the main villages of the country. Most of the children and women folk are in tattered and dirty rags. Even today we read, see and hear of instances of molestation, rapes and murders of Scheduled Castes people all over India, because they wear chappals, ornaments, ride cycles, because they become monitors in classes, because they demand their grabbed land back and because they demand human status along with others in the country.

Friends and Brothers, we find a very peculiar phenomenon in this country, we are given constitutional human rights, human dignity, human status and human equality, but in actual life these same things are being subverted, undermined and denied. What a fraud and treachery on the 150 million Scheduled Castes of India! It is better we deny a person his right openly as in S. Africa and America and not openly give him the right and deny him the same in practical life. Here in India a few Scheduled Castes, persons have become ministers and big officials. They are merely ornamental fig leaves of the constitution. They are persons only with position and not power. As a matter of fact the Scheduled Castes require the power, behind the position to transform their miserable lives into heavens of peace and prosperity. Let not the constitutional safeguards make a few Scheduled Caste people the show pieces of Indian independence for foreign consumption and exhibition.

The 21 years of Independence of the country has not wrought any worth the name transformation in the depressed lives of the millions of the Scheduled Castes, untouchables of India. The glaring phenomenon, the scheduled castes are feebling and seeing all over India is, that a Calculated attempt is

being made by vested interests of caste to eliminate the Scheduled Castes of India from the political, social and economic map of India. It is time that the Scheduled Castes of India unite, organise and defend their rights and liberties irrespective of political affiliations. Otherwise the fate of the scheduled castes of India is doomed. (cheers)

It is an undeniable fact that suffering breeds revolution no amount of suppression can suppress the down trodden masses for long. A day of reckoning and judgement will definitely come in the fate and history of nations and communities, when the clarion call will be given and the fetters will be shattered and the bastilles will be blown up. In India we have achieved political freedom and not social and economic freedom. The socially disgruntled and the economically aggrieved will become the powder magazine to blow up the edifice of political power. If the rulers in the country do not remedy and redress the economic and social situation in the country history will again repeat itself in the land of the Budha and Gandhi. Mere repetition of the slogans of non-violence and satyagraha will not cut much ice with the hungry, the naked, the unemployed and the economically and socially deprived. "The whirligig of time will bring in its own changes."

Today our rulers at the centre and in the states are quarrelling and fighting among themselves for their petty powers and positions and not for the betterment and advancement of the millions of masses of our country. Like the bourgeois of France, and the Stewart kings of England, and the Czars of Russia, our rulers of today have not learnt the lessons of history. Whether India or any other Country, history will repeat itself and has to repeat itself. Let the Scheduled Castes become the torch bearers of that great in coming social revolution in India, which shall shatter the citadels of caste, exploitation and social suppression of man by man, and give a new hope and new life into the dark and murky lives of the teeming millions of India. (prolonged applause)

Before I conclude, I wish to sound note of warning to our leaders and people, that constitutional rights and privile-

ges are only meant for the unconverted Scheduled Castes of India and not for those who change their religion. At home, our Andhra Pradesh Government has coined new terminology for converted harijans called harijan Christians and trying to undermine the very basis of the special privileges and rights of the unconverted Harijans. Once a person is converted to another religion he no more remains a Scheduled Caste. It is a misnomer and fraud on the part of the Government to call converted Harijans into Christianity as Harijan Christians. By all means let the Government extend all help in improving their lot. Recently the Government has unearthed the great scandals indulged in the state medical and engineering colleges where for the past several years many a person belonging to the higher castes got admissions into these colleges by forging false caste certificates, thus depriving thousands of Scheduled Castes of admissions into these colleges. Again if the advanced and highly educated christians begin to call themselves harijans and the Government accords recognition to them, the fate of the Scheduled Castes will be doomed. There seems to be a sinister, design on the part of the Government of Andhra Pradesh in creating a new caste of Harijan Christians. Perhaps this may be the design of the Government to reduce the numerical strength of the Scheduled Castes and reduce their representation in the legislatures, parliament and ultimately in services.

It has been our experience before independence that all parties including the Congress and the muslim league used the Scheduled Castes for acquiring power, but when the actual time came to share and divide power, the scheduled castes were completely left out in the lurch. Hence the Scheduled Castes should sustain and consolidate their special identity by developing their own united platform irrespective of their political affiliation to fight for and defend their rights.

We are the real proletariat of India. We are the real workers and peasants who toil and labour in the fields and factories of India and it is our inalienable right to be at the vanguard of all the revolutionary movements in the country.

Till today we have been led by others and now it is overhounded duty to lead ourselves. Today it has become a mania and fashion for all political parties to talk in the name of serving the Scheduled Castes peoples, but actually when they come into power they do not even care to throw even a kindly glance at these downtrodden people let alone sharing even a M. L. C. or Council of State seat or any other seat with them. When the Scheduled Castes issues figure in the legislatures and Parliament except a few, most of the non Scheduled Castes leaders never bother themselves about these things. In this way many an issue of the Scheduled Castes going by default. Hence at least now let us be cautious and thoughtful in giving our precious votes in the coming general elections. Let us not be beguiled by the vote catching and fascinating slogans of the elections.

Last but not least the census year of 1970 is fast approaching and every Scheduled Caste political leader and worker should propagate in the nook and corner of Andhra Pradesh, and in every part of India, that every Scheduled Caste person should come out boldly and enrol himself or herself in the census as a scheduled caste person. Our numerical strength is being shown as dwindling though the population of the country is increasing in geometrical progression. Actually over population is tremendously rising. Our population in India at the time of partition was shown as between 75 and 80 million. Will it yet be 80 million even after 21 years of Independence? or that vasectomy operations and birthcontrol methods are being applied to only the Scheduled Castes of India? This is an issue to which all our leaders should give a serious thought. Let the real population figures of the Scheduled Castes be brought out in the coming census. The larger our population, the greater is our share in the governance of the country.

In conclusion I wish to exhort our Scheduled Castes officials and officers, that they should not forget their downtrodden people when they come into positions of power. Today the mania with our officers is that after coming into high positions they completely forget their people in whose name they have come up and form them selves into as special caste with

special privileges and rights. Such kind of assumption of 'Bourgeoisism on the part of our officers is detrimental to the very interests of the vast mass of Scheduled Castes let them not kick- the ladder by which they have come up. That is the height of treachery. (Applause)

Let me conclude in the name of Swami Vivekanada- the greatest religious reformer of our country in modern times.

" Arise, Awake, sleep not till you reach your goal ".
Jai Bheem !

K. R. Veeraswamy, M. A.,
Ex. M. L. A.

All India Scheduled Castes Concurrence

AN APPEAL

In response to the Memorandum sent to United Nations Organisation several member nations of the U. N. O have expressed sympathy and, we hope, one of them may come forward to sponsor the Memorandum at the ensuing session of the U. N. General Assembly.

Meanwhile we should prepare for an All India Conference of the Scheduled Castes to be held soon either at Hyderabad or at New Delhi. Those who intend to participate in the conference as delegates may kindly correspond with the Secretary Sri E. V. Chinnaiyah, Editor, The People's Herald, Hyderabad-20.

—Thank You.

—Adi Bharathiya Mahajana Mandali.

OUR FIFTH PUBLICATION!

Scheduled Castes Memorandum

TO.

U. N. O.

PRICE 50 Ps.

FOREIGN : 15 Cents

Published by

Dr. Ambedkar Publications Society
HYDERABAD-20

HOLY MESSAGE

"You must have a firm belief in the sacredness

of your goal. Noble is your aim and sublime and

glorious is your mission. Blessed are those who are

awakened to their duty to those among whom they

are born. Glory to those who devote their time,

talents and their all to the amelioration of slavery.

Glory to those who would keep on their struggle for

the liberation of the enslaved in spite of heavy odds,

carping humiliations, storms and dangers till the

down-trodden secure their human rights"

Sr. B. R. Ambedkar.