

# CPI(M) Appeal



**Defend Dalit Rights**  
**Modiwadi = Manuwadi**

**17th Lok Sabha 2019**



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**“वो कुछ भी कर सकते हैं पर  
सम्मान से रोजी नहीं चलती।**

**इंसान वह काम क्यों करे जो  
मशीन कर सकती है?”**

**- ज्योति**

कुम्भ में सफाई कर्मचारी



## CPI (M) Appeal to Dalit Communities

Dear Brothers & Sisters,

You are workers, you are peasants, you are teachers, you are students, you are intellectuals, you are in all professions, and as a part of those professions and classes you face common problems. But as Dalits, you are the greatest victims and also the bravest survivors of the exploitative caste system in India. In spite of all claims of being modern, the caste system not only exists, it is flourishing with the cooperation by the most “modern” system of capitalism in India. There is no other system in the world, except perhaps the blight of racism, which can even approximate this inhuman, hateful and horrific system where members of a whole community, women even more than men, are condemned, subjected, and subordinated to atrocities and discrimination at every level because of their birth. Despite all the claims to modernity, the capitalist system itself uses, promotes, and intensifies varnashram dharma to its own benefit.

The CPI(M) has battled against the caste system and all its different manifestations. The CPI(M) has organised huge and successful struggles against untouchability in all its ugly forms. The CPI(M) has stood shoulder to shoulder in all the Dalit struggles for justice. In States where the CPI(M) has been elected into Government, it has sought to radically alter the correlation of classes in rural areas by radical land reforms and distribution of land to Dalits. The CPI(M) has also fought against the low and discriminatory wages given to Dalits as employers use the inequality imposed by the caste system to intensify extraction of profit from the labour of Dalits.

The Modi Government has, in its five years of rule, implemented the most anti-Dalit policies. The term of this Government is over. The elections have been announced. Let us review the specific nature of the

policies which have been so harmful for Dalit rights in the last five years.

### **Acche din?**

While most Dalits did not believe the alluring promise of '*achhe din*' (good days) made by Narendra Modi they probably never expected to experience such dire straits. The unimaginable has become the real. From the forced suicide of Rohith Vemula in Central University of Hyderabad to the flogging of Dalits in Una (Gujarat) to the attacks on Dalits in UP's Saharanpur, MP's Chambal, the plight of Dalits under the Modi regime is the worst since Independence. This period has also witnessed a totally hypocritical attempt to hijack the legacy of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar by the Sangh Parivar. They garland Ambedkar's statue and fully back the manuvadi goondas and hooligans who break and deface Ambedkar's statues.

The corporate-friendly policies of this Government have had the worst impact on Dalits who are the most deprived and marginalised section of the population. Lack of jobs and job losses has pushed more and more Dalit families into the furnace of poverty. The deep agrarian crisis is also hitting Dalit communities the most because they make up the bulk of landless labourers and small farmers. As the food security programme is weakened by the Government, it became difficult for majority of Dalit population to afford basic food items like rice, wheat flour, pulses, etc. The Government has made budget cuts in the health sector and has given unbridled powers to profit-hungry private pharma companies which has resulted in the decline in health parameters and a rise in the mortality rate of the most vulnerable sections of our population.

These are not new phenomena but there has been a sharp increase in brutality after 2014 and that is the distinction between pre and post 2014. This has happened because a party like the BJP has come to power, a party which does not believe in our Constitution. The BJP is the political arm of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) whose sole

purpose is to establish a Hindu Rashtra governed by Manusmriti. Five years of Modi Government are also the years of direct and indirect imposition of rules dictated by Manusmriti clubbed with practices which are dragging the country back to the Medieval ages. This experience has made clear to us that Hindutva-led communalism not only targets minorities but Dalits and women suffer the same fate.

### **Budget Cuts**

With such an ideology, the Modi Government's entire effort has been not to empower the Dalits, but to snatch away from them whatever they had earlier gained. In the budget for 2018-19, allotment for Dalit sub-plan was 80 percent short of what it should have been, based on their share in total population. The Government has made provision of Rs.56,617 crore only, that is short by Rs.1,14,717 crore according to a study by Dalit Adhikar Andolan. Add two more aspects to this gross under-allocation and we are faced with a reality which is much more worrisome. First, even out of this totally inadequate allocation, only Rs.28,698 crore is meant for schemes directly connected with Dalits.

The remaining part is general allocation distributed over the entire population. Second, the actual experience of the last few years is that in many ministries, even the money allocated could not be used.

This story is not limited to just this year's budget. The Dalit sub-Plan in all the Modi Government's budgets have suffered the same Manu-sanctioned fate. The Census of 2011 showed that Dalits constituting 16.6 percent of population should have got proportionate allocation in every year. But it was only 8.79 percent in 2014-15, 6.61 percent in 2015-16, 7.06 percent in 2016-17, 8.91 percent in 2017-18 and 6.55 percent in 2018-19. This comes to only 7.59 percent average for the whole 5-year Modi rule - less than half their proportion in population.

For the last two years, the Modi Government has converted the Dalit sub-component Plan into a mere accounting exercise since this Government does not believe in a central Plan, having abolished the

Planning Commission. The CPI(M) stands for a separate legislation to ensure the full budgetary amount in proportion to the Dalit population in India.

### **Anti-Reservation and No Jobs for Dalits**

We also saw that the promise of providing 2 crore jobs was later called a jumla (gimmick) by the BJP itself. No recruitment to 60 lakh vacant posts in Government sector alongwith rapid privatisation and contractualisation only means that young Dalit candidates will not get their share of these jobs as reserved by the Constitution. We also saw the Modi Government's tacit support to casteist forces when the 13-point roster system was introduced through the back-door in higher education because it did not take a firm stand in the apex court to defend the rights of Dalits. The only hope for Dalits is getting jobs in the private sector. But this Government does not even want to think of reservations in private sector jobs, something that CPI(M) has been demanding constantly.

Meanwhile, the Modi Government's disastrous policies have led to enormous job cuts which affect Dalits more than other communities. Dalits also make up most of the unorganised sector workers who are deprived of the basic labour rights such as minimum wage, 8 hours working day, and weekly holiday. Young Dalits cannot think about starting their own business because they are denied loans and economic support from banking institutions. In the agrarian economy, a blanket ban on cattle trade and sale of meat and full support to *gaurakshaks* is destroying the leather industry. These are a few examples how Dalits are being restrained from moving forward.

Every policy under Modi's leadership is linked with Manuvaadi ideologies. When It talked about cashless economy after eliminating 5 crore jobs through demonetisation, it was meant to alienate Dalits, women and tribals from the formal economy. GST, Mudra loans, land grab by corporates and smart cities, all have led to ostracization of dalits and a further push toward the margins.

## **Relentless Increase in Atrocities**

A sudden increase in atrocities committed against Dalits is not an isolated social phenomenon or an aberration—it has turned into a bigger attack against their dignity. Attack on Dalits in Bhima Koregaon, toppling down of statues of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar across the country, floggings and lynchings, all clearly shows this mentality. The real motive behind the violence unleashed by Hindutva forces is to crush the rising awareness of the Dalit community following decades of struggle by the reformers such as Ayyankali, Jyotiba and Savitri Bai Phule, Dr. Ambedkar and numerous communist social reformers.

National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) report 2016 only makes this mentality crystal clear. The report shows an increase of 25 per cent in crimes committed against Dalits among which women are worst victims. Rapes of Dalit women have doubled in last ten years. In first year of Modi govt., every day on an average 6 Dalit women were raped. Every 15 minutes, there was an atrocity against Dalits. Studies show that in five years of present Government, atrocities against Dalits have seen a jump of 6-8 times, in comparison with five years of earlier regime. In 2015, 38,670 cases of atrocities against Dalits were registered while in 2016 this number jumped to 40,801. Thousands of cases went unregistered due to hostility of police or terror tactics of upper castes. BJP ruled states of UP, Bihar, Rajasthan and MP top the chart in this matter. Strangely, the Government has not published data since 2016, probably because it would expose the Government's real face.

The atrocities data reveals three horrific trends. First, pending cases have increased by 99 percent. It means there is no investigation or action after registration of First Information Report (FIR). Second, in comparison to previous years there has been an increase of 50 percent in pending cases where charge-sheets have been filed in courts. Third, conviction rate which was already below 30 percent fell further by two per cent. This is not even 1 percent of total number of complaints. Among these, Gujarat has an abysmal record where conviction rate is almost

zero per cent which means, be it crime of Una or Junagarh, there would be no punishment.

It is in this context that Dalits came out on the streets in massive numbers on April 2, 2018 with their just anguish after the Supreme Court diluted the Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act. But this anguish too was met with violence which claimed the lives of 11 innocent Dalits many of whom were murdered by Sanghis who have not been arrested till date. No compensation to the families of those killed has been paid by earlier BJP Government's of UP, MP and Rajasthan. The BJP was once again exposed when their govts. filed numerous fake cases against Dalits. It is no coincidence that all violent incidents took place in BJP ruled states like Maharashtra, MP and Rajasthan.

### **Snatching Away the Right to Education**

Followers of Manusmriti have definitely become much cleverer. Instead of gross acts of atrocities described in myths and epics, like the beheading of Shambuk or the cutting of Eklavya's thumb, they resort to more indirect methods. On the one hand, seats for Dalits in universities are getting curtailed and private education shops are expanding very rapidly. On the other hand, blocking of scholarships for Dalit students is a deadly tool. Arrears of Dalit scholarships have been mounting for upto three years. Including these arrears, Rs.8,000 crore in were needed 2017-18 for payment of scholarships. But only Rs.3347.8 crore was allocated. In 2018-19, this was further reduced and hundreds of crores of arrears remain unpaid.

The ruling government is implementing its regressive agenda with utmost seriousness and we are witnessing fake cases registered against scholars arguing in defence of Dalits and democratic rights being curtailed in universities. Dalits are being systematically pushed out of formal education. Rohit Vemula's institutional murder showed the pitiable condition of Dalits in higher education. This trend manifested itself in two forms in the then-BJP-ruled states: first, there is no increase

in scholarships and secondly, we witnessed huge scams in these scholarship schemes in various states like Madhya Pradesh. Another way to restrict education opportunities to dalit students in BJP ruled states was when 15 per cent seats in hostels for Dalit students were given away to general category students.

### **Safai Karmacharis Continue to Die**

In absence of any effort of modernisation of work of cleaning, the much hyped but insensitive *Swachh Bharat* campaign has triggered more deaths of workers on the job. In 2018, 112 safai karmacharis died while cleaning sewers' continuing the trend of the past few years. The Government boasts of India being the fastest growing major economy of the world, but we see death of a sanitary worker every third day. Actually the Government does not have even a proper count of these workers who are forced to work in fatally insecure conditions. Total numbers, claimed after so-called survey of 12 states, does not tally with 26 lakh dry latrines still functioning according to the Government. Even big departments like Railways under the central Government and many departments in states do not have any institutional arrangements for ensuring safe cleaning.

### **Left Bulwark Against Caste Oppression**

History is the evidence that it is only the CPI(M) and the Left, that have fought big battles against caste based discrimination and injustices. They have integrated the fight against economic and social oppression into their day to day struggles and campaigns.

It is only the CPI(M) and the Left which has challenged this criminal Hindutva ideologically and provided a humane alternative with its practices and policies. In a first in the entire country, Kerala's Left Democratic Front government broke with tradition by recruiting Dalits as priests in temples. It is only because of the egalitarian reforms in sectors like education, health and land distribution by successive Left Governments in Tripura, Kerala and West Bengal that these states fare

better in every aspect of social life and have the lowest crime-rates against Dalits. The General Elections of 2019 is an opportunity to overthrow the BJP which is the main force behind these crimes. We should strengthen the CPI(M) and the Left in the upcoming Lok Sabha for an alternate secular Government. When there are more Left MPs in the parliament the voice of the oppressed will be all the more stronger.

*The CPI(M) Appeal:*

**Defeat the BJP Government-Save India, Defend Dalit Rights**

**Strengthen the Left, Vote for the CPI(M)**

**Ensure a Secular Government at the Centre**

The CPI(M) is firmly committed to the abolition of the caste system and all forms of caste oppression.

In all spheres of basic human rights such as the universal right to health, education, employment, decent living conditions and security, it will promote special measures specifically for the advancement of the rights of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, including additional allocations.

( from the CPI(M) Election Manifesto,  
17th Lok Sabha 2019 )

# **Vote CPI(M)**



**Defeat the BJP alliance**

**Increase the Strength of the  
CPI(M) and the Left**

**For an Alternative Secular Government**

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