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Contemporary Dalit Movement in Karnataka: A Tale of Social Transformation or Missed Opportunities?

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Abstract:

It is a well-known fact that "Untouchability", a most venomous evil of Hindu Society, has dehumanized a sizeable section of humanity, called untouchables. The victims of untouchability suffered a lot to the stigma of untouchability including oppressive servitude, acute illiteracy, grinding poverty, degraded status and sinister contempt. It even marred the progress of the nation to a great extent. The caste Hindus could successfully exploited the ignorance and helplessness of the untouchables to such an extent that they were made to believe that it was most religious and divinely instituted and resistance to it would bring divine wrath. Thus, their voice could not be audible; rather it was savagely suppressed until recently.

KEYWORDS:

Dalit, Karnataka, BhimSen, BabasahebAmbedkar, DalitaSangharshaSamiti

INTRODUCTION:

The main objective of the Dalit Movement in Karnataka was to liberate the historically known untouchable classes from the most oppressive practice of untouchability, observed unscrupulously by the caste Hindus and to bring the former on par with socio-cultural level of the privileged classes, so that they could be brought to the national mainstream.

Therefore, the present paper makes an attempt to probe the origin, history and growth of Dalit Movement in Karnataka. It also makes intends to probe and recognize the role of BhimSena in the evolution and growth of Dalit Movement in Karnataka. Finally, the paper evaluates the success and failures of Dalit movement in its existence of several decades and provides the suggestions for the uplift of Dalits through Dalit movement in Karnataka.

II. THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF DALIT MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA:

Karnataka has occupied a unique place in the history of social movements of the country. In the 12th century, Basaveshwara made a sincere attempt to reform the orthodox society. During his time such liberal attempts were not acceptable by the fundamentalists. But Basaveshwara's attempts were for the first time helped Dalits to go near social equality. His disciples like MadaraChennaiah, DoaraKakkaiah, HoleraHaralaiah could break the shackles of caste system because of Basaveshwara's initiative. However, such attempts failed to create a new movement, which Basaveshwara had thought; instead it created again the rigid society. Bhakti Movement in the 16th century saw some non-Brahmins particularly from backward castes walking on the path of social reform. BhaktaKanakadas, like Basaveshwara preached his

pupils through his Keerthanas, which were simple but powerful weapon to reforms the social system. Progressive kings like Sri. Krishnarajendra Wodeyar introduced various welfare measures to emancipate that exploited subjects. Wodeyar's rule in Karnataka produced far-reaching changes by creating progressive leaders like Holeyar Gopalswamy Iyer and others.

With the advent of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on the national scene, social movements began to grow strong. Encouragement given by the rulers towards Dalits in the field of education created a strong base for the emancipatory discourse. Babasaheb's visit to Dharwad and Bangalore further inspired the Dalits to seek entry into bureaucracy and political fields. Babasaheb's desire of separate electorate which produced real representatives of his community was nullified through Poona Pact. In Karnataka, to some extent the real representatives of Dalit community emerged within the system of Reserve Constituency.

Dalit Movement in Karnataka would be incomplete without mentioning the Dalit activities in Mumbai-Karnataka during the first few decades of twentieth century. Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Jyothiba Phule were the inspirational sources for these activities. Way back in 1851 itself, Mahatma Jyothiba Phule has established a special school for the girls. By establishing a school, he wanted to prove to the Dalit community that education is the only solution for their socio-economic problems. During the 3000 years of Dalit history, it was the first time that a social reformer has established a separate school for the emancipation and empowerment of Dalit students.²

The efforts of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Jyothiba Phule had a long lasting impact on the area of Mumbai-Karnataka, especially in Belgaum district. The branches of "Rashtra Veera" and "Satya Shodaka" societies with their earnest effort helped to spread the views and literatures of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Jyothiba Phule. The other Dalit leaders who fought for the emancipation of Dalits were Balwanth Rao Warale, Devaraya Ingale, M.B. Nadkarni, Parushuram Paddanna, Ratnappa Suryavanshi, Laxman Kamble, M.N. Mane and others. Among all these Dalit leaders it was Mr. Devaraya Ingale who not only convinced Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to tour the area of Mumbai-Karnataka but also felicitated him at Belgaum and Nippani.³

Though, Mysore region in Karnataka was suffering from the lack of leadership, but the Dalit Movement in Mumbai-Karnataka was more active and vibrant thanks to the efforts and impact of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Mahatma Jyothiba Phule. Hence, it becomes clear that Mumbai-Karnataka was the only region, which readily responded for the call of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. The frequent tour made by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had instilled a sense of dedication and enthusiasm among the Dalit activists in the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar. For this reason, the above-mentioned districts have witnessed the Dalit struggles, which were quite similar to the struggles in Maharashtra. The Dalit leaders like Shankaranand Shastri Hongal, Balwanth Rao Varale, S.N. Mane were the ardent and dedicated followers of

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. In perusal of his cherished goals Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has established the organization by the name "Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha" at Belgaum in 1924.

Thus, the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Jyothiba Phule influenced the Dalit Movement in the region of Mumbai-Karnataka. It was the first instance, where the Dalits are united for the first time. Influenced by Mahatma Jyothiba Phule, the famous Dalit activist of the region, Devaraya Ingale tried to abolish the surnames which were indicative of their castes, to abolish the Devadasi system, to ban the eating of the flesh of dead animals and other revolutionary reforms through his writings and fights. Balwanth Rao, H. Varale is another big name in the Dalit Movement of Belgaum district. He played a major role in the fight against the untouchability; he established the hostels for Dalit students in the areas of Nippani, Hukkeri, Dharwar and Bijapur.

III. THE BIRTH OF BHIMSENA AND DALIT MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA:

On 29 April 1968, while celebrating the 77th Birthday of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, "BhimSena" was born in a big rally. It was Shyamsundar, an ardent and dedicated associate of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who founded the BhimSena. He was born in Aurangabad of Maharashtra, lived in Hyderabad of Andhra Pradesh but worked most of his time in Karnataka particularly in Hyderabad Karnataka region. It was a parallel organization to the Dalit Panthers of Maharashtra. This organization had the aim of meeting violence with violence. BhimSena was successful in terrorizing the minds of landlords and caste Hindus.

With the birth of "BhimSena" in Gulbarga, the influence of Shyamsundar expanded to the entire country. When the "BhimSena" was evolved into a strong outfit in South India, later it expanded to the states of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab. It was one of the most important organizations in the Dalit Movement. Choosing the fighting is the only way for empowerment, BhimSena has put four demands before the country. They were 1) to provide 25% of villages in every taluka to the Dalits 2) separate constituencies for Dalits 3) the establishment of separate university for Dalits in every state and 4) the

establishment of separate political organization for Dalits. The main objective of the BhimSena was the empowerment and emancipation of Dalits, other backward castes and minorities.

Accordingly, the Dalit Movement in Karnataka is very much indebted to Shri. B. Shyamsunder, who was a legend in his life time- a scholar, orator, thinker, philosopher, poet, agitator, writer and a parliamentarian – a rare combination in one person. If Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is universally recognized as the undisputed leader of the Indian untouchables, the credit for transposing many of his revolutionary thoughts into an action – packed programme, goes to Shyamsunder and his formidable organization BhimSena. Around 2 lakh strong self – defense force of militant, dedicated Scheduled Caste youths, which created a tremendous impact particularly in the three states of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra.⁴

He was born at Aurangabad on December 18, 1908 in Scheduled Caste family, the son of BaddulaManickyam, a railway head constable. He passed his B.A. from Osmania University and after studying law, he soon jumped into Youth and Trade Union Movements and from then onwards; it was a mighty Saga of Stormy, endless battle. Shyamsunder was a man of sterling qualities, a child at heart, though a man of steel when it came to the question of striking at these who harmed the untouchables. A true friend and a devoted follower of Dr. Ambedkar, he went a step further and successfully fought for the cause of the Dalits. India, he said, “belongs to the Dalit and they alone shall rule it”.⁵ He gave Dr. BhimraoAmbedkar's name to his BhimSena, which unlike many other Senas that sprang up at that time, stood for noble and upright causes. Indeed, the BhimSena could be considered the father of the Dalit Panther movement of Maharashtra and for that matter of the entire Dalit Movement in India.⁶

The entire untouchable population of the three districts of Hyderabad-Karnataka region Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur owe their position to the historic role played by Shyamsunder and the Bhim Sena.⁷ The untouchables in these areas may have remained as poor and backward, as their counterparts in the rest of the country, but nowhere else could one see such tremendous awareness and awakening among the Dalits. The BhimSena has succeeded in striking terror into the hearts of the caste Hindus and particularly those of the landed gentry. Scheduled caste youth can now walk with their heads held high. This is no mean achievement and no parallel to this can be found anywhere in the whole of South India and that is why even Congress leaders of this area, unanimously acknowledge the contribution of Shyamsunder. Most of the Scheduled Caste youths in these parts are well versed in Ambedkar literature. They are also conscious of their rights as human beings. The politically powerful landed gentry will now have to think twice before resorting to brutalities against the untouchables. The BhimSena created havoc for the Hindus in Karnataka region. The state government led by Nijalingappa and then by VeerendraPatil-both Lingayats, kept a close watch on its movements and filed several cases against BhimSena leaders, who had publicly asked untouchables to burn the “Hindu Gods” and “Holy Scripture” that were responsible for the creation of untouchability.⁸ Despite the best efforts of the Government, it could hardly make a dent on the BhimSena movement which had grown to giant size.

ShivaramMogha of the Republican party of India said that Shyamsunder revolutionized the entire Scheduled Caste youth in this area. While Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, followed Buddha's non-violence, Shyamsunder wanted violent changes. That was the reason why unlike Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, he did not embrace Buddhism. He mixed the philosophy of Buddhism, though he did not like to adopt that religion. He did not join the R.P.I., since it enjoyed the support of the caste Hindus and had political ambitions. That is why, he wanted the BheemSena to be confined to social and Cultural Revolution through which alone, he believed that salvation to the Dalits could be found.⁹ It grew quickly in strength. The total strength of BhimSena was put at 2 lakhs, each member paying 10 paise a month as subscription. Ex-servicemen were giving them Military training in self-defense. The BhimSena had its own constitution and flag. The District Chairman was nominated by the President of the BhimSena. On the first Sunday of every month, the BhimSena leaders visited taluka headquarters and when caste Hindu atrocities occur the BhimSena provided the self-defense force. It had its own intelligence service, adult education, team and a census service. The whole movement might have lasted just six or seven years but it virtually created a revolution in the minds of the Dalits to whom it gave new courage and confidence to fight back against caste Hindus fascist tendencies. But it was tragedy that such a glorious career of Shyamsunder came to an abrupt end and the BhimSena found no worthy leader to carry the torch of socio-economic revolution hit by Shyamsunder. It was a pity that all the top leaders of the BhimSena soon deserted it to find berths in cosy corners, leaving the movement in disarray and the youth in disillusion.

IV. STAGES OF DALIT MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA:

The Stages of Dalit Movement can be studied with the growth of the DalitaSangharshaSamiti. This can be divided into three stages:
From 1975-85

From 1986-95

From 1996 onwards

In the first stage, the DalitaSangharshaSamiti worked realistically with commitment. However, during the last part of the first decade the organization witnessed the dissident activities. It may be submitted that the state conveners were divided on various issues. The organization failed to keep them united. The leaders at the fore neglected the founding fathers of this movement. The trouble started during the 1983 election. In the 1983 election, a question was raised in the DalitaSangharshaSamiti whether it has to take a creative participation in the electoral process or whether it had to extend only external support to a political party. Much against the wishes of the District Conveners the State Committee decided to support Janata Dal. It is this decision, which gave a jolt to the movement.

In the second stage, the wound became deep with the expulsion of Mr. M. Venkataswamy who was the Bangalore District Convener. Mr. Venkataswamy formed his own organization in the name of 'SamathaSainikaDala'. His expulsion was due to the misuse of Rs. 8,110/-. A one-man committee was formed so as to enquire into the charges. This committee under the chairmanship of RangaswamyBelladamadu found Venkataswamy guilty. This was when the first split occurred in 1986. A year later, the second split occurred when Jiganishankar formed his Karnataka JanandolanaSanghataney followed by Nagaraju, Venkatesh and AswathAntyaja of the DalitaSangharshaSamitiSamyojaka, D. M. Timmarayappa of DalitaKriyaSamiti, JapetShantappa and Manohar Prasad of Dalita Krista Okkuta, MapannaHadanoor and Shankrappa of Karnataka MadigaDandora have contributed to the list of splits. Every leader wanted to keep his identity floated in his own groups, which turned to be tragic for the movement. But, they argued that this number will increase and the strength of the Dalit Movement will also be increased.

In the third stage, from 1996 onwards the D. G. Sagar group and the M. Jayanna group maintained their identity. This identity symbolizes the right and left categorization among Scheduled Castes. The D. G. Sagar faction had K. NarayanaSwamy, N. Muniswamy, DevanurMahadeva, Lakshminarayana and DevendraHegade as prominent leaders. On the other hand the M. Jayanna's group had Mavalli Shankar, Giryappa, C. K. Mahesh, ShridharKaliveera, Devadas and Gurumurthy as leaders. In this stage, D. G. Sagar failed to keep his group united. LakshminarayanaNagavar, IndhudharHonnapur, HariharaAnandaswamy, GuruprasadKeregoud came out of theSagar faction in 2003-04. At present in Bangalore according to IndhudharHonnapur 23 groups of Dalit organizations exist. Out of this, 12 are in the name of DalitaSangharshaSamiti. Honest leaders of the DalitaSangharshaSamiti are under utter confusion. Political parties are hoping to bring about more splits in the movement.

The upper strata of the society wanted this to happen. The leaders were given some lucrative posts by the Janata Dal Government. It is here that the leaders became more selfish and started to sacrifice the interest of the community and the aims of the movement for lucrative posts. They should have realized what would happen to them after attaining the lucrative posts. The division of major groups into sub groups has made the District and Divisional Conveners fail to address the genuine problems. In some districts like for example in Shimoga, the District Convener Mr. Gurumurthy belonged to the Jayanna faction, which is powerful. He mobilized Dalits to fight for their cause. Often the rival factions are engaged in fighting one against the other. It has reached the stage where the meetings or dharna are held with adequate police protection. The ideology of DalitaSangharshaSamiti, which is based on non-violence, has to seek police protection because its leaders resort to brutal force. Today their leaders do not wish to stand face to face. Their morality and integrity has been questioned. A powerful Dalit movement was made to become weak. If a movement becomes weak, the interest of the Dalit will not be adequately safeguarded.

V. DALIT MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA: ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

1. Dalit movement in Karnataka provided courage to fight against the Devadasi System and BettalaSeve incidents perpetrated on the Dalits;
2. Exploded the myth that the untouchables are mute and passive;
3. Caused up roar against the unjust caste system;
4. Initiated a debate on Dr.Ambedkar's ideology;
5. It compelled the government to fill the backlog posts in various depts.;
6. It contributed significantly towards the Dalit Literature;
7. It was able to create a counter culture and separate identity.
8. It has made popular the term "Dalit" in preference to terms like Harijans and Untouchables.
9. Dalit movement in Karnataka captured the imagination of the younger generation and
10. Projected a militant image through their tactics of confrontation.

VI. DALIT MOVEMENT IN KARNATAKA: ITS FAILURES

1. There is a substantial gap between their goals and the efforts to achieve them;
2. Dalit Movement in Karnataka is lacking basic organizational infrastructure;
3. It failed to link itself with other parallel movement;
4. Cadre building programme was totally neglected in the Dalit movement of Karnataka;
5. It suffered from lack of funds, so much necessary to build effective organizations.
6. No solid efforts were made to understand the rural position of the Dalits for example, the Dalit relationship to the land.
7. This movement mostly confined to urban areas. Local leaders working in small towns and rural belts found it difficult to establish contacts with their urban based leaders. Therefore, there always remained lack of coordination among the leaders and the activities.
8. Many time this movements adopted a very passive way of protest.
9. The unilateral decision-making in the Dalit organizations oriented the cadre from the important decisions in the Dalit Movement.
10. The usage of foul and mean language by the cadre and activities of the various Dalit Organisations have alienated the active support and cooperation of the common public.
11. The lack of transparency in financial transactions of the various Dalit Organisations succeeded in creating discussions in the Dalit Movement of Karnataka and
12. The immature leadership, lack of unity and the opportunities in the leaders of the Dalit Organization resulted in the various splits and weakened the Dalit Movement in Karnataka.

VII. CONCLUSION:

The Dalit Movement in Karnataka created a new spirit in the minds of the exploited people. It broadened its base by supporting the Backward Classes and Minorities in their cause for justice. The Dalit Movement always upheld the dignity of women in the male dominated society. It always had the courage to voice against the injustice and was committed for the cause of humanity. It emerged strong in the districts of Bangalore, Kolar, Chitradurga, Shimoga, Hubli-Dharwad, Belgaum, Gulbarga, Mysore, Chamarajanagar and Mangalore. This movement became a weapon of social change by vigorously addressing the humiliations, indignities and atrocities heaped on Dalits. It became a vehicle of life and its spirit represented the spirit of the age. The greatness of this movement lays in its zeal and burning love for suffering humanity. This made the movement to have deep imprint in the emancipatory discourse. But in the gradual stages the leaders in the movement failed to keep the movement united and strong. It was Shri. Ramakrishna Hegde the then Chief Minister in 1983 and 1985 elections made the Dalit Movement leaders to enter power politics. The wind of Political Power polluted the movement.*

Hitherto, the Socio-cultural movement began to transform into a political movement. Some supported Janata Dal, some BSP and few Congress. By supporting different political parties, the movement got divided. However, majority pulse is in favour of capturing political power. Few leaders wanted to keep Dalit Movement free from political movement. Some wanted that within the movement they have to have political movement. They argue that they could fight for social, economic and Cultural Revolution side by side. In Indian polity, the function of such movement is unseen. Politics is seen as series of compromise. The Dalit Movement has to keep this in the mind. The strength and support of the people will be different when it is transformed into political party. The main task of Dalit Movement is to bring social change by putting pressure on the state to fulfill its constitutional duties and develop leadership qualities among Dalits.

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