

Appendix I

POONA PACT (24 SEPTEMBER 1932)

(The Agreement arrived at between the leader acting on behalf of the Depressed Classes and of the rest of the Hindu Community regarding the representation of the Depressed Classes in the Legislative and certain other matter affecting their welfare.)

1. There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of general electorates. Seats in Provincial Legislatures shall be as follows:

Madras	39
Bombay (with Sind)	15
Punjab	08
Bihar and Orissa	18
Central Provinces	20
Assam	07
Bengal	30
United Provinces	20
Total	148

2. Election to seats shall be by joint electorate subjects, however, to the following procedure:

All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency will form an electoral college which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats, by the method of single vote and the four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election shall be candidates for election by the general electorate.

3. Representation of the Depressed Classes in the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint Electorates and reserved seats by the method of primary election in the manner provided for in Clause 2 above for their representation in Provincial Legislatures.
4. In the Central Legislature, 18 per cent of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British Indian in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.
5. The system of primary election to panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislatures, as hereinbefore mentioned, shall come to an end after the first ten years unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of Class 6 below.
6. The system of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in Clauses I and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement.
7. The franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee Report.
8. There shall be no disabilities attaching to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any elections to local bodies or appointment to public service.
9. Every Endeavour shall be made to secure a fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to public services.
9. In every province out of the educational grant an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to members of the Depressed Classes.

Appendix II

Panther –a monthly magazine and mouthpiece organ of the Dalit Panthers organisation in Gujarat – had covered some of the atrocities and thus attempted to present the Dalit life in Gujarat. The following incidents of Dalit atrocities are taken from two issues of *Panther* dated 14 May 1976 (8-9) and 14 July 1976 (8-19).

“Harijanvasma Garba Gavata Savarna Hinduono Humlo.” On 24th April 1976 when the Dalits had been playing Garbas in their vas so the *savarnas* were angry at the Dalits. The incident took place at SamPur Village of Modasa taluka in Sabarkantha district, Gujarat. The *savarnas* attacked the Dalitvas. Three to four Dalits were injured. Not only this, after the attack there was a meeting of the *savarnas* and they decided to boycott the Dalits. So the Dalits complained against the attack and also about the boycott. The police bandobast was given to the Dalits. Nine arrests were made including former policeman Ranaji Pethaji while five culprits ran away.

“Lagna Prasange Loud Speaker Vagadta Dalito Par Humlo.” At village Andhaj, taluka Nadiyad, District Kheda, when Dalits played ceremonial songs on loudspeaker in a marriage ceremony, Thakors abused the Dalits and attacked the Dalitvas. The offenders created an atmosphere of terror by burning 4590 big bundles of grass. So all the Dalits had fled and migrated to a safer place. Water connections of the Dalit vas were also disconnected. Dalits complained to the Governor of the state.

“Ronkina Kamnaseeb Yuvannu Patthar Marine Khun Karvama Aavyu.” A report by Vanraj Chavda.

On 14th May 1976 at Ronaki village in Manavadar taluka of Junagadh district, a Dalit youth named Madha Sajan was killed by some culprits. Village Ronaki is just two miles away from Manavadar. The population of the village was 4000 but there were only 24 houses of the

Dalits. The Dalits worked as farm labourers for four months and for rest of the year either they tanned leather or collect forest produce. No Dalit was the owner of the land and thus these 24 families did not have any source of income. After 28 years of independence also not a single youth is educated. The majority of the population of Village Ronaki is comprised of Ahirs and Patels and untouchability is strictly observed as per old norms.

Madha Sajan who married three years ago went to *Seem* (the far off farms of the village) to collect firewood on 14th May 1976. As he did not come back up to 8 O'clock in the evening his father Sajan Heera, and neighbours named Madha Hari, Bhoja Ruda, Khakha Heera, Manga Ruda, Amra Punja and Parbat Jeeva started the search. They found him seriously injured. There were deep cuts on his neck. The head was also broken, hand was fractured, and seriously beaten all over the body. The Dalits immediately called the sarpanch of the village and took Madha Sajan to the Government hospital at Manavadar. Only primary treatment was given to him. The doctors informed the police. As the Dalit youth was serious he was shifted to the General Hospital at Junagadh. But in the views of the witness, for three days the doctors did not pay proper attention to the injured Dalit man. In the beginning the doctors suggested for an operation and for the operation blood was needed. When the relatives agreed to donate blood, the doctors changed their opinion and said it will be cured without operation. After three days when the bandages were removed from the body, it was totally covered with wounds. Doctor Teembva rejected the plea of the family members to shift the injured man to Jamnagar for better treatment. Because of the negligence of the doctors the Dalit youth lost his life at 8 O'clock on Tuesday in the evening.

The response of the police was even worse than the doctors. When the youth was admitted in the Manavadar hospital the doctors had informed the police about this incident. But

police came after eight days for an enquiry. The investigation was done on 23rd May 1976. The body of Madha Sajan suggested that he was murdered with stones and weapons. The police opined that the victim was killed as he had seen a characterless woman of village with her lover in the farm. So the lover had killed Madha Sajan to save his prestige. While in the views of the Dalits, the victim's body was recovered from the farm of a stubborn person. More than one man were involved in this murder. But they were afraid and thus not able to speak. They opined, "If the haughty farmers of Sanosara village are inquired properly then the case will be solved otherwise as usual it will be closed. Dalit Panther, Gujarat wrote to all the office bearers of the concerned departments.

"Chitrasar Game Dalito Par Darbarono Hichkaro Humlo." At Chitrasar village of Matar taluka in Kheda district a Dalit named Jethabhai Shanabhai Makwana was attacked by Manu Bhavsinh, Budhaji Jeevaji, Ravji Budhaji, and Laxman Bhavsinh. Dalit Panther leaders Shri Rameshchandra Parmar, Shri Keshubhai and Shri Ishwarbhai Solanki visited the victim to know the reason for the attack. On 25th June 1976, a Dalit named Jethabahi was attacked in his head with a spade. Mafatbhai – a Dalit – was wounded by Thakor Budhajee with a spear. His hand and arm were badly injured. Police case was registered but still no arrests were made. Dalits also informed to Dalit Panthers leaders that whenever the notorious person Thakor Budhajee was arrested, the village sarpanch Dineshbhai Chaturbhai Patel bailed him out.

"*Dhragandhrama Harijanbai Par Khetarna Malikono Balatkar.*" A Dalit woman was raped by the farm owner Kanbi Shankar Valji and his brother Vitthal Valji when she went to the farm for daily labour work. She registered a complaint in the police station. The police had filed the case under IPC 376 and 114 and started the search for the culprits.

“Dharasabhya Shri Khetarma Jai Shakta Nathi!” A Dalit Member of Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.) of Gujarat Shri Haribhai Parmar of Jotana complained the Congress (I) leaders that he was not able to go to his farm as the road to the farm was blocked by the notorious persons of his village. His life was also in danger. If a Dalit M.L.A. who having the constitutional powers for the protection of his fellow beings and if his life was in danger then what could be the position of a common Dalit person?”

“Savarna Hinduna Kuve Pani Bharva Jata Dalit Yuvtine Kuvama Fenki.” On 22nd June 1976, a Dalit young lady named Jaha Vala was thrown in a well when she was filling her pots from the well at Meethapur village of Jafrabad taluka of Amreli district. Her offense was that because of unavailability of water in the village she went to the well of Bavak Maya, a Kathi Darbar. When she was filling the pots from the well, she was seen by the owner and he was furious and said “Hey untouchable, why did you fill water from my well? Did you pollute my well? He misbehaved with the Dalit girl and threw her pots and the lady also into the well. Jaha tried hard to save her life and luckily she caught a pipe for irrigation and shouted for help to save her life. She was saved by other farm labourers. She was admitted in a government hospital at Rajula. She registered a complaint under IPC 307, 504 and Untouchability Act.

“*Havadanu Pani ya Kem Peeo Chho?*” At Dodiya village of Jasdan taluka of Rajkot district, the fundamentalist upper caste people had attacked the Dalits when they were filling water from the water trough which was meant for the animals. Three to four Dalits had been wounded. After this attack the village Panchayat allowed the Dalits to fill water from the same water trough.”

“A Representative Delegation of Dalit Panthers met the Governor.” A representative delegation of Dalit Panthers named Rameshchandra Parmar, Naran Vora, Naginbhai Parmar, Valjibhai Patel and Maganbhai Rathod met the State Governor K. K. Vishvanathan.

Jetalpur was the first village where the Dalit Panthers attempted to organize Dalits in 1974. The Dalit Panthers formed a co-operative (Shramajivi Sahakari Mandali). In 1974 during the President’s Rule, some land was given to 13 landless Dalits of Jetalpur village for a year who were members of this society. The Dalits spent 3000 rupees and also worked very hard to make the land more fertile. Before the end of cultivation period, the village Panchayat transferred the land to the forest department for the plantation of trees under “Grow more trees” scheme. However two Dalit members of Panchayat resigned and thus registered their protest against the Sarpanch. The sarpanch had ignored the government programme of Ashprushyata Nivaran Jyot. This had been registered in the Panchayat records. The delegation requested the Governor to take action against the Sarpanch. Thus, the Dalits raised their voice against the Savarnas from 1974 which ultimately culminated into killing of Shakrabhai on 25 December 1980 and also the 1981 anti-reservation agitation.

Appendix III

Some serious incidents of the atrocities and cruelty committed by the caste-Hindus in the villages of North Gujarat took place. These atrocities are reported in the report prepared by Bhartiya Depressed Class League, Ahmedabad titled as *Anti-Reservation Agitation- A Caste War of Caste-Hindus Against Dalit (S.C.) in Gujarat (1981)*. These details are taken from page no. 34-50.

Langhanj village in Mehsana Taluka Dist. Mehsana

A caste-Hindu mob in a procession with an effigy of Shri Yogendra Makwana, a State minister in Central government, moved in the village and came to the entrance of Harijan vas and burnt the same on 22 February 1981. Thereafter during nighttime, the caste- Hindu mob burnt a house and a shop of household-material and goods both owned by Harijans were burnt and looted.

On such incident the Harijans being shivered due to fear and terror informed the police and revenue authorities for protection. However no action were taken for the protection of Harijans. Harijans complained once again and asked for the protection. The village people had also socially boycotted the Harijans. Harijans were not allowed to move out of Harijan vas. They were also not allowed to buy anything from the village. The Harijans of the village were dependent on farm-labour but as the village agriculturists did not call them for farm-labour it becomes a problem for Harijans how to maintain themselves and their families. The caste-Hindus of this village also excited the other village caste-Hindus not to maintain any-relation and mutual dealings with the Harijans of Langhanaj village. The Harijans also feared that they would not be given their share when the crops will be harvested. A system of share-cropping existed in

the villages where the labourer gets one fourth of the produce after all the costs are deducted. Since they were not allowed to work on the farms in the last few days, which were the last phase of the crop, they will not get their share, says a Harijans. Such an eventuality would put most of them into a tight spot.

Detroj: Village, Taluka: Viramgam, District: Ahmedabad

Due to marriage ceremony in Harijans (SC) Maholia on 16-2-81, they have erected Cloth-mandap and were drumming a *dhol* (drum) and playing music cassettes on the night of 15 February 1981. On such joyous celebration a mob of excited caste-Hindus came at the entrance of the street and began to abuse Harijans uttering harsh words. The electrical light current was jut off and began to throw stones. But due to constant urge and request the mob disbursed.

Next day on 15-2-81 the scheduled caste leader of the street gave a representation to Police-Sub Inspector (PSI) on the spot, and made a demand for protection. Two local police and four home guards of were placed for one day.

There after due to disturbed atmosphere the Harijans were much frightened on 27 February 1981. They again requested PSI for protection in writing and also requested village leaders i. e. Sarpanch, Ex. sarpanch, Taluka panchayat member end others, to look after them and for their safe-guard. Harijans also informed all of them for the fore-casted attack from village people. Yet however neither police nor the village leaders gave any response. No arrangement for protection was made.

On 27 February 1981 at about 7:00 p.m. a heap of grass in open land behind Harijans' houses was burnt by a mob of caste-Hindus, which was extinguished. Again the same mob attacked Harijans street with kerosene at about 8.00 p.m. and began to burn the houses pouring kerosene. It being dinner time some were taking their dinner, they came out of the house, to see

what had happened. Looking to the situation, some were hidden in their houses closing the doors. At such the attacked locked the doors from outside. Hence it became difficult for the inmates of the burning houses to come out. Had the police not arrived in time and opened the doors from outside and taken out the inmates from the burning houses there would be a mystic disaster.

Out of 115 total houses of Harijans eight houses were completely burnt, 20 houses partly burnt and damaged and 5 houses slightly damaged comprising 42 total houses, burnt, partly – burnt and damaged. During the attack when the Harijans began to escape to save their lives, taking the advantage of their such confused condition, the antisocial elements amongst the mob looted their properties, household materials and food grains in stock complete either burnt or damaged and looted.

All the Harijan-inmates of the locality about 750 left the village to go somewhere else. The leader of Kukavav village near by Darbar Shri Madarsing and Sarpanch Shri Dalpatsing came on their way and asked them to come to their village “Kukavav.” The leaders and village people whose population is not more than 500 gave complete support and help to these 750 Harijan-refugees. Though the Harijans had left the village and settled in a refugee camp arranged by Darbars of Kukavav village. None from government official had either taken the visit or made any arrangement for the maintenance of those Harijans-refugees.

The Harijans had filed a complaint but none from the attackers who had committed such serious offence, was arrested, though complete information of the attackers were given by Harijans.

Patan City in Mehsana District

Patan city is the biggest city in North Gujrat. There are many scheduled castes streets (Mahollas) namely Motisaray, Nani Saray, Bagwada lalchok-Dukhwada, Verai Chakla, Nandapura Khadaki, Motisha Darwaja – Dodiawas etc in this city.

The SC hostel is being run in a building at Verai Chakla. Some caste-Hindu mob attacked on this hostel and SC Maholla with stones and burning flame. Kerosene and petrol was sprinkled on this hostel building and burnt the same on 18 February 1981 at 11-30 p.m.

Lalchock Dukhwada

An effigy of Chief Minister Shri Madhavsinh Solanki was brought near by this street and burnt on 7 February 1981 at 7-00 p.m. But as the SC persons remained silent, they started throwing stones vigorously many persons were hurt. On 8 February 1981 a newly built house of a Harijan Manilal Shamabhai Solanki a peon in Education Office, was burnt pouring petrol on it at 11-00 p.m. and thrown stones. Due to stone throwing many SC persons more than twenty were hurt.

On 24 February 1981 Shri Kantilal Somabhai Solanki was attacked by lathis and pipes by some caste-Hindus persons while he was returning to his home on a cycle at about 12-00 midnight. He was severely hurt and his cycle was broken.

On 25 February 1981 some caste-Hindu persons attacked on Shri Ramabhai Kanjibhai Solanki with Dhariya (Scythe) and Lathis. He was severely hurt on this head. He filed a Case against the alleged attackers giving some names also in the police station. But as heard the names of main accused Dr. Bharatbhai Purushottam Patel and Jayantibhai Nathabhai Patel were struck off.

Bagwada

One SC worker Shri Natvarlal Sadhu was kidnapped while he was on his way to return to his home on 8 February 1981 at 7.00 p.m. He was locked up in a room and was beaten fortunately from the back side window remained unlocked and thus he escaped. The mob thrown stones and burning missiles on the street. There after the caste-Hindus boycott the Harijans and started to harass them on the way.

Moti Saray-Nani Saray

Since agitation some troubles were going on to the SC persons of these streets such as abusing, insulting, giving harsh words and stone throwing. On 7 February 1981 the atmosphere became furious. The caste-Hindu mob attacked on these streets and made heavy stone throwing. Some persons were hurt and beaten.

On 10 February 1981, as a rally was arranged by anti-reservation Committee, the curfew was imposed on the city. Shri Vasantbbai Bhaichandbhai Parmar aged about 30 years, a peon serving in Government Polytechnic College at Patan, was caught by some caste-Hindus, while he was returning from latrine-block, and dragged to the street of Patels. He was murdered by a blow of Dharia; and thrown on the road side.

The walls of the city are painted with some slogans,

- (1) Dheda-O-Ne Dekho Tyanthi Maro i.e. On Seeing SC (Dheda) persons murder them.
- (2) Protect Religious Places By Murdering Harijans (Dheda).
- (3) Gandhijina Hath Man Dando ane Dheda-O-Ne Marva Mando. i.e. A stick in Gandhi's hand start murdering SC (Dhedao) persons.

The atmosphere in the city was so excited that no Harijan alone could move freely on city roads. There prevailed fear and anger amongst Harijans, as the leading persons of the city

were completely absorbed in anti-reservation agitation. Yet however due to effective efforts of the Dy. S. P. the situation remained in control.

Torania Village, Taluka Prantij, District-Sabarkantha

A caste-Hindu mob attacked on 3 February 1981 on Harijan maholla with stone throwing. There after entering Harijan maholla started burning houses with sprinkling kerosene. 4 houses were burnt and 13 others were damaged. The household materials and food grains were also burnt. Though S. R. P. police was placed in Harijan Street since disturbances, miscreants daily throw stones on them, insult them and behave improperly with Harijans. As such Taluka Panchayat President and T. D. O. had been to the village and asked them to live cooperatively and peacefully with Harijans But no result thereof. Immediately thereafter the caste-Hindus attacked the Harijans again, as a result, the Harijans were forced to migrate to Prantij.

Dhansura Village, Taluka Modasa, District Sabarkantha

A caste Hindu mob attacked on a cabin of Kodarbhai Dalabhai Pandya. It was burnt and completely destroyed. The damage done costs to approximately Rs. 4000. Another cabin of Dineshbhai Kanabhai a cloth seller was burnt. It was on road site. The damage costs to Rs. 4500.

The same mob had also burnt 500 grass bundles of Shri Punjabhai Hirabhai, stacked nearby his house. By burning the grass, the mob intended to burn the whole Harijan street. As such after burning the grass, the mob started stoning. But the Harijans came out and gave proper response and forced them to retreat. The Harijans extinguished the fire. The damage costs to Rs 500.

Aroda: Village, Taluka: Idar, District: Sabarkantha

On 20 February 1981 a silent procession with effigy of Chief Minister Shri Madhavsinh Solanki was moved in the village and burnt near by a house in Harijan street. But they being in very minority, remained silent. Thereafter at about 9:30 p.m. a caste-Hindu mob, more than 500 persons attacked on Harijan Street with lathis, and *Dharias* and iron pipes. A cabin of Pashabhai Kalabhai having goods and house-hold materials of daily requirements for selling was broken and looted. They dispersed on humble request from Harijans.

Thereafter about 11:00 p.m. the caste-Hindus blew the siren of a co-operative milk producing society and gathered the whole village and attacked the Harijan Street. The mob damaged the doors and houses; and beaten the inmates severely.

Refugees from Sanoda Village, Dahegam Taluka, District Ahmedabad

The caste-Hindus of Sanoda village had attacked on the SC vas on 27th February. Their houses were burnt and properties looted. They became completely homeless and lost all their house-hold materials and their life earnings. About 90 refugees from this village came to Ahmedabad and camped in a refugees-camp at- Brij-Vallabhpora Chawl on Naroda Road Ahmedabad. The camp was managed by Harijan Samaj. Neither any help nor any facility was given by the government. None from the government side had visited this camp to know under what circumstances these poor Harijans were put in. No action was also taken to trace out the mischief mongers, who had attacked the Harijans and rendered homeless. Immediate action should be taken by the government to resettle these refugees and to compensate their losses.

Dahegam Town, District Ahmedabad

An unruly caste-Hindu mob attacked on SCs (Harijans) vas on 28 February 1981 at about 1:00 p.m. The mob threw stones on Harijan vas. But as the inmates of the locality gave good defensive response, the mob returned and attacked Shastrinagar, a Harijan Co-operative

Housing Society, recently built up. Only two owners of the tenements, Chairman and Secretary had occupied and started living therein. Other tenements were vacant.

During the attack caste-Hindu mob broken the doors and windows of the houses, destroyed and damaged the house hold materials and looted the properties of shri Trikambhai Kodarbhai and Kantibhai Balabhai, Chairman and secretary respectively worth Rs. 15000 each approximately. Damages to other sixteen tenements also amounts to about Rs. 25000.

Thereafter the caste-Hindu mob turned to Parikshitnagar, an SC Co-operative Housing Society at about 2.30 p.m. The mob started breaking doors and windows as the inmates of all the eighteen tenements being in small number due to day time, being frightened of fear and terror could not come out. But as the irate mob started breaking doors, windows and looting the household materials and properties, some of them came out from their houses thinking they would loose their-lives mid properties both if they continue to be submissive. They came out of their houses with whatever they have easily in their hands and took desperate defensive action. As such the mob was forced to retreat.

Kajodra, Kothi and Bhutesari villages in Dahegam Taluka, Dist: Ahmedabad

Kajodra village. A caste-Hindu mob attacked Harijan vas. As heard, one SC lady teacher was insulted, harassed and misbehaved. But as some other caste-Hindu persons being against committing such atrocities on Harijans, advised and forced the mischief mongers to retreat from Harijans *vas*. As such no serious incident occurred.

Bhutesari and Kothi villages

The caste-Hindu mobs attacked Harijans vas of these villages and tried to burn their houses. But due to timely intervention of some other caste-Hindus, on the loyalty of Harijans towards villagers, serious incident was avoided.

Pij Village, Taluka: Nadiad, District: Kheda

The village caste-Hindus mob took out an anti-reservation procession moved in the village with effigy and burnt it at the entrance of SC street on 9th February 81. since then the SC persons had a fear that some furious attack would be on their locality. As such some of them had shifted to other places.

On 19th February the caste-Hindus attacked on SC locality at about 10-00 p.m. having dharias, axes and lathis in their hand. They started throwing stones and burning flames from different sides. First of all three cabins at the entrance of the SC locality were burnt, destroyed and looted. As the flow of stones and burning flames WAS from around, it was difficult for SC people to take defensive action for protection of their lives and properties. About twenty houses were burnt and some others were also affected.

Being much frightened, the SC persons left the village instantaneously during night time and went to a nearby village Tundel for shelter. The Thakor and Bariyas of Tundel village showed sympathy and gave shelter to SC persons of Pij village.

Uttarsanda Village, Talaka: Nadiad, Dist. Kheda

A procession with effigy moved in the village and came to the entrance of Christian Harijan vas on 20 February 1981 after noon and burn it there. At that time a police van was also present.

During nighttime at about 8:40 p.m. caste-Hindus mob again came at the entrance of the Harijan vas and started throwing stones and burning flames. At that time, sarpanch of the village came forward and asked the Harijans to extinguish the fire, saying he would make the mob calm. But the mob furiously started, throwing burning flames and stones in which 24 houses were

burnt completely. The sarpanch went away as if it was his pre-plan. The police which was present during daytime was not present during the incident.

Vahelal Village, Taluka: Daskroi, District: Ahmedabad

Due to violent attacks and humiliation by caste-Hindus, 25 families of Harijans living in Vahelal village of Daskroi Taluka, Dist. Ahmedabad left their homes on 17 February 1981 and went wherever they found safety to their lives. Few Harijans families still live in Vahelal awaiting their fate. There are about seven thousand caste-Hindus in Vahelal. Every day caste-Hindus attack deadly on Harijans vas by throwing stones. They molest Harijan women and behave in such manner that it cannot be tolerated, on 15 February 1981 night at 11-30 p.m., caste-Hindus attacked Harijan vas hence Harijans rushed to nearby Bhavkuda village, Thakor community of Bhavkuda. Village expressed their sympathy and humanity by given food to children and women folk starving and hungry for two to three days. Harijans are grateful to this Thakor community (which is also a backward community)

Thereafter Harijans were brought back to Vahelal under police protection. Harijans do not feel safe and if proper police protection is not provided and there is any delay they may be wiped out from the Vahelal.

Dalits were totally boycotted by the upper caste people on 15 March 1981 at Gozaria village in Vijapur taluka of Mehsana district. Their houses were stoned and thus threatened to kill. The following list of villages where Dalits were boycotted by the upper castes. Thus, Dalits were harassed psychologically also where they were reminded that without the pity of the upper caste their existence was not possible. If they were not going to survive without food, water and other daily needs then why did they talk about self-respect and dignity?

Sr. No.	Name of the Village	Taluka	District	Sr. No.	Name of the Village	Taluka	District
1.	Gozaria	Vijapur	Mehsana	11.	Kathlal	Daskroi	Ahmedabad
2.	Jotana	Mehsana	Mehsana	12.	Velar	Daskroi	Ahmedabad
3.	Langhnj	Mehsana	Mehsana	13.	Badarkha	Dholka	Ahmedabad
4.	Ladol	Vijapur	Mehsana	14.	Detroj	Viramgam	Ahmedabad
5.	Unjha	Siddhapur	Mehsana	15.	Jetapur	Daskroi	Ahmedabad
6.	Biliya	Siddhapur	Mehsana	16.	Lali	Daskroi	Ahmedabad
7.	Kukarwada	Vijapur	Mehsana	17.	Kathlal	Kapadwanj	Kheda
8.	Chanasma	Chanasma	Mehsana	18.	Sojitra	Sojitra	Kheda
9.	Torana	Prantij	Sabarkantha	19.	Uttarsanda	Anand	Kheda
10.	Aroda	Idar	Sabarkantha	20.	Pij	Nadiad	Kheda

Appendix IV

Times of India published a letter by Girish Patel, a human rights activist and a reputed lawyer, published on 23 January 1981.

It is in this context that the present agitation should be examined. First, who is to be blamed for the existing inefficient, corrupt, money dominated, elitist, anti-people and unjust health system in India, when it is monopolized by the higher castes and classes? Certainly not the scheduled castes and tribes, as they hardly find any place in it. Second, what do we mean by 'merit' and 'efficiency'? Do they necessarily connote marks in the exam, excellence in the viva voce, fluency in English, sophistication and snobbery in outward manners? The truth is that the criteria of 'merits, and -'efficiency' are not objective or individual, but subjective and social, deriving their contents from our values, attitudes and beliefs. Third, our medicos have no right to talk in terms of 'merits' or 'inefficiency' when medical education in India is polluted with widespread corruption; 'merits' means 'relations', 'efficiency' stands for 'influence', and 'success' implies social connections. Fourth, who is an efficient or meritorious doctor? What are his standards'— better performance in exam, smartness, specialization in a narrow field, possession of highly sophisticated scientific instruments OR socially relevant knowledge, serviceable efficiency, capacity to establish communion with people, concern for the common man?

"Efficiency", observed the Supreme Court (AIR 1976 SC 490, 534), "means, in terms of good Government, not marks in exams only, but responsible and responsive service to the people". Recently, the Supreme Court asked (AIR 1980 SC 820, 828), "What is merit or excellence? If potential for rural services or aptitude for rendering medical attention among backward people is a criterion for merit—and it undoubtedly is in a land of sickness and misery, neglect and penury, wails and tears—then surely belonging to a university catering to a deprived

region is a plus point of merit. Excellence is composite and the heart and its sensitivity are as precious in the scale of educational values as the head and its creativity. Social medicine for the common people is more relevant than peak performances in freak cases. An internationally eminent doctor, having expertise in heart transplantation and catering to the needs of the few is not necessarily better or superior or useful than the country doctor educating the common people in social hygiene and preventive medicine and engaged in 'the eradication of the mass diseases in the rural or the tribal areas. The malady of the modern Indian education lies elsewhere and the merit mongers are greater risks in many respects than the naive tribal's and the slightly better off lower castes." (SC.)

Fifth, once we determine the minimum performance, essential for medical education, there are various different criteria for choosing candidates other than marks only. Moreover, the criteria for minimum performance are themselves value-loaded and require re-examination. And if the SC and ST candidates do not come up to that standard, special programmes are required to bridge the gap, rather than leaving them to their fate. Lastly, the Dalits and Adivasis must be treated preferentially, because in an unequal society, to treat all equally is the surest way of perpetuating and increasing inequalities."

Scheduled Castes and Tribes are amongst the most economically and culturally backward sections in India. This backwardness is evident in the field of education as well. Their literacy rate lags far behind the general population, not only in Gujarat but all over India. (There are 42 literates for every 1,000 people among the STs in Gujarat in 1971, while there are 277 literates among the SCs, and 403 literates among the non-SC and ST population in the same year.) Their enrolment falls steeply, as one looks at higher educational levels.

It is a fact that enrolment is low, partly because not enough candidates are available. As students form a different cultural background, they find the education system tough and suffer a high rate of failure. But to consider them inefficient, therefore, and backward is merely giving vent to caste prejudices.

Among the leaders of the SC and ST junior doctors the team met, was an orthopedic surgeon a general surgeon and a gynecologist, all of whom had passed their MBBS and post-graduated at first attempt. They maybe exceptions, they obviously did come from families that are economically better off (not rich) than most SC and STs. And yet they faced a hostile environment of both students and teachers, and had succeeded in spite of it. Also, among the leaders of the agitating doctors were those who had failed more than once trying to get through their MBBS, and had obtained less than 55%. (In one of their compromise formulas they had demanded that reserved students should get a minimum of 55% marks to enroll for post graduate courses).

From this it should be evident that many of the arguments against the reservation policy in medical education are based on caste prejudices, on bits of information about personal experiences rather than an understanding of the policy and its implementation.

The impact of this was also felt in the rural areas of North and Central Gujarat, so that the landowning communities took this opportunity to attack the agricultural labourers from the scheduled castes. A great deal of their meager property has been lost and with exceptions like Uttarsanda, Government relief has been slow in coming. Economic and social boycott of these castes in various villages still goes on.

In the entire agitation, the role of the police from the local Police Stations has been largely partisan against the Dalits. It was with the arrival of outside reserve forces that the Dalits

g6t-protection from attacks in some areas. But as the focus of the agitation had turned against the Government and as it was concentrated in higher caste localities, indiscriminate attacks and unnecessary firing against the higher castes also occurred.

The reservation policy itself is not the main cause for these riots. The attack on the reservation policy, the feeling of reverse discrimination is only a manifestation of the caste and class contradictions that have been building up in Gujarat.

Though a majority of the Dalits live in the rural areas and are amongst the most exploited, a noticeable proportion of them are taking advantage of the various facilities provided, to them and going in for college education. A few are, in the past and present decade, also going in for professional studies. This education gives them access to Class III and higher public sector jobs, and also an entry into the lucrative professions like medicine. These are the professions and jobs that that have been the monopoly of the higher caste middle-and-upper classes. The rising SC is a threat to their entrenched positions. The Patels having risen only in this century are active and aggressive in. trying to retain their hold and rise further.

The medical profession in Gujarat has been monopolised by the Patels and Banias. The profession is not only lucrative but also politically influential. A District Medical Officer, for example, wields a lot of power and influence, especially with reference to crime. This is why the leading doctors and consultants, and their organization the Gujarat Medical Association have supported the agitation against reservations. Apart from this issue, they have gained a lot from the agitation, as with hospitals closed they have charged three to four times their normal consulting rates. It is not reservations in Class IV posts that are the target for attack, for the middle class disdains these jobs. These jobs are not the means of rising socially or economically.

It is reservations in Class I or II and promotions to these jobs that are coveted, since they are the key to a brighter future.

That is why, too, in the present riots in Gujarat, the Scheduled Castes have taken the worst of the attacks, though the Scheduled Tribes have greater reservation facilities—the ST, being even more backward than the SC, and therefore being even more unable to avail themselves of the facilities reserved for them, have not aroused caste Hindus are. Also, the Scavengers, the lowest among the Scheduled Castes in Gujarat, the most passive amongst them and also a community who have stuck to their traditional occupations in large numbers, were spared in the attacks on the Dalits.

The same, uneven development, the same economic laws are responsible for the backwardness among the Dalits and the tribes. Therefore, both the higher caste as well as the Dalits and tribes face problems related, to the economic system, the reservation policy being no solution to the fundamental problem. This exploitation and discrimination makes it impossible for them to assert their rights granted to them as to others, constitutionally. The caste system and caste prejudices are based on highly undemocratic principles, being a belief in the inferiority and superiority of different castes. To fight against these undemocratic customs and beliefs is the task of all those who believe in the equality of all people. And as long as the caste system persists, and as long as caste prejudices operate in our society the reservation system is necessary. It is one means to overcome the inequality that an entire community is born with.

For ordinary members of the higher castes, caste is the last straw to cling to, within their fast deteriorating economic conditions. The security of caste seems all that is left. But it is a

myth that blinds them to the reality and makes them vent their anger on an oppressed section that is not the cause of their problems.¹

The letter makes it very clear that how under the pretext of merit how the upper caste people have tried to maintain the Varna status quo.

Girish Patel

¹ *The Times of India*. 23rd January 1981.

Appendix V

The narratives of migrations of Aniyali, Chavand, and Chitrodipura are based on my reading of Anandi Patel's book *Gnatima Unchneech Kram, Atyacharo ane Dalitoni Hijrat*. Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidyapith, 2003. This book is the product of her doctoral research. The state has responded to the problem of the migrations of Dalits by rehabilitating them at new place but it failed to protect Dalits within their village and also in the punishments of the oppressors.

Migration of Aniyali: At Aniyali village of Ahmedabad district, there were 70 houses of Dalits, 8 houses of Bharwads, 50 houses of Kolis, 70 houses of Darbars and 8 of Scavengers. A Darbar boy had borrowed a bicycle from a Dalit family. He returned an old bicycle. The Dalits demanded to return same bicycle as was borrowed and there was a quarrel between them. The Darbar boy of 15 years slapped a Dalit aged 45 years just before their guests. Therefore, the son of the Dalit who was studying in 12 standard had decided to lodge a police complaint. The Dalits went but came after the persuasion of the Darbars. However, the young generation of Darbars was not willing to surrender and they wanted to teach a lesson to the Dalits as they had dared to file a police case. Therefore, the Dalits initially migrated to Wadhvan village. Afterwards the state government provided them land near Dhandhuka.

Migration of Chavand: At Chavand of Amreli district, there were 50 houses of Dalits, 35 houses of Bharwads, 40 houses of Kolis, 70 houses of Ahirs, 140 houses of Patels, 30 houses of Muslims and 8 houses of Scavengers. A Dalit girl was harassed by an Ahir youth. Therefore, the father of the girl went to school and beat the Ahir boy. Therefore, the Ahirs beat the Dalit man, his wife, and the eldest son very badly to take revenge. The family of the Dalit went to Amreli for primary treatment. They received it but the doctors referred the case to Ahmedabad Civil hospital, as the injuries were severe. They also lodged a police complaint in Amreli against

the Ahirs. The police arrested four Ahirs and beat them. The Ahirs had to spend a month in a jail. The Ahirs socially boycotted the Dalits. Therefore, the Dalits migrated to the office of the Amreli district collector and stayed in a tent for six to seven months. The government gave them land at Babra to rehabilitate.

Migration of Chitrodipura: At Chitrodipura of Mehsana district, there were 75 houses of Dalits, 5 houses of Rabaries, 3houses of blacksmiths, 300 houses of Chaudharis, and 1 house of Scavenger. A Dalit youth was working as a tractor driver at the Chaudhari family. He went to the house of the tractor owner to take his unpaid wages and there was a tussle between the Chaudharis and the Dalits. The Chaudharis also beat the Dalits. Afterwards, two men of Chaudhari community came to the Dalit Vas and took the Dalit youth to pat his money along with them. The dalit youth was killed and his body was thrown on the underpass of the railway line at Mehsana. The Dalits filed a police complaint against Chaudharis at Visnagar police station. Five Chaudharis were arrested. There was a social boycott of Dalits after the arrest. Therefore, the Dalits migrated and went to Gandhinagar. The government provided them land near Mehsana.