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"THREE GENERATIONS OF DALIT MOVEMENT IN INDIA"

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Introduction

Dalit Movement has gained the popular public attention in the last two decades of the previous millennium. It is also true to this movement that it has multi-dimensional even from the ancient times i.e. social, cultural, religious, political and economic. In all its forms the Dalit movement has condemned the so called Hindu way life since from the early period of post Vedic age. In the above mentioned way of life, these people had to scarify their social, cultural, religious, political and economic rights.

In this paper I would like to define the history of Dalit Movement in India by categorized it into three different phases like, ancient periods or phase, medival period, colonial period and that of modern period.

A. The First Generation of Dalit Movement (The Ancient period):

The foundation of Dalit identity movement in India is as old as the history of untouchability in India is in itself. The foundation of untouchability was laid down in ancient times. The immigrant Aryans were very different from the non-Aryan dark-skinned people whom found living in India. The Aryans considered them superior and were proud of this race, language and religion. They considered non-Aryans to be non humans or amanushya (Deodhar), 1981, X. 229). The non-Aryans were described as Krishna Varna (ibid: IX 41.1) or dark-skinned, *Anasa* or without nose (Snub-nosed). In the seventh mandal of the Rig Veda, Vasishtha says, the worshippers of Phallus should not come near Rita' (ibid. VII, XXI.5). Thus, the Aryans maintained a distance from the earlier settlers or dasa. These Dasas (slaves) were declared to have been created as the lowest of all (ibid. II.12.4) it is believed that these very Dasas (slaves) were known as Chandals and untouchable latter on.

The Gautama Dharma Sutra for the first time tries to explain the origin of the chandalas. It says that the Chandala is the off spring of a male shudra and a Brahmin woman and is the most reprehensible among those born in the direct order or Pratiloma (Pandey, 1966L: IV.15.23). Gautam calls Pratiloma castes dharmabira or without religion (ibid: IV.20). The Apastamba Dharma Sutra says that after touching a Chandala, one should plunge into water on talking to him one should converse with a Brahmin, and on seeing him one should look at the luminaries of the stay such as the sun, the moon, or the stars (Srinivasaraghacharya, 1960: II.12. 8-9). The sutras were composed around sixth century BC Manu rules that the Chandals and shrakas should live outside the village (Doniger and Smith, 1992: X.51). The manusmriti was composed between second century BC asnd AD second century (ibid. : X.39). Apararka's commentary on Yajvnavalkya Smriti quotes a verse of vriddha-yajnavalkya in which it is laid down that on touching chandals, Pukkasas, Mlechhas, Bhils and Parasikas and persons guilty of Mahpatakas or grave sins, one should bathe one's clothes on (quoted in Apararka, 1966: 923). It is interesting to note the even parasikas or Iranians were considered outcastes by the Indian elites (Indradeva, 1980). Samvarta, quoted by Apararka, the well known law-giver, provides the 'on toucing a fisherman a deer hunter, a hunter, a butcher, a bird catchers and washer-man one must bathe and then take one's meals (1966: 1196). Atri provides that if a dviya or a person of

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the first three varna touches a chandal. He should take a bath; in case he touches him while eating his food, than he should reject that food and bathe (Desai, 1991: 267-69). Parashara say that if a chandala or a dop touches a twice-born person while is eating, he should forgo the rest of his food (Tarkalankara, 1973: VI. 66).

Narada mentions Shvapaka, Meda and chandala, he calls them mala or the refuse of human society. He rules that they should always be punished with corporal punishment. A fine from them is unacceptable because their wealth is also impure. The king should therefore, never impose a fine on them (Tagara, 1980).

Following apastamba, parashra says that on talking with a chandala, one should talk to a brahman, take a bath and recite the Savitri mantra once; for then he becomes pure. If a Brahmin drinks water from a well touched by a chandala, he should consume barley water prepared in the urine of a cow for three days (Tarkalankara, 1973).

Parashara prescribes elaborate proceeding if a house is polluted by a chandala. If a chandala enters a house, the whole house should be washed with water mixed with cow-dung, and the earthenware in the house should be thrown away. The householders with all the family members and servants should bathe three times a day and consume curds with cow urine for three days, barley water with cow urine for next three days, milk with cow urine for next three days, and finally he should again consumer all these things for one day each. Thus in 12 days he becomes pure. Household utensils of bronze and belt metal should be cleaned with ash. Kusunbha, guda cotton, salt, oil and ghee should be burnt outside the house. After that, the house-holder should feed 21 brahmins and make a gift of 20 cows and one bull to them (ibid:). A similar atonement has been prescribed if a washer-women, a shoe maker's wife, a hunter's wife or a bamboo-worker's wife lives in a house (bid). All these castes are considered untouchable and impure and cause pollution according to Parashara.

The Chandals has been declared the lowest of all men. He has been assigned the work of removing unclaimed bodies. Chandals are called nisvasita, or exited and they have to live outside the village. So the Aryan hordes were quite conscious of their cultural and ethnic identity and looked down upon the dark-complexioned earlier settlers. The later people are referred to in the Rig Veda as Dasas (slaves) and Panis. Both of these are described as dark complexioned (Krishna Varna). The word dasa seems to be connected with the Iranian word 'Dahal; which means countryman (Shrirama, 2007) (Shrirama (ed.), 2007). Dalits in modern India vision and values (second ed., Sage Publication, New Delhi).

Such untouchability has been built into a social cultural structure of Hindu society.

In the beginning, Aryan hunted and looted the non-Aryan the poet Vishvamitra prays to indra to destroy the black people through his brilliance (Deodhar, 1981). At one place, a poet says that Indra has destroyed black armies (ibid), it appears that Dasas (slaves) were a militant people they gave a tough fight to Aryans. Finally, Dasas (slaves) were vanquished and were either absorbed in the lower rungs of society or driven away from their dwellings and had to take shelter in dense forest and other inhospitable regions. A poet says: 'Indra Kills, Dasas (slaves) and increases the might of the aryam's (ibid).

In Rig Veda we do not find the mention of the Shudra except in the Purushasukta, which is considered to be of a later origin. The purushasukta contains a myth about the origin of the fourfold social structure. In this hymn it is asserted that four ranks originated from the great sacrificed pursha. The occupations of the four ranks are related symbolically to the parts of the body of the purusha like the brahmin has been called the mouth of the purusha and is placed

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highest in society. His special function pertains to speech. Being a priest, invoking gods is his privilege.

The second rank, Rajanya, is born of the arms of the pursha and has the privilege of wielding arms. The thighs of the pursha became the vaishya. The occupation of vaishya is agriculture and trade. From the feet were produced the shudra. Just as feet are the lowest in the body, shudra are the lowest in society (Shrisama, 2007).

On the basis of the Purushasukta, the Tandyamaya Brahmana Propounds: 'Therefore even if a shudra has a lot of cattle, he is not entitle to perform a sacrifice, as he is with ought god, no god was created after him, since he was created from feet, he should not do anything but wash the feet (of the three higher varnas' (Godbole, 1979: VI.I.II).

After having analyzing the historical Background of Dalit Movement in ancient India one can argue that they were denied all kind of social, cultural, religious and other administrative rights as enjoyed by upper varna i.e. brahmin, kashtriya, and vaishya. They had been treated as non-human, and calls them Pratiloma (born in indirect order) dharmahina (without religion). They also compared with dogs, crows etc. But even after so much of injustice and inequality there was no organized movement or resistance came from the Dalit, dassas side.

However, there was revolt manic supremacy around the eighth century BC. The other three varnas under the leadership of kashatriyas developed a kind of apathy for the ritualistic way of life and a new school of thought appeared in the Aranyakas and Upanishads. In these texts it is asserted that expansive, cumbersome and prolonged sacrifices do not lead to real knowledge. It was a challenge against the supremacy of the Brahmins, and signified loss f faith in the sacerdotal science inherent in it. People including dasses (Dalit) began to doubt the efficacy of these sacrifices tries newer thought was marked by contributions primarily from kshatriyas, lower varnas and lower castes.

The upanishadic thought is quite different in its spirit from the Vedas. As a matter of fact, there was implicit in it a revolt against the varna hierarchy. The teachings of Upnishads are in a simple language. Therefore, they earned great popularity among the lower people. The younger generation of the priestly class took an active interest in it. We also come across many instances where brahmin teachers went to learn the ultimate truth from kashatriyas. Even the kings sometimes approached persons of lower classes to get knowledge of self. In a famous upanishadic story, a king Janssuti Pautrayana, approached a cartman named Raikva for instructions (Shrirama, 2007).

(ii) Budh Dharam and Dalit Movement in Ancient India

As a parallel development with that of Upanishad period a non-orthodox stream of thought emerged in the eastern part of India, that was the emergence of Buddhist thoughts and literature. Gradually, this became a challenge to vedic-brahmanical tradition. In Budhist texts, the supremacy of the Brahmins was openly challenged.

By mere birth no one becomes a brahmana,

By mere birth no one becomes an outcaste,

By deeds one become a Brahmana,

By deeds one becomes an outcaste. (Anderson and Smith, 1913: 135).

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It is also perceived by Dalit peoples by now that Buddhism gave a strong challenge to braminical hierarchal social structure and criticized the orthodoxical rituals, and myth stories about God, as defined in Purshsukta, Dharamsikta and Samrities. They also argued that Buddhism was based on reason and justifications about religious beliefs that is why Aryans started to destroy and demolish the Buddhist literature and thousands of Buddhist monk has been killed by Fanatic Aryans. Buddhism posed a great threat to brahmanical social order and priestly elites of brahmans. It became popular in a very short period in India and abroad because it was based on Reason and justified rituals, the priestly elites were quite conscious of all these forces. It was clear to them that the ancient vedic religion could not be revived in its earlier form, many old Aryan practices had therefore, to be rejected and non Aryan customs found entry into the revived religion. For restoring the varna hierarchy, the backbone of the traditional Indian social structure, the smritis came into existence (Shrirama, 2007: 70). The Manusmriti was composed sometime between second centyry BC to AD second century to maintain the socio-cultural hegemony of brahamical social order because of Upnishad and budhist period some kind of self respect, equality and justice prevailed in the society but that was unacceptable to brahmin elites who wants to establish their hegemony and hierarchal system or order to be retained. That is why brahamin elites composed the Manusmriti to re-establish brahaminical rituals once again and to suppress and subjugate the lower classes under their leadership.

Since the samritis belong to the revivalist era, all the authours of smrities adopted the name of vedic seers to get authority for what they said. Manusmritis the first attempt of the priestly elites in this direction. Therefore, it was perhaps natural to attribute this samriti to the primogenitor, many. Armed with the ancient myth of creation and various sacraments, together with the doctrine of karma, Manu tried to revive the bygone golden age by re-establishing the ancient system of varna hierarchy. In this process, women and shudras were the greatest losers. The social justice they had got during the Buddhist period was taken away with a vengeance (Shrirama, 2007: 72).

It has been categorically asserted in the Manusmriti that the dominance of priestly elites and the hierarchy based on Varna was to be re-established not only through religious prescription but by the full might of the king and the state. Manu calls the Brahmin a great god just like fire, be he ignorant or learned.

In the smriti era shudra were the direct victims of Brahmin elites they were terribly punished if they do the same rituals as Brahmin or recite the so called sacred mantras of Vedas and smritis. Shudras were strictly directed to do the works as assigned then in accordance with purshsukta and if shudras unintentionally do the works or karmas of higher varna like recite mantras and learn to god and listen and speak to religious lecturers they were punished very terribly even sometime were killed.

So after having and elaborated discussion an ancient Dalit movement one can argue that in ancient period there was no organized institutions or mechanism through which Dalits of that time can fight against discrimination they have had. It was only the Upanishad period and the emergence of Buddhism that had helped the lower stratas to mark their resist known or acknowledge through these two tools they opposed the contemporary hierarchical, discriminatory, unjust social structure of the period. Although the movement was in its primary stage or have a weak nature or support base, but it paved the way for organized and strong movement in centuries to come like in medieval, colonial and modern periods.

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B. Second Generation of Dalit Movement (The Medieval Period)

Among other reform movement in medieval India i.e. Brahmo Samaj Movement and Arya Samaj movements contributive to Indian Renaissance's, Bhakti Movement played a leading role in the Dalit or Dalit identity movement. As we mentioned earlier the ancient Dalit movement started in terms of Upanishad and budhism resist paved the way for Dalit Movement in Medieval era. In medieval era it was Bhakti movement which contributed a lot to Dalit Movement (Dalit Movement) Bhakti Movement was a broad religious movements which began in northern India in the 14th century. So-called poet saints or 'saints', emerged, who preached in the vernacular (Schomer, 1987: 3). They accepted women, low caste, untouchables and Muslims into their congregations. Their teachings were based on an un-qualified monism, seeking deliverance-Samadhi- in one's life time through the union of the individual soul with the transcendental. Many of these saints were from low castes or untouchables themselves.

However, there were many saints of Bhakti Movement but others Guru Ravidas, Kabir, Nanak, Banka, Namdev, Trilocham, Meera Bai were among the most popular saints. In this paper we will articulate the efforts made only by Guru Ravidass for the Dalit Dalit Movement (Dalit) and for the emancipation of all low castes people from the rigid, unjust, discriminatory brahminical tradition. This study is confined only to Ravi Dass's contribution to the movement why only Ravidas is because of the limited time and space and other argument is because saint Guru Ravidass is perceived as the most influential leading and popular saint Guru among Dalit of north India.

(i) Guru Ravidass (1450-1520 CE) and Dalit Movement in Medieval India

Guru Ravidass, one of the famous untouchable Saint-poets of the fifteen to sixteenth centuries, is known as a leading star of the Bhakti Movement especially the Nirguna Sampradaya or saint parampara (sect or tradition of devotees of a formless God) of the later medieval centuries in north India. He was a cobbler, saint, poet, philosopher, and social reformer, all rolled into one, who employed bhakti (loving devotion) as a method of social protest against the centuries old system of untouchability. (Bellwinkel – Schempp, 2007, 2182). He did not discard the religion he was born into, nor did he abandon his so-called degraded caste occupation to move up the scale of social hierarchy, as is after referred to in the case of radical separatism and assimilation models of upward social mobility in India and elsewhere (Blau, 1956; Schultz, 1944; Srinivas, 1998). Instead, he chose bhakti as a middle path to contest caste based social exclusion and oppression. His middle path method free from religious rituals and sectarian formalities was very novel and daring. It emphasized the dignity of labor and compassion for all. It reflected the democratic and egalitarian traits of his social philosophy. It was daring in the sense that he chose to challenge his tormentors by employing the iconography of their dress as a symbol of social protest, which was not only highly objectionable but also equally deadly for a low caste of his time (Ram, 2007). He challenged the tyranny of the Brahmins and defined their hegemony by adopting the prohibited dress-dhoti (cloth wrapped around the waist); Janeve (Sacred thread), and tilak (the sacred red mark on the forehead) for the untouchables. His iconography seems to work as a suitable [pedagogic tool to convey the message of self-respect and dignity of labour to the down trodden, who were not only completely barred from entering into spiritual sphere in a hindu society monopolized by the priestly class of brahminsa but also were treated worse than animals because of their low caste birth and the nature of their occupation (Ram, 2007).

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Ravidass was equally innovative in choosing poetry as a vehicle of social protest. His poetry written in the vernacular of a man in the street is full of radical fervor. It provides "hope for the better world and a fight against exploiters, power-holders and oppression going or under the name of religion" (Omvedt, 2003b, 33).

Guru Ravidass by his revolutionary poetry attracted on orthodoxies prevailed in Brahminical hegemony and tried to break the social hierarchical structure throw his hymns i.e. in his verses he says:-

> In Whatever family a good vaishna's is found, whether they be high caste or outcaste, lord or pauper,
>
> The world will now the one by his flawless fragrance.
>
> Whether one's heart is brahmin or vaisya,
>
> Shudra or kashtriya,
>
> Dom, Chandala, or malech,
>
> Through the worship of the lord, one becomes pure, and liberates the self and both family lines.
>
> Auspicious is the village, auspicious is the place, auspicious is the entire family of the one who has drunk of the Nector's essence, who has abandoned other pleasures and immersed in this essence abandons all other poisons.
>
> Scholars, heroes, king great and small, none are equal to one truly devoted. Just as the water plant's leaf remains near the water (but untouched by it) in this way, says Ravidass is the life (of the blessed) in this world (Adi Granth).

In these verses he clear that no one is known and determined as high and low from the caste lines, but through the worship of the lord. Through verses it like it he tried to establish the concept of equality and liberty. He also was in favour of democracy with equality he says that.

"I wish to have a rule in which every one get fodder, all the low and high reside equality. Then Ravidass would be happy."

Guru Ravidass Ji was very critical of Hindu rituals in prayer to God, he always criticized orthodoxical and wrong rituals done by Brahmins at the bird of prayer of God. Besides it he argues through his verses that :-

> "Thy Name, O Lord, is my adoration in audience and ablution,
>
> Without the lords name all the ostentations are in vain……..
>
> Thy name is the light and it has enlightened the whole world".
>
> Adi Granth, P. 694.

In his another hymns he says:-

> Who could be so beloved without you? You are the protector of the poor, my Gosai. Over my head you hold the royal umbrella, Those whose bad influences comes to the world, you shield them in you. You make the low high, My Govind, They are afraid of none. Namdev, Kabir, Trilochan, Sadhna,

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Sain; all were blessed by you. Ravidass says- Off pious one, all comes to fruition in Hari

Adi Granth, p. 166.

Through his poetry he revolutionized the lower strata of castes and given then the course to pray the god in the absence of wrong and unnecessary rituals of brahminical tradition. He declared that everybody is equal by birth, no one is low or high by his birth or caste. He gave this coercion call hundreds of years before Rousseau who gave the blessings of "Liberty, Equality, and fraternity" to the humanity during the French Revolution and based upon which U.N.O. adopted universal declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

There was no political support to the movement started and initiated by Guru Ravidass in Medieval India. But through reformist Bhagti Movement he did his best to get rid of the problems.

These spiritual traditions like Bhagti Movement or casteless anty-brahmanical movement played an important role in anty caste or Harikan (Dalit) Movement centuries before the British Conquest in India and important Gurus like Ravidass Ji, Caitanya, Kabir, Nank and other contribute to a larger extent towards the anty caste movement so one can argue that before the colonial rule both bhagti and sufi (mats) Traditons challenged the present hierarchical systems both in Hindu and Muslim communities respectably. It is also important to note that before the colonial period and traditions bhagti saints and sufy peers do not get the support from state side and there was also a absence of political or caste ab&&&& hierarchal social order. But after the colonial rule this movement turned to be more political and lesser spiritual as before in the ancient and medieval period.

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C. Third Generation of Dalit Movement (the Modern Period, Colonial and Post Colonial period)

For centuries the upper or middle castes who subscribed to the brahmanical ideology and enjoyed social and political power did not concede the demands of Dalits for human dignity and social justice. More after than not, the rebels and this supporters were crushed with brute force. Methods of co-option and conciliation were adopted either to control the revolts or to use them against the revels, the situation began to change with the advent of the British rule. Though to a very limited extent, when state and societal power got separated the british rulers introduced the western legal system in India as it had evolved in Europe in the 19th century, under a capitalist-economic structure and liberal ideology. With the change in the politico-legal structure, movement by Dalits demanding right, such as admission in schools, walking a public roads, entering temples and dressing like caste Hindu, were launched in different pants of the country. Some resulted in riots, the colonial state did not support all the demands of untouchable relating to the social and religious spheres. For instance, not only local courts but the privy (privy) council in London also gave verdict against the Nadars for their attempt to enter the temple.

The court declared that the Nadars had gone beyond their hereditary calling and asked them to pay Rs. 500/- for the necessary purification ceremonies to be performed in the temple (Hardgrave 1969).

During the 1880 and 1890, a small group of social reformers of the National social conference raised the problem of untouchability and pressed the Indian national congress to take up the cause of untouchables. But, the congress did not respond to the demand till the

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Morley Minto reforms in 1906 when the issue of communal representation become important (Gupta, 1985: 177). Though there were no safeguards for Dalits or depressed classes in the Act of1909, the demand for separate representation and/or protective measures for them continued. But the congress party did not articulate any concrete demand or programme to prtect the interest of the depressed class. On the other hand, the Franchise Committee of 1918-19 recommended nomination from the depressed classes in provincial councils. The act of 1919 accepted the recommendations, but leaders of the depressed classes from different parts of the country were not satisfied with mere nomination. Their demand for separate electorate persisted in its memorandum to the Simon Commission. The Bahiskrit Hitsarini Sabha from Bombay, under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, opposed nomination and strongly pleaded for the extension of the principle of election to the depressed classes. It was argued that they needed political education and as Ministership was a very important privilege, they must find place in cabinet (Keer, 1962). M.C. Rajan, a nominated member in the Madras legislative council, demanded reservation of seats for panchamas in government schools and colleges and nomination of suitable men from the depressed classes as members of various local bodies and municipalities. On his instance, the council passed the resolution issuing instructions to district collectors asking them to nominate suitable men from the depressed classes as members of various local bodies and municipalities (Gupta, 1985: 224). The foremost Dali leader Dr. B.R. Ambedkar demanded reservation for Dalit and backward classes at all level of government and administration and in support of the justification Dr. Ambedkar cited the arguments made by Karl Marse and John Stuent Mill regarding equality and justice for all. The Dalit movement under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar was actively involved in politics by the late 1920s. Political power Dr. Ambedkar believed, could help Dalits solve their socio-economic problems in 1933. He said:-

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"You have now a way of bringing about change, an improvement in four life conditions. That way is through political action, through appropriate laws… you can make the government provide for you what you are now denied- Food, clothing, shelter, education. Hence instead of resorting to rosary counting or prayer you should now depend on the political path; that will bring you liberation …. the conflict, hereafter, will not be between the British and the Indians, but between the advanced classes of Indian and backward classes. No borrowed on hired person who does not belong to your class can further your welfare by the least degree. You must rid yourselves of internal divisions and organize strongly……" quoted by Gore, 1993: 213.

One can argue that like other social reformer i.e. Periyar, Narayana Guru, Jotibaphule, Ambedkar was also in favor of a silent political revolution which could bring about development and welfare in the lives of Dalits.

(i) Dalit Movement after Ambedkar in Modern India

The post Ambedkar leadership was full of lesser mortals whose gradual co-option in the congress power strategy of the 1960s and 1970s disappointed Kanshi Ram in his early years as a worker of the now-defund republic party when his movement or reckoning came, Kanshi Ram went beyond the conventional predictions about the future of a usual Dalit leaders. He demonstrated his uniqueness by combining the qualities of a shrewd tactician and charms of a mass leader. He showed contempt for everyone and stayed himself another "sahib" of Dalits after Babasaheb.

Kanshi Ram is a legendary figure, looked at differently by different people, social scientist, through, though they find him "shallow", pin hopes on him for 'social justice' and cultural revolution.

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He calls his party a 'Phenomenon' his supporters describe him as the greatest social scientist (Rajan, 1994).

Kanshi Ram was of the view that to win the rights of Dalits, one need not to be a great militant like the Dalit Panthers; recourse to peaceful agitation can be taken to attain the objective. Second, the instant mobilization of ERDL's (Explosive Research and Development Laboratory where Kanshi Ram worked) Scheduled Caste employees gave him a glimpse of an entirely new and mostly unexplored ground on which a different kind of political movement could be launched. This new constituency was far more wide, plural and national in its character than the narrow base of Mahar and Neo Bhudists of the Republican variety. Through as per the service rules, bureaucracy is considered non-political, Kanshi Ram saw it as the 'Brain Bank'; 'Talent Bank', and 'Financial Bank' (The Sunday Observer 2, August, 1990) of Dalit movement. Third, he also found that employees of Dait origin were not the only victims of upper caste bias. Other backward classes and minorities also suffered in the same manner. This is what he learnt from the history of non-brahamin movement of Maharastra, initiated by Phule in the 19th century. Phule coined the term Bahujan Samaj and tried to unite all non –Brahmins (Omredt, 1994a).

Kanshi Ram believes that one should first consolidate one's non-political base to succeed in politics. He himself did not aspire to any political post but was engaged in the work of the Ambedkar Education society which, in his considered opinion, could have been the fountain – head of his non-political base in the ever-burgeoning Dalit bureaucracy. In 1978 he launches his first organisation which acquired dreaded existence for upper-caste basses of the bureaucracy. Its full name is All India Backward (SC, ST, and OBC) and Minority Communities Employees Federation. Its full name was too long to be popular, but the acronym BAMCEP stuck very soon with the help of this organisation. Kanshi Ram worked so hard to mobilize Dalit employees across the nation. Then he formed another organisation DS-4 which spelt Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti (Committee of the exploited and Dalits for struggle). These two organisations were not full fledged political organisations but some foremost leaders of that time i.e. Charan Singh, Devi Lal, Karpoori Thakur found electoral potential in it which happened to be so later on when BSP was introduced.

The success of the 1983 rally enthused Kanshi Ram so much that he started preparing for a full-fledged political party. Thus come the third stage of his mobilisational programme and or the occasion of Ambedkar's birthday (14th April, 1984), he announced the formation of Bahujan Samaj Party in Delhi on 22, 23 and 24 June, The BSP's first conference was held at the maidan in front of Red Fort (Rajan, 1994).

(ii) BSP and Dalit Movement in Modern India

BSP was formed on 14 April, 1984 by a successful support base of BAMCEE and DS-4 (DSSSS) BSP was very much different from the organisations working for Dalits at that time like Dalit panthers in Maharastra. Bheem Sena and RPI, Dalit Sangharsh Samiti in Karnataka. BSP has an entirely different history and culture from the above mentioned organisations and political party. BSP has its support base among the SC, ST and OBC employees and the rural urban Dalits its agenda was to win the political power through which they can spare political space for Dalits and marginalized so that the new social order can be achieved in which equality, fraternity, liberty and justice for all be maintained.

Kanshi Ram visualizes two stages by which the position of Dalits/ bahujans in society would undergo a transformation. The first is capturing of political power through mobilisation

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from Brahmins who compromise only 10-12 percent of the population. He has consistently tried to make the lower and backward castes realize that the "first the past ballot" voting system makes it possible for them to seize power by working within the system. In the later phase of movement, the revolution would penetrate deeper into society and transform it, though how this would be dare is not explained. Thus, caste becomes a double-edged knife; though it is an instrument of oppression at present, it is to be used as a tool to upset the existing social order. This amounts to the ideologisation of caste i.e. using caste as ideology (Ikiat 1994: 668-69).

By using the above mentioned ideology BSP contest many successful Parliamentary and State Assemblies elections since 1984 to the present. It gave a very though fight to the tradition catch all parties like congress. Electoral history of BSP shows its rising and developmental nature. The party has been able to capture the political power of the largest state of Indian Uttar Pradesh not a single time but four time i.e. in 1995 (June) Mayavati has been choosed to be the CM of Uttar Pradesh and also in March 1997, May 2002 she had been able to win the seat of Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. More recently and more interestingly in May 2007, she and the BSP party came into power with outstanding full fledged majority in the state of Uttar Pradesh, the experimental lab of Indian Electoral System.

Under the leadership of Mayavati the BSP is trying to establish political and cultural space for marginalized Dalits in UPs and and setting up the examples for other states in India. Through establishing the important places, Gardens and parks in Honor of great saints, Gurus and Mahapursha both in Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Other Backward Caste, she is making cultural, and identity space for the Dalits in UP i.e. Dr. Bheem Rao Ambedkar Samajik Parivartan Sathal, Lacknow, (BR Ambedkar social change place) which is included by Dr. Ambedkar Samarak, Dr. Ambedkar Parivartan Sangrahalya, etc. and Manyavar Kanshi Ram Samarak Sathal, Lucknow, and Rastriya Dalit Parerna Sathal Noida, UP (National Dalit Inspiration Place).

These places are creating social and cultural space for Dalits and also a sense of inspiration and dignity among the Dalit bahujans.

(iii) Social and Religious Movement of Dalits in Modern India

There have been many social movements i.e. Arya Samaj, Chief Khalsa, Brahmo Samaj, Ram Krishan Mission etc. occurred for the equality among equals but Adi Dharam Movement of Punjab was the foremost Dalit Movement which gave its effects throughout Northern India. Adi Dharam was the only movement in northwestern India that aimed at securing a respectable place for SCs through cultural transformation, spiritual regeneration, and political assortion, rather than seeking patronage from above (Ram, 2004).

The Ad Dharm Movement, led by Mangoo Ram, aimed at making Dalit realized of their communal pride, religion and capability for organization, which had hitherto lain buried under the burden of untouchability. Except from ad Dharam movement there is another religious movement that can be termed as Guru Ravidassia Dharam Movement.

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Before came to Ravidassia Dharam let me introduce the Dera Sachkhand Ballan of Guru Ravidass Ji, situated at village Ballan of District Jalandhar, Punjab. It is also known as the Dera Sant Sarvan Dass Ji Maharaj Sachkhand Ballan. Sant Pipal Dass father of Sant Sarwan Dass Ji found this place suitable for spiritual persuits. The place, on the outskirts of the village of Ballan, was a thick forest. The father and son also spend days in the forest and took shelter in a mud house in the village during nights. Later on landlord Hazara Singh of Ballan donated some land to them in the forest, where they built a thatched hut to begin with. It soon became the goal of pilgrimage for lower caste (Juergensneyer, 1988, 84, 85).

Sant Sarwan Dass was a chamar himself and a follower of the faitfh of Ravidass made him and his dera instantly popular among the chamar the dominant Dalit caste who consider Guru Ravidass as their spiritual Mahaguru.

Dera Balla has meticulously kept sant Sarwan Dass's legacy of spreading the bani of Guru Ravidass with zeal and has actually accelerated its efforts in this direction in India and abroad. He generated a sense of cohesive belongingness among the Dalits of India and abroad. The construction of Guru Ravidass Mandirs in seer Governdhanpur, (Varanasi) Hariabad (Punjab) Sirshgarh (Haryana), Pune (Maharashtra), Haridwar (Uttranchal), and Una (Himachal Pradesh) is a clear indication of the concerted efforts of Dera Ballan towards the popularization of social egalitarian philosophy of Ravidas (Heer 2005, 4).

Among other developmental and welfare work of Dera the most important are the creation of sant Sarwandass Charitable Hospital Kathar (Punjab) Shri Guru Ravidass Mandir and Sant Sarwan Dass Model School Hariyabad Phagwara (Punjab), Sant Sarwan Dass chertiable eye Hospital Balla (Punjab), Shri Guru Ravidass Mandir Kattraz Pune (Maharastra) etc. These all Mandirs are expending and exploring the teaching, of Guru Ravidass Ji in the leadership of Dera Ballan. So Dera Ballan became a paragon of the Ravidass Movement in northwest India. It made concerted efforts for the construction of a separate Dalit identity, and religion independent both Sikhism and Hinduism, the two main religions of the region.

After the assassination of a high profile saint Shri 108 Ramanand Ji in Viena 2009, the Dera Ballan announced the creation of new Ravidassia Dharam that would be separated both from Sikhism and Hinduism, the dharam is also get resisted with the government of India and a new religious text entitled "Amritbani Shri Guru Ravidass Ji" also introduced and announced the Holy text of the religion. Not only this, the Dera has maintained the unique tools and symbols which are essential or pre-requisite for any religious i.e. Flag, Dress, Model of temples, rituals like performing and reciting bani, mode of prayer, religious symbol etc.

Dera Sach Khand Ballan is most visiting Dera by Dalits in the region of North India. The dera has constructed the most significant temple at Guru Ravidass Janam Asthan (Birth place of Guru Ravidass) at Kashi Banras (UP). This temple is considered as the sacred religious place for Dalits. So creation of these deras and temples across India has given the Dalit a sense of consciousness self respect and dignity through the Guru Ravidass Movement. They have created a religious platform and organized themselves unpresedently in terms of social, and cultural life.

(v) The Real Renaissance for Dalits in Modern India

Renaissance literally means to revisit, recapitulate and readopt the ancient literature, culture, history, to the extent until they are reasonable and to reinvent themselves in the light of modernity and modern democratic institutions and thoughts. Dalits and Dalit movement as far as is concern through the upnishad and budhism in the ancient times, through the bhagti movement of medieval times and through the political and religious dera movements in modern

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times they realize themselves and revisit their culture, history, literature, and traditional respect and social, political, religious and cultural space for themselves.

After analyzing and elaborating the three generations of Dalit identity movement in India one can safely argue that in the first generation, the movement's core agenda was to get social equality, and abolition of brahaminical hierarchical structure of society in which the real and confide residents of India. The Dalits have seen thrown into the forth strata of caste hierarchy who were directed to perform all the low wages works like sanitation, watering, potter men, fishermen, hunter, washer men etc. They were denied the right to shelter, food, liberty, equality of all kind. They were not allowed to got to temples do prayers, and perform religious rituals and they were not allow even to see the religious rituals, to hear and recite so called mantras, and if they do so they were punished very badly some time even resulted in their death. So through the Upanishad age and emergence of Buddhism they fight for social right i.e. equality among equals abolition of caste hierarchy etc.

In the second generation of Dalit movement the nature of the Dalit movement turned from social to religious when they organized themselves for religious rights and now the organizational support also changes from Upanishad age and Budh dharma to the Bhakti age. In the Bhagti age Guru Ravidass, Guru Nanak Dev, Kabir, Banka, Namdev, and other Bhagti Saints created a space and platform for the Dalit (Dalits) to organized themselves and to demand the religious rights. All the bhagti saints criticized the hindu orthodoxical rituals and hierarchies through their verses and hymns, specially Guru Ravidass a chamar himself tried very very hard to emancipate. The Dalits from the inhuman practices of untouchability. He advocated all the religious right i.e. equality to profess any religion, freedom to go to temples etc.

In the third generations the nature of the movement turned to be political in the colonial period under the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and other significant leaders like, M.C. Rajan advocated all equal political rights and reservation for Dalits in governing and administrative bodies under the British rule.

They raised their voice for political rights i.e. right to be elected, right to vote, reservation, right to separate electorate, and other special political right which could enable the Dalits to come forward like right to make organisations and free press etc. After that Shaheb Kansi Ram and Mayavati took forward the Dalit movement by the organisations like BAMCEF & DS-4 and then finally BSP introduced.

After these three generations a new kind of movement come that can be termed as Guru Ravidass Dharam Movement which gives a new identity and culture to the Dalits the main centre of the movement is Dera Sach Khand Ballan which is discussed earlier.

Through these three generations the Dalit movement gained momentum steadly. They (Dalits) gained social, religious, and political rights from these three generations respectively and now in the contemporary times they organized themselves in every sphere of social life i.e. social, religious, cultural and political by these three generations, it is the sum total of the efforts mode under all three generations that they are now enjoying a New Real Renaissance for themselves.

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Conclusion

After come across a very-2 detailed history of Dalit movement we find that it has taken three centuries to assert the Dalits for three kinds of rights. In ancient time they fight for social rights in medieval religious and in modern time they tried to win political (rights) participation. They used upnishad age, Bodh dharma, bhagti movement, and political participation (in modern India) as the tools or platform to be asserted. Further the Dalit social, religious, cultural, and political movement in modern India shaped the new identity for Dalits and it might be akin to the real **Renaissance** for them which needs to be analyzed and researched upon by researchers.

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