

INDIA AS A FAILED STATE



V.T. RAJSHEKAR

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First Edition: 2004

Price: Rs. 10 in India
US \$2 (outside India)

Printed at:
G.U. Graphics
272/273, 1st Stage, VI Phase
V Cross, 2nd Main, West of Chord Road
Rajajinagar Industrial Town
Bangalore - 560 044.

FOREWORD

As this tract goes to press (2004), India is facing yet another parliament election with all the accompanying bluffs and brags from the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). One such boast is about "India shining" and the "Feel good factor". Such false claims are common with our ruling upper castes to deceive the slaves of India. BJP being their party, it has to make such false claims. They have their monopoly media to make the people believe their bluffs.

Whether people believe these bluffs or not is a different question. But no honest intellectual can say "India is shining". Far from it.

The Congress, the original Brahminical party of India, ruled the country for 50 long years with similar bluffs and brags. The BJP, which is born to the Congress, is imitating its father.

As the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, India's oldest (25 years) and the largest circulated journal of the "*Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights*", we fought both the Congress and the BJP. So also the marxists. In a collective conspiracy these upper caste parties pushed India to the wall. And made it a failed state.

The future of India's slaves lies in regional and caste-based parties, confined to their linguistic territory. This is because India is not a nation and was never a nation. Anything calling itself "national" will not be in the interest of the slaves of India.

Our experience since "independence" (1947) has shown how all these "national" parties have deceived us.

Fortunately, "national" parties are dying. They have to die. Having campaigned against such "national" parties during the past 25 years of *Dalit Voice*, we can claim some credit for the death of the "nation". Even the BJP is ruling in Delhi as part of a coalition of caste and regional parties. The future of India rests with regional, if not sub-regional, and caste-based parties. Muslims, in their own interest, must join such regional parties. That is the only way to check India's drift as a failed state.

Date: April 1, 2004

Bangalore

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Enlarged version of the Keynote Address delivered at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, on the "Life & Times of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar" on Dec.6, 2001.

Prof. Ashok Nath Basu, Vice-Chancellor of Jadavpur University, Prof. Biswanath Banerji, president of the Asiatic Society, and friends,

I am surprised how you happened to invite an ordinary journalist and writer, that too from a far corner of South India (Bangalore), to speak at this prestigious and historic 317-year-old institution like the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, established by the British in 1784, that also to speak on the "controversial" rising star of India — Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar — who has become a bone in the throat of India's upper caste rulers.

Dr. Ambedkar, "independent" India's most outstanding intellectual giant, also became the country's most hated person because he worked as the "scourge and scavenger" of the Indian society. I too have to be intellectually honest in my talk. Then only I can be sincere and faithful to Dr. Ambedkar and do justice to the subject given for my talk, "*Life & Times of Dr. Ambedkar*".

Who is an honest intellectual ?

Who is qualified to be called an honest intellectual? This is what Dr. Ambedkar says:

"Whether you accept the theory of the great man as the maker of history or whether you do not, this much you will have to concede that in every country the intellectual class is the most influential class, if not the governing class. The intellectual class is the class which can foresee, it is the class which can advise and give lead. In no country does the mass of the people live the life of intelligent thought and action. It is largely imitative and follows the intellectual class. There is no

exaggeration in saying that the entire destiny of a country depends upon its intellectual class. If the intellectual class is honest, independent and disinterested it can be trusted to take the initiative and give a proper lead when a crisis arises. It is true that intellect by itself is no virtue. It is only a means and the use of means depends upon the ends which an intellectual person pursues. An intellectual man can be a good man but he can easily be a rogue. Similarly an intellectual class may be a band of high-souled persons, ready to help, ready to emancipate erring humanity or it may easily be a gang of crooks or a body of advocates of a narrow clique from which it draws its support. **You may think it a pity that the intellectual class in India is simply another name for the Brahmin caste** (*emphasis added*). You may regret that the two are one; that the existence of the intellectual class should be bound with one single caste, that this intellectual class should share the interest and the aspirations of that Brahmin caste, which has regarded itself the custodian of the interest of that caste, rather than of the interests of the country. All this may be very regrettable. But the fact remains that the Brahmins form the intellectual class of the Hindus. It is not only an intellectual class but it is a class which is held in great reverence by the rest of the Hindus. The Hindus are taught that the Brahmins are *Bhudevatas* (Gods on earth). The Hindus are taught that Brahmins alone can be their teachers. Manu says, "if it be asked how it should be with respect to points of the Dharma which have not been specially mentioned, the answer is that which Brahmins who are Shishthas propound shall doubtless have legal force".

(*Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 1, p.71, Maharashtra Govt. Publication, 1979*).

Truthful and honest talks are seldom liked. Nay. Honesty has taken a long holiday in India. These are the heydays of cut-throats, crow-catchers, sycophants. Honest intellectuals are persecuted. Blacked out. Sorry, they are mostly dead. Under the existing reckless brahminical revivalism, which can be better described as a raging counter-revolution, honest intellectuals have no place. They are laughed at.

A society flourishes or fades out into oblivion on the basis of the role played by its intellectuals. Intellectuals and

intellectuals alone can take a society forward. But such intellectuals should be honest like Dr. Ambedkar. Honest intellectuals will spur a society to prosperity. A dishonest intellectual will push it to its peril. Intellect is, therefore, a vital force in history. Right now India is perishing because dishonest intellectuals are competing with each other to dig the grave of India. (V.T. Rajshekar: *India's Intellectual Desert*, Dalit Sahitya Akademy - 1999).

We in India, speak so much about corruption among politicians. Yes. Politicians are corrupt. Our bureaucrats are corrupt. Our judiciary is also corrupt. Corruption is eating India. But we are not so much worried about such a corruption. What is worrying people like us is the country's intellectual corruption. This is the most serious part of corruption. When a society's intellectuals become corrupt such a society has no future.

Hurting sentiments

So, you will have to excuse me if what I consider as my honest approach to the subject hurts some people here. This is a professional hazard which I had to face several times taking me to jail and even resulting in the impounding of my passport.

Whenever we write or speak, the standard advice that we get is we should not "hurt other's feelings". By this what is assumed is that the "feelings" are the monopoly of a particular section which happens to be India's ruling class. In other words, the upper caste rulers. The others, meaning the "lower castes" and the "religious minorities", are not expected to have any feelings or sentiments. He or she is a log of wood. He can be abused, kicked, killed, burnt, raped or his little property destroyed. Such criminal atrocities on the weaker sections of India — comprising the Scheduled Castes (20%), Scheduled Tribes (10%), Backward Castes (35%) plus Muslim (15%), Christian (2.5%) and Sikhs (2.5%), a total 85% — are going on endlessly. They are insulted, abused and their sentiments

are violently attacked daily. None bothers about that. No editorial is written in any daily or periodical. But when the "sentiments" of this mere 15% ruling upper castes are "hurt" Parliament itself holds a special session, the Supreme Court judges hold emergency session in the middle of the night in their residences. There is an earthquake. Such is the sacredness of the "sentiments" of the *Bhoodevatas*.

The fake mahatma

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar did not care for these sacred cows. The most sacred cow of this land of *Ahimsa* is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. It was Dr. Ambedkar who had the courage and the intellectual honesty to tear the mask of this mahatma to pieces and write a book itself, "*What Congress & Gandhi Have Done to Untouchables*" (Vol.9, *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar W&S*) and tell the world that this Gujarati Bania is the other name for hypocrisy and humbug. (V.T. Rajshekar: *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?* DSA - 1997).

Gandhi stands for the hypocrisy and humbug that symbolises the country's "intellectuals" who happen to be none other those constituting the privileged ruling upper castes. In other words, the micro-minority Aryans/Hindus. It is they who parade themselves as intellectuals though there is no evidence of their contribution to the country. India did not get a single Nobel Prize after "independence". Those who got like Amartya Sen, V.S. Naipaul are not Indian citizens but products of Western civilisation.

No Indian can claim credit for any outstanding intellectual attainment after "independence". Such is the appalling poverty of thinking in "independent" India.

Look. Despite 57 years of "independence", we have not been able to produce a scholarly, intellectual journal like the London *Economist* which itself is 370 years old. The *India Today* which was started as a poor imitation of the *Time* magazine became a silly stuff. Leisured class reading stuff.

Verdict of History

It is simply not possible to produce any intellectual journal in India because such a journal will get no readership. Just as the people get the government they deserve, the readers also get the journal they deserve. It is the readers who make a journal. The *Economic & Political Weekly* (EPW) is called "India's only intellectual journal" but EPW will not come up to the standards set by Dr. Ambedkar. EPW is not behaving like the "scourge and scavenger" of the society. Had it been so, India's upper caste intellectuals would never have encouraged EPW. The very fact that India's "left intellectuals" fancy this journal shows it caters to upper caste tastes. Marxism in India is the other name for brahminism. Nay. Marxism has been used by India's brahminical forces to strengthen brahminism. (V.T. Rajshekar: *How Marx Failed in Hindu India*, DSA-1988).

The Indian intellectual class, which is the other name for its Brahminical Social Order (BSO), is primarily responsible for the decline and decay of India. Dr. Ambedkar was the only intellectual giant of India who had the courage to say this.

Look at our *Dalit Voice*, which is 24 years old (2004). We have tried our best to keep it as an intellectual journal fighting for the rights of the above-mentioned over 85% of the deprived destitutes — SC/ST/BCs and Muslim/Christian/Sikhs. Revolutionary people among these six sections rallied behind us. Stood by us in thick and thin. But we are sorry to say that we have hardly any readership from the ruling upper castes (BSO). For from encouraging us, these hate-mongering Hindus did their best to hinder our progress. Not only that. They even tried their best to kill our journal. But our readers stood by us and saved its sure death and brought it to this stage. This thinking cream of the oppressed class, the deprived destitutes, may be small but it is a virile class. The only hope of India. If this 57-year-old "independent" India has survived so far withstanding all the efforts of the ruling brahminical race to sell off this country to McDonalds, Pizza Hut or Coca-Cola, it

is because of this intellectually honest but powerless "Wretched of the Earth." Who are these "Wretched of the Earth"? They are the children of Babasaheb and no single person has done so much for the liberation of these people as much as Dr. Ambedkar. This will be the verdict of history.

Greatest Indians

"Independent" India has produced many great personalities and among them three persons have been crowned by the people themselves as the greatest Indians for having brought about perceptible socio-economic transformation in their lives.

They are: Dr. Babasaheb B.R. Ambedkar, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia — in that order. History is a terrible task master. It has no respect for people who raise lot of dust. It remembers only those who raise the level of the people.

When a civilisation declines and decays, it is not due to any mystic reasons but because of the failure of its intellectual leaders to meet the challenges of the change. Dr. Ambedkar is perhaps the only genius of this "independent" India who gave all the warnings to the Brahminical rulers but they refused to heed his warnings.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said:

"Brahmins of India have produced any number of learned people but not a single intellectual".

Look at the different revolutionary people this country has produced from the beginning of history: Budha, Mahavir, Thiruvalluvar, Guru Ravidas, Guru Nanak, Mahatma Phule, Sri Narayana Guru, Vivekakanda, etc. Not a single of them is a Brahmin. Even M.K. Gandhi was not a Brahmin though he cannot be ranked among the above people. Brahmins simply cannot produce a revolutionary because their very value system, a product of their *Manuwadi* sacred scriptures, is counter-revolutionary.

Father of India

That is why the *vaidiks* as a class always side with counter-revolution. (V.T. Rajshekar, *Weapons to Fight Counter Revolution*, DSA-2004). Their scriptures are anti-human. Chanakya's *Arthasastrā* (R. Shama Sastry, *Kautilya's Arthasastra*, Padam Printers, Mysore-24, 1988) advocates any means, including the deadliest and the most devastating violence, to preserve and perpetuate Brahminism. Brahmin Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers like P.V. Narasimha Rao, A.B. Vajpayee, Jayalalita, Ramakrishna Hegde, Jagannath Mishra put into practice the different schemes advocated in the *Arthasastra* to keep the people enslaved and ground them to dust so that the reign of Brahminism progresses unhindered. Dr. Ambedkar was the one and the only honest intellectual of India who had the courage of conviction to blast Brahminism and predict that as long as the *vaidiks* reign supreme in India the country will remain a beggar nation. Babasaheb's prediction has come true.

All the thinking sections among Brahmins in India know this but they are dishonest enough not to admit this fact. They don't want to admit it, but busy correcting the drift, because the Brahmins as a class have become the rulers of the land. And as long as they are the rulers, they do not mind what happens to the land. The secret behind this treacherous betrayal is that the Brahmin is a foreigner to India being an invader - though the *vaidiks* are re-writing history books to say that the Aryans are also indigenous. Such tricks will not work.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the only person who uttered fearless but honest words to expose the Brahmins and their brahminism and risked the danger of becoming the country's most hated person because he loved the country and its people much more than his personal popularity. It is his ruthless exposure of the country's ruling Brahminical races that awakened the Dalits and constituted them as the country's

only movement of the oppressed. Dalit movement is the only movement of the country today. All other movements are dead.

If raising the level of consciousness of the people is taken as the index, then Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar undoubtedly stands No. 1 and hence history will rightly declare him as the "Father of India".

Imagine what would have happened to India, particularly its Untouchables, if Dr. Ambedkar was not born. The first and the foremost disaster would have been that the Untouchables would have considered themselves Hindu and consequently would have remained under the grip of M.K. Gandhi. What a great disaster was averted and the course of history changed.

India not a nation

Dr. Ambedkar has said India is not a nation but a group of several warring nations. Every time the oppressed people strive to work towards making India a nation, the alien Aryan upper castes, who have become the rulers of India since 1947, come in the way and the nation-building process is getting delayed. Dr. Ambedkar's prophecy has come true. So much so, India continues to be a country of several warring nations — segmented, compartmentalised, a first-rate Apartheid society.

The only people who stand to gain by calling India a nation by hypnotising the people on *Bharat Mata* are the brahminical upper castes. The Congress, the original brahminical party of India, ruled India for 50 long years thrusting this non-existing concept down our throats. The Muslims were driven out of India and the country was partitioned to mesmerise the non-Muslim Indian on the "national unity" *mantra*. But this *mantra* soon failed to work. M.K. Gandhi's "charisma" soon faded and failed. Gandhi was shot dead by a Brahmin belonging to the Hindu nazi party despite all the services Gandhi rendered to the Brahmins, including making a Brahmin (Jawaharlal Nehru) the first Prime Minister of India.

The fate of the "Father of the Nation" has become pathetic.

The ruling coalition government in Delhi headed by A.B. Vajpayee is controlled by the Hindu nazi party called the RSS whose member killed this "Father of the Nation". The Hindu nazis celebrate the assassination of Gandhi by distributing sweets on Jan.31 (the day on which he was killed) every year. Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee claims that he is a proud member of this terrorist nazi outfit, twice banned in India before. Vajpayee refused to go to Rajghat in Delhi, where the "Father of the nation" was cremated, when he was sworn in as Prime Minister for the first time. To that extent India's Hindu nazi rulers hate Gandhi. But the beauty is that it is these very same Hindus who carry Gandhi on the head and pounce on those intellectuals who criticise Gandhi. These Gandhi-killers are also the greatest protectors and defenders of Gandhi because the gandhian hypocrisy ideally suits the Indian brahminical class. To that extent this ruling class is devoid of honesty.

Talk *swadeshi* and drink *videshi*

This ruling class swears by *swadeshi* but opens its doors to everything that is *videshi*. We have a Prime Minister who talks *swadeshi* but drinks *videshi*. All sorts of contradictions abound in our brahminical rulers. All five-star hotels are frequented only by these rulers. They play only Western music. Our rulers love everything that is Western even while talking about *videshi*. Gandhi stood for such a double-standard. His own disciple, Sarojini Naidu, once described Gandhi's "simplicity" so beautifully. She said: "To keep Gadhiji in poverty, the government is spending in millions". Gandhi is dead along with all that he stood for. But the rulers are keeping Gandhi alive because Gandhi's hypocrisy, double-talk, double-dealing and double cross ideally suit these usurpers. So much for the forgotten "Father of the Nation".

Each group inside India has produced a "Father of its own Nation". Sikhs have their own Father (Sant Bhindranwale). So also Muslims (M.A. Jinnah), Tribals (Birsa Munda),

Backward Castes (Mahatma Phule). Different castes and communities produced their respective Fathers. The Hindus had their own "Father of Nation" in M.K. Gandhi.

But Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the one and the only person who lived, worked and died for the welfare and liberation of every section of the Indian population including the upper castes (Hindus), including Hindu women. And that is why history cannot call him "Father of the Nation" as India is not a "nation".

Ignorant people may hate Dr. Ambedkar and refuse to listen to his warnings. This is because they are a bundle of prejudices. Hate and prejudice lead them and they follow. They do not want even to know that Dr. Ambedkar never hated an individual Brahmin. He hated Brahmins as a collective class. He had very many close Brahmin friends. And had great praise for a Brahmin intellectual, Ranade, whom he rated as a great honest intellectual. (Dr. Ambedkar Writings & Speeches: *Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah*, Vol.1, 1979, pp.211-240)

Rights of Brahmin women

Not only that. Dr. Ambedkar supported the Brahmin women's demand for equal rights on property denied by their own Brahmin men. To confer such rights on Brahmin women he brought the Hindu Code Bill which was supported in parliament by all Brahmin women. The Brahmin men, including the great self-styled socialist like Jawaharlal Nehru, opposed this Bill to confer the human rights on their own Brahmin women.

When the Brahmin male leaders refused to allow the Bill to be passed, a disappointed Dr. Ambedkar resigned as the first Law Minister of India with a broken heart. Dr., Ambedkar suffered and sacrificed for Brahmins and that too for Brahmin women. But the Brahmin male leaders are still refusing to recognise this historical act of Babasaheb because the

Brahmins do not consider their own women as Brahmin. They are assigned the fourth-class *shudra* status and hence debarred from having their four-paise cross-thread, a right conferred only on Brahmin men. That is why a Brahmin woman has no right to become a temple priest. She cannot even enter the sanctum sanctorum (*garba gudi*) of the temple. To a Brahmin man, the Brahmin woman can never be trusted. A series of punishments are inflicted on her in the Brahmin's own sacred scripture, *Manu Smriti*.

Dr. Ambedkar went in defence of such a helpless Brahmin woman, victim of her own menfolk. But the pity is not even the Brahmin women come to his defence whenever Babasaheb is under attack by their menfolk.

As every caste and community in this hierarchically graded society called "Hindu India" is at perpetual war with each other, pride in one's own *jati* and prejudice against the other is natural. A Hindu believes what he wants to believe. India continues to be very much a jaundiced society.

Intellectual honesty is stifled. Rational thinking is laughed at. Scientific temper is never allowed to grow. In such a topsy-turvy society, godmen have a gala time, myth-makers flourish, sycophants have a field day. Honest intellectuals die unsung, unwept.

India as original home of racism

Until the United Nations interfered and took up consideration of the subject, "Casteism is racism", at its Sept. 2001 Durban World Conference Against Racism the outside world did not even know that brahminism, which today goes by the name of Hinduism, is racism — top to bottom. Dr. Ambedkar had said this long, long back but the rulers refused to accept his warning. That is how the Indian rulers had to face international humiliation at Durban. Even after this they have not learnt any lesson. Nor will they ever learn. This is because of the Hindu insolence which makes a Hindu not to learn

anything new and not to forget anything old. ... only
was the first in the world to disclose that "India is ... lead.
home of racism". Racism originated in India. (V.T. Raj ... as
Brahminism , DSA - 2002). ... s

Skin colour is no where given so much importance as in India. The Aryans brought this concept to India in the form of *varna* which in Sanskrit means skin colour. Social Darwinism, the 19th century eugenics, was inspired by the Aryan brahminical concept of *varna*.

Racism has taken a horrendous form and shape threatening a Third World War. It is no longer a mere threat. The Sept. 11, 2001 "terrorist attack" on America was master-minded by such racist forces to launch an attack on these sections of the world population opposed to racism.

Three anti-human forces

The three anti-human forces of the world — namely (1) White Western racism, (2) their zionist masters plus (3) India's Hindu nazi brahminical forces had not developed any intimate physical contacts. But for the first time since Sept. 11, 2001 they have begun intellectual contacts and started working in close cooperation with each other — forging the Trinity of Tyrants.

Hence we are approaching the most dangerous period in recent history. The three deadliest enemies of humanity have joined hands to establish their hegemony over the world. And as darkness descends over the universe and a Third World War has almost begun it is very necessary that the victims of all the three anti-human philosophies study Dr. Ambedkar's burning thoughts to rescue the world from these three deadly forces.

So in such a vitiated, prejudiced atmosphere a fair assessment of personalities is impossible in India because the very historians and writers who are called upon to pass such a verdict are themselves blinded with pride and prejudice.

Independent India's tallest titan

Hence when a proper, scientific and impartial assessment of men and matters begins and the gutter garbage accumulated since India's "independence" (1947) gushes out through the rough and tumble of time and space, events will get clarified, better light will be shed and the diamond will finally start shining. When such an hour comes history itself will pronounce its verdict and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar will be declared the "Father of India" — "independent" India's tallest titan.

Dr. Ambedkar had a many-sided personality. He is today remembered by the oppressed people of India not because he was a political leader or a Union cabinet minister but because he worked, suffered and sacrificed for the liberation of all sections of people.

On behalf of the Dalits in particular and the other oppressed Bahujan masses in general, I, as the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, India's oldest and the largest circulated journal of the "*Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights*", thank the Asiatic Society of India for choosing the "controversial" subject of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for your two-day seminar and honouring me by asking me to deliver the keynote address of the seminar.

The word "controversy" has a special meaning in India. "Controversy" is the other name for Truth. Anybody speaking out the Truth is called "controversial". That is why Dr. Ambedkar is called "controversial". I am also included in that exalted category.

Blessings of the British

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar would not have flowered into "Father of India" and its tallest titan if only he had been nipped in the bud. Leadership and personality do not grow in a day. Right from the seed it needs nourishment. And as it grows into a

plant, it has to be protected from umpteen enemies around. Then only it will grow into a tree.

If Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, a born Untouchable — lowest of the low — son of an ordinary military *subedar*, had received such a nourishment and protection, the credit must go to the then rulers, the British people. Being Christians, they had better values and encouraged genuine "merit and efficiency". In contrast, our today's Hindu rulers in the name of that very "merit and efficiency" nipped in the bud the birth of any future Dr. Ambedkar. This is the difference between yesterday's British rulers and today's Hindu rulers. (V.T. Rajshekar, *Merit — My Foot*, DSA-1996).

Things may be unpleasant but nevertheless they are all cold facts of history. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had the courage to call a spade a spade and did acknowledge the brighter side of the British rulership even while criticising them right on their very face at the two Round Table Conferences in London. Nobody else in the British India had that courage to criticise the British right on their face and in the very capital (London) of their country. Dr. Ambedkar had that courage.

Gandhi too was present at one such a Round Table Conference in London presided by the then Prime Minister of Britain, Ramsay Macdonald. But records show that Gandhi did not have the courage to criticise the British rulers. We have published a number of articles that go to prove that Gandhi was always a stooge of the British.

Blasphemous statement

Dr. Ambedkar was an honest intellectual, so rare a commodity then and rarer still in "independent" India dominated by sycophants. He did praise the British, wherever it was due. For making such an honest statement, a Hindu nazi journalist dubbed Babasaheb as traitor and stooge of the British. For making such a blasphemous statement, he was elevated and given a cabinet rank ministership. When history itself is getting

perverted, distorted and denied by the grave-diggers of history, we are not surprised by such gestures.

History has already pronounced its verdict and the very fact that today's seminar conducted by a prestigious institution established by the British to dissect and debate history-making events and personalities shows that the wind is moving in the right direction. And the time is not too far when the *toofan* of history hits and the pygmies start falling by the wayside — and Babasaheb is crowned the "Father of India".

Versatile genius

I have read all the works of Babasaheb, running into thousands of pages, many times. And I can say without fear of contradiction that he was a versatile genius. No political leader in "independent" India had such a mastery over such a varied number of subjects. Nobody had such high academic degrees from world-famous universities. That is how Babasaheb Ambedkar was rightly hailed as "one among the 10 best brains of the world". He was a prophet, philosopher, historian, outstanding social scientist, economist, legal luminary, constitutional expert, political scientist, authority on different religions and languages — a walking encyclopedia. Orator, debater, parliamentarian and a writer with razor sharp English words. He also possessed a sterling character. His personal life was a model. Jawaharlal Nehru hunted the whole country to find a person to draft the Constitution of India and Benegal Narsinga Rao, ICS, a Brahmin, suggested that the only person capable of doing the job inside India was Dr. Ambedkar. India had a galaxy of holy Brahmin brains reigning supreme at that period. But not a single one possessed that ability to draft the Constitution. What a fall. Finally, an Untouchable had to be chosen. What a shame on the *Bhoodevatas*.

No doubt, Dr. Ambedkar, despite all the health problems, innumerable opposition and all-round non-cooperation from

his colleagues, drafted the Constitution that was much against his wishes. So much so, when he was taunted that he made the Constitution, he had to publicly refute the charge and announce that he would be the first person to burn the Constitution. To that extent casteist (racist) forces came in the way of his Constitution-making.

Bid to destroy Constitution

In spite of all its short comings, the Dalits and other oppressed nationalities have accepted the Constitution. But it is the ruling upper castes who today are bent upon destroying this Constitution. The Constitution Review Commission was set up to destroy the basic structure of the Constitution – the existing parliamentary democracy that is supporting the deprived destitutes to open their eyes and assert their human rights — and replace it with a presidential form of government that is advantageous to the rulers.

India's upper caste forces are no respecters of the Constitution. Their constitution is the *Manu Dharma Shastra* (G.C. Haughton, *Manava Dharma Sastra or The Institutes of Manu*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi - 110 016, 1982). It is these forces led by Vaidik Vajpayee who master-minded the Constitution Review Commission headed by a retired Brahmin Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Alert oppressed forces of India vehemently opposed any "review" of the Constitution and the *vaidik* bid to destroy democracy and its multi-national character. The *vaidiks* might have failed once but they have not given up their move to destroy the Constitution of India.

We welcome "caste war"

One person one vote, as per this parliamentary democracy, has brought about tremendous awakening among the different castes and communities. Power has gradually started percolating down to the deprived destitutes. The well-fed upper castes started resenting this because they feared that their

monopoly over political power, economic might would slip away.

A clash between the upper caste haves and the "lower caste" have-nots is violently raging all over India. We welcome this clash because India's road to socialism lies through "caste wars". Caste is "class" in India. The deprived destitutes, the children of Babasaheb Ambedkar, have nothing to lose except their chains. We welcome caste wars. More caste wars.

Dr. Ambedkar hopes dashed

Our worry is that the sleeping slaves are not waking up fast enough. They are not even getting angry. They are ready to put up with any amount of insults, any amount of pain, any amount of deprivation. But they will not get angry because the *vaidiks* have resorted to the ingenious, time-tested strategy: keep the masses poor and hungry. All the poor are automatically illiterate. On one side they are illiterate and on the other hungry. How can a hungry man think? On the top of that they have been doped and drugged by the Hindu *karma* theory.

Dr. Ambedkar had provided them with all the tools and weapons for their liberation but they are not making use of even a single weapon. Because being poor, hungry and illiterate they are not even aware of the burning thoughts of Babasaheb. Such is the treacherous deeds of these *vaidiks*.

Educated Dalits turning traitors ?

Dr. Ambedkar had high hopes in the educated, employed Dalits comprising a mere 3% of the Dalit population. He honestly thought this privileged class which came up through the benefits of constitutional reservations would act as the catalyst of social change and he the vanguard of Indian revolution. But to his shock he found this "reserved class" betraying its own blood brothers having become easy prey to the deadly upper caste corrupting and co-opting techniques. Some of

them have even married upper caste girls and turned traitors to the society. Dr. Ambedkar died a sad man.

Meanwhile, the rulers have successfully killed the reservations itself with the help of their upper caste judiciary. The higher judiciary in particular, the High Courts and the Supreme Court, is loaded with upper caste judges. And in every issue concerning social justice, the courts have gone against the people. Dalits, Muslims, Dalit Christians, Backward Castes have been consistently denied justice. But the judges have stubbornly stood by the class-caste privileges of their *jatwalas* outside. Privatisation came in handy to deny the human rights of the Dalits, Tribals and Backward Castes.

Religious experiment

Having failed in this socio-economic experiment (reservations) to liberate the country's most oppressed society, namely the Untouchables, Dr. Ambedkar then finally turned to religious experiment. (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: *Why Go For Conversion?*, DSA-1987) Though the Untouchables are not Hindu and were never Hindu, he decided to quit Hinduism and embrace the egalitarian Budhism along with millions of his followers. But alas even this experiment failed.

The rulers cunningly scuttled the move through a Presidential order 1950 amended in 1956 by which only a "Hindu" and Sikh Dalit is eligible for constitutional reservation. The Budhist conversion drive was then scuttled by punishing the Untouchables embracing Budhism. They refused to grant reservations (human rights) to Budhist converts. This right was finally restored when V.P. Singh became the Prime Minister of India. The Hindu rulers of India committed a constitutional fraud on Dalits by using the state itself to promote their Hindu religion. But the Hindu collective conscience is least disturbed.

However, the Untouchables continue to face religious discrimination because Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims

have not yet secured constitutional reservations because of this Hindu mischief. That struggle is also going on.

Every section of the population is engaged in one or other life and death battle. So-much so, India itself has turned into a vast bloody battle ground. Human rights are simply crushed but the upper caste-controlled "national" media is systematically suppressing the facts and publishing rosy falsehood.

Dalit view of Indian media

Having worked as a journalist in a "national" English daily (*Indian Express*) for about 25 years in different parts of India, I know the working of the media and how India's ruling class/caste is using the media to maintain the status quo and suppress truth. This situation has not changed even a bit although the owners of the media and the journalists working in it go on propagating the myth that India has one of the world's freest and the most vibrant press and this press is fearlessly upholding Justice and Truth. All bullshit. The fact is just the opposite.

The basic defect lies in the composition of the media — (1) its ownership and (2) the journalists who work in it. The one is complimentary to the other.

The owners of the big newspapers and journals are mostly Banias (Vaishyas). The *Times of India*, India's largest circulated English daily, is owned by the Jain Marwaris, The *Indian Express* and the *Hindustan Times* by the Hindu Marwaris, the *Statesman* by the Tatas, the *Hindu* by the Brahmins. The *Malayala Manorama* by the Syrian Christians.

The journalists working in these papers are mostly upper castes led by Brahmins. A nexus of class and caste. The capitalist class as owners with upper castes as journalists. The capitalists want to maintain their class status quo and the journalists want to keep up their caste status quo.

Hindu nazi forces

Since India has no "class" and all those who belong to the upper class are also upper caste, the media in India provides the best mirror to reflect the tyrannical grip of the upper caste Brahminical forces on the media. That is why the Indian media projects a lop-sided picture of the country always aiding and abetting the Hindu nazi obscurantist forces. As this Brahminical ruling class or the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) wants to remain as the rulers, it can do so only by keeping the rest of the people as slaves.

This in brief is the picture of India's media and the situation has not changed a wee bit since "independence". This writer has been a victim of this brahminical media and when I tried to fight against the system I was dismissed from the *Indian Express*. Since then (1981) I am running the *Dalit Voice* giving the other (darker) side of the picture. That is why every effort is being made to suppress my paper.

No entry for Dalits

When the Indian media is the sole monopoly of the BSO, where is the scope for the Dalits to get in? A survey made in the media of India's capital city of Delhi in the year 1998 revealed not a single Dalit either in any of the dailies or periodicals. This is the case in all other cities. Exceptions only prove the rule. Forget about Dalits, even the Backward Castes (35%), Tribals (10%) and Muslims (15%) have hardly any chance to enter the closely guarded journalist circle.

This is a fact but the media, which boasts of its "freedom of press", is not free enough to disclose these unpleasant facts. That is why the Indian press exhibits a strong bias against Dalits, Muslims and other "lower castes". Powerful Backward Caste and Dalit leaders like Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Laloo Prasad Yadav, Kanshi Ram, etc. are always lampooned but Brahmin leaders like P.V. Naraismha Rao, A.B. Vajpayee, Jayalalita are praised covering up all their weaknesses. Truth is always

suppressed and falsehood sold as supreme truth. Muslims are the worst victims of this media monopoly. Every reservation movement was choked to death by this Brahminical media even as it encourages every counter-revolutionary movement.

Foreign wife & foreign whisky

The best proof of this hypocrisy is its stand on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in media. India's brahminical media has been vociferously advocating liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation and welcoming foreign capital. This is because India's upper castes like everything that is foreign. They want foreign car, foreign whisky, foreign perfume. Even foreign wife. But when it comes to media, it is unanimous in opposing FDI. This is because once foreign influence comes in, the upper caste rulers fear that all their closely guarded secrets will be out. They can no longer suppress Truth and Justice. This is the secret behind their fear which is camouflaged in all sorts of high sounding phrases. So much so the media has contributed a great deal to India becoming a failed state. It blacks out all honest intellectuals and promotes dishonest and dwarf intellectuals, frauds, who can only mislead the country.

Too much of trash is packed in our dailies and periodicals. Day by day news reports are kept out and views are published. There is a competition between the dailies and periodicals to publish nonsense. The only surviving newspaper which continues to publish news is the *Hindu*. Such is the craze for trash in our English-reading elites. Fortunately all these dailies and periodicals cater only to a small percentage of English-reading people who are not even 2% of India's population. The language-reading population may be another 20% — keeping out over 85% of the population un-corrupted. This is a great blessing in disguise.

Thank god, our people (outside the BSO) are saved from the mind-manipulating game of this monopoly media. That is why

the media exercises hardly any influence on the masses of people who still remain pure and uncontaminated.

Corrupting & co-opting technique

On one side the Hindus say that Buddhism is part of Hinduism, but when the Untouchables, victims of Hinduism, try to embrace Buddhism to secure social justice, the same Hindus put forward all sorts of obstacles. The Untouchables are neither allowed to live nor allowed to die. The Hindus want them to be perpetual slaves of Hindus.

Dr. Ambedkar is no more. A second Dr. Ambedkar will not be born. The upper caste deadly weapon of corrupting and co-opting technique will not allow a second Dr. Ambedkar to be born.

We are now actually in an age of counter-revolution. The list of different facets of this counter-revolution is too long to be spelt out here.

Hindu nazis are aggressively pushing their agenda to see that no protest is born. The days of social movements are over. Even the powerful Backward Caste movement is dead. The only surviving movement is the Dalit movement but even this is badly divided and its leadership is highly politicised.

Muslims hunted down

The Untouchables, the children of Dr. Ambedkar, are the producers of the country's entire wealth and manufacturers of all its goods and services. But such a vital segment of the society, forming a massive over 20% of the population, is kept enslaved. The Untouchables and their brothers, Tribals, who constitute another 10% of the society, are facing a living death under this oppressive *hinduisation* drive. The Backward Castes, who constitute another 35% of the population, have been already *hinduised*, meaning enslaved. That brings the total enslaved, dehumanised population to $20+10+35=65\%$.

Then comes Muslims (15%), (in West Bengal the Muslim

population is as high as 25%). Sikhs and Christians (2.5% each: total 20%). These so-called religious minorities are blood brothers of the above named three segments, Dalits, Tribals and Backward Castes being converts.

A total of over 85% of the population of India is in serious crisis.

Gujarat genocide

Muslims are being hunted down in the name of terrorism. POTO is ready to nab them.

The Gujarat Genocide of Muslims (2002) did not shock our rulers. The Hindu game is to *hinduise* (enslave) the Dalits, then instigate them against Muslims and bring about a Hindu-Muslim bloodbath. By this, they will be killing two birds in one stone. The *hinduised* Dalit will be a better slave of the BSO and by killing the Muslims they will be able to prove the world that India is a "Hindu nation". The brahminical national media is actively helping this process.

Sikhs, today called Hindus, have lost their **identity**. In Punjab today, the main Sikh party of Akali Dal is politically aligned with the Hindu nazis. The Sikhs have completely forgotten the "Blue Star Operation" (1984) and the bloodbath of over 3,000 Sikhs. Sikhs have been totally *hinduised* (enslaved). Christians are called anti-national. Every loyal dog is called mad and shot.

Best beggar nation

That leaves a mere 15% of the upper castes (Hindus) who today possess all the wealth. All the powers —judiciary, media, financial, economic, political, military — are concentrated in the hands of this tiny ruling class. A micro-minority is ruling the country sucking the blood of the rest of the population.

That is why in the world today, India has become the best beggar nation. Surrounded by enemies all round and

economically, socially and politically engulfed inside, India has become the laughing stock of the world.

All this is happening because the rulers of India have refused to use the different weapons and tools provided by Dr. Ambedkar to run the country.

No ruler will ever give up his rulership unless he is forced. It is for the enslaved masses groaning under the weight of this oppressive rule to change the rulers. Until then India will continue to be a beggar nation — laughed at and ridiculed by the rest of the world.

When the world is at the verge of a Third World War and the rulers of India have joined the current rich men's war against the poor of the world, and there is a ferment all over the world, this is the right time for the slaves of India to wake up and strike. The Dalits and the other persecuted nationalities cannot get a better opportunity to strike than today.

What Bengal thinks today

Thank you for giving this opportunity to share my innermost thoughts at this august gathering. There used to be a popular saying when I was a marxist in my student days: "What Bengal thinks today, the rest of India will think tomorrow". But sorry to note this has not happened.

Sorry. Bengal itself has stopped thinking.

The prolonged marxist rule is no different from the Hindu rule in the rest of India. Whether it is marxist, Congress or any other party, only three *Bhadralok jatis* are perpetually ruling Bengal — Brahmin, Kayasth, Baidyas. How can there be any new thinking where there is no equal sharing, no equal caring?

I might not have done justice to the subject given to me but I have certainly tried to do justice to Dr. Ambedkar's burning thoughts. Thank you.

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