



TEXTBOOK ON

**DALIT MOVEMENT  
IN INDIA**

**Meaning & Message**

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*M. Gopinath*

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## Introduction

This booklet is for the benefit of foreign scholars and also such Indian non - Dalits who very often approach us for discussions on Dalits and Dalit movement. So, some of our remarks may shock those not familiar with our writings. This is so whenever people hear something new.

Pardon us if we say that all our problems are mainly to do with the "educated" people.

Literacy itself is less than 30% in India and in this English literacy is much less. May be about 2%. And this 2% of the population is the cause of all our problems.

The total circulation of both English and language dailies put together may reach about 3% of our population. Another 7% may also be readers. That means the total readership is about 10%.

**Fraud of the century:** Have you heard of Harshad Mehta? This Gujarati Bania, described as Big Bull in the press, was a front page news (1992-93). He is the man who cheated the State Bank of India and other banks to the tune of a staggering Rs.1,000 crores. Several bank chairmen are facing dismissal because of this biggest bank fraud of the century.

Harshad Mehta and all those arrested and charged under what is described in the press as stock exchange scam are "highly educated people".

We are trying to impress you that all our problems - social, political, economic, cultural, psychological, religious and moral, civic problems - are created by our "educated" people and in this the English-educated fellows are the worst culprits.

We are part of this English-educated people coming under this 2% of India's population.

We form the greatest exploiters.

This 'educated class' has learnt nothing, forgotten nothing

It does not want to know the truth. Because, truth hurts

this class.

So, when we tell you some truth, you will get shocks and some of you may even pounce on us.

**Defective education system:** But we request you to bear with us and be patient until you complete this short paper. And we will try to answer all your questions if you send them on to us.

That is why we said this paper will be entirely different from the rest. You will get shocks because you will know things which you have never heard before or read before. This is because of our education system, our mass-media.

**Truth suppressed:** Teachers have to teach what is prescribed in the syllabus for which they are not responsible. The syllabus is prepared by somebody else. And it is here that we find all the mischief.

The biggest casualty in the preparation of our syllabus is truth. Truth is suppressed, murdered. Even we did not know the Truth and the whole Truth until recently.

Even teachers, we can assure you, will not know the truth. They are not permitted to know the truth.

Who is coming in the way of knowing the truth ? Who is suppressing the Truth ?

That is India's ruling class. This ruling class is not even 15% of India's population and yet it is controlling our mind.

Once you control the brain, it is easy to control the body.

**Slaves enjoying their slavery:** So much so, India has become a country of first-class slaves.

Not only slaves - but slaves enjoying their slavery (*Dalit Voice* editorial, Sept.1, 1992).

These slaves have to be told the Truth because as the Bible says : "Know the Truth and Truth shall make you free".

But who will do this job ? You can't expect this from our

political leaders because their leadership depends on the flourishing untruths.

Not from religious leaders because they sit on mountains of mischief.

Not from writers and journalists. The guidelines given to journalists are that they should not write the whole truth and if possible put out falsehood.

What then is the Truth ?

**The greatest falsehood** : To know the Truth, we must first know what is falsehood.

The problem with us is that we go on believing falsehood as truth and vice-versa.

What then is the most famous falsehood ? The greatest falsehood that is injected into our blood is that "India is a Hindu country", and "Hindus constitute the majority population" - over 85% of India.

This is the biggest bullshit.

What then are the facts ?

**Nehru's "Discovery of India"** : To explode this greatest myth that has mesmerised the whole world, we have to produce evidence from an unquestionable authority. So we have to quote from Jawaharlal Nehru's famous book, *Discovery of India*.

Nehru was not only India's first and most famous Prime Minister but more than that he was a Kashmiri Brahmin and a pure Aryan.

Besides, it is also said that he was well-read in literature, history and social thought.

So if we quote from him nobody will have the courage to question it.

## The coming of the Aryans

In the *Discovery of India*, - Jawaharlal Nehru says "Who were these people of the Indus Valley civilization and whence had they come ? We do not know yet. It is quite possible, and even probable, that their culture was an indigenous culture and its roots and offshoots may be found even in southern India. Some scholars find an essential similarity between these people and the Dravidian races and culture of South India. Even if there was some ancient migration to India, this could only have taken place some thousands of years before the date assigned to Mohenjodaro. *For all practical purposes we can treat them as the indigenous inhabitants of India.*

"What happened to the Indus Valley civilization and how did it end ? Some people (among them, Gordon Childe) say that there was a sudden end to it due to an unexplained catastrophe. The river Indus is well-known for its mighty floods which overwhelm and wash away cities and villages. Or a changing climate might lead to a progressive desiccation of the land and the encroachment of the desert over cultivated areas. The ruins of Mohenjodaro are themselves evidence of layer upon layer of sand being deposited, raising the ground level of the city and compelling the inhabitants to build higher on the old foundations. Some excavated houses have the appearance of two- or three-storied structures and yet they represent a periodic raising of the walls to keep pace with the rising level. The province of Sind we know was rich and fertile in ancient times, but from medieval times onwards it has been largely desert.

"It is probable therefore, that these climatic changes had a marked effect on the people of those areas and their ways of living. And in any event climatic changes must have only affected a relatively small part of the area of this widespread urban civilization, which, as we have now reason to believe, spread right up to the Gangetic



Valley, and possibly even beyond. We have really not sufficient data to judge. Sand, which probably overwhelmed and covered some of these ancient cities, also preserved them; while other cities and evidences of the old civilization gradually decayed and went to pieces in the course of ages. Perhaps future archaeological discoveries might disclose more links with later ages.

**Aryans as foreigners:** "While there is a definite sense of continuity between the Indus Valley civilization and later periods, there is also a kind of break or a gap, not only in point of time but also in the kind of civilization that came next. This latter was probably more agricultural to begin with, though towns existed and there was some kind of city life also. This emphasis on the agricultural aspect may have been given to it *by the newcomers, the Aryans who poured into India in successive waves from the north-west.*

*"The Aryan migrations are supposed to have taken place about a thousand years after the Indus Valley period: and yet it is possible that there was no considerable gap and tribes and peoples came to India from north-west from time to time, as they did in later ages, and became absorbed in India. We might say that the first great cultural synthesis and fusion took place between the incoming Aryans and the Dravidians, who were probably the representatives of the Indus Valley civilization. Out of this synthesis and fusion grew the Indian races and the basic Indian culture, which had distinctive elements of both. In the ages that followed there came many other races : Iranians, Greeks, Parthians, Bactrians, Scythians, Huns, Turks (before Islam), early Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians; they came, made a difference, and were absorbed. India was, according to Dodwell, 'infinitely absorbent like the ocean.' It is odd to think of India, with her caste system and exclusiveness, having this astonishing inclusive capacity to absorb foreign races and cultures. Perhaps it was due to this that she retained her vitality and rejuvenated herself from time to time. The Moslems, when*

they came, were also powerfully affected by her. 'The foreigners (Muslim Turks),' says Vincent Smith, 'like their forerunners the Sakas and the Yueh-chi, universally yielded to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism, and rapidly became Hinduised.'

### What is Hinduism ?

"In this quotation Vincent Smith has used the words 'Hinduism' and 'Hinduised'. I do not think it is correct to use them in this way unless they are used in the widest sense of Indian culture. They are apt to mislead to-day when they are associated with a much narrower, and specifically religious concept. *The word 'Hindu' does not occur at all in our ancient literature.* The first reference to it in an Indian book is, I am told, in a *Tantrik* work of the eighth century A.C., where 'Hindu' means a people and not the followers of a particular religion. But it is clear that the word is a very old one, as it occurs in the Avesta and in old Persian. It was used then and for a thousand years or more later by the peoples of western and central Asia for India, or rather for the people living on the other side of the Indus river. The word is clearly derived from Sindhu, the old, as well as the present, Indian name for the Indus. From this Sindhu came the words Hindu and Hindustan, as well as Indus and India.

**"Hindu" is not a religion:** "The famous Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who came to India in the seventh century A.C., writes in his record of travels that the 'northern tribes', that is the people of Central Asia, called India 'Hindu' (Hsin-tu) but, he adds, 'this is not at all a common name... and the most suitable name for India is the Noble Land (Aryadesha).' *The use of the word 'Hindu' in connection with a particular religion is of very late occurrence.*

"The old inclusive term for religion in India was Arya dharma. Dharma really means something more than religion. It is from a root word which means to hold together; it is the inmost constitution of a thing, the law

of its inner being. It is an ethical concept which includes the moral code, righteousness, and the whole range of man's duties and responsibilities. Arya dharma would include all the faiths (Vedic and non-Vedic) that originated in India; it was used by Buddhists and Jains as well as by those who accepted the Vedas. Buddha always called his way to salvation the 'Aryan Path'.

"The expression *Vedic Dharma* was also used in ancient times to signify more particularly and exclusively all those philosophies, moral teachings, ritual and practices, which are supposed to derive from the Vedas. **Thus all those who acknowledged the general authority of the Vedas could be said to belong to the Vedic dharma.**

"*Sanatana dharma*, meaning the ancient religion, could be applied to any of the ancient Indian faiths (including Buddhism and Jainism), but the expression has been more or less monopolized to-day by some orthodox sections among the Hindus who claim to follow the ancient faith.

"*Buddhism and Jainism were certainly not Hinduism or even the Vedic dharma.* Yet they arose in India and were integral parts of Indian life, culture and philosophy. A Buddhist or Jain in India is a hundred per cent product of Indian thought and culture, yet neither is a Hindu by faith. *It is, therefore, entirely misleading to refer to Indian culture as Hindu culture.* In later ages this culture was greatly influenced by the impact of Islam, and yet it remained basically and distinctively Indian. To-day it is experiencing in a hundred ways the powerful effect of the industrial civilization which rose in the west, and it is difficult to say with any precision what the outcome will be.

"*Hinduism, as a faith is vague, amorphous, many-sided, all things of all men. It is hardly possible to define it, or indeed to say definitely whether it is a religion or not, in the usual sense of the word.* In its present form, and even in the past, it embraces many beliefs and

practices, from the highest to the lowest, often opposed to or contradicting each other. Its essential spirit seems to be to live and let live. Mahatma Gandhi has attempted to define it : 'If I were asked to define the Hindu creed, I should simply say: Search after truth through nonviolent means. A man may not believe in God and still call himself a Hindu. Hinduism is a relentless pursuit after truth... Hinduism is the religion of truth. Truth is God. Denial of God we have known. Denial of truth we have not known.' *Truth and non-violence, so says Gandhi: but many eminent and undoubted Hindus say that non-violence, as Gandhi understands it, is no essential part of the Hindu creed. We thus have truth left by itself as the distinguishing mark of Hinduism. That, of course, is no definition at all.*

**Hindu culture not Indian:** *"It is, therefore, incorrect and undesirable to use 'Hindu' or 'Hinduism' for Indian culture, even with reference to the distant past, although the various aspects of thought, as embodied in ancient writings, were the dominant expression of that culture. Much more is it incorrect to use those terms, in that sense, to-day. So long as the old faith and philosophy were chiefly a way of life and an outlook on the world, they were largely synonymous with Indian culture; but when a more rigid religion developed, with all manner of ritual and ceremonial, it became something more and at the same time something much less than that composite culture. A Christian or a Moslem could, and often did, adapt himself to the Indian way of life and culture, and yet remained in faith an orthodox Christian or Moslem. He had Indianized himself and become an Indian without changing his religion.*

"The correct word for 'Indian', as applied to country or culture or the historical continuity of our varying traditions, is 'Hindi', from 'Hind', a shortened form of Hindustan. Hind is still commonly used for India. In the countries of Western Asia, in Iran and Turkey, in Iraq, Afghanistan, Egypt, and elsewhere, India has always been referred to, and is still called, Hind; and everything Indian

is called 'Hindi'. 'Hindi' has nothing to do with religion, and a Moslem or Christian Indian is as much a Hindi as a person who follows Hinduism as a religion. Americans who call all Indians Hindus are not far wrong; they would be perfectly correct if they used the word 'Hindi'. Unfortunately, the word 'Hindi' has become associated in India with a particular script - the Devanagiri script of Sanskrit - and so it has become difficult to use it in its larger and more natural significance. Perhaps when present-day controversies subside we may revert to its original and more satisfying use. Today, the word 'Hindustani' is used for Indian; it is, of course, derived from Hindustan. But this is too much for a mouthful and it has no such historical and cultural associations as 'Hindi' has. It would certainly appear odd to refer to ancient periods of Indian culture as 'Hindustani'.

"Whatever the word we may use, Indian or Hindi or Hindustani, for our cultural tradition, we see in the past that some inner urge towards synthesis, derived essentially from the Indian philosophic outlook, was the dominant feature of Indian cultural, and even racial, development. Each incursion of foreign elements was a challenge to this culture, but it was met successfully by a new synthesis and a process of absorption. This was also a process of rejuvenation and new blooms of culture arose out of it, the background and essential basis, however, remaining much the same", says Jawaharlal Nehru. (p.no.74-76, Oxford University Press, Eleventh edition, 1991).

**India not a Hindu country:** So, it is clear from India's highest authority that India is not a Hindu country and Hindus cannot be said to constitute 85% of India. This statement is sure to shock all of you. But this is not our statement but from a famous Hindu who headed India's first Hindu Govt. and died a good Hindu.

Shankaracharyas, considered by Hindus as the highest authorities on Hinduism, do not call their religion as

Hinduism. They say the name of their religion is *Sanatana Dharma*.

But what do our Hindu nazi parties like the RSS-BJP-VHP and even the Congress, Marxist parties, who are also Hindus, say ? They all say India is a Hindu country.

Everybody is today made to believe that India is "a Hindu country and Hindus form 85%".

How did all of us come to believe this greatest falsehood as a universal truth ?

This is because repeat a lie 99 times, it becomes truth at the 100th time.

What then are the facts ?

Our population percentage is like this:

<b>I</b>	Muslims	15 %
	Christians	2.5 %
	Sikhs	2 %
	<hr/>	
	Total	20 %

So this 20% is definitely not Hindu. On this there is no disagreement today.

<b>II</b>	Then we have: Scheduled Castes(SCs)	20%
	Scheduled Tribes(STs)	10%
	Backward Castes(BCs)	35%

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Total 65%

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**III** We also have: Brahmins

Kshatriyas

Vaishyas

and Shudras

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Total 15%

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We can divide the country's population into three broad segments.

The first 20%, comprising what are popularly described as "religious minorities" in the Constitution, are not Hindus.

**Are Sikhs Hindus?:** The Constitution says Sikhs are "Hindus". If Sikhs are Hindus, why Indira Gandhi sent the Indian Army into the Golden Temple and launched the "Blue Star Operation" (1984) and killed thousands of Sikhs?

This proves Sikhs are not Hindus.

**Are Dalits Hindus ?:** Let us now come to the second section. Are they Hindus ?

SCs are 20%. If they are also Hindus, why the Reddies killed them (1992) in Chundur, Andhra Pradesh ? If the SCs are Hindus, why the Hindus are not implementing their reservations (human rights) provided in the Constitution of India ? If they are Hindus, why they are not allowed into Hindu temples ?

We can go on giving any number of examples to prove that SCs are kicked, killed, burnt, raped and their little property destroyed only because they are not Hindus.

**Bombay prostitutes;** Have the women working in Bombay's Red Light area become prostitutes because of "poverty" ? If so why no "poor" Brahmin prostitute is found there ? Why only Dalit girls are found there ? Does it not prove that those women have become prostitutes because they are Untouchables and not Hindus ?

Ethnically, the SCs (Untouchables) are different from Hindus. That is why they are kept outside village limits - all over India. They are not only Untouchables but unseeables, unapproachables and even unthinkable. The Hindus and Untouchables are South Pole and North pole. The two cannot meet.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has said Untouchables are not Hindus and were never Hindus. They are a separate element outside the Hindu caste system.

All conscious SCs today say they are not Hindus.

**Tribals:** As regards STs, there is not much problem because they are away either in forests or hills, far removed from Hindus physically, and they don't worship Hindu gods or follow their religion.

**Who are BCs ?:** The BCs, forming a staggering 35% of the population, pose a serious problem.

They comprise the service castes: fishermen, carpenters, barbers, shepherds, pot-makers, salt-sellers, weavers, toddy-tappers, gardeners, milkmen etc.

To benefit this vast population, the government appointed the Mandal Commission and it submitted its report in 1981.

**Fake self-immolations:** In 1991-ten years later - Prime Minister V.P. Singh decided to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission but the upper castes/Aryans launched a big war and violence and resorted to fake self-immolations.

If the BCs are Hindus and their blood brothers, why the Hindus violently opposed Mandal ?

If the BCs are Hindus, why did they scandalise Mrs. Uma Bharati, a Lodha (BC) (pig-rearing community) woman MP in the Hindu nazi party, and tried to kill her? BCs are today languishing and in many parts of India, their position is worse than that of Untouchables. If the BCs are Hindus why the Hindu heart is not bleeding for them?

This proves that BCs are also not Hindus. That leaves only 15% population and they only are Hindus.

**Hindus are 15%:** So the Truth is Hindus are only 15% of our population.



**Unchallenged facts:** We have been writing this, speaking about it for the past over 12 years. Not one social scientist has challenged our statement. That means it is a sociological fact and a historical truth.

Are you shocked by hearing this Truth ?

**Who are the Hindus ?:** Hindus are only those who believe in the Vedas. This was the definition given by Madan Mohan Malaviya, country's topmost Brahmin leader and founder of the Banaras Hindu University, and we fully agree with this definition.

Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Only these four belonging to the *Chaturvarna* are the Hindus. They are the Aryans. Hindus are those who are part of the four-fold caste system, the base of Hinduism.

In other words, Hindus means Aryans. Whereas SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus, and were never Hindus.

They are called outcastes because they are outside the four-fold caste system, or Hinduism.

**Racism in India:** The Untouchables in India today present the world's most gory form of Apartheid in front of which the South African racism and other Black problems of US etc. pale into insignificance. But unfortunately the Indian Apartheid has received hardly any world attention as the ruling Brahminical Social Order (BSO) has kept it a closely guarded secret. (V.T. Rajshekar : *DALIT - The Black Untouchables of India*, 1988, Clarity Press, Suit 469-3277, Rosewell Road, NE, Atlanta, GA 30305, USA, 7.95 dollars.)

**Hindu Unity:** If the Untouchables are what they are today, it is only because of Hindu religion which is falsely described by being followed over 85% of the Indian population. The ruling upper castes (Hindus) give the figure of 85% not because they consider SC/ST/BCs as brothers but because they want to illegally annex them into their minority (15%) Aryan *chaturvarna* (four-fold caste system) and bloat it into a "majority religion" so that they

can ride roughshod on our shoulders and use us as cannon fodder in their fight against Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, falsely described as "religious minorities", in the name of "Hindu unity". (*Dalit Voice* editorial Jan.1 1991: "**Hindu unity will destroy India's unity**"). The correct name of Hinduism is Brahminism imported to India by the Aryan invaders. This Hinduism, considered an ancient religion, has no parallel in the world. A sort of eighth wonder of the world. For further information, please read our book *Brahminism - Father of Racism, Nazism, Zionism* (1993-DSA).

**Nameless religion:** A bundle of contradictions, a boneless wonder - words such as Hindu, Hinduism or Hindustan do not at all figure in the Sanskrit "sacred scriptures" of Aryans who brought this sanctified racism, described as a religion, to India. These texts do not even give a name to this religion. It has no founder. It has neither a church nor a single holy text like the Bible or the Koran. Not even a single, supreme God or Goddess.

**Negative definition:** The question "Who is a Hindu" ? can be answered only in the negative : "One who is not a Muslim, Christian or a Parsee is a Hindu". Even the Constitution of India gives such a negative definition. Its priests are unique in the world. They not only belong to one caste (Brahmins) but their job is hereditary. At least 95% of the "Hindus" do not know their "holy books". A majority of them do not even regularly visit their own "Hindu" temples where even the 15% real Hindus have no free entry.

**Vast mad House:** Therefore, "Hinduism" cannot be defined except that we can identify that a Hindu is one who is by birth a Hindu. Caste system is the foundation on which Hinduism is built. You remove caste, the dilapidated Hindu edifice falls like a house of cards. That means every Hindu must have a caste (*jati*). Without a caste there can be no Hindu. Nay, caste system is the other name for Hinduism. Caste is deathless because it has divine sanction. We call

it sanctified racism. Even the Hindu gods belong to different castes. And one god fights with another god because of caste rivalry. (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, *Riddles of Rama and Krishna*, Dalit Sahitya Academy).

**Mental hospital:** Hinduism is, therefore, a vast madhouse. Nay, the maddest house in the world. India, because of this mentally sick people, has become a vast mental hospital and its sickness is affecting the health of the non-Hindu majority.

Look at neighbouring Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Every country is progressing but India is languishing, slowly dying mainly because of this oppressive Brahminical Social Order parading as Hinduism which is oppressing every section of its 1,000 million population.

**Babri Masjid demolition:** The Dec.6 1992 demolition of the historic Babri Masjid is part of the grand design of the BSO to terrorise Muslims, India's single largest community, which is serving is a sort-of protective cover to the oppressed Dalits. Once they finish Muslims it is easier to enslave us.

**Every protest religion swallowed:** True Hinduism is actually practised only by Brahmins who form the apex of the caste pyramid. They form not even 5% of the Hindu population and yet as "gods of earth" (Bhoodevatas), they control everything - all the property, privileges and posts. Even the brains are kept in the brahminical deep-freezer.

This BSO is so powerful that despite being a foreign religion, it devoured every protest movement including the most liberating Buddhism which was destroyed and driven out of India over 2,000 years back.

**Role of Dr. Ambedkar:** Aryans led by the Adi Shankara literally slaughtered Buddhists. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the saviour of the Untouchables and the rising star of India, at the fag end of his life himself embraced Buddhism along with several millions of Untouchables and tried to revive Buddhism. But within two months of this historic

event at Nagpur, he too died (or was killed) and the BSO once again brought to an end the Untouchables' move to go back to their original religion.

**Hinduising Muslims & Christians:** Efforts are being made to strengthen "Hinduism", and the ruling class, using the govt. machinery itself, is actively helping the process making the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs nervous and making them feel that the govt. in India is a Hindu govt. and anybody who does not fall in line will be mercilessly dealt with. A rabid Hindu nazi party called the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) as a hydra-headed serpent is vigorously at it by fanning communal flames and periodically resorting to torture of Untouchables on the one side and violent atrocities on Muslims, Christians and Sikhs on the other.

**Hindu nazi dictatorship:** The ultimate aim of the RSS is to clamp a Hindu nazi dictatorship before which Hitler's nazi rule will pale into insignificance. This Nazi rule will crush the Untouchables and castrate the Muslims. The ruling Congress, the original brahminical party of India, openly encouraged the Hindu nazis to demolish the Babri Masjid and even break the unity and integrity of India so that this tiny minority Hindus could rule and ride over the 85% of the persecuted nationalities denied human rights.

**Aryans came from Iran:** To sum up what is going on in India today is a war between the ruling Aryan (Hindu) minorities, who came from outside, and the oppressed Anaryans, (non-Aryans), the original inhabitants of India or the Dravidians or the Nagas.

It is wrong to think that the stigma of untouchability is confined to Untouchables alone. In fact, one caste (*jati*) is untouchable to the other *jati*. It is ascending order of reverence and descending degree of contempt. Whom M.K. Gandhi "fondly" called as *Harijans*, meaning "children of god", suffer not merely from untouchability,

unapproachability, unseeability but even unthinkability!!!

**Indian slave system worse than the US one:** Therefore, every village in India has become a ghetto, the worst part of which is reserved for these born bonded slaves who are expected to render free service to the Hindus without expecting anything in return. The American slave system was better than Indian slavery. In US, the slave-owner had the obligation to feed the slave and keep him in good health. But under the Indian system of slavery, there is no such obligation, because the US slave system had no sanction under its Christian religion but Hinduism sanctions such a slavery and its gods not only blessed it but themselves practiced it. That is why we call it sanctified racism. The US slavery was abolished and has become a thing of the past but in India slavery is flourishing and going stronger day by day.

**Flesh market:** The Untouchables do all the menial jobs : cleaning, sweeping, scavenging, skinning, agricultural operations, carrying dead cattle and eating their carcass, building constructions. Every dirty job. While the men are Untouchables, the women can be enjoyed by the upper caste men. Bombay city's vast Red Light area, the biggest flesh market in the world, employs mainly our women. This is the concept of Hindu justice.

**Who are the non-Hindus ?** If 85% of Indians are non-Hindus, who are they ? They are the pre-Aryans, meaning the original inhabitants. Dravidas, Adi-Dravidas, or the Pulayas, Pariahs, Vanniyas, Chamars, Namasudras etc. Their original name was Nagas.

This is where our subject begins. What is the "Dalit movement"? We had to give an elaborate introduction because if we had gone straightaway into the subject, it would have been difficult to believe our arguments.

**Muslims did not come from Arabia:** Please note. Muslims of India (15%) did not come from Saudi Arabia, Turkey, or Iran. They are all, at least 95% of them, pre-

Aryan Dravidians who got liberated through Islam.

The 2.5% Christian and 2% Sikhs are also the same people.

**Bahujan Samaj:** That means all the 20% of the so-called "religious minorities" are also part of the Dravidian or the pre-Dravidian order. Mahatma Phule, a guru of Dr. Ambedkar, called this 85% "Bahujan Samaj" (BS), the society of the majority. The BSO has created an artificial barrier between the BS and the 20% "minorities" so that we are made to hate them.

The Hindus are ruling us through such a dangerous divide and rule game.

**Leaders of Indian revolution:** Of these different non-Hindu (BS) categories - six in all - the most important is the Scheduled Castes (20%). And they are called Dalits. Today, they are the real leaders of the Indian revolution.

The following points will convince you of the truth of our statement:

(1) A revolution will succeed only when it is led by the most oppressed and the deadliest foes of the oppressors. Dalits, as the pre-Aryan Adi-Dravida natives of India, are the most uncompromising enemies of Hindus. Despite all the persecution, they are the one and only people in India who refused to compromise with the Aryans/Hindus. They fought against the alien culture of brahminism and hence remained 'Untouchables'.

**Continuous warfare:** Even today in many villages, Brahmins are not allowed to enter Dalit localities. The history of India is nothing but the record of a continuous warfare between Dalits and Brahmins. Dalit values and brahminical values are mutually exclusive and diametrically opposed to each other. Today's India is ruled by blood-sucking brahminism and hence the liberation of India is possible only through the Dalit ideology.

(2) Unlike all other non-Hindu pre-Aryan original inhabitants, (a) The Dalits have a leader: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. (b) They have a philosophy: Ambedkarism. (c) They are also fully conscious that they are not Hindus. No other segment of the Indian society has such a readymade weapon as Dalits and, therefore, they are ideally suited to become the leaders of Indian revolution.

**Enemy No. 1 of Untouchables:** "Scheduled Castes" is an English term. *Harijan* is a gandhian term with a derogatory meaning. It means bastard. That is why Babasaheb Ambedkar hated this mischievous name given by M.K.Gandhi who is declared as the Enemy No. 1 of Untouchables. Even the Constitution of India is not using this hated word.

**Root of the word Dalit:** Other individual names, Pulaya, Pariah, Chamar, Namasaudra, Chura etc. indicate the names of each tribe.

So, the only name which is universally accepted today is "Dalit".

This name has been accepted all over India. It has become famous after we started the ***Dalit Voice***.

The root word, "Dal", is said to be a Hebrew word. It means crushed, broken : *dhal*. Dr. Ambedkar is the father of this Dalit movement.

**Father of India:** We call Dr. Ambedkar the "Father of India". Since India is not a "nation" but a group of nations, each "nation" has got its own father. M.K. Gandhi is called the "Father of the nation". Father of which nation ? He is not the Father of our nation. He is the Father of the Hindu nation though he was killed by a Brahmin only and that Brahmins refused to accept his leadership as he was not a Brahmin.

Since Babasaheb is the Saviour and liberator of the entire 1,000 million population of India including Aryans, we call him "Father of India". Today, Babasaheb Ambedkar

is India's tallest titan dwarfing Gandhi and all others. History has given its verdict.

Others are fathers of one "nation" or the other.

Why Babasaheb is called the "Father of India" ? Because Babasaheb was the first person in India to prove and point out that over 85% of India is non-Hindu.

He was the first who said "political independence" of India by driving out the British will not assure us social, cultural and political independence.

How then can the non-Hindus and particularly the Dalits be free ?

**Three Separations:** Babasaheb was the first in India to say that Dalits can be free only after the "Three Separations" from Hindus are completed

What are these "Three Separations" ?

- (1) **Political Separation** - through separate electorate.
- (2) **Territorial Separation** - through separate settlement.
- (3) **Religious Separation** - through conversion to Buddhism.

The struggle for these three separations is called the Dalit Movement. If anybody says he is leading a Dalit movement but does not subscribe to all or even one separation that cannot be called a Dalit movement.

The "Three Separations" need a little elaboration:

**(1) Political Separation:**

When the parliamentary system, a western concept, was introduced by the British, it was the Brahmins who were benefitted most. They had falsely included the natives of India - Dravidas - under "Hindus" to bloat the Hindu population and thereby usurp all Parliament seats. All the candidates who get elected from these constituencies



were Aryans. Whereas the voters were Dravidas (SC/ST/BC).

Though the Untouchables were living separately from Hindus, Gandhi as their leader tried to use his heinous Hindu tricks to use our population strength and gain parliamentary seats for Hindus.

Babasaheb Ambedkar had exposed Gandhi's black heart at the Round Table Conference in London (1930-32) and as an alternative demanded "Separate Electorate" for Untouchables.

Under this "separate electorate" Untouchables would have to elect their own representatives.

**Gandhi's treachery:** Gandhi and his Congress Party opposed this demand. As the British sided with justice and upheld Babasaheb's plea, Gandhi, to save his Hindu kinsmen, went on a "fast to death" against the Untouchables' demand for separate electorate. Hindu historians, however, had described that it was the Gandhi who struggled for the rights of Untouchables by "fasting" for 24 days. But many do not know that he fought against the rights of Dalits and the "fasting" lasted only for three days (Sept.20 to Sept 23, 1932).

**Two nations:** Finally an agreement was signed between Babasaheb Ambedkar and Hindus, which came to be called as "Poona Pact". A pact is signed between two nations. Here in this case the "Poona Pact" was signed between the nation of Untouchables led by Babasaheb Ambedkar on one side and Hindu nation led by M.K. Gandhi on the other. The Pact thus recognised that Untouchables are a separate nation.

According to this compromise Pact, Untouchables earned the "reserved electorate" (seats) instead of the "separate electorate" but Babasaheb was blackmailed to sign this Pact and he called it a stab in the back of Untouchables. Under the existing reserved territorial seats

Untouchable representatives are to be elected by all including Hindu voters coming under this territory. This is the system prevailing even to this day, a system which could produce only spineless *Harijan* leaders to serve the Aryan rulers.

That is why the Untouchables demand separate electorate so that we can elect our own effective leaders.

## **(2) Territorial Separation:**

Dalits are already living in a segregated sector of all villages away from the Hindu section of the villages. Untouchables live in ghettos but Hindus live in villages. The Untouchables are scattered all over the country. Though they constitute the country's single biggest majority (20%) but compared to the total population they are a minority in every village with minor exceptions. Therefore, Dalits should have separate settlements totally free from Hindu tyranny and Hindu contamination. We have to shift our people and make our own settlements so that we could not only be safe but separate from Hindus. Those who are religiously separate in fact must be also made territorially separate in fact.

Separate settlement for Dalits will solve two important problems:

- (a) Dalits will become independent of Hindus and freed from Untouchability.
- (b) By becoming a majority in their own settlement Dalits need not live a helpless life.

## **(3) Religious Separation:**

Though the Dalits are not Hindus and were never Hindus, Hindu nazis have been trying always to hinduise our people to destroy our glorious Dalit culture and our distinct identity.

To secure the above two separations, Dalits will have to be religiously separated from Hindus.

Therefore, Babasaheb Ambedkar had embraced Buddhism with millions of his followers on Oct.14 1956. Babasaheb had called it just a reversion and not conversion. Because, Buddhism was the only religion of India once upon a time and Dalits were the original Buddhists.

Religion binds a community. So, for Dalits and also BCs religious separation is the only liberation path. That is why SC/ST/BCs embraced Christianity, Islam and Sikhism to liberate themselves from Hinduism.

Why do Dalits need separation from Hindus ? Because they are the indigenous pre-Aryan race who are antagonistic to the foreign brahminic religion.

**Dalits are indigenous:** India's ruling class which controls the govt. has been consistently denying the existence of indigenous peoples in India.

We are not worried about that because history says Dalits are indigenous.

The rulers do their duty. We must do our duty.

The ruling Aryans are trying to assimilate us, meaning "hinduising" us.

But we can assure you that just as oil will not mix with water, our people - meaning 85% of India's indigenous peoples - will never mix with Aryans.

When the fair-skinned Aryans entered India, their population was less than 15%. Even today also they are less than 15%.

This is because there is no inter-caste or inter-religious marriage in India. There may be some cases of inter-marriages at the top and mostly in cities. But India is a country of villages. Hence the Aryans and the original children of this soil have remained separate.

**Gandhi a Hindu leader:** Gandhi can be called the real

leader of this assimilation movement.

His target was only Dalits and Dr. Ambedkar. He did not take up STs or BCs as his target. He chose the Dalits. Because he knew if the Dalits are subdued and sucked in, "Hindu unity" is achieved.

We cannot go into the details of the so-called "Hindu unity" because that is a separate subject.

Be that as it may, Babasaheb, our Saviour, called M.K. Gandhi as the Enemy No.1 of the Untouchables only because of this reason.

Gandhi was the real Hindu leader of India and not the Hindu nazi parties like the RSS, BJP etc. And that is why the Hindus called him the "Father of the (Hindu) Nation". The Congress Party of Gandhi is the original brahminical party of India.

**Destroy Congress first:** Dalits are being brainwashed by the upper caste media that the Hindu nazi parties like RSS, BJP, VHP, Shiv Sena etc. are bad so that they may vote for the Congress. But we want to impress our people that Babasaheb fought his whole life against the Congress, not the RSS, BJP etc. These Hindu nazi parties are our open enemies. But the Congress is the snake in the grass and the cause of our misery. **Unless we destroy the Congress first, there will be no progress in our movement. Dalit movement's main aim should be to destroy the Congress. The RSS-BJP etc. are the children of the Congress. The most dangerous upper caste communal elements are in the Congress Party.** (*Dalit Voice* editorial, Aug. 16 1993), Gandhi is hailed as the "Father of the Nation" by these Congresswalas. The RSS-BJP does not recognise him as the "Father of the Nation". He was killed by a Brahmin, a member of the RSS.

Hence the RSS-BJP etc is our honest enemy, open enemy. The Congress is our disguised enemy. Between the two we must first eliminate the principal contradiction, that is the Congress.

M.K. Gandhi is the Father of which Nation ? Of course, the "Nation of the Hindus". Not our Nation. He was the Father of the Hindu Nation though it was only a Hindu, a Chitpavan Brahmin, who finally killed him. (*Why Godse Killed Gandhi ?* Dalit Sahitya Akademy)

**Non-violence not part of Hinduism:** It was this Gandhi who incorporated non-violence into Hinduism. Until Gandhi came nobody had said Hinduism stood for non-violence. Noted authorities on Hinduism like B.G. Tilak and Madan Mohan Malaviya had not said it. In fact, violence is the most important part of Hinduism. Nay, violence is the other word for Hinduism.

Non-violence was first raised by Mahavira, the founder of Jainism. Why Hindus talk of non-violence only now ? Because it is very easy to inflict non-violence.

And we Dalits are the victims of non-violence.

This is the meaning of non-violence. Violence is reserved for the ruling class and non-violence for us.

**World's most violent country:** That is how Amnesty International only in April 1992 announced that India is the world's most violent country.

But the ruling class which control's the media and through that our mind, has suppressed this truth.

So much so, 20% of India's population, Dalits, have become the world's worst persecuted people.

**Difference between Blacks & Dalits:** The Blacks in S. Africa or America are fighting their white aggressors. The Blacks (African-Americans) have identified their oppressors. But in India Dalits are not fighting their oppressors because the Aryan oppressors have not even been identified as our oppressors. This we call as the slaves enjoying their slavery. (*Dalit Voice* editorial Sept.1 1992).

**India's slave system is different from the American slave system:**

- (1) The US slave system was abolished long back and it is a thing of the past. But in India it is not only not abolished but it is flourishing. Going stronger day by day.
- (2) In US, the American religion of Christianity does not sanction slavery. Here our slave system is officially upheld by Hindu scriptures and Hindu religion.

That is why we call Hinduism as sanctified racism.

- (3) Under the slave system the slave-owner has the obligation to feed the slave, also look after his health care because the slave's upkeep is essential in the interest of the slave-owner. But in India the Hindu slave-owner has no such responsibility, no such obligation. The slave is expected to work free all the 24-hours. Even his body belongs to the slave-owner and the slave's wife too is his property.

Mahatma Phule has written a book itself on India's slave system.

**Founding father of racism:** Indian racism is, therefore, totally different from US, British or S. African racism. The Indian Aryans are the founding-fathers of racism, fascism and nazism. It was the Hindus or Aryans who supplied the *swastika* to Hitler (*Brahminism - Founding Father of Racism, Fascism and Zionism*. DSA 1993).

Racism was brought to India by Aryan intruders and supplied to the whole world from India. Four major racist concepts rule the world:

- (1) White is pure and Black is dirty.
- (2) Woman is inferior to man.
- (3) Merit comes out of birth.
- (4) Might is right.

All these four dangerous concepts which are causing havoc all over the world have their origin in the Vedas.

India's Vedic Brahmins are their founding-fathers.

The 65% of the indigenous peoples and the 20% of the "religious minorities" in India are victims of Hinduism because we are dark-skinned Dravidians.

**Mental problem:** However, there is one very essential difference between the Indian brand of racism and racism in US, S.Africa etc. In the US, anybody can make out who is a Black and who is white from the skin colour.

But not so in India.

We have dark-skinned Brahmins and fair-skinned Untouchables.

So the skin colour is not the problem here as it is in US or elsewhere.

What then is the problem ?

The problem here is mental.

That is why we say India has turned into a huge mental hospital.

There is yet another difference between racism in S. Africa or US.

**Victims of non-violence:** In the West, the whites are ruling and threatening the Blacks with violence. Apartheid was violently enforced on the Blacks. But not so in India. Upper caste rulers use non-violence to enforce their brand of sanctified racism. In US and S. Africa, the white ruling class is more honest. An honest enemy is any day better than a dishonest friend. India's Aryan oppressors are not even our honest enemies. They kill us with their kindness using non-violent poison pills. They come to us saying that we are Hindus and then deceive us. White racists don't deceive the Blacks.

**If the Blacks in the West and Africa are victims of violence, we are victims of non-violence.**

In US, Americans employ the Blacks as household servants, but here the Dalits can't even be touched. They are Untouchable, unseeable, unapproachable and unthinkable. But this is only regarding the Untouchable men. Untouchable women can be touched and used.

That is why we have said that before our problem the South African Apartheid of Blacks is a peanut.

**How Marx failed in India:** Even Marxism failed to solve our problem because Marxism was used by the same Aryan oppressors to further oppress us.

We also want to make it clear that our problem is not poverty. Our problem is racism. Our poverty is the byproduct of this racial divide caused by the Aryans.

**Enemy no.1 of the world:** This makes it clear that the BSO is the founding father of racism, nazism, zionism and it is the enemy no.1 of the world. Our oppressors are the Aryans belonging to the fourfold caste order of the BSO and none else.

Our oppressors are not Muslims.

Not Sikhs.

Not Christians.

Our oppressors are not BCs.

Our oppressors are not STs.

Our oppressors are those belonging to the Brahminical Social Order (BSO). But every effort is being made to suppress this truth.

The press is completely in the hands of Brahmins and Banias. We had worked in a Marwadi-Bania press (*Indian Express*) for 25 years and hence are speaking with full responsibility.



**Democracy, secularism dead:** Particularly after the Dec.6 1992 demolition of the Babri Masjid, the ruling BSO can no more boast about India's democracy, socialism, secularism. They killed the Constitution itself.

Socialism has no place under Hinduism. The country's Constitution has forced the Govt. to introduce some socialist reforms. So, we live under serious contradictions and a perpetual clash between the nazi ideology of Hinduism and the socialist slogans of the govt. The Constitution has given the Untouchables a paper "reservations" in jobs etc.

Untouchability among Hindus is a unique phenomenon unknown to humanity in any part of the world. Nothing like it is to be found in any other society - primitive, ancient or modern. Sociologists and historians of India are not interested in the problem of Untouchables because they all belong to the upper caste.

**Beef-eating to vegetarianism:** Why the beef-eating Brahmins became vegetarians ?

The first organised protest movement against the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) was launched by the Buddha and Untouchables joined it en masse. Dr. Ambedkar has discovered that before the Aryans invaded India, the language of India was Tamil. He said the war between Buddhism and Brahminism and defeat of the former resulted in its followers being driven out of the village limits. Brahmins who were the enemies of Buddhism adopted the trick of sabotaging Buddhism by infiltrating it. They conducted a war against Buddhism both from without and within. And after vanquishing Buddhism they inflicted untouchability upon those defeated.

Another ingenious method the Brahmins adopted to destroy Buddhism was to give up beef-eating altogether and take to vegetarianism. The Brahmins were once the most gluttonous beef-eaters and the vedic texts have any

number of references to their indiscriminate killing of cows and eating them. They called themselves *Goghnas* (killers of cows). Killing brought them joy. In fact, cow was exclusively reserved for the Brahmin stomach.

**Cow worship:** The Brahmins also excelled in drinking intoxicating liquor and merry-making. They were called *suras* because their free time was always engaged in *surapana* (liquor-drinking). The indigenous people were *Asuras*, meaning those not addicted to liquor. When the Brahmins gave up eating beef, other "Hindus" also followed them. If the non-Brahmins underwent one revolution by giving up beef-eating, Brahmins underwent a double revolution. They gave up meat-eating for the first time and became vegetarians.

"To my mind, it was the strategy which made the Brahmins give up beef-eating and start worshipping the cow. The clue to the worship of cow is to be found in the struggle between Buddhism and Brahminism and the means adopted by Brahminism to establish its supremacy over Buddhism".

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar : *Untouchables*, pg.151, Bharatiya Bauddha Siksha Parishad, Shravasti, UP, 1977).

**Supreme sacrifice:** Why the Brahmins resorted to such a reckless adventure, a supreme sacrifice of giving up their greatest pleasure in life ? Dr. Ambedkar says:

"Without becoming vegetarians, the Brahmins could not have recovered the ground they had lost in its revival, namely Buddhism". (Ibid, page 154).

Aryans who have excelled the Jews in craftiness, deceit and treachery wanted to beat extremism with extremism. It is a fantastic strategy. The only way to beat Buddhism was to go one step forward and become vegetarians. Today, Brahmins (barring those in Kashmir and Bengal) are pure vegetarians and non-drinkers - though the modern Brahmin youth is back to beef-steaks.

Non-violence was absorbed into brahminism which from the day of the defeat of Buddhism underwent a metamorphosis and later on came to be called "Hinduism". The Vedic religion of brahminism was sacrificed to save Brahmins and destroy the revolutionary philosophy of Buddhism and thus permanently condemn India to slavery and serfdom. That is how India, which has the world's largest but the most famished cattle population, turned into a cow-worshiper as a result of the triumph of brahminism over Buddhism. It was a means adopted by Brahmins to regain their lost glory. This "supreme sacrifice" of the Brahmins proves that the Aryan Brahmins are prepared to go to any extreme and make any compromise to save brahminism. Because they do not have a permanent friend or foe but only permanent interests.

**No love for land:** Being aliens, they do not love India. To them brahminism is more important than India. Every foreign invader was invited by them to serve their selfish ends. India today is perhaps the poorest country in the whole world, a sick nation, because of brahminism. Not only if the Untouchables are to be saved, but if India itself has to be saved (and with it the sick Aryans) brahminism will have to be destroyed lock, stock and barrel. That is why the Untouchables, being the original owners of India, have decided to escape from the tyranny of brahminism. *And their battle against brahminism and their efforts to retain identity and constitute themselves into a community is called Dalit movement.*

**Nationality question:** Hinduism has become a vast prison-house of warring nationalities. Nationality is a social feeling. It is a longing not to belong to any other group. This is the essence of what is called a nationality and national feeling. But in India, race, language and country do not suffice to create a nation. A "nation" is a living soul, a spiritual principle, a deep comradeship.

"Suffering in common is a greater bond of union than

joy. As regards national memories, mournings are worth more than triumphs, for they impose duties, they demand common effort". (Renan quoted by Dr. Ambedkar in his book, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, Thacker & Co., 2nd edition 1945, pg.17).

**Break-up of India:** As consciousness increases along with literacy and other factors, Muslims, Christians and also each caste within Hinduism will clamour for its identity and some people expect India to be torn to pieces soon. Tremors of separateness are heard already in the periphery of India.

**Dalits want Akhand Bharat:** The Hindu ethos stands for division and disintegration and not for unity. The seeds of destruction are within Hinduism itself. Nobody need destroy it. Since the Untouchables are distributed all over India in all its villages including Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka - which are separated today - we are worried about a further break-up as it will reduce our population and increase the Hindu population. Hence we oppose not only any further vivisection but call for the unity of Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka with India. Such a united India, or **Akhand Bharat**, which the Hindu nazis once demanded by mistake and quickly gave up, is the need of the hour for Dalits.

**Role for World Council of Churches:** To repeat, the Indian Untouchability unlike the Black problem is not a problem arising out of colour prejudice. It is a mental problem created by the caste system. That makes it the most serious problem in the whole world. But, alas, no world body - UN, International Court of Justice, Human Rights Commission or anybody for that matter - had even bothered about the Untouchables who in sheer number excel the American Blacks or for that matter the Palestinians or any other struggling group. **The World Council of Churches has just started thinking of our problem but it has not yet fully understood the gravity of the situation.**

Therefore, our problem is a world problem of the greatest importance and the highest priority.

**India's twin great divide:** While every other country in the world is divided into rich and poor (class division to put it in marxian terminology), India has not only its rich and poor but also "high" and "low" castes. That means in India the people are not only divided horizontally as rich and poor but also vertically into "high" and "low" caste - one cutting across the other. That means the Brahmin belonging to the "highest" caste may be poor but an Untouchable Cabinet Minister like Jagjivan Ram may be quite rich. This is the most baffling problem - the twin divide - which no other country in the world is facing.

If other countries have to destroy only the "class", we in India have the twin menace of "class" and caste". Since the loyalty of both the rich and the poor are first to their caste, it is difficult to unite the poor of a caste against the rich of their own caste. The frequent "caste wars" in India have conclusively proved that a "poor Hindu" will not join hands with Untouchables - who are economically the poorest and socially the lowest.

Therefore, India presents the world's single biggest perplexing paradox where no general mobilisation of the poor is possible. **Nay, we can go a step forward and say there are no "poor" people at all in India. Poverty is not our problem. Poverty is the byproduct of racism.**

**Caste is class:** Even egalitarian religions like Christianity and Sikhism have not escaped caste division because the stink of the Hindu caste has spread into these religions also. In India, therefore, "caste" is a reality but not "class" which is subject to change. A mobile caste is a class. The "low castes" are all poor and "higher" castes are generally the rich. **But one thing can be said with confidence that in India it will not be possible to launch a 'class struggle' without first destroying the caste.** But our Marxist comrades do not agree with this argument because

they are upper castes and Hindus. Since Hinduism is the other name for caste system, any attack on caste means a direct assault on property and privileges that the caste brings. Since every caste and sub-caste stands to benefit from this grand system, no Hindu is prepared to give up caste.

**Gandhi not sincere:** Some Hindu leaders including M.K. Gandhi say that they "want to eradicate untouchability". But they have no complaint against the caste system. Because they know that Untouchability being part of the caste system, it is not possible to remove Untouchability alone without destroying the caste system, which in turn means destroying Hinduism. So when Gandhi and other Hindu leaders talk against Untouchability, they are not sincere. Gandhi, whom Babasaheb Ambedkar described as a "Hindu leader" and the Enemy no.1 of Untouchables, wanted only a patchwork solution. Gandhi was content only with Reform but Dr. Ambedkar wanted Revolution and asked Dalits to quit Hinduism and go in for conversion.

**Marxists betray Revolution:** India being one of the poorest countries in the world, all the factors necessary for revolution exist here. Marxist parties are about 100 years old. But the country is nowhere near a revolution. This is because the Marxist leadership is in the hands of Brahmins and other oppressive upper castes who are not really ready to launch a struggle to destroy caste as it will effect the property and privileges of their caste. And without destroying caste, it is not possible to destroy class. They are not prepared to combine caste struggle with class struggle.

The Untouchables and tribals are born revolutionaries. Nobody wants a revolution more than these two sections. But the Marxists have no programme to attract them. Left parties do not inspire these revolutionary sections. And quite a number of them not only feel that Marxists in India are far from revolution but actually enemies of SC/ST/BCs.

**Religious revolution:** As the Marxists have betrayed revolution, Untouchables are forced to take the only other path available - a religious solution. Thousands of Untouchables and tribes, therefore, embraced Christianity, Sikhism, Buddhism and Islam and the flow is increasing.

**Poverty not our problem:** It is to be noted that the Untouchables of India are subjected to torture not because they are "poor". There are any number of "poor" in India and Untouchables are not the only "poor". The country itself has over 50% living below the "poverty line". But why Untouchables alone are subjected to torture? Not because of their poverty, but their "degrading" social status. So, the problem of exploitation and poverty in India is due to social causes and not economic factors. The main cause of India's poverty is, therefore, social and cultural and then only economic. **The Untouchables are what they are today not because of "poverty" but because they have become "poor" because their human rights have been robbed. Once their human rights are restored, their "poverty" will be automatically cured.**

**Role of conversion:** The social degradation of the Untouchables having had religious sanction under Hinduism, the Untouchables have no other go but to get out of this gas chamber of Hinduism and seek fresh air under other liberating religions : Christianity, Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, etc. Therefore, conversion to other religions has become popular among the Untouchables. Not because after conversion to Christianity and Islam the "problem of poverty" would be solved. **To them poverty is not their No.1 problem. Man cannot live by bread alone. He wants self-respect which is denied under Hinduism. They will get it the moment they get out of Hinduism and convert to other religions.** Untouchables have discovered that conversion helps them as they will no longer be subjected to atrocities. Conversion to other religions, therefore, helps the Untouchables to gain dignity and self-respect. (Dr.B.R. Ambedkar: *Why Go For Conversion?* DSA).

Dr. Ambedkar chose Buddhism after a 20-year-long thinking on the subject. But within two months of embracing Buddhism he died (or was killed ?) and with that his historic conversion movement came to a stop. As under the Brahminical Social Order no second Babasaheb will be born, the fate of the conversion movement hangs in the balance.

**Dalit Christians:** As already stated, the sickness of Hinduism is so contagious that it has not spared any other religion. Those who went over to Christianity carried their caste with them and we have evidence that to gain more members, the church leaders allowed the converts to keep their caste identity. There are today separate graveyards in the church for Untouchable converts. (*"Racism within Church"* - DV Edit Nov.16 1992).

**Caste in Sikhism:** Sikhism, an equally great and liberating religion, too has caste though it was founded to liberate the Dalits from brahminism. Dalit Sikhs have complaint against upper caste Sikhs though racism is not practised by its followers.

But one thing: Christianity or Islam does not sanction caste distinction. Anybody fighting against caste within the church or Islam, will get the support of their religion. But not so under Hinduism. That is why inside the church in India, there is a powerful movement to fight caste discrimination. Despite the caste distinction the Untouchable converts to Christianity are today emotionally and psychologically much better off than their counterparts who preferred to stay behind in Hinduism.

**Hinduism is anti-human:** The above account is sufficient to convince anybody that Hinduism is not only anti-democratic but even anti-human. Even Brahmins, the custodians of Hinduism, have not been benefitted from this suffocating religion. Hundreds of Brahmins have fled the "holy" India and settled in "unholy" beef-eating US, UK and Gulf countries. Quite a number of them are still complaining of their own poverty in India.



Foreigners are likely to be deceived by the propaganda of non-violence, the Gandhian *Ahimsa*. But as representatives of the Untouchables, we would like to blast this myth. Nowhere in the world we can get a set of people who are more violent and blood-thirsty than the Hindus.

**Kernel of Hinduism:** Hinduism is no doubt dying. Buddhism, Sikhism, Christianity and Islam have a better future in India. Urbanisation and scientific development have set fire to the very citadel of brahminism. But what keeps the dying Hinduism alive are the two main props: caste system and *karma* theory - the belief in rebirth, pre-destiny. Caste and **karma** are thus the kernel of Hinduism.

In a democratic set-up, the majority should rule. But in India, the majority population (SC/ST/BC and Muslims/Sikhs/Christians) who form over 85% are ruled by the minority (Hindus) who are less than 15%. That too it is the Brahmins (3%) who hold all the power, prestige, press and money to sabotage the human rights of the rest.

The Hindus talk about democracy and socialism but the "majority rule" in India has resulted in majority tyranny on the "minorities" who are reduced to the level of second-rate citizens - a persecuted minority. India has already witnessed a series of bloody communal and caste wars.

**Glorious work of Church:** Christianity has helped millions of Untouchables to get liberation. The mongoloid tribals of Eastern India are today a force to be reckoned with because of Christianity. All those who went over to Christianity are definitely better off than those who stuck to Hinduism. If Christianity has to attract more followers, it has to immediately set its house in order by getting rid of the caste within the church. Secondly, they have to render all-out help to Untouchables and tribes by assuring "reservations" in all Christian educational institutions.

So, our first and the foremost programme is to quit Hinduism and seek refuge in Buddhism or any religion that assures our people social status.

**Migration to cities:** Untouchables are currently scattered all over India and live in isolated ghettos. Being in a minority, thoroughly disarmed and totally dispossessed, they face danger to their life, property and the honour of their women. So to get safety and security, they have to seek a separate settlement. And pending such separate settlements, Untouchables are migrating to bigger cities. Organised shifting of population is also planned.

Every Untouchable is feeling the need to carry an arm for his self-protection.

International organisations, UN and particularly Christians - World Council of Churches - and Muslims have a duty to support the liberation struggle of the Untouchables. Our struggle needs to be linked up with the other struggling groups of Blacks, Barakumin, Palestinians and other oppressed.

**Can non-Dalits lead Dalits?** This is a very important question. Nobody can be a leader unless he is made a leader by the people. A leader is not born. He is made leader by the collective cravings of the people in distress which give birth to a leader who springs from the ranks of the oppressed and reflects their wishes and aspirations. A person who does not belong to the oppressed Dalit class will not be accepted as leader by the oppressed. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi tried to lead (or mislead) the Dalits by corrupting them. But they did not accept his leadership despite all his wealth and commanding position as a dictator.

**Dalit literature:** This applies to Dalit literature also. Dr. Eleanor Zelliot says:

"A white man cannot write Black literature, though he can write wonderfully well about Black society. John

Griffin, a white American sociologist, painted himself black, lived in a ghetto for two months, and then wrote a book which he claimed faithfully represented an insider's view of Black society in America. But the Blacks asserted that despite this attempt at identifying with them, he was unable to fully capture the story of their plight".

"The same is true for the Dalits in India. Non-Dalits cannot write Dalit literature, but they have a crucial role to play in facilitating its development. Social awakening brought about by the non-Dalit reformers in Maharashtra such as Ranade, Agarkar and Bhandarkar did play a crucial role in the later rise of the Ambedkarite Movement. A group of Maharashtrian non-Dalits were the first to publish radical literature written by the Dalits. I therefore see the possibility of non-Dalits being facilitators to the Dalit movement but not its guides or preachers. Non-Dalits cannot direct the Dalit movement. When Gandhi announced that he was a "Harijan", that ended forever the possibility of his leadership of the Dalits". (*Frontier*, Nov.2, 1992).

**India's only movement:** There is no other movement in India today except Dalit movement.

All other movements are dead.

The Gandhian movement is dead.

Marxist movement is dead.

Sarvodaya, JP movement is dead.

The only living liberation movement is the Dalit movement. This movement is the real indigenous movement of India. STs, BCs - both will have to follow the Dalits. Dalits are the natural leaders of both ST and BC movements.

This was proved during the anti-Mandal violence (1992). They are also the leaders of Muslim, Christians and Sikhs. Sikh movement could not succeed only because

the Sikhs did not think of accepting Dalit leadership.

All the six sections are oppressed by the same enemy.

So Dalit movement is the real freedom movement. And by the end of the 20th century, "Gandhian Era" will end and "Ambedkar Era" will begin with the beginning of the 21st century.

**Jai Bhim.**



## ANNEXURE

# **EDUCATE, AGITATE, ORGANISE**

## **Dr. Ambedkar's Three Commandments:**

## **Its' essence & consequence**

Dalit Movement today is India's only living, kicking, dynamic movement that is causing sleepless nights to our oppressors. Forty-five years of upper caste rule (misrule) in the name of "independence" actually killed every other bogus movement. Upper castes' fondest fake "gandhian movement" is dead. Marxist movement, which never took roots in India, is also dead. So too the sarvodaya movement, JP movement etc. etc. It is now proved that in this caste-ridden, segmented society that is India with many "nations" and "sub-nations", whose human rights are crushed under the brahminical road-roller, the only movement that can meet the needs of all these sections and liberate the whole country is the **Dalit Movement**. Because Dalits (Untouchables) form the bottom-most base of this deathless human pyramid that has now begun to shake under the impact of Dalit movement, - the successor to Buddha's dhamma movement that gave the first shock to the brahminical social order. That is why more and more people are now realising the importance of the Dalit movement - attracting quite a lot of our oppressors too. Where there is sugar, ants are sure to be there. Hindu nazis have not only corroded our society but also corrupted some of our people who have started misguiding our people. Hence to remind our society about the clear-cut message of our saviour, Babasaheb Ambedkar, we are reproducing one of our editorials which was hailed as a historic masterpiece. The editorial, "*Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's Three Commandments*", resulted in an year-long debate in DV and appeared as a reprint twice and translated to many languages. Now that the "Three Commandments" have been endorsed by all the Ambedkarites and accepted by the Dalit society, we want to reproduce it as an annexure to this book so that our people may once for all correct themselves and get ready for the coming battle - armed with the three weapons - "Educate", "Agitate", "Organise" - in that order.

**Shankarananda Shastri, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar  
Research Institute No.4, R.K. Puram, New Delhi-22**

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's life-long struggle for the liberation of the exploited and oppressed classes in India denied human rights is a well known historical fact. It is he who gave us the eternal message in the shape of three "Golden Slogans" to all Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Castes. He asked them to "Educate, Agitate and Organise". This slogan was given on the basis of his own experience of life. His own life became a shining example. He endeavoured to "Educate" himself first. He got a number of academic degrees from various world-famous universities abroad. After attaining high academic distinction, he thought of the welfare of the masses in general and the SC/STs in particular. His mind then got "Agitated" too much. So, he "agitated" against the religious, social, economic and political inequalities and indignities. This "agitational" approach made him to launch the next step to 'Organise' the people into a powerful, ideologically oriented group. He edited many weekly papers and whipped up the feelings of self-respect, self-reliance, self-thinking and self-determination. His efforts were for the welfare of all the persecuted peoples. Babasaheb hated self-aggrandisement i.e. *swanta-sukhaaya*. His welfare move was not meant to enrich himself but it was to liberate all the persecuted peoples.

**Memo to Viceroy:** To further his aims and objects, he established the People's Education Society in Bombay to spread "Education" among SC/ST/BCs. He believed in higher education. He submitted a memorandum to the Viceroy and asked him to provide money for the higher education of SC/ST/BCs. The Viceroy said that he would sanction funds only for the spread of primary education.

Babasaheb rejected the offer saying that he wanted to have more qualified graduates to prepare them to rule the country. Today, there are over a dozen colleges run under the People's Education Society. He arranged for liberal scholarships. Today, over 6,000 students of SCs are receiving the education in it.

All this is the result of following his golden slogans:

## **"Educate, Agitate and Organise".**

*This should be in that order suggested by him. This order should not be changed at any cost. "Organisation" comes as a byproduct of "Agitation". "Agitation" will be only an outcome of "Education". All the three of them are interdependent. This order should not be changed.*

**Buddhist order:** This is the Buddhist order. This is the **Trinity** like the "Tri Sharanas" of Buddhism: *Buddham* (Educate), *Dhammam* (Agitate), *Sangham* (Organise). So, Babasaheb being a Buddhist gave these slogans as per the Buddhist principles which enabled the Buddha to establish Buddhism all over India and the world.

There is no "Organisation" without "Agitation". If there is no "Agitation", the "Organisation" will be lifeless and without spirit. In the absence of "Agitation", "Education" will remain self-centred. Therefore, the Trinity should not be changed into any other order at any cost.

In view of the explanation given here, I request all our SC/ST/BC comrades to correct the same and follow the order. These are the "Three Commandments" of our Saviour. ( Guest editorial of *Dalit Voice* Feb 1 1989).

### EDITORIAL BY V.T.RAJSHEKAR

Repeat a lie 99 times, it becomes truth at the hundredth stage. So also if we go on repeating a mistake, it will gradually appear to be correct. Under the current high-pitch brahminical brainwashing we are unable to find out what our Saviour has said - not ordinary words, but those words pregnant with meaning - which Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar has described as "my final words". Even so close a disciple of Babasaheb Ambedkar like Shankarananda Shastri told us that he too was repeating the same mistake committed by many Dalits and Buddhists in India.

That is why all these years we were hesitating to point out the mistake which we had discovered long back, but had no courage to point out. We were mentioning this in our speeches here and there but this was the first time we made bold to put it



in black and white. We were emboldened and encouraged to write this by Shastriji who is now in Bangalore completing his monumental book, *My Memories on Babasaheb Ambedkar*. Shastriji, a Buddhist, was so closely associated with Babasaheb that the Govt. of India had selected him to take Babasaheb's body by plane to Bombay for cremation. So, he was fully aware of the circumstances that made Babasaheb give his famous "**Three Commandments**" and its Buddhist origin and we hope Dalits, Tribals, Backward Castes and minorities (the slogans are meant to one and all enslaved peoples of India) will take note of this: "*Educate, Agitate, Organise*".

**Three authorities:** Babasaheb himself has given this in that order. Here below we quote the authority from the following three books which our readers can verify and in turn point out the mistake to others so that they may also rectify it: Vol.1 of Maharashtra Govt's book, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches* (1979), page 357. In his booklet, *Communal Deadlock and A Way To Solve It*, published by the Bheem Patrika Prakashan, Nakodar Road, Jalandhar-144003, Babasaheb gives his "**Three Commandments**" in the very first paragraph of his speech. This book is edited and published by L.R. Balley, a noted Ambedkarite-scholar and publisher of many books on Babasaheb.

The first book is published by the Maharashtra Govt. and its chief editor is Vasant Moon who is a Buddhist and a noted authority on Babasaheb. Every sentence published in the four volumes of the Maharashtra Govt. bears the stamp of Vasant Moon's scholarship.

Over and above these two books, we have the third authority in the one and only English biography of Babasaheb: Dhananjay Keer's book, *Dr. Ambedkar: Life and Mission*, (Popular Prakashan, 35/C, M.M. Malaviya Marg, Tardeo, Bombay-34). In this book (on page 351, 1981 ed.), Keer repeats the "**Three Commandments**" in the following order "Educate, Agitate and Organise". The exact sentence in Keer's book runs like this:

**"My final words, he concluded, of advice to you is Educate, Agitate, and Organise; have faith in yourself. With justice on our side, I do not see how we can lose our battle.**

**The battle to me is a matter of joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or social in it. For ours is a battle, not for wealth or for power. It is a battle for freedom. It is a battle for reclamation of human personality."**

We hope these three references are sufficient enough to impress the SC/ST/BCs and minorities that the order of this **"Three Commandments"** is: *"Educate, Agitate and Organise."* And not "Educate, Organise and Agitate" which is how many people are thinking, writing and speaking. We are not here to find fault with anybody. What has happened has happened though it did inflict considerable damage on our liberation movement. We may take that those who committed this mistake did so innocently.

**Serious imbalances:** So, it is an honest mistake. But this honest mistake has led to serious imbalances in our liberation movement. And brahminical forces took advantage of our honest mistake. So, it is high time we correct ourselves. Better late than never. However, it is very necessary to know how the jumbling up of the **"Three Commandment"** has led to serious distortions in the Dalit Movement.

"Educate", the first Commandment, does not mean academic education. Yes. Maybe partly. But more than mere academic education, what Babasaheb meant by "Educate" is getting "educated" in the thoughts of Babasaheb. We have addressed innumerable Dalit meetings in different parts of India. In those meetings, we invariably put the question: "How many of you have read Babasaheb's books? Please raise your hands". Hardly a dozen hands go up - that too hesitatingly. Then we put the next question to those who have raised the hands: "Which are the books of Babasaheb that you have read?" *Annihilation of Caste* or one more.

**Very rarely we get Dalits who have read more than three books of Babasaheb. Those who have read all his works may be handful in the whole of India. Such is our appalling ignorance in the thoughts of our own Saviour.**

We do admit that Babasaheb's books are not available. The ruling

class is doing everything to destroy his thoughts. But where there is will, there is way.

**Burning words:** Even those who have read a couple of Babasaheb's books have read it not in English but the translated stuff. Books of Babasaheb have to be read in English - in the language that he wrote - for the sheer beauty of his language. Razor sharp words, burning with fury. Hit to kill words, noted for their uncompromising sincerity. We have not come across one single person in the whole of India with such depth of knowledge and with such original and fresh thinking. Such a great scholarship. Before Babasaheb, all other so-called intellectuals are mere pygmies. The translated stuff, therefore, lacks the luster. If our people say that they don't know English, they must learn English and read his books in original so that their life becomes purposeful.

So, when we are not "educated" in Babasaheb's earth-shaking turbulent thoughts, can we go over to the second stage, **Agitate?**

**Greatest blunder:** But it is here that we have committed the greatest blunder. Thinking that **Organise** comes after "Education", our people have set up hundreds and thousands of organisations. And most of these organisations are "All-India" in nature. This craze for setting up "All-India" SC/ST organisations gets all-out encouragement from the brahminical forces. So, many of our people print letter-heads bearing the name of their "All-India" SC/ST associations, appoint themselves as its presidents and secretaries and start issuing press statements. These remain as mere "letter-head" organisations with only a "leader" having no followers. When some Dalit starts an organisation and appoints himself as its "president", brahminical forces approach another Dalit "leader" to set up a rival "All-India" SC/ST organisation. So the Post and Telegraphs Dept. has three All-India SC/ST Employees Welfare Associations, Railways has several. So too the LIC, Banks, Reserve Bank, Food Corporation. One SC/ST organisation fights the other. Brother cutting his own brother's throat. Dog eating dog. There are six Republican Parties, seven Dalit Panther organisations, two BAMCEF, each claiming to have all-India following and sole custodian of Babasaheb's thoughts.

"Sub-caste" organisations among Dalits are another menace.

**High jump:** Why this confusion, cut-throat competition and rivalry? Dalits as a whole are a deprived lot. When we have nothing, and our fight should be against our oppressor - whom we have identified - and when we have our own leader (Babasaheb) and our own ideology (Ambedkarism), why are we so divided? This is because without climbing the first floor, we are trying to jump to the third floor. When we do such a high-jump, we naturally fall and break our legs.

Babasaheb was no small genius. He was a social scientist, historian, philosopher, psychologist and a thinker. He was a titan hitting Himalayan heights. So every word that he uttered was chosen after considerable thought. He said **Educate, Agitate, Organise** and also added that they were his "final words". So it has to be taken as his **Three Commandments**. But without going to the first floor we tried to jump to the third floor and broke our bones.

Actually the second step, *Agitate*, is the most important. Because many a time "agitation" itself gives us "education" in the precious thoughts of Babasaheb.

But we have very often faced questions on this. They ask: "How can we agitate without having an organisation?" They say Dalits have no unity. So, to get united we must first *Organise*. "Organisation alone can lead us to unity and unity will help us launch agitation. So, agitation will come at the end. Until we form our own organisation, agitation is not possible. Where is the money? Where is the manpower for agitation? We have no political power to launch agitation. So, we have to organise first." This is what most Dalits tell us wherever we go. We are sorry this is wrong. This is not what Babasaheb had said.

**Lack of unity:** The biggest complaint of our people- SC/ST/BCs and even Muslims, Christians and Sikhs -is that there is no unity.

We want to blast this myth of unity . We have been so much brainwashed by the poisonous brahminical thoughts that these "thoughts" have made us slaves of brahminism forcing SC/ST/BCs and "minorities" to divert all our time, energy and money for

the sake of this elusive "unity". Working for "unity" is like a dog trying to catch its own tail. The upper caste "national press" so often harps on "lack of unity" among SC/ST/BCs and minorities that we are made to spend all our time seeking this elusive "unity" without knowing that **"Unity" is not possible unless we know who we are and what we are.** These brahminical forces will not allow Babasaheb thoughts to reach our people to help our people trace their "roots". In the absence of such an "education:" how can we ever have "unity" which is a must to *Agitate* or even *Organise*?

Unity, therefore, is not needed **now**. We need not worry about unity. Unity will come on its own. We need not break our heads on unity. **Unity comes out of crisis.** We will give a very effective and also a recent example to prove this point.

**Maharashtra example:** Dalits in Maharashtra are badly divided as in other parts of India. But when the nazis burnt Babasaheb's book, *Riddles in Hinduism*, there was a "crisis" and this crisis united the whole lot of warring Dalits and Prakash Ambedkar was automatically thrown up as the leader. We need not worry about "unity" or lack of leadership. **Unity comes out of crisis and crisis brings to the forefront the collective needs of the agitated minds and out of such collective needs a leader is thrown up.**

A leader is never born. A leader is created out of the collective cravings of the agitating people in dire distress. Unity comes out of crisis.

**Shahbano case:** Muslims also have no unity. They are terribly divided, one cutting other's throat but when the Hindu nazis created the "Shahbano case" and used the Supreme Court to destroy the Muslim identity, by trying to replace their Muslim Personal Law with a uniform civil code, did not the entire Muslim community stand as one solid human being? **Unity comes out of crisis.**

Sikhs are also a house divided. But when their identity was threatened and a serious crisis was created, did not the collective needs of the Sikhs unite the whole Sikh *quom* and the community

in crisis throw up a great leader, Sant Bhindranwale? **Unity comes out of crisis.**

In the 1981 and 1985 anti-reservation agitation, the entire Gujarat Dalits got united to face the "caste war" under the leadership of the Dalit Panthers. This writer had visited Gujarat on both these occasions and had seen the "unity" of the entire SC/ST/BCs under the Dalit Panthers.

**So, unity comes out of crisis. And if there is no crisis, we must create one. This is called the sharpening of the contradictions. Ambedkarites must always welcome crisis and caste war.** And this crisis is called "agitation" by Babasaheb. So it is this crisis, this agitation that unites people, throws up genuine leaders. And this in turn leads to "organisation". Not the vice versa.

Some of the existing SC/ST/BC and "minority" leadership is ineffective, feeble and corrupt because this leadership is not born out of the churning of *Educate, Agitate, Organise*.

**How a leader is born:** It is not possible to "**Organise**" without "agitation". Yet we have started "organising" our people without either "educating" them or even much less sharpening their thoughts for "agitation". It is like standing on the ground floor and trying to jump to the third floor. The criminal-minded brahminical forces have misdirected us and made monkeys out of us - shielding the precious thoughts of our own Saviour. This is the limit to their rascality.

**"Organising" is not possible without "agitation" and "agitation" is not possible without "education".**

If we resort to "agitation" without "educating" our people in Babasaheb's thoughts, there is a chance of the brahminical forces turning such an "agitation" against the very leadership of the agitation. RPI, Dalit Panthers, BAMCEF and many other organisations got split after scurrilous infighting only because of this. The moment we start an 'agitation", some "leader" gets prominence and that leader also gets some chance to have command over funds. This leads to jealousy, back-biting and there are any number of brahminical forces to encourage such

jealousies, bickerings and backbiting. Leadership gets divided and parallel organisations are formed. The enemy is too happy to create divisions and when SC/ST/BCs get divided they are the first to criticise us for this division. Everybody wants to become a "leader", without knowing that nobody can appoint himself as leader. **A leader is born out of the sufferings and sorrows of the "agitating" people in crisis.** If anybody thinks he can become a leader without sacrificing, without suffering, he is mistaken. Babasaheb became a leader and Saviour because he suffered, sacrificed and shed his blood for his people.

**Community service:** Look at Jagjivan Ram. He is forgotten within three years of his death. Ram might have been a Union Minister for 40 long years, he might have been a *crorepathi* but he did not sweat, sob and suffer for his people.

**Without suffering and sacrifice for the community, one cannot become a leader. And even if he becomes a leader, he will be a "leader" without any follower.** We have hundreds of such "leaders" in India. Such leaders and pleaders will only die like worms - unsung, unwept. But Babasaheb is growing taller and taller and well poised to take over as the greatest Indian after the Buddha. All because he worked and died for the SC/ST/BCs and minorities. This is called "community service" without which nobody can hope to become a leader.

**Degree in Ambedkarism:** So, the first and foremost thing is *Educate*. Every young woman and young man among SC/ST/BCs and even "minorities" will have to master the books of Babasaheb, written not in Indian language but in English. Read them in its original form. Then only Babasaheb's thoughts will get assimilated in your blood and your blood will start boiling. And thereby you will make others' blood also boil. Once you get "educated" and "graduate" in the thoughts of Babasaheb, you are automatically "promoted" and conferred the degree in Ambedkarism. That means the first stage - **Educate** - is over. One Ambedkarite is equal to 10,000 small minds. Once you become an Ambedkarite, you will automatically start "agitating". *Because an Ambedkarite is not a "Hindu"*. He is a human being and as a human being he will automatically rebel against all anti-human things of the upper caste Hindu society.

**Gandhian humbug:** "Agitation" does not mean taking out a demonstration on a road, shouting slogans. This is the brahminical interpretation of agitation. Our mind manipulators go on stuffing all sorts of meanings into an empty word. They have stuffed wrong meanings to the word "**agitation**". Protest-fast, *Dharna*, hunger strike, ghero, *morcha*, wall-writings, pamphleteering, slogan-shouting, *hartal*, placard, procession, public meeting, conference, *bundh*, strike, etc. etc. These are all Gandhian humbugs. This is no "**agitation**". This is humbug. Ambedkarites do not believe in all these reformist riff-raffs.

"**Agitation**" is born first in the mind of a person. The moment you are an Ambedkarite, your mind starts agitating. It becomes a mind without rest. It becomes a burning mind. Every "Revolution" begins first in the mind of a human being, then it spreads to his house, then to his immediate vicinity and from then on it spills over to the street. So every **agitation** or revolution first begins in the mind of a person. **Agitation** means mental revolution.

Without such a mental revolution, if we build an organisation and then start an agitation, those involved in that agitation will first finish the very "leader" of this agitation. Remember what happened to Karpoori Thakur in Bihar? Without "**education**", he started an "**agitation**" of Backward Castes for reservations and he was instantly thrown out. But in Karnataka, Devaraj Urs succeeded in implementing a good measure of reservations to BCs because he first prepared the ground by "**educating**" the BCs and then made them launch an **agitation**.

**Armed struggle:** This is what Babasaheb meant by **Agitate**. Not the Gandhian humbug. Once we begin our **agitation**, the earth should start shaking. There is no power in India greater than the Dalit power. **Dalits are born revolutionaries. Their body is steel. They need not read Karl Marx, Das Capital and become a communist. They are all born Marxists. Armed struggle is their daily exercise.** But the problem is nobody correctly told them these **Three Commandments** and if at all they have been told, they have been told the wrong version. "Agitated" minds will be explosive minds and when such explosive



minds join together, it becomes an atom bomb. It will blast and burn. This is what Babasaheb meant by **Agitate**. That means armed struggle. Yes.

When we get "**educated**" in Babasaheb's thoughts, we need not even think of **agitation**. We are automatically lifted from one to the other. "**Agitation**" simply follows "**education**".

We need take no pain to start an **agitation**. One leads to the other without our striving for it. Similarly "**agitation**" leads to "**organisation**". As we **agitate**, we automatically get organised without even our knowing it and without even a paise expenditure.

We must know that Babasaheb coined these **Three Commandments** inspired from the Buddhist creed: (1) *Buddham*: the enlightened one, the educated one; (2) *Dhammam* meaning how to act on the principles laid down by Buddha; and (3) *Sangham*, meaning organisation of the Bhikkus to protect the *Dhamma*. So when the Bodhisatva Babasaheb coined these three slogans, he was going by the time-tested Buddhist doctrines fully sure of its revolutionary potential.

**Foolish habit:** We have another foolish habit of getting our organisations "registered". We are not able to understand this craze. Many of them print the word "registered" on their letter-head with their registration number. For the information of our Dalit, SC/ST/BCs and "minority" comrades, the Congress Party is not a "registered" organisation. Neither the CPM, CPI, Janata Party, BJP or the Janata Dal. Why should we get our *chota* associations registered? The moment we get our association "registered", we come under the brahminical control. And they come and ride on our shoulders. Why give room for our Enemy to control us? What is the benefit of getting registration except giving scope for quarreling among ourselves on mere bones and skin? The upper castes who eat all the meat have not registered their hundreds of blood-sucking organisations. RSS is not a registered body. All these foolish ideas are given by our Enemy to destroy us. If our "organisation" is born out of the Ambedkarite churning process-**Educate** and **Agitate**-nobody can break it even if not registered. The habit of registering must stop.

We have to admit the fact that some of our organisations are facing some "charges". All these corruption and rivalry, jealousy, jockeying for leadership comes because our **organisations** have not passed through the churning process suggested by Babasaheb. The sugarcane goes through the crushing machine and the juice is boiled, distilled and sugar is the ultimate product, along with innumerable byproducts. So, our people have to go through this Ambedkarite drill, this crushing process to turn into that gleaming crystal pieces of sugar. Once we reach that stage, nobody dare touch us. The moment anybody touches this burning fire, they will be reduced to ashes.

**Andhra Dalit Mahasabha:** We will give you yet another example of the powerful Andhra Dalit Mahasabha which was born out of the Karmachedu massacre of Dalits (1985). There was a "crisis" and out of that "crisis", Dalits rose up in revolt and two persons, who fought, suffered and sacrificed for the Karmachedu victims, became its President and Secretary-Katti Padma Rao and Bojja Tarakam. Their following is in thousands - unrivalled in the whole of AP. How the "unity" took place? Why there is no split in the organisation - at least till now? Because the AP Dalit Mahasabha is an organisation that is born out of **Educate, Agitate and Organise**. The sugarcane passed through the churning process in the sugar mill of Babasaheb and became that sweet-smelling sugar. The sugarcane that has not gone through this process stinks, rots and worms come out of it. And is not fit for consumption.

At this stage somebody might ask: "You say unity will come only out of crisis. That means if there is no crisis like the *Riddles* in Maharashtra, there will be no unity".

**How to create a crisis:** Yes. We would like to repeat what we have said earlier. *Crisis alone will create unity* and to promote such a unity we have to go on provoking the Enemy to create one crisis after another. This is what we very often call as "sharpening of the contradictions". If the Enemy does not create a crisis, we must trick and force it to create one. That is why crisis is very important. Brahminical upper caste forces today feel so much threatened that they are bound to go on creating crisis after crisis and thus obliging us. The Godse admirers of Maharashtra

obliged us by attacking Mahatma Phule in the *Sobat* weekly (DV Jan. 16, 1989 p.8&9). The hanging of Satwant and Kehar Singh is another. The denial of reservations to Vanniyars leading them to poll boycott in Tamil Nadu is the other. We can go on giving such examples of the upper caste attacks on our human rights. So, now and then and in different parts of India, we must trick and force the Enemy to create such a crisis. We need not doubt their capacity to oblige us. Because the brahminical forces are in such a terrible crisis themselves that they will be forced to create more and more crises. Already they have started building the Ramjanam Bhoomi temple at "Ayodhya" and this is sure to infuriate the Muslims. The only danger is from the 'socialist brahmins' who will immediately rush as fire-fighters to pour cold water to extinguish the burning fire. These fire-fighters are a danger. We want more fire-makers.

**Tri Saranas:** So, it must be clear by now that the **Three Commandments: Educate, Agitate, Organise** is nothing but the time-tested Buddhist *Tri Saranas*. Christians have the Ten Commandments but we have only the **Three Commandments**.

If we follow these and start climbing from the first floor to the second and from the second to the third floor, we can see the Revolution. Nay. Even when we are on the second floor itself we can feel the heat of the raging fire of Revolution. "**Agitation**" itself may sometimes lead to Revolution in some areas of the country even before we go to the third floor. We need not go to the third floor at all.

**Ambedkar Era:** That is the force of this **Three Commandments**. And if only they are scrupulously followed not only we will be eliminating the existing letterpad-organisations and the plethora of corrupt leadership but we will be also heralding the Revolution which has to begin before the uneventful Gandhian Era ends with the end of the 20th century and before the 21st century begins - which is the "**Dr. Ambedkar Era**".

The **Three Commandments** are **Educate, Agitate, Organise** and that means Revolution. And that means the "Dr. Ambedkar Era" that will begin with the 21st century which is just 12 years away. (Editorial of *Dalit Voice*, Feb. 16, 1989).



## India's first book of its kind

The Brahminical Social Order's (BSO) deadliest weapon to finish its opponents is to corrupt the leaders of the opposition. And nowhere its corrupting and corroding technique is more evident than in the Dalit movement. The Dalit political leadership was purchased long back. If there is an exception to this rule, it only goes to prove the rule. Then we have thousands of SC/ST Employees Welfare (rubber stamp) Associations and every one claims to be all-India. They are unaware of Babasaheb Ambedkar's "Three Commandments" (Educate, Agitate, Organise) and started "organising" the "educated" employed Dalits not bothering to read even one book of Babasaheb. These urban-based Associations "serve" the more fortunate but a minority of less than 5% of the Dalit population while the over 95% of the illiterate, village-dwelling Dalits are left to face the Hindu fury. There is no Dalit leader or association to bother about these victims of sanctified racism called Hinduism. Then we have thousands of Dalit organisations like the badly-divided Dalit Panthers - each claiming to be the sole representative of Dalits and custodian of Babasaheb. In this mad race, all these three categories of Dalit organisations have forgotten Babasaheb's First Commandment to "Educate". This book strives to fill that void and hence it is called a textbook - first of its kind as it covers the basics of the Dalit movement which despite all the shortcomings - corruption, confusion and rivalry - continues to be the country's only living movement. Dalit movement is not a business but a mission. The authors of the textbook are well known writers and commentators in the field. V.T. Rajshekar is the Editor of the powerful **Dalit Voice**, which is the largest-circulated English fortnightly among the Dalits in India. He is also the author of many books and considered a noted authority on the subject. Gopinath is the general secretary of the Samata Sainik Dal, Karnataka, and an Ambedkarite.

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