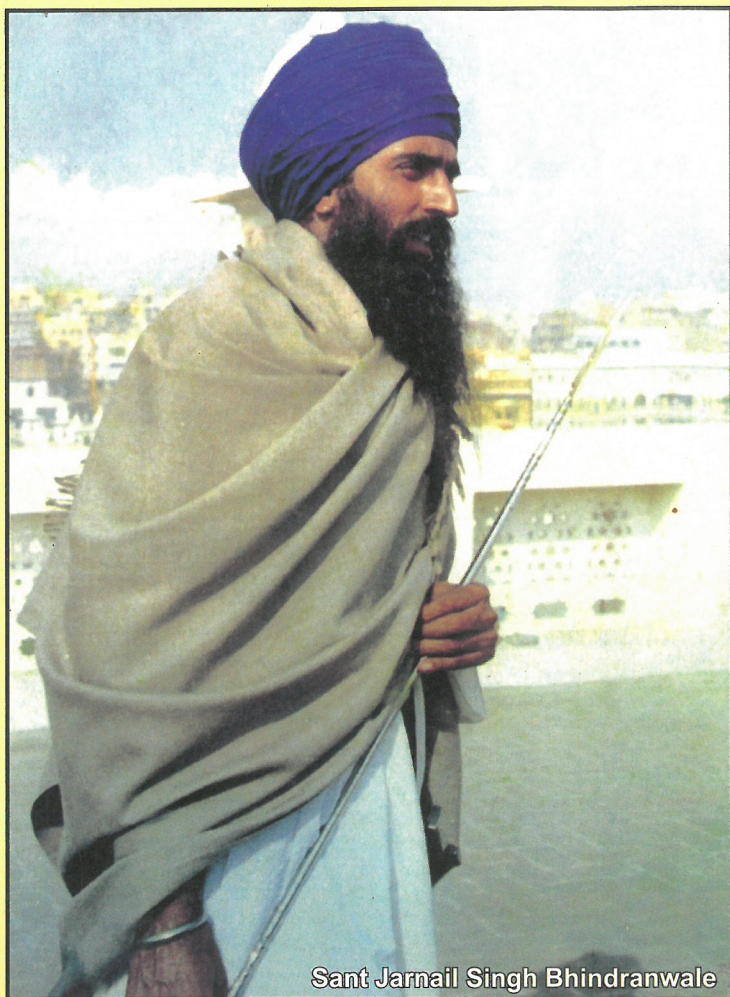


PUNJAB IN TURMOIL



Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

PUNJAB IN TURMOIL

**What *Dalit Voice* Did to
Unite Dalits and Sikhs**

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

Dalit Sahitya Akademy

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TURMOIL IN PUNJAB

Brahminism is our principal enemy

FOREWORD

The killing of a Dalit saint at Vienna (*Dalit Voice* Edit June 16, 2009: “*When Sikhs hate Dalits because of caste, why not reject them & establish Ravidas religion*”) by a Jat Sikh, the massive Dalit protest against it, virtually paralysing Punjab and even defying the police deployed by the Jat Sikh-controlled Akali Dal Govt. have further widened the already strained relations between the two communities.

The enemies of both the communities are pouring petrol on the burning fire to further inflame the passions and provoke a blood bath between the two.

But Jat Sikhs, like Brother Balwant Singh Bohoru of Amritsar (DV Nov.1, 2009 p.15), think it is the Editor of *Dalit Voice* who is widening the Jat Sikh-Dalit rift. Except Brother Baldev Singh of Delhi, other Jat Sikhs did not contradict Brother Balwant so far.

Most critical period of Sikhs

To such of these critics, fortunately a micro-minority, we want to remind the sacrifices and the sufferings of the Editor of *Dalit Voice* for the sake of the Jat Sikhs during their most critical period in “post-independent” India.

The Editor was the first non-Sikh writer in India to meet Sant Bhindranwale in Delhi, offer him full support on behalf of DV, call upon the Dalits of

Punjab to join the Sikh war against Brahminism and finally write a powerful Editorial defending the great Dalit Sikh bodyguard who gunned down the Brahminical Indira Gandhi as a revenge against killing thousands of innocent Sikhs and their leader Sant Bhindranwale in the very Golden Temple (Blue Star Operation).

Editor's arrest

All these DV historical writings have become part of the tumultuous Sikh struggle for self-determination reprinted in many Sikh papers and books.

Our Editorial on Indira Gandhi's assassination led to our arrest (Aug.12, 1986). Three policemen led by a notorious Brahmin inspector descended on Bangalore, arrested and dragged us (hand-cuffed) to Chandigarh where we were put in the jail.

Our arrest made history all over India and the Jat Sikhs in hundreds turned up at Chandigarh to welcome us. The noted Jat Sikh historian and author of the famous book, *Sikh Revolution*, (Jagjit Singh, Bahri Publication, New Delhi, 1998-4th reprint) did a daily *dharna* before the Burail Jail where we were kept.

Govt. of India apology

The then Akali Dal party general secretary, Dhindsa, came to the jail and thanked us for the support and said his party would get us elected to the Lok Sabha from Punjab. We rejected the offer.

Kanshi Ram, our esteemed friend and a Dalit Sikh from Punjab, was so angry with us for supporting

the Jat Sikhs that he never came to the jail to see us.

We were the only Dalit put along with a dozen other Jat Sikh “terrorists” in the jail. Maj.-Gen. Narinder Singh, a famous Jat Sikh, was one of them. During our 15-day stay we daily joined the Sikh prayer before the *Guru Granth* and got a full briefing on the greatness of this simple religion.

Editor accused of being anti-Sikh

When we were finally released from the jail with an apology by the then Union Home Minister, Buta Singh, hundreds of Jat Sikhs turned up at the Chandigarh hotel where our wife, son and colleague, Dalit Ezhilmalai, were staying. They also paid hundreds of rupees to express their love and respect for our sacrifices for the sake of Sikhs in “distress”.

This in brief is the 30-year-old history of *Dalit Voice* and its support to the Jat Sikhs.

But today Brother Bohoru who knows all this history (he has been a member of DV since 2000) accuses us of betraying the Jat Sikhs.

To remind the Sikhs the humble services done by DV we are reproducing some of our writings of those tumultuous days. History is the best judge of persons and their deeds.

Dayanand Saraswati mischief

Punjab lies between Pakistan and Delhi, the heart of the Brahminical heartland, and hence it is strategically the most important state. That is why the Brahmins, noted for their tremendous foresight, have been concentrating on this state — not from

the partition days (Aug.15, 1947) but even much before that.

The Gujarati Brahmin Dayananda Saraswati camped in Punjab long before the partition to divide the Sikhs and destroy Punjab.

His Arya Samaj inflicted terrible damage on the Sikh psyche. The poison injected by this notorious Brahmin has been "killing" the Sikh faculty ever since then.

The Brahmins have finally succeeded with the Vienna assassination (May 24, 2009) which helped them to instigate the numerically powerful Dalits, particularly the proud and spirited Chamars, against the ruling Jat Sikhs.

Akalis become tail of Brahmins

Already the Jat Sikhs' only political party, Akali Dal, has become the tail of the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP). The Rashtriya Sikh Sangat of the terrorist RSS has set up its branch in almost every Sikh *gurdwara* in Punjab.

Sardarji jokes

Even as the Brahminical people killed hundreds of Sikhs in Delhi when Indira Gandhi was shot dead, they have almost stopped the Sikh recruitment to the Defence forces. Meanwhile, *hinduisation* (meaning enslavement) of the Jat Sikhs has gained such a break-neck speed that young Jat Sikh men and women have succumbed to Hindu propaganda and started calling themselves Hindu.

Hindi and Punjabi cinemas recklessly make fun of

the Sikhs with *Sardarji* jokes. Even books have been printed on *sardarji* jokes.

Punjab vivisected

Brahminists tightened their grip round the neck of *Sardarjis* specially after the “independence” (1947). Punjab was vivisected and broken into three and the best portion was given to Haryana and Himachal. They were deprived of even the water of the rivers flowing across Punjab.

When every newly-carved out state was given a capital after the states reorganisation, Punjab was clubbed with Haryana with a joint capital at Chandigarh.

To weaken and ultimately destroy the economy of Punjab, the Brahminical rulers first tried to destroy the “bread basket of India” that is Punjab by introducing rice cultivation — totally unknown to the wheat-growing Punjab farmers.

When paddy-growing needed lot more water than wheat, they managed to import thousands of Dalits from Bihar thereby killing two birds with one stone.

Demographic imbalance

The cheap labour of “Hindu Dalits” imported into Punjab served a double purpose. The unthinking, poor, illiterate Dalits from Bihar not only helped the Brahminists to reduce Punjab’s militant *sardarji* population and increased the “Hindu population” of the state.

The demographic imbalance of Punjab introduced innumerable problems into the once prosperous Punjab.

So much so Punjab, once the granary of the country, has become a food deficit state and its agrarian sector in total paralysis.

Hinduisation of Sikhs

If this is the economic weapon the Brahminists used to cut the *sardarji* to size, on the religious side they flooded every village of Punjab with Hindu temples to *hinduise* (enslave) not only the non-Hindu Sikhs but also to destroy the separate identity of the anti-Hindu Untouchables.

Hydra-headed serpent

Brahmin temples served as the double-edged sword to intellectually and psychologically kill — if not enslave — both Dalits and Sikhs.

Brahminism is a time-tested hydra-headed serpent capable of spewing poison with volcanic speed. Anybody going near it is dead. Untouchables — the poor, illiterate, culturally crushed, unthinking original inhabitants of India — might have fallen victims to the serpent. But what about the Sikhs endowed with such a rich, fighting fit member of a martial race who are not Hindu and never Hindu but closer to Islam?

Yet the Jat Sikhs have not a word of complaint against the Brahmin cultural and psychological damage inflicted on the Sikh psyche.

Burn Dasam Granth

Meanwhile, the Brahmins have manufactured a new “holy scripture” for Sikhs, *Dasam Granth*, urging them to discard the *Guru Granth*. We learn that in many *gurdwaras* the *Dasam Granth* is being

worshipped. What a fall, my countrymen. Yet the *sardarjis* are not angry with those doing the surgical operation of the simple religion but the Editor of *Dalit Voice* who is defending them.

When the *Dalit Voice* wrote an Editorial calling upon our readers to burn the anti-Sikh *Dasam Granth* (DV Feb.16, 2005 p.5: "*Dalits must burn Dasam Granth to save Sikhs from Brahminism*"), it was only some Jat Sikhs who took objection to our writings and said *Dasam Granth* indeed was written by their *gurus*.

Sikhs turned against Muslims

Yet another blunder: The Sikhs have been effectively turned against Muslims — though Sikhism is closer to Islam. Punjab, once a Muslim-ruled state, has no trace of Muslims — except a small pocket of Malerkotla.

A Muslim writer has written in the latest DV how the Brahmins have effectively turned the Jat Sikh martial race against Muslims so that when there was Indo-Pak war, the Sikhs would obediently serve the "Hindu India" and die to defend Brahminism. (DV Dec.1, 2009 p.9: "*If Sikhism is inspired by Islam, then why did it turn against Muslims?*").

All this is history.

The current anti-Dalit Sikh fury is also fanned by the very same Brahminical forces. Quite a lot of saner elements among the Jat Sikhs are silently appreciating DV. But they have no courage to speak out. Such is the fury of the fire lit by the Brahminical mischief makers.

Who is our Enemy No.1?

This mischief is not confined to Punjab alone. The fire has engulfed the whole of India. And all of us are being roasted alive without even realising that Brahminism is our principal contradiction (enemy) that is killing the country itself.

In other words, Brahminism is the principal contradiction of Punjab. The Sikhs, Dalits, and Muslims of Punjab have only one common single enemy — that is Brahminism — which is also the enemy of India.

What Kapur Singh said

Thinking sections among Sikhs know this. The late Jagjit Singh, author of the famous book, *Sikh Revolution*, and a close friend of the Editor, had said it. The late Kapur Singh, ICS, had also said this.

We have been telling this in every issue of *Dalit Voice* and all our writings and speeches.

Sikhs forget history

Then how did the Sikhs forget this Supreme Truth which right from Guru Nanak down to Guru Gobind Singh had said? How did the Sikhs forget the murders of Guru Ravidas and his great disciple Saint Meera Bai?

Sant Bhindranwale in his long talk with us in Delhi and later in his many interviews had pointed out that his war was against Brahminism. He never fought against Dalits. Nor against Muslims.

How did the Sikhs forget the perpetrators of the "Blue Star" and the killers of Sant Bhindranwale? How did they forget that it was a Dalit Sikh who

sacrificed himself by killing Indira Gandhi?

Lastly, how did they forget the services of the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, India's lone writer in those critical days when Sikhs were being dubbed anti-national and hunted down everywhere?

Warning given by the Father of India

Brahminists are fanning the flames of hatred in Punjab. They thrive through their trump card called "divide and rule". The history of India is studded with such Brahminical stunts. And yet we continue to fall into this very same well in broad day light and die — the very well which we spotted during the night and carefully avoided it.

India has only one enemy

The Father of India, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, had said this thousands and thousands of times. And finally he only was killed by the Brahmin wife (DV Nov.16, 2009 p.20).

Mahatma Phule, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, and all other thinkers and scholars had said India has only one enemy — Brahminism.

In DV, we repeat it in almost every article and every Editorial.

Yet the Sikhs and Dalits of Punjab in the heat of their current anger are trying to cut each other's throat instigated by the very same enemy — the enemy of India.

Hence this impassioned appeal to all the Bahujans of Punjab: Remember, our principal enemy is Brahminism.

As our elder brothers, it is the duty of the Sikhs to understand this Supreme Truth first and then make Dalits understand it. And bring about a quick rapprochement.

Or else there will be disaster — and wholesale massacre — bloodbath.

The enemy wants to drink our blood because our blood is elixir that rejuvenates our 3,000-old enemy.

If you have tears, shed them now.

Date: March 1, 2010

V.T. Rajshekar

Bangalore

The DV Editorial that led to the Editor's arrest

Why Beant Singh killed Indira Gandhi?

Bhupinder Singh of Delhi has raised (DV Nov.16, 1984) a pertinent question which had struck us even as the Hindus launched the reckless killing of Sikhs as a retaliation to Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. To some extent our Editorial had analysed the situation leading to her death (DV Nov.16, 1984: "*A Dalit kills Indira taking Sikhs closer to Khalistan*"). However, the issue needs deeper philosophical analysis because quite a number of readers have sent answers to Bhupinder Singh's question.

This killing is not a simple affair between two Individuals, Mrs. Gandhi and her assassin, Beant Singh. It has deep philosophical, historical implications.

Hence we want to begin with the *Gita* which the Hindus hold as holy as the *Vedas*, the highest of their "sacred scriptures":-

"God" Krishna's call to kill

- (1) The Hindu god, Krishna's exhortation to Arjuna on the Kurukshetra battlefield (this is the theme of the *Bhagavad Gita* which the Hindus hold as a revelation and M.K. Gandhi made it his bedside Bible) to kill the Kauravas,
- (2) the Poona RSS leader Godse's murder (1948) of "Mahatma" Gandhi and
- (3) the latest, Beant Singh's assassination of Mrs. Gandhi (1984)

All these three tragic events have to be compared

because each is connected to the other.

What does god Krishna tell Arjuna? He asks Arjuna to fight and kill. But Arjuna is hesitating to kill his close relatives who are facing him in the battlefield. Arjuna tells Krishna: "How can I kill my close blood-brothers, cousins, uncles, and grand-uncles and gurus?" For this the god himself says (in the famous oft-quoted Sanskrit passage):

"*Karmanya Vadikarasthe ma phaleshu kadhachana*".

In the *Gita* (verse 3.8) the god tells Arjuna: "Do thy bounden duty". He orders him to fight and kill, unmindful of the consequences to root out evil and re-establish the *dharma*.

The god himself advocates murder:

"Action without any desire for the fruit is superior to abstention from action". Killing is also told as part of the caste duties of Arjuna.

Hinduism sanctions killing

"Lokamanya" Tilak, who inspired the founding of the RSS and was the guru of Guru Golwalkar, the RSS philosopher, differed from M.K. Gandhi in the interpretation of the *Gita* only on this issue.

According to Tilak's interpretation of the *Gita*, killing is sanctioned under Hinduism. Tilak maintained that Hinduism did sanction violence.

Nay. Hinduism is nothing but killing.

According to Tilak's magnum opus, *Gita Rahasya*, his interpretation of the *Gita*, "practically follows the interpretation of Sri Shankaracharya". (D.K. Gosavi, *Tilak, Gandhi and Gita*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7, 1983, Rs. 16).

Manu defends murder

“Manu, the law-giver permits and sanctions the immediate killing of such a reckless person. (Manu VII-35)”. (Ibid p.5).

Tilak says “the *Mahabharata* also suggests circumstances in which untruth is preferred to truth” (p.5).

Tilak says in the *Gita Rahasya*:

“When good means prove ineffective, one should use other effective means also in resisting evil. The Hindu scriptures nowhere lay down the injunction that the good should prefer to sacrifice themselves rather than resisting evil with effective evil means on the basis of the dictum of “tit for tat” (ibid p.7).

Thus Tilak sanctions violence and killing and this interpretation of the *Gita* is strictly on the lines of Adi Shankara. That is how Hindu India has been witnessing mass murders — perpetrated by the govt. itself.

Mrs. Gandhi was a disciple of Shankara, the founder of Hinduism and the highest Brahmin scholar. And Tilak is described by the Hindus as a “patriot”, statesman, a great scholar and an authority on the Vedas, and his interpretation was never, ever questioned by any Vedic scholar.

Brahmins backed Tilak, not Gandhi

Gandhi might have differed from Tilak on this interpretation but the Brahmins were with Tilak and not Gandhi and that is why the killing of Gandhi by Godse was held perfectly in accordance with the dictates of the *Gita* and its interpretation by Tilak. The high caste Hindus might have then mourned

the death of Gandhi but we have not come across any document of their questioning Godse's motive in killing the "Father of the nation". Not only that. Hindu terrorists and their admirers even today worship Godse, take out his ashes in procession on his birth anniversary and they will continue to do this worship until Godse's dream of *Akhand Bharat* (united India) is fulfilled.

In the *Gita*, Krishna tells Arjuna to kill without any fear, ill-will, malice, love or hate. Killing should not be with any selfish motive, but to uphold the *dharma*. Such a killing is justified. Arjuna had nothing personal against the Kauravas. So also Godse. He had nothing personal against Gandhi (read *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?*, DSA-1983).

Beant Singh never hated Indira Gandhi

So also Beant Singh and Satwant Singh had nothing personal against Indira Gandhi. Both of them were her personal security guards and had close association with her.

Arjuna killed the Kauravas to establish *dharma*. Godse killed Gandhi to establish *dharma*. According to Beant Singh he also killed Mrs. Gandhi to establish the *dharma*.

He had no personal ill-will against her. He never hated her. Nor did Mrs. Gandhi have any doubt about his loyalty. He was with her for 10 years.

The Hindu religion, as per the learned commentaries of Tilak (read *Gita Rahasya*, 1915) sanctions killing if such a killing is not for personal gain or devoid of any motive.

Godse saluted Gandhi before he fired the shot. So also Beant Singh. Godse had never uttered a single word condemning Gandhi. So also Beant Singh. Godse never tried to run away or tried to shoot anybody trying to catch him. So also Beant Singh. After the job was done Godse surrendered and so also Beant Singh. He threw his gun.

Hindus slaughtered 3,000 Sikhs

In every respect, the murders of M.K. Gandhi and Indira Gandhi are one and the same.

Godse in his defence before the court said that in the interest of the "nation" Gandhi had to be killed but in the case of Beant Singh we have not been given an opportunity to know why he killed her. Not only that.

The Ruling Class did not allow his or Satwant Singh's pictures to appear in the press. But we have press reports about his taking an oath before a Delhi *gurdwara* that in the interest of the "Sikh nation", she must go. Godse also had gone to a temple to take a similar oath.

Caste duty

The Hindus not only did not harm the Gandhi assassin (Godse) but gave him a fair trial before he was hanged. But in the case of Beant Singh, not only the Hindus killed him on the spot but slaughtered 3,000 other Sikhs in Delhi city alone apart from millions of rupees damage to their property.

As per the Sikh religion, killing of those who try to destroy Sikhism is sanctioned (Gyani Kirpal Singh,

highest priest of the *Akal Takht* says:

“Sikh religion does say that oppressors of Sikhs should be given befitting reply and punished for their crimes”, *Sunday Observer*, Nov.18, 2009).

It is the “caste duty” of the Sikhs to punish the oppressors. Krishna tells the same thing to Arjuna to kill the Kauravas “to fulfil his caste duties”. Arjuna was a Kshatriya whose “caste duty” is to kill the oppressors. And the Sikh religion also has the same “caste duties”. And Sikhs are greater warriors than the Kshatriyas.

Shankara kills hundreds of Budhists

Shankaracharya had killed hundreds of Budhists at Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh to save Brahminism from Budhism. (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No.54, *The Budhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, by A.H. Longhurst, Delhi, 1938, p.6).

And the “caste duties” as defined by Krishna cannot be different to different people. If Arjuna’s caste duty was to punish the oppressor Kauravas, Shankaracharya’s caste duty was to punish the Budhist oppressors. And to Beant Singh also it was the same as per the Sikh caste duty. We cannot say what is a duty for us cannot be a duty for the other.

If the Hindu *dharma* is important for Godse, the Sikh *dharma* is important for Beant Singh, a Dalit but a devout Sikh.

The Hindus know this full well but the only thing is they apply different standards to different people.

Ahimsa emasculates Hindus

Nathuram Godse, "frankly admitting that he practised violence, possessed a pistol, says that he represented a school of thought (RSS) that has always opposed the ideology of Gandhi. "I believe that the teachings of absolute *ahimsa* as advanced by Gandhi would ultimately result in the emasculation of the Hindu community incapable of resisting the aggression or inroads of other communities especially the Muslims.

This is an honest confession that Hindus or Hinduism stands for violence". (*Why Godse Killed Gandhi?*, V.T. Rajshekar, DSA-1987, p.5).

So Godse killed Gandhi to punish him for favouring Muslims. Nobody can question Godse's courage of conviction, his honesty and integrity. He practised what he preached. We may not like his killing of Gandhi. That is a different question.

Beant Singh and Satwant Singh also possessed guns and after killing Mrs. Indira Gandhi dropped them. "As the security guards seized them, Beant Singh said, I have done what I had to do. You do what you want to do" (*Time Magazine*, Nov.12, 1984). There is no evidence that they had any personal animosity against her. Their heart was as pure as that of Godse. They saluted her before they fired the shots. None had so far questioned Beant's sincerity or integrity.

We may not like Beant Singh killing Indira Gandhi. We had mourned her death and felt very sad. But that is a different question. So from all these accounts, they are just repeating what Arjuna,

Shankaracharya and Godse did, obeying the dictates of "god" Krishna.

The similarity of the situation does not end here. Immediately after the Gandhi murder (1948) RSS boys distributed sweets all over India and this did lead to some attacks on the RSS *shakas*. But no RSS man or Chitpavan Brahmin, the killer's community, was killed.

Hindu logic

If Mrs. Gandhi was killed by her assassins for exactly the same reason advanced by Gandhi's assassin, why no killing followed Gandhi murder? Why this same vedic logic was not applied in the case of Godse?

This is the question put by the BBC Correspondent in his London interview of the visiting Indian MPs who could not answer the question. Because this is a million-dollar question.

Gandhi was killed by Godse to save Hinduism which means the interest of the ruling class and in Hindu India the ruling class means the Aryans who form not even 10% of India's 800-million population. This ruling class hated Gandhi so much. Because he went against Hindu interest. Though he too was an Aryan (Bania), the Brahmins resented the national leadership passing out of their hands into that of a non-Brahmin. So to save the ruling class from Gandhi, who according to them was pro-Muslim, his killing was justified and that is the reason why even the much-publicised Gandhi film is silent on Godse's motive for killing Gandhi. Even a book justifying

Gandhi murder came out during the Janata Party regime.

Indira as Hindu leader

But what about Mrs. Gandhi? During the past five years Mrs. Gandhi, a Kashmiri Brahmin and a pure Aryan, was fast becoming a Hindu leader giving all-out encouragement to the Hindu terrorist party, and every other revivalist, fascist movements in the country. So much so, she had antagonised over 80% of the India's population.

Before her death, if we go through the press reports then, we will find the statements of Muslim, Christian, Dalit and OBC leaders bitterly criticising her for becoming communal discarding the country's secular principles.

Brahmins flourished under Indira

Religious minorities in particular like the Muslims, Christians, Budhists, Sikhs suffered unprecedented persecution. Tribals, and mongoloid tribals in particular, were crushed. Dalits were thrown out of all positions. OBC's only hope in Mandal Commission was dashed.

While over 80% of the population was getting pauperized, the Hindu high castes received all-round attention during her regime.

Her cabinet, top govt. services, posts of governors, diplomats and all key positions including the Defence were given to Brahmins. This pleased the RSS so much that during the last two elections it worked for her victory.

RSS and Mrs. Gandhi became two sides of the same coin.

Brahmins and other Aryans were overjoyed when she sent the Army into Punjab (June 1984) and “crushed” the Sikhs and “taught” them a lesson. The Army action was intended to convert herself into a Hindu leader.

Indira as super R.S.S. leader

Hindu leaders all over India and even in distant Bangalore distributed sweets when Sant Bhindranwale was killed in the Army attack on the Golden Temple along with about 10,000 other Sikhs.

It was said at that time that her killings of the Sikhs would fetch her Hindu votes all over the North India, because the killing was also strictly in accordance with the dictates of the *Gita* — to punish the oppressors. No Hindu leader had condemned the Army action in Punjab. It was during her regime communal riots came to be renamed as anti-Muslim riots. She went on blaming Pakistan for supporting the Sikh “extremists”, thus automatically forcing the Sikhs to join hands with the Muslims. In Assam, thousands of Muslims were killed. So also in other parts of India. She dismissed Kashmir’s most popular leader Farooq Abdulla and humiliated every Muslim leader from Antulay, Rafique Zakaria to F.M. Khan.

Christians were declared as anti-national. Dalit leaders like Elayaperumal, Basavalingappa were treated like dogs. During her last days she visited every corrupt Hindu religious leader and fell on their feet.

Even after the Puri priests refused to allow her inside the Jagannath temple she was making frantic efforts and this remained as one of her unfulfilled dreams. If we go on listing her efforts to communalise (read Brahminise) the Indian politics, there is no end. Becoming desperate the Muslims decided to vote against her.

On the whole she turned herself virtually into a super RSS leader. No. She surpassed the RSS in communalism and its chief, Balasaheb Deoras, admitted this when he called upon his followers to vote for her party in the coming elections.

RSS people said "she was a better Hindu" than Vajpayee and the BJP.

So at the time of her death, she was a Hindu leader of a country known for its multi-racial, multi-national, multi-religious, multi-lingual character. Every third rate Hindu religious leader became fatter during her rule. A gun-making fake Hindu swami, Dhirendra Brahmachari, became her adviser.

What Hindus do is right

Every decision was taken after consulting the Shankaracharya of Kanchi Kamakoti Pitam through R. Venkataraman, an ex-RSS chap, promoted Vice-President. She was virtually a dictator. Had there been an election, she would have faced a sure defeat. Instead of facing such a humiliation she faced the bullet and became a martyr. Gandhi became "father of the nation" and she came to be called the "mother of the nation".

This was the position during her sudden death. The ruling class never had it so good. And naturally it took the revenge on the whole Sikhs for a crime committed by two Sikhs. A Hindu can kill anybody and he has the right to do so. But not a Sikh, who is not a Hindu.

That is why in the case of Mrs. Gandhi the reckless mass murders of Sikhs in Delhi and elsewhere following her murder were justified by the Hindus.

There may be every similarity between the killings of M.K. Gandhi and Indira Gandhi. But similarity ends only there. As the rulers of India, what the Hindus do is right and what others do is wrong. Who is to decide it? Who is to decide what is right and what is wrong? They only decide it.

In Hindu India, the police, prosecutor, judge and the hangman are all combined in one person. That is why we often say: Hindus believe what they want to believe. And so Hindu India goes on, neither living nor dead.

(Dalit Voice, Dec.16, 1984).

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Pen proves mightier than the sword

We are made to suffer because of somebody else's ignorance. That is all we can say about our arrest in Bangalore on Aug. 12, 1986 under the Terrorists Act and our quick release from the Chandigarh Jail on Aug. 25.

If the arrest was dramatic our release, which came as an anti-climax, was much more dramatic.

If our friends were shocked and many were literally in tears, when they saw us being handcuffed and dragged to the far-off Chandigarh, our enemies were jubilant. Both did not expect that this suspense-packed drama would come to an end so soon. It all ended so abruptly because sanity prevailed over madness. And justice was on our side.

Enemy more helpful than friends

The 15-day-long "earthquake" might have resulted in a temporary stoppage of *Dalit Voice* and some suffering but it brought so much of goodwill which the DV could not have earned in six years. Mao has said that many a times it is the Enemy that helps us. Our arrest is a classic case.

The charge against us was that the *Dignity*, an English weekly from Chandigarh, reproduced on March 1986 our Editorial, "*Khalistan forced on unwilling Sikhs*" (DV Feb. 16, 1986). Under the headline, "*A Dalit view of Punjab*". And this was considered objectionable under the Terrorists Act.

The *Dignity* editor, Sukhdev Singh, was arrested on March 12, 1986. And we were made co-accused in that case. When his bail application was rejected by the Designated Court and later by the Punjab High Court, he went to the Supreme Court which while rejecting the bail application ordered that his trial be completed before Sept.12.

Dalit Voice gets free publicity

To strengthen evidence against him, we were arrested as the co-accused in the case. As we said earlier we were made to suffer because of other's ignorance. They were ignorant because prejudice did not permit them to understand (hence could not appreciate) what we wrote.

Hardly a couple of hundreds have read our Feb.16, 1986 Editorial but because of the all-India publicity for our arrest, photocopies of this piece had a big demand, *Dalit Voice* itself became famous. Should we not thank the Enemy for all this?

Happy days in jail

This edit, for which two editors were arrested, was not read by all those who mattered in Punjab, Delhi and Chandigarh and thus turned out to be a historic piece because what the prosecution said seditious and anti-national was made part of the 80-page May 30, 1986 judgment of the Punjab High Court on a simple bail application of Sukhdev Singh.

Justice Tewatia, a senior judge of the High Court, while reproducing the full text of the edit in his judgment, has found nothing wrong in the piece.

While a book itself is getting ready on the whole episode it made us understand who are our true friends. Cowards, who die many times before their death, melted away. Suffice it to say that it was indeed a miraculous escape from the jaws of death although from the very beginning we were sure that they would soon leave us free.

We were "discharged" as the police in the application dated Aug.25 before judge Bansal heading the Designated Court, Chandigarh, said that "There is some doubt about the fact whether responsibility for having committed the above said offences in Chandigarh can be fixed on Mr. V.T. Rajshekar. That the prosecution for the above said reasons is not presenting any *challan* against the accused".

For seven days we were kept in the police station and throughout we were treated with respect. The five-day stay in the Chandigarh Jail was even more pleasant.

First Dalit to suffer for Sikhs

The Akali Dal (Badal group) delegation led by Sardar Dindsa met us in the jail and said we were India's first non-Sikh to suffer for the cause of the Sikhs.

The arrest of a Dalit that too from a far-off South brought the Sikhs much strength. Dalits and Sikhs all over Punjab protested our arrest and this only strengthened the Sikh argument that many innocent persons were being victimised under the Terrorist Act. On one side there was no evidence against us and on another side an agitation was

building up. And the authorities feared that the base of terrorism would get widened with Dalits joining the fray. As the issue was getting complicated, there were reports in the press that Punjab Governor Siddhart Shankar Ray had called for our file.

Buta Singh's apology

On Aug.25 we were released, after a high level intervention sanity prevailed over mad frenzy. Great minds of Punjab and Chandigarh, perhaps, understood the spirit behind our writings.

Union Home Minister Buta Singh, whom we met in Delhi under instruction, was very nice. He said he heard about our arrest from Madhu Dandavate, Opposition leader in Parliament. On verification he found no cases pending against us in any departments of the Home Ministry. Buta Singh was graceful enough to say that we were unnecessarily implicated in a case like this.

That is the end of the story.

We received innumerable inquiries from India and abroad and many more called on us. We acknowledge the support of several people in different parts of India for our release. It was a spontaneous support. They supported us in many ways. We never knew that we had such a large network of friends. For the first time *Dalit Voice* got an opportunity to test its strength.

Freedom of speech & press denied

On our part we were cool throughout, unperturbed. On the other hand, we were feeling pity on those small minds unable to understand what we write

and speak. It is said India is the "most tolerant country in the world". But some small minds can't tolerate even the feeble voice of the Dalit.

A vibrant democracy needs a powerful voice of dissent. The constitution of India assures freedom of speech and freedom of press. But the ruling class wants to shackle this freedom by saying that this freedom is granted as long as the ruling class freedom is not questioned by anybody.

Our Feb.16 Editorial was an Ambedkarite and marxist analysis of the Punjab scene.

Feeble voice of Dalits not tolerated

A small section affected by our writings tried to call us mad and shoot us. Attempts were made to discredit us. Character assassination was plenty. With all this the pen proved mightier than the sword.

The ruling class in every society doesn't want the people to think. It wants the "thinking" part of the job to be left to it. In India, over 70% of the population is already totally illiterate. Of the rest of the 30%, not even 2% know English. And the *Dalit Voice* is in English and its circulation is so small. Yet the ruling class can't tolerate even this feeble voice.

The whole episode might have brought us some suffering. Yes. Suffering is necessary. It is such a suffering for a cause that alone will bring a person fighting for that cause nearer to those people also striving for a such a cause. That cause may be right according to the people fighting for that cause and it may be wrong according to another people opposed

to that cause. Just as we concede the right of the Chandigarh police to arrest us and drag us all the way, the people who criticise us for our writings must also concede us our right to speak and write. Then only India will become a vibrant democracy.

Information is not knowledge

This leads us to certain basic issues and we appeal to the "thinking" sections of India to ponder over these issues. In our schools and colleges we may pack the young minds with lots and lots of "information". Though "information" may be necessary, we are committing the blunder of mistaking "information" to "knowledge". In a quiz contest or in an exam, a student may score high marks by answering all questions but in these exams what we are trying to test is how much information a student possesses.

But "information" is not "knowledge". It is part of knowledge. And knowledge can develop only if we encourage critical thinking.

Wanted critical thinking

That is by encouraging the youth to question the teachers, the textbooks and their parents. Even our "sacred scriptures". But at every stage the young minds are curbed and their critical thinking crushed. The media is still worse. If you are illiterate, the TV makes you a more illiterate.

Not only the ruling class, which controls the education system and the media, is curbing critical thinking but launching a massive manhunt of those promoting critical thinking.

Punjab problem is not law & order

This is what we said when we began this edit: "We are made to suffer because of somebody else's ignorance".

What we have written was understood (and that is why appreciated) by those who have cultivated the critical thinking. But those who can't think or don't want to think rejoiced.

So our arrest signifies this clash between the forces of progress and the forces opposing the progress. And in this the former has won a victory.

Punjab problem is not a law and order problem. It is a social and cultural problem. Human problem. What is going on in Punjab is class struggle. Hatred will bring more hatred.

We hope that in the larger interest of the country we approach a problem with a critical mind. Decline in critical thinking is the sure decline and slow death of a society. That is fascism.

(*Dalit Voice* Edit Oct.1, 1986).

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CHANDIGARH JAIL YATRA

The famous Dalit Voice Editorial of Oct. 1, 1986, written after getting released from the Chandigarh jail, is reproduced here to make our Sikh brothers understand our services and sacrifices for their sake.

We were the first person in Karnataka to be arrested under the Terrorist Act (TADA). The ruling Brahminical people by arresting us were sure that we would never come back. They were sure that either we would be shot dead, maimed if not lobbed in jail indefinitely.

Brahminical journalists in Bangalore had a double peg celebrating our arrest. But they were shocked that we were back in 15-days.

*We have written a book itself titled, **Chandigarh Jail Yatra** but to this day it remains as a manuscript. No money to publish it — EDITOR.*

Khalistan forced on unwilling Sikhs ?

What the Hindus love, we must hate and what the Hindus hate we must love, said Babasaheb Ambedkar to Dalits.

This simple Ambedkarite formula can be applied whenever we are in confusion.

Hindus love Badal

And the upper castes (Hindus) rule India only by confusing others. That is how they once again reduced Punjab into a bundle of confusion.

So whenever there is any confusion like this Babasaheb comes to our rescue. Right now in Punjab the Hindus are very much worried over the "extremists" capturing the Golden Temple at Amritsar. They are finding fault with Chief Minister Barnala for yielding to the "terrorist pressure" and "appeasing the anti-nationals". They are also furious that the "extremists" are going ahead with the demolition of the Akal Takht re-built by the Hindu rulers at an estimated cost of Rs. 200 millions.

That means, these Hindus who used to hate Barnala, Tohra, Badal etc. have suddenly started loving them and want the pro-Bhindranwale "extremists", who took over the Golden temple, to be liquidated.

So we know whom the Hindus love and whom they hate. Since they make no secret of their love or hate it is equally easy for the persecuted minorities of India to come to the right decision at such crucial moments.

This is called the Law of Contradictions (*Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, 1952, Vol.1, Peoples Publishing House, Beijing).

How DV proved right on Punjab

A proper study of this law that governs every society is a must for all Dalits and persecuted nationalities. Guided by the thoughts of Babasaheb and Mao we come to certain conclusions and that is how DV proved right on Punjab. We also proved right in saying that the All-India Sikh Students Federation has become the representative organisation of the Sikhs and that the Akali Dal, the SGPC chief Tohra, called a cunning fox by the Sikhs, have lost the confidence of the people (DV Jan.16, 1986).

Burning Bhindranwale boys

Barnala had the police under him and Tohra had the vast SGPC funds plus the armed guards, but neither could stop the militant, committed, burning Bhindranwale boys from taking over the Golden Temple. Why? Because the Sikh masses are behind Bhindranwale who today reigns supreme over Punjab. In other words, the "elected" Akali Govt., SGPC, the high priests and the low priests have lost the support of the people as they became puppets of the Hindus. That is why the Hindus are beating their breasts over the fall of their stooges. The Sikh religion tells a Sikh to fight and die — never to surrender.

Longowal, Badal, Tohra, Zail Singh not only did not fight but surrendered and compromised with the enemy. Hence they must go.

No tears be shed over this. All these high priests and low priests were responsible for compromising with Brahminism making Sikhism— a military religion— part of Hinduism. As a consequence Sikhism distanced itself from the Dalits for whose liberation Sikhism was founded.

3 Sikhs restore Sikh self-respect

It was Sant Bhindranwale who stirred up this stinking Sikh pond and Beant Singh, a Dalit Sikh, who avenged the humiliation to Sikhs. It was Bimal Khalsa, a Mazhbi Sikh and the widow of Beant Singh, who led the canal construction blockade. They say it is these three people who restored the lost self-respect of the Sikhs. Not Longowala, not Barnala, not Tohra, not any high priest.

One Bhindranwale may be dead but hundreds of Bhindranwale are born out of his blood.

What is going on in Punjab today is a welcome, long-over-due clash between internal contradictions. Without resolving the internal contradictions, we can't resolve the external contradictions.

Sikh enemy inside their house

“The fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal... Contradictions within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development... Social development is due chiefly not to external but internal causes”.

(Law of Contradiction, p.5 & 6).

So as per the laws of contradictions, Sikhs have more deadly enemies inside their own house.

Dalits come closer to Jats

And the AISSF, and the Damdami Taksal of Bhindranwale have, therefore, rightly identified these internal enemies and ousted them. Congratulations.

So much so the Dalit Sikhs have started coming closer to the Jat Sikhs and in fact leading the Sikh nation under Bimal Khalsa because the priority is given to eliminate the internal enemies. It will now become easier to fight the external enemies once the internal enemies are eliminated. The experiment being conducted within the Sikh society is a lesson to the Dalits and all other persecuted nationalities. If the Muslims are weak today despite forming about 15% of the population, it is because of the enemies within it.

Running dogs of Hindus

As no society can escape being governed by these Law of Contradictions, Barnala, Tohra, and co. will be its first casualty. Zail Singh and Buta Singh, the two running dogs of the Hindus, have been rightly shown their place. We really feel sorry for their plight. They are hated by the Hindus as well as by the Sikhs.

Zail Singh's crime

Zail Singh missed two historic opportunities to cover his lost respect and restore the Sikh glory. As the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, he could have refused to give his consent to send Army into the Golden Temple. And later when the Army entered it he could have resigned as the President

of India. But he compromised and decided to be a stooge. We have no sympathy for worms. Buta Singh may be a Dalit. So what? What is the use of living without self-respect?

It is better to die young like Sant Bhindranwale, fighting, rather than live the life of a donkey for 100 years - without self-respect. That is why we often say that Dalits and other persecuted nationalities must learn how to die.

Our liberation is assured the moment we learn how to die. It is true we hate the upper caste hate-mongers but that is no use. Because we don't know how to oust them. We will not know it until we learn the art of dying.

Barnala as worm

Barnala had an opportunity to enter the Sikh hearts. He could have resigned on Jan.26 last when Chandigarh was scheduled to be transferred to Punjab as per the "Rajiv Gandhi-Longowal Accord". To him his chair became more important than his conscience.

He shivered before the Hindu threats and sent his own son to fight Bhindranwale boys at Amritsar. The son met with a road accident and the father met with a political accident.

Today's situation in Punjab is worse than that of June, 1984 (*Birth Pangs of Khalistan*, DSA-1985). Small people have small minds. Barnala, Tohra, Badal proved to be small people. And Sikhs who think big and act big have rightly kicked out the small people.

Khalistan given on golden plate

The Hindus are never tired of lecturing on the “unity and integrity” of India. If they really love the country, they would not have behaved like this. Enough literature produced by their own people have come to prove how brutal they were on Sikhs. So much so, they are giving Khalistan to Sikhs on a golden plate. Sikhs say they don't want Khalistan but it is these Hindu terrorists, Arya Samajists, *Nirankaris* and *Durankaris*, who are begging the unwilling Sikhs to take Khalistan. Till now the Sikhs resisted all such temptations. But going by today's mood of Sikhs, they will take it — come what may. If and when it happens who is responsible for forming Khalistan?

On our part we have always opposed Khalistan. We sufferers are not interested in parting with the Sikhs whose presence in India as co-sufferers is very essential for us.

Brahmin Gen. destroyed Golden Temple

The cause of the Dalits and OBCs has suffered because of the formation of Pakistan. It will suffer a further setback if the Sikhs also go with Khalistan.

These upper caste exploiters, the 5% Aryan invaders, have no love for the country and that is why they are bent upon vivisecting it. But can we allow it?

They sent their Hindu Army led by a Madrasi Brahmin, Sunderji, and destroyed the Golden temple in 1984 and when it was destroyed, Hindus rejoiced, danced with joy and distributed sweets. These very

same Hindus repeated their rejoicing when the Hindu army rebuilt the Golden Temple. They were happy when it was destroyed, they were more happy when it was rebuilt. What type of a kill-joy they must be. Akal Takht was destroyed many times before but every time it was rebuilt brick by brick by the Sikhs themselves. Why did the Hindu mafias go to rebuild it spending govt. money? Don't they know that such an action is an insult to Sikh conscience? So when this Sarkar (govt). Seva - built Akah Thakht is being pulled down, why are they weeping now?

Well, when the Hindus weep we must laugh and when they laugh, we must weep.

Brahmins threatening every nationality

Whatever it is, the decision to destroy the Akal Takht is a slap on the face of the Hindu terrorists. And we are afraid they may have to call Sunderji again. And if ever the heartless Hindus were to repeat the history it is sure birth of Khalistan.

Whatever may be the Hindu terrorists pressure on Rajiv Gandhi, we hope he will not become a party to vivisection of India. May be he is being threatened with the Congress losing in Haryana which has an unscrupulous Hindu as its chief minister. He may form a new party to save Haryana for its upper castes.

Dark forces are at work in Delhi trying to confuse Rajiv. He was magnanimous enough to hand over Punjab to the Akalis which is a kulak party of Sikh landlords. But the new militants who took over the

Golden Temple represent the Sikh masses and particularly the Dalits who are the true representatives of Punjab.

Rajiv Gandhi should note that it is not merely the Sikhs who are in ferment. The Muslims, Christians, Dalits, Tribals, OBCs are all equally disturbed. Because they have realised that Brahminism is threatening every nationality. So when a nationality is threatened it is bound to hit back. This is called the sharpening of the contradictions. It is a healthy sign. And no nation has sharpened the contradictions as much as the Sikhs — though they form just 2% of the population. We don't know what is wrong with Muslims who form 15%, Dalits 20% and Tribals 10% and Christians 2.5%. Why not they learn from Sikhs: how to die?

(Dalit Voice Feb.16, 1986).

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Brave Jat Sikhs surrender to Brahmins

This DV Editorial of Feb. 16, 1986, hailed as one of our masterpieces, stirred the Sikh hearts and minds in Punjab and elsewhere. And translated to Punjabi and distributed in thousands as a pamphlet.

But all this is history. Since then the Brahminical terrorists have won over hostile Jat Sikhs by resorting to money corruption and then instigating the Dalits and Dalit Sikhs against the Jats. There are any number of intellectually honest Jat Sikhs and also Dalit Sikhs but all of them have been silenced by the Brahminical bulldozer running over Punjab.

Our sources say rulers resorted to this desperate action as they want the powerful Jat Sikh support when the Indian Army marches across Punjab as part of their current war preparations to attack Pakistan.

In the process of humiliating and destroying a vital segment of the Indian society — the Sikhs — the Brahmins are killing the country itself. So what? Brahminists do not love India. They are foreigners
— **EDITOR.**

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