

# DALIT VOICE

[*The Voice of the Persecuted Minorities*]

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## HOW THE RULING CLASS DIVIDES THE POOR : DALITS, MINORITIES, OBCs

Marxism aims at removing inequalities. And when it comes to India inequality means our hierarchically graded caste system. But our communists (CPI & CPM) have chosen to ignore this stark reality & sought to organise the "poor" against the "propertied class". To them trade unionism is a step towards "class struggle". There can't be a greater perversion of Marxism than this. And the proof of it is India is no where near a "class struggle". While India is a country of the poor with wealth accumulated in the hands of less than 10% of the population, if our CPM, CPI interpretation of Marxism had been right by this time the country should have exploded in a bloody "class struggle". But what we are witnessing, in fact, is not a class struggle but a struggle between the poor classes. Press reports speak about Untouchables, tribals, Muslims, Christians — who constitute the poorest of India's poor — being kicked, killed, raped, burnt and their little property destroyed by the equally poor low caste Hindus, mostly the OBCs. The Ruling Class, which owns the wealth, enjoys caste status and also runs the affairs of the country, engineers this clash between the poor "caste" and "classes" because that is the basic principle of divide and rule. When the poor get busy cutting each others throat, the game of exploitation becomes all the more easy. How the Ruling Class divides the poor — dalits, tribals, Muslims, Christians and OBCs? We are chiefly concerned with three most important things : (1) caste system, (2) language and (3) political parties. (1) We need not deal much about the havoc played by the caste in dividing not only the Hindus but other religionists who as converts from Hinduism carried the stink of caste with them. As caste is sanctioned by the Hindu religion and blessed by the gods, and it is hierarchically arranged in ascending order of reverence and descending degree of contempt, & each caste and sub-caste is superior or inferior to the other, with the Brahmin standing at the apex of this caste pyramid, this ingeniously arranged system has led to a perpetual warfare between them. Each caste has become an armed camp. Therefore, as long as caste is there, India will remain an embattled land. As Hinduism is the

other name for caste, there is little chance of destroying caste. While we have to do everything to destroy caste (read *How to Destroy Caste System—Strategy for Revolution*, Dalit Sahitya Akademy publication No. 2, 1982, price Rs. 3), conscious dalits and minorities will have to educate their comrades on the havoc of caste, see that they reduce caste feuds between them and unite them against the exploiting higher castes (2) Language as a divisive force is becoming more dangerous than caste because passions can be easily roused on an emotional issue like the language. Shiv Sena of Bombay is one such face of fascism. SS followers are mainly the Marathi lumpen proletariat, the unemployed low caste youth who are told by the high caste SS leadership that its enemies are not the Marwari & Gujarati capitalists but the poor, low caste Kannadigas, Tamilians and Keralites. Did SS attack any rich non-Marathi capitalists? The Karnataka govt. recently had to bow to a Kannada language fascist phantom that showed its ugly face following the Gokak Committee recommending sole first language status for Kannada in schools. The brain behind the Kannada language agitation is the high caste writers. And RSS has been quite active. Dalits, Muslims, Christians and other low castes, who constitute the majority, are not interested in this agitation but high caste journalists manufactured public opinion and forced the Govt. to surrender. Since language could quickly rouse passions, the Ruling Class was able to let loose the low caste mobs against Muslims & Tamil dalits. In many parts of Karnataka, the pro-Kannada agitation turned into bloody communal clashes & poor Muslims suffered. In Kolar Gold Fields, the Hindu police attacked Tamil dalits and

over 20 were killed. This is how the poor are made to get divided on a non-issue. The cancer of language has entered the Church as well and the Archbishop of Bangalore was attacked just because he happened to be a Tamilian. The pity is that 75% of the Tamil-speaking Catholics in Bangalore happen to be Untouchable converts. But Kannada Catholics want Kannada to be made the language of worship in churches. High caste Hindu writers & the Press are fanning this flame. This linguistic chauvenism will spread like a virus with each linguistically divided State becoming an island by itself. Left parties should have protected the poor dalits and minorities and fought this language fascism. But they too have become helpless. We have, on the other hand, reports of Left party-controlled workers themselves getting divided on language basis with Kannada dalit workers being made to attack Tamil dalits, both working in same factories. Adding fuel to fire, Karnataka's most popular film actor, Rajkumar, who actually belongs to a very backward toddy-tapper caste of Idigas, has joined this Kannada agitation while his children are reported to be going to English schools (*Times of India*, July 5). The bigger and the more dangerous Hindi imperialism is growing actively promoted by the RSS. The Ruling Class has discovered that language is the best way to divide the poor. That is why Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, scenting this danger, had asked the people to dump all the Indian languages to the Arabian Sea and take to English. Ambedkar was also in favour of English. Even in China, they are making a serious effort to study English. The Ruling Class, which is engineering this battle of

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## WHO KILLED DEVARAJ URS?

(Our correspondent)

*Bangalore :* Devaraj Urs (67) died here on June 6, 1982 and with it the country has lost a noted shudra leader and Karnataka's most famous Chief Minister. He was one among the country's few political leaders who could correctly diagnose the ills of its vast sub-humans reeling under a joint class-caste oppression unparalleled in the world. He was quite healthy and when we met him only four days before his death he was having his normal morning exercise, lying flat on the floor. Therefore it is but natural that his former lieutenants raised doubts about his sudden death. How so healthy a man could die so suddenly? F. M. Khan, MP., L. G. Hevanur, ex-minister, both his closest aides, raised the issue at the Legislature Congress Party meeting and the *Deccan Herald* (June 16) alone made it a front-page report under the heading: "Did Urs die a natural death?" Surprisingly other dailies chose to ignore this important news. This studied silence on the part of the "national press", which carries so much of garbage every day, is considered significant. But reporters have privately expressed doubts. One senior crime reporter recalled the "story" that he made few years ago when a mysterious "theft" took place in the very Jayanagar house where Urs died. The *Deccan Herald* report said Congress members referred to the "suspicious circumstances in which Urs died". Press reports had earlier quoted Mrs. Nirmala Prasad, adopted daughter of Urs, saying that he died on her lap. Reports also said that he had "a massive heart attack" and died (in the evening) before the doctors arrived. It is said that none others were present when he died in the posh house that belonged to one Dwarakinath, a petty but high caste official in a State govt. corporation and also his astrologer, who was said to be "friend, philosopher & guide" of Urs. B. Basvalingappa, topmost dalit leader of the State, also said that "looking into the circumstances of his death, one tends to be suspicious". A Karnataka Kranti Ranga, the newly-formed party of Urs, leader said that "some dark forces; who were keeping the party funds, finished him fearing that the funds would be spent to build up the new party". F. M. Khan suspected "foul play". "It would not be a surprise if efforts were made to liquidate a powerful leader of the stature of Urs," the DH report said. The death has raised several questions. How did he die? Who else saw him dying? Why the doctors were not summoned on time? Why he does not take anybody when he goes to this house? Did any Govt doctor certify that the death was due to heart attack? Did he get too much excited leading to heart attack? Is it true that his mouth was smelling? Why his face had turned black—a doubt said to have been expressed even by Chief Minister Gundu Rao? Reporters, who covered the 150-mile-long funeral procession watched by thousands of his admirers, said these questions were being raised by many people on the route. Even some VIPs were heard asking these questions. The State police are now trailing Mrs. Nirmala Prasad, who after the death of Urs, has joined Charan Singh, a more powerful shudra leader. An extra-ordinarily

sharp, high caste woman hailing from Bangalore, she resigned from her coveted Foreign Service job and was very close to Urs. It is said she used to shape his life and control everything. Her attachment to Urs was so much that she travelled in the tempo that carried the body on its 150-mile long last journey braving both sun and rain. No other relative was seen with the body. Following the *Deccan Herald* report many close associates of Urs started thinking. Although official circles do not suspect anything, his admirers say that they have a doubt. "We may be wrong. Our suspicion may prove to be unfounded. Foolish, still it is a doubt. How could such a healthy man die so suddenly? Until this doubt is removed by an official finding, we have every right to nourish such a doubt," one backward class leader said. Another said it may be a well-planned plot hatched during the 2 last years & executed with great care. A Cong. Minister said "all sorts of shady characters used to surround him." A man of great learning, vast reading who did quite revolutionary things like implementing the country's most radical land reforms, highest percentage of reservations to backward classes, special measure for dalits, fairest representation to Muslims and Christians, he used to be very much hated by the high castes. Urs for the first time uprooted the Lingayat-Vokkaliga dominant landed caste hold on Karnataka and established a pure *shudra* govt. "What all I have done for the low castes and minorities is there on record. After my death there will be no more backward class movement. Take it from me", he told a delegation (*Deccan Herald*, June 11) which met him only a fortnight before his

death. His words sound prophetic. With his death, the backward class movement is dead in Karnataka. He was to inaugurate the Dravida Kazagam's State-level conference on Mandal Commission report on June 13 at Trichy. The conference attended by over 50 000 people saw the unveiling of his portrait by Mrs. Anathanayaki, an OBC leader belonging to the Thevar community. Urs used to say that in India it is mostly the high "castes" who also belonged to the richer "classes". The low castes, Untouchables, tribals, and Muslims were mostly the poorest. Therefore, in India "caste" is "class" and the Marxien concept of "class struggle" will have to take the form of "caste struggle". Urs not only held this opinion but as Chief Minister for two terms did everything to implement this principle. And this brought him into direct confrontation with high castes. Journalists from this section manufactured all sorts of stories to tarnish his image. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, he said, fell out of him only because she did not like his progressive policies that were affecting the properties and privileges of the high castes. What the OBC leaders suspect is that Urs alone in the whole of India had the potentiality of emerging as a powerful *shudra* leader. Charan Singh was ageing. Urs was planning to launch a powerful movement on the Mandal Commission report and such a movement would immediatly catapult him into an all-India leader. Pressure is said to be building up on Gundu Rao to institute a judicial probe to allay all these doubts. The proposed Backward Class Convention in Bangalore on July 11 is expected to pass a resolution demanding full-fledged probe that might bring to

light yet another high caste conspiracy to destroy a promising *shudra* leader. Sources close to him say the coterie surrounding him made him believe in astrology. One astrologer assured him that he had just opened a new chapter in his life and that he would live for 20 more years. He was being taken to all sorts of temples. Priests used to play havoc promoting superstitious beliefs in him. Wining, dining, womanising were also used. They managed an exclusive pleasure resort for him in Bangalore and Delhi. Some dalit and OBC leaders are recalling one such previous plot: the role played by a pretty damsel, Miss Sumitra Desai, a Gujarati Brahmin girl employed as a decoy to hit a particular target through an innocent dalit minister, R. D. Kittur, in what about ten years ago became famous as the "Kittur incident" leading to the dismissal of the poor Minister. Many sensational things are expected to come to light if a proper investigation is made, one dalit leader said. Be that as it may, the country has lost an up and coming powerful leader in whom the persecuted minorities had some hope. The only monument that they can now build is by launching a powerful movement for the implementation of the Mandal report with the help of the dalits, Muslims and Christians. □

### DALIT WRITERS DEMAND AMBEDKAR VARSITY

Ahmednagar: The first All-India and sixth Maharashtra Dalit Sahitya Sammelan has demanded the immediate implementation of the State legislature's resolution on renaming Marathwada University after Ambedkar. The three-day sammelan, which ended here on June 6 after it had passed

17 resolutions, demanded that All India Radio and Doordarshan should at once stop, what it called, "theistic & superstitious propaganda". The media should instead be used for the growth of scientific knowledge. It called for the utilisation of the enormous funds lying with various religious institutions for economic emancipation of the people. It demanded that the word "Harijan" should not be used to denote the sections which embraced Buddhism. In another resolution, it appealed to the State Government to implement the thoughts enunciated by Dr. Ambedkar in his book, "States and Minority". The government should create a Chair in all universities in the State for the study of Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy, while the Centre should publish his thoughts in all Indian languages. □

### R. S. S. ATTACK ON CHRISTIANS IN KANYAKUMARI

*Tamil Nadu Citizens for  
Democracy Fact-Finding  
Team's Report on the  
March 2 police-firing.*

Contact G. Jagannathan,  
No. 4 Gandhi Museum Qrts.  
Madurai-625 020

(DV will carry a report of this in its next issue. Meanwhile, DV editorial team headed by R. Elumalai, convener of Dalit Cultural Front, Madras, has completed its visit to KK dt. This report is being prepared. Those interested may book the order)

## "SECRET" CHRISTAIN PLAN TO CONVERT 140 LAKH HINDUS

(Our correspondent)

*Bangalore :* The RSS official journal, *Organiser*, (June 20, 1982,) has come out with its usual anti-Christain story of a multi-million rupee US-financed scheme of the Catholic Christian church of India to convert 140 Hindus to Christianity. The story from its Cochin correspondent says the plan is prepared by the CMI (Charities of Mary Immaculate Mission). "The details of this massive conversion drive is from a secret document of the CMI Mission", having headquarters in Kerala with 127 centres. A professor in Dharmaram College, Bangalore, Prior-General Father Iyakkara", is the main man behind this mission." The conversion drive is to "cover 30 districts in 7 States" of India. "The Mission is spending crores of rupees for realising their design. Obviously the money for this anti-national activity is coming from North and South America." We do not know the truth behind this allegation. While conversion is permitted under the Constitution, we do not know how it can be called anti-national. Is not the RSS itself undertaking conversion? As per the report, CMI wants to construct schools, hospitals, children's homes, milk centres, orphanages, medical units, etc., to look after the poor, illiterate people. Is it the monopoly of only Hindu leaders to run hospitals and schools for the poor, sick? If so, how many they are running? Have the Christians no right to build these institutions? Are they not Indians? If they are Indians and if they have the right, how could building these institutions be branded as anti-national? The Christians are running educational institutions all over India and the best in every city belong to them. If the RSS says these institutions are anti-national why are they

allowing the Hindus to send their children to these? Why should Christians run hospitals and schools for Hindus who do not like them? In every city, it is mainly the Hindus who are enjoying the facilities of the Christian schools, colleges and hospitals. In Delhi, where top RSS leaders live, our survey reveals most of them send their children to only Christian institutions. Jayaprakash Narayan, a great supporter of RSS, got a new lease of life only in the Vellore Christian Hospital. RSS leader Vajpaye, one Christian doctor said, was treated in a Christian hospital for some undisclosed ailment. If anybody wants to save his life, he has to get admitted to only Christian hospitals. When some RSS leaders fell ill in jail during the Emergency they were taken to govt. hospitals but insisted they should be taken to Christian hospitals lest the govt. doctors may be instructed to do something to their lives. The *Organiser* report says that the CMI is getting funds from USA. But who is not getting funds from the USA? Did not RSS leader Nanaji Deshmukh announce at a press conference in USA the amount of money that he collected there for promoting his activities in India? Did not 20 MPs issue a statement saying that RSS is getting funds from USA? Did not the Govt of India publish a list of over 1,000 persons and institutions getting foreign funds? Does the list contain only Christians? Did

[Contd. on page 8 Col. 2]

## THREE ALTERNATIVES BEFORE DALITS

(Prakash Kamble, Poona)

*The Untouchables, the worst persecuted minority of India, are getting desperate. The Constitution has failed them, the govt.—controlled by the ruling class—has only harmed them, Marxists parties betrayed them. Hinduism has reduced them to sub-humans. So*

what else they can do except seek the only solution by embracing other religions? When Marxists cannot offer a political solution, when the constitutional reservations could not give them an economic solution, the only other solution left to them—religious solution—is taken by them through conversion. Dalits have before them only three alternatives: political, economic and religious. The political solution was through a revolution as it happened in Russia and China. But our Brahmin Marxist leadership prevented such a revolution and thereby the dalits were denied the political solution to their problems. The second choice was the economic solution through the implementation of constitutional reservations. Even if it was implemented 50%, the dalits would have made a big progress but the ruling class successfully defeated the constitutional reservations and cheated the dalits. Therefore, when the political solution was prevented and economic solution denied, they had only the third alternative—the religious solution, that is conversion, which is in their own hands and for which they need not wait for others. For political and economic solution they were at the mercy of Hindus. But regarding religious solution they need not wait for others & hence that became their natural choice. For all this we have to blame the Indian intellectual class. It is continuously missing the bus. But for how long? Congratulations for DV for awakening us. We are impatient.

□

### RSS defends killing of dalits to prevent conversions

Madras : State BJP President K. Narayan Rao briefing newsmen after the two-day State executive meet, said that had the clashes not occurred there was the certainty of mass conversions in Puliangudi like in Meenakshipuram. Asked to cite the basis for such an inference, he said Harijans, Christians and Muslims had begun fraternising organisationally since May. In the first week of May itself there had been a series of meetings by the Samuthuva Sahodrathuva Sangam and all the developments pointed to a conversion in Puliangudi and surrounding areas.

(Deccan Herald, June 29)

□

### Christians not Indians ?

New Delhi : Christians in Arunachal Pradesh are being denied their basic and fundamental right to practise their religion and they are being discriminated against by a highly hostile administration. With this assertion a group of 19 Arunachal Christian youth leaders have come to the capital to make the rest of the country aware of the "harassment and persecution" of about 20,000 Christians in this north-eastern union territory. Tadar Taniang leader of the group and also a Congress leader, told newsmen here that the treatment being meted out to Arunachal Christians raises a basic question : are they Indian citizens ?

(Indian Express, June 29)

□

## THE R.S.S. KISS OF DEATH

Delhi : Mrs Gandhi on June 23 warned the left parties against ganging up with the Baratiya Janata Party, which was only a variant of the RSS-dominated Jana Sangh, reports UNI. She reminded them of the cruel experience their counterparts faced in Adolf Hitler's Germany. Lured by the Fuhrer's talk of "national socialism", the left forces supported him but Hitler's solicitude only proved to be a kiss of death. Once his evil design was achieved, he mercilessly liquidated them.

### *'Revolution alone can save India'*

Bangalore : "Indian freedom struggle was not a revolution but a change of power from imperialists", said CPI leader Mohit Sen, here on June 25. "We have reached a point ; either a new India or no India." He stressed the need for a revolution which alone alone can save India. (*Deccan Herald*, June 26) □

## TRIBAL LEADER ATTACKS COMMUNISTS

Agartala : The publication of a booklet by the State CPI leader, Aghora Debbarma, on the 1980 communal riots involving the tribals & the Bengalis in Tripura has raked up a big controversy in communist circles here. Debbarma is one of the few tribals who in their youth had joined the communist movement at the close of the 40s & who, with their hard and devoted work had turned the tribal areas of Tripura into a stronghold of the undivided CPI. However, after the party split, the entire tribal base with the exception of Debbarma and some others joined the CPM. In his booklet titled, "Tripura Riot—Review", he

has dealt with the entire period of the communist movement in Tripura and has accused the CPI (undivided) of always following a line of "surrender" to Bengali chauvinism at the expense of tribal interests. Although both the CPM & the CPI have been accusing the TUJS (a militant tribal organisation) of conspiracy in the 1980 riot and also of moving with a secessionist bias, it is intriguing that Debbarma has described the TUJS as "a historical necessity". While thus giving a clean chit to the TUJS, Debbarma has alleged that the role of the CPM, which now rules the State, is not above suspicion in the riot. (*Times of India*, May 15-82) □

## India's Problem is Social

New Delhi : Union Home Minister Zail Singh, presiding over the meeting of the committee on communal and caste harmony of the National Integration Council, said it was not enough to say that the problem would be solved once economic disparities were overcome and degree of affluence was achieved. Social factors were also important.

(*Indian Express*, June 22) □

[Contd. from page 6]

### *Christian Pien*

not the list contain the name of Sanjay Gandhi, CPM, CPI, trade unions ? What is the amount of money that Hindu religious leaders are getting from aboard ? What is the money used for ? If the money is coming to India with the full knowledge of the govt, and the recipients are submitting annual accounts how could the RSS say that funds coming to Christians alone should be stopped ? All these questions need answers. □

## Letters to Editor :

Wanfred V. K., Munchen, W. Germany : We get DV. We find it very interesting to see India from your point but unfortunately most of the Europeans don't have this chance. So we want your permission to make a reprint of all the issues of the DV at the year-end to be mailed to all German universities and academic bodies.

Amarajit Singh, London : Dalits can't bring revolution in India on their own. They will be mercilessly crushed. The poor among the Hindus also can't do this either without the dalit support. Therefore, dalits, Muslims, Christians, Naxalites should join hands. Marxism, tried and tested, is scientific, rational, militant. Hence Marxism must be suitably modified to suit Indian conditions. Dogmatic thinking won't do. Mao adopted Marxism to suit China's needs. India's CPI & CPM must be exposed if they become enemies of the dalits. Any pro-dalit trend in these parties must be encouraged. No hero worship of anybody. We have to study rationally and not emotionally. Intellectuals among dalits must work for a correct strategy to destroy caste. The people of China, Zimbabwe, Africa have shown the way. We must learn from them. The time is short. In one decade the events in India will overtake most people and in the anarchy that follows, the correct line will triumph. Get ready for that day.

Raju Thomas, Madras : I was very much inspired in your sharing on RSS attack on minorities. It was really a great privilege to read DV.

J. Khanna, Baroda : I have been reading DV for quite some time. It makes us think. It clarifies important issues and

above all it generates anger in us. Let us hope that one day our rightful anger will bring about revolution in India.

P. K. Rajan, Trichy : In your editorial on Mandal Commission report you ask OBCs to seek the support of dalits. It is true that we have to support the OBC struggle. In the past *shudras* organised themselves against the Brahmin domination & secured reservations. Then the *shudras* had secured the support of Untouchables also in their anti-Brahmin fight. But what is the position now? *Shudras* occupied the places of Brahmins and started oppressing us. Killing, firing, raping & insults of dalits have become a daily feature in TN. Who are responsible for this? It is these *shudras*. But the Dravidian movement is not even criticising the atrocities on dalits, far from supporting our struggle. These non-Brahmin leaders are not prepared to accept Dr. Ambedkar as one of their leaders although he fought against *Brahminism*, caste, Manu Dharma, Sacred Scriptures, Gandhi. They don't accept Ambedkar because he was an Untouchable. We are not opposed to Mandal report. Rather we are prepared to support their struggle. But where is the guarantee that after they win the battle, they will not turn against us as it happened in TN? Unless *shudras* destroy *Brahminism*, they can't integrate with us. Are the *shudra* organisations like Dravida Khazagam ready to boycott *shudras* who attack dalits? In our *Urmasi* journal we are translating DV articles. We have our fullest support to DV.

M. Selvaraj, gen. secy, HAL SC/ST Emp. Assn., Bangalore : Your book, *Who is Ruling India?* is a fine analysis with no exaggeration. My heartiest con-

gratulations. It has many valuable points.

T. H. P. Chentharassery, Trivandrum : I am the author of seven books in Malayalam on Kerala history. Also written novels and biographies of dalit leaders. I was so much benefitted by reading DV.

Dr. Vinod Paramar, Bombay: The Israeli consul here says (*Sunday Observer*, June 27) that barring Muslims, the entire Hindu population including some in the Cong. I party and also the Govt. have their sympathy with his country in its current war against the PLO. The Brahminical ethos as propogated by RSS has been always pro-Jew. I am also an admirer of Israel for transforming a desert into a blooming, smiling land of milk and honey. The Jewish "merit and efficiency" has given its evidence. But can we say the same about the "Jews of India" who have transformed a blooming, smiling India into desert? The Jews have converted Israel within 34 years into a mighty Power but the "Jews of India" have converted India into what you rightly said "from Sick man of Asia into the sickest man of the world — a beggar nation".

Syed Majidur Rohman, Dibrugarh, Assam: I like DV very much. It throws light on the darker side of Indian society and why dalits are tortured by the high-born Hindus. I came to know these only after I started reading DV.

Prof. Abdul Qasem, Calcutta : DV is catching up fast here with its revolutionary ideas to unite dalits, Muslims, tribes, Christians etc., against the onslaughts of the oppressors, the hegemony of *Brahminism*. We must expose the Ruling Class & how it is sucking the blood of Untouchables.

Anadicharan Mallik, adviser, SC/ST Emp. Welfare Assn. Bhubaneswar : The

Orissa govt. is only publicising about job reservations for dalits but in practice nothing is done. But injustice and ill-treatment of dalits has reached the climax. Orissa is the second largest State in India with more than 40% of its population being SC/STs. Hence reservation is 40% but achievements less than 5%.

K. R. Rajan, IAS, Jt. Secretary, Ind. Dept. Kerala Govt, Trivandrum : Wish you all success in your mission of serving dalits.

Mirza Ansar Baig, Hyderabad : RSS is atleast honest in repudiating "secularism" and working against it because it does not believe in it. But there are others who infiltrate "secular parties" with a view to wrecking it from within. To this band belong Arya Samajists who in the garb of Cong I cry wolf when Muslim flags fly atop Muslim private houses here. We have here one senior Congress leader who when he was a minister performed opening ceremonies and laid foundation stones of govt. b'dgs. only on the condition that there was *vedic* ritual. Many other ministers both in States and Central Govt. are doing the same openly. Is this not violation of secularism? Govt offices are full of portraits of Hindu gods. The ruling majority seems to think that it can do no wrong. If the minorities demand something for their protection, it is immediately branded as communalism, but what it does goes as secularism. How can there be "national integration" at this rate? Should we not punish these communal elements in "secular" parties?

Janardhan Patil, gen. sec., Maharashtra OBC Organisation, Bombay: Your editorial on the Mandal report was thought-provoking, gave us clear direction. We need your guidance. □

editorial (Contd. from page 2)

the languages in this Tower of Babel that is India, is careful enough to send its children only to English convents because it knows the usefulness of English. Indian languages for the poor and English reserved for the rulers. What a beautiful game! RSS leaders preach Hindi but send their children to English schools. How do you like this? We have to see through this game of the Ruling Class and educate our comrades not to fight on a non-issue like language. Dalits and minorities whatever language they speak, belong to one fraternity, their interests are common, their enemy is common &, therefore, they must stand & fight together. (3) Political parties are fast becoming tools of the Ruling Class to divide only the poor: dalits and minorities. We can understand if these parties are formed on ideological principles. Rightist parties like Indira Gandhi's ruling Cong. I, Janata, Lok Dal, Cong. S etc. have hardly any differences on fundamental issues like keeping the Untouchables and tribals as they are. It is a personality quarrel that gave birth to different parties. The Fascist party BJP, the political arm of RSS, is the only party in India having a clearcut ideology to establish a class-caste dictatorship by subduing Untouchables and tribals, fooling OBCs, killing Muslims, Christians, Sikhs & Marxists. Less said the better about our Left parties. Not only between them there is no ideological difference, but it is in full agreement with bourgeois parties on caste, language, persecution of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs etc. Dalits are forming their own trade unions because Left parties did not bother about them. Barring Jagjivan Ram's, every party is led by high caste Hindus and it is but natural that on social issues they all think alike.

They have learnt nothing forgotten nothing. As political parties are essential part of a democracy and parties are formed to contest elections and capture power, naturally they will have to give lot of false promises to the poor and make compromises on principle. But the poor, illiterate masses believe these promises and get divided into different parties & fight only between themselves. They have to be told that in India political changes will not lead to social change. And what they need is not political change, not even economic change but social change. Even after several elections and different parties coming to power at the Centre & States, the poor continue to be poor but the rich are getting richer. High caste grip is tightened. What is the use of our taking interest in these political parties? What hope can we have in elections? What we want is social change. And when it does not come through political parties and elections, better not take interest in them. Yes. We know we are not in a position to abolish these parties. They will only wither away if we keep out. It is a waste of time, energy & money to take interest in these things. Political parties will, therefore, become increasingly irrelevant when the dalits & minorities start opening their eyes. The day is not too far. What we need is a party of the poor: dalits and persecuted minorities — not to contest elections and indulge in wasteful parliamentary politics but to bring about *REVOLUTION* that will result in sweeping social change. *TRADE UNIONS* — tails of every political party — are also playing this game of divide and rule. Dalits are used by these union leaders to carry flags, shout slogans, paste wall posters, distribute pamphlets, and receive

## HOW RULING CLASS DIVIDES DALITS

lathi blows, face police bullets, go to jail and attack fellow workers. But the leadership is never given to them. Their job is to do and die, not to question where & why. Look at the role played by Dr. Datta Samant, the latest trade union imperialist of Bombay, who is responsible for the closure of Bombay's textile mills for the past six months throwing out of jobs 3 lakh workers. What a disaster! Most of these poor millhands are Marathi dalits amid whom Dr. B. R. Ambedkar lived & worked. But Ambedkar, who led the country's first textile strike, did not believe in this sort of trade unionism. Is this Marxism? Our Bombay representative reports that this city's longest strike has mainly affected the dalits many of whom have started migrating to villages, their unmarried daughters turning to prostitution, boys taking to thugery. Trade union leadership being in the hands of high castes, they hardly evince any interest in the specialised problems of dalits such as reservations etc. Not only the unions do not take up the cause of dalits but many a time they have joined hands with management in persecuting dalits and minorities. In Beharsharif, CPI workers themselves killed their Muslim co-beedi workers. (*Economic & Political Weekly*, May 16, 1981). In many factories and establishments dalits and minorities have formed their own unions. During the Gujarat caste war Hindu millhands belonging to INTUC attacked their dalit co-workers inside the mills. INTUC got split on caste lines. Da it Parthars alone stood by dalit workers. The birth of SSS as against RSS in Tamil Nadu has conclusively proved the futility of political parties and its trade unions. This was admitted by

a CPI leader (DV no. 18). Trade unions are being used by the high caste-controlled Left leadership to divide workers instead of uniting them. Therefore, let us not take interest in these unions but form our own organisations. Let us not become tools in the hands of this trade union Big Business. FILMS being the most powerful mass media in this country of illiterates, the Ruling Class has started using this against the poor by instilling in them false and even dangerous values. Many big film heroes have, therefore, started joining politics because like films, politics is also fast becoming a business. Hindu religious leaders have blessed these film heroes joining politics. Film journals are there in dozens. AIR and TV are hardy. Therefore, there is an all-round conspiracy. Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran in TN, N. T. Rama Rao forming Telugu Desam in Andhra, Rajkumar jumping into language agitation in Karnataka are the indications of the shape of the things to come. Since it is the votes of the poor that will decide the fate of any election, these film heroes with millions of fans, backed by millions of rupees can easily become political leaders. Who bothers about ideology? What the RSS, Big Business and Hindu religious leaders want is fascism. And they are using political parties, language, trade unions & films to go nearer this ideal. And they have achieved big success. Therefore we call upon dalits, persecuted minorities and OBCs to seriously ponder over this danger, educate their fellow comrades and keep out of this five-point divide-and-rule game played by the Indian Ruling Class. □

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