

# DALIT VOICE

*[The Voice of the Persecuted Minorities]*

Adviser : Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

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## Mandal Commission Report

### ARE THE O.B.Cs. READY TO DIE FOR IT?

Twelve p.c. of Hindu upper castes are enjoying 88% of the benefits of India's progress and 88% of the low castes are grudgingly given only 18% of the share, says Government of India's Mandal Commission Report beautifully summing up the country's fast-deteriorating socio-economic situation. The report of the second Backward Classes Commission, headed by B. P. Mandal, who died recently, was placed before Parliament on April 30, 1982 after 16 months of delaying tactics by the Government which had received the report on Dec. 31, 1980. Janata Party Govt. appointed the Commission but the report was submitted to the Congress Govt. of Prime Minister Indra Gandhi who had given ample indication that she was not in favour of the report. Already L.R. Naik, a member of the Mandal Commission, had admitted "that he saw no hope for the report being implemented. The political will is lacking in the present setup", he said in an interview to "The Daily" (May 5, 1982). B.P. Mandal himself had in a talk with us predicted that his report also would meet the fate of the Kaka Kalelka Commission Report on Backward Classes (1953) unless the OBCs were ready for a bloody street battle. In this very column we had twice (-DV- Sept. 1981 & DV. No. 5 Dec. 16-31, 1981) expressed the same fear and subsequent events have proved that we are right. It is now a month since the Mandal report became public but we are sorry to note the total absence of any follow-up action by the OBC leaders. Barring the Dravida Kazhagam of Tamil Nadu, which alone has been making all the noise, nobody else is interested in this report. V. Anaimuthu of the Periyar Equal Rights Movement of Trichy, TN, was to a great extent responsible for placing the report in Parliament. But Charan Singh, Devaraj Urs, Karunanidhi, considered to be backward class leaders, have not made any statement so far. No political party has passed any resolution on the Mandal report. The Marxists, both CPI & CPM, have been from the every beginning opposed to reservations to OBCs- or any reservations for that matter. On the other hand, we have any number of reactions criticising the Mandal Report. That means the high

castes of India and their organs, the "national press", are alert while the very beneficiaries are peacefully sleeping. Slaves are enjoying their slavery. We have gone through the Mandal Report and found it good. Even experts on OBC problem have appreciated the report. How 52% of the OBCs could be satisfied with a mere 27% of the reservations? That is not the point here. Mandal Commission has made best of the bad bargain. Since the main recommendations of the Commission had come in the Press there is no need to mention it here. However, the following main points need repetition:

- (1) 27% of reservations in jobs in all Central and State Govts., public & private sectors (both in recruitment & promotion) & admission to educational institutions.
- (2) The criterion fixed for measuring backwardness is "caste" & not income or poverty, 78% of the respondents have recommended caste criterion.
- (3) The total of OBCs are 3,743;
- (4) Reservations are recommended even in private sector and those factories & offices receiving govt. aid.
- (5) The OBCs constitute 52% of the Indian population (including Muslims and Christians) but the reservations to them is fixed at almost half of this at 27% in view of the Supreme Court ruling that reservations cannot exceed 50%. As SC & STs are given 22.5% of reservations, the OBCs must be content with a mere 27% reservation.
- (6) OBC candidates appearing in merit quota (the unreserved 50% called "merit pool") should not be adjusted against 27% reserved quota.
- (7) The poor people of India belong to low castes and hence "caste" is "class" in Hindu India. The recommendations are fairly good & made with a

practical viewpoint so that they are not set aside by our conservative, high-caste-controlled court. But can the country be ruled by the court? If the court had fixed a limit of 50% it can be asked by the people, who are above the court, to revise its opinion. It is not the people who are made for the courts but vice versa. When the Commission restricted the reservations to 27% to a set of people who actually form 52% population, it is asking the people to live for the sake of courts. If as the Supreme Court says reservations exceeding 50% will violate the provisions of Articles 15 (4) & 16 (4) of the Constitution, then the Constitution can be amended. The Constitution is made by the people & for the people. We can understand the opposition from India's court & the press which as per their caste and class composition [have to be anti-poor, but what makes us very suspicious is the dubious stand taken by the Prime Minister and her Govt. Not only Govt. went on dodging Parliament but gave ample indication of its hostility when it referred the report to the States for their opinion. The Mandal Commission was appointed by Govt. of India and not by the State Govts. Why should it consult the States? Does it not mean it is trying to delay and thus kill the report? Justice delayed is justice denied. We very well understand the Govt. predicament. Karpoori Thakur had to face violent opposition from the Govt. servants themselves against his job reservation scheme for OBCs in Bihar. Only about 5% of the Indian population is employed in public services. Since Govt. services command influence and respect, it is but natural that the traditionally

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## NOT CLASS BUT CASTE STRUGGLE WILL LIBERATE DALITS

( D. David, Vellore, TN )

I had the opportunity to meet some dalit action groups. They are organising the dalits on class basis for their liberation. I appreciate the activists zeal and their involvement in liberating the dalits. But the point is whether organising the dalits on class basis will really liberate them from their oppression. What kind of oppression the dalits are suffering in the present Indian social structure? What kind of struggle, whether caste or class struggle, is to be adopted for their liberation? Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Jagjivan Ram, the two topmost leaders of dalits, will be my feedback to tell about the actual oppression of the dalits and the method of struggle to be adopted for their liberation. These two leaders, though politically different in ideologies, commonly aimed at liberating dalits. "As caste pervades the entire gamut of Indian society, caste is the be-all and end-all of our society. It guides the destiny of an Indian right from womb to tomb and from cradle to grave and even beyond", says A. E. Pundit. Activists will now realise the kind of oppression the dalits are suffering. If so, what kind of struggle is necessary to liberate them? Once again I seek Dr. Ambedkar and Jagjivan Ram to answer this question. "The salvation of Untouchables", says Dr. Ambedkar, "will come only when the caste Indian is made to think and is forced to feel that he must alter his ways. I want a revolution in mentality of the caste Indian. For that, you must create a crisis by direct action against the customary code of conduct of the caste Indian. The crisis will compel the caste Indian to think and once he begins to think he will be

more ready to change than he is otherwise likely to be". Again, he says: "The assurance of a socialist leading the revolution that he does not believe in caste, I am sure, will not suffice. The assurance must be the assurance proceeding from much deeper foundation, namely the mental attitude of the compatriots towards one another in their spirit of personal equality and fraternity. That the social order prevalent in India is a matter which a socialist must deal with, that unless he does so, he cannot achieve his revolution, and that if he does achieve it as a result of good fortune he will have to grapple with it if he wishes to realise his ideal, is a proposition which in my opinion, is incontrovertible. He will be compelled to take account of caste after revolution if he does not take account of it before revolution". He categorically stated that "it is the love of religion that made Gandhi to talk of conversion of heart. But it is love of my people that compelled me to speak for the annihilation of caste". Jagjivan Ram said: "Caste is the most extreme form of institutionalised exploitation. An attack on this must be among the core programmes for bringing about rapid social change. What we need is a mass movement to remove the last vestiges of caste mentality from our people and create a spirit of partnership between a man and man". Abedkar said: "It is held by some that

the social problem apart from the problem of Untouchables is economic. If the economic problem is rightly tackled the rest need not matter. That is, in my view a very superficial view. I have always held that our approach must be integrated and while the economic and political must receive adequate attention, the social may be ignored only at peril to both". The activist by now might have felt that it is caste struggle, rather class struggle, that liberates the dalits in this connection.

Dr. Lohia said : "All those who think that with the removal of poverty through modern economy the caste segregation will automatically disappear make a big mistake. All war on poverty is a sham unless it is at the same time a conscious and sustained war on caste". The report of A. V. Seemil on the Marthwada riots is another warning for those working for the liberation of dalits. Caste is one of the most important aspects of Indian society. It represents a specific form of oppression at the level of relations of production. To say that they are only class issues, not caste, is totally absurd. The activists may find two main obstacles to organise dalits on caste basis and to start caste struggle (a) The first obstacle is political reservation. This divides the dalits and make them join several political parties. The dalits owe their allegiance to party leaders but not to their own community. Dalits get divided and become political bonded labourers to their party leaders. (b) The second obstacle is the grant of social educational and economic concessions, aids grants etc to the dalits on the basis of caste and religion. Prior to 1950, the dalits were given concessions, aids, grants on

the ground of untouchability. But after the passing of the Presidential (Ordinance) Scheduled Castes Order, 1950, the concessions, aids and grants were given only to those dalits who profess Hinduism and Sikhism and those professing Buddhism, Christianity were not given concessions. Thus a disunity is created by the Govt. between dalits professing Hinduism and dalits professing Buddhism, Christianity by adopting the famous "divide and rule" policy. The division of dalits on political reservations and social, educational and economic concessions, aids and grants, on caste basis prevented them from coming together to fight for the abolition of caste. The activists who want to liberate dalits through caste struggle should first educate them saying that the present reservation, both political and social and educational, based on caste confirms and legalises the caste structure. Existence of caste structure promotes caste atrocities and that the reservation is the greatest impediment to fight for legitimate rights. They should be told that their legitimate rights are not a benevolent gift bestowed on them by Govt., but a birth right to be obtained by struggle. It should be also pointed out to them that inspite of percentage reservations and concessions the majority of them are still living below poverty line as rural and landless agricultural labourers. Such an intensive conscientising the dalits is a prerequisite for starting caste struggle. The activist must change his approach and methodology while talking about liberation. If the activist fails to change his way he will confirm the statement of Dr. Ambedkar : "You can get thousands of youths to join political

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## CRUCIFIXION OF A JOURNALIST

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore : The Industrial Tribunal, Karnataka, has held the dismissal of V. T. Rajshekar from the *Indian Express* as invalid in a judgment delivered here on Jan. 25, 1982. V. H. Upadhyaya, presiding officer of the Tribunal, in his verdict said that the *Indian Express* application for approval of the dismissal was dismissed with cost. V. T. Rajshekar, deputy chief reporter of the *Indian Express*, was charge-sheeted on Jan. 23, 1979 for the alleged "misconduct in subscribing articles to rival periodicals against the express prohibition and thus engaged himself outside office work". In the domestic inquiry that followed, the enquiry officer upheld the charge and he was dismissed on April 26, 1979, by Bhagwandas Goenka, managing director. The Tribunal in its order said that the "standing order" of the *Indian Express* does not provide for a misconduct of the nature alleged. Further, V. T. Rajshekar had immediately replied stating that he had prior written permission of the editor-in-chief given in Sept. 1972 to contribute articles to other journals. This documentary evidence was never considered by the management. Instead, the manager of the company hurried to issue an office memo and institute an enquiry which was not a validly constituted enquiry. Even as Kuldip Nayar and the editor-in-chief Mulgao- kar were seized of the matter, he was dismissed. The tribunal said enquiry officer himself seems to have "acted in a biased mind" and "appears to have gone a long way to help the management". This was obvious from the fact that he did not allow the written permission of the editor-in-chief as evidence. But, strangely enough, in his findings he has stated that it is not acceptable and the original should have been produced. Moreover, the editor-in-chief, who has given the permission to V. T. Rajshekar, was never examined. The Tribunal felt that if V. T. Rajshekar had known about the office rule not to write articles to other journals but did not have the written permission he would not have written articles in his own name printed well below the title of his articles. It is also obvious that he was not getting any regular remuneration for contributing articles and hence did not violate the norms laid down in the appointment order. Further, the magazines (*Caravan, Onlooker* etc.) to which he was contributing were never the rivals of the *Indian Express* which was a daily. In his evidence V. T. Rajshekar had mentioned names of colleagues who were also contributing to other newspapers including dailies and the (then) Chief Reporter out of personal dislike and professional jealousy had fabricated a case against him. The chief reporter had written a letter to the (then) news editor to "build up a case" against V. T. Rajshekar. In such a situation, it was surprising that the management never called the chief reporter as a witness. The inquiry officer played into the hands of the chief reporter and the manager, Tribunal said. "Looking at the manner in which the enquiry was conducted and the evidence adduced before the inquiry officer and also the findings given by him, I have no hesitation in

concluding that the enquiry officer was fully biased and the findings are perverse and not based on proper appreciation of evidence. Under such circumstances, I have to conclude that the decision for dismissal of the opponent (V. T. Rajshekar) taken by the Managing Director is wrong", the Tribunal said passing severe strictures on the inquiry officer, manager of the Indian Express & the Indian Express management as a whole. The Indian Express management has since gone in, a writ appeal to the Karnataka High Court. Following the dismissal The Karnataka Dalit Action Committee, Bangalore, and many other journalist, dalit, minority, backward class, rationalist, human rights organisations in different parts of India had issued statements saying V. T. Rajshekar was made the victim of communal prejudice. His dismissal became an all-India news and dalits and minorities of Bangalore took out a protest demonstration before the Express building. Justice V. M. TarKunde, a former judge of the Bombay High Court, after going through the domestic inquiry report said the dismissal was illegal. M. C. Narsimhan, Advocate and a noted CPI trade union leader of Bangalore, appeared for V. T. Rajshekar free of charge

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propaganda, but you cannot get one single youth to take up the cause of liberating the scheduled castes from caste system or of removal of untouchability" and any attempt to organise them on class basis will be a day dream. He also said: "Men will not join in a revolution for the equalisation of property unless they know that after the revolution is achieved they will be treated equally and that there will be no discrimination of caste and creed". Books referred: *Annihilation of Caste* by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar; *Caste Challenge in India* - Jagjivan Ram.

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## MANDAL COMMISSION EXPOSES HAVOC PLAYED BY HINDUISM ON LOW CASTES

New Delhi : The Mandal Commission has warned against any facile assumption that the caste system was on its way out, reports UNI. It had gained a new lease of life by becoming a major factor in the electoral process. It admits that caste restrictions have loosened considerably as a result of the rule of law introduced by the British and, after Independence, by other factors like urbanization, industrialization, spread of education and introduction of adult franchise. But all these, only marked a shift of emphasis and not any material alteration in basic structure of the system. The increasing importance of casteism in Indian politics is inevitable since this system provides the political leadership with readymade channels of communication & even mobilization. In times to come the importance of caste in Indian politics will increase rather than diminish. It quotes with approval the observation of the well-known social scientist Rajani Kothari that "those in India who complain of casteism in politics, are really looking for a sort of politics which has no basis in society". It says : "The pace of social mobility is no doubt increasing and some traditional features of the caste system have inevitably weakened. But what caste has lost on the ritual front, it has more than gained on the political front. In view of this, it will be unrealistic to assume that the institution of caste will wither away in the foreseeable future". The extension of caste's operational field from the village to the State or all-India level may give the impression that at long last, the caste system is losing its traditional divisive role and hopefully, "we are moving towards the goal of national integration".

But nothing could be farther from the truth, it says & observes that to a large extent, caste hierarchy also reflected a corresponding economic backwardness of the affected sections in Indian society. "If religion was ever used as an opium of the masses, it was done in India. A small priest class by a suitable process of conditioning the thinking of the vast majority of the people, hypnotized them for ages into accepting a role of servility with humility". As labourers, cultivators & craftsmen, "shudras" were the main producers of the social surplus. "While their social labour was the lifeblood of India's great civilization, yet, they were treated as out-castes. They had no right to private property, carried the main burden of taxes & the heaviest punishments for even minor infringements". As caste conditioned & controlled every aspect of an individual's life, says the Commission, it led to a situation, where lower castes were backward, not only socially, but also educationally, economically & politically. But the higher castes advanced in all directions. (*The Statesman*, May 5, 1982) □

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## CHRISTIANITY UNDER ATTACK IN HINDU INDIA

Bombay : Over 50,000 Christians in Bombay on May 6 took part in a "solidarity march", the first of a series of protests against the denial of entry to Christian ministers in Arunachal Pradesh, failure of the Government to protect Christians and their property in Kanyakumari and the denial of permanent affiliation and recognition to St. John's Medical College at Bangalore by the Bangalore University. The march, organised by the Society for Protection of Fundamental Rights, Bombay, and the St. John's Medical College Parents' Association, is said to be one of the biggest taken out by the Christian community in recent years. The processionist wore black bands and carried placards inscribed with their demands. The demands also include ban on communal organisations indulging in fanatic and violent activities, protection from atrocities and damage to their lives and property and repeal of the Arunachal Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act and similar Acts in other States. The processionists on their way from the Azad Maidan to the Cross Maidan sang prayers & raised slogans. In a press release the organisers have alleged that Christians in Arunachal Pradesh are deprived of the right to practice and propagate their faith and are even denied a Christian burial. "Strangely, though India is secular, Christianity and Islam are discriminated against in the State as being foreign religions". In Kanyakumari simple Christian fishermen were shot dead, their houses destroyed, nuns molested and many Christian churches damaged. As regards St. John's Medical College though the minorities have a fundamental

right to establish and administer their own institutions, the college, one of the foremost colleges in India, is being denied permanent affiliation and recognition by the Bangalore University.

*(Deccan Herald, May-7)*

Addressing the rally George Menezes said that the Christians were "unable to attend mass and other religious services and were also denied burial rites as there were no priests to perform them". He blamed "communal fanatics" in the Bangalore University senate for denying minority status to St. John's Medical College. Referring to the killings in Kanyakumari, he said investigations had indicated that "outside elements" had entered that region to sow seeds of discord among Hindus and Christians. H Suresh, a retired judge, explained the constitutional provisions of Articles 14, 19, 25 and 30 and said right-thinking Indians should sympathise with the minorities in their demands. Among the other speakers were Maulana Abbas Rizvi, Philips Almeida, Dr. Simon Fernandes, Ex-mayor of Bombay, Stanley D'Souza and a Shiv Sena leader. A delegation comprising Mamen Babu, secretary of the society, Willie Fernandes, Maj - Gen. Eustace D'Souza, Tony Rodrigues and Frank Miranda called on the Governor and presented a memorandum addressed to the Prime Minister.

*(Times of India, May-7)*

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## R. S. S. RENEWS CHRISTIAN-BAITING

On Nov. 21-24, 1981, the North-East India Council of Churches held a secret seminar in Shillong on Evangelization i.e. conversion. Rev. K. Yme Aier, in his paper, said that for conversions, "the fullness of time is now."

He said it would be "disastrous" if they let go this opportunity. The opportunity was great, he said, because N. E. India had now been splintered into seven states, against the original three. Another plus factor was the "foreigners" issue, which could be used by other states also. Last and most important: "There are about 26 million peoples, of which Christians form hardly 12%. In general Christians are a minority. But at the top decision-making level, Christians form a majority. Four of the seven Chief Ministers are Christians and likewise of the Chief Secretaries of the States, four are Christians and 3 non-Christians. Our Christian ministers can influence their counterparts at the decision-making table for this region. Though dominated by an overwhelming non-Christian population, Christians can exert tremendous amount of influence in the region and thereby make the task of mission and Evangelism have all the more less resistance."

(*R.S.S. Journal, Organiser, May 9*) □

### St. John's gets affiliation

Bangalore: The Bangalore University has given affiliation to St. John's Medical College for the academic year 1982-83 and 1983-84, according to college authorities. There was controversy over the affiliation of the college, with the Bangalore University contending that it had not fulfilled all conditions. Dr. G.M. Magcarenhas has been appointed Dean of the college. He succeeds Dr. C.M Francis.

(*Deccan Herald, May 10*) □

### T.N. Govt. Criticises Christians

Madras: Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. G. Ramachandran on May 12 accused many Christian missionary organisations of still carrying on hostile propaganda against Hindus in Kanyakumari which was the scene of a vicious communal carnage in March last. He told newsmen here that he had received reports to this effect and had called for fuller details from the district authorities. He did not state what the Government proposed to do about it. He had been informed, he said, that these missionary organisations were trying to convert the weaker sections to Christianity. He said this in reply to a query about continued religious propaganda, when he had called for a halt to it for at least six months till communal passions cooled. He said he had also received personal complaints and representations and would have these looked into by the district authorities. There was a Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Board for Hindu institutions and a Wakf Board for the Muslims. He would meet Christian leaders to discuss the need for a similar one for Christian institutions.

(*Deccan Herald, May-13*) □

### Sai Baba blesses scientists

Bombay: Satya Sai Baba, on May 14 visited the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre at Trombay and spent about 90 minutes with senior scientists. He offered them facilities to hold their next annual conference at Prashanti Nilayam, Puttaparthi, headquarters of Sai University in Andhra Pradesh. (*Times of India, May 15*)

## Letters to Editor :

Dr. Rajni Kothari, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi : I am very pleased to see DV. Also read your work, *Who Is Ruling India?* and look forward to receive further issues of DV. Do keep us informed of your work especially in the field of dalit struggle for a just social order.

George Ninan, Christian Conference of Asia, Urban-Rural Mission, Hong Kong : We appreciate DV and share your concern with regard to extreme rightist militancy.

Durai Anbalagan, Dalit Panthers, Dharevi, Bombay : We appreciate your struggle to educate dalits through DV. Prof. Thangaraj and Panther Malniswamy from Madurai participated in Ambedkar jayanti here. They are helping us to establish Panther units in TN. Congratulations for starting a Tamil edition of DV from Madras. We are shocked at RSS-BJP celebrating Ambedkar jayanti.

Gopal Rao, Amalapuram, AP : DV no. 13 article, "Gujarat dalits show the way" is a great lesson for us. We welcome the non-political meet of dalits, minorities, Sikhs. Congratulations to Yusuf Patel & Rameshchandra Parmar in the name of "Unity of Hindus." RSS is collecting funds to launch attack on dalits and minorities. You have rightly warned us against RSS sudden love for Ambedkar.

N. A. Sulaiman, Kasargod, Kerala : Glad to note DV is getting popular all over India and abroad.

A. Zafarulla Rahmani, Madurai : DV is the only journal for dalits and minorities in the whole of India. Enclosed an invitation for the wedding of a dalit convert to Islam with a born Muslim girl at Kandai,

near here. In this area many converted Muslims are marrying born Muslim girls. Muslims are embracing dalit converts who are very happy in Islam.

H. G. Shabestari, Dhanbad, Bihar : I have secured a job in Iran but I want to get DV to keep in touch with the real problems of Indians highlighted through it.

O. M. Rao, editor, *Baptist Leader*, Jorhat, Assam : DV has a clearcut aim to fight for the weaker sections of India. I am regularly using DV articles in our magazine. In the coming issue will appear your editorial, "Christians and RSS Fascists" (DV no. 11). Here those from the hills face similar problems.

Shiva Manchaiah, Mysore : I came across DV and was very much attracted by its writings. Hence want to be a subscriber.

Ashamella, Trombay, Bombay : Your editorial, "Thoughts on Ambedkar Jayanti" (DV no. 13) was read with great interest by we dalits here. We were shocked to read in it that Ambedkar statue was attacked and Ambedkar books burnt by RSS boys.

K. Vijaya Raju, Gampalagudem, AP : Dalit movement in AP is in the hands of Congress party mostly. I don't find a single dedicated Ambedkarite in this State. Some dalits blindly love Marxism. They make use of these organisations for their welfare. We want to translate your books into Telugu. But we have no funds.

Mrs. Yumi Tsuji, Tokyo, Japan : We are trying to publish your books here. Japanese have only a superficial knowledge of India. They know Gandhi and Nehru but not Ambedkar and Periyar. □

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advanced higher castes, who are also the people to get early education, monopolised it. The SC, ST, OBCs and minorities being poor and hence illiterate naturally were left behind in this competition for scarce posts. Since India has not developed economically and the higher castes who own its wealth have not cared to help its development, the proportion of jobs in public services have also remained more or less static. India's growth rate itself is nil. But the aspirations of the weaker sections have started rising because of the little education they get & the awareness of the injustice they are suffering from at the hands of the ruling class. When the contradictions get sharpened, conflict is inevitable. The upper castes do not want to give up what they are enjoying for centuries. And they have appropriately manufactured the "merit theory" to retain their privileges. Those who have read Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer's final judgment on reservations will get ample hint of the high caste game of divide and rule. The *Statesman* (May 7, 1982) editorial asking Indira Gandhi to throw the Mandal Report to waste paper basket just as her father did with the Kaka Kalelkar report is an echo of Iyer's judgment. When there is so much of opposition to SC/ST reservations will the high castes extend it to OBCs? Never. This led to violent conflicts in Bihar, Gujarat and UP. Since "caste" is "class" in Hindu India, caste war is the inevitable outcome of such a situation. The Marxian concept of "class struggle" will take the shape of caste war. When that is the situation any move to implement the Mandal Report will let loose a bloody war.

The upper castes who monopolise public services can simply paralyse the working of the Govt. & the RSS has threatened that even officers of the Defence Services may join in such a war. Ministers both Central and State may really like to implement the Mandal report but in the face of the fury of the over-pampered Govt. servants they will be helpless. There will be widespread violence & even the life of Ministers and MPs may be threatened. Every Govt. office & factory will turn into a battlefield & we are predicting these on basis of what has already happened in Gujarat, Bihar, UP etc. RSS is making massive preparations for such a war. That is why we have repeatedly said Mandal Report will be thrown to the wastepaper basket. The Govt. may do this but can the ruling class stop the rising aspirations of the OBCs? That is why conflict is inevitable and unavoidable. If it does not come tomorrow, it will come day after tomorrow. It is a question of time. Whether we like it or not, war will be there on the issue of reservations to OBCs and Untouchables. RSS has repeatedly said the issue has to be settled on the streets. The ruling class can only delay but cannot avoid the war. More the delay bloodier it will be. The Indian road to socialism will be bloodier than that of USSR or China because in India we have not only the "classes" but the more deadly "castes". The ruling class will do everything to rule. But here we are speaking for the persecuted minorities, the 3743 OBC castes listed by Mandal. The leadership of these castes will have to educate their people on the Mandal report, bring out small pamphlets on that, hold conferences, pass

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## R. S. S. CELEBRATES AMBEDKAR JAYANTI, WOOS DALITS

Bombay: The Bharatiya Janata Party's community dinners and other programmes to forge closer links with the dalits marked the Ambedkar Jayanti celebration here. At the main function in South Bombay, K. S. Hegde, Vice-President of B. J. P. pledged his party's unequivocal and dedicated support to all efforts to translate into reality Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's dream of a new social order, cured of the cancer of untouchability and casteism. The new B.J.P. Mayor, Dr.

Prabhakar Pai, assured that a statue of Dr. Ambedkar would be erected on the Chaitya-Bhoomi (the cremation ground near Shivaji Park where Babasaheb was cremated) before December 6, 1982, the leader's death anniversary'. Addressing a meeting at suburban Goregaon, Dattaji Shinde, Chief of BJP's Dalit Cell, said it was improper to oppose reservations and other facilities to the Harijans.   
(Organiser, May-9)

### Mandal Report—Cont. from Pag 11]

resolutions, take out processions, & never trust politicians. Go on shouting. No vote until Mandal report is implemented. This is called the process of education. But what is more important is, as we have already said (DV No. 5), OBC leaders will have to take dalits into confidence and ask for their support in the struggle. We are happy to note that dalit leaders like B. P. Maurya and Ram Vilas Paswan have strongly supported the Mandal Report. If OBCs want to win their battle their best friends are the dalits. Together with other persecuted minorities they can shake the country. We have our own doubt if OBCs will ever heed this, knowing Hinduism too well. Unity between OBCs and SCs is a pipe-dream. So the only way out is

to end this endless controversy by going in for population-wise reservations to all castes and communities. Such a mobilisation of the dalit support is a must before any struggle is launched. Muslims and Christians having been included in the OBCs list, their support will automatically come. The demand for population-wise reservation will get the support of higher caste shudras comprising the landed gentry. Therefore, it is for the OBC leaders now to decide what course they should take. We cannot expect political leaders of OBCs to help us in this. Politicians must be kept out. Not even the mother will breastfeed the child unless it cries. The course of Mandal Report will never be smooth. It will have to wade through rivers of blood. Will the OBCs be ready for this?

EDITOR : V. T. Rajshekar

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