

DALIT VOICE

[The Voice of the Persecuted Minorities]

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THE ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN SOCIETY

Every society, every country in the world is shaped and led mainly by its intellectuals. All those who are remembered by history are mostly intellectuals. An intellectual may not get instant recognition by the society when alive but in course of time the person's greatness will be recognised and recorded on the pages of history. Because, an intellectual and intellectual alone can help bring about socio-economic changes. The Buddha, Plato, Marx, Rousseau, Lenin, Abraham Lincoln, Maxim Gorky, Bernard Shaw, Mao, Thiruvallavar, Mahatma Phule were all great intellectuals. It is intellectuals who not only think but make others think. After Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, M.N.Roy, Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy, and Ram Manohar Lohia, we have hardly produced any intellectual giant in India. India's Ruling Class has been systematically corrupting any up and coming intellectual and if any one dares to defy he is mercilessly crushed. That is why rarely one wants to show originality, innovation. So much so India has gone into total intellectual bankruptcy. The very fact that India has not received a single Nobel Prize after it became independent proves that we are a country of mediocres, dwarfs. But we are never tired of boasting that we have the second largest scientific manpower in the whole world. If so, what are they doing? Why not a single one has made an international mark? The one agricultural scientist who received the Magsasay Award was later found to have got it after making a false claim. But even this man has now taken up a cushy job outside India. This is the disease with our intellectuals. One social scientist, considered very distinguished, is seldom in India and even when at home never rubs the ruling class lest it may upset his lucrative income. Scientist like Khurana have settled down in the USA. All this is because our society and our value system do not believe in encouraging and promoting intellectuals. India's Ruling Class wants to make its people surrender their judgement. To it, every intellectual is a suspect. It looks upon him as a source of trouble. Some of the finest budding, blooming flowers of our society were shot dead dubbing them as Naxalites. Any person who does not fall in line and con-

form to the established thinking is considered a threat to the society. Dissent is disliked, nay dangerous. Truth should not be spoken. And those who speak the truth will be branded as "controversial" persons. Any number of organisations, both govt. and non-govt. are set up to watch and weed out such "dangerous" persons. Innumerable State and private awards are instituted to win over any brilliant writer, scholar — to pocket if not corrupt him. Courage is an essential prerequisite to become an intellectual. He has to suffer and sacrifice — pay for his commitment. That is why intellectuals and intellectuals alone can lead a society or a movement. An intellectual can lead as well as mislead. But in India very often our intellectuals have been only misleading the society. Nobody has painted such an Indian situation better than Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and things have hardly changed since he wrote it: "Whether you accept the theory of the great man as the maker of history or whether you do not, this much you will have to concede that in every country the intellectual class is the most influential class, if not the governing class. The intellectual class is the class which can foresee, it is the class which can advise and give lead. In no country does the mass of the people live the life of intelligent thought and action. It is largely imitative and follows the intellectual class. There is no exaggeration in saying that the entire destiny of a country depends upon its intellectual class. If the intellectual class is honest, independent and disinterested it can be trusted to take the initiative and give a proper lead when a crisis arises. It is true that intellect by itself is no virtue. It is only a

means and the use of means depends upon the ends which an intellectual person pursues. An intellectual man can be a good man but he can easily be a rogue. Similarly an intellectual class may be a band of high-souled persons, ready to help, ready to emancipate erring humanity or it may easily be a gang of crooks or a body of advocates of a narrow clique from which it draws its support. You may think it a pity that the intellectual class in India is simply another name for the Brahmin caste. You may regret that the two are one: that the existence of the intellectual class should be bound with one single caste, that this intellectual class should share the interest & the aspirations of that Brahmin caste, which has regarded itself the custodian of interest of that caste, rather, than of the interests of the country. All this may be very regrettable. But the fact remains, that the Brahmins form the intellectual class of the Hindus. It is not only an intellectual class but it is a class which is held in great reverence by the rest of the Hindus. The Hindus are taught that the Brahmins are *Bhu-devas* (gods on earth). The Hindus are taught that Brahmins alone can be their teacher, *Varnapam Brahmano Guru*. Manu says, "If it be asked how it should be with respect to points of the Dharma which have not been specially mentioned, the answer is that which Brahmins who are *Shishthas* propound shall doubtless have legal force." When such an intellectual class, which holds the rest of the community in its grip, is opposed to the reform of Caste, the chances of success in a movement for break-up of the Caste System appear to me very, very remote". (*Annihilation of Caste*,

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TIPS TO DALITS : PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

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Social legislation is a mechanism through which certain inherent drawbacks in the social system are expected to be rooted out. But the nature and extent of its success depend upon many factors. Its success demands general awareness of the provisions of the legislation among the different sections of the population and also among the officers responsible for its enforcement. Otherwise, the legislation remains safe in the statute book. It is in this context we have to examine the awareness of the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, among the three categories of persons involved in it: the Untouchables, the Hindus and the Govt. machinery. Studies conducted by me during the last 10 years prove that the provisions of PCR Act are hardly known to the people. Even police officers at the rural level and the judiciary at the taluk level, are ignorant of this Act. Whatever attempts the victims make to bring the offences to the notice of the police are in the nature of the routine complaints. The victims are sometimes assisted by organisations like the Karnataka Dalit Action Committee. There are still cases compounded by the magistrates. This is contrary to the provisions of the Act. When cases are allowed to be compounded, it is a conclusive proof that the concerned public prosecutors, magistrates, the victims and the offenders are all ignorant of the provisions of law. The main purpose of this paper is to highlight the salient features of the Act and it is hoped that the readers of DY would not only take advantage of the legal provisions during the appropriate situations. The Constitution has prohibited the practice of untouchability in any form (Art. 17). Consequently the Untouchability Offences Act came in 1955. This Act was found inadequate because of certain major drawbacks. The term 'Untouchability' was neither defined nor explained anywhere in the Act. Cases were allowed to be compounded and this resulted in a lot of pressure on the Untouchables to withdraw cases. Offences were non-cognizable and, therefore, the police had to wait for warrant from the magistrates to arrest the offenders. To make the Act more comprehensive, the Govt. of India appointed a committee to study the whole situation and submit its recommendations. In 1976, the original Act was amended. But very little of the original Act itself was changed into what is now called "Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955." Its main features are: *Wider scope* : (1) The term "civil rights" means any right accruing to any person by reason of the abolition of Untouchability by Article 17 of the Constitution. (2) "Place of public worship", means the place used for public religious worship or which is dedicated generally to persons professing any religion. Of course, this is confined to Hindu religion only since the practice of untouchability is practiced only by the Hindus. This place of public worship includes all lands and subsidiary shrines

attached to any such place. For example, if the Ganesh idol is kept outside the house but within the compound & people are welcome to participate in the pooja, any prohibition in relation to the SCs would amount to an offence. If it is the first offence, the offender shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term not less than one month and not more than six months. Besides imprisonment, a fine not less than Rs. 100 and not more than Rs. 500 shall also be levied. For the subsequent offences: (1) for the second offence the imprisonment shall be not less than six months and more than one year. Besides this, a fine of not less than Rs. 200 not more than Rs. 800 shall be levied; (ii) For the third or subsequent to third offence, the imprisonment shall be for not less than one year & not more than two years, besides a fine not less than Rs. 800 and not more than Rs. 1,000. (4) Presumption of the offence and other duties of the court: Sometimes it is argued that the act committed is not on the ground of Untouchability. But the law now says that where any act constituting an offence under this Act is committed in relation to a SC the court shall presume, unless the contrary is proved, that such act was committed on the ground of Untouchability. No court should recognise any usage or custom in relation to the practice of Untouchability. Further, no court shall take cognisance of an offence or abetment if a public servant is involved without the permission of the Central Govt. if he is a Central Govt. & if he is a State Govt. employee. This provision has to be understood properly. There are instances where the police has misinter-

preted this provision willfully or otherwise. In a recent case involving a public servant a lecturer in Home Science College, Bangalore, the police did not arrest her immediately after a complaint was lodged by the victim. The police waited for two months for permission of the Govt. This is a serious lapse on the part of the police. The concerned public servant should have been immediately arrested as this is a cognisable offence. (5) Non-Compoundable: When once the case is taken to the court, there is absolutely no provision in the Act to enable the parties to compound the case. But it is strange that there are a few cases compounded even after this new prohibition came into force. This is a serious lapse on the part of the public prosecutors and the judiciary (6) Other Provisions: Some of the other provisions of the Act are: (a) The advantage of the Probation of Offenders Act of 1958 is not available to a person above the age of 14 years if found guilty under the PCR Act. It means normally a person who commits an offence not of a major nature is let off by the court by administering a warning. But if that person commits an offence under the PCR Act, he shall not be excused without inflicting punishment as laid down in the Act. (b) *Collective fine*. The Govt has powers to impose collective fine on the inhabitants of any area where the offence has taken place. However, the victims of untouchability and any person who does not fall under the categories of persons likely to commit the offence (like Muslims, Christians etc.) are exempted from payment of the collective fine. It is also laid down that to create awareness among the people beat of drum or something of [Contd. on Page 7 Col. 2]

WHY CASTE-BASED RESERVATIONS ?

(V. Anaimuthu, Trichy, T.N.)

The issue of reservation to the backward classes is perhaps the most burning question of the day. The pros and cons of the problem are discussed here. In the caste-ridden society of India majority of the people had been denied education for more than 2,000

years. The backwards like Mukkulathor-Vanniar, Yadhava, Sengunthar, Ezhava, Kuruba, Devanga, Kashyap, Koiri, Kurmi, Golla, Teli who are mostly cultivators, gardeners and labourers; Vishvakarmas who are creators of designs and makers of enviable ornaments; potters, barbers, weavers, washermen and other numerous castes and the Untouchables had been subjected to social oppression and denied education. These sections constitute 85% of the population and majority of them still remain illiterate. Illiterates cannot provide higher education to their children. Their children cannot, at present, compete equally with Brahmin and upper castes' children. There cannot be competition between unequals. Test between unequals will lead only to injustice. Reservation to BCs cannot mean denial of opportunity to others. Equality does not connote absolute equality. (1) The *sudras* were denied education because of *Varnashrama Dharma*. Even at present 75 to 85% of them remain illiterate. The condition of the Untouchables is still worse. So these sections require reservation in education for a long time. (2) Caste is the direct echo of *Varnashrama* or caste system which has not been abolished in the Hindu Law and it is given protection in the Constitution. Neither the upper caste nor the backward caste members have forsaken sub-caste at the time of contracting marriage. Even among Christians, Buddhists & Sikhs caste is being

practiced. Among Indian Muslims also it has its impact in some other shape. Thus caste is a reality in India. (3) Caste-based reservation is like tariff in a developing economy. To prevent competition of highly efficient industrial countries, we levy tariff on foreign goods and save our own nascent industries. Likewise the backwards require to be protected by special concessions like reservations, scholarship and relaxation in marks and age. (4) The Backward Classes had remained manual labourers and they had been put at a disadvantageous position all along. The injustice heaped upon them is to be removed at least at this stage. Hence caste-based reservations. There may be poor in every Hindu caste and among Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists. But it is a genuine fact that no upper caste member is illiterate because of his / her poverty. Because of social respect, landed wealth and nearness to rulers almost all the upper castes have acquired good education for a long time. They are educationally advanced. Their family circumstances have helped their wards to acquire merit and efficiency. At the same time the children of cultivators, artisans, weavers and landless labourers had never tasted such good things in life. They are yet to gain education and thereby good-grounding. They cannot, at present, compete with upper-caste children. Even today land-owners, master-weavers, jewel makers belonging to backward classes are

illiterate not because of poverty but because of their long continued deprivation. It is good to remember that Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, decried the move for introducing the term, "economically" also along with, "socially and educationally", while he moved an amendment to Article 15 of the Constitution in Parliament on 29-5-1951. Sardar Hukam Singh and Dr. S. P. Mookerjee moved an amendment for inclusion of the term "economically" to define "backward classes of citizens". When put to vote, on the stout plea of Nehru, their amendment was defeated by 243 members voting against it and only 5 members in favour of it, on 1-6-1951. (Parliamentary Debates, Volumes XII and XIII - 1951 May & June). Fixing economic criterion will definitely help the socially and educationally advanced castes and sections to knock still another big share in the garb of poverty and thus leave the backward classes in doldrums. Because of the efforts of the South Indian Liberal Federation and because of the five-decade-long selfless services of the Self-Respect Movement founded by Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy, the down-trodden in the South have acquired their due share in elective bodies like Parliament, State legislatures & local bodies. But in the North-which has larger States and majority of the Indian electorate, it is not the case. The condition of the backward classes in UP, Bihar, MP, Orissa & West Bengal in this sphere is pathetically poor indeed. Of the 40 MPs (1980) from Madhya Pradesh there are only two from backward classes. Of the 42 (1980) from West Bengal, only two are from the *backward classes*. Of 294 members elected in 1977 to the West Bengal Legislative

Assembly more than 160 belong to Brahmin, Baldhaya and Kayastha upper castes (who form about 15% of the population) 58 SC/STs. The Backward Classes and other minorities are about 25 only. But the Backward Class Hindus alone constitute about 50% in the population. This is nothing but negation of democracy. This is simply 'Brahminocracy'. Such conditions in the North are the direct result of non-provision of political reservation to backward classes and absence of virulent social change movements and void of dedicated non-political, non-partisan leadership in many of the Northern States. In the I.A.S. there were 3,546 posts on 1-1-1979, out of which more than 2,000 were held by Brahmins who are a microscopic minority of 5% in the population. In Tamil Nadu out of 257 IAS officers on 1-1-1980, 122 were Brahmins; 59 were upper-caste; 34 SC/S1s and Backward classes (including Muslims & Christians). Since there is no reservations to Backward Classes in All-India Services they had not achieved their due share in the I.A.S., I.P.S., I.F.S., I.E.S., and I.R.S. These highest administrative services are still the citadel of Brahmins, Rajputs, Bommihars, Kayasths, Lingayats, Kammas, Kapus, Mudaliars, Menons and Nairs-who all put together form only one-sixth of the population of 68.38 crores. In the 170 and odd public sector undertakings under the Central Government, the Brahmins and other upper castes rule the roost in all higher cadres. In the Income-tax department, except menial and part-time jobs, all the ministerial appointments are held by Brahmins and upper castes. In Tamil Nadu region there were 319 gazetted officers in the Income-tax department on

1-1-1979, out of which 171 were Brahmins. The position of representation to the Backward Classes, SC/STs in the higher & the highest judiciary of India is negligible. Union Minister of Law told Parliament during October 1981, that out of 328 Judges of the High Courts in India, 20 belonged to Backward Classes & only 4 to SC/STs. We shudder to think that 15 to 20% of the people of the nation, should have grabbed 304 posts out of 328, while 85% of the population linger with a paltry number of 24. About 18 among the 20 judges from the Backward Classes and all the four from SC are in South India. Because the judiciary is dominated by upper castes, the provisions for reservation in the Constitution have been interpreted slipshod by the court with the sole motive of saving their own domination. It was the Madras High Court, then dominated by Brahmins, which struck the Communal Rotation Order that was in force there from 1927, as null and void of the Constitution, in 1950. Again it was the Supreme Court, dominated by upper castes, which imported an interpretation to Article 15(4) and pronounced that reservation should not go beyond 50%. (Balaji vs. State of Mysore AIR 1963 S.C. 649 : 1953 Sup (1) S.C.R. 439). No where in Article 15(4) or 16(4) has it been implicitly or explicitly stated that reservation to BCs, SCs & STs should always remain under 50. "Any special provision" and "for the advancement of the socially and educationally backward classes" and "not adequately represented" are the three terms pointing to the quantum, in Article 15(4) and 16(4). With regard to the quantum of reservation it is very much essential to take into account the observations made by Justice Murtuza

Fazal Ali. He observed: "Suppose for instance, a State has a large number of B.Cs of citizens which constitutes 80% of the population and the government, in order to give them proper representation, reserves 80% of the jobs for them, can it be said that it is bad and violates clause 4 of Article 16? The answer must necessarily be in the negative" (State of Kerala versus N. M. Thomas A.I.R. 1976 : SC 490) It is just and constitutional that reservation to BCs, SC/STs, must necessarily be 85%, that is in proportion to the numerical strength of all these sections in the population of the nation. In the light of the clear-cut constitutional provisions and the recent pronouncement of the Supreme Court and with the help of the Kalelkar Commission Report and the Mandal Commission Report and in view of representation from numerous social change organisations and caste-based associations and political parties, it is the impending duty of the Government of India to come forward to implement reservation to Backward Classes without further delay. □

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State Govt. has to set up effective and adequate legal aid for the benefit up the victims. (d) The State Govt. has to appoint officers to initiate or exercise supervision over prosecutions for the violation of this Act. (e) Special Courts will have to be set up for speedy trial of the offences. Similarly wherever the offence is punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months, summary trial by a judicial magistrate is laid down. (f) Committees at different levels will have to be set up to assist the govt. from time to time. (g) Periodic survey of the working of the Act will have to be conducted. Of course no such survey has been conducted so far. □

AMBEDKAR : WHO WEAKENED THE HINDU SOCIETY ?

How can a country be defended if its army cannot be increased in the hour of its peril? It is not Buddha who, as is often alleged, weakened Hindu society by his gospel of non-violence. It is the Brahmanic theory of Chaturvarna that has been responsible not only

for the defeat but for the decay of Hindu society. Some of you will take offence at what I have said about the demoralizing effect of the Hindu socio-religious ideal on Hindu society. But what is the truth? Can the charge be denied? Is there any society in the world which has unapproachables, unshadowables, and unseeables? Is there any society which has got a population of Criminal Tribes? Is there a society in which there exists today primitive people, who live in jungles, who do not know even to clothe themselves? How many do they count in numbers? Is it a matter of thousands? I wish they numbered a paltry few. The tragedy is that they have to be counted in millions, millions of Untouchables, millions of Criminal Tribes, millions of Primitive Tribes! One wonders whether the Hindu civilization is civilization of infamy? This is about the ideal. Turn now to the state of things as it existed when Ranade came on the scene. It is impossible to realize now the state of degradation they had reached when the British came on the scene and with which the Reformers like Ranade were faced. Let me begin with the condition of the intellectual class. The rearing and guiding of a civilization must depend upon its intellectual class-upon the lead given by the Brahmins. Under the old Hindu Law the Brahmin enjoyed the benefit of the clergy and

not to be hanged even if he was guilty of murder, and the East India Company allowed him the privilege till 1817. That is no doubt because he was the salt of the Earth. Was there any salt left in him? His profession had lost all its nobility. He had become a pest. The Brahmin systematically preyed on society and profited in Religion. The *Puranas* and *Shastras* which he manufactured in tons are treasure trove of sharp practices which the Brahmins employed to befool, beguile and swindle the the common mass of poor, illiterate and superstitious Hindus. It is impossible in this address to give references to them. I can only refer to the coercive measures which the Brahmins had sanctified as proper to be employed against the Hindus to the encashment of their rights and privileges. Let those who want to know read the preamble to Regulation XXI of 1795. According to it whenever a Brahmin wanted to get anything which could not be willingly got from his victim, he resorted to various coercive practices-lacerating his own body with knives and razors, of threatening to swallow some poison were the usual tricks he practised to carry out his selfish purposes. There were other ways employed by the Brahmin to coerce the Hindus which were as extraordinary as they were shameless. A common practice was the erection in front of the house of his victim of the *koorh*-a circular enclosure in which a pile of wood was placed-within the enclosure an old woman

MUSLIMS ARE "LIVING HAPPILY" IN INDIA

Bombay : The foreign tours of the head of the Dawoodi Bohras, Dr. S. M. Burhanuddin, have given a fitting reply to the false propaganda in some countries that minorities do not have freedom in India, according to

Dr. Yusuf Najmuddin, the Syedna's brother and Rector of the Arabic Academy in Surat, reports UNI. In fact, the existence of the Bohra sect's headquarters here makes it clear that tolerance prevails in India. The Syedna had just returned from a tour of Sri Lanka. Meanwhile, a Pakistani editor who visited India after 35 years found Indian Muslims self-confident and their relations with the majority community vastly

improved. Altaf Hassan Quereshi, the editor of the monthly, *Urdu Digest*, of Lahore, visited different parts of India last February

to study the common man's attitude to Pakistan & condition of Indian Muslims. Communal riots do take place, but the Hindu majority always condemns them and sympathises with Muslims, he wrote.

(*Deccan Herald*, May-8) □

was placed ready to be burnt in the *koorh* if his object was not granted. The second devise of such a kind was the placing of his women and children in the sight of his victim and threaten to behead them. The third was the *Dhurna* starving on the doorstep of the victim. This is nothing. Brahmins had started making claims for a right to deflower the women of non-Brahmins. The practice prevailed in the family of the Zamorin of Calicut and among the Vallabha-chari sect of Vaishnavas. What depths of degradation the Brahmins had fallen to! If, as the Bible, says, the salt has lost its flavour wherewith shall it be salted? No wonder the Hindu Society had its moral bonds loosened to a dangerous point. The East India Company had in 1819 to pass a Regulation (VII of 1819) to put a stop to this moral degeneracy. The preamble to the Regulation says that women were employed wholesale to entice and take away the wives or female children for purposes of prostitution, and it was common practice among husbands and fathers to desert their families and

children. Public conscience there was none, and in the absence of conscience it was futile to expect moral indignation against the social wrongs. Indeed the Brahmins were engaged in defending every wrong for the simple reason that they lived on them. They defended untouchability which condemned millions to the lot of the helot. They defended caste, they defended female child marriage and they defended enforced widowhood—the two great props of the Caste System. They defended the burning of widows & they defended the social system of graded inequality with its rule of hypergamy which led the Rajputs to kill in their thousands the daughters that were born to them. What shames! What wrongs! Can such a Society show its face before civilized nations? Can such a Society hope to survive? Such were the questions which Ranade asked. He concluded that on only one condition it could be saved namely, rigorous social reform. (*Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah*, Bhim Patrika Publications, Nakodar Rd. Jullundar - 3, 1978 - page 24 to 27) □

Letters to Editor :

Rahulan Ambewadekar, convener, Dalit Panthers of India, UP, Kanpur : DV is very good and useful to us. So also the books of Dalit Sahitya Akademy. We want to have all your literature.

R. L. Jain, gen. secretary, Delhi SC Welfare Assn., Ambedkar Bhawan, New Delhi : We got a copy of the DV through Jugal Kishore and it made an interesting reading. It informs various development efforts all over India in regard to dalit movement. Our assn. has a library and large number of people make use of it. Therefore, we want to have DV and all your books.

Fr. Albert Nambiaparambil, Centre for Indian and Inter-Religious Studies, Rome, Italy: DV is keeping me in touch with the developments in India.

Dr. Velu Annamalai, Texas, USA : I have seen issues of DV and I find most important subjects discussed therein. I can say without hesitation that I have never seen any other publication of this quality, fighting for our people before. I also read seven books written by you. I am amazed at the amount of work you had done & the courage you have to put them on books. DV & your books will fill a great void. We have three major weekly journals run by Indians in this country. I have been fighting these journals run by casteist Hindus. After I read your books, I want to use your words in my fight against these communal press here. Please give me permission. Three of us are active, Dr. Laxmi Berwa, a medical doctor from Haryana, and Madhukar Kamble from Maharashtra. We send articles

and letters to newspapers in India but none publish them. The story is the same here. All the press is in the hands of Hindus & Brahmins. Though I have come out of Hinduism, I am yet to decide where to go. I have been having the same question that you have raised in the *Ambedkar & His Conversion*. Dr. Berwa knows you. We are really excited to read your books. We want more of them.

Kazuhiro Usui, Fukuoka, Japan : We want to translate DV articles into Japanese to introduce them to our readers here. In March, we toured India & met many Dalit Panther leaders. During this fruitful tour & talks with dalits we realised the importance of DV not only to India but even Japan. DV is the only organised magazine for the dalit movement.

Y.L. Mingthing, Eastern Theological College, Jorhat, Assam : Thanks very much for making us aware of what goes on in the country through DV. I hope more people will learn to appreciate DV which bravely expresses truth. As for Zalieng, who speaks about his own tribal religion and who is given all publicity by the RSS, it is a voice from just one man who can't get along with his own Naga people. Persons of his tribe whom I meet & inquired about him, simply laughed saying that he is bit out of track.

Dr. T. Dayananandan Francis, gen. secretary, Christian Literature Society, Madras. The Tamil translation of your book, *Why Go For Conversion?* is on display in our bookshop. You can count on our full support. Your lectures & notes are of great help to us in our fight against communalism. □

Pg. 89-91). A film actor like Amitabh Bachchan or actress like Hema Malini may have millions of fans but the glamour is temporary. The moment the youth fades, the star sinks. A cricketer or sportsman is adored till his capacity lasts. A wrestler, boxer or a King Kong will be feared until his body strength stays. A politician like Indira Gandhi or Reagan is adored until the person is in power. Remember people used to avoid Indira Gandhi like a plague when she was defeated by the Janata. Those with money come and go. No Tata or Birla is remembered by the history. A beauty queen is glorified till her skin fades. There is nothing permanent with stars, sportsmen, body-builders, political personalities or wealthy tycoons. But that is not the case with an intellectual. He is respected not only in his life time but even after that. Kalidasa was simply a poet under King Vikramaditya but the king's name has faded but not of Kalidasa—India's greatest Sanskrit writer. Sometimes, an intellectual is respected and recognised more after his death. Karl Marx's name will be there as long as history is there. So too Plato, Jesus Christ, Mohamed Paigambar, Lenin, Mao, Martin Luther King. Progress of any country depend only on its intellectuals. They alone can lead but in India, alas, our intellectuals have been only misleading the society because they have been impotent and corrupt. That is why they compromise. Look at the courage of J. B. S. Haldane. He subjected himself to great physical pain by himself becoming a guinea pig of his experiments. Have we produced a scientist of his calibre? Our scientists are spending their time not in laboratories but in airconditioned offices, busy push-

ing files. Intellectuals of India have not given evidence of their courage, their independence of thought and conviction which are the indices to judge an intellectual. They are not courageous, because they are so preoccupied with selfish interests. That is why they migrate to foreign countries in search of cushy jobs. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on June 3 is reported to have expressed concern over "brain drain of scientific talent." But this is not the first time she and other top leaders are expressing such a concern. What is the use of a brain that allows itself to be drained? Better not have such brains. What we want is brains with hearts—and such brains will rarely allow itself to be drained. Heartless brains are more dangerous than brainless hearts. Therefore let the heartless brains go. India will in no way become poorer. A true intellectual will not sell himself. He can never be bought. He can never seek power and ambition. He will speak the truth—come what may—even at the cost of his life. The evil has triumphed in India and the country is drifting because our intellectuals do not speak up. So much so the country has grown sick and its sickness is effecting the outside world as well. But our intellectuals are unperturbed. To them their caste and cash is more important than the eternal pursuit of truth. What is the use of learning and knowledge when it does not bring cash or power? Popularity does not depend upon ones ability but other factors. "Success in life" depend not on learning but on bank balance. In such a society what use is learning or intellectual pursuits? Intellectuals are laughed at, despised. Why should we strain the brain when money can be made

without it? This is India today. If our intellectuals are corrupt and spineless, the masses are dumb, deaf and blind, because of poverty and illiteracy. The latter are illiterate because they are poor. When they are preoccupied all the time in an endless battle of the belly, where is the time for them to think, even if thinking is possible? If this is the position of the poorest, what about the educated, employed people who come from this very same revolutionary section - dalits and other persecuted minorities? The tragedy with this section is they have become easy-going, pleasure-seeking. Not only that. A considerable number of them, particularly the educated Untouchables, hide their identity and turn into bumlickers. Yes, there are a tiny section of conscientious people among them who are angry. Who wants to rebel? "The world owes much to rebels who would dare to argue in the face of the pontiff and insist that he is not infallible. I don't care for the credit which every progressive society must give to its rebels." (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, preface to second edition of *Annihilation of Caste*.) Ambedkar, however, lived up to the definition of a rebel, an intellectual giant. But such of the rebels are spotted out and finished at the very initial stage. Those who have managed to escape and build up their leadership are recruited by the ever-watchful political parties. So there is an all-round famine. No ruling class will produce a revolutionary. On the other hand, the revolutionary section is starved to submission by the ruling class. This answers the oft-repeated question: "Why

India has not produced a second Ambedkar?" Babasaheb lived a major part of his life when India was under the British who were benevolent rulers. Not only they gave us education, denied to us by Brahmins, but even gave us modern, Western, knowledge. Not only that. If there was any "freedom struggle" and some leaders like Gandhi and Nehru were able to fight the British, it was because of the knowledge they gained from the very British education and the encouragement they gave to fight for liberty and fraternity. But for the British rule, which in fact meant a Christian rule, India would not have been what it is today. So Ambedkar despite his open criticism of the British Government got all the encouragement from the British. No body criticised the British right on their face as Ambedkar did. They gave him all the facilities and also protected him against his enemies. They gave all-out encouragement and built up his leadership. Once the British were out, dalits & the persecuted minorities of India had none to protect them. They were virtually thrown to wolves. The independence that India got on Aug. 15, 1947 was the independence given to the high castes to exploit, which they could not do earlier so freely. The lambs are bound and bundled and handed to wolves on a silver platter. That is the reason why after independence India did not get a second Ambedkar. No honest, dedicated leadership is tolerated by these ever-watchful head-hunters. This is the heinous role played by India's intellectual class. □

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