

# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

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Editor & Publisher: V.T. RAJSHEKAR  
 Representatives:  
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## DALIT VOICE

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# "Hindu unity" means what? Why this unity? And this unity against whom?

Hindu Nazi parties are shouting that India is a Hindu country because 85% of India's 850-million people are Hindus. If this figure is true why the Hindus, an awesome majority, are afraid of the 15% minuscule minority? Even the 15% so-called non-Hindu "minorities" are not a united force to launch an attack on 85% Hindus. Because the three non-Hindu "minorities" - Muslims (15%), Christians (2.5%) and Sikhs (2%) - are so much divided that a united action against the Hindus, the "majority community", is not possible. If so, why the Hindus (85%) are feeling threatened? Why this violent movement to "unite" Hindus? In the US, the Whites are in a majority but they are not talking of "White unity" against the Blacks. It is the Blacks who, as the oppressed, are fighting against the US Whites and it is the Blacks who are calling for "Black unity". All over the world it is the oppressed minority that calls for the unity of the oppressed against the oppressors.

In India, strangely, it is the Hindus - the "majority community" - who say they are threatened by the minority and are desperate to establish "Hindu unity". How far this is true? The president of the main Hindu political party, L.K. Advani, went on a *rath yatra* (Oct. 1990) on the plea that it is intended to bring about "Hindu unity". On one side, the Nazis say this is a Hindu *Rashtra* and assert that the Hindus constitute "one nation". If the Hindus are a nation, why this Hindu nation is not united? The *rath yatra* was meant for "Hindu unity". The Dec. 6, 1990 second *kar seva* was for "Hindu unity". Does it not pre-suppose that there is no Hindu unity and that this unity can take place only through the *rath yatra* and *kar seva*?

Here lies the catch. Why this "Hindu unity"? And this "Hindu unity" is against whom?

**Hindus afraid of SC/ST/BCs not minorities:** The fact is that the upper caste rulers - Brahmin-Bania-Thakur-Kayasth-Khatri etc. - are feeling threatened not by the Muslims (15%), not by the Christians (2.5%), not by the Sikhs (2%) but they feel threatened by the rising aspirations of the long suppressed Untouchables (20%), Tribals (10%) and Backward Castes (35%). The upper castes are not afraid of the 20% "minority" population of India. They are

afraid of the 65% SC/ST/BCs falsely described as Hindus.

The Hindu Constitution (*Dharma Sastra*) drafted by Manu is being opposed by the Constitution of India drafted by Babasaheb Ambedkar. The former has taken away the human rights of over 85% of the population particularly that of 65% SC/ST/BCs and also women. But the latter has assured the human rights to all. The upper caste rulers of India who swear by the Constitution of Manu do not want to restore the human rights of SC/ST/BCs (65%) and women, as directed by the Constitution of India. These deprived, dehumanised sections, who have the support of the Constitution of India, are crying, struggling, fighting for their human rights. Every day these SC/ST/BCs, who are being described as Hindus by the upper castes (Aryans/sanatanis/savarnas/Hindus), are being kicked, killed, burnt, raped and their little property destroyed. *The SC/ST/BC human rights are destroyed not by the Muslims/Christians or Sikhs but by the upper castes/Hindus only. Any number of govt. documents have testified to this.*

**Muslims did not oppose Mandal:** The latest fight against SC/ST/BCs took the shape of a caste war on the Mandal Commission in which the entire upper castes (15%) were ranged on one side and the rest of the 85% on the other side. *Mandal Commission was not opposed by the Muslims. Not by the Christians. Not by Sikhs. It was opposed only by the upper castes/Hindus (15%).*

The upper caste rulers, already feeling threatened by the awakened SC/ST/BCs clamouring for their human rights, got more desperate when the persecuted "religious minorities" - Muslims (15%), Christians (2.5%), and Sikhs (2%) - willingly joined the SC (20%), ST (10%) and BCs (35%). This grand unity of the sufferers (65%) and co-sufferers (20%) made the Hindus (15%) sleepless and this forced them to redouble their energy to force the "Hindu unity".

What does this "Hindu unity" mean? Why this "Hindu unity"? Unity against whom? These three are important questions. And an attempt is being made here to tell the truth so that this truth

shall free not only the 85% of the sufferers and co-sufferers but also the saner sections among the upper castes particularly their women folk. Since the upper caste rulers control the "national press" they are able to manipulate the minds of the sufferers (65%) and also co-sufferers (20%) and thereby make the sufferers (65%) fight the co-sufferers (20%) and sometimes vice-versa. The saner sections among upper castes are either silenced or corrupted. And this has led to such a helpless situation turning the whole country into one vast bloody battlefield. Though the upper castes (Hindus) form not even 15% of the India's 850-million population, they are controlled by a tiny Nazi section which is holding the whole country to ransom.

**Hindus not interested in Babri Masjid:** The upper caste rulers want "Hindu unity" not to fight what they describe as "minority appeasement". "These Hindus are not really interested in Babri Masjid." Did not these very same Hindus live with the Babri Masjid for the past several centuries? How did the Babri Masjid suddenly become a "Hindu temple" only after independence (1947)? *Did not Hindus live in peace with Muslims who ruled this country for over 1,000 years? Did not the Hindus live in peace with Christians - (British) who ruled this country for 250 years? Did not the Hindus and Sikhs live in peace in Punjab before independence?*

We can assure you that these upper castes/Hindus or their leader L.K. Advani will never, ever take the Babri Masjid even if the Muslims offer it on a diamond plate. The moment the Muslims give it, the Nazis will have no more cause for "Hindu unity". If ever these upper castes come to power they will be the first to befriend the Muslims to fight the SC/ST/BCs - particularly the first one who are their blood enemies.

So, to say that Muslims are the enemies of Hindus is a false cry. The Hindu Nazis manufactured an enemy to "unite the Hindus" - meaning SC/ST/BCs under their leadership. This is the truth.

Why the "minorities" - Muslims and Sikhs - suddenly become terrorists, extremists, anti-nationals? Why this sudden transformation in the Hindu perception of the "religious minorities" after 1947?

**Role of the press:** This is an important question. Because the truth is concealed and the "national press" is suppressing the truth and giving us a wrong answer and thereby confusing the already confounded sufferers (65%), co-sufferers (20%), and the corrupted among upper castes. So much so, not only the SC/ST/BCs on one side and Muslims/

Christians/Sikhs are suffering on another side but even many innocent upper castes/Hindus and specially their women are made to suffer. Over 90% of the Indian population is victim of this tiny less than 10% of the Nazis who are today busy destroying the unity and integrity of India. These Nazis by suppressing the truth are misleading the people and pushing the country to one crisis after another.

**Why Gandhi fasted against SCs?:** What then is the truth? (1) If the SCs (20%) are Hindus and part of their Hindu religion why the constitutional reservations to them are denied? Why it is not implemented even to the extent of 2%? If Untouchable (SCs) are Hindus, why M.K. Gandhi went on a "fast unto-death against the separate electorate demanded by Dr. Ambedkar and finally forced Babasaheb to sign the "Poona Pact" which sealed the fate of Dalits? When a worthless upper caste Nair, M.G. Ramachandran, can be given Bharata Ratna even after death, why the national honour due to Babasaheb Ambedkar, ranked among the greatest souls of the world, was denied by Hindus so long? Why the 20-year old Dalit demand to rename the Marathwada University as "Dr. Ambedkar University" is opposed by Hindus? Why the Hindus launched two "caste wars" (1981 and 1985) in Gujarat against Dalits? Why Babasaheb's book, *Riddles in Hinduism*, was burnt and later got banned by the Shiv Sena and other upper castes (Hindus) if the Dalits are Hindus?

(2) If the tribals (10%) are Hindus, why their legitimate demand for Jharkhand State is denied by Hindus? Why the Narmada tribals are uprooted by the Hindus and a multi-billion dollar dam is built to further enrich the Patidar Patels (Hindus) of Gujarat? Why the Tripura tribals are hunted down as extremists? Why the Bihar and Andhra Pradesh tribals are shot down as Naxalites? Why not a single demand of the tribals is accepted by the Hindus?

(3) If the Backward Castes (35%) are Hindus, why the Hindus sabotaged the Kaka Kalekar Commission Report? Why they kept the Mandal Commission Report in cold storage for ten long years? Why the Hindus opposed the Mandal Commission Report which recommended a paltry 27% reservation to them? Why they engineered self-immolation (1990) and kicked, killed, burnt and launched a caste war against BCs? Why they pulled down the VP Singh govt. which tried to implement the Mandal Report? Are they not Hindus? Did not Lalloo Prasad Yadav, Chief Minister of Bihar and Mulayam Singh Yadav of UP said they were good Hindus? If so, why the Hindus opposed them and tried to pull down their govts?

Hindus must answer these questions.

**The case of Jagjivan Ram:** Why all these three sections, totalling 65% of the country's 850-million population, are discriminated against in all spheres of the society? Why Jagjivan Ram, who rose up as the most capable of all political leaders, denied the Prime Ministership? If this 65% of the population (SC/ST/BCs) are "Hindus" and they are considered part of the Hindu religion, why these very same "Hindus" are today made to suffer so much? The upper castes/Hindus admit that SC/ST/BCs constitute the majority of the country's "poor" although it is a fact that "poverty" is not the cause of this discrimination against them. Their "poverty" is the byproduct of the denial and deprivation of their human rights. SC/ST/BCs are kicked, killed not because they are "poor". The upper castes say that there are any number of "poor" among the upper castes and also among the Brahmins, the highest *jati* in the Hindu caste hierarchy. If "poverty" is the cause of this war and violence against SC/ST/BCs, then the "poor" among the upper castes and Brahmins should have been also victims of this war and violence. But they are not subjected to this war and violence. And this proves that "poverty" is not the cause of this hatred against them. The hatred has a different reason. What is this reason?

**Who burnt Babasaheb book?** If the SC/ST/BCs are Hindus, why the very same Hindus burnt Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's book, *Riddles of Hinduism* (a Maharashtra Govt. publication) in which Babasaheb has given only historical truths of Rama and Krishna? Why they got the book (*Riddles of Rama and Krishna*, Dalit Sahita Akademy, 109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards, Bangalore - 560 003 1988, Rs.5) banned? Muslims, Sikhs or Christians did not burn this book. They did not demand its ban. On the other hand, all these three sections joined the SC/ST/BCs in protesting against this Hindu Nazi actions.

Why all over India from Kanyakumari to Kashmir the SC/ST/BCs (65%) are in revolt against the 15% upper castes? If both the upper castes/savarnas/Aryans (15%) as well as the SC/ST/BCs (65%) are Hindus, why there is no understanding, love between these two sections. Why there is no co-suffering?

**Are Hindus "one nation"?** That leads us to the question: Do the "Hindus" constitute one single "nation"? No. This fact is hidden. And this hidden truth is plaguing the Hindus and bringing them nightmares. The fact is that SC/ST/BCs (65%) are not part of this upper caste/savarna/Aryan/Hindu nation of 15%. They are Anaryans.

The bloody caste war launched by the upper castes (15%) in the press, platform and roads has finally convinced the SC/ST/BC (65%) sufferers that they are not part of this "Hindu nation". If they (65%) are part of this "Hindu nation", their own Hindu brothers would not have discriminated against them, persecuted them.

**Deadliest enemies of Hindus are Dalits:** The upper castes know full well that Muslims (15%) Christians and Sikhs (5%) - a total of 20% - are not Hindus and hence they cannot be made to obey their dictates. Nowhere in India Muslims serve the Hindus. Not even as household servants. Nor do the Sikhs serve the Hindus. So also the Christians. The 20% of the country's population, the "religious minorities" is not only out of the Hindu four-fold caste system but they are clearly and definitely hostile to Hindu value system. The Hindus know this and therefore in no part of India the Hindu/upper castes are trying to impose their will on them.

To these upper caste/Hindus (15%) the real problem is the SC/ST/BCs (65%) and particularly the first one, Scheduled Castes (20%) - the Untouchables - who are the deadliest enemies of the Hindus. This war between the two began with the invasion of Aryans. That is why the Aryan scriptures named their enemies as Asuras, Rakshasas, Daityas, Dasyas, Vanaras, Pishachis, Yakshas, Bhootas, Pretas and what not. The war between the original inhabitants (85%) and the invading 15% Aryans was going on from the day the Aryans invaded India. In course of time, many original inhabitants embraced Islam, Christianity and Sikhism and Buddhism and today they form over 20% the non-Hindu population. Being non-Hindus, the Aryans/upper castes cannot exercise any control over these "religious minorities". It is this 65% other non-Hindu population - SC/ST/BCs - who are posing the real problem to the upper castes. *These Aryan upper caste forces want to annex these unwilling 65% into the Hindu fold and gobble them. And this is proving an impossibility. Hence this "Hindu unity" - meaning integrating the SC/ST/BCs with Hindus and thereby annex, eat up and enslave the SC/ST/BCs. Such a hindutising process is called "Hindu unity".*

**Mandal reveals the truth:** The problem became really serious when the SC/ST/BCs came to know this closely guarded truth. The upper castes were shocked when they learnt that the SC/ST/BCs came to know this closely guarded truth. Because the moment any aggrieved, deprived people come to know the truth, truth itself will liberate them.

The upper castes were concealing this truth. Not only they were concealing this truth, but they were dishing out falsehood saying that SC/ST/BCs are "Hindus".

**Muslims not enemy of Dalits:** The Mandal Commission broke open the steel doors and made SC/ST/BCs (65%) sufferers and even the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs (20%) - co-sufferers - see the truth in all its nakedness. *The truth is that SC/ST/BCs (65%) are kicked, killed, burnt, raped, their property destroyed, their human rights bulldozed not by Muslims (15%), not by Christians, not by Sikhs (5%) but by the upper castes/savarnas/Aryans/Hindus (15%).*

This is the TRUTH. And this truth exploded right on the face of the Hindus (15%).

And to quickly conceal and bury the truth Advani was forced to go on a cross country *rath yatra* to check this collapsing "Hindu unity".

The Hindus engineered this *rath yatra* not out of love for their god Rama. They engineered the *rath yatra* and the Ramjanambhoomi to undo their own foolishness in violently opposing the Mandal Commission which made the SC/ST/BCs know the truth. And this naked dance of truth before them made them realise that they are not Hindus.

The upper castes through their media and the govt. have been doing their best to conceal this TRUTH. Despite their best efforts to hide the truth, the SC/ST/BCs were coming to know this TRUTH because of the misdeeds of the upper castes only. The Mandal burst open this steel doors and made the entire mass of SC/ST/BCs to see the TRUTH in its all nakedness.

**Even Shudras are revolting:** Not only the SC/ST/BCs started revolting against the brahminical social order but even the *shudras*, the eternal slaves of Hindus occupying the fourth grade in the Hindu hierarchy, are also revolting wholesale. And *shudras* form over 50% of the Hindu/upper caste population. That means the very caste pyramid is threatened and its collapse is imminent. If this pyramid crashes and collapses, the worst hit will be the wily Vaidik sitting at the top - his bone will get fractured. Nay, his life itself is in danger. So that is why this sudden love for the SC/ST/BCs and this sudden acceleration of the Hate-Muslim campaign.

**Manufactured devil:** The upper castes, particularly the "socialist brahmins" among them, are nervous that this closely guarded TRUTH got exposed. And the only way to cover up this truth is to manufacture a devil and dupe the SC/ST/BCs. That is why the Babri Masjid and the Muslims are manufactured as enemies to dupe, divert and deceive the Dalits.

Another serious problem the upper caste rulers are facing is that their own follies are bringing about the unity of the sufferers (65%) and the co-sufferers (20%). And since this entire 85% are a deprived and persecuted lot by the Nazi sections among the upper castes (15%), they are realising the need to join together and put up a united fight.

This grand unity of the sufferers (65%) and co-sufferers (20%) forming 85% of the deprived Indians has upset all the calculations of the Nazis to build their Hindu Rashtra and clamp their constitution of Manu in the place of Indian Constitution made by Dr. Ambedkar.

The upper caste rulers became desperate. And the only way they can defeat the unity of the sufferers (65%) and co-sufferers (20%) - in other words the non-Hindu people - is by raising the bogey of "Hindu unity" being threatened by the "minority appeasement".

**Anti-Muslim riots help Hindu unity:** Shah Bano case then, and Ramajanambhoomi now were invented to recover the lost "Hindus". More such controversies concerning Muslims will be invented to bring about "Hindu unity". In other words, the "Hindu unity" aims at hoodwinking the SC/ST/BCs (65%), who after coming to know the TRUTH got themselves liberated through this revelation of the TRUTH. "Hindu unity" is meant to once again trap these innocents and put them back under the Hindu caste system. That the Nazis may not succeed is different. But they are making desperate attempts to "unite the Hindus" because the caste scaffolding (*Varnashrama Dharma*) will collapse without SC/ST/BCs and once the scaffolding collapses, even the Shudras within the caste system may revolt. To avert this disaster, the Nazis undertook the *rath yatra*, *kar seva* and engineered a series of anti-Muslim riots. Because every anti-Muslim riot brings about "Hindu unity".

How to dupe them back into the Hindu trap of enslavement? The only way is by showing the SC/ST/BCs an enemy. An unwilling child is made to eat by telling a story in which the frightening character is a fierce looking demon. The child gets scared by this description of the devil and quickly eats. The Babri Masjid is one such demon to scare the SC/ST/BCs - particularly the last one - into the Hindu net. Hence this "Hindu unity".

*So this "Hindu unity" is not against the 20% non-Hindus (Muslims, Christians and Sikhs) but against the 65% their own "Hindus" - SC/ST/BCs. This is the meaning of "Hindu unity".*

All over India, Muslims are being killed, their properties burnt, their Masjids demolished not because the Hindus have anything against the

Muslims. The upper castes are indulging in this reckless violence against Muslims because that is the only way to divert the attention of the SC/ST/BCs from the inhuman behaviour of upper castes and against a manufactured, imaginary enemy.

**Love for Rama and Krishna:** The upper castes are trying to lull the SC/ST/BCs to sleep through this sweet lullaby of Ramjanambhoomi so that by creating this love for Rama and Krishna, the SC/ST/BCs (65%) will fall asleep and once they are asleep the upper castes can uninterruptedly suck their blood. The upper castes cannot suck the blood of Muslims, Christians and Sikhs because they being non-Hindus and belonging to better organised religions, the Hindus have no scope for blood-sucking. All over India, it is the SC/ST/BCs who are working as agriculture labourers, construction workers, and producing the food for upper castes. The upper castes are not accustomed to work. They only sit and eat and enjoy at others cost, sweat and blood. The only people who are permitting this blood sucking are the SC/ST/BCs. But of late - thanks to the awakening done by Babasaheb Ambedkar - they too are resisting. How to undo this? How to hoodwink them? How to continue this enslavement? The only way is "Hindu unity".

This is the conspiracy behind all anti-Muslim, anti-Sikh, anti-Christian violence.

The upper caste Nazi forces, therefore, have no love for Rama or Krishna. They are not interested in their temples or anything. If they are interested in Rama temple why they did not demolish Babri Masjid and build one when Advani and Vajpayee were Union Ministers and BJP was in power? Why this sudden love for Rama now? When the Mandal Commission awakened the SC/ST/BCs? They know that they can fight Mandal only with Mandir by creating all sorts of falsehood and confusing the SC/ST/BCs.

**Dr. Ambedkar vs. Manu:** In this war between the 15% upper castes - the votaries of Manu - and the rest, the sufferers (65%) by joining hands with co-sufferers (20%) are the real votaries of Indian Constitution. This war between the Aryan invaders and the original inhabitants did not begin only now. It was there from the day the Aryans invaded India.

**Pakistan was a Nazi creation:** India was partitioned by these very Aryan conspirators not because they hated Muslims. These Nazi conspirators feared that if the Muslims continued to live in an undivided India, their game of enslaving the SC/ST/BCs will not be smooth as the growing Muslim-Dalit unity may not only

thwart such a blood-sucking game but may even prevent the brahminical imperialism succeeding the British imperialism. So, they made a devil out of so great a statesman like M.A. Jinnah, and drove him out. Not because they hated Jinnah. If the Muslims had not been forced to quit India and the country not partitioned, there was no chance for a Kashmiri Pandit to become India's first Prime minister. *India's first Prime Minister would have been none other than Babasaheb Ambedkar*, the greatest Indian after Buddha and the greatest Indian of the Independent India. This is the TRUTH.

So what we witness today is a war between the invaders who want to live a life of drones - drinking others blood - and the children of the soil, the Dravidas and Adi-Dravidas, between the 15% rulers and the 85% ruled, between the two nations, the votaries of Manu and the votaries of Babasaheb Ambedkar.

If the Indian Constitution has to be preserved, social justice has to prevail, human rights have to be assured even to our oppressors, the votaries of Manu will have to be defeated and made to realise the need to fall in line with the Indian Constitution.

This can be done only if the 20% co-sufferers - who being more enlightened because of their egalitarian religions of Islam, Christianity and Sikhism - keep up the momentum, the tension, the contradiction, so that this realisation that has come among the sufferers - SC/ST/BCs (65%) - that they are not Hindus becomes sharper and sharper.

**Role of minorities:** We are entrusting this responsibility to non-Hindu "religious minorities" not only because they are followers of egalitarian religions and hence more enlightened and also educated. We are entrusting this task of preserving and promoting this unity of the sufferers and co-sufferers and thereby the unity and integrity of the country to "religious minorities" because in the name of "Hindu unity", the Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are being targetted everywhere. Muslims, Christians, Sikhs are not the enemies of upper castes. The upper castes know this. They have painted all these three sections (20%) with one brush and called them anti-national and successfully made the whole country to fall in line with this argument for the sake of "Hindu unity". *The Hindus have nothing against Muslims, Christians, Sikhs.* Their writ does not run inside the households of those three sections. Hindus know it. For the sake of "Hindu unity" - meaning enslaving the SC/ST/BCs by annexing them as Hindus - it is necessary to manufacture a national enemy. Hence these three sections have been declared

anti-national.

**Role of Sikhs and Christians:** So it is the duty of Muslims in particular and Sikhs and Christians in general to befriend the SC/ST/BCs (65%) and impress them that all the non-Hindu sections of this country must join hands not only in the interest of the country but more so in the self-interest of Muslims. And the Sikhs and Christians.

Remember: Upper castes cannot afford to launch so much of war and violence against SC/ST/BCs because it is these three sections who are today serving the Hindus as their unpaid, free, eternal bonded labour. Nobody kills his own slaves and servants. If the slaves and servants are killed, tomorrow the master and his mistress will have to do their own work. The upper castes/Hindus are not accustomed to work. They sit, eat and drink and enjoy - at somebody else's cost - sweat and blood. Their life of eternal pleasure and unending leisure will come to an end the moment the SC/ST/BCs come to know the TRUTH. They will quickly know the TRUTH the moment the Hindus launch a war and violence on them. The caste war they launched on SC/ST/BCs on the Mandal Commission brought home the TRUTH to them that they are not Hindus. That is why the Nazis started the *rath yatra*, *kar seva*, toppled the VP Singh and engineered a series of anti-Muslim riots to hide the TRUTH.

The upper castes are manufacturing enemies to dupe the SC/ST/BCs and telling them that if the SC/ST/BCs are today suffering and exploited it is because of Muslims/Sikhs/Christians. *If the Muslims/Christians/Sikhs don't act here and now - and make the TRUTH known at the earliest - those who will be slaughtered to dupe the SC/ST/BCs will be the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs.*

We repeat: The upper castes are manufacturing anti-Muslim, anti-Sikh, anti-Christian controversies and conflicts not because they have anything against these three sections. The Hindus had lived in peace with all these three sections and loyally served them for centuries. This sudden spurt of violence against all these three is to achieve the "Hindu unity" to catch hold of the fleeing slaves.

**Three aims:** The "Hindu unity", therefore, serves three purposes: (1) It prevents the SC/ST/BCs (65%) sufferers from joining hands with Muslims, Christians, Sikhs (20% co-sufferers) and blocks any chance of their putting up a united fight against a common oppressor - the Nazi sections among 15% upper castes.

(2) It helps the upper castes (15%) to keep the SC/ST/BCs (65%) enslaved by pointing out to

them that their poverty, deprivation and suffering is caused by Muslims, Christians and Sikhs and the "minority appeasement" promoted by the govt — meaning the Constitution.

(3) The "Hindu unity" helps the exploiters among upper castes to hide and conceal their identity and collect more money, amass more ill-gotten wealth so that they can continue their life of eternal pleasure and endless leisure riding roughshod over the lives of 85% of the population of India.

So it is the duty of our 20% co-sufferers - (Muslims, Christians and Sikhs) - to make this TRUTH known to the sufferers so that the TRUTH shall free them. Only such a unity of sufferers and co-sufferers will save India, its unity and integrity and force the oppressors to call off their eternal war and violence that has pushed this country to so much of chaos, confusion and bloodshed.

This piece must be translated into all the Indian languages, published as cheap pamphlets and distributed all over India. - EDITOR

## Buddhist wave over UP

(M.L. Dohray, Agra)

The conversion movement launched by Gulab Sehra, ex-Minister and President of UP SC/ST Development Council, from Agra is galloping. Hindu Nazi papers are trying their best to frustrate the movement by giving false figures but the organisers presented 50,272 affidavits of the converts and corrected the record. At Kanpur, Bhikku Suresh Sasai (of Japan) converted the Dalits into Buddhism on Nov.12. The Dalits gave a pledge saying "I will neither consider Brahma, Mahesh or Vishnu as god nor worship them. I will neither consider Hindu gods and goddesses nor worship Gauri and Ganapati. I will neither consider Rama and Krishna as god nor worship them".

Prakash Ambedkar and Gulab Sehra also spoke. At Meerut, another 50,000 Dalits embraced Buddhism on Oct.16. Harbhajan Singh, advocate, along with his family members embraced Buddhism at the ceremony which lasted from 10 am to 5 pm. State President of Bharatiya Bouddha Maha Sabha Shyam Singh, Dr. Ram Babu, Bhikkhu Pragya Ratna, former regional President G.S. Gautam, G.S. Harit, R.S. Sareen and Fr. L.V. Dayanand also spoke. At Agra, the funeral ceremony of Naubat Singh, R/o Terhi Baghia, Khandauli Road, Agra, 12 km. from here, was organised as per Buddhists rites on Nov.21. Dr. Karan Singh, a noted Buddhist, conducted the last rites.

# Sikhs at last realise the urgent need for Media: but they can't start one

(Our correspondent)

**Bangalore:** The Sikhs at last have realised the need for a press of their own. Though individually some leaders have been expressing such a desire for a long time, this is the first time a major Sikh institution, *World Sikh News*, published from the Stockton, USA, is coming out with an editorial in its Dec. 7, 1990 issue. Titled "Urgent need to develop media", the WSN (Editor in chief Dr. G.S. Grewal) has rightly admitted the failure on the part of the Sikhs to establish their own press. Sikhs have money and the journalistic capability. With all this we can't understand why the Sikhs have still failed. We can understand the SC/ST/BCs failure to have their own media. They have no money. But that is not the case with Sikhs, Muslims or Christians.

Today, not only the 85% persecuted majority but even some among the upper castes are realising that if India is heading towards a disaster it is because of its Nazi press: owned by the Marwadis and run by Brahmin and other upper caste journalists.

**Muslim experiment:** Early in 1990 some North Indian Muslims started an English weekly, called *One Nation Chronicle*, spending about a crore of rupees. They appointed a Bania editor and other Brahmin and upper caste staff on fabulous salaries and set up a lavish office in New Delhi and within three months, the paper came out with an anti-Muslim stuff shocking the Muslims. But with all the good infrastructure, plenty of funds, the paper was not selling. After pouring Rs.1 crore down the drain the paper folded up within six months, unsung, unwept. The only other English weekly, *Radiance*, is a Jamati Islami organ and carries religious stuff. Though about 50 years old the weekly has a poor circulation. Muslims have no other English paper. They simply can't start one.

So much so, Muslims and Sikhs are not only being successfully dubbed anti-nationals, criminals, terrorists and what not and killed like dogs by the Hindu Nazis daily but more than that these Nazis with the power of the media they own have impressed the gullible mass of Indians that Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs deserve this treatment. Babri Masjid and Blue Star are the byproducts of this Hindu Nazi campaign to bulldoze them. On one side the "religious minorities" (20%) are being crushed and on another side they are trying to enslave the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes and Backward Castes (65%). A total of over 85% are the victims of Nazism and its Nazi press.

**How to spread truth?:** Still with all these persecutions, the "religious minorities" are not able to take action against what WSN describes as "brahminical oppression". The WSN edit says the "untruth against Sikhs must be countered by spreading truth". But how will the Sikhs or Muslims spread the truth? If they start a media it will be dubbed as a Sikh or Muslim venture and all the deadly machineries at the command of upper castes will be pressed to squeeze such a media to death. So the Sikhs or Muslims cannot start a media - fortnightly

or even a weekly. It will be dubbed a communal stuff and shot dead.

Advertisement, circulation, newsprint and all other printing facilities are still with the upper castes. The govt. is with them. So also the police. So if the Sikhs or Muslims start a media that can be nipped in the bud itself. If like the *One Nation Chronicle*, they are foolish enough to start one the upper castes will infiltrate into it, sabotage it from both inside and outside, milk it dry, have a kushy time for one year enjoying at the cost of all the owners and then force its closure making them incur heavy losses. Any media venture started by the Sikhs or Muslims or even the Backward Castes will be converted into a free boarding and lodging house for the upper castes. They will come in without any shame and enjoy the hospitality. The owners are foolish enough to admit them. The intruders will milk the owners dry and then leave for another free boarding and lodging house which another fool will start. Upper castes are always looking out only for such fools to start a weekly, or monthly and enjoy at others cost. When there are enough fools in the world, why not enjoy at their cost? Therefore the Muslim, Christians or Sikh cannot start a periodical, much less a daily. If they start one it will be a disaster.

The brahminical forces will never, ever allow a media which will go against brahminical interests. They know that the control of brain is more important than anything. You control the brain, you control the purse, military and everything else. The upper castes know this. That is why the Banias own the press and the Brahmins run it. The two with other upper castes, - comprising less than 5% of the Indian population, are hell bent to divide and destroy this country through the media they own. And yet the Muslims, Sikhs and Christians have not realised the need to start a media to combat brahminism and save the country.

The *World Sikh News* is advising the Sikhs to have their own media. We are telling them that they simply can't start one. And if they go ahead without heeding our warning, it will be an utter failure like the disastrous *One Nation Chronicle*. Please note: The battle against brahminism is intellectual. It is not physical. When brahminism can't even be identified, how to catch it and kill it? Brahminism is not merely the Brahmin - it is a thought that many others also share. That is why brahminism cannot be identified, caught and crushed. When it can't even be identified and isolated how to eliminate it? Only Ambedkarism can.

## "Jai Hind" is Aryan

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

The Aryans, who call themselves as Hindus, end their speeches with "Jai Hind". By this, they are merely thanking their forefathers called Persians and Afghans, who donated this term 'Hind' and Hindustan. This slogan is an old relic of colonial history with racial overtones of Aryans. Precisely for these reasons our Ambedkarite VP Singh neither begins nor ends his speeches with this greeting of Iranians. It was customary to greet Moghul emperors saying "Jai Hind", for Hind was their empire.

## Happy news of Sikh unity in Punjab

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: Sikhs, the bravest warriors, the greatest defenders of India's unity and integrity who fought and died for the country in every war since "Independence", have been complaining of humiliation and persecution. Their holiest shrine at Amritsar was subjected to military attack. Hurt and humiliated by the brahminical social order, Sant Bhindranwale declared that Sikhs are a separate "nation". The ruling class failed to stop its aggression against this tiny 2% of India's population and this forced the Sikhs to be on war-path. Despite facing so much of persecution and humiliation they have not been able to put up a joint fight against this ruling class. They could not forge a united battle against their oppressors. Sant Bhindranwale was the first person to identify the oppressors and unite the whole Sikhs to declare a war against the ruling class. But the oppressors quickly realised the danger posed by the Sant and he was instantly finished in the "Blue Star". Ever since the death of the Sant, who is today a cult figure in Punjab, the Sikhs have been leaderless. The arrest of Simranjit Singh Mann, an IPS officer, his torture in the jail and his subsequent election as MP and his party sweeping the Parliament elections, made him fill up this leadership gap. As an intellectual he could come up to the level of the Sant. But ever since Mann emerged as the undisputed leader of Punjab, the upper castes forces — Brahmin, Bania, Khatri — in Punjab and outside have been trying to destroy his career by engineering all sorts of dissensions. Even a MP belonging to his party was murdered by pushing him into a canal. Sikh dissensions are partly creations of the upper caste forces and their *jati* press. But when every Sikh knows these tricks of the oppressors, they should have stood united against the oppressors. But this did not happen. Whether this so-called "Sikh disunity" was a fact or not we are not in a position to say because we have no other source of information, except the very same upper caste "national" napkin papers which are doing everything to discredit the Sikhs. So in the midst of this all-round gloom the latest developments inside Punjab leading to Sikh unity are a happy news. ■

## US asylum for Sikh

**Berkeley:** A Sikh youth who claims to be an All-India Sikh Students Federation member has been granted political asylum in the US after authorities here accepted that he feared persecution in India. The attorney representing the youth said this was the first case of the political refugee status being granted by the immigration court in the US "without having to establish a fear of persecution in the future if deported back to India." Baljit Singh originally came to the US through Holland. He travelled on a Dutch passport in the name of Hayat M Seriff from Amsterdam to Chicago under a pilot visa waiver programme. (Independent Dec. 24) ■

## Ban on "brahminical news"

**New Delhi:** The Sohan Singh Panthic committee has mounted more pressure on the print and electronic media in Punjab by threatening to "proscribe and blackout all brahminical news" from the state. In a fresh decree issued, the committee said by publicising only the "pro-government line" —journalists, newsagents and others employed by media organisations were placing their lives in "grave peril". (Telegraph, Dec. 22). ■

## Sikh worker reinstated

**Washington:** Burger King, a fast food chain of restaurants with branches all over the United States, has reinstated a Sikh woman who was fired last year for refusing to take off her "karra" (steel bangle) while preparing food. Ms Darshan Mann had argued that she could not remove her "karra" because she was a Sikh and her religion required her to wear it. But the company rejected her plea and sacked her. Ms Darshan Mann, who is an American citizen now, sued Burger King for religious discrimination with the help of the equal employment opportunity commission (EEOC) which safeguards the interests of minorities and other special groups. (Times of India Dec.24). ■

## Arya Samaj bid to distort Indian history

**New Delhi:** Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar on Dec.24 inaugurated the 14th international conference of the Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha (SAPS) here. A public declaration released at the function said it shall be the endeavour of SAPS to get the Constitution so amended as to include 'Arya Varta' as the original name of the country. (It defined 'Arya' as non-sectarian, an expression denoting no caste identity and a people of sterling character, noble and wise and with a glorious past). The SAPS will also intensify its struggle against attempts to present a distorted version of history of calling the Aryans as invaders and painting them as non-aboriginies of India and to declare such attempts as offences punishable according to law. (Hindu Dec. 25). ■

## Lingayats Not Hindus

**Gulbarga:** The Veerashaivas (Lingayats), who claim to constitute 25 percent of the total population of Karnataka, have demanded that the Government accord minority status to Veerashaiva religion on par with Muslims and Sikhs. Presiding over the Veerashaiva conference organised by the District Veerashaiva Samaj here on Dec. 23 Shivarudra Swami of Beli Mutt, Bangalore, asked all the Veerashaivas to mention Lingayat or Veerashaivism as their religion instead of Hindu in the relevant columns of the census form during the census beginning in February. (Indian Express Dec.25). ■

## Letters to Editor

**B.K. Nag**, Ambedkar Amar Jyoti, Sambalpur-Orissa 768 004: With ref. to Ms. Ruth C. Wady's letter (DV Dec. 16 p.12) she may contact our Indian Black Dalit artist P.K. Mahanandia FTL, Unvens GATA-6, 50255 Boras, Sweden. Our PVC stickers are sold out. DV helped us to get lots of Ambedkarite customers. We have video cassetts recorded from TV programmes on Dr. Ambedkar. They can be had from our Dt. Coordinator, B-55/1 Rly. Colony, Rourkela - 769 013, Rs.150 each.

**Brahma Din Sankhwar**, Bhim Boudhik Manch, Baradaulatpur, Kanpur, UP-209 206 : We have been celebrating the Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Year from April 14, 1990 propagating Buddhism, displaying "Thus Spake Ambedkar", meditation, cultural programmes, exhibition of Babasaheb and Buddhist literature. It will be concluded on April 14 with the publication of a souvenir. Those interested may write to the above address.

**Dr. Prasada Rao M.**, Govt. General Hospital, Guntur, AP: The support extended by Kanshi Ram to the Shekar Govt. has put all of us into confusion. We need clarification:

(We have received many letters to this effect. But we can't answer on behalf of Kanshi Ram whom we recently met here and made our point clear. The Shekar govt is a stooge of the Congress, the original brahminical party of India. Correspondence on this subject is closed —EDITOR.

**Dr. Harikumar**, Kerala Dalit Medicos Assn., Alleppey Unit, Kerala: As the time for our liberation is nearing, it is the duty of all Dalits in the country to come out in full support of the *Dalit Voice* which is the only organ for us in the country. To begin with we have decided to buy 25 copies of DV.

**K. Vijayaraju**, Vissanapeta, AP: With ref. to Mrs. Surinder Kaur letter (DV Dec.16), I thank her for the valuable information that the image of a *Khargadhari* Buddha is lying in a Berlin museum. We need a picture of that image so that we can make a sword of that type as our religious symbol and name our society as *Khargadhari* Buddhist Society. I will be the first Dalit from AP to join it followed by my wife and nine-month-old daughter. Only *Khargadhari* Buddhists can convert Dalits into a martial race to usher in the "Ambedkar Era" which as our Editor has predicted would begin with the 21st century.

**Dev Athawale**, Murtizapur, Akola dt., MS: I got two recent issues of DV which revived my memories about your historic work that is appreciated by all of us in this part. We want to arrange a series of lectures as part of the Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Year Celebrations and we have decided to invite you here in the third week of Jan.

(We are daily getting such invitations from all parts of the country. While we thank such enthusiasts, we want to impress them that it is physically impossible to accept

them. Such enthusiasts must first read our journal and our DSA literature and digest them. The Editor will automatically follow the literature. Not the other way round — EDITOR.)

**Er. G.S. Raju**, Bangalore: You are always advocating the Dalit-Muslim-Sikh unity but not including Christians in this. Is it because you think that they are a forward class or that they are not interested in this unity?

(When we talk of the 85% Anaryan Indians (Bahujan Samaj), it means SC/ST/BCs 65% and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs, 20%. Besides, 80% Indian Christians are Dalits — EDITOR.)

**N.K. Sharma**, New Delhi: DV must come out with more extensive details about the fact of non-Hinduism for the liberation of Untouchables. Publish articles on the glorious achievements of Untouchable (Anaryan) kings and their kingdom. Pallavas were Untouchable kings. Pallans probably are Pallavas. TN Dalits must provide authentic material. The Pallava capital is lying vacant and deserted somewhere in TN coast. Ask the TN Untouchables to go and occupy it and make it a "Dr. Ambedkar Buddha Vihara". There are such great gaps in history which must be filled up to convince the Untouchables that they are not Hindus and never Hindus.

**N.Lakshmindra Dev**, gen.sec., HMT SC/ST Emp. Assn., A/2 Indira Mahal, 5th Main, Gandhinagar, Bangalore-9: The suggestion of G.B. Sonara, chairman of the ONGC SC/ST Emp. Assn. Cambay branch, to release HMT wrist watches with Dr. Ambedkar picture and signature has been accepted by the HMT management provided it receives institutional order to this effect. So, all SC/ST and Ambedkarite organisations must place orders for the Dr. Ambedkar watches which will be moderately priced. The orders may be sent to J.Balram Swamy, Asst. GM(I), HMT, Basappa Complex, 40/1A, Lavelle Road, Bangalore-1 with a copy to me.

**Rajan Harpal**, Dr. Ambedkar Smruti Sangahatan, Baragarh, Sambalpur dt., Orissa - 768 028: We propose to build a memorial for the greatest Indian and the Father of our Nation, Babasaheb Ambedkar, as part of this Centenary Year. We need your support.

**Bhayya Mahesh Kumar**, Boudha Nagar, Karnataka Dalit Youth Trust, Chitguppa, Bidar dt., Karnataka-585 412: Over 10,000 people gave a big reception to Ram Vilas Paswan and Prakash Ambedkar at Gulbarga on Dec.17.

**Satyanveshi**, New Delhi: Of the 240 Central public sector undertakings there is not a single chairman or MD from the SC/ST/BCs. The *savarna* bosses don't find the candidates from these groups "suitable" for higher positions. Officers from these don't get promotion above the Dy. GM level. But the situation can be changed overnight if the Dalits become militant. Threats work very well with the *savarnas*. Stoppage of Hindi broadcasts from AIR, Chandigarh and Jallandhar stations is a good example.

**Gaurab Kumar Datta**, Batanagar, W.Bengal: Political power will not come by begging. We have to seize it and to seize it we need strength which we can get by joining hands with other persecuted sections like

Muslims, Sikhs, Christians. This alliance of SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Sikhs/Christians will put 85% of the Anaryan society before which the 15% Hindus will simply surrender. This formula given by you is the only solution to get power. The news of the growing influence of Tamil Nadu's PMK based on this formula is a happy news. Babasaheb's Three Commandments will be the best guide to acquire power. The Nazis will never allow the unity of the 85% Anaryan groups. If the Nazis come in the way of the country's unity and integrity, then armed struggle is necessary. DV is becoming a pathfinder.

**Dewanand G. Meshram**, President, Republican Students Fed., Agriculture College, Warora dt., Chandrapur, MS: Rs.30,000 received from by the Punjabrao Krishi Vidyapith by our college in connection with the Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Celebrations and gold medals for all faculties have to be utilised properly.

**Venkatesh**, Bijapur, Karnataka: Sudras form the biggest chunk of the Hindu society. Rama killed Shambuka, a shudra, and insulted the whole sudra community and yet nobody in India has thought of building a memorial for Shambuka in this year of social justice.

**C.L. Bouddha**, principal, Kendriya Vidyalay, No.1, Dekargaon, Sonitpur Dt., Assam -784 501: I have been transferred from Tezpur to this place. Earlier, I was transferred from Mysore to Orissa, then to Bihar and then to Tezpur. This is may fate being born an Untouchable.

**Manoharan K.**, Bangalore: Karnataka's powerful Dalit Minister Basavalingappa is reported to have said that Aryan invaders never built any temple in India. All the rock temples that we find all over the country are nothing but Buddhist temples. He gave the example of the famed Kadri Temple of Mangalore (D.K. Dt.) where he said he found the idol of Alokya Buddha when he visited the temple to test if that was a Buddhist one. Brahmins, he said, converted this into a Vishnu temple. The same people stole the Manjushi idol and installed it at Dharmastala and renamed it as Manjunatha temple which now gets Rs.1 lakh income a day from the visiting devotees. He said the different rock temples that he saw at Siddapur (N.K. dt.), Vijayanagar were are all Buddhist. Building rock temples are not known to Aryans. So, whenever we find a rock temple it is certain to be Buddhist. I want the DV to launch a struggle to recover all these temples from the Aryan aggressors and restore it to Buddhists.

**P.R. Kuppurswamy**, Advocate, Karur, TN: With ref. to Dr. E. Lingam's letter (DV Dec.16), he may refer to the AIR, Nagpur, 1972 for the Supreme Court judgment saying that only the Brahmin shall be the temple priest, page no 1586 to 1598. Also 1973 Madras Law Journal, Supreme Court, p 58, Madras Law Weekly p.23 (short notes).

**Kallara Sukumaran**, convener, Bahujan Samaj Party, Kerala, Peermade-685 531: As part of the Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Year celebrations, BSP chief Kanshi Ram has just concluded the "Bharat Yatra" of Kerala. Starting from Kanyakumari on Dec.6, he will end up at Mhow, birth place of Babasaheb in MP, on April 14. During this 130-day tour he will spread the

message of Babasaheb. From Dec. 14 to 17, he toured Kerala and received 67 public receptions from SC/ST/BCs and Muslims. He made it clear that BSP is neither a Brahmin agent nor that of the Rajrishi.

**Dharmeswar Hazarika**, Transportation officer, HFC Ltd., Namrup, Asam.: I am being subjected to persecution being a SC. My promotion took nine years. If appeals fail I will be compelled to go to court.

**M. Naushad**, Gaya, Bihar: I am opposed to the suggestion of some DV readers to convert it into a weekly. DV is not merely a magazine like the rest. It is a valuable journal of reference and documentation. Every sentence in DV needs careful and concentrated study so that it motivates the readers to propagate its message so that action follows to build up a people's revolution against these upper caste Nazis. There is need for sufficient gap of 15 days between two issues. So, it should remain a fortnightly. The Editor must have enough time to coolly ponder and come out with historic messages.

**Arshad Kalliath**, medico, Trivandrum Medical College, Kerala: DV is the herald of social revolution. As such, it must be sold through news agents here so that its message reaches a wider audience.

**Student Islamic Movement**, TN unit, Madras: We are holding our state unit conference at Madurai on Jan. 27 which we want you to address.

**Mohd. Ibrahim**, Cochin, Kerala: Your thought-providing address to the Muslim Education Society seminar on Mandal Commission here on Dec. 23 was well received by the Muslim educationists who had gathered from all over Kerala. But your one remark that the Hindu Nazis are not against Muslims but only against SC/ST/BCs came as a shock to me. So also many others in the Cochin Town Hall. We wanted to meet you and seek your clarification but by then you had left. Your remark made me to suspect you as a Nazi agent. I am a DV reader and still I got this doubt. That means those not familiar with your thoughts would be much more confused.

(Some other Muslims had also expressed the same doubt. This was because organisers of the meeting did not want a Malayalam translation of our speech. However, we request you to carefully study the editorial in this issue which deals with the very same subject in a more elaborate way. You may get it done into Malayalam and publish it. This edit is a very important piece and needs a very careful study - EDITOR.)

**A.M. Ansari**, 679 Anta, Shahjahanpur, UP-242 001: We are inspired by the example set by B.K. Nag and the Momin Society here has decided to go in for similar stickers to propagate secularism and communal harmony. We invite good slogans and the one selected as the best will get 100 stickers.

**Ejaz Ahmed Ejaz**, Chak Nagri, Post Katahan, via Mehsi, East Champaran, Bihar-845 426: A recent issue of DV was given to me by a friend. I was so influenced by it that I read it in a single sitting. DV is a new kind of journalism. Your observation that BCs are neither sudras nor Hindus is a bigger bomb than the Mandal bomb. Your call that Muslims must support SC/ST/BCs in their struggle for Mandal is the right advice. Your fight for human rights needs wide support.

**Ausaf Ahsan, Manipal, Karnataka:** I was reading your book, *Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar—Clash of Two Values*, and a classmate (Bahraini) who saw it, borrowed the book and read it. After reading it he said the book took him to a new world of Indian history. Until he read your book, he had known only one leader, M.K. Gandhi. He had never heard of Dr. Ambedkar. This is the case with most foreign students in our medical college. He began discussing your book with other upper caste medicos. One said "Dr. Ambedkar's second (Brahmin) wife was a girl friend of Nehru and that is why he brought up Dr. Ambedkar". See the hatred against Dr. Ambedkar. My Bahraini friend's curiosity grew more and he ordered a full set of your books.

**S.M. Pasha, Madras:** I met Palani Baba on Dec. 7 at the Central Jail, Tiruchy, TN, where he is under detention (NSA) and conveyed your good wishes and the points you made in your recent Madras speech.

**Dr. B.M. Siddique, New Delhi:** Dalit-Muslim-Sikh unity is shaping up (DV Dec. 16, '90 p.23). And you are the architect of it. You are uniting 85% of the country's population and all SC/ST/BC and religious minority organisations must honour you with a national award for promoting the country's unity and integrity when the Nazi forces are doing their best to destroy the same. After having watched the Sikh struggle from close range, I feel that they are losing their battle against brahminism. They can succeed only if they accept you as their adviser. With all their hatred for brahminism, the Sikhs still have upper caste (Khatri and Jat) domination. They keep Hindu names, intermarry with Hindus and discriminate against Dalits. The most serious problem with the Sikhs is heart-of-heart they are anti-Muslim, and the Nazis know this. They tried their best during the Rajiv regime to engineer an Indo-Pak war so that the Sikhs are forced to fight the Muslims and that Sikhs are put back under brahminical leadership. I want the top Sikh leadership to declare that Sikhs will fight and die for Dalits and Muslims.

**Akhtar bin Umar, Shukat Maidan, Jambusar-392 150:** Your advice for unrelenting dedicated efforts in the face of ruthless opposition (ref. Editor's note on W.M. Oval's letter, DV March 1, 90 p.13) reminds me of the following passage from Turkish struggler for Faith Said Nursi's biography: "Bediuzzaman lived for seven years (in detention) and continued to write and disseminate the *Risale-i Nur*. Because he and his students were deprived of almost all kinds of freedom. They therefore, formed their own postal organisation called "Nur Postmen" through which 60,000 copies of treatises were multiplied by handwriting. I have also heard of the dead Iranian Shah's satanic Savak used to keep a record of the owners of typewriters in order to check the propagation of Imam Khomeini's revolutionary message. Surely, everything can be done through dedicated determination.

(This suggestion pertains to the sales network for DV in Bombay. If our readers in Bombay decide today within a month they can arrange sale of 5,000 copies of DV if they follow the above suggestion. Where there is a will there is a way — EDITOR).

**Robert Noronha, Bombay:** DV has educated me. I was a Brahmin convert to Christianity and close to

Konkani Brahmins. But DV changed me and made me go in search of the oppressed (Dalits). The DV analysis helped me to understand things correctly. Now I am convinced that a section of the upper castes (Nazis) are spreading their sickness and the country has to be saved from this sickness. But my fellow Catholics are so much steeped in Marxism that they are not able to understand things. I want to invite you to Bombay and give a brainwashing to our group here in Bandra.

(Christians were the first people to do so much for Dalits in recent history. If the Christians had not come to India, this would have been a jungle country. They gave us civilisation and also taught us what is meant by nationalism and coached us to fight against the British who were also Christians. They very first president of the Congress Party that was engaged in fighting the British was a Christian. They did so much of research on Dalits, tribals. Entire Northeast Mongoloid tribals got a new life. Even the brahminical literature was translated to English and made known to the world by a German. Unfortunately, all this good work done by the foreign missionaries and scholars has been undone by the upper caste Christian converts who are today monopolising the enormous church property and positions, and suppressing the 80% Dalit Christians. We have dealt with this subject in our book, *Christians & the Liberation of Dalits*, DSA, 1987. The church leadership is refusing to accept our suggestion to provide reservations to SC/STs in church-run educational institutions which are serving the upper castes. We had complained to the World Council of Churches, the Vatican and all foreign donor agencies against this Church discrimination against our people but the Church in India continues to firmly side with our oppressors. And some rare exceptions, like Bishop Azariah of Madras, India's most famous Black theologian who fight for our people, are subjected to character assassination by these very people — EDITOR.)

**Jangam Joseph, advocate, Hyderabad:** DV is the only paper which appeals to the hearts of Dalits and lovers of justice. The Director of Education was inspecting a DEO office. A Dalit Christian and a Brahmin wrote an exam. The Brahmin got less marks but was appointed teacher. The Director asked the DEO why he did it. He replied: "Because is our man". A Dalit Christian peon of a junior college died. His wife applied for a sweeper's post which she must get as per rules. The principal told his clerk: "Don't tell her the rule. She is a Christian". This shows that a man who gives jobs on "merit" is not yet born in India. He will not be born in future. Such cases of discrimination are many. The upper caste Nazis enjoyed reservation for 2,000 years. The others should enjoy them for at least 1,000 years.

(India's merit-mongers want only caste-based reservation in the temple archaka post which is a govt. job. Even the Supreme Court is upholding caste-based reservations in temples while striking down the same elsewhere. Bangladesh Muslims fought against the merit-based rule of Punjabi Muslims of Pakistan and got the country divided. If India's upper caste merit-mongers don't want to repeat such a thing in India they must see the writing on the wall. Over 95% of Indian population is opposed to "merit". Read our book, *Merit, My Foot*, DSA 1988 — EDITOR).

**M. Sukumar, Madras:** I am a Telugu Dalit Christian and a great admirer of your work. I read C.P. Thangaraj book advertised in DV. Robert de Nobili was the first

to introduce caste into the Indian church. He preferred only Brahmins for conversion. The Indian Christian population is about 5% but the census says it is 4.43%. This is because many Christians, particularly the Dalit Christians, register themselves as "Hindus" to avail the reservations. The Nazi elements in the govt. are conspiring to keep our population low.

(The Church has all the potential to grow into a revolutionary religion provided it is liberated from the clutches of upper caste Christians. We want many Black Bishops like Rev. Azariah. Church has vast funds but it is doing nothing to translate, print and publish Dr. Ambedkar literature into Indian languages. Even the World Council of Churches and other funding organisations are being misled by the church leadership, and the money that is coming to India is being jointly looted by the upper caste Christians and upper castes in the govt. Together they eat all the money in the name of Dalits and put down those genuine revolutionary forces that work for the liberation of Dalits. Fortunately WCC's PCR is taken over by committed Black leaders like N. Berney Pitayane, a Black theologian of repute, and they are seeing through this game played in India in the name of Dalit liberation. Nothing less than a major surgical operation can set right the church in India - EDITOR.)

**Kaushal Kishore Mourya**, Jabalpur: Your prediction that the VP govt. would be overthrown within a year has come true. This is because of VP Singh's govt. order to implement the Mandal Commission Report for the Backward Castes. Both anti-Mandal and anti-Masjid movements are led by anti-nationals and terrorists. The choice is between the Constitution of India framed by Dr. Ambedkar and the Constitution of brahminism framed by Manu.

**Miss Beena Joseph**, Madras: Community Service Centre, Madras, had recently arranged a meeting on communal harmony. The meeting was attended by many of the intellectuals representing Christian, Muslim and Sikh communities. Dr. K. Rajaratnam, a noted Dalit Christian scholar and theologian, presided. Dr. S. Gopal, son of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Janab Mohammed Abdul Ali, Prince of Arcot, Dr. M. Azariah, India's most famous Black theologian as well as the Bishop of Madras, N. Ram, Associate Editor of the *Hindu*, were the speakers. All the speakers especially Ram, Dr. Gopal and Bishop Azariah condemned the Aryan/savarna/Hindu communalism which is rocking the country and preaching hatred. Bishop M. Azariah was almost in tears referring to the prevailing hate atmosphere in India. He remembered his journey from Bangalore to Madras by train and his meeting with Chinmayananda who told the Bishop that there were no Christians in India. "There are only two sets of people in India: The Hindus and those who were Hindus". The Bishop was shocked to hear such a ridiculous and foolish statement from the former Vishwa Hindu Parishad chief. Bishop Azariah denounced the devilish forces engineered by the Aryan savarnas. Even the upper castes present could not but congratulate Bishop Azariah because of his deep concern and love for humanity which he said were more important than the Mandir or the Rama stones or the *rath yatra*. Bishop Azariah said that the language of love is gone from the face of India because of communal hatred. Will the Christian community produce more Black Bishops like Azariah to liberate

the church from Nazi hold?

**Aravind Kamble**, Pune: The anti-Narmada dam "environmentalists" are agitating against the dam not out of love for the lakhs of tribals who will be displaced by the dam but to build up the leadership of Baba Amte, a Brahmin. In the name of anti-Narmada agitations these upper caste "environmentalists" had trips to US a couple of times, and secured jobs for many of their *jatwals*. But I am sure that the Narmada dam will be constructed despite all these (fake) opposition and the tribals will be displaced and the environment will be destroyed. Because the those wanting the Sardar Sarovar (Narmada) and those opposing it are cousins. You have rightly said they quarrel during the day but sleep in the same bed at night. The Narmada controversy is raised to get a national award for Baba Amte and Medha Patkar. You have rightly warned: "Beware of environmentalists". Those who destroy the environment and those crying for it are the same people.

#### Dalits punished for following Dr. Ambedkar

(Ashok Kamble, Pune)

Ashok Nilay, president of the Maharashtra Republican party in an article, "A case for reservation in services under the Government of India in respect of Buddhists converted from Scheduled Castes in India", has referred to this penalty paid by all those who followed Dr. Ambedkar and embraced Buddhism: "On the 14th October 1956, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar embraced Buddhism. The Government of India at the instance and opposition of Babu Jagjivan Ram to Buddhism and Dr. Ambedkar, with a view to taking political vengeance against Dr. Ambedkar and his followers refused concessions to Buddhists under their order made on the 26th October, 1956, that is just after twelve days after Babasaheb's conversion to Buddhism. The sole intention of the Congress Ministry then was to malign the image of Babasaheb Ambedkar. The chief architects alive today of this political vendetta are Morarji Desai and Babu Jagjivan Ram and Chaudhari Charan Singh who were the main pillars of the then Congress Government." Untouchables have been thus punished for following Dr. Ambedkar. VP Singh Government had to come to undo this mischief in 1990. The upper castes punished VP for doing the justice.

#### Ayodhya belongs to Buddhists

(Ratankumar Palaliputra, Bombay)

The conflict between upper castes and Muslims over Ayodhya has assumed political colours under the disguise of religious sanctity. But for Buddhists, the city of Ayodhya which was formerly known to the Buddhist world as "Saket" is as holy as Lumbini, Buddha-Gaya, Kushinara and all other similar sacred places of Buddhists. Buddha had spent 25 years in Kosala country and more than six years in Saket, preaching his Dhamma. Asoka the Great, erected stupa over, the Relics, Tathagatha's nails and hair, thus making it a holy place for Buddhist faith, reverence and sanctity. Apart from this there are numerous other reasons which render sanctity to Ayodhya as a prominent pilgrimage centre for the Buddhist world. And hence it is none other than Saket which is a "sanctum sanctorum" for the Buddhists. Therefore, it must be restored to the Buddhists. Ayodhya is not Ayodhya, It is Saket and if Ayodhya is some where then surely it exists outside India. A detailed report about the facts concerning the historical, geographical and archaeological evidences in support of this claim, shall be published in the DV shortly.

# Babri Masjid: Nazis meddling with archeological evidence.

(P.S. Sridhara Murthy, Advocate, Bangalore)

In my book, Rama, Ramayana and Babar (Dalit Sahitya Academy), I had said that the nearest point of truth that we can reach with all the available material on the question of Babri Masjid is that the followers of the Vedic religion might have destroyed the temple of a non-Vedic religion (Jainism or Buddhism) and that the black pillars taken from the ruins may have been used in the Babri Masjid. Muslim journals did not make any efforts to inform their readers about the historical evidence presented in this book – as well as in the book of Sher Singh and Mrs. Surinder Kaur, "Babar, The Secular Emperor" – while the Hindu Nazi weekly, Organizer, as well as their daily, Indian Express, kept on feeding its readers with the lie that Babar demolished a Rama temple and built a mosque in its site at Ayodhya. Now an eminent historian, Prof. R.S. Sharma, has dismissed the views of Dr. S.P. Gupta and Prof. B.B. Lal of the much – advertised archaeological project on Ramayana, as "absolutely without any foundation". (Times of India, Dec 6, 1990). It is significant that he has stated that the responsible officials of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) were reluctant to provide the published material from the ASI Library as they were apprehensive of the vindictive attitude of Nazi sympathisers in the ASI establishment. This statement speaks volumes about the absence of objectivity so essential for the study of history. Nazis have infiltrated into several such vital govt. depts. with the sole object of brainwashing the people by its well known technique of suppressing the facts and propagating lies. The Times of India story makes it very clear that archaeological evidence, far from speaking of a Rama temple does not suggest the existence of even a Vaishnava temple. He has also said that no temple dedicated to Rama was ever built up to the 12th century and no Rama temple at Ayodhya was ever built till the 16th century. It indirectly accuses Dr. S.P. Gupta who is styling himself as an archaeologist and has been of late struggling to build up an archaeological evidence in support of the Nazi case against the Babri Masjid, of total lack of objectivity. Both Prof. R.S. Sharma and R.C. Singh, former Director of the U.P. Archaeology Dept., have said that there are neither inscriptional, archaeological nor epigraphical evidence to show that there was a Rama temple at the site of Babri Masjid. ■

## Babri Masjid site was Buddhist

**New Delhi:** The eminence grise of ancient Indian history, Prof. R.S. Sharma has strongly dismissed the validity of evidence regarding the existence of an eleventh century Ram temple at Ayodhya in an interview. On the other hand, Prof Sharma draws attention to several historical sources that suggest the existence of Buddhist monasteries in Ayodhya. Prof Sharma cites Huan Tsang, the Chinese traveller, as saying that the number of Buddhist monks in Ayodhya was 3,000 and that of non-Buddhists was small. Huan Tsang spoke of the existence of an old monastery that had long been the centre of Buddha's teaching in the kingdom of Ayodhya (Si-Yu-Ki, Vol.I, London 1966 pp.224-25). Huan Tsang suggested the dominance of Buddhism at Ayodhya in the seventh century and states that there were about 100 monasteries and 10 deva (brahminical or other) temples in the country of Ayodhya. Earlier, in the 5th century A.D., Fa Hsian spoke of Buddha's twig tooth-brush (Danta-kashtha) growing to a height of seven cubits at Saket. Fa Hsian said that although the Brahmins destroyed the tree it grew again on the same site (James Legge, a record of Buddhistic kingdoms, Oxford, 1886, pp.54-55). The historical evidence of the flourishing of Buddhism at Ayodhya and the existence of Babri Masjid on a mound, typical of the archaeological remains of Buddhists stupas in Mohenjodaro and elsewhere, provides a strong indication to historians and archaeologists that the archaeological remains in Ayodhya could well belong to Buddhist monasteries that were destroyed by a brahminical onslaught. The existence of Buddhist motifs like *salabhanjika* (a woman plucking sal leaves) and *danda* (staff) even on the pillars on which Dr.S.P. Gupta has erected his archaeological case strengthens

the conclusion that the monument in the vicinity of Babri Masjid was Buddhist. Noted historians and archaeologists have rejected the interpretation that the Babri Masjid was built on the remains of a Hindu temple. Prof V.N. Mishra, the eminent scholar of pre-history and director of Deccan College in Pune, said that he found the evidence adduced by S.P. Gupta, "inadequate" and "unconvincing" (Times of India Dec.6. 1990). ■

## Muslims killed at Agra

**Bisheshwar Mishra, Agra:** The riots in Agra, which left 22 dead and shattered the communally interdependent shoe and tourism industries, was apart from anything else, electronically engineered. The police seized some audio cassettes, which screamed slogans inciting both communities, it was reliably learnt. The cassettes started of with "Allah-ho-Akbar," then "Jai Shri Ram," followed by "bachao-bachao" and "maaro maaro". These were played by Maruti car stereos at full volume in the dead of the night. The unidentified cars would zip off into the darkness, leaving behind two panic-stricken and suspicious communities, who would then begin screaming and pelting stones at each other. Prof Ram Gopal Chauhan, former head of the Hindi department, Agra College, squarely lays the blame for the riots on the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. The riot was one-sided and poor Muslims were the main targets. The bulk of the 22 persons killed were Muslims, at least eight of whom were killed by the Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC). (Times of India, Dec. 23) ■

## Violation of human rights in India

**New Delhi:** Having drawn a blank from Parliament and the administrative set-up, it is to the Supreme Court that the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes is looking for redress to one of the major problems being faced by the Tribal communities. Breaking tradition by addressing the Press directly, the Commissioner, Dr. B.D. Sharma, said that a letter on that subject written by him to the Chief Justice of India has been treated a public interest writ petition. Notice had been issued to the Government. It was a "unique situation" Dr. Sharma said, "where a Constitutional authority would be a petitioner against the Union and State Governments on matters concerning the fundamental rights of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and seeking the directions of the highest court in the land on vital legal issues, questioning the basic frame itself as also conscious distortions by the concerned authorities which not only deny the people justice, but even subjects them to injustice, harassment and torture." The continuing dissonance between the legal frame and the traditions of Tribal communities has led to criminalization of their social and economic system itself. The tribal people are completely helpless in the face of the omnipotent system. The criminalization of entire communities in tribal areas is the darkest blot on the liberal tradition of our country." Dr. Sharma said the two reports of the Commission prepared during his stewardship had not even been discussed in Parliament — though the ritual of laying them on the table had been duly completed. He had often pointed out to the Governors that they had overriding powers in tribal areas — but not once in 40 years had such powers been exercised. It was against the background of such indifferent response that he had written to the Chief Justice, and now the Supreme Court had reacted. (*Statesman* Dec 16)

**New Delhi:** Amnesty International has once again expressed serious concern over the human rights situation in India. In a summary report for 1990, it has reiterated its charge that thousands of political prisoners, including "prisoners of conscience", were being detained without trial and that torture and ill-treatment in custody continued to be widespread in the country. Significantly, the organization has asserted that more than 100 peaceful demonstrators had been extrajudicially executed during the past year. The summary statement, which is essentially an update of the annual report for 1990, also seeks clarification from the Government about the "disappearance" of dozens of prisoners in Punjab. The human rights group appears to be especially alarmed about the detentions under the so-called "anti-terrorist laws" and the Arms Act and in this context, has referred to the arrest of 250 political leaders and human rights activists in Punjab last month. The report also wonders how peaceful critics in Gujarat could be arrested under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act. According to the agency several hundred cases of extrajudicial executions have been reported. In this connexion, it mentions Kashmir where more than 110 unarmed civilians were "deliberately" shot during Jan. to Sept. this year, under cover of the Armed Forces Special Power Act which provides immunity from prosecution to securitymen who kill. Amnesty International has also received similar reports from Punjab where security forces continue to hold "staged encounters" Certain such executions have also been undertaken in Andhra Pradesh. What's more, the report states that three persons could have been extrajudicially executed in U.P. during October and November. In this context, court orders issued to security forces to produce missing detainees have also been flouted, says the report. (*Statesman* Dec. 19,90)

## Backward Muslims revolt against upper class Muslims

**New Delhi:** The All-India Muslim Backward Classes Federation has criticised the 'self-proclaimed' upper class Muslim leaders for neglecting the cause of the backward Muslims and fomenting riots to achieve their own political goals at the expense of the lives of poor Muslims in the country. The leaders of the Federation told a news conference here on Dec. 25 that the members of the Babri Masjid Action Committee have association with various political parties and are exploiting the situation since Independence by neglecting the backward Muslim communities. "Who has elected them to represent the Muslims living in the country?" was one of their questions. "The Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid and Shahabuddin were the greatest of the enemies of the 80 per cent backward Muslims", they alleged. Kasim Ali Abid, ex-MP and president of the Federation, said that while the poor Muslims are living peacefully in rural areas along with the Hindus, the upper class Muslim leaders are sowing the seeds of communalism. Dildar Hussain Ansari, president of the U.P. unit of the Federation, said the Muslim masses in general were expecting an early solution to the Ayodhya dispute. Among the other office-bearers of the Federation who spoke were Shahid Khan, general secretary, and Ahmad Sharif, organising secretary. They urged the Centre to implement the Mandal Commission report as decided earlier by the National Front Government and to ask the State Governments also to implement it. Stating that all the 40 different backward Muslim communities comprising Ansaris, Kumbars, carpenters, blacksmiths and Gujjars have been listed in the Mandal report, they said that reservation should be accorded to these people on a par with scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. (*Hindu* Dec. 26).

### Dalits are a separate nation

#### THE DALIT DESIYATA

Kerala experience in development and class struggle  
Editor: A.M. Abraham Ayrookuzhiel  
Associate Director of Christian Institute for study of Religion and Society, Bangalore.

Among the Dalits all over India there is a growing awareness of the need to come together despite difference in language, religion, territorial diversity and ethnic cooperation. What makes them feel as one community and one people is that they are Untouchables and suffer from one common socio-cultural exploitation. This growing together of the Dalits as an oppressed community is what is affirmed in this book as a Dalit nationality. The failure of the Marxian theory of class struggle took the Dalits to seek refuge in Dr.B.R. Ambedkar's philosophy.

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## Muslim bodies differ on Babri Masjid

New Delhi: The Babri Masjid Action Committee (BMAC) does not agree with the Insaf Party's stand that the Babri Masjid could be handed over to the Hindus if it was established that a Ram temple had been demolished to construct the mosque. The BMAC central committee member, Javed Habib, said on Dec. 13 the Vishwa Hindu Parishad would have to prove that the mosque was constructed on Ram's janmasthan (birthplace) and not merely over a Ram temple. The VHP, he pointed out, has shifted its stance regarding the site being Ram's birthplace. Habib said prior to 1949, claims were made over the Ram Chabootra as being Ram's birthplace, but now the VHP was stating that the area inside the mosque was the actual birthplace, after illegally installing the idols there. The Ram Chabootra is the land inside the mosque compound but outside the actual structure. Ram could not have been born at two places, the VHP must decide where exactly his birthplace is located. As for the VHP's new stand that the birthplace was a "matter of faith with the Hindus", Habib said faith cannot keep changing in this fashion. (*Telegraph* Dec. 14) ■

### Hindu police kill Muslims

Kanpur: The industrial metropolis of Kanpur, known for its tanneries, is going through the worst communal carnage since independence, with the death toll having reached over 20 in just three days of violence and with even women and young children falling prey to police bullets. However, what is striking about the violence in Kanpur is that though the riot began on a communal tone, the fight has now been relegated to that between the security forces, in particular the notorious PAC, and the minority community. (*Telegraph* Dec. 14) ■

### "Brahmin-dominated press"

Madras: The general verdict of what Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi calls the "Brahmin dominated" press in Tamil Nadu is that former Prime Minister V.P. Singh's whirlwind tour, covering ten districts in two days, has failed to enthuse the people. Addressing a mammoth meeting in Tirunelveli in the southern Nellore Kattabomman District on the last lap of Singh's tour, Karunanidhi referred to a report in a pro-Congress Tamil daily that the turnout was poor throughout and asked the vast gathering whether they had read the paper. Hundreds of hands went up. (*Deccan Herald* Dec. 19) ■

## Gujarat Hindu police disobey govt orders, kill Muslims

Saibal Dasgupta, Ahmedabad — The Chimanbai Patel Government is at its wit's end with the armed police force itself becoming the focal point of the ongoing riots. In fact, the State's might is at stake with the police becoming increasingly reluctant to carry out Government orders. The Ahmedabad police had deserted the Government in times of crisis in the past. The govt control over the uniformed forces began weakening since two Muslim young men were gunned down, allegedly without provocation and at point blank range, in the Dariapur locality of Ahmedabad on Dec. 9. (*Statesman* Dec.21) ■

## Signs of India going fascist

New Delhi: She's an extremist, dressed in saffron, blazing with the flame of Hindutva, seeing everything in black and white. She's only 25, and she's just been banned. After interviewing her for the two hours, you know why. Sadhvi Ritambhara, whose audio-cassette on Ayodhya was banned by the Delhi police recently, addresses the tape recorder like she was addressing a public meeting (and lately she has been addressing a lot of these all over the place, at the rate of three a day). Her guru, Swami Parmanand, presides over the meeting, and pipes in now and then, more excitable than his disciple. Here's what the sanyasin has to say: "We want to teach the Muslims and the politicians a lesson — either they come to heel, and surrender to our will in Ayodhya, or we shall take it by force." Their gameplan, they say, is two-pronged. One, to prepare the Hindus to shed their traditional tolerance and "diffidence" and be ready to fight whenever they are attacked in the pursuit of their "just cause". And second, to put fear in the hearts of the Muslims so that they are forced to yield to them. If these were just the rantings of a couple of extremists, one could have ignored them. But the worrying thing is that these two, and other hardliners like them, are currently embarked on a whirlwind tour of the country and are generating an increasingly enthusiastic response. You quiz them on their frightening stand. What exactly is their problem? "The Hindus", they say, "have been oppressed for the last 44 years." How? "The Muslims have their personal code, they don't have to observe family planning. Politicians appease them at every step, while the Hindus are taken for granted. We can't even teach our children our religion in schools." But this is a secular nation. "We don't believe in this kind of secularism," thunders Ritambhara, "Where Jama Masjid is given Rs 50 lakhs and the kar sevaks have to face bullets." (*Times of India* - Dec 13, 1990.) ■

# Nazis are not confined to Nazi parties alone

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: Our people are being deceived by the upper caste media and made to think that "Hindu communalists" are only in the Nazi parties. This is a big bluff. SC/ST/BCs and "religious minorities" should not thus get duped and think that all other parties are "secular" and only the Nazi parties are "communal". Please note that there is no "secularism" in India. Nazis are there not only in Nazi parties but the more dangerous lot are in the so-called "secular" parties. Nazism is a thought. And those holding this thought are in Nazi parties as well as "secular" parties. The two "communist" parties (CPI and CPM) are the most dangerous ones because these parties are packed with wolves in sheeps' skin. We had named these wolves and hence there is no need to repeat what we had said. Vasanth Sathe, a former Union Minister under Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party, the original brahminical party of India, is one such wolf in sheep's clothing. A Chitpavan Brahmin from Nagpur, he spent his boyhood in the *chaddi* party. Once a *chaddi*, is always a *chaddi*. It is very difficult to get rid of this contagious disease. So, like a typical *chaddi* champion, he demanded the Muslims to "give up claim to Babri Masjid" (*Indian Express* Dec. 17). We should not be surprised

by the Sathe outburst. His statement may go against his party (Congress) stand on Babri Masjid. But no action will be taken against him because in India every political party is under brahminical control and more so the Congress. Our point is that Nazis are not confined to Nazi parties alone. They are there in all the parties, the highest judiciary, top military generals, scientific labs. Nazism is becoming the official creed. Yet another thing to note is that those who condemn "communalism", hold public meetings, issue statements, write articles are not against communalism. They do it to get cheap popularity and deceive the victims of communalism. Don't believe these wolves in sheeps' clothings. Any day the *chaddis* are better than these "anti-communal secularists", who are our closed, concealed enemies. It is these dogooders, socialists, progressives, human rights walas, secularists, who are more dangerous. Their statements, their sweet speeches are intended to deceive us. Both communalists and "anti-communalists" are cousins. During the day they quarrel and at nights they sleep together. Beware of "socialist brahmins", the concealed enemy. Hence more dangerous. "Sacred brahmins" are any day better. ■

## Dr. AMBEDKAR CENTENARY PANEL

**New Delhi:** The National Committee for Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Centenary Celebrations has been reconstituted with Chandra Shekar, Prime Minister, as the new chairman. Ramjilal Suman, Minister of State for Labour and Welfare, is the Deputy Chairman of the reconstituted committee having 15 members and all except two of them are Ministers in the Union Government. The other two on the committee are Mohan Dharia, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, and Nakul Naik, parliamentary secretary. ■

## A Gujarat City under Permanent Curfew

Palanpur, Gujarat: Have you heard of a city which is permanently under curfew - thanks to "Hindu non-violence"? Virtually nobody alights at the railway station here. The streets are perennially deserted. Time seems to stand still. While that's not too unlike any other strife-torn city in India today, Palanpur is altogether in a different league. Further, it's been that way for years, starting from 1985. This once-bustling town, 130 km north of the state capital Gandhinagar, a major diamond trading centre

of the past, was under curfew for 320 days in 1989. In 1990 the total is slated to exceed even this incredible figure. In 1989, 65 persons were killed in anti-Muslim riots which led to the authorities' clamping the curfew. In 1990, till the end of November, 70 lives had already lost. Normal life doesn't go on in Palanpur any more. ■

## Divided Aligarh City

Aligarh: Upper caste local newspapers are to be squarely blamed for fanning the anti-Muslim riots that began on Dec. 1990. The two main hospitals of riot-ravaged Aligarh tell the tale of its divided people. The "Hindu victims" of seven days of communal clashes here are to be found at the govt. hospital in Rasalganj and all the injured Muslims at the medical college in the AMU campus. The Hindu-Muslim divide has never been so wide. The "M's started the riots", said a senior official, referring to the Muslims in the city. "These aren't riots", said Anwar Ali, a businessman, "this is indeed like a civil war". Like the two hospitals which now symbolise the deep rift between the two communities, the Jat-dominated Provincial Armed Constabulary (PAC) has come out as a force effectively segregating the people. The Muslims, holed up in their mohalla in Sarai Sultani, voice one immediate demand - the withdrawal of the PAC from Aligarh and the deployment of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). The Hindus, on the other side of the road that divides Sarai Sultani, are equally vociferous. The PAC must not be removed. ■

**What women and shudras think of Rama**

(Pariwartan Chakra, Lucknow)

The Hindu Nazi forces are dividing the people of India to establish their Hindu Rashtra or Ram Rajya. Unfortunately, the women of India blindly follow these anti-woman Nazis who worship the anti-women Rama and support sati. They must realise that women suffered a lot under the Rama Rajya. Sita, the queen of King Rama, was most insulted and neglected by Rama himself. She was exiled forcefully in a totally illegal and unjust manner under the orders of Rama even while pregnant. This action of the "god" can never be justified. Surpanakha, the sister of King Ravana of Lanka, was also insulted by Rama (Read *Riddles of Rama and Krishna*, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Dalit Sahithya Academy, Bangalore-3).

The Indian women must take this lesson and give a serious thought to Rama's actions and the unjust system of society under the Ram Rajya. Rama was also responsible for imposing caste-based reservations rejecting all place for merit. A merited shudra who mastered sanskrit scriptures, Shambuka, was killed on the spot by Rama without an inquiry for learning the Vedas.

**Reservations in UP:** The reserved jobs under the services of UP govt. and its undertakings are lying vacant despite the fact that a plenty of qualified candidates are available for these posts. The argument advanced by the govt. is that they do not fall in the "eligibility list". This is a mischievous argument. The real fact is that the so-called "meritorious" do not prepare any eligibility list at all against the vacancies reserved for SC/ST. When we asked for preparation of separate eligibility list they had no argument. The UP govt. is not prepared to order a separate list. This pro-reservation govt. is fighting against the reservation policy in the Supreme Court. The court cases of UP State Electricity Board and Medical and Health Departments are worth quoting. Will the UP govt. reply this question? Is reservation possible when the govt. itself is contesting reservations in the Supreme Court?

**"Purbia imperialism"**

Chandigarh: Tompmost leader of Punjab Simranjit Singh Mann said here on Dec.1 that Sikhs were working for liberation from what he called "Purbia imperialism" "We will never accept the hegemony of the Purbias (i.e. East Indians). We are socially and culturally so different from them. Even our eating habits differ." He emphasised: "Punjab was never a part of India. That is a historical fact. That is why the Sikhs helped the British crush the Purbia mutiny of 1857. The Purbias were responsible for India's partition. They had helped the British to annex Punjab". (*Hindu Dec. 12*).

**If Dalits are Hindus why Hindus are opposing Dalits?**

Bangalore: Here is yet another proof that Untouchables are not Hindus.

Nagpur: A non-official bill, moved by the Janata Dal member, M.V. Temurde, in the state legislative assembly seeking to rename Marathwada University as "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University" was withdrawn after a heated and noisy discussion in the house. The Shiv Sena group in the house strongly opposed the bill saying there was a possibility of a flare-up on the issue. Education minister Vilasrao Deshmukh said the govt. was firm on implementing the resolution which was passed unanimously by both the houses of the state legislature 12 years ago (*Times of India*, Dec. 15).

If Untouchables are Hindus and Dr. Ambedkar was a "Hindu leader" as being described by Nazi parties, why the Hindus are opposing the renaming the university? If Shiv Sena is a Hindu party, why it opposing the Hindu demand? Does it not prove that Untouchables are not Hindus? Shiv Sena threatened bloodshed if the university is renamed. The Hindu parties launched a caste war when Mandal Commission was implemented. All these proves that SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus. Not only not Hindus but the two are hostile groups. That is why the Shiv Sena leaders threatened bloodshed.

**The Culture of the Saffron People**

(Sharad Gupta, Lucknow ) Saqia Bano (6) and her brother Zafar Iqbal (10), who were thrown out of a moving train in Jaunpur district on the night of Dec.11 have received serious head injuries. The story of the accident, in which they received almost fatal injuries, reeks of inhumanity, barbarism and fanaticism. The children's father, Siraj Ahmed (40) a mechanic, a native of Gudsara tehsil in Ghazipur district, was returning to Bara Banki where he runs a workshop. Along with his wife, Kausar Begum, and four children he boarded the Varanasi-Bareilly passenger from Varanasi at 9.10 am. When the train reached Jaunpur at 11 pm hundreds of people with saffron headbands boarded the train, shouting slogans. After two stations had passed one of them suddenly pointed towards Ahmed's family. They pounced upon Ahmed who was conspicuous by his beard and started pulling at it. He was thrashed badly. According to Ahmad, "they tried to throw me out of the moving train but my wife resisted and said that if they killed me they should kill all the six of us". As the train crossed Malipur station, they threw Ahmed's one-year-old daughter, Uzma Bano, out of the moving train, followed by Shabana Bano (4), Saqia Bano and Zafar Iqbal out of the compartment. (*Times of India Dec. 17*).

## COMMUNICATION Caste-based reservations in Mahabharat

(B. Doley, Sibsagar, Assam)

I have never read the *Mahabharata* but heard many stories of that from my parents and elders. As a boy, one of its stories that shocked me even with my poor imagination was that of Ekalavya. I literally wept when I heard that he was asked to offer his right thumb as *guru dakshina*. Later the *Mahabharata* came on the TV in which Drona was shown as a very generous and impartial teacher. He regarded Arjuna as the best of his disciples and he proved it too. This was all nice up to this point but when he met his poor disciple Ekalavya, his generosity and impartiality melted away. Those who witnessed this scene on TV were shocked. The Brahmin Drona without an iota of mercy got cut Ekalavya's right thumb. And I wept. How could a guru be so cruel to his disciple? What was the offence of Ekalavya? Was Drona really a generous and impartial guru? Was education reserved for some castes only? Why this Brahmin did not appreciate merit in a non-Kshatriya disciple? I discussed these with some friends and they gave several explanations. But they were all unanimous that Drona wanted nobody to excel, Arjuna. But why he reserved this supremacy to Arjuna? Are we to become intolerant and jealous of a person who surpasses us in some field or skill? Is it proper to destroy skills instead of acknowledging and utilising it? If we despise and disregard heroism or skills of a man on the mere pretext of his caste and creed, would there be any progress in the world? One argument was that while acquiring the skills, Ekalavya committed theft for which he was punished by Drona. This again is a baseless and self-contradictory point. They say that *vidya dana* never decays on imparting it to others but increases. And *vidya dana* can't be stolen by a thief. Ekalavya only drew inspiration from the image of Drona without making himself a burden to the guru. When Drona found out such an ardent disciple, he should have felt very fortunate and thrilled, and blessed Ekalavya instead of punishing him. If we curb the skills, talents and merits of men on the mere pretext of caste and creed, our social growth is sure to be doomed. Knowledge and education can never be a monopoly business. Any literature which creates intolerance and hatred is no literature. Be it an epic or textbook stories of the kind of Ekalavya should be taught in schools as a proof that the Varnashrama Dharma did not believe in "merit" but imposed caste-based reservations (see also DV Dec.16 p.16)

### Why anti-ULFA drive failed?

(Our correspondent)

**Bangalore:** The Army "Operation Bajrang" launched in Dec. 1990 against the ULFA terrorists of Assam has failed while the same Army's "Operation Blue Star" against Sikhs killed thousands of Sikhs including Sant Bhindrawale and damaged the Sikh's holiest shrine, Golden Temple, at Amritsar. Why one was a failure and the other was a success? The answer was given in our Dec.16 story "Why ULFA, despite being terrorist, is loved by the upper castes?" (p.6). The Assam govt. led by the Hindu Nazis tipped off the Nazi leadership of the ULFA and the leaders escaped out of India even before the Army arrived. If the upper castes take to terrorism, it is covered up - nay justified and praised. ULFA is the best example. Our upper castes who are out to liquidate anti-national terrorists, extremists, militants, naxalites in Kashmir, AP, Punjab, Lankan Tamils etc. are cool to ULFA. Rather they are happy that the Army has failed. So, we can now judge who are the real anti-nationals. The army authorities are handicapped because the entire State govt. administration is dominated by the upper castes whose blood relations are in ULFA. Every Assamese official is hand in glove with ULFA. If the victims of the upper caste oppressors protest and try to hit back they are called terrorists. But the oppressors are hailed, as patriots and paraded as heroes and showered with awards and rewards. See the glory crowned on the Hindu Nazi kar sevaks.

### PUDR exposes upper caste hypocrisies

New Delhi: The People's Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) in a report on the reservation issue has said that the "poginant futility of self-immolations that so many of our young people attempted is a bitter commentary" on institutions such as bureaucracy, political parties, media and academia. In the 33-page report entitled "Disputed Passages: A Report of Law, Reservations and Agitations", released at a press conference on Dec.24 PUDR said: The report said "high-profile media coverage has obscured the wider social composition of the (anti-Mandal) agitation in Delhi. It ranged from the elite students of the university to assorted hoodlums and supporters of the BJP and the Congress(I)". Mandal became the baby of one of the Janata Dal factions. The BJP, which promised its implementation in its manifesto let its student and youth wings participate in the agitation while the Congress (I) president, Rajiv Gandhi, "opposed the Mandal Commission north of the Vindhya, supported it south of the Vindhya and at a meeting in Nagpur at the height of the agitation, kept silent about it". As far as academia was concerned, it "let biases overtake social concerns...". "A large number of Delhi University teachers who during their strikes, thrice in the last eight years opposed the introduction of the element of 'merit' in their promotion scheme, suddenly became champions of the merit principle." (*The Hindu Dec.25*).

## Dalits embraced Christianity as a protest – not for any gain

(Dr. Jose Kananakil, New Delhi)

The Presidential Order, 1950, which stipulated that "no person who professes a religion different from Hinduism shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste" has become the source of grievance for Scheduled Caste converts to other religions. The Presidential Order was amended in 1956 and again in 1990 to include converts to Sikhism and Buddhism in the list. Scheduled Caste converts to other religions still remain excluded from this list.

In a recent civil writ petition, "Soosai vs union of India," 1983, the petitioner stated that he was an Adi Dravida Scheduled Caste convert to Christianity and that on conversion to Christianity, he continued to be a member of that caste and suffered from the same social and economic disabilities like other members of his community. He prayed that by excluding him from the benefits meant for the SCs, he was in fact being discriminated against only on the basis of religion.

The petition was dismissed by the court on the ground that the petitioner had not established his case by clear and cogent evidence. The Court pointed out: "It is now well established that when a violation of Article 14 or any of its related provisions is alleged, the burden rests on the petitioner to establish by clear and cogent evidence that the State has been guilty of arbitrary discrimination." In the opinion of the Court, this had not been done.

The findings of the present study suggest that conversion among the SCs has been primarily a form of protest. It does not automatically remove the social and economic disabilities from which they suffer. The study also finds that economic gain does not seem to have been the main motive of conversion.

Various Dalit convert organisations and religious leaders have protested against the Presidential Order as it infringed upon the fundamental right to freedom of religion guaranteed in the Constitution of India and discriminated against a section of Scheduled Castes merely on the basis of religion. Such protests continue even today.

**Supreme Court Verdict:** In the Soosai vs the Union of India and others the petitioner had submitted that he was a member of the Adi Dravida community converted to Christianity, and that after conversion he continued to be a member of the same community and lived in the same social and economic condition as the rest of the SCs. He prayed that by denying him the facilities extended to other members of his community as Scheduled Castes by virtue of paragraph 3 of the Presidential Order 1950, he was in fact being discriminated against solely on the basis of religion and that the said paragraph 3 of the Presidential Order in its operation denied him freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise

and propagate a religion of his choice.

The court in its judgement said: "To establish that paragraph 3 of the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order 1950, discriminates against Christian members of the enumerated castes, it is not sufficient to show that the same caste continues after conversion. It is necessary to establish further that the disabilities and handicaps suffered from such caste membership in the social order of its origin Hinduism – continue in its oppressive severity in the new environment of a different religious community."

Since, according to the mind of the judges, "this had not been established by clear and cogent evidence," the petition was dismissed. *The present study was inspired by this judgment.* It examines the actual social and economic situation of the Scheduled Caste converts vis-a-vis Scheduled Caste non-converts.

The present study has acquired more relevance in the context of the recent Bill introduced by the Janata Dal government and unanimously passed in Parliament to include the Neo-Buddhists in the list of the Scheduled Castes. All the Scheduled Caste convert are happy that the Neo-Buddhists have been included in the list of the Scheduled Castes although the Supreme Court requirement of proving the existence of "disabilities and handicaps in its oppressive severity in the new environment" has not been established. They feel, however, that another injustice has been perpetrated by selecting only the Neo-Buddhist and excluding others, and this in spite of the fact that various SC convert groups have been representing their case ever since the Presidential Order was promulgated in 1950.

This study has a limited purpose: to evaluate the economic and social disabilities suffered by the Dalit converts vis-a-vis their counterparts who are not converts. More specifically, this study looks at the disabilities suffered by converts to one particular religion in the state of Tamil Nadu.

**Converts' disabilities:** This study set out to examine the economic and social disabilities suffered by the Dalit converts. Being the first stage in an all-India study, this section examined the condition of the Dalit converts to Catholic religion in Tamil Nadu. The respondents were selected through a process of cluster and random sample method from all the 14 Catholic dioceses in TN.

The major variables used in this study were the availability of approach road, access to drinking water and housing pattern; primary education and employment; the practice of untouchability by Hindus, by co-religionists, and among themselves; and the incidence of atrocity. An overwhelming finding of this study is that, in the perception of the Dalit converts the socio-economic disabilities they suffer are substantially the same as those suffered by the non-

converts. In not a single one of these areas do the Dalit converts say that their condition is substantially better than that of the non-converts.

Actually, in a number of the examined areas, their condition is worse. The main reason for this, in their perception, is the discriminatory reservation policy followed by the government.

It was also noticed that the perception of the Dalit converts about the disabilities they suffer is not single-dimensional. This is true not only in the case of responses to general questions about economic condition or social disabilities but also about questions about particular areas such as education, employment or the practice of untouchability by others. When a respondent says that in the matter of primary education his condition is worse than that of the non-converts in the area, he is not merely stating the physical presence or non-presence of primary school in the area but his over-all perception of the situation in comparison with those who are not converts. Such a perception may include the fact that the facilities extended to other Dalits are not available to him and that because of this he is unable to educate his children and provide them a better future.

Conversion is only one of the means the Dalits have been using to improve their condition. Some of the others have been giving up traditional occupations and taking up new ones such as agricultural labour, occasional labour and self-employment; migration to town and cities; technical and formal education leading to employment; taking advantage of the reservation policy and of the various welfare measure by the government forming cooperatives, political mobilisation and political action. All these have in some form or other contributed to giving them strength to protest against the practice of untouchability, to fight against atrocities, to improve their economic resources and to strengthen their political action base. When one tries to measure the "oppressive servery" of the disabilities suffered by Dalits who call themselves Hindus and compare it with that suffered by others who do not call themselves Hindus, how does one go about? Any change in the disabilities suffered by the Scheduled Castes would seem to be the effect of many factors as stated above. And these changes have been taking place in the whole Scheduled Caste community whether they remain Hindu or have embraced another religion. The practice of untouchability, for example, is not the same today as it was 10 or 15 years ago. The economic condition has changed for many Scheduled Caste families and certain communities have benefited more in this than the others. Political reservation and job reservation have benefited many a Scheduled Caste family and again certain communities have taken advantage of these more than others. One can also notice a process of growing self-identify, self-dignity and self-expression due to these factors.

**Dr. Ambedkar Influence:** Hence the disabilities being suffered by the Scheduled Castes today cannot be compared with what they were 10 years ago. It is also not possible to reduce these changes to any

single factor.

The religious conversion propagated by Baba Saheb Ambedkar was another means used by some of the Scheduled Castes in their search for a way out. Those who changed their religion seem to have got some psychological satisfaction or spiritual fulfilment by doing so. Some individuals may also have economically improved their status. For some it may also have contributed to the process stated above of a changing self-perception of one's identity, dignity and ability to articulate. *But our study shows that in social and economic spheres the situation of the Scheduled Caste converts as a whole continues to be the same as that of the non-converts.* In many cases their situation seem to have become worse.

If the above findings are correct, the general assumption that a major motive for conversion is economic consideration may have to be revised. Conversion does not automatically result in economic gains. Conversion continues even today in spite of the fact that the converts know they will lose the benefits of reservation by conversion. More over, the SC converts, while they deeply feel the discrimination of being denied the benefits of reservation, have not, by and large, left their new religion in spite of the fact that the prospects of economic gains by conversion or re-conversion to Hinduism is quite attractive. While some of the respondents are highly critical of the behaviour and attitude of their new co-religionists, their response does not suggest that their major motive for conversion was economic consideration, or that in the absence of economic gains, they feel dissilusioned, or that they are thinking of the possibility of reverting to Hinduism.

**Motive for conversion:** The motive for conversion seems to be much more complex than it is usually believed to be. As in the case of migration, search for new occupations and new environment, the search for something better in famillal, social, economic and political terms might be part of this process. *What is new in conversion, as Dr. Ambedkar has more than hinted at, is the protest against the existing social and religious value system and the implied search for a new identity, dignity and spiritual liberation.*

The search for liberation has taken the SC converts to many new "environments". The new religious environment is only one of them. Our study shows that for many the new religious environment is an individual and psychological choice rather than a physical or social reality. In our sample only 43 (13.6 per cent) of the respondents live in what may be called religious communities. In a majority of the cases the converts are dispersed in the larger Hindu society. Even where there is a religious community which the new convert has joined, this does not automatically mean that the new convert is accepted into the new community as a full -ledged member. Social prejudices die hard even in the holy places of churches and pagodas where a Dalit convert is called a "neo-Christian" or "neo-Buddhist".

*Scheduled Caste Converts and Social Disabilities - A Survey of Tamil Nadu*, Jose Kananaikil, Indian Social Institute, Lodi Road, New Delhi 110 003, 1990 Rs.10.

## THE MAGIC OF THE MANDAL

**Bombay:** Caste-consciousness is on the rise in Maharashtra. Several caste associations have sprung up and are asserting their identity and demanding a better deal. Several caste associations held their meetings recently and many more are scheduled. Some of these meetings have demanded implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations. Those which held their meetings recently were, the Nhavis (barber), the Malis (horticulturists), the Wanjaris (Banjaras) and the Marathas. The barbers meeting, held in the Sant Sena hall, named after the saint from the barber community, was attended by Shankarrao Jagtap, a former speaker of the Maharashtra assembly. At a meeting of the Mali community in Nashik, the Bombay mayor and Shiv Sena leader, Chhagan Bhujbal, supported the Mandal commission report despite Bal Thackeray's avowed opposition to caste-based reservations. Janardhan Pati, president of the Maharashtra Other Backward Class Sanghatana, said Bhujbal was under pressure from the community to declare his support to the Mandal report.

**Shiva Sena breaks:** Several Shiv Sena members enthusiastically attend pro-Mandal rallies convened by other parties and do not protest when the Sena chief Bal Thackeray is criticised for his anti-Mandal stance. The Congress and the JD (S) are wooing the Wanjari community as the state BJP president, Gopinath Mundhe, is emerging as a leader of the caste. At another rally last week, the Maratha Mahasangh declared its support to the Mandal report defying opposition from aristocratic Marathas. Though the Mahasangh is generally seen to be pro-Congress, V.P. Singh was praised at the meeting for his commitment to the Mandal report. The Maratha organisation has now reversed its earlier stand of opposing the Mandal. The Kunbi Marathas held another conference under the leadership of the former Congress MP, Shyamrao Peje. Janardan Patil, the OBC leader, said there was an overwhelming response to the Mandal commission report at two meetings recently, one organised by the Agri community and another by the blacksmith, goldsmith, shilpakar and carpenter communities at the Kite Bhandari community hall. He said he was receiving invitations daily from various caste organisations to address meetings. Another meeting of the Sonar (goldsmith) community is to be held at Ulhasnagar on Dec. 23. The Yadav community will be meeting at Dadar also on the same day. The Mali community gathering is to take place next month. Prof Nalini Pandit, a social scientist, said the upper castes like Brahmins, Saraswat Brahmins, Pathare Prabhus and CKPs had set up their organisations in the 19th century. She said it was now understandable that the other castes want to have their own bodies. (Times of India, Dec.6.)

## Akhand Bharat with autonomy for each "nation"

(Our correspondent)

**Bangalore:** Neither Pakistan is a "nation". nor India. If Pakistan is a nation, why did Bangladesh breakaway from it? A "nation" is different, a country is different. In "Thoughts on Nation, Nationality and Indian Union" (DV edit Aug. 16, 1989), we had elaborately dealt with this question. But what is happening is that while the Indian upper caste rulers and the press are encouraging certain nationalities in Pakistan to rebel and revolt against their "Punjabi-Muslim hegemony", the same elements inside India are hiding if not suppressing the similar simmering nationality aspirations. The prominent Sindhi Hindu leaders in India are L.K. Advani and K.R. Malkani. The latter has been continuously inciting the Sindhi Muslims of Pakistan to secede from Pakistan. We also hear the cry for a "Sindhu Desh" homeland for Sindhis. Nationality upsurges cannot be controlled. Soviet Russia is breaking up on this very same question. "Ethnic pull is Russian racism breaking up USSR", (DV edit March 16, 1990). The two Germanys got united on this very principle. Communism collapsed on the face of the nationality storm. Such is its power. The late Bhutto and his daughter Benazir, the ousted Prime Minister of Pakistan, are Sindhis. Even M.A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, was a Sindhi. Sindhis have a language, culture and identity of their own. That Sindhis are a separate nation is never in doubt and we will not be surprised if these Sindhis secede from Pakistan. *The Hindu* carried a long report (Dec.18) from its correspondent appreciating the Sindhi demand from self-determination. Now and then India's rulers invite

Sindhi Muslim leaders from Pakistan and parade them in India indirectly giving fillip to secessionist trends. All these are understandable being part of the political game. But the very same upper caste rulers of India must also know that while they appreciate and encourage the nationality upsurge in Pakistan they cannot be blind to similar feelings inside India. Jharkhandis, Bodos, Nagas, Gurkhas, Kashmiris, Sikhs, Tamils and many others are also making similar demands. If these suppressed nationalities in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh were to assert their identity, the sub-continent will break into pieces. And that is why while recognising the identity of each "nation" as autonomous units, why not the three countries unite into a federation? (Akhand Bharat, DV Dec.16 p.4). The lie is worth examining. Will our intellectuals ponder?

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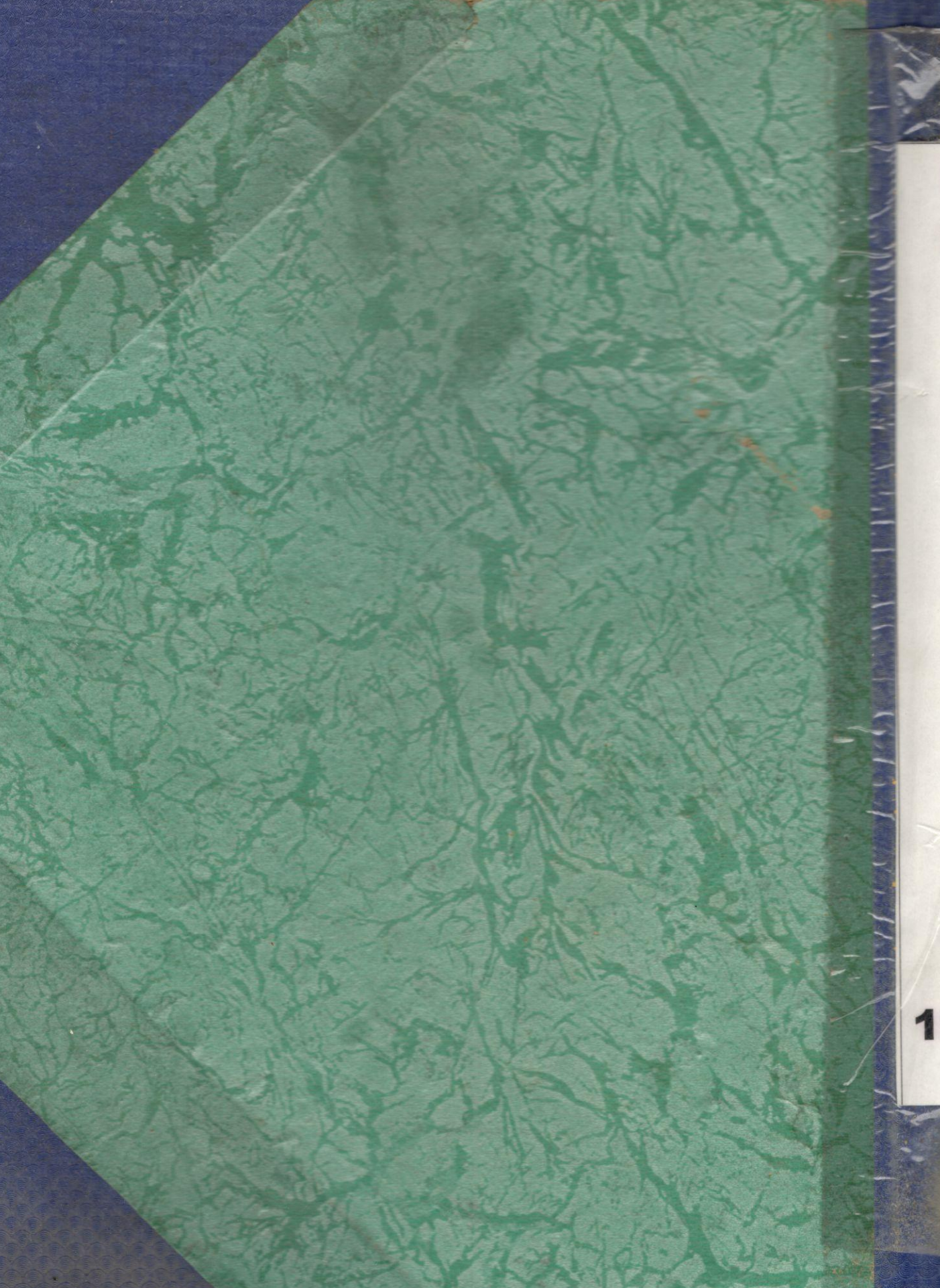
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