

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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Manu enslaved Women :
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Manu's law intended to enslave woman & free man even to sell her

Here are instances of Non-Aryans being naturalised and enfranchised. Why was an opposite attitude taken against the shudra? Why was the shudra fully naturalised and fully enfranchised, denaturalized and disfranchised? (p. 426). Chapter 17: The Woman and the Counter-Revolution: Manu's law of divorce they keep on idolizing it by comforting their conscience by holding out the view that Manu regarded marriage as sacrament and, therefore, did not allow divorce. This of course far from the truth. His law against divorce had a very different motive. It was not to tie up a man to a woman but it was to tie up the woman to a man and to leave the man free. For Manu does not prevent a man from giving up his wife. Indeed he not only allows him to abandon his wife but he also permits him to sell her. But what he does is to prevent the wife from becoming free. He wanted to deprive woman of the freedom she had under the Buddhistic regime. (.430). That women in Pre-Manu days were highly respected cannot be disputed. (p.432). Unlike Manu, Kautilya's idea is monogamy. (p.433). In short in pre-Manu days, a woman was free from and equal partner of man. (p.437). Part IV: Buddha or Karl Marx. A comparison between Karl Marx and Buddha may be regarded as a joke. There need be no surprise in this. Manu and Buddha are divided by 2381 years. Hardly any one knows that what the Buddha taught is something very vast; far beyond Ahimsa. It is therefore necessary to set out in detail his tenets. (p.441). Much of the ideological structure raised by Karl Marx has broken to pieces. (p. 444). It is now clear what are the similarities and difference between Buddha and Karl Marx. The differences are about the means. The end is common to both. The Buddha was against violence. But he was also in favour of justice and where justice required he permitted the use of force. (p.450). The Communists have given no answer. At any rate no satisfactory answer to the question what would take the place of the State when it withers away, though this question is more important than the question when the State will wither away. (.459). But to the Communists Religion is anathema. Their hatred to Religion is so deep seated that they will not even discriminate between religions which are helpful to Communism and religions which are not. The Communists have carried their hatred of Christianity to Buddhism without waiting to examine the difference between the two. The charge against Christianity levelled by the Communists was two-fold. Their first charge against Christianity was that they made people otherworldly and made them suffer poverty in this world. As can be seen from quotations from Buddhism in the earlier part of this tract such a charge cannot be levelled against Buddhism. His teaching is to acquire wealth (p.460). It has been claimed that the Communist Dictatorship in Russia has wonderful achievements to its credit. There can be no denial of it.

(WITH THIS WE COME TO THE END OF THIS BOOK).

(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume III 1987, Rs.40, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

DALIT VOICEThe Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights**Searching a non-existing black cat in a dark room closing the eyes**

Upper caste rulers have devised many methods to enjoy at the cost of the deprived sections of India. One such favourite pastime is "studying the extent of poverty of India's poor". How poor are India's poor? To study this "poverty", they have set up hundreds of institutions, projects, created special posts. And they are all well funded by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR), New Delhi — itself an upper caste outfit — and the Govt. of India and State Governments. We have hundreds of such institutions, of course with different names but all of them engaged in "seriously" studying how poor are India's poor, why they are poor, how they are poor and from when they are poor. And if they are "really poor" how to bring these people "below the poverty line" above this line. After making a "deep research" into their poverty, these upper caste "scholars" and "researchers" publish their think-tank-thesis and get awards and rewards. Once their "thought-provoking findings" are published, they get lot of "appreciation" and the authors are "honoured for their great service to India's poor," and soon they are invited to western countries to deliver a lecture on the "magnitude of Indian poverty". And instantly they become "eminent" and "internationally reputed scholars". Of course, with fabulous earnings. By studying the poverty of India's "poor", they become

rich while the subject of their study, the "Indian poor", remain poor.

But what happens to their precious "findings"? Hundreds and thousands of such "findings" are dumped in the storeroom, gathering dust. As these "great research works" rest there, the "poor get poorer". So this "poverty study" is a big business in India. Such a research is called searching a non-existing black cat in a dark room closing the eyes. This has become the latest upper caste fad. This fad's other name is social science research. This is how the upper caste rulers have been fooling us and enjoying at our cost. And the pigs are getting fatter and fatter.

That is why we have been now and then repeating that enough studies and researches have been made on "India's poor". The time has come to put a stop to such a wasteful research. The garbage must be set on fire as it has started stinking. We have elaborated our thinking on India's social science research and our bogus social scientists in our editorial, "Why the upper castes don't love India?" (DV July 1, 1988).

There has been a tremendous explosion in the number of such "poverty studies" and institutions that sponsor it and "scholars" that manufacture it. Who is paying

SALUTE TO SADDAM

The Gulf War has temporarily ended with military victory for none though the western white racists and their drummer boys in India are gloating over the "American victory". But the verdict of history will be different. When the world's richest, mightiest and the most arrogant countries are collectively pounding one poor country, it cannot be called a war. A war can be only between equals. This is a global gangup of imperialists, racists, zionists to impose their New World Order and eliminate the chief obstacle, namely the Muslims, on its way. And in this unequal war, Saddam Hussain, who has already achieved the political victory, put up a very heroic fight winning the hearts of the entire oppressed of the world. The American Juggernaut driven by its zionist engine wanted to impose the Euro-American imperialism and the entire oppressed of the world, the victims of this Order, found in Saddam a Saviour who effectively gave a bloody nose to the aggressors. Thus the global gangsters very first attempt to gobble up the Muslims met with its defeat at the hands of Saddam. That is why the oppressed Muslims, Blacks and India's Black Untouchables salute Saddam. After this humiliating defeat America has become like that wounded tiger. And it is certain to pounce again on the Gulf goaded by its zionist ring master. The greatest blessing of this Gulf War is it taught a lesson to the pro-American corrupt Muslim regimes. The Muslim masses in these countries boiling with anger are sure to react. All revolutionary forces in the world, Muslim masses, Blacks and Black Untouchables should get ready for the second attack by this wounded tiger. ■

for these poverty studies? Of course the "poor".

Who are the "poor"?: But who are these "poor"? Even a person with no brain, no eyes can say that India's so-called "poorest of the poor" are none other than the Untouchables. Officially called Scheduled Castes. But these "poverty researchers" are fighting shy to name the "poor"? Because the moment they identify the "poor", their game stands exposed. That is why they hide the identity of the "poor". Because when it is disclosed that these "poor" are none other than the SCs or STs, immediately a question will be asked: how these SC/STs have remained "poor" despite spending billions and billions of rupees on different "poverty eradication" programmes? The upper caste bluff balloon will be burst.

These upper castes/Hindus/Aryans/savarnas have swallowed all the money allotted to the "economic development" of the SC/STs and after eating the entire funds they again come to our people to find out how our people have remained poor. They are doing this research — searching the non-existing black cat in a dark room closing the eyes — to hide their frauds against the SC/ST/BCs. And who is paying for these "poverty studies"? Again our people. Can we find any such set of black-hearted blackguards in any part of the world? What will be their fate if our people come to know these frauds. They will be simply lynched. All these pompous "poverty studies" financed by us must now stop — immediately. And if they don't stop this *tamasha*, we must get it stopped. SC/STs have woken up. They can no longer suck our blood. We refuse to give our blood for the leeches to drink. The time has come to blast off these blood-suckers styling themselves as researchers and research institutions.

What are the mountains of research stuff they produce — mostly copying from earlier researches — either plagiarising or rehashing another gutter stuff? We must dump all these

nauseating stuff back into the gutter. Goodbye to "poverty studies".

Our problem is not "poverty": We have to tell them point blank that SC/ST/BC problems are not poverty. Our people are kicked, killed, burnt, raped and our little property destroyed - not because we are poor. If "poverty" is the cause of our oppression, why the upper caste "poor" are not subjected to this oppression? Are there no "poor Brahmins"? If so, why he is not persecuted? That proves that poverty is not the cause of our persecution. The reason is different. The reason is that we are racially different from the Hindu/upper castes. They are Aryans and we are Dravidas or Adi-Dravidas - the original inhabitants of India. This is the cause. Not poverty.

India's problem is not poverty. Our human rights are snatched away. Our political share has been looted, our dignity, our personality crushed, our identity lost. Our roots destroyed. That is our problem. Not poverty. Poverty is the byproduct of denial of our human rights. Will you stop fooling us?

Delhi Telephone Directory: If you look into the Delhi Telephone Directory you will find all these "research institutions" — bed bugs — dotting the length and breadth of the capital. There must be over 100 such all-India institutes in Delhi - both in private and govt. sector.

They organise lavish seminars with two objectives:

1) To please their clients and financiers and also to provide a kushy time to their *jatwalas* in five-star luxury hotels. Two or three days of meetings with eatings.

ii) And then to spot any person who is trying to endanger the upper caste exploiters and devise appropriate means to finish them. That is why we have stopped attending these seminars. It is all a waste of time.

When we make such a

WANTED COCKROACH-KILLERS

(our correspondent)

Bangalore: Our ruling class can be compared to that dirty, ubiquitous creature called cockroach. You put any amount of poison to destroy this creature, it will eat that very poisonous stuff itself and get fatter and multiply. They feed on anything and everything. Their very presence is repulsive, nauseating. Anything the cockroach smells become nauseating. Anything it touches becomes dirty.

The latest to become dirty and a total flop by the touch of these cockroaches is our much-publicised "family planning drive" as we can make out from this report:-

Dr. Ashish Bose, a noted economist, said on Feb.8, that family planning strategies need to be reviewed as the programme had completely failed in the country. Delivering a talk on India's population in the 1990s at the Directorate of Audio Visual Publicity (DAVP), he said if the family planning programme was to be made a success it was not enough just to have a poster campaign but the entire approach needed to be changed. He said in India family planning problem had erroneously come to be regarded as sterilisation programme. It was felt that sterilisation was the only way to achieve family planning. Yet surveys had showed that most people went in for sterilisation after they had few children, in many cases two sons at least. (*Hindustan Times*, Feb. 9).

The ruling class used the enormous funds earmarked for family planning to its benefits. Like that dirty cockroach, the FP has been left high and dry. Cockroaches became fatter feeding on the FP funds. But the FP failed. Whose father's what goes?

Like the FP, anything these cockroaches touch become dirty and nauseating. Every plan, every scheme has become a failure while the funds meant for it went straight into the ever-hungry stomach of this cockroach. How to destroy this cockroach? Is there no anti-cockroach medicine at all? ■

statement, we should not be accused of making "a sweeping generalisation". If there are exceptions that only proves the rule. The only thing we can be accused of is we have not heard or seen any such exceptions. Under the existing oppressive socio-economic system, it is difficult to survive doing honest research because nobody is prepared to fund such an honest research. Because hundreds of allegations would have been made against such an honest institution that even honest foreign funding agencies would be sacred to come anywhere near it.

Dalit Sahitya Akademy work: We have our own example of the Dalit Sahitya Akademy which is the only organisation of its kind in the whole country. To this day ICSSR, which is well aware of its existence, has not come forward to fund this Dalit research and publication organisation. The only reason is that ours is a Dalit research organisation doing honest work. Had we been also fake, ICSSR would have obliged us. That is why we say the whole thing is sickening and all this research, and poverty research in particular, is downright fraud. This must stop.

Irrelevant research: This research has become a luxury. This "poor" country cannot afford this luxury of research which has no relevance to the people. On the other hand, these researchers are diverting the attention of the victims of the "poverty" from issues to non-issues. Our problem is identity, dignity, human rights. But our disease has been wrongly diagnosed as "poverty". That is why we say these researchers are blackhearted. Their intention is clear.

But more than that these "researchers" with their high level contacts in the international fields particularly with the different units of the UN are misguiding them. These foreign funding organisations are told that India's problem is "poverty". And they give funds to search this non-existing black cat in the dark room closing the eyes. These upper castes/hindus/Aryans/savarnas have been searching this cat knowing full well that this cat is not there and thereby beautifully fooling the country and the foreign funding people. This must be stopped.

Victims of development: We also want to draw attention to yet another havoc played by these blood-suckers. The name of their game is called "development". Whose development? They formulate "development schemes" and say that these "development schemes" are meant to "develop the poor". But all over India, it is these "poor people" – meaning the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims – who have become the victims of their "development schemes". Narmada Valley Project is the latest example of one such havoc. All our five-year plans meant to remove our "poverty" has actually increased our poverty. In the name of development, these upper caste do-gooders have developed themselves. The upper castes cannot "develop" our people because they don't love our people. One cannot "develop" another person without

loving that person or "loving" that "development work". This "development" is yet another upper caste fraud to fleece us and keep us enslaved. This must drop.

We now have some militant sections among our people – SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians and Sikhs – in almost every institution. They may not be holding important positions. But they are in a position to watch, understand and analyse this highway robbery going on in the name of research and development. They should fight it out. And to fight it, they must become tigers. Then only they can roar and frighten the upper castes. They can also directly write to us all about these frauds committed in the name of research and development. By the end of this century all this fraud must end. And our people must capture these research work and bend it in our favour. ■

Dr. Ambedkar's warning to Nazis on minorities

"To diehards who have developed a kind of fanaticism against minority protection I would like to say two things. One is that minorities are an explosive force which, if it erupts, can blow up the whole fabric of the State. The history of Europe bears ample and appalling testimony to this fact.

The other is that the minorities in India have agreed to place their existence in the hands of the majority. In the history of negotiations of preventing the partition of Ireland, Redmond said to Carson, "Ask for any safeguard you like for the Protestant minority but let us have a United Ireland". Carson's reply was: "Damn your safeguardds, we don't want to be ruled by you". No minority in India has taken this stand. They have loyally accepted the rule of the majority which is basically a communal majority and not a political majority. It is for the majority to realise its duty not to discriminate against minorities. Whether the minorities will continue or will vanish must depend upon this habit of the majority. The moment the majority loses the habit of discriminating against the minority, the minorities can have no ground to exist. They will vanish".

Speaking in general terms about the merit of the Constitution, Dr. Ambedkar said: "I feel that it is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace-time and in war-time. Indeed, if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new Constitution, the reason will not be that we had a bad 'Constitution. What we will have to say is that **Man was vile**".

These above observations made 41 years ago still hold good. They reveal the remarkable manner in which Dr. Ambedkar applied his mind to the problems confronting the country, his acute sense of observation and depth of understanding of the social and cultural background of society in India. It was this profound understanding that enabled him to play that supreme role of importance that he played in framing the Constitution of the Indian Republic which embodies the political, economic and social ideals and aspirations of "We the people of India". (M.V. Pylee in *Indian Express*, Jan. 18). ■

12 Stages in the temple-entry fraud on our people

(B.S. Bangariah, Nellore, AP)

Temple-entry movement is a fraud on our people. For, there was neither a demand by anybody for temple entry nor a denial of the same to anybody. The whole thing is a hoax. Every village has its own presiding deity — Amma (mother) — known by different names in different localities. Villagers in the main village have an Amma complex. The Untouchable Malas and Madigas of Andhra Pradesh have their own separate Amma complexes. Even sections of the savarnas have separate temple complexes. This means different sections of the given village community worship the same deity but at different temple complexes.

As such, there can be no occasion for any group either to seek or to be denied entry to the other temple complexes. The report that "some sections of the people were denied entry to certain temple complexes" is a deliberate fraud played by upper castes to destroy the religion and culture of Untouchables and impose their false religion and thereby colonise them.

It is also a bid to gain recognition and legality for saivism and vaishnavism, the official religions of the Savarnas, though the truth is far from it.

Into this simple village tribal order, the brahminical forces brought their own temple, gods and worshipping patterns - both Saiva and Vaishnava. This added one or more temple complexes to the village set-up, here and there. But, the tradition continued. Each group worshipped its own deity in its own temple, in its own way, in its own language. The language of the people in AP is Telugu and that of the Brahmin is Sanskrit. *The question of any group seeking entry into any other temple complex and any group being denied entry to another temple complex does not therefore arise.*

The Brahmin temples (saiva or vaishnava), though had no popular base, secured the patronage of the local kings and princes and flourished. They soon began to attract the attention of the villagers. Music, dance and dramatics in such temples attracted our people. These brahminical temples with official patronage became a sort of cultural centres rather than a worshipping place. The Untouchables appreciated the shows, applauded the performances and approved the arrangements. However, their interest was only on the cultural side. They had their own temples and went there for religious and ceremonial purposes. They had their own deities whom they worshipped and propitiated.

1. Gradually the people began taking interest in the

Brahmin temples, their gods and their goddesses. They began to accept *prasadam* at the new temples for courtesy sake. And in course of time began to worship the deities occasionally as a formality. What began as a gesture of goodwill and courtesy gradually developed into a reality. The people began worshipping the new deities but they did not accept the new religion. They worshipped their own deities but being innocent they developed the habit of worshipping the new deities also. This is the first stage in the temple-entry fraud committed on our people.

2. But the people were not interested in entering the Brahmin temples. The sanctum sanctorum was inaccessible. Even their kings and princes were not allowed into the temples. They had to stand outside the temple at the door and worship the deities. The Brahmin priest officiated as intermediary. The language of communication was Sanskrit. Only the Brahmins were entitled to enter the temple. Despite such insults the kings and princes built huge *prakarams* (outer walls) to these temples and our people began to feel that they were inside the temple, though in reality they were well outside the temple and only inside the courtyard. This is the second stage in the temple-entry fraud.

3. That they were *not* allowed into the sanctum sanctorum never worried the people because they never bargained for it. Nor would they ever fight for it. They had their own places of worship, their own deities, their own mode of worship patterns and rituals to observe. The Brahmin never recognised the people's deities. He called them *kshudra devatas*. He never even approached their temple complexes and sedulously avoided the people's places of worship, and kept himself away from their functions and festivities. This is the third stage of the temple entry fraud.

4. That the Brahmin did not visit their temples, that he did not worship their deities, that he kept away from their functions and festivities did not worry the people. For, they did not ask for it. neither did they expect it. The Brahmin was a persona-non-grata, one who was residing among them by sufferance. Being an Aryan, he was a foreigner. He was a stranger with strange deities, customs and rituals. He was allowed to practice his strange cults but was not welcome at their ceremonies as they feared he might cause pollution. In fact the Brahmin was treated as an untouchable. Thus the Brahmins were the real untouchables in the rural Telugu Nadu. This is the fourth stage of the temple entry fraud.

Brahmins were Untouchables: The Malas and

Madigas remained untouched by the developments taking place in the Aryan part of the village. Their contacts with the Brahmin, the stranger in their land, were minimal in day-to-day life and absolutely nil on the social, religious and cultural plane. They had their own deities and temples to attend to, and had no time or desire to pry into the strangers' gimmicks. While the people in the main village were oscillating between the loyalty to their own deities and their new love for the strangers' religio-cultural complexes, and were unaware of being weaned away from their own deities toward the new deities, new ceremonies and new rituals – the Malas and Madigas were content with their own faiths, formulas and fashions. Consequently, they were less corrupted than the savarna Hindus. Perhaps, the term untouchable was originally used to mean those that were untouched by the varna system - *avarna*.

5. Living in different villages as it were, they had little need to enter the Brahmin part. At the most they might peep into the Brahmin temple *prakarams* and watched the proceedings there and the non-Brahmin untouchable waiting there inside the courtyard but outside the temple all the while believing that they were actually in the temple. This could have been interpreted that the Untouchables were "denied admission" into the temples – carefully omitting to say whose temples they were. This is the fifth stage in the temple entry fraud.

Manas Tribe: The social intercourse between the Untouchables and the Hindus were very little. But in real life, it was extensive and enormous. All the communities worked together in the fields from morning till evening and late into the night, and produced the country's wealth. The people were busy. They had no time to waste on such trivials like untouchability, caste and varna system.

In the beginning all Telugu people — both Untouchables and *savarnas* – belonged to one tribe called the Manas. Then they split into two on ideological grounds and settled into two villages. There was not much love lost between these two settlements. They struggled and fought for supremacy for centuries. Gradually the original settlements went down and became the Scheduled Caste settlements. The others stayed on in the main village. After centuries, as they forgot the original cause of their separation and remembered only the illwill and hatred, people tried to explain the separation and the thought that the Scheduled Castes were a kind of undesirables, excommunicated exiles and later on Untouchables.

6. However, the concept of untouchability is the creation of the Brahmin and his varna philosophy. He practised this noxious 'untouchability' or Antu very meticulously and helped establish through the medium of literature that other groups too practised it against one another. Consequently, every caste among the Telugu people appears as an untouchable to the

other caste, every Telugu man appears as an untouchable to the other caste, every Telugu man appears as an untouchable to every other person belonging to another caste. Untouchability appears to be the protocol exchanged between the *savarnas* among themselves and with the Scheduled Castes. However, the untouchability between the Scheduled Castes and *savarnas* is specifically referred to as 'Untouchability'. This is the Sixth stage in the temple-entry fraud.

Role of M.K. Gandhi: The temple-entry denial is a myth created during the days of the so-called freedom movement. Gandhi, who took charge of the movement in the 1920s, was given the false information that the SCs were the only sections denied entry to temples. Not that he was not aware of the caste and untouchability institutions in the country. He was a good *sanatanist* and *savarna*. But like many others he was not aware of the extent and intensity of these institutions.

Gandhi never bothered to verify as to which temples denied entry to which communities and where, how and why the problem had originated. He was posted with false information and he had no desire to understand the problem. Since he knew that temple entry would bring him enormous publicity, he exploited the situation to his advantage.

Dr. Ambedkar's demand: Already Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was pressing the claims of the Scheduled Castes to be recognised as a separate people, a separate ethnic and national group from others and was demanding separate electorates and other statutory guarantees. Dr. Ambedkar was basing his claims on the exclusion of the SCs from public offices and places like offices, hotels, shops and streets, public tanks, public wells, public places of burial and similar public amenities and services. Into this list, the exclusion of SCs from public temples could have been inadvertently included.

7. For, at that time there were no "public temples" in the Telugu land. All the then existing temples were community or private possessions. Separate communities had separate temples. SC/STs had their own temples. So too the Brahmins. Thus, somebody being denied entry to a "public temple" was a mere fiction and a figment of imagination, a diabolic plot. This is the seventh stage in the temple-entry fraud myth.

The cunning Bania in Gandhi found that the temple entry stunt could be used effectively to whip up an otherwise staid rural people into activity. He felt that the rural masses who were not much moved by the slogans of freedom could be roused by a slogan dealing with a closer-to-heart problem. He gave the official call for "*Harijan temple entry*".

8. Gandhi's stunts worked. The countryside exploded into activity. The people began to take sides – for and against. Much dust was raised and much heat was produced. Agitations and counter-agitations,

demonstrations and counter-demonstrations proliferated. The whole activity, however, was confined to the *savarnas*/Hindus who were trying to vie with one another to make the temple-entry movement a success. For they knew that it was all a farce, that nobody wanted it, that there was nothing to be done except raising of slogans and taking demonstrations. This is the eighth stage in the temple-entry fraud.

9. But the Untouchables took no interest in all these Hindu stunts. They knew it was all a farce. They never asked for it, never wanted it, and never relished it. They never wanted to enter other people's temples, nor would they allow others into their temples lest they defiled their deities. They could not understand what all the fuss was about. Here and there, some Scheduled Castes might have been herded to join these stunts. This is the ninth stage in the temple-entry fraud.

10. The temple entry stunts did not achieve anything except raising lot of dust. The *savarnas*/upper castes/Aryans/Hindus were staging temple entry stunts on one side and their brothers and cousins were opposing it. So the entire temple-entry stunt was a Hindu stage-managed affair with the entire mass of Untouchables remaining indifferent if not suspicious about the stunt. In social, religious field it might contribute nothing, but its contribution on the political plane was something to secure "freedom" for India meaning "freedom" for the upper castes to enslave burying the interests of the Schedule Castes fathoms deep. This is the 10th stage of the temple fraud.

The *Harijan temple entry* was only an offshoot of the upper caste freedom movement. Nobody had any illusions about that. Nobody had expected miracles from it. Those who allowed the entry of *Harijans* into temples knew that it was only a make-believe affair, purely temporary, and would stop, the moment they got freedom. The few SCs that entered the temples also knew that they were entering the temples only for political considerations. Gandhi too was not sincere in his call. Whole thing was hypocritical. That is why when once the country achieved "independence", the issue had been put into cold storage. Thus ended the much-publicised "Harijan temple-entry movement".

11. Perhaps a major achievement of the movement was that the Brahmin temples in the country was officially recognised as temples of all the peoples, of the nation and of the country, and were given a new dimension – "Hindu temples". This is where Gandhi's immense services to Hinduism comes. Brahmins temples became public temples on paper though in practice they continued to be private or pure Brahmin temples. This is the 11th stage in the temple entry fraud.

12. The temple-entry movement helped to some extent to rub the Brahmin religion – saivism and vaishnavism – on the Telugu people in a sort of label conversion. This is the 12th stage in the temple-entry fraud. It had

put a cloud on the people's deities, temples and worship patterns and rituals. This is part of the diabolical Aryan plot. ■

More educated are more caste conscious: Delhi survey

(Nasir Iqbal, New Delhi)

Is caste system dying? No, says a study by Dr.R.P. Singh, a Delhi-based sociologist, who surveyed matrimonial advertisements in a capital-based daily which has been lately classifying the matrimony-seekers according to castes. The study observes that urbanisation and industrialisation have brought changes only in some norms of external behaviour such as untouchability. But marriages, the major cementing factor for the people, are still largely confined within castes.

Matrimony through advertisements is a non-traditional way of seeking alliances and are mostly resorted to by the city-based, educated and socially mobile folk. Behaviour shown by this section may be taken as the sufficient index of the modern mind and as a yardstick of change in social attitude. The study places the readers of the newspaper among the upper economic strata of the Indians who constitute the top 10% of the influential people.

According to Dr. Singh who is connected with a voluntary organisation, 'Sanchetna', of the total matrimonial advertisements appeared for the Hindus during the span of a month, nearly 92% have clearly mentioned their caste indicating directly or indirectly that they prefer to be married within their own caste. Yet, there are quite a few alliance-seekers who inserted "caste no bar" while mentioning their own caste, thereby covertly communicating their preference for co-caste spouses.

There were just 8% who did not indicate their caste. These were mostly widows, widowers, divorced or bald or handicapped persons in their 50's, circumstances that compel alliance-seekers to opt out of the caste for a wider body of people.

Caste among Muslims: The caste preferences have crept into non-Hindu communities. Nearly 50% Muslims mentioned their caste as Syed, Pathan, Sheikh or Ansari. 54 out of 81 Sikhs mentioned their caste as Khatri Sikh, Arora Sikh, Jat Sikh or Ramgariah Sikh.

Even those with higher or professional education do not feel that the marriage presents the only opportunity to smash the caste barriers in one's life. Of the 108 engineers and 81 doctors, nearly 85 per cent mentioned their castes. Interestingly, 118 among these professionals announced themselves as educated or wanted a partner with such a background.

The caste recognises no national borders. When Indians go abroad, they carry it there too. Sixty three per cent of the 200 persons who were settled or

educated abroad or who had stayed there, mentioned their caste. Advertisements of NRI's read:

"A Saraswat Brahmin boy, mechanical engineer in Ontario looks for a fair, charming girl of the same castes." Only 19 percent of the NRI's did not mention their caste.

Going by the matrimonial columns of our dailies it appears that the Indian caste system has great resilience and ability to withstand new pressures. Urbanisation, modernisation, westernisation and industrialisation and advanced education have bypassed it. It rather shows a marvellous capacity to adjust with these forces. A higher caste and schedule caste union is still far from social acceptance. But the half-naked liberal camouflages it with the argument that as schedule castes are less educated, the gulf dividing them from the higher classes is more difficult to bridge. *Feature And News Alliance.* ■

US Japan fund to preserve Buddhist centres

Washington: The US National Park Service (NPS) will help the Indian Ministry of Tourism preserve Buddhist sites in Bihar and develop them as potential tourist centres, according to NPS project coordinator, Ronald Cooksy. The project, which is also expected to be funded by Japan, is supported by the US-India Endowment Fund, formerly known as the PL-480. Cooksy told India Abroad News Service here that an NPS team which had just returned from a one-month study trip of Bodhgaya, Rajgir and Nalanda, had felt that the sites were important not only to Buddhists, but to Hindus, Jains, Muslims and other religions. The project's theme, "unity in diversity", is evolved out of this realisation, he said. "Perhaps nowhere else in the world does such a circumstance exist". ■

Racism : Police Officers in trouble

Ahmedabad: The Gujarat High Court issued show cause notice to four senior police officials for allegedly violating the Untouchability Act, following a petition filed by Valjibhai Patel of the Dalit Panthers. According to the petitioner, a book published in Rajkot and Bombay had printed articles defending the practice of untouchability. On May 2, 1989, the petitioner filed a police complaint with Astodia police station demanding action against the publishers of this book which, they said, had violated the Untouchability Act. However, in spite of repeated reminders the police had failed to take any action, they said. The petitioner cited a similar case of 1985 wherein a weekly published from Rajkot had defended untouchability. Here, too, the police had refused to take any action, though the Rajkot district sessions court had ordered action against the culprits.

A division bench of the High Court consisting of Justice N.B. Patel and Justice A.N. Divecha issued show

cause notices to the DIG (Gandhinagar), Hira Lal, the city Deputy Police Commissioner (North), Fazal Guard, a former police inspector of Astodia police station, S.J. Gohil, and a retired police inspector of Rajkot, T.G. Mani. (*Times of India*, Feb.17) ■

So-called national mainstream is confined to 17% population

(S.R. Talukdar, New Delhi)

Whenever the issues of Mandal Commission or reservation for SC/STs are raised the *savarnas*/Hindus cry for "merit". Now, let us see what sort of "merit" they have. The country's 90% wealth is in their possession. All the top positions in the govt. and 85% of the total govt. posts are with them. Definitely they are more cunning than the rest. So can cunningness be called "merit"? Even if we accept that they have "merit", who has benefited from their "merit"? Only they got richer, fatter. The *savarna* "merit" has not been able to remove darkness from the lives over 85% of our population. We can not allow the wolves to have complete control over the lambs just because the wolf is more "merited" than the lambs. We must think about the protection of the lambs, of course, without destroying the wolves.

The *savarnas*/Hindus argue against reservation. But they are enjoying reservation for centuries.

1. 100% priesthood is reserved for Brahmins. 2) Small-scale industries are mostly owned by the *savarnas*. They get full government protection by not allowing the big industries to enter into the range of products reserved for the small industries. 3). All consumer products are in the hands of the *savarnas*. They are unable to sell their products. In the international market because of their poor quality. But they get full protection against entry of foreign goods in our domestic market. 4). What is the performance of our "meritorious class" in the international sports and athletics?. I don't have to tell it because everybody knows it. After that also the brazen-faced "meritorious" class shamelessly shouts about their merit. There is no limit to their hypocrisy

Very often this class says that the SC/ST or minorities should join the "national mainstream". Now, let us see what is the breadth of this "mainstream". SC/STs (23%) are not in this mainstream. Religious minorities (15%) are also not in the mainstream.

Backward Castes too are not in the "mainstream," that means another 45% gone. Now, only 17% remains. Can the 17% be called the "national mainstream"? At best it can be called the main drain. All the country's wealth is flowing out through this drain. We have to stop this outflow of our wealth through this drain.

Country's wealth belongs to its people. It must be equitably distributed to its people. Reservation in govt. services is not for getting a share of the wealth but to supervise over the proper distribution of the country's wealth and resources. ■

Canadian Muslim leader praises DV's work for the oppressed

(Shaikh Hyder, Ontario, Canada)

Congratulations on your editorial (Feb.16) on the Gulf War. You have the courage to speak the truth. When I read the *Dalit Voice*, I find you are putting your heart and soul in the preparation of this noble journal and you are short of paid subscribers to carry on this gigantic task of bringing peace and justice in this madness of India. You are the True Voice of the suppressed peoples in India, irrespective of their religion. You are carrying on Jihad, and God will reward you.

On my part, I have tried to exhort the Muslims by making about 500 copies from your just and concerned journal in the jungle of lawlessness in India, and distributing them outside mosques, after Friday prayers. I hope muslims will co-operate, subscribe and make your task easier.

These are hard times for muslims, as the holy lands of Islam are occupied by the white race, because of the sold-out Ullemas (priests) of Mecca, India and Egypt. America will now control the muslim spiritual affairs and resources, due to the treachery these Ullemas and God will punish them in this world and the next.

Million dollar mosques: There are in the west thousands of Indian, Pakistani, Turkish, and Arab Muslims working as dentists, doctors, teachers and large businesses in their control, with large houses and big cars. They build large million-dollar mosques thinking that they will get a house in paradise. Their brothers in muslim countries are hunted down like petty criminals and tortured for keeping beard and Hijab. Where is their *Taqwa* or fear of Allah. *Most of them have run away from persecuted lands and found*

sanctuary and safety in the west. What about their kith and kin who are treated like slaves back home? Have they got freedom to enjoy in the west? Have they got schools and hospitals like the those in the west? Muslims are dying of starvation and sickness in Eriterea, Somalia, Palestine, Kashmir, Iraq, Bangladesh (stranded Pakistanis), and but these people enjoy building million-dollar mosques.

Hundreds of thousands of muslims are killed and wounded in Iraq by carpet bombings because of the sold-out Ullemas in Mecca, India and Egypt, when they said, that it is OK to station infidel troops in the land of Prophet Muhammad.

In Egypt, Muslims are herded like animals in cages in the kangaroo courts and sent to torture chambers. Where is human rights? Mubaraks, Asads, Hussain... are criminals and kept in power by Kuffars to terrorise the Muslims, and Muslims in the west are silent. The Khutbas we hear in the million-dollar mosques in Europe and America is just whitewash, because most Imams are paid servants of the tyrant regimes of the middle east.

Dalit Voice is carrying on a lone fight against upper caste/Aryans in India. Other Muslims Papers have not much appeal nor any weight in the policy making of India. Will the muslims subscribe to DV, and support to the lone fighter of minorities rights in India? Muslims cry when a calamity falls on Iraq, Palestine, Kashmir, etc., but will they spend part of their wealth Allah has given in a systematic manner? O, Muslims wake up before death overtakes you and make copies of DV and distribute at other mosques and cities. ■

A tribal identity of Assam that is getting destroyed

(B. Doley, Sibsagar, Assam)

The Misings proudly call themselves as the 'children of nature'. They say sun is their mother – moon father. The Misings, Bodos, Dooris and such tribals are the original inhabitants of Assam. They love, respect and worship Assam. The aborigines of Assam have been able to preserve their culture and traditions. The Misings are a distinct ethnic identity. The Misings had no formal education at all. Their economy is not rupee-based but barter of foodgrains. The Misings had no script and hence remained illiterate till recently. As such they could not record their glorious history. Most of the Mising villages are found on the banks of rivers as the jungles are no more. The Misings always ask a stranger: Are you a Mising or Mipag? The Misings call other people as 'Mipag' which means non-Mising. As the name suggests, the Misings are a community of peace-loving people. *A History of Assam* by Sir Edward Gait, makes references of raids by the Miris in 1655, 1665, and 1685 AD. The same book cites: '...they are quiet and inoffensive. They act as a channel of communication with the Abors, and from this circumstances comes the name by which they are known in Assam, which means a "go between"'. They have never given any troubles'. It also mentions an annual tribute of bison, horses, tortoise, swords and yellow beads by the Miris. The raids referred against the Miris are of dubious nature whether these were the same Miris whom he had referred as '.... they are quiet and inoffensive, they have never given any troubles'. The Misings, by nature, being calm and peace-loving, can't afford plunder and blood-shed. They calmly, peacefully do their own duties, earn their own living. They never beg, flatter nor usurp. It is not their custom to interfere with or give trouble to others. Their religio-conscience regards plundering and bloodshedding as grave sin. ■

Father of our nation says **Struggle & sacrifice alone will bring greatness**

(Dr. S. Madhava Rao, Resident Medical Officer, Govt. Hospital, Karim Nagar, AP)

I found an old magazine, *Jai Bheem*, vol. 1, No. 28, dated April 13, 1947, published from Madras, containing an invaluable birthday message (55th) of the Father of our Nation, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, which could inspire our people even today through *Dalit Voice*.

Babasaheb's Message says: You have asked me to send you a message on my 55th birthday for your special number. It is an unfortunate fact that in India the political leader is placed on the same footing as the prophet. Outside India, people celebrate the birthday of their Prophets. It is only in India that the birthdays of both Prophets as well as the politicians are celebrated. It is a pity that it should be so. Personally, I do not like the celebration of my birthday. I am too much of a democrat to relish man-worship which I regard as perversion of democracy. Admiration, love, regard and respect for a leader, if he deserves them, are permissible and should be enough for both the leader and the followers. But worship of the leader is certainly not permissible. It is demoralising to both. But I suppose this is all beside the point. Once a political leader is placed on the same footing as the Prophet, he must play the role of the Prophet and give a message to his followers in same way as the prophets did.

What message can I give to the Untouchables? I cannot give them a message but I can tell them a tale from Greek Mythology and point out the moral. This tale is contained in a Homeric Hymn addressed to the Greek Goddess, Demeter. This hymn to Demeter relates how the great Goddess, in the course of her wanderings in search of her daughter, came to the court of Keleos. No one recognised the goddess under the borrowed form of a humble wet-nurse; and Queen Metoneira entrusted to her care her latest born child the infant Demophoon, afterwards known as Triptolemos.

Every evening, behind closed doors, while the household was asleep, Demeter took little Demophoon out of his comfortable cradle and with apparent cruelty, though moved in reality by a great love and desirous of bringing him eventually to the state of god-hood, laid the naked child on a glowing bed of embers. The child, Demeter, endures the fiery charcoal he gathers strength from the ordeal. Something super human is fostered in him, something robust, something beyond all hope glorious. But Metoneira becoming anxious, says the legend, burst suddenly one evening into the

room where the experiment was being carried on and guided by her mistaken fears thrust aside the goddess at her work of forging the superman, pushed away the embers and took away the child with the result that she saved the child but lost the superman and eventual god.

What does this tale teach? To my mind, it teaches *that greatness can be achieved only by struggle and sacrifice. Neither manhood nor godhood can be obtained without going through the ordeal of fire. Fire purifies, fire strengthens. So does struggle and suffering. No down trodden man can achieve greatness unless he is prepared for struggle and suffering.* He must be ready to sacrifice the comforts and even the necessities of the present for building up his future. To use the language of the Bible for the race of life all are called but only few are chosen. Why? The reason is obvious. *Most down-trodden men fail to achieve greatness in this race of life because they have not the courage nor the determination to sacrifice the pleasures of the present for the needs of their future.*

Can there be better and a greater message than what is contained in this legend? I can find none. It is the best and the most appropriate message I can think of for the Untouchables. I am aware of their struggle and their sufferings. I am aware that in their struggle for liberty they have suffered more than I have. With all this, I can give them no other message. *My message is struggle, and more struggle sacrifice and more sacrifice. It is struggle and struggle alone without counting the sacrifices or sufferings that will bring their emancipation. Nothing else will.*

The Untouchables must develop a collective will to rise and resist and must believe in the sacredness of their task and develop a common determination to achieve their goal. Their task is so great and the purpose so noble that all Untouchables should join in a prayer and say:

"Blessed are they who are alive to the duty of raising those among whom they are born. Blessed are they who vow to give the flower of their days, their strengths of soul and body and their mite, to further the campaign of resistance to slavery, blessed are they who resolve — come good, come evil, come sunshine come tempst, come honour come dishonour - not to stop until the Untouchables have fully recovered their manhood".

Letters to Editor

Victor G. Jackson, San Antonio, US: International Dalit Support Group (IDSG) is launched and we hope to cover the whole of America. Though I cannot promise the future unknown; hopefully, one year from today the future of *Dalit Voice* will be secure. We have several projects in progress.

(IDSG, P.O. Box-842066, Houston, TX 77184-2066, USA, has been already announced. All our friends in North America and South America may contact this address. The life membership for overseas subscribers is 200 US dollars which may be sent to us directly. IDSG will engage in various activities listed in our letters column March 1 p.12. Our friends in US must xerox our March 1 DV editorial, "American Black soldiers must refuse to fight whiteman's racist war in Gulf," and see that it reaches all Afro-American organisations and papers. It may be even leafleted. This Gulf War is very important from our point of view and hence we must exploit to the maximum advantage. There is need for more and purposeful cooperation and collaboration between the Blacks and the Black Untouchables of India, who together will jointly establish the new world order to liberate the entire oppressed of the world from all racism, zionism, imperialism, oppression and exploitation. DV will have to be converted into a weekly and then a daily — *EDITOR*).

Mrs. Joseph Karunan, Hyderabad: The World Council of Churches, Geneva, which has a record of dedicated service to Dalits of India, has a plan to launch a project to support Dalits. WCC is so generous that it wants to support even non-Christian Dalit groups including support to Dalit publications and I want *Dalit Voice* and Dalit Sahitya Akademy to be brought under this programme. Because Christians of India have no secular media of their own. No non-Christian has done so much to the Christians as yourself. WCC must give the topmost priority to DV and DSA in it all its programmes.

Arthur Bonner, New York: I was sorry to hear of your ill health but if it served the purpose of getting you out of Delhi it was to the good. You committed a mistake in going to Delhi. Your *Voice* is always clear but it is most clear when you enunciate ethics and principles and ignore mere events. My book, *Avertising the Apocalypse, Social Movements in India today*, Duke University, 1990, Cloth 52.50 \$ has been finally reviewed in the *New York Times*. Copies of the book were sent to scholarly sources in India too but nobody reviewed it. Duke University, publishers, has made several attempts to find a publisher for India but with no luck.

Basant Rai Ambedkar, 3293/XII-B, Bokaro Steel City-827 012: Here is a beautiful proof of the upper caste "merit". On Feb.12, there was a serious accident in our factory because of the utter negligence of the upper caste officials of the Bokaro Steel Plant which

is completely dominated by them. Three workers died on the spot, two in hospital and two more are in serious condition. All of them were contract labourers and all SC/STs. The accident occurred in the benzol plant welding workshop. The gas inside the tank caught fire. Had it occurred an hour earlier or later when the shift changes at 2 pm hundreds would have died. Every important post in BSP is held by upper castes who have captured it in the name of "merit". It is they who take credit for anything that happens here. So this blame also rightly goes to them. They get fat salaries without doing any work. Since the *savarnas*/upper castes/Hindu castes/Aryans are not expected to do manual work, they are employing contract labour recruited through their own *jatwalas*. These contract labour is fully exploited and under-paid. If these thousands of Dalit labourers are taken as permanent labourers they will have to be given many facilities. So to deny these facilities to the SC/STs and favour their *jatwala* contractors, they have devised an ingenious system of contract labour who are working here for over a decade. Such an inhuman exploitation of SC/STs cannot be found anywhere else.

(We would like to have a good, in-depth investigative reporting on the exploitation of SC/STs in the name of contract labour and it should be a first-class story with full-blooded facts that should blow up the exploiters to pieces — *EDITOR*).

R. Arul, Dr. Ambedkar Study Circle, 26-Koil South St., Annamalai Nagar, Chidambaram, TN-608 002: We have formed this unit to spread the message of Babasaheb and that of DV. We want all Ambedkarites, Periyarists and Marxists to support us.

Kuldeep Kumar Sarangal, SC/BC Federation, 138-Kanji House, Upper Gumat, Jammu-180 001: We have formed a 200-strong "Dr. Ambedkar Sena" comprising youths from SC/BC/Muslim and Christians to fight all injustices.

K.M. Venugopal, Annur, Kerala 670 332: DV has helped me a lot to understand and analyse things. It has also given me lot of courage to outwit the brahminical forces that always mislead us. That is how I met with some success in convincing our people as to how to avoid, if not fight the Nazi forces and thier "napkin papers".

Madan Mohan Naidu, Hyderabad: I learn that Motilal Nehru's father was one Hira Lal, a Kashmiri Brahmin, who was employed as a peon in Kashmir. He was brought to UP by the British Governor, on transfer from Kashmir to UP. The British Governor it is said, was friendly with the wife of Hira Lal and that is why he brought the family itself to UP. How could Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India and son of Motilal Nehru, become so rich when his grandfather was only a peon? Will your readers from Kashmir and UP throw some light on this?

G.B.R. Ambedkar, Vizag, AP: The Feb.16 DV edit on the Gulf war is superb. It is like your edit on Babasaheb's "Three Commandments". Please get this

edit reprinted as a pamphlet for wider circulation.

(It is already translated into a Urdu pamphlet. We have no money for an English reprint — EDITOR)

Balbir Singh, Hamirpur, Himachal Pradesh: The Central School Organisation has instructions to all its Central schools to celebrate Dr. Ambedkar centenary. Enough funds have been allotted. Our friends in Central Schools must fight and get these funds to be used to propagate Babasaheb's thoughts Ref: Kendriya Vidyalaya Sanghatna Asst. Director S.K. Lakhani's letter dated 7/1/91 Ref. F.7-5/90-KVS to the principals of all Central Schools.

Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha, Buddha Vihar, Ambedkar Bhavan, New Delhi-55: We are holding an all-India Buddha Sammelan on April 7 at the Ramlila Grounds here. An exhibition on Babasaheb's life and mission will be a special attraction.

R.L. Yadav, Allahabad, UP: The Hindi pamphlet of your historic editorial, "Hindu unity" (DV Jan.16), will be out soon. Those interested may write enclosing a self-addressed envelop with a spare 25 paise stamp. If there is any collection it will be used for similar causes: address 2/18 Ramananda Nagar, Allahapur North, Post Daraganj, Allahabad, UP - 211 006.

Blnod Biplabi, Baragarh, Orissa: Under the banner of Unemployed Dalit Active Youth we had a joint procession of SC/ST/BC youths of Sambalpur dt. on Feb. 15 'at Baragarh. The main demand was implementation of the Mandal Com. report. We have brought out an Ambedkarite baniyan with the emblem, "I am an Ambedkarite. Are you?" printed in the front. There is a big demand.

R.L. Kain, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Vichar Manch, 66-B Pocket-I, Dilshad Garden, Shahdra, Delhi-95: We want to publish the speeches delivered by Babasaheb in the Constituent Assembly. The chief editor of the Lok Sabha Secretariat in his letter dated Feb. 7 has authorised us to reproduce the speeches. So we want DV to devote a column for this purpose titled "Thus Spake Ambedkar, Champion of human rights".

(We have a regular column that goes on page 2 of every issue titled, "Thus Spake Ambedkar," and we will be glad to publish the speeches in this column on receiving the matter — EDITOR).

R. Sangeeta Rao, Sanjivayya Inst. of Socio-Economic Studies, Babu Bhavan, Ravidas Marg, Sat Nagar, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5: We are holding a national seminar here on "Marx, Dr. Ambedkar and polarisation of the oppressed, exploited classes of India" here on April 4/5. As one of the most eloquent exponents of these classes we want you participate and enrich the seminar.

(We call upon our readers in the North to attend this seminar and impress the fact that SC/ST/BCs and Muslims were taken for a ride by the upper caste exploiters hiding behind the cloak of Marxism. Ambedkarism is Marxism plus something more — EDITOR).

Bajirao Kamble, Ex-MLA, Pune: I have written you

twice seeking your permission to bring out DV in Marathi but you are hesitating.

(Yes. It is very easy to start the Marathi DV but difficult to keep it going. Our Hindi DV is limping. So too other language editions. The Urdu DV had to be discontinued for want of funds. Besides money, it needs lot of commitment, dedication, hard work, intellectual honesty, the courage and of course that conviction. If Bajirao Kamble has all these we will offer him a much bigger historic project which will give him a place in history. Is Bajirao interested in entering history? We are ready — EDITOR).

Sanjeev, Final MBBS student, Rohtak, Haryana: To spread the thoughts of Babasaheb Ambedkar and also that of you we have started a SC/BC/Minority Front. Sudhir Ranga is the brain behind it. All those interested in joining this Front in Haryana may write to us at HN-1 (680/30) New Friends Colony, Behind Mahila Ashram, Rohtak, Haryana 124 001.

Mohan, Tiptur: Your report on the Dalit-Lingayat clashes at Gulbarga (DV. Jan.1) was wonderful. Lingayats have to come out of brahminical grip. For agreeing to be under the Hindu order they were given the sudra status despite their cultural superiority. Lingayats are not Hindus and like the Sikhs they are religiously different from Hindus. They have been made slaves of Hindus only because they compromised with the Hindu order. Sikhs at least have realised their mistake but the Lingayats have'nt. Dalits will embrace them if they announce that they are not Hindus like us.

Manmohan Singh, New Delhi: *The World Sikh News* (Feb. 16) published from US has reproduced your report under the title, "Are all attempts to establish minority media doomed to fail?". You have rightly warned the Sikhs, Muslims and Christians that any attempt by them to start a media would be dubbed communal by the brahminical forces and shot down. You have also given the example of the Muslim bid at launching the *One Nation Chronicle* from Delhi that resulted in utter failure. It is true that religious minorities comprising over 20% of India's population have no press to defend their human rights despite the fact that all of them are victims of brahminical oppression. When they can't start a media of their own and the SC/ST/BCs are financially incapable of launching one, what is the way-out?. Do you mean to say that the religious minorities should support and strengthen the *Dalit Voice* and make it a weekly?

(Sikhs, Christians and Muslims are victims of the very forces that are oppressing the SC/ST/BCs. Both the sections, totalling over 85% of India's population, have a common oppressor. On this everybody is agreed. If that is so why not we all forge a joint effort at defending our human rights instead of frittering away our energies? DV is already an established institution and all these six sections come under our care. Our work for the religious minorities has received wide appreciation from all important sections of these three minority groups. In fact, all these three minority sections were originally SC/ST/BCs. Hence they are our own brothers and sisters. Uniting all the original inhabitants of India has been our endeavour. If this is accepted then DV can certainly serve, the purpose. It is for the minorities to take up the challenge — EDITOR)

N.K. Sharma, New Delhi: Why should we remember Gandhi and repeatedly criticise "Gandhi Killers"? Gandhi is the enemy No.1 of the Untouchables. Ambedkarites are grateful to the RSS and Godses. This is one good thing the RSS did for the Untouchables. This is the view of Dr. Ambedkar and also mine. Read Dhananjay Keer's biography and Babasaheb book, *What Gandhi and Congress have done to the Untouchables*. Why should we remember the most hated enemy of the SCs? We must appreciate the RSS on this. Godse is great. Dr. Ambedkar issued no condolence message on the death of Gandhi. Gandhi killed the revolutionary zeal of Indian race.

Paramjit Singh, Patiala, Punjab: The new military governor of Punjab is trying to dictate the State's leading newspapers to stop publishing the statements of Sikh militants and the advts. of the religious rites of those Sikhs killed in fake encounters. Punjab is back to the days of S.S. Ray.

Lt.-Col. Chanan Singh Dhillon, Ludhiana, Punjab: Your edit on Punjab (Feb.), "Punjab peace only thru talks with militants," is forthright and hence immensely convincing. Strangely the two outwardly opposite groups — Nazis and Marxists — are opposing it. But both are the same brahminical forces wearing two different masks. Though these brahminical forces have no following in the state, they make lot of noise because they own the media. But we are definitely against those handful of brahminical forces who were responsible for the creation of Pakistan and now thrusting Khalistan on the unwilling Sikhs. But we are not for separation. You have rightly said that the Punjabis have the right to talk, sing, write, plan, work and think — of course without the sword of brahminism hanging on their heads.

Ejaz Ahmed Ejaz, Chak Nagri, E. Champaran dt., Bihar: The editorial on Gulf (DV Feb. 17) showed that there is a great amount of similarity between mine and your thinking. Your writings are having great influence on me. Americans are not fighting to liberate Kuwait. They want to destroy Iraq and thereby dominate the Muslim world.

M. Tahir Siddiqqi, Advocate, Delhi High Court, New Delhi: Congratulations on your edit on the Gulf War. Your analysis is absolutely correct.

Arshad Kalliath, Thiruvananthapuram: You have rightly exposed in your edit on Gulf the nexus between the Zionists and Hindu Nazis. The March issue of the *Competition Success Review*, the campus magazine of the upper caste meritocrats, has allowed none other than the notorious Nazi, A.P. Venkateswaran, the dismissed Foreign Secretary, to comment on the war. And he has not spared the opportunity to reveal his ideas about the future thus:

The price of oil from the Gulf will be decided by the US and the west and be kept low. Arab and Islamic solidarity, as they have tended to develop on a state to state basis, would also be shattered. Iraq's oil production for the next decade would

be used for war reparations... The US will be the unchallenged world power for the foreseeable future." Venemous wishes indeed.

A.G. Shah, Srinagar, Kashmir: Please advise the Muslims, Sikhs and Dalits to be vigilant about the Hindu Nazi designs to reduce the population figures of these sections during the current census operations. Your readers all over India must correctly guide the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims, Christian/Sikhs to see that they are correctly registered as such.

S.M. Doula, Famous Watch Co., Laxminagar Bazar, Godavari Khani, AP-505 209: Aryans have forcibly taken over many Buddhist temples and so it is high time the Buddhists start an agitation to recover their lost holy places. Muslims will fully support such a just struggle as it is a holy work.

(The most famous temple in AP, Tirupati, was a Buddhist temple forcibly taken over by brahminical forces. In DV, we have cited many such cases. When these Aryan forces can launch a violent agitation to forcibly take over Babri Masjid, which has all the historical proof of belonging to Muslims, there is nothing wrong if the Buddhists start a peaceful, non-violent agitation. But before launching such an agitation, Buddhists must read the history properly. Educate, agitate and then organise, said Babasaheb. Our people must get ready for the liberation struggle — EDITOR).

D. David, Advocate, Vellore, TN: The Mandal Commission report is a great blessing in disguise as it united the SCs with Dalit Christians and put them on one platform. Our people in TN should support only such parties who are favourable to the Mandal report. The AIDMK, the Congress and BJP are our enemies.

Raju Thomas, Madras: The famous story of the Ekalavya in the *Mahabharata* is being falsified by the Nazis. A school textbook which is prescribed in the school where my son is studying here does not say that the right thumb of Ekalavya was cut as a punishment for practising archery. The crafty Brahmin Drona who demanded the right thumb is shielded in the textbook by giving a new slant to the whole episode. The book is titled *Gul Mohar Graded English course, Reader-3*, (Orient Longman pages 71-74, 1990). I took the book and met the headmistress of the Christian school where my son is studying and she admitted that the story is misquoted to hide the crimes of Drona. Why should Christian schools accept such discriminative texts? ■

London Tributes to Dr. Ambedkar

London: A meeting to commemorate the services of Dr.B.R. Ambedkar was held here on Friday, under the auspices of the Ambedkar Centenary Celebration Committee, U.K., in the Gray's Inn, where Dr. Ambedkar was called to the Bar in 1922. Prominent among those who addressed the meeting and paid tributes to the memory of Dr. Ambedkar were Lord Goff of Chievely, Master Treasurer of Gray's Inn, Philip Cox Q.C. Anthony Scrivener and Bhagwan Das, an advocate from India. Bhaskar Ghorpade, Barrister-at-Law, conducted the meeting. (*Hindu*, Feb.25) ■

Brahminised Marxism in Bengal

You have published a number of articles and reports on the question of reservation. The question has acquired paramount importance in the context of the decision of the previous government to implement one of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission and all visible signs of a countrywide polarisation on this issue are there. The attitude of the BJP and the Congress (I) does not cause any surprise; these two parties, traditionally dominated by upper casteists, naturally find it difficult to stomach a situation in which the upper caste monopoly of the corridors of power is broken. The position of the CPI(M), however, is peculiar. Its amusing mis-representation of the Karpoori Thakur formula (as pointed out by DN, EPW, November 10) notwithstanding, it supported reservation for the BCs in the Lok Sabha, while refusing to implement it for West Bengal, declaring that there are no BCs in this Marxist ruled state. And Jyoti Basu goes on repeating ad nauseum that there are many 'rich' persons among the backward classes just as there are many 'poor' ones among the upper castes, as though all contradictions in society reduce to an easy rich-poor formula.

It is this upper caste Marxism which continues to rule West Bengal. It becomes abundantly clear if one cares to look, even casually, at the composition of the CPI(M) leadership in this state. The core of the leadership is constituted by the upper castes: Jyoti Basu, Binoy Choudhury, Sailen Dasgupta, Biman Basu, Biplab Dasgupta and Buddhadeb Bhattacharya. The fact that there is none from the BCs and subalterns does not cause any shame to any CPI(M) ideologue and these ideologues are working overtime to appease their caste brethren. This precisely is the secret of the Left Front government's refusal to co-operate with the Mandal Commission and its insistence on poverty-based reservation. It is not known whether any movement for equal dignity and honour (for example, the movement led by Nelson Mandela and his colleagues) has emphasised and applied this criterion.

The success of the CPI(M) in West Bengal is twofold: first of all, it has given shape to a 'bhadrak' variety of Marxism which liberally accommodates all upper caste practices; secondly, it has managed to convince the lower echelons of society that the concessions and relief they have received are due to the mercy of the 'bhadrak' babus. *Thus the BCs do not as yet consider themselves equal to their upper caste bosses and this explains the relative absence of a movement in this Marxist-ruled state for the implementation of the Mandal Commission.* It is a measure of the penetration of the Brahminical ideology in Bengali society. —(*Economic & Political weekly*, Feb.2)

Defeat brahminical parties in TN elections

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

Surely the leaders of political parties including the PMK and DMK may not be guided by our prudent and sane advise. Yet we owe a duty to our readers, leaders, pleaders and parties and offer our prudent counsel in the wake of the coming elections to the TN Assembly.

We want to see that the original brahminical party, the Congress, and the duplicate brahminical party called AIADMK, lose their security deposits in all seats. This is the most important goal for the Indian races (SC/ST/BCs).

PMK and other parties should keep their ego aside and come to an understanding with the DMK to give a united fight to the brahminical parties. Either these parties present a united programme or platform or our people should discipline their parties. How could the people discipline these parties? Do not vote for them by voting V.P.Singh.

We damn, condemn and criticise Karunanidhi (DV Feb.) This is our business. Our business is to criticise Karunanidhi and bring the short-comings to his notice for rectification. But we sympathise with him. Karunanidhi cannot help appoint a Brahmin as Chief Secretary as long as the Brahmin population is 80% in govt. offices. Delhi offices also have 80% Brahmin population. This problem is to be resolved not by DMK/Karunanidhi but by Ambedkarities. And also Dr. Ramadoss and his PMK, DK and Veeramani. Give protection to the Brahmins outside the offices. We have to reduce Brahmin population in offices to end Brahmin colonialism. Do not remember their old books called Manu Codes or Hindu codes. They are harmless and irrelevant to our Indian races. We are against having bigger and disproportional representation in offices. This is the meaning of political colonialism, casteism and imperialism. ■

How the ruling class subverts Constitution and cheats people

What the 17-member committee headed by Acharya Ramamurti has recommended to the Union Government — making universal elementary education (UEE) a fundamental right — is nothing but a confession of failure and an indictment of the education system as it obtains in the country today. For, even 43 years after independence, if attaining the goal of UEE has proved a mirage, it reflects very poorly on the Central and State Governments. Article 45 of the Constitution states: "The state shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years." And the Constitution came into effect from January 26, 1950. The Acharya Ramamurti (AR) Committee was set up last May by the V.P. Singh Government. (*Hindu*, Jan 13)

"Marixists" dupe SC/BC/Muslims on Mandir & Masjid

(V. Prabhakaran, Calicut)

Your editorial (Feb.16) on the Gulf war is really shocking. The approach to Saddam of the masses is exactly opposed to that of vested interests among Muslims. But such leaders dare not criticise Saddam in public.

The rabidly anti-Mandal CPM and CPI-led Left Democratic Front succeeded in convincing the SC/ST/BCs of Kerala that they are pro-Mandal. So, the result revealed that the people voted for the Mandal. The District Council is a cunning machinery devised by the upper castes to eat up public money and enslave our people in a more subtle way. The Muslim League had earlier played into the hands of the Congress. One of the welcome features of this election is that the oppressed Muslim masses (the pro-Saddam section) succeeded in forcing the pro-upper caste Muslim leadership (pro-Saudis) to break away from the Congress party. But it is yet to be seen if the elite Muslims will give up their pro-upper caste line and take steps to unite the SC/ST/BCs with Muslims. The Nazi daily, *Janmabhoomi*, has already expressed great concern that the Muslim League step would force the SC/ST/BC and Muslims masses to move away from the upper caste parties like Congress, CPM, CPI, BJP etc. What DV has been telling all these years is now being understood properly by the Muslims of Kerala. Muslim League's election symbol is ladder. The upper castes used the League as a ladder to climb to power. We now hope that this ladder will be used by SC/ST/BC and minorities to seize power.

EMS son attacks Smt. Gowri: EMS approach to Mandal report was defended by Moorkkannur Krishnan Namboothiri, the State President of the Brahmin organisation, Yogakshema Sabha, on Oct. 23, 1990. K.R. Gowri was recently attacked by EMS' son at a public meeting for her alleged corruption. CPM has launched an inquiry against her. The party is out for the blood of the poor Ezhava woman in whose name the party got elected. The upper caste Chief Minister Nayanar helped his relation, KPP Nambiar, the chief of Keltron, to indulge in corruption. But K.R. Gowri, holding the industries portfolio, was blamed for his misdeeds. But due to political atmosphere created by the Mandal, the party had no courage to touch Gowri. During the District Council election the RSS brought out thousands of photocopies of a newspaper, *Mathrubhoomi*, (dated Jan.14, 1987). The paper carried the speech of EMS in which he had said that Babri Masjid problem could be solved by demolishing it. EMS had made the speech at Thirur on 13.1.1987.

DV line appreciated: The recently formed Muslim Employees Cultural Association, MECA, is doing a

very good job, educating Muslims on the DV line and trying to unite the Bahujan Samaj. They are running a news bulletin, *Meca News*, from Calicut. It carries at least one item from DV.

A pamphlet which we had published 2-3 years back is in great demand. People have now started searching for our literature. But it is out of print. Now we are having only eight titles in Malayalam. Recently we published a study on the *Manu Smriti* by Dr. P.K. Sukumaran. I have included an appendix of Babasaheb — few pages from *Riddle 18* (Manu's Madness or the brahminic explanation of the origin of the mixed caste — Chandalas, p.222 to 225).

MANUSMRUTI KATTHIKKANO?

(Shall we burn Manu Smriti?)

Dr. P.K. Sukumaran with appendix by Babasaheb on the origin of Chandalas

pp.222 to 225 from '*Riddles in Hinduism*'

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Before the election EMS spoke supporting Saddam Hussain and this also helped the LDF success. Pro-Congress Hindus no where voted for the Muslim candidates but they voted for the BJP and other party candidates. BJP bettered its position by increasing its votes by 40%. Now the political climate is ripe for the unity of Bahujan Samaj Party with the Muslim League. It is up to the BSP and the League to rise upto the occasion. This time a majority of upper caste candidates were defeated. The United Forum of SC/ST/BC and minorities with Calicut as its headquarters had made a historic announcement to the voters not to allow even a single upper caste candidate to win. At a press conference of the United Forum the upper caste presswalahs virtually pounced upon me when we announced this.

When there was a Muslim Ummath Conference at Mukkom, near Calicut, sponsored by the SIMI, the former State Jamat Islami Chief, Abdulla Moulavi, made a remark that Islam is not a free boarding and lodging house for "Undons and Adakodens" — meaning the wretched low-castes. It was however refuted by SIMI leaders effectively. It seems that a great number of Jamat-Islami leaders are interested in getting only upper castes into Muslim fold. They are not ready to treat our people as equals. We don't know when they will become true Muslims.

Stop reforming Hinduism: It is not the job of non-Hindus

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

With reference to Dr.M.N. Javaraiah's letter (DV Jan.1) on my write-up, "Non-Hindus vs. Hindus", he has missed the central point. I am not concerned with Hindus. My concern is only for "Indian races" (SC/ST/BCs). There is no such thing as Hinduism. This my point. The "Indian races" (SC/ST/BC) are non-Hindus. Why the non-Hindu races pre-occupy themselves with anti or pro-Hindu or Hinduism? Such a stand is irrelevant to the progress of "Indian races". We must concentrate our energies to fight for our own homes, roots, jobs, powers, posts. It is foolish to pick up a quarrel with Hindus by criticising them. We can fight them only for our posts and lands even up to the bitter end. Buddhism plus posts and powers will give us social status and respect.

Dr. Javaraiah's allegation that some ills are anti-national and they flow from Hinduism is totally wrong. This is how the "Aryan races" fool our "Indian races" to mislead our people and thereby loot our dignities. The alleged and fake Hinduism including brahminism has no influence on the "Indian races" and their societies. This is true today.

The "Indian races" are "non-religious" groups. They should have a religion. They must occupy 85% of posts in each office. These are the goals and a fight for our goals cannot be taken as criticism of Hindus or their alleged religion.

Buddhism is first step: Like an innocent child, Dr. Javaraiah prattles the terms: castes, untouchability, untouchables, Hindus, Hinduism and caste system. I am sure that he does not understand the meaning of these terms. "Hindus" means "Aryan castes" by race and culture. Hinduism means nothing and exists not now or in the past. "Untouchables" means "Indian races" and powerless orphans. Hence they are victims of colonialism. Untouchability means colonialism. The "Indian races" (called SCs/STs and BCs) are victims of untouchability, meaning colonialism. The Bodo tribes do not ask for reformation of Hindus and Hinduism. Bodos are Bodo caste. If they disown caste and say they are not Bodos they can demand nothing. Tribe means caste/race. Rightly, they are demanding a separate state to banish Hindu colonialism from Bodoland. Bodos are not SCs to fall an easy prey for the tomfoolery of Hindus. Do not be fooled to believe that the progress of "Indian races" (SC/BC/ST) is dependent on the reformation of Hindus and their alleged Hinduism.

Reforming Hinduism is not part of our work. The progress of SCs would be determined by the reconstruction of SC societies and the political power they wield in the State. Political power (posts and

positions in police stations and offices) is the basic step. Buddhism is the primary step to regain social status as distinct and vibrant races. *When the "Indian races" (SC/ST/BCs) occupy 85% posts, they will resettle the alien Aryan castes in a separate State on the foothills of the Himalayas.* This is to preserve their (Aryan) identity and dignity. For the present the Aryan castes are the barbaric colonial powers. They depict their colonialism as Hinduism and untouchability. "Indian races" are not cowards to disintegrate the "Aryan castes".

Hindus can keep their caste: Just as the SCs and BCs are free to remain non-religious races, the alien "Aryan castes" are also absolutely free to retain their caste-system. What is your locus standi to find fault with them? Caste means race. The alien "Aryan castes" means alien "Aryan races". They are no doubt Indians but they are alien races. Do not be an empty brain to say that the Brahmin created the "Aryan races". It is more foolish to say that the Brahmin created the "Aryan races". It is more foolish to say that the Brahmin created "Indian races". There are 800 tribal races in India who are proud of their races. Why not SC/BC races learn to feel proud of their races? Learn the basic things from the unlettered tribes, your younger brethren. The noted Dalit writer Dr.Javaraiah of Mysore University should unlearn many things and learn many of the above truths. I am an Ambedkarite. ■

Sikh youths killed in fake encounter

Amritsar: The Amritsar police have been blamed of killing as many as five youth in two days using third degree methods. The youth, all belonging to the city area, were picked up from various places between 6.30 a.m. to noon on Feb.14. Three of them — cousins Mohinder Pal Singh (20) and Kanwaljit Singh along with an unidentified boy, later named as Sukhdev Singh — were shown as dead in an encounter in the Kapur Nagar locality on Sultanwind Road the same night. Two others, Damanjit Singh alias Pappu and Sewa Singh "committed suicide" within next 24 hours by "consuming cyanide pills". Of these while Mohinder Pal, more popularly known as Bobby, and Damanjit were the only sons of their parents while Sewa Singh was a father of three children. To quote his family sources Sewa Singh was not keeping well for quite some time and was under treatment for about ten years. "There are more than a dozen other boys with the police who have been rounded up during the past one week and some of them may be liquidated in days to come," feared Kirpal Singh, the member of Parliament from Amritsar. (*Hindustan Times*, Feb.22) ■

Tirupati temple was Buddhist

Tirupati Balaji was a Buddhist temple:

Dr. K. Jamnadas, 1991 pp. 200

Sanjivan Publications, Shalimar Main Road, Chandrapur, Maharashtra.

The concluding chapter, the book (p.175 to 182) are reproduced.

Precedents of usurping Buddhist Temples for brahminic use: It was shown that Image Worship originated amongst the Buddhist and that the struggle between Brahmins and Buddhists was the cause of it. Brahminism took over many Buddhist Temples for Brahminical use, for example Ter, Chezarala, Aihole, Undavalli, Ellora. It was shown that chiseling out Buddhist images was the method used in many temples, and Shaivas and Vaishnavas were together in this. Various other examples from Bengal, Puri, Badrinatha, Delhi, Nalanda, Ayodhya, Bodh Gaya, Sarnath and Sringeri are also seen, with special reference to Guntepalli and also role of Puranas in claiming the Buddhist places and retaining them. We summarized the scholars' views who have proved that Jagannatha of Puri, Vitthala of Pandharpur, Lord Ayyappa of Sabarimala in Kerala, Draksharama in Andhra were once Buddhist Temples. The relation of tribals with Buddhism with reference to Puri, Srisailam, and Pandharpur was also discussed.

Image of the Lord: We saw the traditional story of Lord of Tirumalai, the Brahminic explanation of absence of weapons on the image, and noticed how cleverly the device of 'self manifestation of murthi' is used to obscure the scientific historical inquiry. We noted various earliest Vishnu shrines. We saw that earliest popular form of Vishnu was reclining and not standing. It is stressed that there are many records of Vishnu shrines in South India, even in the vicinity of Tirupati but Tirupati is not amongst them. There is no mention even in Bhagavat Purana, let alone Mahabharata, Ramayana and Vishnu Purana. That the reason of its absence in epigraphical, as well as literary sources, was that it was unimportant as a brahminic shrine because it was a Buddhist shrine.

We also saw how various forms of Vishnu images were ordained to be made and that Lord of Tirumalai does not resemble any of these forms; and that the Image resembles Bodhisattva Image. The Image does not conform to Vishnu Images and is either a pre-Agamic Image or of 'Different Class by itself', and indeed, that class is the class of Buddhist Images converted for Brahminic use.

The nature of image of the Lord was always a disputed matter. Court dispute in 11th or 12th century A.D., claims of Shaivas and Vaishnavas, the points against

it being Vishnu as argued by Shaivas, points in favour of it being Vishnu as argued by Vaishnavas, were studied. It was Ramanuja who managed to place the weapons in the hands of the Murthi. It is clear that an image which was neglected, cannot be a Brahminic one. Shaivas and Vaishnavas conspired to claim the murthi for brahminism. We saw how it cannot be a Harihara or Devi murthi.

Account in VIM is discussed in detail. Is it a book of fables? Every palm leaf text is not to be discarded. Activities of Ramanuja as mentioned in VIM are borne out by archaeological evidences coming soon after his age, and it is a historical fact that the Murthi was without weapons before Ramanuja.

The theory of 'Vyakta-avyakta', based on Alvaras' account by modern scholars, is a myth. Verses of Alvaras had gone into oblivion, Natha Muni recovered these verses by yogic powers, Acharyas wrote Taniyans thus possibility of their views being quoted as those of Alvaras cannot be excluded. Even then there is no description of murthi in Alvaras' writings. But the present day scholarship is bent upon propagating this theory. The Murthi existed before the Alvaras and it does not become a Hari-Hara or a Vishnu Murthi just by Alvaras praying it as such. The description of the Murthi by Alvaras does not agree with the conception of Hari-Hara or of Vishnu.

None of the Early Alvaras described the Murthi. Tirumalsai Alwar, even, describes Murthi without weapons. Description of Murthi by Nammalwar is conceptual. Even otherwise the Alvaras and Nayanaras were hostile towards Buddhists, and their evidence is useless in discussing a claim for a Buddhist image. We also saw that Tirumalai was a compromise site among the Saivites and Vaishnavites.

On iconographical examination of Lord's Image, we noticed that Vishnu Images usually have four arms, and Two-armed Vishnu images are very few and of small size. Mudras of hand are more common in Buddhist images and weapons are a must in Vishnu images. We saw that Lakshmi was Buddhist deity. Even in literature, Lakshmi was not related to Vishnu, Lakshmi got recognition as a consort of Vishnu only since Alvandar's time.

We saw that the only difference in appearance between Vishnu and Avalokitesvara images lies in weapons. Dhyanis Buddhas were absent in many Buddhist images. Does Lord of Venkatesvara conform to Buddhist images? This has answer in affirmative. The pedestals of images have distinctive features, but the Pedestal of Lord of Tirumalai is covered, Why? Was there a Buddhist formula on the pedestal? Jata Jutas etc. are not against Buddhist character, neither

is Yadnopavitam. Presumption of Vajra-lepa is essential to explain certain points about the Murthi, like Srivatsa, Lakshmi, crescent moon mark etc.

History of Tirupati: *India was land of Nagas and its language was Tamil.* Nagas were supporters of Buddhism. The region of Tirupati was within Asoka's Empire. Earliest Inscriptions found were definitely Buddhist, and South India was free from Brahmin influence. *Tondamandalam was the land of Nagas* and there was no Murthi in Vengadam in Sangam Age. Murthi came into existence during Buddhist rule. Old name of Vengadam was Pullikunram, land of Pullis who were Buddhists. Later rulers were Tiraiyans of Pavattiri who were different from Tiraiyans of Kanchi. Rulers of Vengadam were Kalabhras who were Buddhist. Kalabhras fought against Brahmin supremacy and were abused by brahmin epigraphists after their rule ended. The emerging importance of Lakshmi cannot explain the change in subscription in the epigraphic records. The word Emperuman was not necessarily used with reference to Vishnu alone, but could also mean Buddha. *Emperumandiaris or Devadasis were degraded Buddhist nuns is clear from many evidences.*

The first epigraphic records are not at Tirumalai, but at Trichakkanur, and these records mention of the proxy image being installed at the foot of the Hill around 830 A.D. Purpose of this proxy image was religious conversion, and not mere convenience. How conversion was carried out is explained. After the purpose of conversion was served to a great extent, Silver Image was installed on the Hill and all activities transferred there. Friction among the Saivites and Vaishnavites cannot be the sole cause of shifting of activities to the hill and abandoning the proxy temple, as there was no rivalry at that stage.

Socio-political conditions need to be taken into account. Kalivaraja was started to change laws. Anti-Buddhist activities were at peak. Reason for Buddha being given place in avatars, was strategical and not on principle. Puranas invented stories to capture and retain Buddhist places of worship. New Puranas were written and old edited and re-edited to give stories for new revival of Brahminism, and supporting chaturvarnya and Sthala puranas and myths invented to capture and retain the Buddhist places of worship. This latter purpose of Puranas is not yet properly explored. *Shaivas and Vaishnavas were together in uprooting Buddhists and Jains*, eg. at Ellora Shaivas and Vaishnavas occupy two walls in a hall. The Rathas at Mahabalipuram were Buddhist, and are in an unfinished state because of anti Buddhist feelings at the time. Rise of Rajputs was for suppressing Buddhism. Agnikula Rajputs, hiranya-garbha prasuta Kings of South India and Ranas of Mewar are explained. Activities of Kumarila and Sankara and other Acharyas were all anti Buddhistic. Therefore, the real reason for Proxy Image was conversion and not mere convenience of devotees. The people whose

conversion was sought, were Buddhists. That is why Kanchi is not selected. Indoctrination of masses is done during this time of activities of proxy temple. That Murthi was without weapons is a physical fact. It only remains to discuss whether the weapons were fixed during the time of Ramanuja or earlier. Those who do not think that Murthi was converted by Ramanuja to Vaishnavism point out that silappadhikaran has described sankha and chakra on murthi. They like to think that the text belongs to 8th century. So the real question is what was the time when Murthi was given weapons. Our interest in this text is limited to this. This non-brahmnic text which is said to mention sankha and chakra on the murthi, is quite unreliable evidence to show the presence of weapons, because it also mentions bow. Its description is also on general lines and based on preconceived ideas of Puranas. It could also be referring to Tiruvenkatam other than Tirumalai. In any case, it only suggests that time of fixing the weapons to the murthi was earlier than Ramanuja, if we consider this passage from Silappadhikaran to be of an earlier date.

We saw the unique practice of Tonsure at Tirupati. Here not only men but also women, married as well as unmarried undergo tonsure. Though it is an old respectable and popular practice, no inscriptions mention about tonsure. It is proper to consider that Conversion of Buddhists is the main reason for tonsure. Tonsure was practiced by lay Buddhists as well as by Bhikshus. Tonsure is ancient practice in this temple. Shaven headed men let alone women are inauspicious to Hindu tradition. It is a well known fact that a sight of shaven headed is inauspicious to a Hindu since long back. There are references to this in a Sanskrit Drama Mrichacha Katika. Story in Vishnu Purana shows displeasure of Hindus towards tonsure. But there are times when Tonsures are followed by Hindus: They preserve tuft of hair, which was a reaction against Buddhism. Vedic Tonsures have no relation to Tirumalai tonsures. Votive offering of hair is contrary to Hindu shastras. Brahmins had to concede to Tonsure much against their wish. Tonsure is not a method of Vishnu worship, and Tirumalai tonsures have no relation with Vaishnavism, also they are not Tantric or Natha practices. Tonsures at Tirthas in late Puranas have no relation to Tirumalai tonsures, neither Tirumalai tonsures are praishittas. They are the remnants of Buddhist practices.

Ratha Yatra is main part of Bramhotsawam. Ratha yatra in old records of Hindus start much late, whereas it was Buddhist practice in olden days and was seen by Fa Hain. *Ratha yatra cannot be a brahmnic custom as it is against Chaturvarnya system.* Puri is Dantapura, where tooth of Buddha is worshipped. Shudras have different mantras in Vaishnavism.

The water from wells in the temple was not used till Ramanuja. Time of temple construction was pre Ramanujan. Garbha Griham, and Snapana mantapam

are made later into double walled structures. The great renovation of Temple was done with the intention of making the Temple agree with Agamic rules. The appearance of Garuda shrine is late.

Tirupati is Potalka: Tantrika Buddhism started in South India and its birth place Potalka was inaccessible. Hiuen Tsang's description of Potalka agrees with the physical features on the hill, and Tirumalai could have been Hiuen Tsang's Potalka.

Lastly, we refer again to Ramanujacharya's activities in Tirupati regarding giving of weapons to the Lord. Whatever may be the conviction of a person about the above points, the fact remains that the image of Lord of Tirumalai, originally, had no sankha and chakra. The question now arises whether the artist who started to sculpture the murthi, wanted to make the Murthi of Vishnu or somebody else? Why no weapons were sculptured if he meant to sculpture the image of Vishnu?

Answers to enigmatic problem of Lord of Tirumalai

These are the questions which every student of Ancient Indian History should prepare himself to answer on the basis of recognised historical methods. Our answers to these enigmatic problems of Lord Venkateswara are as follows:-

1. The image of Lord Venkateswara was not sculptured by the artist as an image of Vishnu, but of Avalokitesvara, sometimes in the reign of Kalabhras, after the period of Mamulanur, and before the period of Silappadhikaran, around 3rd to 5th century A.D.
2. Murthi's hands were not holding the sankha and/or chakra. The sankha and chakra were placed in the hands of the murthi at some date later than the date of sculpture of the murthi, and in all probability at the times of Ramanuja. Before Ramanuja, it is unlikely to have these weapons. The reference in Silappadhikaran is not trustworthy in this respect.
3. To consider Venkatachal Itihasa Mala unreliable because it is a palm leaf text is unjustifiable. To tamper with Itihasa Mala would involve a greater labour and greater difficulties than with Silappadhikaran. VIM is a religious book whereas Silappadhikaram is an epic of a tragic romance on which folk dramas are staged from ancient times, and is exposed to modifications in the folk theatre, in contrast to VIM.
4. The theory of Vyakta-avyakta is very recent and had to be postulated to explain away Alvaras' writings. There are no references in the writings of Alvaras about the presence of sankha and chakra on the murthi, and what ever description is there, is conceptual, imaginary, as seen by mental eye, mainly based on Puranic preconceived ideas and in any case untrustworthy as history for proving the presence of weapons, and also to a large extent, as conceived by the commentators, rather

than the Alvaras.

5. In the times of decline of Buddhism, no bhikshus were left to look after the shrine which was converted into a brahmic shrine. The gradual process of conversion of Avalokiteshwara to Vishnu can be traced as follows:

Avalokiteswara to Vishnu: The initial step seems to be that a proxy image of Lord of Tiruvengadam was set up in the plains and people were told that their God is now conveniently available without undertaking the hazardous journey to the hill.

Next step was to put another Murthi specially meant for conversion of the people to Vaishnavism. At least in earlier stages, the people who got converted, the devotees of the Lord on the Hill, were Buddhists. Later on may be the Saivites were allured for conversion, and so Shaivas had to start a centre at Tiruchokkinur to oppose Vaishnavas, around 1000 A.D. However, an intermediate step can be contemplated where the Buddhist devotees first became Saivites. This could explain the Avalokitesvara giving Darshana to His devotees in the guise of Maheshvara as mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. And it could also explain the conflict between Vaishnavites and Saivites. It may be noted that identification of Potalka cannot be on exuberance of Tara images alone, but there should be definite evidence to show that it was being converted to Maheshvara, and search for Potalka should be among the shrines converted for Brahmic use.

Subsequently, after all conversions that were possible to be made, were accomplished, and before Saivites opened their center nearby, the Vaishnavite brahmins decided to put a new silver image on the hill, and transfer all the attention from the proxy image to the image on the hill.

This intervening time was utilized profitably to make additional structure called Tiruvilankoyil, installing a new silver image with sankha and chakra in the hands. That the main Murthi had sankha and chakra much before Ramanuja is a myth, the only so called evidence being that of Silappadhikaram which is unreliable.

By this time, the idea of Buddha being the avatara of Vishnu takes root in the minds of people and they start worshipping the Lord on the Vengadam hill with the belief in the Buddha as the avatara of Vishnu. The great Ramanuja comes on the scene. He gives the weapons to the Lord. And the conversion becomes complete.

Even then the Temple does not conform with the Vaishnava Agamas, and hence great renovation was done by Veera Narasimha in 13th century. Now the outer walls are put round old walls, thus concealing the old features, the pillars are changed from circular to square, and Vaishnava bas reliefs now appear on them. Still it remains the only Ek-Devata Vishnu Temple in whole of India and other devatas are not

recognised here. Yet there is no Garuda Shrine, which appears very late in 1512 A.D., and Veda recital started only in 1430 A.D.

Ramanuja lays down the rules of worship as a Vishnu shrine, and finally people who were the real devotees forget the real nature of the Lord, and continue to worship the Lord as their Kula-daivatam. These ignorant gullible masses are told that, in kali age this is the form the Lord takes, and you have to worship Him in that form. Masses are also told that the Lord is 'mouni' in kali age; He does not speak, He does not preach. He is guru, a teacher but does not speak, He only observes 'moun' i.e. silence, very much in the same fashion as that of Jagannatha and Panduranga. How cleverly the device of 'mouni' is used in all these three important cults to glorify the Deity and condemn the Doctrine, should be noted. This tradition in later times gives rise to composition of suprabhatam which is composed to praise the Lord as a Guru, but a

mouni guru, and it is lamented that he may not be visible in the next kalpa.

Traditions die very hard. In spite of being converted to Vaishnavism, the devotees do not give up the practice of Tonsure, and it continues till today. People consider the deity as their Kuldevata. Usually the kuladevatas are restricted to a small area, but here the vast area is involved. The reason seems to be the spread of Kalabhras, who spread all over south India and convulsed the big kingdoms, and during this process the devotees of Lord on the hill spread all over and continued to worship Him as kuladevata.

Thus the Buddhist Deity is first Vaishnavized mainly due to activities of shudra saint poets, and prabandhams are sung. Later Brahmins came in and sanskritize the scene and now the Lord is brahmanized, in which form we worship Him today. ■

DOCUMENT

Untouchables & Backward Castes are neither Shudras nor Hindus

The following excerpts from the book, *Sudras in Ancient India*, by R.S. Sharma, (Motilal Banarasidas, 1990) are reproduced to further prove our point that Untouchables (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes and Backward Castes) are not shudras. There is good lot of confusion in India deliberately created by the Aryan rulers, that BCs are shudras. Aryan races rule India by creating such confusions. Rulers want to rule and they will do any trick to retain their rulership. But it is the job of the conscious sections among the ruled not to fall prey to this confusion. It is this confusion that made the BCs lose their race for Mandal Commission. BCs are neither shudras nor Hindus. Shudras form the fourth-grade servants of Hindus. Shudra in Sanskrit means slaves. Non-Aryans or the original inhabitants of India (Dravidas and Adidravidas who founded the glorious Indus Valley civilisation) were never slaves of the Aryans. It is the Aryans who later came to be known as Hindus. Shudras form part of the Hindu's *chaturvarna* or their fourfold caste system. God Krishna of Hindus was a Yadava tribe. And Yadavas are BCs. They are not shudras. The very meaning of the word Krishna is black. Krishna was black. So too Bhagawan Buddha. Rama was an Aryan but Krishna was a Dravidian tribal hero promoted to godhood by the Aryans to woo back from Buddhism the vast Yadava tribals who formed the single biggest ethnic identity in the cowbelt. It was a trick used by the Aryans to destroy the tribal identity of the Yadava. If the Yadavas and their tribal Chief Krishna were Hindus, if Mulayam Singh Yadav and Lallu Prasad Yadav are Hindus today, why did the Hindus/Aryans oppose the Mandal Commission report, the author of which B.P. Mandal was also a Yadav? This must convince our BCs that they are not shudras. The moment they say they are shudras they come under the *chaturvarna* and they become the slaves of Hindus. The BCs are also Untouchables, original inhabitants of India like SC/ST/BCs. R.S. Sharma, a Brahmin and a historian who now resides at Patna, has clarified these points in all his books and that is why he is hated by the Aryan races. The BCs suffered a setback in their first-ever battle for their human rights. Fortunately the SCs took over the leadership of their battle though the Mandal Commission had nothing to do with SC/STs. BCs must identify more and more with SC/STs because they too are untouchables. BCs are neither shudras nor Hindus. And untouchables are not shudras. — EDITOR.

The early Pali texts often mention the five despised castes of the candala, the nisada, the vena, the rathakara and the pukkusa. They are described as having low families (nica Kula) or inferior births (hinajati). The enumeration of low trades, crafts and castes seems to be broadly true of pre-Mauryan times, for the Buddha argues at length with the monks that they should not create such distinctions in the order by insulting speech referring to the former jati, the sippa, the kamma etc. of the monks.

Several despised jatis of the Buddhist texts roughly correspond to the untouchable sections of brahmanical society. According to the Buddhist and Jain texts the

candalas and the pukkusas were not included in the sudra varna. But the Dharmasutras incorporate them in the list of the mixed castes who are supposed to have sudra blood. According to Patanjali, Panini seems to have included the candala and the mrtapa (a person who watches dead bodies) in the list of those sudras who lived outside towns and villages, and whose contact permanently defiled the bronze vases of the brahmanas.

Originally the candalas seem to have been an aboriginal tribe. This is clear from their use of their own dialect. In a Jain text they are mentioned along with the other tribes such as the Sabaras, the Dravidas,

the Kalingas, the Gaudas and the Gandharas. But gradually the candalas came to be looked upon as untouchables. Apastamba holds that to touch and see a candala is sinful. This passage, however, is not to be found in the two earlier manuscripts of his Dharmasutra, which shows that untouchability appeared probably towards the end of the pre-Mauryan period. A similar provision occurs in the later work of Gautama, who provides that, if a candala defiles the body, it can be purified by bathing dressed in clothes.

In the Pali texts the candalas are clearly depicted as untouchables. A later Jataka describes the candalas as the meanest men on earth. Contact with the air that touched a candala's body was regarded as pollution. The very sight of a candala foreboded evil. Thus the daughter of a setthi of Banaras, seeing a candala, washes her eyes, that have been contaminated by a mere glance at that despised person. Food and drink, if seen by him, were not to be taken. Partaking of his food, even without knowledge, led to social ostracism. It is said that sixteen thousand brahmanas lost their caste because they unknowingly took food which had been polluted by contact with the leavings of the vaniyya (p.138-139, 186).

Kautilya's opinion: It has been shown earlier that Panini seems to have included the candalas in the sudra varna. But Kautilya does not consider them as sudras. They have no place in the fourfold varna systems. Thus, according to Kautilya, damage done to the animals and birds of the candalas and forest tribes should be punished with half the fine of that done to the similar possessions of the members of the four varnas. In addition to the four varnas Kautilya mentions the caste of the antyavasyins, who seem to be identical with the candalas, for the latter lived outside villages near the burial grounds. It is laid down that, if the candala touches an arya woman, a fine of a hundred panas shall be imposed on him. This may imply that no such fine will be imposed if he touches a sudra woman. (p.186).

Manu's opinion: Whether the untouchables and the mixed castes were regarded as sudras by Manu is not clear. Manu categorically states that there are only four varnas which may imply that the mixed castes were included in the sudra varna. At one place in Manu the antyaja is explained as a sudra by Kulluka. But the term antyaja is also used by Manu in the sense of a candala. Manu distinguishes an antyaja from a sudra in connection with his penalties for the crime of adultery, and an antyavasyin from a sudra in his law of evidence. (p.229).

The law-books of the period retain the distinction between the sudras and untouchables. Thus Yajnavalkya lays down that a sudra who has intercourse with a candala woman is reduced to her position. Sudras and svapakas are mentioned separately. (.289).

The dombas and the matangas had their own deities

known as the Yakasas (Jakkhas). A Jain source informs us that the shrine of the Jakkhas of the matangas was built on the bones of human beings who had died recently. This practice was probably the result of the candala's association with the cremation grounds. (.292/3).

Ferocity appears as a special trait of the candala's character. (p.293).

It is not clear whether the Mahabharata was to be read or only to be heard by the sudras. And consolidated into the Smarta texts for the use and acculturation of a large number of expanding peasantry which was being brought into the 'Hindu' fold as sudras and also for their observation by the womenfolk.

But there is no doubt that during the Gupta period the religious rights of the sudras were enlarged, and in respect of several ceremonies they were placed on a level with the members of the three higher varnas. (.312).

Social degradation undoubtedly took place in the case of the untouchables, who were regarded as sudras only theoretically, but for all practical purposes were marked out as a separate community. (.313).

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How upper caste "scholars" mislead people putting blame on "poverty"

We are reproducing excerpts from an article in the *Statesman* by Arun Mukhopadhyaya, titled "Literacy drive — poverty is the hurdle". The article says India will have the largest number of illiterates in a single country by the year 2000. It also cites the failure of primary education assured in the Constitution. All sweet sounding words. While the author speaks out the truth by saying that the cause for this is poverty, he is silent on the point as to who kept our people poor. But he has not identified the "poor" who are none other than SC/ST/BCs and Muslims. Poverty is not our problem. Poverty is the byproduct of denial and deprivation of our human rights. Once we secure our human rights, we will automatically overcome our poverty and secure education. The ruling class rules India by depriving our human rights and the same rulers also make money and get fame and name, awards and rewards by writing such articles on the failure of our education system. Both are done by the same set of people. —EDITOR.

India has 2.4% of the world's geographical area and 15% of the world population, but 40% of the world's illiterates. There were 30 million literates in 1951 and 247 million literates in 1981 with an average rate of growth of 6.23 million literates per year, while the number of illiterates in these years was 300 million and 437 million.

With an overall literacy percentage of 36.3 in 1981, 46% men and 24% women were literate. Out of four women in India, three are illiterate. As in other backward countries, the beginning of education for women is rather late compared with the men. In the year 2000, India will not only have the largest number of graduates, but also the largest number of illiterates (about 54% of the total number of illiterates of the world) in a single country.

The Education policy of 1986 admitted that this dismal scenario of mass illiteracy is due to the failure of the primary education movement. The primary education programme has suffered from various lapses, including the non-fulfilment of the one-village-one-school-target, lack of school buildings and school teachers, inadequate teaching-learning materials and lack of motivation.

My own survey reveals the following four major reasons why few children go to primary schools: (a) before going to schools no food is available for the children who are out since the morning in search of fruits and roots in the forest; (b) the children are engaged in baby-sitting when their parents go out for work; (c) the children are engaged as cowboys or girls and (d) the children do not have enough clothes for going to school.

Out of 100 children admitted to the primary schools, only 23% reach class VIII. Thus illiterates are composed of non-school-going children of school-going age and the dropouts from the primary schools. *The paramount factor behind all this is abject poverty which breeds ignorance, inertia and fatalism.*

It is estimated that nearly 50% of the Indian population live below the poverty line. It is also said that this problem is the result of an inequitable distribution of wealth inherent in our socio-economic system. For instance, 10% of people in India own 50% of the wealth, while in the rural sector the richer 3.3% own 30% of the land and the poorest 63% own only 10% of the land. ■

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The concept that India is not yet a nation but a nation in the making with many distinct cultural, ethnic entities is gaining ground. These papers were the result of a seminar held at Pune (1985). At a time when the Soviet Union in cracking up on the nationality question, the two Germanys got united on the nationality question to be followed shortly by the two Koreas and even China is feeling the rumbling of the ethnic, it is high time we in India learn from these lessons so that we may avoid the violence and bloodshed forced on by the brahminial nationhood riding roughshod over all other nationalisties. Hence the need for a proper study of the nationality question.

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