

DALIT VOICE

[The Voice of the Persecuted Minorities]

Adviser : Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

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No. 22

WILL THE INDIAN PEOPLE'S FRONT HELP REVOLUTION ?

A new Left organisation claiming to represent the genuine revolutionaries wedded to scientific socialism has taken shape raising fresh hopes about the country's languishing Left movement. Called the Indian People's Front, it was launched at a well-attended convention in New Delhi on April 26, 1982. While a dozen of our dalit comrades from different parts of India attended it, we have not yet received any first-hand report from them. The "national press" however virtually ignored this important event except for a scrappy report indicating the ruling class fear over the birth of this new organisation. However, we could get a peep into the deliberations by going through its newly-started journal, *National Alternative* (address : WZ-48-Ramgarh, New Delhi-110 015) of May. The convention, it says, was attended by 1,500 delegates and observers representing 200 mass organisations "fighting landlords, imperialists and other Indira autocrats". The April 24-26 session was considered a big success. The immediate aim of the IPF was "to unite all struggling and democratic forces" and the ultimate aim was to "fight for a genuine, strong, independent prosperous, united people's" republic of India in which all political power will be vested in the people." Very fine indeed. The noted kisan leader of the Bhojpur fame Ramakant Dwivedi ("Ramta") was elected president & Rajaram, leader of the Bihar Democratic and Patriotic Front, gen. secretary. The leadership appears mostly in the hands of pro-China Naxalites. PUDR president Gobind Mukhoti addressing the convention" exposed the anti-people and pro-feudal policies of the so-called national leaders like Gandhi, Nehru & also Indira Gandhi." Rajaram said the RSS-BJP "would be an instrument in the hands of the big business and communal hands for the oppression of the masses. And the national alternative mooted by CPM as Left and Democratic front would be another effective instrument for the repression of the people". Most of the speakers criticised the pro-Soviet CPM & CPI. So far so good. But what have the IPF to offer for the country's poorest of the poor, the Untouchables & tribals, groaning under caste oppression ? Barring the speeches of one

Dalit Panther leader and one P. Sambayya, described as leader of over 5 lakh fishermen of Andhra, who made pointed reference to the havoc played by caste system, we are sorry to note that the speeches of other leaders, including its president and general secretary, did not make any reference to the social problems of India. Untouchables are killed and their property destroyed not because they are poor but because they are outcastes. If poverty is the reason, why the other poor among Hindus are not attacked? Their problem is not economic but social. Muslims and Christians are facing the same fate not because they are poor but because their religion is considered hostile to Brahminism. Tribals are being annihilated not because they are poor but because they are refusing to get Hinduised. These four above-named sections constitute the poorest of India's poor. Their poverty is the byproduct of their social exploitation. The speeches made at the IPF convention or the resolutions passed have ignored this basic fact of Indian life. We hope the IPF leadership will make quick amends lest this yet another attempt by "genuine revolutionaries" also turn out to be a storm in the tea cup. However, we are happy to note the fairly good representation given to tribals and the support given to their demand for separate Jharkhand. But the more revolutionary Mangloid tribes of the NE India, from whom the plains tribals have to learn a lot, are not adequately represented. This must be corrected. IPF has accepted the Indian dalits' long-pending demand to rename Marathwada University after Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Apart from this one demand, their other equally important demand like

Dalitastan did not figure. This was perhaps because adequate representation was not given to dalits. Muslims and Christians are not adequately represented. This can be made up next time. The discussions appear to have given too much importance to political issues, criticising CPM, Indira Gandhi, Soviet imperialism etc. We feel that instead of criticising others, it is better if the IPF says what it has to offer to the people. It is true that an analysis of the existing situation is necessary. Perhaps it is for this reason such a criticism became unavoidable. While the journal gave fairly good account of what different leaders spoke, we are sorry to note that it did not give the same coverage to the speeches of leaders of Untouchables like Tamil Nadu's P. K. Rajan or what Vijayaraju of AP spoke. In India it is mainly the Untouchables and tribals who are born revolutionaries. Brahmins and other high caste Hindus can hardly be revolutionaries because of their caste character. If IPF does not understand this, it will turn out to be yet another younger brother of the CPM-CPI, consciously repeating the same mistake. We congratulate the IPF for rejecting the stupid parliamentary politics and for describing CPM-CPI as election-oriented parties. Contesting elections without preparing the people is a sheer waste of energy, time and money. The Left parties have turned out to be reformist only because of this reason. The people want revolution and not reform. In fact IPF is more worried about the "Soviet imperialism" describing it as the main danger. But to say that "discriminations whether religious or castelines are due to the persis-

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DALITS ALONE CAN LIBERATE DALITS

(T. K. Narayanan, Trivandrum)

It is an irrefutable historical fact that the sole cause of the unending sufferings of the Untouchables (dalits) & other oppressed masses of India is caste system of Hinduism. Is it not the caste that kept them away from the places of worship, learning, culture and education? Caste denied them all sources and means of subsistence. It denied them water, access to roads and village pathways. Nay, it made them Untouchables. And it is the caste that made them the lowest of the low and poorest of the poor. It made them the target of tyranny and treachery from those who are above them. More than a quarter of a century has lapsed since India attained its so-called "Independence." But a day does not pass in India without murder, arson, rape and depredation being committed against them. All these cruelties which savages dread are taking place in India—in the land of non-violence—because of the existence of a religion of caste that legalises the business of today by the business of yesterday. Led by our Holy Aryans we dalits never found ourselves in the company of freedom and equality. Whom are we waiting for our salvation? History bears out no evidence to show that an oppressed people have ever been emancipated from oppression by their oppressors. Let us listen to what Ambedkar said on this. "Lost rights are never regained by begging and appeals to the conscience of the oppressors but by relentless struggle. Goats are used for sacrificial offerings, not lions". Our emancipation must be the work of ourselves. It is the prime and bounden duty of every enlightened, intellectual dalit and oppressed Indian to prepare the minds of their ignorant and illiterate comrade for a revolutionary movement based on a revolutionary theory and practice to free themselves from serfdom and servitude. The extent of education (not-bourgeois education) obtained by the masses of oppressed people is one of the deciding factors to win a revolution. Our enemies, our oppressors and exploiters—the idle rich—live at our expense, our sweat, sucking our blood as we are the producers of wealth for them. Our suffering is the source of their enjoyment just as our work is the source of their enrichment. Deeply rooted domination of the high caste Hindus over the helpless and ignorant dalits, tribals, OBCs and oppressed people should be cast off by a revolution which we cannot entrust any longer to India's "intellectual" caste—the Brahmins—whose only aim in life is to keep its labouring countrymen in a perpetual state of poverty & ignorance for maintaining their own social status & political power intact. As we know the progenitors and the protagonists of caste will never raise their little finger against it, not to speak of destroying it. Untouchability and caste cannot exist independently of the other. Similarly there can be no untouchability without caste and there can be no caste without untouchability. They came together and they have to disappear together. The tall talk about the removal of untouchability indulged in by the Hindu leaders has been nothing but a big hoax played on the Untouchables with a view to turning their attention

from their struggle against the caste which has made India the original home of inequality and oppression. Not a single Hindu leader, the "Mahatma" included, ever spoke a word against the caste. It would be suicidal on our part if we nurture the hope that the very creators of caste would turn out to be its annihilators. Caste is the be all and end all of the Hindus. It breeds the idea of high and low which implanted the idea of pollution from human beings. Caste is not only the enemy of Untouchables, tribals, OBCs and other persecuted minorities of India but it is also the enemy of its unity, strength, prosperity and progress. Hence, our fight for liberation from the thralldom of caste is more serious than our fight for India's freedom. In our fight for freedom the only weapon in our hands is our firm unity—unity in thought and action. Let us make it certain that we are not dragged back to the caste dungeon on account of our disunity. Our immediate task is to prepare the minds of our people for the coming revolution—the "caste-war" and "class struggle" both should go together. But the main emphasis should be on caste war, i.e. social revolution. Because in India no political or economic revolution can be successful unless it is preceded by a social revolution. The rock bottom of the Indian society (i.e. Hindu society) is the caste—the ageold institution of inequality, serfdom and slavery. And unless the people are freed from its tentacles no revolution whatsoever can be possible in India. This is exactly what Dr. Ambedkar and Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy, the two outstanding revolutionaries India has ever seen, have taught us. We must clearly remember here that during

the last 2,000 years never was such an attack made to shatter the caste system as has been done by these two great leaders of the oppressed Indians. Their mission was to fight tyranny, injustice and false traditions and to undo all privileges and release the oppressed people from bondage. Unless the caste is shattered no progressive idea, not to speak of a revolutionary one, will sprout and grow in India. They have exposed the utter falsehood that lies behind the pernicious Hindu philosophy that implanted the idea of pollution from human beings. There is not only inequality in Hindu society but inequality is the official doctrine of the Hindu philosophy. Every political party in India, which invariably is led by Brahmins or upper caste Hindus tainted with the spirit of Brahminism, has betrayed the Indian revolution. The Communists everywhere in the world, as laid down in their manifesto, are expected to support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. But Indian Communists have proved by their own policy and practice that they are not bound by this basic principle. It is now certain that they will not come forward to undertake a fight against the caste. Let us not, therefore, trail behind them or any other political party as their camp-followers, drawing water and hewing wood for them. We only follow a leader who thinks as we think and feel. Ambedkar and Periyar sprang from among us. They lived with us, ate with us and slept with us. They know our thoughts and feelings. They knew our utter poverty and appalling penury and degraded social conditions. They are our true and real leaders. To Ga-

(Contd. on page 5 Col. 2)

P.M. SNUBS INDIAN DALITS IN U.S.

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore : A UNI report from New York says the visiting Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi snubbed Indian dalits settled there for trying to submit her a petition on the largescale atrocities committed in India on poor Untouchables. A front-page report in the *Statesman* (July 29) says :

NEW YORK : Indians living abroad in comfort will not be helping by commenting on situations back home they know little about, according to Mrs. Gandhi, the *New York Post* said on July 27. In a Washington-dated story, the *Post* said that the Prime Minister's remark came in reply to request from some Indians living in the USA who sought to meet her and lodge a protest against atrocities committed on Harijans. It said she "snubbed" the group—called Volunteers in Service to India's Oppressed and Neglected (VISION)—which had sought to protest "recent atrocities & beheadings targeted at" Harijans. The *Post* said that Mrs Gandhi sent back a terse reply, refusing to meet and discuss the issue, saying "it does not help for those who are living in affluence abroad to comment on situations about which they have little knowledge". Since the US dalits represented highly respected Ambedkarites, well qualified, holding responsible positions and many of them intellectuals (an article by two of its members appeared in DV No-21), Indian dalits hold the VISION headed by a dynamic president, Dr. Laxmi Berwa from Haryana, in high esteem. Many Indian dalits have written us that they are deeply hurt by the PM's remarks (if the report is true). Surprisingly the "national press" which gave extraordinary coverage to Indira Gandhi visit to US, did not publish so important a report like this. Who bothers about the Untouchables ? □

(Cont. from page 4)

ndhi, the removal of untouchability was a stunt and political platform but not a practical social programme. We will have to carry out relentless propaganda against the spiritualistic fad and superstitious belief thrust on our people by the caste philosophy which has emasculated and devitalised them for ages. We want equality in India & to achieve this "chatur varna" (caste system) must be destroyed. The privileges for higher castes and poverty for lower castes must end now and here. We have lost everything because of our disunity. What we have lost, others have gained. Our humiliations are a matter of pride with others. We are made to suffer wants and privations not because it was preordained by god but because of the overpowering tyranny and treachery of those who are above us. We have no lands because others have usurped them. We have no posts and positions because others have monopolised them. Let us not believe in fate. Let us believe in our own strength and self-respect. This is what our leaders have taught us. Let us study the Indian situation and surroundings with our own eyes. In India, no kind of inequality can be shattered unless every kind of inequality existing here is shattered. For us inequality means first caste. For this let us not wait for the day of Indian insurrection to be proclaimed by the crowing of the cock of Aryavatha. Let us unite, organise and move forward to reach our goal. We have nothing to lose but our humiliation. We have to win a world of equality. Arise ! Awake ! And stop not till the goal is reached. □

POONA PACT & THE POLITICAL BONDED LABOURERS.

(M. Kamalakannan, Gen. Secretary, Ambedkar People's Welfare Movement, Tirukoilur, TN)

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's patriotic voice echoed at the Round Table Conference where he called the attention of the British Prime Minister to the problem of Apartheid in India. He made an eloquent speech on the emancipation of the Untouchables from the Hindu slavery and stressed the importance of the political safeguards to these helpless Wretched of the Earth. Consequently it paved the way for the grant of Communal Award on August 17, 1932. It gave separate electorate to the minorities and the Untouchables. As a matter of fact Gandhi never objected to the separate electorate for Muslims and Sikhs though socially, politically and economically they were more advanced than the Untouchables. Yet he opposed tooth and nail when the same political rights were given to the Untouchables. This was Gandhi. Later, he began his fast-unto death on Sept. 20 1932 to protest the grant of separate electorate to the Untouchables. Ambedkar was tricked and forced to surrender and he saved the life of Gandhi who broke his fast on Sept. 26, 1932 by accepting the joint electorate with reservations and concessions. This agreement is known as the Poona Pact, "the first blow inflicted upon Untouchables", as Ambedkar put it. This Pact is responsible for the existing plight of the Indian Untouchables. Poona Pact assured us the reservations in elections and govt. services. But this reserved constituency has only produced the political bonded labourers who are today acting as the stooges of Hindu politicians. These bonded labourers are more loyal to their political parties than the Untouchables. They are like those barking dogs outside Hindu houses fed on the thrown out crumbs of rotten bread. They are

vying with each other to please their masters. The Hindu capitalists and the Brahminised Congress Party and other Brahminic RSS-BJP Hindu parties are setting up their paid agents to divide the ranks of the Untouchables and their movements. The Hindu political parties organise the dalits through "Harijan cell", Civil Liberty Protection Movement etc. to divide and disrupt the ranks of the dalits and thus capture their votes. The Republican Party of India founded by Dr. Ambedkar got split into Khobragade, Gawai factions etc., which are now tailing the Hindu capitalist-political parties. There are so many movements in the name of Dr. Ambedkar-only destroying Ambedkarism by participating in Hindu conferences, accepting RSS fascism and saving Hinduism. A section of the educated dalits who got into govt. services through reservation for which Dr. Ambedkar fought, are ashamed of disclosing their caste identity and pretend to be Hindus. Some dalit officials, I.A.S. officers and most of the MLA, MPs do not even think about their fellow Untouchables. They want their caste only at the time of getting into the govt. services and promotions. Ambedkar's dreams will not come true unless these neo-Brahmin dalits, who show no interest towards the uplift of their own brothers, are thoroughly exposed. Therefore, Meenakshipuram is the only way: the dalit mass conversion to Islam offers

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the only solution to get rid of untouchability & shake off the age-old traditional system of slavery. If all the Untouchables, as advocated by Ambedkar had embraced Buddhism it would have been possible for them to get rid of untouchability and establish a classless socialist society in

India. Throughout the country, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the Untouchables are daily murdered in day light by the Hindus. Belchi-(Bihar) Bhisarampur, Sadupur, Deoli, Muthukulathur, Kee-lavenmani, Villupuram and now Puliyan-gudi etc have become symbols of dalit martyrdom. Moradabad, Jamshedpur, Beharsherif, Hyderabad have become the graveyard of Muslims. Christians were also murdered & shot dead at Mandaikadu, near Kanyakumari. Dalits and other persecuted minorities are becoming the victim of Hindu fury. The RSS and the ruling parties are responsible for killing us and the minorities. Dalits and the minorities like Muslims, Christians and Sikhs form 50 crores of Indian population. If they are organised under a single banner and boycott the Hindu political parties, they can capture political power as well as put down the fascist RSS. Enlist and enroll all the persecuted minorities and make them identify their real enemy so that they may launch the war on Brahminism and the bonded labourers. □

Dr. Babasheb Ambedkar

Writings & Speeches

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Letters to Editor :

K. Veeramani, gen. secretary, Dravida Kazhagam, Madras : We passed a resolution at the Trichy conference of the DK on June 13 urging TN govt. to implement the Maharajan Commission report which said *Agamas* don't bar appointment of temple priests irrespective of castes. To chalkout the programme a big conference is to be held at Tanjore on Augs. 14.

I. C. Tirkey, vice-president, West Bengal SC/ST Welfare Council, Calcutta : In DV no. 15, page 4 there is an article saying that dalits had to fight for 35 years to include Ambedkar's biography in school textbooks. Will you tell us which States have textbooks having Ambedkar-life history? Our association had two meetings with the WB Govt. headed by Chief Secretary A. K. Sen to press for this demand but it wanted to know States having Ambedkar textbooks. Will any of your readers write directly to our association 13/B- Padampukar Rd., Calcutta-700 047. We are getting DV and find it very useful in our struggle.

Manohar Y. Kamble, Jamakhandi : I chanced to read DV and glad to note at last a journal representing the hitherto neglected has come out.

P. N. Rajabhoj, Bharat Dalit Sevak Samaj, Poona : Nowadays I am not getting DV which I like very much.

Gurudev Singh, Patiala : I am at a loss to find appropriate words to say how useful the DV is for us dalits. It helps us to keep in touch with Ambedkar thoughts. Although India has got rid of English imperialism, slavery, oppression and exploitation are continuing because we have not yet destroyed Brahminism.

K. V. Kumaran, Member, Kerala Public Service Commission, Trivandrum : I have gone through all the issues of the *Dalit Voice* with great interest. My hearty congratulation. I am sending Rs. 100 as my subscription as also for the Dalit Sahitya Akademy books. I will also try to get an agent here to sell your publications.

Dr. Nirmal Minz, principal, Gossner College, Ranchi : I am pleased to read DV. Send me all books published by the DSA. I have written a number of articles on tribal problems. My growing feeling is that a combined effort of dalit and shoshit work be done all over India. The 85% of the people of India must organise themselves.

T. Chaudhuri, Baz. Baz, 24-Paraganas, W. Bengal : I work for the awakening of the cultural consciousness in this district. Hence it is necessary to know the people's culture, literature, arts of other States. Dalit literature will help us. Bengal dalits know nothing of it. Hence I want DV.

Mrs. Swarna Ranganathan, Bangalore : I like DV very much.

Miss Indira Veni, Hyderabad : Mao has said that an essential pre-condition of any revolution is that women should be its vanguard. He said that women could be more revolutionary than men. We learn that China had a revolution because women took a leading part in it. But in India barring Dravida Kazhagam which gives prime place to women — thanks to Periyar EVR—women are no where in any gathering, political or otherwise. India may be headed by a woman PM but there can't be a greater enemy of women than Indira Gandhi. Did she bother to implement the Report of the Committee on the Status of Women submitted to her? Indian ethos,

as you rightly observed (DV no. 7), is anti-woman. I am surprised that even some educated women fighting for "women's liberation", support Manu. India has neglected woman and hence no revolution is taking place here.

Loqueman, Balasore, Orissa : A communal riot has been brewing in Bhadrak, a subdivision of this dt. since a week. BJP is fanning communal flames. Three Muslim shops were reduced to ashes. Please send your correspondent to probe the matter and inform the public through DV.

Khalid Irfan, Bangalore : I like DV very much. The one that I liked most is your editorial (DV no. 17), "The Role of Intellectuals in Society".

A. R. Infant, IPS, Supdt. of Police, KGF, Karnataka ; In the DSA books I found living and relevant ideas which are often overlooked in contemporary writings. I like DV very much.

Ghulam Sarwar, Ex-Minister, Patna : You are a crusader for the noble cause of the dalits and the persecuted minorities. I assure to support this cause that is also dear to me.

Kusum Kamble, Bombay : The way Israel smashed the Muslim PLO has brought tremendous joy to RSS and its Hindu sympathisers. My room-mate & RSS activist here told me that RSS shakas celebrated this victory. The Jews of India naturally feel close to their counterpart outside.

Mohammed Rafique, Jorhat, Assam : Through DV, we congratulate Wazir Wankhede (Suptd. Engineer, Nagpur) & Hanif Mohammad (Gujarat) for quitting Hinduism and untouchability and embracing the brotherhood of Islam.

C. Manoharan, Medical College Hostel,

Coimbatore : I am really proud of reading DV.

Honnappa Kahale, Retd. Dy Suptd. of Police, Bangalore : Awakening is growing fast among dalits and minorities. Yet we are small compared to RSS muscle & its money. But the unity of dalits, Muslims and Christians is the only fitting answer to meet the RSS challenge. DV is doing a wonderful job in this direction.

T. Balu, Madras : Every article in DV, especially your fantastic editorials, is simply grander than the previous ones. I congratulate you for this noble work.

N. Elangovan, Cuddalore TN : We reprinted your editorial, "Trade Unions, Dalits and Minorities" (DV no. 15) in our monthly circular. Dalits welcomed this editorial very much.

S. P. Rana, Deesa, Gujarat : Pl. convey our best wishes to all your dalit colleagues working for DV.

Miss Gnana Mani, and Miss Themozhi, Coimbatore : We enclose a copy of our letter (dated Aug. 4) to the Director of Libraries, TN govt., Madras, along with signatures of 200 members of the Coimbatore Dt. Central Library asking govt. to subscribe *Modern Rationalist*, English monthly, 50-EVK Sampath Rd., Madras-600 007 and *Dalit Voice* as we find these journals indispensable to every student interested in studying Indian society and its socio-economic problems. The signatories include students of local university, medical, engineering, law and other arts & science colleges. Through your columns we urge the TN govt. to concede our demands.

P. K. Manokaran, Pallikonda TN : If a clash occurs between Harijans and others, the press calls it clash between Harijans and caste Hindus. What do they mean by calling others as caste Hindus? Then, who are Harijans? Are they not Hindus? □

PROPOGATING HINDUISM : R.S.S. STYLE.

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore : RSS leaders speak always in crores of rupees. Money comes pouring. In the name of protecting Hindu religion, which according to them is threatened by Islam, Christianity & Sikhism, they have already collected crores of rupees. - And the latest booty of Rs. 5 crores was announced recently at the holy Hardwar at the end of the training of 100 Hindu "missionaries", mostly high caste boys, who will fan out to protect Hindu religion. But has anybody heard of Muslim or Christian countries trying to protect their religion? RSS sources said this training marked a "dramatic turn in Hindu history". And what made the RSS to protect Hinduism? Mee-nakshipuram mass conversion of Untouchables to Islam? To prevent conversion what steps RSS proposes? Fight the "menace" of minorities, Marxists and athelists (Dravida Kazegham). A three-point programme. How Hinduism is saved by fighting these three? It is these three "anti-national forces" who are sowing the seeds of anarchy in India. The destruction of this trinity automatically results in saving Hinduism? How about the exploitation, social degradation and poverty of Untouchables? That is no problem: chant names of Gods, have faith in priests, apply ash, paint on face, body. All the problems will disappear. What is the job of the Hindu missionaries? Reconvert the converted Untouchables. But is conversion allowed under Hinduism? If so, what is the caste that will be assigned to the reconverted? Will they be promoted as Brahmins? No. RSS sources say that those re-converted will go back to their original caste—outcaste. Maharana Bhagwat Singh, president of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, an arm of the RSS, said at the Hard-

war function that West Bengal has shown big enthusiasm. Does it mean the next target of attack is the Jyoti Bosu govt.? By the yearend 200 such missionaries will be trained, the ultimate goal being 2,000, one for each tehsil of the country. What a beautiful way to provide jobs for these high caste drones, writes a dalit comrade of Hardwar, who attended this function of Hindu religious leaders, and reminds us of what Mandal Commission report said on Hindu religion: "If religion was ever used as an opium of the masses it was done in India where a small priestly class, by a subtle process of conditioning the thinking of the vast majority of the people hypnotised them for ages into accepting a role of servility with humility (page 16- part-I). Meanwhile in Kandai, near Madurai, two dalits converted to Islam married born Muslim girls at a simple mosque ceremony, according to a message received from A. Zafarulla Rahmanai, Madurai. Many dalits, Muslims and Christians attended the wedding on Aug. 7. More such marriages are planned. Meanwhile RSS-CPM clashes are taking a serious turn in Kerala with the former serving an ultimatum. Since it was mostly the RSS which was on the receiving end, they are now getting ready for a do-or-die battle. RSS is claiming that CPM is murdering Untouchables for joining RSS. Untouchables joining RSS? Can this be believed? Can such a thing happen? Yes, it is happening in Kerala

where the high caste leadership of Marxists (CPM is a party of Brahmins & Nairs) has betrayed the interests of Untouchables. Some dalit comrades of Mangalore (Karnataka) have taken objection to the Mangalore station of All India Radio broadcasting (Sept. 27 last) RSS-sponsored programmes. They have also complained against high caste RSS boys entering dalit localities & intimidating the inhabitants. What is intriguing is that these high castes who kept Untouchables and shudras out of Sanskrit knowledge, are now thrusting it down their unwilling throat. There were clashes in one or two places. What they ask is how could a dept. of the govt. that calls RSS a communal organisation, invite Krishna Shastri, a RSS pracharak to broadcast on AIR? They feel that there are some RSS agents in AIR, Mangalore. Information Minister Vasanth Sathé, who as per RSS claims was a former RSS man and hence must be knowing their modus operandi, must investigate this serious but deliberate lapse on the part of AIR, Mangalore. A TN dalit reader writes to ask how RSS is getting CID secrets of TN govt. RSS official organ, *Organiser* (Aug. 1) quotes TN CID documents saying Christians paid Rs. 500 to Rs. 5,000 for "each forcible conversion" in South and North Arcot district and Salem. Rs. 7 lakhs had found its way into Kallkurchi alone for proselytisation. "Earlier, the *Organiser* had quoted Intelligence Bureau of the Govt. of India saying that it has discovered Arab funds pouring into India to convert Untouchables to Islam. How does CID and I.B. secrets leak out and appear only in *Organiser*? Is there any method in this madness? Our dalit comrade wants to

know if there is any RSS infiltration into TN CID, noted for its integrity. They are suspecting that after the MGR Govt. took over the State, such a possibility cannot be ruled out. □

Editorial (Contd. from page 2)

tence of feudalism, which has come handy to the autocrats for fanning fissiparous trends", is too amateurish a way of looking at too serious a problem. Dalits and other persecuted minorities will not be misled by this call. The urban-dwelling educated high caste people are more caste-religion conscious than the villagers. The Gujarat "caste war" against Untouchables was launched by high caste MBBS doctors and not by feudal lords. The followers of Satya Sai Baba, Chinmayananda, Rajanish—the religious counter revolutionaries—are not villagers but highly qualified Hindus. IPF must correct its stand before it is late. We are happy that Ramdas Athwale of the Dalit Panthers, Maharashtra, is made one of the vice-presidents of the IPF but its leadership once again appears to be loaded with high castes. This may not inspire the dalits, Muslims and Christians or even the OBCs. The IPF resolution has fully supported the "oppressed nationalities, particularly Muslims, in their legitimate demands." But what about the vast OBCs (52 per cent of the Indian population)? Why no mention of the Mandal Commission report on them? Be that as it may, we wish the IPF all success and watch its progress with great interest. □

Poona Pact Day: The Kerala unit of the CDO will observe Sept. 24 as "Poona Pact Day" to highlight Ruling Class betrayal of the dalits. Poona Pact resulted in the existing plight of the dalits. Kallara Sukumaran, gen. secretary of the CDO, has given a call to Kerala dalits to come out in full strength to make the Betrayal Day a success. □

SEPT. 6. DALIT AGITATION IN BOMBAY

Bombay : Dr. (Mrs) Maiseheb Ambedkar along with over 5 lakh dalits from different parts of Maharashtra would block the State legislature session beginning here on Sept. 6. This was announced at a mammoth conference of the Marathwada Vidyapith Namantar Nirdhar Satyagraha Parishad held here on Aug 15. Prof. Arun Kamble, president of the Maharashtra Dalit Panthers, said the Sept. 6 agitation would be last one on their demand to rename the Marathwada University after Dr. Ambedkar. Maiseheb presided over the historic conference which was inaugurated by V. T. Rajshekar of the Karnataka Dalit Action Committee & editor, Dalit Voice. The conference was addressed by Ramdas Athavale, (Dalit Panthers) Dr. Baba Adhav, Poona, Sharad Patil (Dhule), Mrs. Mrinal Gore. A number of Left organisations, high caste and even Brahmin writers attended the conference which in a resolution supported the Mandal Commission report on OBCs & called upon dalits all over India to observe Sept. 6 as a protest day & express solidarity with the Bombay agitation. Dalits from different parts of India are also urged to come to Bombay on Sept. 6 & converge before the legislature House. The striking policemen & mill workers of Bombay have been also urged to join the agitation. □

HOW THE RULING CLASS RULES INDIA

Bangalore : How the country's Ruling Class forming less than 15 per cent of its total population, is grinding to dust its vast Untouchables, tribes, backward classes, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and other poorer sections can be very well understood by the treatment it gives to the three Govt. of India Commissions appointed to suggest improvement of these three sections. The report of the Mandal Commission on the Other Backward Classes (forming 52% of the population) came up for discussion before Parliament on the last day of its sitting & the way the govt. treated the report with contempt amply indicates that OBCs have not even a ghost of chance of the report being accepted. This despite the fact all the MPs present in the midnight Lok Sabha debate (Aug. 11) gave unanimous support to the report. Meanwhile, the Minority Commission headed by Justice Beg has submitted its 3rd annual report to Parliament expressing serious dissatisfaction over the treatment given to it. The Minority Commission was set up in Jan. 1978 raising great hopes among Muslims and Christians and other linguistic minorities. But the Govt. has not yet given it statutory status. Not even a single report accepted. Nobody bothered about the Commission. So much so two previous chairmen— M. R. Masani, Justice Ansari— resigned in disgust. Even Justice Beg is understood to be thinking of quitting. Less said the better about Untouchables and tribals. The govt. has also set up a Commission for scheduled castes & tribes. It was first headed by Bola Paswan Shastri who had a bitter experience. Presently it is headed by Rajamallu, MP, who had more than once expressed his disgust. These three commissions headed by pro-ruling party leaders together embrace more than 85 per cent of the country's population. And the opinions expressed from time to time by the chairmen of these commissions give us ample indication of the attitude of the Ruling Class. □

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