

# DALIT VOICE

[The Voice of The Persecuted Minorities]

Adviser : Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

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No. 13

## MORE LOLLIPOPS FOR MUSLIMS

Dalits and Muslims have been the "vote banks" of India's ruling party, Indira Gandhi's Congress. These two sections mainly decide the fate of any party during the elections. And that is why the different parties & the Congress in particular have been cultivating the two. Even the rabidly anti-Dalit and Muslim, BJP, the political arm of the RSS, has started cultivating them. Every available bright boy of these two sections is recruited by the ever-watchful Cong. So much so, these communities have hardly any leader outside the Congress. But what is the treatment given to Dalits and Muslims by the Congress? The very fact that in the entire Union Cabinet of Indira Gandhi there is only one Cabinet-rank Minister from Muslims (Ghani Khan Choudhry) forming about 15% of India's population is enough to prove the treatment meted out to Muslims. The position of Dalits forming about 30% of the population is still worse :- one Cabinet Minister (Shankaranand with a useless portfolio). In every walk of life Dalits and Muslims are not only being neglected but persecuted. The little property, their very life and the honour of their women are in constant danger. Atrocities on them are a daily feature. Anti-Muslim riots have ceased to be news. The recent mass murders of hundreds of Muslims in Assam has hit headlines in international Press but India's "free Press" has nothing to say. At the United Nations, the Assam killings figured during the debate and the Egyptian delegate referred to the killings of Dalits & Muslims in India. The French delegate said caste and untouchability is killing Indians (*Times of India*, March 20). When it comes to Muslims, Hindus do not mind even drinking their blood without ceasing to talk about non-violence. On one side the *Gandhi* film and TV publicity puff on Gandhi is going on feverishly and simultaneously the Hindus have mounted attacks on Muslims, Christians, Dalits, tribals. Hindus alone are capable of such a double-talk. Be that as it may, the point is Dalits and Muslims despite all the ill-treatment and persecution have been

continuously voting only for Indira Gandhi. That is the beauty of the slaves enjoying their slavery in India. The slaves of India do not even know they are slaves. Far from knowing, they are actually enjoying their slavery oblivious of the fact that the Congress has been their worst enemy being responsible for their existing plight. But in the latest Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka for the first time the Muslims revolted against the Congress - although in their anger they have jumped from frying pan to fire. Doesn't matter. The most surprising part of it is that even the Jamaat-ul-Ulema which is actually a Congress organisation, has for the first time gathered courage to revolt against Indira Gandhi. That its leaders like Moulana Assad Madni and Shah Nawaz Khan should threaten Indira Gandhi of civil disobedience, that too during the Non-Aligned Conference in Delhi came as a bombshell to Indira Gandhi. The threat if carried out would have brought international repercussions because several Muslim Heads of States were present at the conference & already several Muslim countries in the world had expressed concern over the mass killings of Muslim minorities in India. The letter written by Shah Nawaz Khan to Mrs. Gandhi was more or less like the "controversial" letter to her by the 45 Muslim MPs. Not only that, much of what is contained in the letter was like the resolution passed some years back by Indira Gandhi's own toothless National Integration Council. It is said the rank and file of the Jamaat-ul-Ulema was angry over the series of anti-Muslim riots in India & they threatened the leadership if it did not revolt against Mrs. Gandhi

even at this stage when the Muslims in two major States have thrown out the Congress. This was said to be the provocation for the "Save Muslims, save India" threat it gave. It is this threat that sent Indira Gandhi reeling and made her announce yet another committee. The moment some one makes a noise, silence them by announcing a committee to go into their grievances. This is the Hindu genius. The aggrieved parties fall back fully satisfied. We have several committees and even commissions. The latest one, the Justice Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations is yet another effort to silence the brave Sikhs & the southern Dravidian nationalism. The Minorities Commission is already there headed by a retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. But what is the use? The Chairman has complained that it is not yet given the statutory status. Besides this commission, there is a high-power committee headed by Dr. Gopal Singh. Now to silence the angry Muslims, the Government has announced yet another useless committee consisting of all Union Cabinet Ministers. Except Syed Shahabuddin, MP, the lone crusader for Muslim cause making all the noise and in turn getting branded by the Hindus as a communalist, the other Congress Muslim MPs are sleeping. Even a respected Muslim leader like Rafiq Zakaria has joined the Hindu chorus against Shahabuddin. One Muslim Central Minister went to Saudi Arabia and assured there that the Muslims are living very happily in India. Perhaps he meant that he was happy because he was a Minister. As long as they are happy, to them the whole society looks happy

[Contd. on page 11]

## WANTED A CULTURAL REVOLUTION LED BY DALITS

(A. K. Roy, Dhanbad, Bihar)

*As a revolutionary situation cannot be created according to will, it cannot be retained according to will also. The combination of contradictions which creates that climax does not remain stationary but continues to oscillate like waves with ups & downs. So*

the time to strike is important. This requires an organisation with insight and foresight which can analyse and anticipate and which would lead and not tail. Lenin put a third condition for a revolution. That was the presence of a revolutionary party. There cannot be a revolution without a revolutionary situation. But the reverse is not true. All revolutionary situations do not produce revolution rather very few produce revolution. A revolutionary party is formed when a revolutionary philosophy reaches the revolutionary class. The revolutionary philosophy is Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary class is the productive forces. The paradox of the situation in India is, here the revolutionary philosophy is in the hands of the reactionary class & while the reactionary philosophy has kept the revolutionary class submerged. All the unproductive people are the champion of revolutionary thesis and moving in the country with "foolproof" blueprints of revolution in their pockets but with nobody to read and hence perhaps no revolution; while the productive downtrodden, the Untouchables and tribals, meekly tail behind the Ruling Class. Formation of any revolutionary party must start analysing this fallacy and must change this alignment first.

The politics within the country has also become a circle. CPI moving towards the CPM organisationally, the CPM towards the CPI politically and the CPML towards the both by participating in elections.

This signifies a post-colonial era transition awaiting a new politics of liberation and Cultural Revolution to shape the new epoch. Whether the Indian bourgeoisie is black or white, big or small has very little bearing on the politics of the country. *What really matters are the two basic features: caste system with uneven development of history and its interaction with the belated capitalism percolating from the top. The caste system without any parallel in the world is not merely a feudal superstition but decides effectively the division of labour in the society and still indicates one's mental attitude to physical labour. It started when the world was passing through the slave system and it is lasting when the world is in the midst of the socialist era & within the country when there is a Marxist rule at least in a State. In India as it is today the caste & class are in most cases synonymous & even otherwise the caste oppression supercedes the class & there is more violence in the name of caste than that of class in the country. No wonder, when Pandit Nehru visited China in 1955 the first question Mao put was that how he was tackling the difficult caste question in India.*

Therefore, there cannot be a revolution without a social revolution first. The task of completing social revolution was relegated to the deformed bourgeoisie, historically unfit for that while the communists remained busy in evolving strategies how

to capture power. There may be other divisions in the society but the most important division is between politics and work. Here politics is an anti-work phenomenon. Those who work do not do politics, and those who are in politics do not do work even among the workers. This is the biggest impact of caste on politics as *the politics is in the hands of the upper caste*. So even the tested working class philosophy like Marxism-Leninism could not touch even the fringe of the toilers and the tillers, the disorganised working class who really work. The caste habit also affected Naxalism. The upper caste Naxalite fish could not stay longer in the cold water of the toiling million despite honest effort. A leader should not be mere pleader. Marx & Lenin were not workers was not relevant, they were exceptions. Secondly, there was no caste system there creating a social barrier which only an honest physical work could break.

The classic example of a ruthless exploitation is in the very heart of India, in its vast central zone popularly known as Jharkhand. Now even the existence of the tribal communities & subjugated societies is in danger. The communist must follow the Leninist principle of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities & support and lead the movement for their autonomy and separate State.

Closely connected with this comes the problem of nationalities in India. Whether India is a nation-state or multinational one and whether 'nation' and 'nationality' are the same. India remained a country with many nationalities and subnationalities for ages and at the same time was known as a nation.

While it is good that there should be some movements and some movements

are better than no movement, but at the same time the direction of the movements is also important, specially which class is getting benefitted by the movements & what is the character of that benefit. Sometimes economic benefit is inversely proportional to the political benefit and often sectional relief is opposed to the very class concept. A section of vocal employees and the organised workers are also helping the Ruling Class with their political link. Instead of developing a vertical integration with the toiling millions, the rural poor and the disorganised working class, all the movements whether by the organised employees, propertied peasants or the gentle folk have developed a horizontal integration among

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Morarji Desai's autobiography (page  
248) that the killer of Gandhi  
belonged to RSS

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themselves strengthening the grip of the vocals on the politics. *The silent majority has become more silent.* While these movements at the periphery of the Ruling Class have one positive effect that they keep the ruling core disturbed, but they also provide an exercise that keeps the Ruling Class healthy & the ruled confused. The field remains full with the noise of the vocal people while the voice of the proletariat goes to the background. Sectional interests are thus creating a new caste system through the demand like job for the employees' son which even the communists do not have the courage to oppose. *The trade union movement is watering a totally wrong trend. The workers are becoming mentally capitalists, capitalism of the poor is more dangerous than the capitalism of the rich* breeding straight away communalism.

The capitalist path of the trade union movement is disrupting the working class. What is the task before the working class in an underdeveloped country like India? It is to promote industrial revolution within the country by opposing foreign collaboration and to lead agrarian revolution by organising the rural poor. A revolutionary trade unionism must prepare the working class for that. The stark truth is that any event of wage increase results invariably either in the increase in price of the product or in curtailment of employment through mechanisation or automation. This means the employees are getting benefit at the cost of non-employees. In the British India the nationalist leaders made a discovery of India from the jail, time has come for the Marxist leaders to make their discovery of India in movements.

In India the society is compartmentalised and the exploited represent not merely two classes but two nations with two cultures, outlook and language. Here a New Delhi has not been created out of an Old Delhi but by the side of that, with new people and the undelimited border between the two is conspicuous even to a naive onlooker though the vehicular transport runs regularly between the two without a checkpost. In South Africa the rulers and the ruled are separated by colour, in India by physical work through colour prejudice is also there in social life. *It is a sort of social imperialism that is ruling India* i.e. the society ruling the country is imperialist though staying in the same country but creating a separate world with its own school, club and social gathering. The Indian elite have created a closed system, with politicians, officers, employees, army coming from

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handful of families. Here there is a Great China Wall between the money and the sword on one side and the hammer and sickle on the other. So run the two worlds, two nations, two societies, one ruling, the other serving. The basic thing is that there cannot be a national integration without a social integration. Those who do not work cannot unite themselves, not to speak of uniting others. Merely by distributing land or trade unionism a new political force could not be created. Sixty years of trade unionism-AITUC was born in 1921 - has created a middle class within the working class taking the straight capitalist path. *The*

### **Important Announcement**

We are happy to announce that we have at last found the manuscript of the late B. Sham Sunder's sensational book, *They Burn*, (160,000,000 Untouchables of India In Revolt) after several years of search. The MS running to 200 pages, fullsheet typed (nine chapters), is to be published by the Dalit Sahitya Akademy.

The book discusses the problem of dalits in depth & explores possibilities of taking up the issue before the UNO and other world organisations since the problem of Untouchables of India happen to be an international problem.

The Bhim Sena leader says "Untouchables are not Hindus. We will burn Hindu gods with us, we will throw off Hindu names, we will rather die on our legs than live on our knees."

The book will be of great value to dalits, OBCs & minorities and social scientists. Those interested in supporting us in publishing this historic document may contact the Dalit Sahitya Akademy.

*organised working class did not even vote the communist parties in the election of 1980 including that in Asansol in West Bengal. Any economic struggle without the task of social commitment must lead to vulgar economism in the present context of social realities in India.*

Even the communist parties in India are first pro-power and then pro-poor. Our agriculture is industry-oriented but the industry is not agriculture-oriented, though planning should start by taking agriculture as the basic industry. No party has a blueprint of agrarian revolution.

As the Indian working class, the toilers and the tillers, are both economically exploited and socially oppressed and live outside the periphery of the political world, any strategy to break that invisible Chinese Wall must combine an economic struggle with the fight against all social discriminations. In India, there have been movements of the Dalits against the caste oppression, but mostly under the leadership of the bourgeoisie initiating a capitalist path. There have also been movements of the working class mostly under the leadership of the communists for wage rise etc. But there have never been movements of the Dalit, and other low castes guided by the Marxists. The capitalist path for the dalits would lead to casteism, communalism while a socialist path would lead to not only liberation of but the liberation of the whole society. Therefore, India needs a simple new Dalit revolution. Red & Green flag must combine social struggle with economic struggle.

How to conduct the struggle for social revolution against caste, tradition, religious beliefs & moral degeneration at this belated hour? It is through a Cultural

Revolution. If the social revolution is the eve of socialist revolution, the Cultural Revolution is the eve of formation of a real communist party. The Cultural Revolution, as a concept, is a unique contribution of Mao Tse-tung and has wide implication. Not only can it tackle revisionism after revolution, it can well be extended to tackle the same even before revolution. The Cultural Revolution is the only way to skip over the stages & must start as the integral part of each struggle right from now.

The capitalists after suffering defeat may enter the communist party. But in India caste tradition and religion together has completely blurred the very boundaries between the cultural superstructure & the economic base. In India, the productive

downtrodden are not only the victim of exploitation but a tradition of social submission and without whipping up and agitating the moral question no amount of change in their material condition would make them leaders even within the communist party. *And without the productive people assuming the leadership of the communist parties there cannot be a revolution or any social change in the society.* Not only the Cultural Revolution would take care of the evils of the social relations or rinse the party of distortions but would call for a rediscovery of the history of India. It would open up that covered stream of rational and scientific thinking in India, filter the cream out of the shell as Marx took out dialectics out of the idealistic shell of Hegel and would

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effect the emotional integration of dialectical materialism with the sentiment of the country.

The Cultural Revolution would enforce the following code and changes in the country : a] A communist party should start as coordination committee. b] New party should be formed from the bottom through struggle and not from the top and till majority of the leadership emerges from the productive force, no new party should be formed. c] There should be Front to party and not party to Front. d] The Party should be in the form of a liberation army with drill, training in traditional weapon like archery, social service and physical work. Each party meeting or cadres camp must have an agenda to

### ***VAJPAYEE ADMITS B.J.P. & JAN SANGH SAME***

We have now the party's president Atal Behari Vajpayee himself asserting that the BJP and the Jan Sangh are one and the same. Perhaps it was done unwittingly in the oratorical flourish of electioneering, but we have it from the horse's own mouth. This is what *Organiser*, mouthpiece of the RSS-BJP (Feb 6-12) reported on one of the election speeches of Vajpayee in the capital "Vajpayee's humorous analysis that in Delhi Cong-I and BJP (of BJS) have been sharing victory alternatively—Congress had swept Delhi in 1962 & 1971 & 1980 & BJP in 1958, in 1977—has only made BJP victory appear inevitable." That the "inevitable" victory did not come off is another matter. What is significant is that Vajpayee has declared that the BJP and BJS are one and the same and the two names are interchangeable. [CPI journal, *New Age*, Feb. 13] □

do physical work collectively for the society when they are held. e] From Lok niti to Raj niti, from pro-people to pro-power should be the line for the party. More importance would be given to the people than the members till members come/emerge out of the correct class. f] There must be first communist character and then communist party and not the other way round. Inter-caste social relation, absence of property, prohibition should be the minimum qualifications of a member. There should not be any gap between personal life and public profession. In the present Indian context any property is theft. g] There should/must be scope for open ideological debate within the organisation without divulging immediate political strategies. h] Marxism must be Indianised and made an intergral part of individual and social life without any dualism. No handbook of revolution

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## Letters to Editor :

*Friedrich-W. Haack Pfr., Munchen, West Germany :* I can assure you that *Dalit Voice* is my most important news-bringer from India. It is more valuable than anything else I receive as news from your country & I try to carry it around as much as I can among my friends in Germany & Europe. How good is it to read compared with all the nonsense all the *Gurus* pass over to us in Europe. I can only ask you to carry on as before.

*Anthony Hayman, Asia Research, Amnesty International, London :* We shall look seriously at any details of political imprisonment or deliberate killings by police / army which you are able to send us, besides of course DV.

*Dr. Gautam M. Appa, London :* DV is very good & informative. We are engaged in anti-racist work here through our militant organisation, the Indian Workers Assn., UK. Friends of Democracy is an organisation set up to distribute democratic/progressive literature to Indians in UK.

*Dr. Shamsul H. Alvi, King Saud University, Riyadh :* DV is superb. Keep it up. Make it more voluminous. I wonder how you can be so bold & frank exposing the truth, that too in such a hostile atmosphere. I am convinced that the only hope for an honourable life is for the dalits & minorities is to join hands. Your editorial, "The Agony of Being Muslim," was very much appreciated here. Wish you all success in your crusade.

*D. Santokhee, Mauritius :* After reading your editorial, 'Gandhi vs Ambedkar', we are shocked to know the truth. Prof. Subramanian's article, 'Gandhi, Ambedkar

and Periyar', reminded of my talk with you in Bangalore. Our experience is it is impossible to fight Hinduism from outside. Periyar was, therefore, right in fighting Hinduism from inside. Evils and devils of Hinduism must be fought from within. What do you think of a parallel Hindu society throughout the world?

*Uwe Hoering, Bruhl, W. Germany :* I found DV very useful, giving valuable information about the dalits & minorities in India. I assure you that I will do the best to spread your message in Germany, hoping such a knowledge will lead to support.

*Yadunath Thatte, Pune :* I never was in RSS. Its people here consider me their enemy. Many dalits leaders will bear me out. The famous book on RSS by Rao Saheb Kasbe was my publication. you have done me a great injustice by calling me an RSS man.

[Contd. from page 8]

is available in the archives of history. The feudal and backward regions of India around the metropolis are the periphery where the revolutionaries should concentrate. In this respect the Naxalites first made the correct move but could not succeed as they could not assess the tremendous drag of the social phenomenon, neglected the complete question of Indian nationalities and what is more they had no constructive model to offer.

We call upon all the Marxists & revolutionaries to make an honest introspection and speak out. The working people, the dalits must take the path of New Dalit Revolution with liberation, socialism and cultural revolution to emerge as the new political force to lead the country out of the perennial crisis which the Ruling Class has thrust on this great land. □

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*K. B. Ganapathy*, editor, *Star of Mysore*,  
Mysore : My support is always there for  
dalits. Would be too glad to reproduce  
items from DV.

*Qamar Hasnain*, *Crescent* magazine,  
Delhi: DV (March 1) contains some  
remarkably valuable material, remarks on  
Gandhi's attitude towards dalits. Every  
issue of DV brings us reports which gives  
us jolts with information which does not  
reach us by other conventional channels—  
such as the Indian Press. You are doubt-  
less doing a wonderful job with hardly  
any financial resources.

*Ahsan Tauhid*, Contai, W. Bengal : I feel  
attracted to DV for its bold & courageous  
writings.

*A.S. Bhindarwala*, Bombay : I wish you  
success in your noble work.

*K.V. Kumaran*, Member, Kerala Public  
Service Commission (retd.), Trivandrum:  
We have a common goal to fight Brahmin-  
ism & to liberate dalits.

*Dr. M.A. Kuttappan*, Ex-MLA, Erna-  
kulam dt. : I am so happy I met you. I  
learnt from you that if a dalit wants to  
fight for his liberation, he must master  
English. I read all your books of which,  
"Class-Caste Struggle" impressed me  
most.

*Mohinder Paul*, Patiala. : I have no  
words to praise DV which echoes the feel-  
ings of millions of my fellow dalits all  
over India. We call upon our dalit com-  
rades in Punjab & elsewhere to support  
DV in a big way.

*Bajirao D. Kamble*, Ex-MLA, Poona:  
Please don't project personalities who are  
against Dr. Ambedkar. See that perse-  
cuted minorities like Buddhists, Sikhs,  
Muslims, Christians & dalits are united. □

It is only when they are thrown out and find themselves in difficulty they think of Muslims. Fortunately these worms among Muslims have been taught a lesson in the recent Assembly elections. We don't know how long Muslims will feel satisfied with a mere assurance of lollipops. Here we have to congratulate the UP Muslim League successfully completing its "fill the jail" agitation after the pro-Congress Jamaat-e-Ulema backed out of its earlier threat. Volunteers from all over UP courted arrests in batches of 50 every day from Feb. 25 to March 6. In all, 805 courted arrests. The Calcutta-based All-India Muslim Conference has also decided to stage a big demonstration in Delhi and court arrest "protesting against killings of Muslims all over India in the wake of frequent communal riots". Meanwhile, in its policy statement issued, the Majlise Mushawarat on March 3, has endorsed and adopted the memorandum which was presented by 45 Muslim MPs to Indira Gandhi. The said memorandum contains more or less the same demands as made by the UP Muslim League and also covers the issue over which the Muslim Conference proposes to stage the demonstration. The Indian Union Muslim League is one of the constituents of the Mushawarat and its central secretary, G.M. Banatwala, is the convener of the committee set up to review the Mushawarat's constitution. Muslims have no proper political leadership in India. Nor have they seriously discussed their position. They do not even know why they are being killed. How can they know this, unless they know who the enemy is. Without making a study, is it possible to defend themselves against the

enemy? They have not even identified the enemy? How long they will get themselves confined to their religious shell? Do they know that 1,000 of them were shot dead at Moradabad when they were engaged in prayer only? Muslims should note that their liberation does not lie in political parties. If possible they must refuse to vote during elections. They must pin faith in their own party which has to be formed. We do not know what the leaders of Arab countries are doing when their kith and kin in the world's second largest Muslim country are being slaughtered. The Indian Muslims can't rely upon these Arabs whose oil wealth is going to enrich America which in turn is militarily helping Israel to kill Muslims. So the Indian Muslims must ponder deeply. Fortunately the religious leadership of India's Muslims is good. They must immediately get together and do something. There is no time to waste. We on our side are ever ready to place our services at the disposal of any such move to de-politicise the Muslims and bend their energies towards a common cause. The religion of Islam is closest to socialism. If the Muslims of India have not still buckled despite the combined onslaughts of the RSS and Indira Gandhi, the credit goes to Islam. Therefore, it is time that Islam reawakened the slumbering Muslims. Let them come out of their deep slumber and assert themselves. Let them stop hankering for more lollipops. □

*S. D. Thirumala Rao, Antapur:* You have advocated anti-Brahminism as a powerful philosophy. But every statement is a negative of its negative and as such there is no positive. Don't be under an illusion that the "anti" will eradicate the "pro". □

# CHIEF JUSTICE VICTIM OF CASTE PREJUDICE

[Our Correspondent]

The caste problem does not spare even the Chief Justice of a High Court. And one of the worst victims of this Hindu prejudice was Bhimaiah, who got the bitterest taste of his life just a week before he was to retire in April as Chief Justice of Karnataka. He was judge of the same court for the past about 15 years but none spoke a word about his integrity, honesty or his sense of judgement. But suddenly on the eve of retirement, the Bar Association met and passed a resolution that the customary farewell would not be given to him as Bhimaiah "was unfit to hold that office." The resolution was opposed by some dalit and other fair-minded lawyers. A clash followed right at the meeting which ended in shouts & utter confusion. Dalits were beaten up. Next day the same communal lawyers tried to enter the Court hall where Bhimaiah was conducting cases and tried to assault him. The police prevented this. Some lawyers said they would clean the chair of the Chief Justice as it had got polluted being occupied by an Untouchable!!! Meanwhile, some miscreants burnt the car of a lawyer parked outside the High Court and damaged some others for which the police arrested some of the Dalit Action Committee me-

mbers. Enraged dalits took out a huge procession on April 5 demanding arrest of those lawyers under the Protection of Civil Rights Act for insulting Bhimaiah. They also demanded publication of the file on "Miss Sumitra Desai episode" that rocked the State 10 years ago. It was a plot hatched by some Brahmin leaders to prevent Bhimaiah being made the Chief Justice then. Thus Bhimaiah, an ardent Ambedkarite, ended his career as a judge with a bitter experience which he wants to pour into a book exposing the communal and caste prejudice in the High Court, the 'temple of justice'.

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