

DALIT VOICE

[The Voice of The Persecuted Minorities]

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WHAT IS "DALIT" AND DALITISM ?

We have received many letters asking us the meaning of the word Dalit. The same question is also being put to us at meetings. What gives us great pleasure and pride is this word has become popular all over India and abroad in such a short time giving expression to the anger of the Untouchables. And gathering so much of charisma.

We are also happy to note that not only the militant Dalits but even some Hindu press have stopped using the hated word, *Harijan*, a Gandhian humbug, and switched on to Dalit. This awareness of their identity is itself a big step forward in the Dalit liberation struggle. The word Dalit symbolises the mood of this explosive commodity & connotes and denotes their protest. Hence the switch-over to this new word is itself a great improvement indicating a big leap in the search for their roots. Only three years back people barring those in the Hindi belt plus those in Karnataka did not even know this word. It was not in their vocabulary. But as soon as they came to know this word and discovered its intrinsic value, its magic, its melody, they readily adopted it. Lite-

rally embraced it. "National" newspapers like the *Times of India* are now using this word even in headlines. Even the *Mala-yala Manorama*, the largest circulated language daily of Kerala, has started using this word heeding our appeal. We call upon all our Dalit and other persecuted minority comrades to use only this word and persuade others to popularise it. If the English and language dailies start using the word, Dalit, in headlines it will soon catch up. Therefore, Dalits and their co-sufferers must go to newspaper offices and meet journalists and prevail upon them to use Dalit instead of *Harijan* or SC/STs. We will suggest the Oxford, Webster, Cambridge and other dictionaries to include it.

Now its meaning : The root word of the word Dalit is *dal*. The adjective of *dal* is Dalit. We find this word *dal* on page 471 of the prestigious Oxford Sanskrit-

English Dictionary, new edition, 1964, edited by the world-famous Sanskrit scholar, Sir Monier Williams.

'Dalit' is found in many Indian languages and even a Dravidian language like Kannada. The meaning given to 'Dalit' in the dictionary is : burst, split, scattered, dispersed, broken, torn asunder, destroyed, crushed. All these English words sum up the exact position of the Indian Untouchables and also tribes. We are crushed and cramped and made mincemeat by the Hindu religion. That is why we are Dalits. Be proud to be a Dalit, the original inhabitants of this ancient land. Let us walk with our head high. Let us be proud of our Dalit culture. Black is beautiful.

The famous word, *Daridra*, which is popular in many Indian languages, is derived from 'Dalit'.

Since 'Dalit' sums up our mood, we call upon all SC/ST Govt. employees, public sector SC/ST unions to change their names into Dalit Employees Association. The first to popularise this word were our militant Dalit Panthers of Bombay. Their manifesto has defined this word. Though this word has now come to mean Untouchables, the Panthers have included tribes, Muslims, women and all those persecuted minorities.

Along with 'Dalit', another word is also getting popular : Dalitism which is both the ideology and nationalism of India's persecuted, suppressed masses. It is rooted in Ambedkarism. Daltism or Dalit philosophy is developed to pave the way for a liberal tradition against casteism and untouchability. The new revolutionary philosophy of Dalitism also stipulates that

Dalits alone can liberate Dalits from the Ruling Class. Even in such a short time Dalitism has attracted millions. It is the living spiritual principle of India's Untouchables. The object of Dalitism is to attract the youth all over India and make them understand the culture and history of India's submerged masses. The Ruling Class historians and writers have given little or no attention to the history of our life and culture. Historical evidences are either destroyed or simply neglected for lack of interest. Dalits were simply marked under slavery and serfdom in India. The only meritorious scheme now on the anvil is the all-round flowering of Ambedkarism. Truth cannot be suppressed for long. The human mind is the most potent instrument in history. Words are more powerful than weapons. Dalit thinkers and writers take stock of all this time-bombs to bombard the citadel of the Ruling Class that mismanged the Indian history and culture founded by us.

Tradition is not the prerogative of a particular caste/class. The tradition the Ruling Class claims for itself is of a recent origin compared to the Dalits. It is this tradition that make up its power-structure, politics, economics, religion, education, art and culture. The tradition that vouchsafe for the culture and history of Dalits originated with the beginning of life in India. From this strong whirlwind developed the Dalit life, history and culture that got down to 1980s with an uninterupted impact upon evolution. That is its novelty. It is the strongest living spiritual force in the entire life-history of man and universe. What happened to this truth? Dalit writers should ponder over the [Contd. on page 11]

TAMILIANS ARE NOT HINDUS, SAYS D.K. LEADER

(Our correspondent)

Madras : K. Veeramani, the leader of the powerful Dravida Kazhagam, has conducted a series of lectures on "Who is Sankaracharya?" It attracted big crowds and amid cheers he challenged the historicity of the Sankaracharya and the establishment of the Maths at various places (4) in India. He profusely quoted from the books written by the disciples of Sankara and also exposed the notoriety of this "Brahmin fanatic and communal propagator". He said anybody could go to him and he was ready to argue the historicity and validity of Hinduism and also of Sankaracharya. His lectures will make the Dalits revolt against Hinduism. He claimed that the Tamilians were not Hindus and there was no Hinduism as such. The very names, Hindu, India, Hindustan were given by the foreigners. Ramalingam, a DK leader, also spoke on the religious history of Tamilians and said there was a time when Tamil was the language spoken all over india. He quoted the Sankaracharya ridiculing Tamil as a 'neecha' language. The Dalits needed a courageous leader with vast knowledge and intellectual calibre. Veeramani was one such. Let the Dalits, Ambedkarites, Marxists, Naxalites and even the minorities equip themselves with knowledge and knowledge is power which will lead them to revolt against the rotten Hindu structure dehumanising the humans. The D. K. is doing a great mission as DV is educating the masses. □

The Death of a Rationalist

New Delhi : With profound sorrow, I inform you that Yahya Lokhandwala, the well-known rationalist of Bombay, died on May 4, at Ahmedabad. He was 67. According to his will his eyes and body were donated to Ahmedabad medical col-

lege. It was to attend a marriage that he went there from Bombay. The Indian Rationalist Association lost a great comrade and a staunch fighter for the cause we all so dearly cherish. A well-known social and political activist, Yahya Lokhandwala was the President of Indian Rationalist Association till March 1983. Later, he was an executive member of IRA. He actively participated in different fields with which he had connections. He was also the president of Bombay Printers' Co-operatives Society and Bombay Rationalist Association. During the freedom struggle, he took active part in it, and was in jail for 2½ years. For some years, he published a political journal too. The Indian Rationalist Association expresses its heart-felt condolences to the bereaved family of Lokhandwala. (Sanal Edamaruku, General Secretary, IRA.) □

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[By Haneef Jawaid, Advocate]

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PUNJAB DALITS, O.B.Cs CRUSHED BY HINDUISM, SIKHISM

[Gurcharan Singh, President, Punjab Unit of the National Union of Backward Classes]

The Other Backward Classes constitute 35% of the total population of Punjab, while the Dalits form another 25%. Christians who are included amongst the OBCs separately account for yet another 5% of the total population.

The OBCs and Dalits are in vast majority in three districts of Punjab—Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Ropar; their population being 55% and 30% respectively.

Agriculture, services and trade were the main sources of livelihood of the people. But the OBCs and Dalits had no access to these sources of livelihood. They were not allowed to purchase agricultural land nor did they get any place in the services. Lack of finances and the evil of untouchability did not allow them to enter trade.

Now, even after the 'independence' and spread of education, the OBCs and Dalits are looked down in villages and towns and have been reduced to third-class citizens. They are not associated with administration even at the lowest level. They are servants of the agriculturists and are known as Seerees. Their social status is that of animals. Their women-folk and children do menial labour for their landlords. They are also not allowed to participate in social and religious ceremonies along with the higher castes and are required to do odd jobs like cleaning of utensils and sweep floors.

Even in this age of enlightenment, civil liberties are a dream for them. They have no freedom to exercise their right of franchise freely. Through economic exploitation and harassment and coercion, they are more often forced to vote against their will in elections.

Both the major religions in the State—Sikhism and Hinduism—are the monopoly of the higher castes. No representation is given to the OBCs and Dalits in the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee or in the Gurdwara committees at the lower level. The same is true about the Hindu places of worship. The Mazhabi and Ravidasi Sikhs built their own Gurdwaras for worship as they were not allowed to enter the Hindu temples and Sikh Gurdwaras. Twenty-five per cent of seats in all Govt. offices and public-undertakings in Punjab are reserved for the Dalits. The category-wise reservations for them are: Class I- 7%; Class II- 7%; and Class III- 13%, besides all posts of sweepers in Class IV services.

In the present scheme of reservations all the posts are cornered by those who are better off amongst them. As a result a great deal of dissatisfaction prevails amongst the dalits who are poorer as compared to others belonging to the SCs/STs. It is an irony that the OBCs, who constitute 35% of the total population in the State have been allotted only 5% reservation in the Govt. services. Their quota of reservation in promotion is just 2%. Originally, four communities of the OBCs Nai, Kumbhar, Dhobi and Jhiwar—had been given 2% reservation in the Govt. services in 1937. This was withdrawn by the Govt. wide a notification dated March 17, 1954. The reservation of 2% in Govt. services granted in 1937 for the four

castes of OBCs continued to be the same for the 67 castes in the State till June 5, 1974 when it was raised to 5%. To add fuel to the fire it was ordered on April 20, 1963 that all residents of Punjab State, who were economically backward would be entitled to all concessions available to the OBCs irrespective of their castes. Thus the OBCs were robbed of the meagre concessions they were getting earlier. The lion's-share in the meagre concessions was grabbed by the well-to-do sections. To make the position worst, a ceiling of an annual income of Rs. 3,600 was imposed for becoming eligible for the concessions. The plight of the OBCs in the State, therefore, continues to be miserable even today. Instructions of the Govt. are that reservation should be given after selection in the open competitions, but in actual practice only five persons per 100 are selected and given appointments. The policy of reservation has been put in reverse gear due to faulty implementation.

There are four universities in the State but only the Guru Nanak University has made reservation for the OBCs upto the post of deputy superintendent. There are two State-owned corporations—the Punjab Roadways and the Punjab Road Transport Corporation. But none of them has made any reservation for OBCs. Most of the institutions like co-operatives, municipal committees and boards have not made any reservations for the OBCs. In some cases reservations are only on the paper. As against this, the State Govt. has given 20% reservation to ex-military men, which is wholly unjustified. Ex-servicemen constitute hardly 1% of the total population in the State and the 20% reservation for them is against all the canons of justice and fairplay. Most of the ex-ser-

vicemen are from higher castes. Unfortunately the quota under this category has never been utilized more than 5%. Yet no Govt. in the State has ever tried to curtail this unjustified quota and enhance the quota of the OBCs. There is no reservation of seats in State Assembly and Parliament for the OBCs as in the case of SC/STs. As a result 50% of the State population remains unrepresented in the State Legislature and Parliament. There are 13 Lok Sabha seats in Punjab, out of which three are reserved for SC/STs and the remaining go to the higher castes. All the seven Rajya Sabha seats from Punjab are meant for the higher castes. The Punjab Vidhan Sabha consists of 117 elected members, out of which 27 seats are reserved for the SC/STs. Out of the remaining 90 seats, 79 are meant exclusively for the higher castes. As regards the remaining 11 seats, which are held by the members of the OBCs, their party-wise break-up is thus: Congress (I)-eight Akali—two and Communist Party of India—one. It can, therefore, be seen that in a House of 117, the OBCs have only 11 representatives of their own. Educational facilities are extremely inadequate for the children of Dalits and OBCs. The public schools in the State are the exclusive domain of the children belonging to the higher castes or some rich families of SC/STs and OBCs. Most of the children of Dalits and OBCs study either in Govt. schools or private schools, where the standard of education is much low. Unless at least 50% of seats in the public schools reserved for the children belonging to the OBCs, they cannot compete with the children of higher castes in different walks of life. (*Buniyadi Sangarsh*, April 83). □

Muslims not wanted in Bengal Govt. Services

(Prof. Abul Qasem, Calcutta)

The fate of Muslims is sealed so far as job opportunities in the West Bengal Government services are concerned. As per the official census, 22% Muslims live in W. Bengal. But Muslims are hardly represented in the Govt. services. The following episode bears testimony to the state of affairs in a State run by the so-called Communists whose hearts are ever bleeding for the poor and the downtrodden of the society irrespective of the caste, creed and religion.

The ex-Transport Minister and a trade union leader of CPI (M), Mohammed Amin, told a gathering of staff association of W. Bengal Urdu Academy in Calcutta on April 26 that during his ministership from 1977 to 1982 he kept a watch in the Writers' Building whether for Govt. appointments Muslims are appointed or not. In the transport department, too, he noticed that Muslims were rejected under one pretext or other. In spite of his recommendation appointments of Muslim candidates were withheld. In other departments of the State Govt. same atmosphere prevails. For Muslim candidates certain obstacles are created.

The above outpour of the ex-Minister, Md. Amin, in the presence of the members of the staff of Urdu Academy and other big-wigs of its Executive Council was not meant for public consumption. It was a heart-to-heart talk between co-religionists to relieve his feelings about discriminations to Muslims even during the regime of CPI (M). But one of the council members, Ahmed Sayeed Malhiabadi, editor

and proprietor of "Azad Hind", an Urdu daily from Calcutta, who was present there took it otherwise. He used this piece of information as a scoop for his newspaper. Now Amin and his cohorts are in a soup to explain it away. □

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ದೃಢನಿಲುವು- ದಿಟ್ಟ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ

ಜನತೆ ನಮಗತ್ತಿರುವ ಆದೇಶ, ಅಧಿಕಾರಗಳ ನಿಜವಾದ ಅರ್ಥ—ಈವರೆಗೆ ನೀಡಿದ ಆಶ್ವಾಸನೆಗಳ ಈಡೇರಿಕೆ.

ಈ ನೂರು ದಿನಗಳ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಲಭೂತ ಸ್ವರೂಪದ ಪ್ರಗತಿಪರ ನಿರ್ಧಾರಗಳನ್ನು ಕೈಗೊಂಡು ಜನತೆಗೆತ್ತು ವಚನ ಪಾಲನೆಗೆ ನೂತನ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಪಣ ತೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಜನತೆಯ ಆಶೋತ್ತರಗಳ ಸಾಧನೆಯ ಗುರಿಯತ್ತ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಮುಹುರ್ದ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ಇಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

ಆಡಳಿತಾಧಿಕಾರದ ವಿಕೇಂದ್ರೀಕರಣಕ್ಕೆ ಬದ್ಧವಾದ ನೂತನ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಎಲ್ಲ ನಗರ ಕಾರ್ಪೊರೇಷನ್‌ಗಳಿಗೆ, ಪುರಸಭೆಗಳು ಹಾಗೂ ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಚುನಾವಣೆ ನಡೆಸಲಿದೆ.

ಕೂಜನ, ಗೂಜನ ಹಾಗೂ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಶ್ರೇಯೋಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಾಗಿ ಹಿಂದುಳಿದ ವರ್ಗಗಳ ಅಯೋಗ ಮತ್ತು ಅಲ್ಪ ಸಂಖ್ಯಾಂತರ ಅಯೋಗವನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದೆ.

ಹೂಜನ-ಗೂಜನರ ಯುವಜನಾಂಗದ ಪ್ರತಿಭಾಪುರಸ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲೇ ಪ್ರಥಮವಾದ ಏನೂತನ ಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು ಕೈಗೊಳ್ಳಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಅದರಂತೆ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯಗಳಿಂದ ವಿವಿಧ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪದವಿ ಪಡೆದ 87 ಪ್ರತಿಭಾವಂತ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿ ವರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ನೇರವಾಗಿ ನೇಮಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲಾಗುವುದು.

'ಅಂತ್ಯೋದಯ' — ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಪ್ರತಿ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಐದು ಕಡುಬಡಕುಟುಂಬಗಳನ್ನು ಆಯ್ಕೆ ಮಾಡಿ, ಅವರಿಗೆ ಸ್ವಾವಲಂಬಿಗಳಾಗಲು ಎಲ್ಲ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯ ಒದಗಿಸಿ, ಬಡತನದ ರೇಖೆಯಿಂದ ಮೇಲೆತ್ತುವ ಕ್ಷೇಮಾಭ್ಯುದಯ ಯೋಜನೆ.

ಕಾರ್ಮಿಕರ ಕನಿಷ್ಠ ವೇತನದ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಣೆ. ಮೇ ತಿಂಗಳ ಒಂದನೇ ತಾರೀಖು ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಸಹಿತ ರಚನೆ.

ಬಹು ದಿನಗಳ ಬೇಡಿಕೆ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ತೆರಿಗೆಯ ರದ್ದು. ತಿಂಗಳಿಗೆ 1200 ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಿಂತ ಕಡಿಮೆ ವೇತನ ಪಡೆಯುವವರು ಮತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ನಲವತ್ತು ಸಾವಿರ ರೂಪಾಯಿಗಿಂತ ಕಡಿಮೆ ವಹಿವಾಟು ಮಾಡುವ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಸ್ಥರು ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ ತೆರಿಗೆ ಕೊಡಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ.

ಬೆಲೆ ಏರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ತಡೆಯಲು ಪರಿಣಾಮಕಾರಿ ಕ್ರಮ. ನ್ಯಾಯಬೆಲೆ ಅಂಗಡಿಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಮಾರಾಟ ಮಾಡುವ ಎಲ್ಲ ದರ್ಜೆಯ ಅಕ್ಕಿಯ ಬೆಲೆಯನ್ನು ಗಣನೀಯವಾಗಿ ಕಡಿಮೆ ಮಾಡಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರೈತರ ಮುಂದಿರುವ ಹಲವಾರು ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಗಳ ನಿವಾರಣೆಯ ಮೊದಲ ಹಂತವಾಗಿ, ವಿವಿಧ ರೀತಿಯ ಸಾಲ ಮರುನಾವತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸುಮಾರು ಮುವತ್ತಾರು ಕೋಟಿ ರೂಪಾಯಿ ಪರಿಹಾರ ಕೊಡಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ಸಕ್ಷಾಂತರ ನಿರೀಧಿಸುವ ವಿಧೇಯಕವನ್ನು ತಂದಿರುವ, ದೇಶದಲ್ಲೇ ಎರಡನೆಯ ರಾಜ್ಯ — ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ.

ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಚಾರವ ಮೂಲೋತ್ಪಾಟನೆಗೆ ತೀವ್ರಕ್ರಮ — ಲೋಕ ಆಯುಕ್ತದ ರಚನೆ.

ವೃದ್ಧಾಪ್ಯವೇತನ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಂಗವಿಕಲರಿಗೆ ಕೊಡುವ ಮಾಸಾಶನವನ್ನು ಐವತ್ತು ರೂಪಾಯಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ಜನತೆಯ ಕುಂದುಕೊರತೆಗಳನ್ನು ವಿಚಾರಿಸಲು ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕ ಮಂತ್ರಿ ಶಾಖೆಯನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದೆ.

ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನು ಎಲ್ಲ ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲೂ ಆಡಳಿತ ಭಾಷೆಯಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿರುವುದು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ, ಇದು ಕಳೆದ ಫೆಬ್ರವರಿ 15 ರಿಂದ ಕಡ್ಡಾಯವಾಗಿ, ಯಶಸ್ವಿಯಾಗಿ ಕಾರ್ಯಗತವಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆ : ವಾರ್ತಾ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಚಾರ ಇಲಾಖೆ, ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರ್ಕಾರ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು.

Advt.

WHY AMBEDKAR EMBRACED BUDDHISM?

(A Dalit IPS Police Officer from U.P.)

During the long history of kings and dynasties in India, no one from the Ruling Class had ever thought of the Untouchables. The Muslims ruled India for centuries. So also Christians but none bothered about us though these rulers were in a position to do away with all the prejudices and restore human dignity.

To make the Untouchables fight against all sorts of exploitation we have to inculcate the spirit of self-respect, discipline and courage among them. New values and new ideals are highly essential to make them revolt against the Hindu society. This can be done successfully only through a religion like Buddhism.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stands for human dignity and freedom and is opposed to any social order or institution which involves injustice and suppression of human personality. In a B. B. C. broadcast in London, on "Why I like Buddhism?" he said, "I prefer Buddhism because it gives three principles in combination which no other religion does. Buddhism teaches *prajna* (understanding as against superstition and super-naturalism), *karuna* (love) and *samta* (equality). This is what man wants for a good and happy life". Ambedkar had faith in man's vast potentialities. He had love for the poor, the weak and the helpless. His conversion was a revolt against the suppression and enslavement of humanity. According to him the purpose of the Buddha's *Dhamma*, is "to reconstruct the world". This involves all-round-growth of the individual and the development and for harmony of social life.

He studied the problems of the Untouchables and saw the decaying and the

decadent structure of the Hindu society. He worked for its transformation through the accepted political, social, administrative and reformist channels. He struggled hard, suffered and revolted against the very structure of Hinduism. But when he saw that this structure is not ready for any change, he gave a call to his people to get out of the pattern of caste, ritual, superstitions and fear of the Hindu society and pursue the clean path of Buddhism.

Ambedkar was striving to achieve an ideal and was not interested in any immediate gain of little values. The Buddha was the greatest revolutionary that India has produced. Ambedkar came to the conclusion that only the path of Buddha which does not believe in caste could make the Dalits united and create the necessary discipline, the will to rise and the atmosphere congenial for their advancement and progress. It could protect them in times of adversity and guide them in times of prosperity. It could work both ways as a sword and a shield.

Religions based on gods, prophets, miracles and revelations cannot stand the test of reason and will ultimately vanish or perish. Buddhism is no slave of books. In fact, Buddhism is the only religion in which Buddha exhorted his followers not to follow him blindly and not to believe in miracles. It does not believe in caste or any such artificial division of the humans. It is a religion of reason and practice in contrast to other religions. It
(Contd. on page 10)

Letters to Editor :

Kaye Stearman, Minority Rights Group, London : We are happy to accept your offer to reprint in India our Document no. 26, *The Untouchables of India*, new edition, 1982. Such a reprint will be considerably cheaper than the British version and will also help reach a much wider group of people. Our best wishes to DV.

Pierre Mouterde, Quebec, Canada : I came to India last year and met you twice. I was really interested by the militant work you were doing for the Untouchables. I had the project to write a book about my travels. Almost finished it—a kind of an essay where I try to explain to the Westerner how I discover India, the deep India, India of the oppressed people. One chapter is exclusively on Dalits and your point of view. I have profusely used your book, *Apartheid in India*.

Yunus Khan, Toronto, Canada : I want to arrange display of DV in a number of shops, libraries. I think your Voice should reach a wider readership. As we saw *Gandhi* film, thousands of Muslims were butchered in "non-violent" India. But the most shocking thing is the silence of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and of the mosques all over Canada and USA. Saudi Arabia wants to keep good relations with Mrs. Gandhi. Hence the all-round silence. All these centres will have to turn into revolutionary places. Keep up the good work. We salute the people at the DV.

Bruce Graham, (Acting Director) Pasadena, USA : We at the Institute of Hindu Studies here are much interested in the 83 + million Dalits of India. Hence we like DV.

Raghuvir Saha, Bombay : Sant Bhindranwale and top Sikh leaders have said

Sikhs are not Hindus and they are a separate nation. We Dalits are also a separate nation. Every caste is also a separate nation and India is a multi-national country. We admire the Sikhs for their courage to die for *Khalistan*. Until we Dalits also decide to die for *Dalitistan* nobody will be afraid of us. We salute the Sikhs. DV must come out in full support of the Sikhs and ask them in turn to support our struggle.

Prem Kumar Basu, Jhansi : The word *Hindu* is not derived from the name of the Sindu river as some want us to believe. It is derived from the Persian word, *Honood*, coined during the 9th century. It refers to non-believers, to distinguish between the Muslims, the believers of Islam, and the Indian non-Muslims considered non-believers. Prior to 9th century, there is no documentary evidence of the existence of the word *Hindu*. *Honood* means barbarians. Neither during the Vedic period nor during Buddha nor the "Golden Age of India" (Gupta period), the word *Hindu* was used. Even the arch "Hindu" revivalist Shankaracharya had ever used this word. Will the owners of Hinduism, the RSS and the Vajpayees note this? Will our scholars comment on this?

Dr. (Mrs.) Savita Ambedkar, Bombay : I had been to Jamnagar and addressed a meeting criticising the connivance of the police with the blessings of the Govt. in perpetuating atrocities on Dalits. Vice-president Hidayatullah was present. On May 8, I addressed a meeting of Dalits at Madras and met DK leader Veeramani who was laid up after an accidental fall and broken the ribs. We all agreed that Dalits, OBCs, minorities must join hands to stop our "vote banks" being looted by our enemies. □

Kanshi Ram's Cycle Tour

Delhi : The latest venture—Message of D-S4 : Miracle of two wheels, launched by D-S4 from March 15 in which hundreds of cyclists under the leadership of Kanshi Ram set to march 3000 - KM, covering 35 important places in 7 states of North India within 40 days, is a unique one. After covering 3000 KM the team will walk around Dehli. It will come back to Delhi on April 17. More than 100 cyclists with blue colour flags fixed on their bicycles and luggage behind on the carrier started the march from the Buddha Vihar, behind Inter-State-Bus Terminal. Two matadors with all necessary requirements, including tents for the cyclists and cooking utensils accompanied them. One matador was on the front with blue colour flags and banners fixed. Another at the end. Kanshi Ram, President, D-S4, whose birth day incidently fell on the same day, was seen off by hundreds of well wishers including a Japanese Journalist, Motoo Yamagiva. (*Oppressed Indian*, April-1983) □

[Contd. from page 8]

can satisfy the spiritual, social and psychological needs not only of the Untouchables but of the whole world. It brought glory to India and made it a nation. It is the only religion which spread throughout the world without any violence, false promises and deception. It spread through the power of education, persuasion, compassion and service. It civilised and educated the uneducated. It allows its followers to achieve any place in the religious order without any distinction of caste, race and sex.

Religion as an institution is fast losing respect and becoming the subject of ridicule. Youth is in revolt every where against the tyranny of religion. Only Buddhism would survive under such a moral crisis. It is the only religion which is not afraid of Darwin, Marx, Evolution and inventions. It is not even opposed to science. That is why nowadays more and more intellectuals have started taking interest in Buddhism. The future belongs to Buddhism. □

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Kaka Kalelkar Commission Report

The Govt. of India has at last published the report of the Backward Classes Commission appointed in 1953 under the Chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar.

The Chairman submitted the Report in 1955 and the same report has been now released.

1. *Report of the Backward Classes Commission* (Kaka Kalelkar) Commission.

Vol. I Rs. 79.

Contents: Census & Caste, Caste & society, problem of special groups, Backwardness, Conditions of Backwardness & Measures for their removal, Ministry for the advancement of Backward Classes, grants, Revision of Lists of SC, ST.

2. *Report of the Backward Classes Commission* Vol. II Rs. 65.50

(List Statewise)

3. *Report of the Backward Classes Commission* Vol. III Rs. 22.50 (Minutes of Dissent)

4. *Memorandum on the report of the Backward Classes Commission*

Vol. IV Rs. 7.25 (Ministry of Home Affairs)

Editorial [Contd. from page 2]

subject. The Indus Valey Civilization was the finest specimen of the ancient Dalit wisdom. Dr. Ambedkar gave its modern version, democratic spirit and a scientific culture. With their new awakening, the Dalits are marching forward fully aware of this line and demarcation. It is an indisputable fact that India lives in two worlds, has two cultures - Dalits and that of the Aryan oppressors. The national will of the Dalits, reawakened with the spirit of Ambedkarism, is really soul-searching. Now, no one has got the courage to dislodge the truth and validity of Dalit life. The Dalit culture was drawn from the myriad forces of history but got side-tracked and dissipated over a wide spectrum of life and activity under the aegis of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity.

Religion has got the better of life in India. All religions flourish under the name of tradition, idealism and the enthusiasm of the Ruling Class. But the human in Dalit life and activity lost all the meaning. Caste and untouchability became the ruling norm of India's traditional society. Modernism and Marxism is only a mask. Only the dalit intellectual can give vent to the crusading spirit of Dalit national identity and culture. The word, Dalit, is the other extreme of the word *Brahmin*. So, the task before all Dalit writers is a challenging one. With all the oppressive machinery at their command, the Ruling Class is making inroads into Dalit unity, culture, struggle and progress. This assault will take a vigorous turn shortly. We must hit back. It is against this cataclysm of Indian life that Dalits should revolt. Dalitism is the only alternative to national degeneration. Even

Marxism has missed the bus in India. Any one who wants regeneration and rebirth of India, he must seek the spirit of life and culture of Dalits. Dalits alone can lead the Indian Revolution. Truth can come out only from the innermost depths of their mind, whereas sycophancy rules the Ruling Class. India has ceased to be a nation because of this.

Hinduism has become the repository of another cult called anti-Dalit. The Ruling Class is up against the reservations. If possible it will destroy Dalitism, root and branch. Dalits should make all-round effort to ward off this machinations of the Ruling Class. It failed in its political as well as religious maturity. The Dalits are the worst victims of this tragedy. They were dethroned and lobbed to the lowest depths of life. Dalitism is, therefore, a revolutionary philosophy and a guide to action. The Brahmin cult should be destroyed and buried 100 fathoms deep. Reason will not dawn on the Ruling Class with its present bigoted spirit. Anti-Dalitism has become a way of life with the oppressor. Therefore, the Dalits should meet this challenge. They must revolt. They must explode. Now is the time. The dawn of 21st century is the triumph of Ambedkarism. With the close of the 20th century Gandhism will end and Ambedkar Era will begin.

Dalits have suffered a lot in India, their forefathers were exploited and destroyed. Their growth was stunted. Dalitism is the answer for all this. It will not only save the Dalits but India as well. Possibly, it may avert a Third World War. India can attain its real self and liberation only with Dalitism. □

KERALA IN THE MELTING POT

Bangalore : A big change is taking place in the Kerala social scene. The caste and religious consciousness of the Dalits, OBCs & the other persecuted minorities, temporarily destroyed by the Communists, is gradually coming back. Now, each caste and religion has its own party. Kerala is the only State in India where political parties are formed on religious and caste basis. Muslims and Christians each representing about 22% of the population are having their own parties. The two Muslim Leagues are fast patching up. The State's single largest caste, the Ezhavas, (OBC) and the Nayars, the highest among the non-Brahmin Hindus, have also their own parties. The Brahmins forming less than 3% are very well organised. The Communist parties (CPM and CPI) controlled by the Brahmins and Nayars, are gradually losing ground since the exploited low castes found themselves cheated even by Communist parties. The RSS, in the meanwhile, has become the fastest growing party today. The Brahmins and Nayars having failed to retain their class-caste status through the Communist parties, are switching on to RSS. Dalits cheated by everybody have announced formation of party of their own. Some

rich Christians were secretly supporting RSS thinking that it would fight their battle against Marxists but when Hindus got united against them under the leadership of the RSS on the issue of the Nilakkal church site controversy, they have come to realise that RSS can never be trusted. The deep division within the Kerala church has also come to the surface. The denominational and caste divisions within the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches have brought shame to Christianity. Be that as it may, Kerala is in for a major change. And right now at half a dozen places serious caste & religious explosions are imminent. Kerala experiment has to be keenly watched as it will provide us with a rich experience. Kerala dragged by Marxists is at last waking up. What happens in Kerala today is bound to occur in the rest of India. Hence we welcome the developments and call upon our comrades to do everything to sharpen such caste and religious contradictions in their areas. Without destroying the "caste", we cannot destroy the "class"

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