

DALIT VOICE

[The Voice of The Persecuted Minorities]

Adviser : Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

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Remember Aug. 9 deadline

HOPES ON MANDAL COM. REPORT ?

The problem of India is the problem of India's vast backward classes comprising 52% of its population as per the Mandal Commission Report. Not only the OBCs (Other Backward Classes as they are referred in the

Constitution) are creating all our problems, they are a problem unto themselves. Economically and educationally they are as backward (if not more) as the Untouchables and tribals. The only difference is while the last two are not part of Hinduism, the OBCs are proud that they are Hindus though the place assigned to them is that of the wretched low caste *shudra*. But they are enjoying this life sentence awarded to them as prisoners of Hinduism. They are not able to liberate themselves because they are in love with Brahminism. No doubt, Dalits and OBCs are both victims of Brahminism, but the fact that they are touchables has given the OBCs a swollen head. This false pride that they are ritually higher than the Dalits though it means nothing (to the Brahmin, even the *shudras* are untouchables), has brought them into sharp conflict with the Dalits. So much so, the atrocities going

on all over India on Dalits are mostly the handiwork of the OBCs. They are the willing tools of the RSS and every other communal force.

That is why Dalits naturally hate OBCs more than the Brahmins or other high caste Hindus. As the invisible enemy, the high castes are always in the background & hence take the maximum advantage of this perpetual enmity between the OBCs and the Dalits. But who is the actual culprit? Is it the leg that kicks or the brain that gives the order to kick the Dalit? Who is the brain, who is the leg? Brahminism is the brain and the OBCs the leg. But some Dalits don't try to understand this point. The dog that is hit by a stone does not chase the stone and bite it. But it rather chases the person who throws the stone & catches him. The dog at least has that much of brain to identify the enemy but not some of our Dalits who

still go on saying that we should not support the OBCs. They resent our support to Periyar EVR and his powerful Dravida Kazaghram. Such critics would do well to seriously study the most scientific analysis of caste made by Amarjit Singh, a Dalit intellectual from London, "Caste and Contradictions", appearing inside.

Be that as it may, this is the fourth time we are commenting on this problem. The third national conference of the OBCs held in Delhi (April 13-14) which has fixed Aug. 9 as the deadline for the Govt. to implement the Mandal Report recommending a modest 27% reservation to 52% of OBCs, Home Minister Sethi's meeting with the Chief Ministers on the Mandal Report & an intriguing front-page report in the *Statesman* (April 13) made us revert to this subject. During the April 4 CMs meet, press reports said the North Indian CMs opposed the Mandal report. Even the Marxist CM of W. Bengal is reported to have criticised it. When it comes to reservations, a socio-cultural problem, the Hindu Nazis and our communists think alike. Why the CMs have no courage to issue a public statement to this effect? Why did they express their opinion within the closed doors? These cowardly CMs must be taught a lesson. Can they come to power without the OBCs who constitute over 50% of the voters? Hence we call upon the OBCs that if they have the guts they must ghero these CMs and must not allow them to move until they publicly state their opinion. Further steps may be taken on hearing their views.

Another point. The Mandal Com. was appointed by the Govt. of India which is responsible to Parliament— not to the

CMs. In Parliament this report was debated and not a single MP had opposed it. Further, 150 MPs belonging to all parties including the ruling Congress have signed a petition demanding its immediate implementation. President Zail Singh, also an OBC (Sikh goldsmith), has more than once expressed his sympathy to the Mandal. The Southern CMs have en bloc supported it. That means all roadblocks are cleared. When that is the case why did the Govt. appoint an official committee to "scrutinise" the report? Are these officials above Parliament? Does it not prove that the Govt. under the influence of 10% of the Ruling Class is trying to scuttle the Mandal? Can such a small fraction bulldoze the wishes & aspirations of 52% of the people? We must stop this nonsense.

We are sorry that when the situation is so serious the Delhi meet of the backwards, presided over by Brahm Prakash, president of the National Union of Backward Classes, has not offered anything promising to the OBCs. The only silver lining was the 200-strong contingent of black shirts from TN sent by DK. The OBC leaders of the stinking Hindi heartland have to learn a lot from the South. It is only when these Southern leaders spoke the Delhi wallahs got some enlightenment. It is they who told them bluntly that OBCs can't hate Brahmins and at the same time love Brahminism. They can't run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Because they are the prisoners of such a dichotomy (slaves enjoying their slavery), they are not able to solve their problems. And as long as the OBC problem is not solved, India's problem itself

[Contd. on page 11]

CASTE AND CONTRADICTIONS IN INDIA

(Amarajit Singh, London)

There is probably no better subject than caste if one wants to study contradictions in the Indian society. Life as a rule teems with contradictions. Caste or the caste system is no exception. It is because most scholars do not see opposites in the caste system,

do not see the unity of these opposites that they manage to tie themselves into knots. Said Prof. D. D. Kosambi rightly : "Any generalised statement on caste can be contradicted by an equally true but opposite statement". Let us look at some contradictory aspects of the caste system.

ONE DIVIDES INTO TWO : If one was to reduce the dialects into one simple phrase this probably is that phrase. Everything in this life can be sub-divided into two or more parts. A so-called caste (here we are not talking about *varna*) will split into sub-caste due to emigration, new sect formation within the caste, adoption of new reformed customs, new occupation etc. There is not a caste in India which does not have sub-castes or sub-caste which does not have sub-sub-castes !

UNITY OF OPPOSITES: *Gotra* or *Kul* exogamy stands in contradiction to caste endogamy. Individuals stand in contradiction to the caste and vice versa, caste exclusiveness is in opposition to caste brotherhood. Caste system is as flexible as it is rigid. Most students of castes in the past have tended to emphasise the rigid nature of the system. This is not desirable. Caste system does allow one to work one's (or one's caste to) way up the social ladder. Adoption into the caste vs excommunicating from the caste, *sawarna* Hindus vs exterior castes, *Dwijas* vs *Sudras*, pater-linear castes vs materlinear castes (e. g. left-hand vs right-hand castes). The list is endless. Special case of Brahman vs

Sudra : It is perhaps in the case of Brahmin vs *Sudra* that the caste contradictions stand up sharply. Some of the contradictions mentioned here may not exist on the same scale anymore. Almost every social, economic, political, religious etc right of the traditional Brahmin stands diametrically opposite&dilectically opposite to the disability of the *sudra*. These two exist side by side with each other. One could not exist without the other !

QUANTITY INTO QUALITY : It is probably not completely true to say that the *sudra* stands as anti-thesis to the Brahmin. The tribal stands as an anti-thesis to the Hindu society e.g. eating almost any food (except his totem) vs vegetarianism, openness about sexual matters vs puritanical attitude, remarriage of widows, hunter-gatherer way of life vs food-producing way of life. Tribal people have in the past and still in the present manage to work their way into the Hindu society. The difference between a tribe and a caste is sometimes difficult to see as so many social aspects of the tribal have a mirror image in the caste. Tribes evolve into castes. This is a fact (see Chattopadhaya's *Lokayata*). This change comes in steps. The procedure for recognition is as follows: prohibition of beef-eating, meat-eating, sacrifices, articles of red denoting sacrifice in *puja* etc, prohibition on widow remarriage, engaging in trade or agriculture, adoption of Hindu rites and customs, use of Brahmins. All

these are quantitative changes. After many years have passed the new reality is recognised when the 'twice-born' start accepting food from the hands of the ex-tribals and the high Brahmins agree to act for them. Usually the tribals can only progress as far as becoming a low caste but sometimes they do rise up to become Kashatriyas e.g. Bhils, Gonds. The acceptance is a qualitative change. It is in this context that some of the High Court judgments detailed by Ambedkar in *Who Were The Sudras* become understandable as to why a certain section of Kayasths should be Kashatriyas, another section Sudras ! (That some low castes and individuals became rulers is a fact. Certain Kings in the past made rules for castes and for regulation between castes; this situation could only come about if the past regulations were not adequate to deal with a changing situation). UNITY OF OPPOSITES IS TEMPORARY—STRUGGLE OF OPPOSITES IS PERMANENT: We have many examples in the history of India where the two 'opposing' sides merged but struggle went on. The Arya-Dasa struggle also had its Sudas who had merged with the invading Arayans. Most of the so-called Vedic rishis were not Arayans but Dravidians. The modern-day Brahmins are a fusion of Vedic priests & the native priests. There was a struggle between these two as is reflected in the story of Vasista and Vishwamitra. The struggle was not racial but a power struggle about who could serve the interest of the rising Rajas or kings. This could not be done by pure Arayan Vedic priests but by the priests who had some knowledge of the native population. The Rajas themselves were an amalgamated

class. So "class struggle" was fundamental, Arayan-Dravida struggle manifestation was secondary. Who was Arya & who was un-Arya, even the Vedic rishis themselves didn't know. (see *Who Were The Sudras*) Later on in Puranic times the elite of foreign invaders i.e. ruling groups of the Huns, Sakas, Yue-chi etc were absorbed into the Hindu Kashatriya order—the so-called "fireborne" Kashatriyas. The ordinary masses from these tribes had to find a lower order in the Hindu hierarchy. Some modern authors (Bailley etc) have demonstrated how it can be possible for a despised caste of liquor-sellers to economically rise up the scale and also in the near future win themselves a respectable place in the caste hierarchy. Of course, a typical Indian village survives because of the inter-caste co-operation & indeed this really wonderful clockwork cooperation is sometimes marvelled at by the apologists of the caste system. However whatever may be the cooperation the antagonism between various castes especially between the have and have-not castes has to be experienced to be believed. Similarly the brotherhood of the caste-fellows is only overshadowed by their jealous and competitive nature. That unity and competition exists side by side should not surprise us. This is dialectical! ANTAGONISTIC AND NON-ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS: Again the caste system & the Indian society at large provides numerous examples of antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions and how to solve contradictions among the people. Mao said that dogmatic people tend to mess up a situation which they could very well have handled brilliantly. I sometimes think that he had the

Indian Left parties in mind when he wrote that! Jokes apart, caste contradictions have not been handled very well by the Left to say the least. More than 30,000 caste atrocities last year alone are a proof of this. The two different kinds of contradictions can be summarised as follows :—

Antagonistic : Dalits vs RSS, Dalits vs Ruling Class, Dalits vs Brahmin ideology, Muslims vs RSS, Naxalites vs Ruling Class. *Non-Antagonistic* : Dalits vs OBC, Xians vs OBC, Muslims vs OBC, Tribals vs Non-Tribals etc. Judging by the recent Dalit-Muslim clashes it appears that RSS as well as the Dalits are also learning well how to differentiate between the various types of contradictions existing among the people. *The contradiction between the Dalits & Muslims is artificially created whereas the one between Muslims & Dalits vs RSS is a concrete political contradiction which will remain as long as one of these is not annihilated!* The contradiction between Dalits, OBC's Muslims, Xians, tribals, majority of women in the Indian society, revolutionary parties is essentially a non-antagonistic one. Hence the validity of a united front of the above forces.

PRINCIPAL ASPECT OF A CONTRADICTION, FUNDAMENTAL & SECONDARY CONTRADICTION, HOW CONTRADICTIONS CHANGE FROM A MINOR OR A MAJOR CONTRADICTION & VICE VERSA : India is a semi-colonial and a semi-feudal country. This much is agreed by all the revolutionary groups in India. But what is the principal contradiction in India? Soviet social imperialism vs. the masses of Indian people? That is what some people will tell you. These people have no grasp of the dynamics of the development of contradiction.

When Soviet Union directly attacks India to crush the Indian revolution (& one day it may do just that—remember Afghanistan and the Indo-Russian Treaty of Peace and Friendship) then it will become the principal contradiction. But, *for the time being, the major contradiction is between the masses of people and feudalism.* There are other contradictions as well, between the working class and the capitalists and the comprador bourgeoisies etc. But these cannot be classified as major contradictions. So what is the principal aspect of the contradiction between the masses of Indian people and the feudal society? It is the lack of unity among the people who are split along caste, State, language etc lines. As a matter of fact I would go as far to say that the Indian people do not constitute a nation yet. Castes are by their very nature are anti-national. It is *only* in this context that caste is important, no other. Subjectively, conditions in India are very favourable to a revolution. Why this is not happening? Because the objective conditions are not there. Why is this? Because of lack of unity. Any future revolutionary party in India will have to purge itself of the dogmatic sins of its predecessors vis a vis caste. Once the unity among people is established the caste will then become a secondary aspect of the fundamental contradiction and we will be half way to creating favourable conditions for the demolition of the caste society. That will be a qualitative jump forward. The caste system negates the equality, fraternity and liberty of the tribal life. Socialism will negate the caste system. This will be the negation of a negation. The peoples democratic

[Contd. on page 6, Col. 2]

Books for Review

1. Harijan Today
Prof. L. P. Vidyarthi, Rs.60, pages 223, Classical Publications, C4 A/30C Janakpuri, New Delhi-110058.
2. India, Nature of Society and Present Crisis. Baren Ray, Rs. 80, pages 203. Intellectual Book Corner, 23-Darya Ganj, Pratep St. New Delhi-110 002.
3. ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews Vol. 11 No. 2, July-Dec. 1982 (Sociology & social anthropology)
4. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar. G. S. Lokhande, Rs. 80, pages 270, Intellectual Book Corner, New Delhi-2.
5. Collected Works of Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy, Vol. 1, Rs. 15, pages 500, Thidal, E. V. K. Sampath Rd., Madras-7.
6. Spring Thunder (Evaluation of the Experience of the CPI-ML in Its Historical Background) Rs. 10, pages 170 (address not given)
7. Nationality Question in India (seminar papers) Rs. 10, pages 215, AP Radical Students Assn. C/o Peace Book Centre, DN. 4/5/421 Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad-1
8. Communism & Democracy
editor : Dr. A. R. Desai, Rs. 4, pages 60, Jayakutir, Taikalwadi Rd., Mahim, Bombay-400 016
9. Bunch of Thoughts (The Bible of the RSS) Guru Golwalkar, Rs. 30, pages 683 (revised edition), Jagaran Prakashan, Kempe Gowda Nagar, Bangalore-56 0019 (The outlines of the RSS philosophy and hence a must for all those interested in studying the Indian brand of Fascism)
10. Thus Spoke Ambedkar, Vol 4.
Bhagwan Das, Rs.35, pages 310, Ambedkar Sahitya Prakashna, CA-2 West of Chord Rd., Rajaji Nagar, Bangalore-10
(Text of the speeches delivered by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar & statements issued by him. A must for every dalit.

11. Gandhi, Ambedkar and The Extirpation of Untouchability

(A CPI publication) Prof. Hiren Mukherji, Rs 8, pages 55, People's Publishing House, Rani Jhansi Rd., New Delhi-55 □

[Contd from page No. 5]

revolution and the Cultural Revolution will eat up the base and superstructure of the caste system and we will have our synthesis. (But some people will tell you that, may be, I am being too crude). I have not come across anyone who has done a similar analysis. There may be people who have done it but I have not come across them. The question remains as to why a Brahmin intellectual or let us say why a so-called high caste progressive person has not done a similar analysis. "An egg will turn into a chicken. A stone cannot do so". At this moment in time there is a qualitative difference between a Dalit & a non-Dalit intellectual, between dogmatic and practically-oriented thinking needed to analyse a complex yet urgent issues. **VERY SOON THIS DIFFERENCE WILL DISAPPEAR** : There will be action then. Dalits will turn into anti-Manus and anti-Kautilyas. Manu said his system would last thousands of years. This has already happened. Cunning as he was, even he could not see the external forces i.e. imperialism acting upon the Indian society and creating Ambedkar and Periyar E. V. Ramaswamys, Bhagat Singhs & Udham Singhs. Non-Dalit intellectuals are carrying the sins & burdens of the last 2,000 years or more. We must not blame them for it. We must unite with them as much as we can. These intellectuals have an indispensable role to play in future as they will be instrumental in breaking down the caste barriers between the Untouchables & the middle castes. □

UNTOUCHABILITY CHARGE AGAINST PRESIDENT'S AIDES

[Our correspondent]

New Delhi : *Over 2,000 Dalits— men, women & children— of the Dalit Liberation Army courted arrest here at Boat Club on April 26, to protest against the practice of untouchability in the Rashtrapati Bhavan and the anti-Dalit attitude of the Govt. which refused to receive the memorandum of the DLA.* A deputation of the DLA had gone to the Rashtrapati Bhavan to present a petition to President Zail Singh. But they were not allowed to meet him. On the other hand, the staff of the President allegedly addressed the deputationists as *Chamars* and passed abusive remarks. On hearing about this insult thousands of Bheem Sainiks shouted slogans against the President's secretariat and the Central Govt., broke the police cordon & courted arrest. Addressing the Boat Club rally, the DLA Commander, Prof. Jogendra Kavade, condemned the Govt. for practising untouchability within the Rashtrapati Bhavan, the highest office of the country. The atrocities on Dalits, rapes of dalit women and cold-blooded murder of dalit children in India was going on unabated and Central Govt. had miserably failed to stop it. Every human right guaranteed by the UNO was being violated in India. The Dalit March started from Nagpur on April 14 on the occasion of the Ambedkar Jayanti. At Agra, more dalits joined it reaching Delhi on April 24, where they were accorded a heroic welcome. On April 26, Dalits marched in procession from Ambedkar Bhavan to Boat Club, raising slogans. It was a scene of surging humanity that had risen in revolt against the outdated Hindu religion, orthodoxy, corrupt bureaucracy, undemocratic politics & the capitalist forces which jointly conspired to crush 170 millions of

Dalits and imposed on them the social, religious slavery. There were Dalit women in worn out sarees, barefooted children, Dalitmen in torn clothes looking weary, hungry and thirsty. But their anger revealed they were in revolt against the Hindu social tyranny. □

BOOKS FOR DALITS & MINORITIES
What Congress & Gandhi Have Done To Untouchables

By Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Rs 30, pages 370.

A must for every dalit, minorities and students of Gandhism. Packing, postages extra— limited copies available with the Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 109/7th cross, PLO, Bangalore-3.

The Problem of Dowry in Bangalore City. Devadasi System, Rs.5, Tribal Awakening [a group study] Rs. 35, pages 236, Published by the CISRS— PO. Box 4600 Millers Rd., Bangalore-560 046. □

Just published

WHY MUSLIMS MUST SUPPORT MANDAL COM. REPORT ?

[By Haneef Jawaid, Advocate]

A Dalit Voice Reprint
0.25 paise + postage

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A DALIT GIRL TOPS IN U.S. CONTEST

[Our correspondent]

Bangalore : We often hear and read in India that "merit" & "efficiency" have suffered because of reservations to SC/STs. To counter this, the high caste people of India, who voice this complaint, have let loose violent agitations. Since the theory of "chosen people", is a Fascist theory, the Indian Aryans & their Brahminised followers like the German Nazis believe that "merit" goes with birth. An angry "letter to editor" in *The Hindu* by Subramanya Sharma Nittale (April 28) says "the rapid decadence of academic standards & the campus indiscipline are a direct sequel to the reservations". Even top scientists like Raja Ramanna & many others sincerely believe that reservations is the sole cause of Indian's misery. Nobody has commented about this better than Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer of the Supreme Court who, in his last judgment on the controversial Railway Oppressed Employees writ challenging the Govt. order on reservations in promotions, said the petitioners had even argued that many railway accidents were due to reservations, meaning that "inefficient" SC/ST drivers were responsible for this. Iyer said the petitioners, however, had failed to prove the charge. Nor could the court come across any evidence to this effect. The opponents of the reservations say Untouchables & tribals have no brains. But what is the fact? We know that in Hindu India there is nothing like a fact. The Hindus believe what they want to believe. It need not be a fact. We have top scientists in India who say Satya Saibaba "produces" wrist watches !!!

But the UNESCO report-1956 has proved that given equal opportunity & treatment anybody can come up to the top. Where opportunities are denied due to a system of society legitimized by god & religion, as in Hindu India, reservations is a must. That an "Untouchable" girl could come to the top in a "free society" like that in USA has further proved us right. Writes Dr. Velu Annamalai, a dalit from Tamil Nadu : "You may be happy to know that my 11-year old daughter has won the first place in the spelling contest in the whole of the South Texas & now she goes to Washington DC to compete against students from rest of the USA. It is a rare honour for an Indian youth, leave alone one from an Untouchable background."

We are touched by this remark. Could she have won the same honour had she been in India? Never. Here "merit" goes by caste. Also note that English is the mother tongue of USA but the girl's is Tamil. Even then she trounced the English-speaking competitors. Given opportunity, anybody can come up. "Malini Buffy Annamalai, 11-years-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Velu Annamalai of Three Rivers, won the spelling bee held at Corpus Christi's Harbor Playhouse last week after a marathon 4 hour, record 145 rounds of spelling. Buffy was competing with 18 of the best spellers in South Texas in the 30th annual contest sponsored by the Corpus Christi Caller-Times and Harbor Playhouse. Malini spelled "exacerbate" and then spelled "formaldehyde" to win the first place honor. She won a Zenith television set, and an all-expense paid trip to Washington D.C. to compete in the National Spelling Bee June 6-11. All country winners received certificates." Great!

[*The Progress*, April 13, 83]



Letters to Editor :

J. R. Antwal, Chairman, Fed. of All-India SC/ST Emp., P&T. Dept., Bombay : DV has successfully aligned the scattered Dalits. We have not learnt the art of dying like the Sikhs and Muslims. The rights are procured & not begged. *Gandhi* is repeating history and making Hindus more happy. Attenborough ignored India's working class leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, and yet bagged the Oscar. DV is progressing rapidly. Don't you think that it is time you brief the readers & seek their suggestions? Your financial problems will be solved by the readers if only you make an appeal. Congratulations for introducing us Dr. Laxmi Berwa, a Dalit of uncommon calibre. The whole of India shall bow to him for taking a step towards its liberation.

Murad Chavda, Radhanpur, Gujarat : My friend Kalekhan Pathan introduced DV to me. It is a masterpiece. The need of the hour is the unity of dalits & minorities.

Bajirao Kamble, Ex-MLA, Pune : Congratulations for taking up Justice Bhimiah's cause [DV April 16] We condemn the communal lawyers of Bangalore. The All-India Advocates Assn. will have its conference at Nagpur on June 14 when we will discuss this issue.

M. C. Das, Dt. SC Youth Assn. Sibsagar, Assam : DV is creating history here. Besides, your valuable books have made tremendous impact on us. Meanwhile, the Assam violence has placed a dilemma before we Dalits. Over 1,000 people were killed during the Assembly elections. We do support the Assam movement although many Dalits were also killed. Dalits constitute a major chunk— about

14 lakhs— of the Assam population. Though no atrocities on us as in the rest of India, we are very poor & backward. But Dalits here hardly know their saviour, Ambedkar. We want you to tour this area. The situation is still explosive.

L. S. Mani, A. Gopal, president & gen. secretary, BEML SC/ST Emp. Assn. KGF : The Dalit employees of the Karnataka Electricity Board here are facing trouble from their Hindu colleagues & the recognised trade union is siding with the Hindus. On March 14, Ramachandriah, secretary of the KEB Dalit Emp. Union, was assaulted by his Hindu colleagues and abused by using caste name.

Prof. Jogendra Kawade, Nagpur : We took out a big procession of Dalits reaching Delhi on April 25 & decided that we should take up the case of torture of Dalits in India before the UN Human Rights Commission.

Mansa Ram, Delhi : You are right in saying that Dalits must take to English language. Hindi, Sanskrit & all other Indian languages are blocking our progress. They are the biggest divisive factors because our children go only to the cheap municipal schools where only Indian languages are used. Brahmins & other high caste children study in convents where English is the medium. When our children reach degree classes they find it difficult to compete with the high caste & thus fail. I am a postgraduate in maths but unable to write an application in English. Naturally I will never get a good job. DV must appeal to Dalits to study only English and master that language. English alone shall unite us and hence English must be considered the Dalit language. Dalits must talk to each

other in English, write in English.

Prof. Surendra Ajnat, Banga, Punjab : I read your booklet, *Hinduism vs Movement of Untouchables*. It is a fine piece that must reach the hands of every young Indian. The style is very simple, & convincing.

Man Mohan, Asst. editor, *Doosra Paksh*, New Delhi : In DV [March 16] I was shocked to read that EMS Namboodiripad is the topmost Marxist leader of India. The fact is that people like him are responsible for the degeneration of Marxism. Don't you know that during the Chikmagalur byelection he said the "Jan Sangh is democratic?" Did he not openly support the Emergency & the 20-point? His party invited the multinationals and took money from the World Bank. His party govt. in West Bengal opened fire on dock, & port employees. On 31 March, 5 people were killed in police-firing at Calcutta. The private life of EMS is pure Brahmin. You should change your opinion on him.

Pierre Mouterde, Quebec, Canada : I met you last year & got really interested in the militant work you are doing for the Untouchables. I have finalised my book on India—The India of the oppressed. One chapter is devoted to Dalits & specially your viewpoint. I have profusely quoted from your book, *Apartheid in India*.

Moulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Lucknow : I have read your book, *Ambedkar & His Conversion* (new edition) which is written with great courage & conviction. It would be better its Hindi edition is brought out.

Dr. Barbara Joshi, New York : Congratulations for your editorial, "Bombay, Whose Grandfather's Property? (DV April

1). I was reminded of a recently-published article about Dalit resistance in the "slums" of Patna & I thought you may be interested in this hence I am enclosing it taken from *India Abroad*, a journal published monthly by an organisation of Indian immigrants. I will also send them a copy of your editorial.

H. Punja, London : I have been reading DV with great interest. I share your rage against the vile inhuman practices meted out to Dalits. Despite the enormity of the crime, the forces of justice, truth cannot be suppressed. DV has encouraged me & increased my determination to be part of this struggle. In UK, the Blacks [both Asians & Africans] are facing racist practices which destroy our families, maim & even kill us. Our fight here against injustice & for human progress makes us keen to all forms of oppression and exploitation all over the world. Hence we are with you.

Madhukar Shinde, Delhi : The *Gandhi* film looks like the last-ditch battle of the Indian Ruling Class to save its philosophy so ably revived by M. K. Gandhi. You are right in saying that with the end of the 20th century the Gandhian Era would come to an end. *Gandhi* testifies this. Any way, *Gandhi* woke up the slumbering Dalits & made them get angry.

Vinubhai Bhatavia, High Court Advocate, Ahmedabad : Shocked to read in DV the communal Hindu treatment to a Dalit Chief Justice. We have written to Chief Justice Chandrachud of the Supreme Court and also the Bar Council of India (copies enclosed) demanding that the *sanads* of these communal lawyers be cancelled & they suspended from the Council until they apologise in public. □

Editorial [Contd. from page 2]

will remain unsolved. That is why we say that India's problem is the problem of the OBCs. They must take a militant posture this time.

Angry speeches were made by the North Indian OBC leaders at the Delhi meet denouncing the Brahmin hegemony. This is a fact. But they must know that Brahminism is more dangerous than Brahmins. Are not the OBCs in love with Brahminism? They invite Brahmin priests to conduct their weddings, go to temples, celebrate Brahmin festivals, use Sanskrit, worship Aryan gods, their "sacred scriptures", observe caste rules and respect the cross thread. Because of this love for Brahminism they are pitted against Dalits, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs. In all anti-Muslim & anti-Christian riots, the muscle power is provided by OBCs. How can they do both? They must select between the two things. If they want to put down the Brahmin exploiters, they must reject Brahminism. They can't win their battle for Mandal by loving Brahminism & hating Brahmins. The moment they accept Brahminism, they are automatically accepting their status as fourth class citizen. Who can save you? That is what we mean when we say: In India slaves are enjoying their slavery. "The OBCs must, therefore, religiously cut their connection with the cross thread (*yajnopavita*) in order to free themselves from the degradation. Though this may mean dethroning Rama & Krishna as gods, it has to be done in order to live with self-respect and honour." warned Prof. A.M. Dharmalingam, president of the Karnataka Rationalist Assn. Bangalore, at the Delhi meet. This is the first time the hare-brained North Indian OBC leaders

are hearing such a sane Voice of Ambedkar and Periyar EVR.

A bald resolution said "if the Mandal report is not implemented by Aug. 9, a peaceful, constitutional struggle will be launched all over the country". What does this mean? Earlier (DV June 1, 1982), we had asked whether the OBCs are ready to die for Mandal? The Delhi resolution does not indicate any such willingness. But, on the other hand, we have reports that some of the organisers of the Delhi meet may use it as a stepping stone to gain entry into the ruling Congress Party. Already one OBC leader, Dr. D. P. Yadav, MP, has joined it. But do they know that Indira Gandhi has categorically stated that "backwardness" should be measured not on caste basis but poverty? Is this not the opinion of the Ruling Class also? And into her party these OBC leaders want to jump like those flies rushing to the burning lamp to die. We pity them.

We want to impress upon OBCs as well as Dalits that their problem is not political. Their problem is not even economic (see Mandal Report, Part-I, page 30). Not even lack of education. Theirs is a cultural problem. It is a problem created by Brahminism. This is what the Mandal Report has also clearly stated: "...the lower castes were backward not only socially but also educationally, politically and economically..." and adds "in the traditional Indian society social backwardness was a direct consequence of caste status and further, that various other types of backwardness flowed directly from this crippling handicap". [ibid page 17] There are many OBC leaders who have not even read the Mandal Report.

Hence what the OBCs [& Dalits too]

WANTED A CULTURAL REVOLUTION

need is a Cultural Revolution to liberate themselves from Brahminism. Since every party is led by Brahmins, there is no hope for them through political parties. It is also proved that economic improvement of their position is no solution at all. Therefore, it is an all-out virulent Cultural Revolution that is needed to destroy Brahminism. And those wanting to protect Brahminism will do everything to confuse the *shudras* and dalits as K. V. Kumaran, a Dalit leader of Kerala, has pointed out (DV May 1). Muslims will do well to take the suggestion of Haneef Jawaid (May 1, DV) and rally round Mandal which for the first time has united the dalits, OBCs and all minorities.

Meanwhile, we do't know how far the *Statesman* (April 13) is correct in saying that the Govt. may accept the Mandal Report. Since no other press has reported such an important piece of news, it looks all the more intriguing. May be an inspired report to soothen the OBCs.

Whatever it is, OBCs joining with dalits and minorities must get set for an all-out

do-or-die battle keeping in view the Aug. 9 deadline. The brave Sikhs of Punjab have proved that the Ruling Class will yield only to those who have the strength. We salute the Sikhs and ask the OBCs to emulate their noble example. A million people must fill the jail in different parts of North India and 10,000 in Delhi alone. OBC MPs must be forced to resign if they don't voluntarily quit like the Akali MPs. Northern CMs must be gheroad. While OBCs shall remain peaceful & non-violent, they must be ready to die for Mandal Report. Remember, the high castes who launched the "Gujarat Caste War" to oppose the reservations even to Dalits, cannot be expected to put one more knife into their own stomach by accepting Mandal. So we can expect them to resist with all their might. Remember what happened to Karpoori Thakur. That means the Mandal Report has to wade through rivers of blood. This is certain, particularly, in the North. Are the OBCs ready to die? Are the OBCs willing to bury Brahminism? We have our own doubts. □

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