

DALIT VOICE

[The Voice of the Persecuted Minorities]

Adviser : Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

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OBCs & THE ILL-FATED MANDAL COMMISSION REPORT

The backward classes are back in the news. And this time a very bad news indeed. The beauty is this vast segment described as the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) — comprising about 50% of the Hindu population—does not even know of this bad news. This is what happens when slaves start enjoying their slavery. This exactly is the problem of India. We had already expressed our fear (DV- Sept 1) about the Mandal Commission report being thrown to wastepaper basket. Developments since then have confirmed this. The ruling class of India is in no mood even to publish this report recommending caste-based job reservations to OBCs, let alone implementing it. The report was not even placed on the table of Parliament though a specific promise to this effect was given in the previous session. It is over an year now since the report was submitted to the govt. Therefore, we have every reason to believe that this report will also meet the fate of its predecessor, Kaka Kalelkar Commission report. That proves how powerless OBCs are despite their vast population. What is the use of the mass? Masses are asses. Who bothers about asses? Untouchables have succeeded in throwing up some militancy. Dalit movement is a force to be reckoned with at least in some areas. But backward class movement is dead and gone. If OBCs have been reduced to the position of asses nobody is to be blamed except themselves. Reservations will seriously affect the ruling class. Naturally it will do its best to protect its interests. No

where in history the property-holders have voluntarily surrendered their possession except at the point of gun. The Indian ruling class can be no exception. On the other hand it is more deadly fascist. It has two types of property—wealth and caste. Therefore, it is foolish to expect the ruling class to cut its own head. And OBCs are not ready for a fight. No, they are actually fighting as the unpaid soldiers of the ruling class. Now OBCs have sought (see page 12) the help of the dalits and other persecuted minorities to observe Republic day (Jan 26) as Black Day. While we welcome this belated wisdom, we would like to remind the heinous role played by OBCs when dalits were mercilessly hunted down in the Marathwada and Gujarat caste wars. Not only OBCs quietly enjoyed the plight of the dalits but in many cases they willingly joined in the attack. Why do they want dalit support now? How to convince the dalits that the OBCs demand now is genuine? This is the problem that we face all over India. Despite their grave blunder we have several instances of the dalits joining the OBCs in the movement of the latter. In Karnataka, the Dalit Action Committee members partici-

parted in OBC agitation demanding implementation of the Havanur Commission report. BAMCEF, primarily an organisation of the SCs, also pleads for the OBCs. But we have hardly an instance of the OBCs joining the dalit struggle. Dalits being so generous are still prepared to pardon OBC leaders if the Mandal Commission report would force them to join hands with dalits and minorities. If such a thing happens, it will indeed be a big development. But we have our own doubt. Why OBCs are continuously missing the bus? It is because of the peculiar position they occupy in the caste hierarchy. Economically many OBCs are as poor as the Untouchables if not poorer. The latter at least have reservations. But OBCs have none. In population, they are much bigger than the SCs. But the ruling class knows that they have no guts. SCs have some sort of leadership. The stigma of untouchability has brought about a semblance of unity. Reservations have given them a political status as vote banks. OBCs have neither leadership nor any organisation. Besides, they are torn into thousands of tiny service castes: shepherds, cowherds, fishermen, tappers, barbers, washermen, carpenters, smiths, gardeners, artisans, weavers etc. A majority are landless. Therefore they neither possess economic power nor numerical strength, hence politically useless except as doormats of the high castes. SCs have a national leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. But OBCs have none to boast of. Charan Singh had generated high hopes but soon sulked into oblivion. Karpoori Thakur did a lot for OBCs in Bihar but he too is sleeping now. Devaraj Urs, Karunanidhi committed political harakiri because of their opportunistic alliances. The OBC condition is pathetic. But what actually gives the ruling class the courage to go on slapping OBCs and yet get away with it? This is the most important point. Every

ruling class thrives on divide and rule. If a section is willing to be ruled who can help it? No section in India is more willing to be ruled than OBCs. The tragedy of India is the tragedy of OBCs. They are its biggest problem. Its biggest liability. Dalits are not only the poorest but also born revolutionaries. But OBCs, equally poor, are refusing to be revolutionaries. Nay, in many cases they are the agents of the counter-revolutionaries. Not only they are miserable, they are responsible for others misery also. The ruling class is fully aware of this OBC helplessness. It also knows the antagonism between SCs and OBCs. All over India SCs are being subjected to atrocities not by the high castes but mainly by OBCs. Because of this, SCs think their natural enemies are not brahmins or other high castes but OBCs. But the fact is it is the brain that directs the leg to kick. The Brahminical philosophy is the brain and OBCs the leg. But SCs do not know this. The high castes impress upon SCs that they are not their oppressors but OBCs. This way they have willingly played into the high caste trap. The high castes have impoverished them but this anger they take on SCs. And their natural arrogance of being touchables, though poor, has further widened the Great Divide between the Hindus and the Untouchables. The false pride of being Hindus has pushed them to the brink. That is how OBCs are the most hated section in India today. Friendless, isolated. The high castes have milked them dry. The Untouchables, those immediately below them in the ritual hierarchy, consider them as their enemy no. 1. In this bloody war between SCs and OBCs, the high castes are safe and happy. The Brahminical philosophy is solely responsible for the degradation of OBCs. But they are blissfully ignorant of it. On the other hand RSS is mainly depending upon OBCs to attack SCs and Muslims. It is they who mainly con-

[cont. on page 11]

NEWS IN BRIEF:

LUMBINI (Nepal): An international mission to make Lumbini, the birth place of the Buddha, "ideal village" to spread his message of non-violence and peace to the whole world is nearing completion. After centuries of oblivion, Lumbini has begun to attract the attention of the world's 300 million Buddhists.

Though still in ruins, the Buddha's birth place, 100 km from the Indian town of Gorakhpur, is likely to emerge as an "international spot" by 1985, when a Rs. 19.84-crore U.N. project for its development will be completed. (Hindu-Nov. 2) □

RANCHI: The Jharkhand party led by N. E. Horo observed "Jharkhand demand day" on Oct. 31 by organising a massive rally and renewing its pledge to struggle for the formation of a separate state. Horo said that without a separate state, the people of Jharkhand region, stretching over the four States of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, could not have a good future. (Times of India-Nov. 3)

NEW DELHI: M.G. Ramachandran, Chief Minister of TN, has sought support for his proposal to extend reservation of jobs to SC/STs in the private sector also. He would like 18 per cent of the jobs reserved. Reservations are now in force only in the departments of the Government and in public sector undertakings. (Hindu-Nov. 1)

RAJAHMUNDRY: The Andhra Pradesh Brahmana seva sangham was formed here on Nov. 1 with the merger of the Akhil Andhra Brahmana mahasabha and Sarva Brahmana sangha samakhya under a common banner. (Times of India) □

MADRAS: The rule of reservation for SC/STs cannot strictly be applied in the matter of ad hoc promotions. Justice G. Ramanujam, of the Madras High Court, has held. The judge has dismissed a writ petition filed by M Subba Rao, assistant works manager (electrical) in the Integral

Coach Factory belonging to the SC seeking his promotion as works manager. Of the eight posts of works managers (electrical), three were reserved for members of the SC/STs. Out of the three, two had been filled by non-SCs ICF employees junior to the petitioner. (Indian Express Nov. 9) □

DELHI: THE Jamaat - E-Islami Hind has elected Maulana Abul Lais Islahi as its new president. The Jamaat, which is a 2-tier body, holds election of its chief every 4 years. □

BOMBAY: President of RPI (Gawai Group) and chairman of the Maharashtra Legislative Council R. S. Gawai has demanded that the SC/STs in the sensitive areas should be given fire-arms at concessional rates by the Government for self-protection. Gawai who returned from Deoli (UP) where 24 Harijans were killed by the caste Hindus on Nov. 18, told newsmen that the Harijans of Deoli had made this demand to him as they had lost faith in the State police. (Deccan Herald-Nov. 25) □

SILIGURI: An All-India convention of the Organising Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries (OCCR), led by Kanu Sanyal, has underlined the need for forming a "real Communist Party" on the basis of Marxism, Leninism and thoughts of Mao Zedong. The six-day convention of the OCCR, which ended on Nov. 11 with a rally of peasants and workers at Naxalbari, near here, condemned the "politics of individual killing and annihilation" adopted by the CPI (ML) in 1969. The OCCR while rejecting the parliamentary system would fight the elections in the interest of mass movement and, for that matter, join hands with "the so-called Left parties" to get rid of "authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi." (UNI)

NEW DELHI: Statutory reservation of posts for SC/ST candidates in private sector had been found legally not possible. This was stated by Industry Minister N. D. Tiwari in the Raja Sabha on Nov. 26. □

Letters to Editor :

P. R. Kuppaswamy, Advocate, Karur, TN: The senior Sankaracharya of Kanchi is hailed as "Jagadguru" and the "god incarnate". I have enclosed a typed copy of a part of the book, *The Ideal Prophet Of Our Age*, by Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatachariar to prove the swami's behind-the-screen machinations. It is he who had achieved the Brahmin's plan to continue their hegemony even after 26 Jan. 1950. He saw to it that the concept of equality, liberty, fraternity etc., that came with the freedom did not affect the Brahminical stratification of society. Suitable safeguards were extracted by the Sankaracharya from the "national" leaders. But a lone non-Brahmin voice against such conspiracy is also heard from among the clergy itself from TN. It is the voice of Kundrakkudi Adigalar, the Mut head of the "Kundrakkudi Aadheenam" in Ramanathapuram District. Recently he had exposed the conspiracy of the Brahmins to thrust the Kanchi senior Sankaracharya as the sole religious leader of Hindus.

S. Moineuddin, Hyderabad: It is a pity that in a country that has so vehemently condemned the Apartheid policy of South Africa, and has gone to the extent of severing its diplomatic ties with it, a section of its people are meted out the same treatment in India as the Blacks in S. Africa. I can't understand how a small section of upper castes are able to assert themselves as a superior race in a country which describes itself as a democracy with socialism as its creed. Even after 34 years of Independence, SC/STs are leading a life of serfdom and slavery and the minorities are regarded as second grade citizens. In the midst of such persecution and recurring communal riots, how can the cherished aim of emotional and national integration be achieved? The govt. should realise the

folly of tolerating such communal forces which are totally inconsistent with our secular way of life and democratic setup. If the govt. proves incapable to curb these communal forces, then minorities will be forced to join hands with the dalits. I congratulate you for so courageously and boldly championing the oppressed and persecuted minorities.

Fr. Peter Lewis, Nasik: I congratulate you for starting the DV, outspoken and truthful. I wish some of our leaders read it and learn some lessons.

Rama Arangannal, Madras: I appreciate your enthusiasm and spirit fighting for the right cause. Go ahead.

Zafarul Islam Khan, London: We have read with interest your introduction to Dr. Ambedkar's speech, "Why Go For Conversion," published by the Dalit Sahitya Academy. It is fantastic. We fully appreciate your efforts and hope that together we will be able to achieve our aims.

Kazuhiko Usui, Japan: We have been reading the DV and through that we come to know the condition of your movement especially about the caste war in Gujarat. The Buraku people are trying to understand the dalit movement launched by Ambedkar. Some of us are eager to visit India for a deeper study.

Murlidhar Bansode, Bombay: DV is the chief voice of dalits and the down-trodden. The only one of its kind in English, it serves to collect and connect the "minorities" giving publicity to the tyranny and atrocities inflicted on them by Hindus.

K. Yerranagiah, Iskapalli, AP: The book, "Why Go for Conversion?" is a timely lesson for every educated dalit to read and share with his illiterate brothers. It exposes the reality of the situation and brings them to a decision regarding a means to cast off the hated caste stigma.

V. R. Naria, Hyderabad: While I cannot agree with all your ideas, you are, on the whole, doing good work. I wish you success.

Dr. K. Wilson : IICS, Secunderabad : DV is destined to influence the thinking of not only the dalits but also the non-dalit public in shaping the future of our social structure. At IICS we are doing our best to conscientize the oppressed dalits to get involved in the struggle for a more human future.

P. K. Rajan, Trichy, TN : In spite of over 70 dalit organisations, each with over 20 branches, none are involved in the struggle against untouchability. Dalit leaders deceive the innocents, being themselves tail-pieces of political parties, serving them to retain their own leadership. Dravida Kazagam ignores the teaching of its founder EVR. His movement was never intended to contest elections but only to work for social change. Yet Periyar was never been involved in fight against caste fanatics or the struggle of landless peasants against landlords. Is it because the victims are dalits? Of the other movements in TN including the Marxists, the less said the better. So in TN, dalits need a strong movement. Youths of Trichy dist. have begun a movement to fight against the caste fanatics. Dalits by themselves can never be successful and need the support of all those who will readily support them.

M. A. Samad, Madras : The DV is simply grand. I congratulate you for exposing the politicians for neglecting the minorities. After 1947, our politicians have turned corrupt, and blood-suckers of the poor. What they profess is different from their practice.

Carlos M. Azeiro, Panjim, Goa : Dalits of mofussil Thane village in Satari (Goa) emerged victorious in the struggle for rights. After 15 nightmarish years during which they did not receive a single grain of rice from an unscrupulous trader, they have been issued ration cards and now receive their quotas and other essential commodities at fair price from a co-operative

store. This was due to the efforts of the group of progressive student activists who organised the dalits in their struggle for a fair share of rations.

Ram Lal, Bishop's College, Calcutta: The Bible says that god loves the poor and not only the rich. Division of society into classes displeases god. But history shows that in every age, class and caste distinction have prevailed. Jesus belonged to the masses, growing up in poverty. India is witnessing the awakening of the masses. Those previously resigned to their fate now have the support of the Church in their demand for social justice. But those in power, in order to gain more power, bribe these people with concessions and reservations in exchange for votes. But this is not what they want. Equality and social status is the real need. Hinduism will never allow this, so the only solution is to quit the fold and embrace one that assures them of a place and status in society.

A. R. Khandekar, Bhandara : As a Harijan I would like to appeal to Hindu brothers not to treat the Harijans as animals. Is it not funny to worship an animal and hate human beings? Even today Harijans are being mercilessly murdered, their women raped and their houses and huts burnt. Due to such barbaric acts of caste Hindus if the Harijans embrace Islam, which does not recognise caste distinctions, they are blamed of selling their conscience! Muslims are being blamed of using Arab petrodollars to induce conversions. Instead of accepting their guilt the Hindus are throwing the blame on Harijans and Muslims.

Dr. M. P. Abubacker, Ramanattakura, Kerala : We are reading the DV with great interest. We appreciate your frankness, boldness. According to Islam a true believer is one who condemns wrong where ever he sees it, either by tongue, hand or at least by heart. We wish you strength and courage to go ahead with your Jehed. □

POPULATION - WISE RESERVATION : **VEERAMANI'S APPEAL**

Madras : In his editorial to the prestigious English monthly, *Modern Rationalist*, its editor, Veeramani, general secretary of the Dravida Kazhagam, suggests population-wise reservation to each caste group. He says : Would it not be possible to render equal justice and give equal opportunities for all based on proportional representation based on population ? Even the forward communities would submit if communal justice is based on population. The editorial adds :

We hope the Government of India would come forward to release the Mandal Commission Report and explain the action taken thereon in Parliament. This is a burning issue concerned with three-four-

ths of the population. A government said to be wedded to socialist outlook cannot afford to stand in the way of the progress and plenty of the vast millions of OBCs. (*Modern Rationalist-Oct. 81*) □

INDIAN TEACHERS' PRAISE FOR CHINA

CHANDIGARH : A delegation of university teachers from here, which visited China recently, was impressed with the teacher-student ratio in that country. There were 2,000 teachers for about 7,000 students at one institution, they said. Major Jiwan Tewari and four other teachers who spent two weeks in China, told newsmen here that they visited some educational institutions including Fudan University, Peking University, 10-Naging School, a nursery school in a commune of Shanghai, a children's palace and also the Central Institute of National Minorities. There was a nationwide entrance examination for admission to undergraduate courses which were of four years duration and post-graduate of two years. There were nurseries where they admitted children from the age of 56 days to three years of age and kindergartens which admitted children from three years to six years, they said.

Major Tewari said there were 13 institutes of national minorities. The Central Institute of National Minorities, which the delegation visited, had students from 52 minorities out of a total of 55 minorities. They also visited the Institute of South Asian Studies at Peking University and met the Chinese teachers who taught Hindi,

The library had many books on India. Some books dealing with the cultural aspects of India had been translated into Chinese, he added. Muslims were allowed to maintain separate kitchens because they did not eat pork. A Muslim teacher at the Central Institute of National Minorities told them that they were allowed to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. But, Major Tewari said, Government laws had precedence over religious laws. All students above primary level had to study a foreign language. A majority of students opted for English. Some years ago, Russian was more popular. (*Statesman-Nov. 19*) □

THE DEVADASI PROBLEM

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WHY I BECAME A MUSLIM ?

A Dalit Advocate's Testimony

Govindan is an advocate at Ramanathapuram, TN. He is the main accused in the police cases against Untouchables. He is their leader. He was attacked. He had a narrow escape. His office was ransacked and burnt. When he was at Madras on bail he was interviewed by the 'Thuglak' — a Tamil fortnightly, edited by 'Cho', a pro-RSS Brahmin. When the reporter entered the room of Govindan, he saw several Tamil books on Islam. He was told of the widespread news about Arab money. Govindan's reply silenced the reporter. He showed certain pages from the history of Jambulingam. It was 100 years ago. Jambulingam, a Nadar—then an Untouchable—turned Christian due to Hindu harassments. Govindan asked: Who paid money to Jambulingam for his conversion? Did the 5 crores of Indian Muslims come from Arabia? He quoted Ambedkar: India was not won by the Whites but it was defeated by Indians themselves. "Do you know Commander Khan Sahib's history? He joined Islam seeking peace and solace". Leave the old history. We have enough money. My father was a member of the District Board. He continued....: In 1946, there was a big conference at Ramanathapuram. Lakhs dalits had assembled. They had resolved unanimously to join Islam. Sethupathy, the Raja of Ramnad, intervened and pleaded against conversion and assured that he would stop Hindu atrocities on them. Did Arab money come in 1946? Some Hindus are still trying to keep us as their slaves. In Uthiramerur, Chaturvedhimangalam, where the entire village was ceded to Brahmins by the Kings, had a Brahmin panchayat to administer the village affairs. Dalit cultivators had gathered to decide about getting back their lands which were earlier taken away from them and gifted to Brahmins. The Government forces had crushed the said assemblage of people, killing hundreds of them. This was about several centuries ago. There is also the story of Nandan. The story of Muthpattan. The histories of such leaders of Untouch-

ables were later revised and distorted by the Hindus. Even in Ramanathapuram matter, I am charged under Section 307 I.P.C. (attempt to murder). I am harassed. I was two months in jail. Then only on condition bail. Professional loss.....etc..... etc. But Hindu leaders charged with murder (302 I.P.C) were able to obtain anticipatory bail and thus free. We think of joining the religion where we can get justice and respect. We will decide it in a conference. We neither want the concessions nor the serfdom. Most of the Untouchables will not get liberation. They will not get employment or other opportunities in life. At least the conversion will get them self-respect. But the conversion has been there for centuries. But it is strange that some people cry as though the Rahamat Nagar conversion has no precedence at all and they have been making much halla-ballo about. It is all farce." Govindan has since become a Muslim □

WHY GO FOR CONVERSION ?

by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

[Pages 20, Price Re-1]

Excerpts from the historic speech delivered on May 30-31, 1936, while addressing a conference of Untouchables, making his stand clear on conversion. The document is topical in the context of the current controversy raised by the communal Hindus on the issue of conversion. It is the most authentic voice of Dr. Ambedkar on conversion.

Published by the Dalit Sahitya Akademy,
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CPM, CHRISTIAN "MARXISTS" & TRIBALS

The following excerpts are from what is purported to be a Communist Party (Marxist) Central Committee document issued at its Oct. 1981 meeting : Today the discontent has spread far and wide and the Adivasis are vulnerable to the separatist appeal. This situation is being fully exploited by some foreign church missions with firm roots among the Adivasis in some areas and work in collusion with imperialist Powers. Our exposure of the misdeeds of these missions concerns their reactionary political activities against our country and in the interest of foreign imperialist Powers. It is not directed towards preventing any citizen of India from propagating his religion or faith. Our party fully supports the citizens' right to freedom of conscience and religion. Their sinister hand in Tripura was exposed by our comrades. They openly support the Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti which under their influence takes a secessionist stand and concentrates on opposing the CPM. The Baptist Mission is desperately trying to convert the entire tribe mass to Christianity; thereby it seeks to create a wall of separation between the converts and the rest. Their propaganda is that the tribals are distinct and separate from India and have nothing to do with the Indian people. It is reinforced by conversion which is intended to draw the tribal mass near the Western Christian countries.

The Rev. Cunville of the Baptist Mission calls for virtual invasion by the world churches to convert the Tripura tribals to Christianity. Church leaders like the Rev. Cunville are openly speaking as Church leaders in the name of Christ and communion. But in other places they pose to turn towards the Left image, to fight the CPM and sow the seeds of separatism among the tribals. A report submitted by the Thane District secretary of our party, Com. Khopkar, a member of the party's Maharashtra State Committee, gives the following account of such church agents in tribal Warli area of the district : "Now the Church missionaries call themselves Kashtakari Sanghata (Toilers' Organisation) and declare it as a

progressive Left democratic organisation and simultaneously a non party organisation. In their study camps, their advice to the Adivasis is as follows : (1) We Adivasis are a different people. The other people are exploiters. If we want to be liberated completely we must throw out all non-Adivasis from the area and we must have a republic of our own. Actually some of our people have established their own rule in Nagaland, Mizoram, etc. (2) In the Soviet Union and China, workers are exploited and ill-treated and real democracy exists in the USA only. (3) Christ alone can bring justice". "Drive out non-Adivasis from the Adivasi areas", is also the slogan raised in the Bihar tribal areas. In the Warli area, these agents of certain Church missions have organised assaults and attacks on our comrades. They indulge in slanderous propaganda and incite murders and clashes between Adivasis and non-Adivasis.... In this connection, it should be noted that a systematic offensive from the "LEFT" is being opened by some Church agencies against our party, but it is done in the name of coming close to the Left, and especially the CPM. A big centre of these activities is Bangalore from where such innocent-looking organisations as the Centre for Informal Education and Development Studies, Indian Social Institute, etc. are working and spreading their nets. They organise seminars, call our party members and leaders to participate in them, the aim being to get a Left image and attract young people to whom they offer research jobs, scholarships, etc., and convert them into propagandists. It also appears that, at least in Karnataka, they are trying to penetrate our party. Some

of our party members, throwing off their guard against imperialism and these foreign church missions, and misled by the radical phrases of these agencies, participate in their manoeuvres and play their game. It seems that our Andhra party being vigilant, has taken action in time and asked our members to dissociate themselves from such organisations. These missionaries are supported by the anti-Soviet "Left" elements in our country. They are also establishing ties with other Left groups. An ideological offensive against the party is conducted by the Trotskyites, Naxalites and all sorts of "radical" intellectuals. The co-ordinating and guiding hand is provided by international agencies, and the most vociferous are those returning from the USA. Our party, being busy with day-to-day problems, is unable to meet this challenge properly. It is a pity that our intellectual comrades, the professors, teachers, lawyers, are unable to put up a fight and stand paralysed before the offensive on every front. The party must arm them to do this all-important job. In its absence, a section of the radically-minded younger generation is being corrupted by this "Left" ideology which ends only in counter-revolutionary anti-communism. The menace of the Naxalite ideology and its changing tactics, must be systematically fought if this counter-revolutionary group is to be isolated and defeated. □

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ಸಂ : ಚಂದ್ರಶೇಖರ ಪಾಟೀಲ

ಸಂಕ್ರಮಣ

ಮಾಸಿಕ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸಂಕಲನದವರ

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ಚಿಲಿ ರೂ-10

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RSS HATE CAMPAIGN AGAINST MUSLIMS

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore : The RSS mass-circulated, English weekly journal, "Organiser," (Nov. 1) has published an article by one Mrs. Vatsala Kashyap of New Delhi under the headline, "But the Muslims of Jamshedpur were following Their own Religion," and sub-headings, "Not a single Muslim Sufi Saint protested Against the Injustices heaped on the Hindu Kings," "The idea of human brotherhood is as Foreign to Islam as Brotherhood with the Jews to the Nazis". According to her the Jamshedpur Muslims have been accused by the RSS of aggression without reference to the Islamic tenets. She then goes to "reproduce" these tenets and concludes : The Muslims in Jamshedpur as elsewhere are only living upto this Islamic tradition when they object to Hindu processions passing near mosques or Muslim localities. Unfortunately for them, India is no more a Muslim state which can compel the Hindus *not* to "practise their customs openly in the presence of Muslim". The next best thing the Muslim can do in defence of their faith is to prevent the Hindus from this sacrilege by a shower of brickbats and/or bullets, from their mosques and houses. If the Hindus misrepresent as 'aggression', this legitimate use of force by the Muslims, they are to be pitied for their ignorance. The Hindus are in a hurry to shout *sarve-dharma-sama-bhava* without consulting the spokesmen of Islam. They forget that Islam is not a *dharma* but an *ideology for conquest of political power* in the service of monotheism and iconoclasm. Islam has never accepted that any other creed can be equated with it. While we leave it to experts to comment upon Smt Kashyap's criticism of the Islam, the facts of the case in Jamshedpur were otherwise. It was, on the other hand, the Muslims who were on the receiving end. No doubt the RSS and its political wing, BJP, had engaged the "national press" to heap abuses on the Jamshedpur judicial inquiry report. The RSS often says Muslims enjoy complete religious freedom in India but non-Muslims are restricted in Arab countries. Does it not mean that India should

also curtail the religious freedom of non-Hindus? The BJP, which is swearing by secularism, will have to state whether its commitment to secularism is absolute or conditional upon the behaviour of Arab countries. Does it want to punish the Indian Muslims for the actions of the Muslim countries abroad? Does it mean to say that Muslims here are not entitled to equal treatment before law? Does it mean to say that religious freedom to Indian Muslims will be granted only on the condition that Muslim countries abroad give equal treatment to non-Muslims? In what way Indian Muslims are responsible for the behaviour of the Muslim govts abroad? Did the Hindus stop taking up lucrative jobs in Arab countries? Left parties and those interested in social and economic change in India cannot make any difference between citizens and citizens. As long as 90 per cent of the Muslims are poor and majority of them live below the poverty line, they will be entitled for all the attention. To such parties and organisations Muslims are just suffering people and a persecuted minority. But not so to the RSS and the BJP which always divides the Hindus from the rest—Muslims, Christians, Sikhs etc. By such a religious division of the society, the RSS-BJP has made the virus of communalism penetrate deep into our social fabric. The Moradabad riots have proved that RSS has infiltrated into the police, PAC, military police. Lately they are also trying to befriend the Defence services although in the top echelons of the Defence it has its sympathisers. But many a time the persecuted minorities and the dalits are getting a doubt. Whether there is any method in this madness? Why this RSS hate-campaign against the Muslims and Christians? Is to see that they continue to vote for the ruling party? □

cont. from page 2.

OBCs & The Mandal Commission Report.

tribute India's lumpen proletariat. Untouchables having been subjected to periodical kicks for centuries have developed some militancy but OBCs are docile. Wool-gathering. Though poor, they are not killed, burnt and raped like SCs. The latter are kept out of Hinduism but OBCs are very proud that they are Hindus although they have gained nothing from Hinduism. The ruling class is very much afraid that SCs and OBCs would join hands and that is why they have raised the bogey that reservations to SCs would affect the chances of other castes. The Railway Oppressed Employees union, which filed the unsuccessful writ against reservation in promotions, comprises mostly OBCs though guided by the high castes. The game of the high castes is to continue the reservations to SCs without implementing it seriously, but at the same time deny reservations to OBCs. For those carefully reading Justice Krishna Iyer's judgment on the above-cited case this becomes crystal clear. It is a call for divide and rule. OBCs will have to clearly understand that reservations to SCs will not come in the way of their share. The SCs will have their cake and OBCs shall have theirs. If OBCs want to win their battle, their best friends are the SCs. Together with other persecuted minorities they can shake the country. We have our own doubt if OBCs will ever heed this, knowing Hinduism too well. Unity between OBCs & SCs is a pipe-dream. So the only way out is to end this endless controversy by going for population-wise reservations to all castes and communities as suggested by DK leader Veeramani and others. That will please the high caste landed gentry as well and make them join the caste war. That will be an ideal solution. □

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

V. R. Naria : *Gods, Goblins, Men*, Minerva Associates, 7-B Lake Place, Calcutta 29-Pgs 248, Rs 50.

Dr. Ambedkar Special Issue: *Sankramana*, Kannada literary monthly publication, Dharwad-580 008, Pgs. 200, Rs. 10. Contains articles by India's top authorities on Ambedkarism.

Ma. Na. Javarayya : *Kelu Jagamadige Holey*, Sidharta Granthamale, Ashokapuram, Mysore-570 008, Pgs 52, Rs 6. a collection of Kannada poems by one of Karnataka's topmost poets and writers.

Jagjivan Ram : *Caste Challenge in India*, Vision Books, 36-C Connaught Place, New Delhi-1, Pgs. 120, Rs. 50.

M. N. Roy : *Historical Role of Islam*, Ajanta Books, 1-U-B Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-7, 1981-Pgs 91, Rs. 30. The most authentic book on the greatness of Islam by India's most famous Marxist philosopher. Traces the causes of the rapid advance of the religion.

Dr. K. Wilson : *The Unborn Indian Communism*, The New Quest reprint, 1981, pgs 8, price not mentioned, ZR-1/186-Taranaka, Secunderbad, 500 017. A scientific analysis of the failure the Indian Left movement.

Man Mohan : *Question of Human Rights In Capitalism & Socialism*, 11772/4 Satnagar, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5, pgs. 24, Rs 3—Human rights bodies are meant to confuse the people through the bourgeois slogans of freedom & individualism. The fight for democratic rights & freedom must aim at socialism & overthrow of the existing exploitative system.

Andre Beteille : *The Backward Classes & the New Order*, Oxford University Press, 1981, pgs. 50, Rs. 12. While advocating caste-based reservations to SC/STs, it wants economic criterion in reservation to the rest including the OBCs, refutes Havanur Commission plea for caste-based reservations. □

O.B.C.s TO OBSERVE REPUBLIC DAY AS BLACK DAY

Protest Against Not Implementing Mandal Report

V. Anaimuthu, Trichy, TN, writes: The Periyar Equal Rights Movement at its meeting in Madras on Nov. 7 has decided to observe Jan 26, (R. Day) 1981 as "Condemnation day" for the dishonour done to the Constitution by the govt by not implementing the Mandal Commission report on the backward classes which had recommended job reservation to the OBCs. We request the SC/STs, OBCs, minorities and all other people of India interested in social change to hoist black-flag before their houses and to wear black badges on that day. I was on an intensive tour of Bihar and Chandigarh. I received a letter from the Home Ministry dated Oct. 28 that the Mandal Commission report would be placed on the table of Parliament (The Govt. has since pleaded its inability to do so when MPs demanded that in the current session of Parliament). Unfortunately our OBC leaders are doing nothing with regard to the Mandal Commission report. In the name of the backward classes, they tried to get berth in the Cabinet. The Kerala Backward Classes Federation is fully satisfied with what they are having. There is practically no backward class movement in AP or Karnataka. In TN, the ADMK & DMK leaders are busy wooing the ruling party. No doubt the DK is doing a lot to rouse the OBCs but it ends up with a mere attack on Brahmins and at the most the ADMK, but not the Govt. of India or the Brahminism which is ruling us. We do not agree with the *Dalit Voice* in advocating conversion of SCs. However, I agree that the support of the Muslims and Christians should be

secured for our struggle. There is no such way of life as Buddhism in India as conceived by the Buddha. The only alternative that we have before us is to unite the BCs (including Muslims & Christians) & SCs which is feasible and possible. The atrocities of BCs on SCs all over India should be condemned by all of us. I have much hope in your writings. Kindly ponder over all these points. In my opinion Periyarites, Ambedkarites and Lohialites are the right type of people to undertake the job of consolidation of BCs, SCs and minorities. As on 1-1-1979 out of about 3546 I.A.S. officers in India, 2,000 posts are held by Brahmins and other upper castes. Though the SC/STs have been allotted due share in this cadre, the backward classes have not still obtained their due share since there is no separate reservation for them. Till today there is no reservation for the BCs in States like Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam and Rajasthan in State-level spheres. In India the BCs constitute 52% and the SCs and STs form 23% of the population. □

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