

DALIT VOICE

[The Voice of the Persecuted Minorities]

Adviser : Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

Vol. 1

JAN. 1-15 1982

No. 6

CAN UNTOUCHABILITY BE REMOVED ?

Many Hindu revivalist organisations like the RSS, Arya Samaj etc. are currently engaged in a much-publicised country-wide "drive to abolish untouchability," spending crores of rupees on such a show business. The conversion of Untouchables and tribals to Islam, Christianity and Buddhism has unnerved these communal elements and forced them to "fall in love" with these dehumanised lot. Hence this sudden surge of "Hindu unity conferences" all over India, in turn provoking communal unrest. But many innocent dalits and even some Hindus have been deceived by this rope-trick. Therefore, we want to clarify the whole thing. Untouchability is a problem that has come down the centuries as part of our four-fold *chatur varna* (caste system) — *Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra*. The Untouchables are called *panchamas* because they are outside the caste system. Hence, outcastes. Being at the bottom of the caste pyramid they are the last and the lowliest, socially the meanest, economically the poorest, culturally the most deprived. Their very touch or even a look leads to pollution. This hierarchical caste system can be compared to a pyramid. School children during playtime form a human pyramid with half-a-dozen or more standing or sitting at the bottom and the rest climbing one upon the other to form the shape of a pyramid. As the human scaffolding tapers off, there is space only for one man at the top. The Hindu caste system is the exact replica of such a human pyramid. At the bottom, the Untouchables form the base of this pyramid carrying the weight of the entire society. Above their shoulders and back we find the vast number of shudras who in turn carry the Vaishyas. Above them stand

the Kshatriyas. It is the Brahmin who stands at the top and forms the apex of this caste pyramid—enjoying the supreme pleasure of the summit. He carries none and hence enjoys all the freedom to manoeuvre his body and use his mind. He stands like a lord bestriding this whole Hindu human pyramid. Such a hierarchical caste pyramid is something unique, unheard of in any other part of the world. The caste system is the quintessence of the Hindu genius. Like the Egyptian pyramids built by the Pharaohs, the Hindu caste pyramid is ageless, deathless. Wonder of all wonders. It is clear from this that untouchability is in-built within the caste system which in turn is the foundation on which the edifice of Hindu religion rests sanctioned by the Vedas and the gods. What will happen if the Untouchables forming the base of this caste pyramid are to shake their body? Will not the entire superstructure tremble and collapse? Will not those standing one above the other, fall and get injured when this scaffolding collapses? The one occupying the top-most place (Brahmin) will be the worst sufferer in this mighty fall. The others are also sure to be wounded. So, who is

prepared to risk this fall? Therefore, any attempt by the ones at the bottom to topple the caste scaffolding will be resisted by those standing above them—lest they fall and suffer. Self-preservation is an inborn human instinct. This well-knit caste pyramid has helped preserve the hierarchical order and the pleasures and pains that go with it; an ascending order of reverence and a descending degree of contempt. It must now be clear that untouchability being a part of the caste system will really disappear only when the caste goes. Vivekananda, Gandhi only opposed untouchability but not the caste system. "Gandhi believed in caste and defended it with the vigour of the orthodox", said Dr. Ambedkar and added: "The reason why the Mahatma is always supporting caste and the varna is because he is afraid that if he opposed them he will lose the place in politics". The Constitution abolished only untouchability, not the caste system. On the other hand, the Constitution has encouraged castes at all levels giving them a legal sanction. The Courts have also upheld this in several judgments: if untouchability cannot go without abolishing caste, how are we to destroy this caste system? Several attempts have been made right from the days of the Mahavira and the Buddha—over 2,500 years ago. Dr. Ambedkar too gave deep thought to the subject and finally gave up, renouncing Hindu religion itself and embracing the atheistic Buddhism. Several social reformers too tried to attack the caste system but all of them failed including men like Basavanna, Narayana Guru, Vivekananda and Periyar EVR. Gandhi too, casually attacked caste system and instantly fell a victim to a Brahmin bullet. But why has this battle against caste met with no success so far? What is so permanent and indestructible about it? How could it remain deathless? Unfortunately, people like Gandhi have failed to understand the meaning of caste, its connotations and denotations. The caste system is built on the foundation of Hindu religion which means a lot of things to a lot of people. Chiefly it includes: (1) The entire Sacred Scriptures—the Vedas, Upanishads, Shastras, Puranas and the Laws of Manu, Gita, all written, codified, interpreted and guided

solely by hereditary priests who do no wrong and hence are universally acclaimed as the "Bhoodevatas", gods of the earth. (2) The theory of "karma", rebirth, philosophy of "maya", a whole set of unalterable customs and practices, superstitions, myths, morals, dogmas, rites, rituals, ceremonies, duties, habits, traditions, prejudices, precedents, penances, sins, faiths, vows, caste marks, evil spirits, human and animal sacrifices, snake worship, sacred trees and stones. (3) The 33 crores of gods and goddesses in the Hindu pantheon and the system of "Jagadgurus", "swamis" who preside over holy "pithas" and "mutts" & the hundreds of such godmen like Sri Satya Sai Baba. (4) The millions of temples that dot the length and breadth of this "holy land" and the priests that thrive on their income. All this together constitute Hinduism, one of the "greatest" religions in the world. Even astrology, palmistry, witchcraft, sorcery are considered part of Hinduism. And this religion is built on the firm foundation of the caste system. There is no Hindu without a caste and no caste without Hinduism & the entire value system that it represents. Minus caste, Hinduism is dead. Are the crusaders against caste aware that if ever caste goes from India, Hinduism itself will disappear? Unfortunately, these crusaders against untouchability have not fully understood the implication of their statement. Will the existing Shankaracharyas tolerate any attempt to cut at the very root of Hindu religion? Are the priests ready to give up their lucrative business? Who is prepared to destroy those "Sacred Scriptures" that have held Hindus enthralled? Did the advocates of abolition of untouchability realize the dangers they are heading for? The eradication of untouchability is an impossibility under the existing social conditions. As long as caste continues, untouchability will also remain. And as long as Hinduism continues caste will also continue. Each is connected with the other. People who advocate abolition of untouchability and go gaga over the Virat Hindu Sammelan do not know what they are talking about. Let us not be fooled by such a cosmetic treatment for a disease that needs surgery: A REVOLUTION. □

I WILL NOT DIE A HINDU : Basavalingappa

Dalits Must Become Extremists

Bangalore Dec. 6 : B. Basavalingappa, a top dalit leader of India and a noted Ambedkarite, said here today that he would not die a Hindu, a religion that was responsible for the barbarity on Untouchables. Inaugurating the 25th death anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and also releasing the 1982 calendar of Ambedkar under the auspices of the Karnataka Dalit Action Committee, he said sex was the origin of Hindu religion. Hindu idols were nothing but male and female sex organs. It was all sexual perversion, he said elaborately quoting from the Hindu epics, and other 'sacred scriptures'. Referring to the controversy over conversions, he said so far he had deliberately refrained from expressing his opinion on the subject. "But what I feel is let the dalits join any religion they like. Even if they go over to Islam, let them go. Even if 5 crores of dalits embrace Islam, I would not bother about it because still there will be another 15 crores left. If the dalits feel that they get liberation and peace in Islam, who are we to prevent? But the Pejawara Swami is angry over their conversion to Islam. He is trying to reconvert them. But when they are reconverted, which caste is assigned to them? Will he make them Madhwa Brahmins to which sect the swami belongs? The very fact that not a single reconverted dalit is made a Brahmin, & the reconverted are back as Untouchables proves that all these high caste concern of the dalits is nothing but humbug. Never trust these fellows. Dalit salvation is only in the hands of the dalits and not with others. Never consider yourself as inferior. Never bother about these scriptures which are meant to degrade you," he said. As for Deoli massacre and other killings of dalits, he said he would not mind even if 50 pc of the dalits are killed. The rest would take care of the problem. They will reproduce much faster. So let us not be worried about Belchi and Deoli. It is better to die fighting than living as slaves for hundred years. On this Ambedkar death anniversary day, dalits must observe two things :

obeserve it as a day of fasting and mourning and a day to quit Hinduism. His other important suggestion was that the dalits must become extremists : "If you are not going to be extremists, you will not achieve anything" (cheers) Christ was an extremist. So too Mahammed Pigambar So also Ambedkar. I am also. All of you must be extremists to establish equality and justice. (more cheers) D.M. Thimmarayappa, convener of the DAC, said Jan. 26 (Republic Day) would be observed as "Black Day" and a black flag would be hoisted before the Vidhan Soudha here. Adimoolan, an associate of Ambedkar from KGF, said as long as the dalits remained in Hinduism they would be slaves. V. T. Rajshekar, journalist, said Gandhian era was coming to an end with the end of 20th century. The 21st century, which was only 18 years away, would be the Ambedkar Era. Therefore, dalit youth must get ready to take over. However, they have to be cautious about the RSS, ABVP and Vishwa Hindu Parishad bid to take over Ambedkar. Today (Dec 6) the RSS was also observing Ambedkar death anniversary. This was a danger signal. Ambedkar should remain a property of the dalits. He should not be taken over by his enemies. Thimmarayappa announced the DAC decision to open a shop to sell Ambedkar and Periyar literature. Basavalingappa later sold the Ambedkar calendar costing Rs. 5 each and over hundred calendars were sold on the spot. □

A REVOLUTIONARY SWAMI OF KERALA

(Keppi, Mangalore)

Swami Ananda Thirtha is a noted social reformer of Kerala and founder of the Sri Narayana Vidyalaya, Payvanur, N. Kerala, which is celebrating its golden jubilee from Jan. 1 to 3. Young Anantha Shenoy, a Brahmin, son of Rao Bahadur Ramachandra Shenoy of Tellicherry, Kerala, and a post-graduate in physics of Madras University, plunged into freedom movement in the 1920's. Attracted by the lofty ideals of Narayana Guru, the great social reformer of Kerala who gave the message, "One caste, one religion, one god for man", Anantha Shenoy, the young revolutionary soon became his disciple and assumed the name Ananda Thirtha. Instead of confining to monasteries wasting time in meaningless rituals, he chose to continue his cherished work of uplifting the Untouchables and fight Apartheid practised by Hindus on their own "co-religionists" in the name of god and religion. The Narayana Vidyalaya was founded on Nov. 21, 1931 to serve as the headquarters of the swami's activities and as a free hostel for poor dalit children. His sphere of activities is Kerala, S. Kanara, (Karnataka) and Madurai (TN). He has been carrying on relentlessly for the past 50 years his lonely crusade against caste system, untouchability and social disabilities perpetrated on dalits. During this long crusade he had to encounter murderous assaults on several occasions by the custodians of god and Hindu religion for taking dalits to temples, teashops and barber shops where entry and service to them were denied. Such grievous assaults occurred at Marikulam near Madurai (TN) and Agalpadu near Kasargod (Kerala) as a result of which he suffered multiple fractures and had to remain in hospital for months. During his early years he used to visit remote villages to find if admission to schools was denied to dalit children. In such schools he used to get his own Vidyalaya students admitted since the local dalit parents were reluctant to send their children fearing reprisal once the swami leaves the village. During his long padayatras—not the modern padayatras of Sankaracharyas—he used to live in dalit huts eating their cooked food. He bathed the unclean dalit children with his own hands and distributed new clothes and sweets to them. He caressed the dalit children, placing them on his lap during such halts. One of his targets in those days was the village temple. During temple festivals he visited the village with a posse of young inmates of his vidyalaya clad in khadi uniforms to prevent the dalits from offering money, grains and fowl to temples where they were denied entry. The superstitious and illiterate dalits some times sent their offerings secretly fearing the wrath of the presiding deity. As a result of his consistent propoganda, this myth was shattered in the course of time. Dalits in these areas now refuse to go to temple as a result of the swami's conscientization drive. Though he started his mission as a Gandhian, very soon the orthodox and obscurantists masquerading as 'Harijan sevaks' deserted him dubbing him as a "communist". But at the same time, he was not accepted by the communists either as they never believed in dalit upliftment. Eventually, Swami Ananda Thirtha had to plough his lonely furrow. Though Ananda Thirtha is fast approaching his 77th birthday, he is even now running from village to village when ever inignities are hurled on dalits in any form. On this occasion of the celebration of golden jubilee of the Narayana Vidyalaya and the 77th birthday of its founder, we dalits wish that his precious life be spared for another quarter of century to complete his mission. How we wish other high castes produce some more Ananda Thirthas. □

WHY RAMA KILLED SAMBUKA ?

(M. Kumeran, Nagpur)

The high castes criticize Periyar EVR for preaching 'abusive atheism'. What is the other type of atheism? Believing Brahmins as gods and not praying direct to gods? They have also prescribed religious hymns for shudras: "The whole universe is under the influence of god. The god is under the influence of mantras. That mantras are under the control of Brahmins and so Brahmin is my god". Very few self-respecting non-Brahmins will accept this second-class atheism. The high castes criticize Periyar and DK for not worshipping Rama and Krishna and also for exposing these gods. I shall cite a portion of *VALMIKI RAMAYANA* and a stanza from the Gita. The readers may decide how and why the DK people discarded these gods: A Brahmin's child died. He represented to Rama that the child of a Brahmin cannot die so young if a proper govt. has been functioning. Rama inquired with his 9 Brahmin priests who explained that a shudra is doing tapas (penance) and that is the reason for the early death of the Brahmin child. Rama moves to the spot of penance. Now find below an authentic translation (Griffith p. 1915 chapter 76, stanza 1, 2, 3 & 4 of *Valmiki Ramayana*): "Hearing the word of Rama

of unwearied actions, the ascetic with his face downward said: O! Highly illustrious Rama, I am born in the race of Shudras, and with a view to reach the region of the celestials, I am going through these austere penance. O! Kakuthsta, I shall never utter a falsehood, since I am aspiring for the salvation in Gods. I am a Shudra and my name is Sambuka. The Shudra ascetic having said this, Rama took out of the scabbard a beautiful sharp sword and chopped off his head therewith". What are the contents and essence of stanza 32, chapter 9 of the Bhagwad Gita: "For those who take refuge in ME, O! Partha, though they be sin-borns like women, Vaisyas or Shudras, even they attain the Supreme Goal". Should all womenfolk, Vaisyas or Shudras, believe that they are born as such, because of the sins committed in the previous birth? Vedavyas did not include Kshatriyas in the sin-borns list, perhaps because of his fear of the sword of Kshatriya kings. □

ORISSA GOVT. FOOLING DALITS

(Andicharan Mallik, SC/ST Emp. Welfare Assn. Bhubaneswar)

The Orissa Govt. has been continuously flouting the constitutional mandate on reservations to SC/STs and the dalits in the State Govt. service are becoming desperate not knowing what to do. However, job reservation to SC/STs is given lots of publicity in the press but in practice nothing tangible is happening. Harijan Welfare Dept. officers in charge of implementing the reservations are themselves responsible for this serious constitutional lapse. Although the Minister in charge of the Dept. of Harijan Welfare is a ST he is helpless. The Govt. has filled up 29 vacancies of superintending engi-

neers (civil) by promoting executive engineers under the Irrigation and Power Dept. In all these, the claims of the SC/STs have been simply ignored. The Govt. has prescribed 15 & 23 PC reservation for SCs & STs and the orders were published in the Gazette. By this the reserved quota in promotional posts of the SEs (civil) in this dept comes to 10. There is only one ST executive engineer who staked his claim to the promotional quota of one post of SE but his rightful claim was also brushed aside. In the Govt. services anti-SC/ST feeling is running high among caste Hindu officers. The law is interpreted in such a way that SC/STs do not get any reservation. So much so the Orissa dalit officials are living under a state of deep frustration. Insults, discrimination have become a daily feature of our life. □

Letters to Editor :

Dr. S. G. Balani, MD, consulting physician, Marine Drive, Bombay : I was shocked to read your editorial, "Brahminising the Harijans", (DV Nov. 15-30) in which you have stooped so low as to depend upon absolute lies about Hinduism. If you build your case on lies, you are bound to fail. Already, it is impossible for you to succeed in your mission. Because you are adopting wrong means. It is an eternal law that cause & effect, ends & means, action & reaction are but one and the same thing in different form. Hence if you are relying on lies & wrong statement, it is obvious that results will be wrong, unstable & worthless. You say Hindus pray for themselves only and not for the world at large. May I ask you, what do the following statements from the Vedas mean? "May peace be unto all, May prosperity be unto all, May happiness be unto whole world, May all be happy, May all be free from disease, May none be subject to misery". Many more examples may be quoted. Can you quote one Christian or Islamic prayer similar in context? There is no doubt that lot of dirt has grown in Hinduism such as untouchability. We should try to remove and cleanse Hinduism of this cancerous growth. Any way that is your method, you are entitled to. I feel very sure of the total failure of your mission, if you continue to take the help of untruths, wrong statements, i.e. if means are wrong. Please take the above in right spirit.

K. V. Chalapati Rau, Tirupati : Congratulations for your editorial of Nov. 15-30. We students of the Venkateshwara University had recently conducted a survey by interviewing 500 pilgrims coming out after praying at the Tirupati temple. The question put to every devotee was : "What did you pray to the god?" The reply we received from all the 500 devotees fully supported your argument that Hindus do not pray

for the welfare of the society but only for their individual prosperity.

S. Sudbeer, Amalapuram, AP : Your editorial, "Brahminising the Harijans", is read with great interest here. You have rightly pointed out that brahminising dalits is a dangerous trend. They seek fresh blood from low castes. Trying to imitate high castes will not liberate them. The only way out is to quit Hinduism & thereby gain humanhood.

Fr. P. A. Augustine, Khagul, Bihar : I warmly greet the DV and wish it all success in its efforts to serve the cause of those deprived of human rights.

V. S. Mohammed Hussain, Madras : I am honestly much impressed by the noble ideas propogated by DV. Go ahead against all challenges with your exemplary courage.

P. Pokkan, Mangalore : I fully agree with the views of DV which has helped the dalits by being the only media to fight for the human rights.

Asghar Ali Engineer, Bombay : I appreciate your efforts and like the DV contents very much. We reproduced one DV editorial on the Jamshedpur riots in our fortnightly.

Syed Iqbal Ali, Pullman, USA : I send you sincere goodwishes for the noble cause for which you are standing.

Jaipal Singh Kashyap, Member, Lok Sabha, New Delhi, Congratulation to DV. In Parliament we will continue the fight for implementing the Mandal Commission report. We expect your support.

V. R. Hegde, Mangalore : As you are taking up the cause of the poor, you certainly deserve every encouragement. Please accept my small donation.

Dr. S. Ahmed, Hubli : The service DV is rendering to all sections of the society mainly in exposing the machinations of the cult of brahminsism is very great. I eagerly await every issue of DV and many dalit friends of mine profit from it.

T. K. Naryanan, Trivandrum : I am very proud of DV valiantly fighting for the liberation of dalits numbering more than the population of Europe. Slavery and serfdom have almost disappeared from the face of the earth except in India where a school of philosophy legalises all that is rotten. Caste came into existence with the first written historical document that India has produced about 4,000 years ago, namely the Rig Veda. The first mention of caste is made in the 110th hymns of the Veda which is the first written scripture of Hindus. Caste means inequality. No religious scripture in the world has accepted inequality and untouchability as a religious observance among its followers as the Hindu scriptures. We can therefore categorically say that India is the original home of inequality. If the dalits want to be free, they must unite and fight along with other toiling masses who are also equally oppressed by the Hindus.

Walter Fernandes, Jose Kannaikal (Indian Social Institute) & **T. K. John, S. Arockiaswamy, John Kerketta** & others (Vidya Jyoti), **New Delhi :** Deoli massacre of dalits is not an isolated case but just one more in the selective murder of the dalits who have been kept in bondage by the dominant section. Whenever they show signs of awakening, they are ruthlessly suppressed. Those of us who stand for human rights and democratic justice feel compelled to raise our voice in favour of those suppressed in the name of peace. Whenever they try to break free, they are accused of being Naxalites or falling prey to material inducements. We call upon such religious & political leaders making such accusations to change the system that perpetuates exploitation of the dalits.

S. A. Veerapandian, Tanjore, TN : We must work on a war-footing to bring SC/ST & OBC unity as a preparation to fight a violent situation which will be forced upon us by the ruling class. A

detailed study and discussion should take place in different parts of India through DV.

Louise, St Xavier's, Patna : DV is useful for me in understanding different forces at work in society. It urges me and my friends to plan out our strategy to build the dalit movement in Bihar.

Prof. Narendra Gaikwad, Nanded, Maharashtra : I am very much inspired by the thoughts sponsored by DV. This will definitely provoke the elites to share the mission and help the persecuted.

Shivasharanappa Jawli, Aland, Karnataka : In Hyderabad Karnataka, I am branded as anti-Brahmin. In P & T, telephones everywhere our friends are planted to watch our activities. Sometimes I don't get DV due to this reason. These people are afraid of new thoughts than any other thing. They have been capitalising on mass ignorance but DV is removing this. That is why they are angry with DV. This system has digested Buddha, Mahavir, Phule, Ambedkar, Periyar etc. But lately due to the spread of progressive thoughts they are more worried than before. Still they have the upper hand as they hold the power in their hands.

K. Kanthaswamy, Colombo Sri Lanka : The English & Sinhala daily papers in Sri Lanka do not publish the correct facts relating to the Tamil problem. Therefore, we have decided to publish an English weekly, *Saturday Review*, from Jan-30. We seek your help to popularise our venture. Those interested may contact us at 115, Rosemead Place, Colombo-7.

M. Shivarajan, Ambedkar Institute, Bangalore : We know the dedication of DV to the downtrodden millions & other persecuted minorities. With your talent and calibre, DV shall be the organ for the whole suppressed humanity. □

I.A.S. OFFICERS' ANTI - CONSTITUTIONAL ACT

(Eugene R. Titus, Bangalore)

Recently the Prime Minister conferred with 48 top-ranking secretaries to the Union Govt. Three sensitive but vital questions were raised of which one deserves attention. Referring to the issue of reservations in public services, some IAS officers said (as reported by Inder Malhotra of the Times of India) that while reservations at the point of entry were unexceptionable and must continue, the extension of the principle to promotions was creating difficulties and lowering standard, especially in departments such as the Railways which were answerable for the safety of the passengers. Though the PM succeeded in hedging the question, it is essential that we ponder over the remarks of the highest officials running the Govt. of India. While we appreciate their concern shown for the public and their welfare, the very genuineness of this concern is questionable. Those who were entrusted with the task of implementing the SC/ST reservation policy have now expressed doubts about the very principle of reservations which is provided in the Constitution itself. And Justice Krishna Iyer's judgment in the Supreme Court has upheld reservations in promotions also. Reservations are meant to lift the down-trodden, he ruled. But the IAS officers' opposition means that the upper class-caste prejudices have made them question the Constitution. That means their stand is unconstitutional. Can the creatures of the Constitution question the capabilities of their own creation? Does it not amount to an anti-national act? This step-motherly attitude towards the dalit community must be stopped

Islam & the Muslim Way of Life,

BY 'ANVAR'

Published by the Hazarath Yaqeen Shah
Wali Durgah, Palace Road,
Bangalore-560 001,
Pages 12, Rs. 0-50.

SEPARATE PLANNING BOARD FOR DALITS

Nagpur: Delivering a lecture on Ambedkar and Indian political events and social justice, here at Deeksha Bhoomi, V. R. Krishna Iyer, retired judge of the Supreme Court said: "There is an imperative need for a separate Planning Commission for backward classes with the widest powers of implementation. Unless this is done, the dalit proletariat will remain as they are. India is free but not the millions of Indians. This is because the Parliament, executive and judiciary have utterly failed to bring in social justice as envisaged by Dr. Ambedkar in the Constitution." Stressing the need for a separate planning board for dalits, he said that while in the first half of the century India struggled for political freedom, the second half should have been devoted to the attainment of economic and social equality. Provisions to that effect were made in the Constitution. Unfortunately the spirit of the provisions was not implemented. Now that the old generation is out, it is left to the younger generation to come forward and fight for the liberation of the dalit proletariat. Freedom is three dimensional. There cannot be political freedom or equality, without social and economic equality. The oppressed classes can expect no sympathy from the politicians, executives and judges, who belong to the upper class. (HITAVADA)

AMBEDKAR CALENDER FOR 1982

produced by Karnataka Dalit Action
Committee, released by

B. Basavalingappa

on Ambedkar death anniversary

Dec. 6-1981.

price Rs. 5 each. Only bulk orders
are accepted. 25% commission. No. VPP.
Write to Dalit Voice Office.

R.S.S. PREPARES FOR COMMUNAL RIOTS

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore : Miraj and Kolhapur in Maharashtra are getting ready for a Hindu-Muslim communal clash if the RSS drum-beatings are any indication. For the past few months it is whipping up anti-Muslim hatred in these places. And lately, Bijapur in Karnataka is also getting ripe for such an explosion. Puttur, 50 km. away from Mangalore, noted for its communal peace is being rocked by communal violence since Nov. 23 when several Muslim shops and mosques were attacked during broad day light. The communal unrest in all these places is directly the result of the recent mass conversion of Untouchables to Islam in TN. But RSS has used this as a pretext to attack Muslim life and property. The twin object behind the move : keeping Untouchables under permanent Hindu slavery and not giving peace to Muslims. Following the Rahatmat Nagar mass conversion of Untouchables to Islam, the RSS has launched a countrywide crusade against Muslims and Christians culminating in the massive Virat Hindu Sammelan in Delhi. Hindu unity conferences are being held in every town and city. This sudden love for "Hindus" is not to organise and unite Hindus, as the RSS says, but to turn the Hindu lumpen proletariat against Muslims and Christians. The RSS and its jackeys like Karan Singh who continue to shed gallons of tears over Rahamat Nagar conversion of Untouchables, never bothered to issue even a statement when in Deoli 42 dalits were shot dead by the Hindus themselves. In Rahamat Nagar it was not a case of Muslims killing Untouchables. The Untouchables said they sought refuge in Islam to escape from Hindu tyranny. Conversion, therefore, has actually helped them but the Hindu orthodoxy which wept for months and months had not a drop of tear to shed over the brutal murder of dalits at Deoli. What double standards ! On the other hand the RSS and its drummer boys are busy engineering communal trouble in different parts of India. But with all this propoganda against conversions, including the threat to ban conversion, the dalits are

continuing to get out of Hinduism. In Delhi itself there was a big conversion ceremony right in the Jama Masjid, presided over by the Shahi Imam and blessed by Jagjivan Ram. Meanwhile, the *Organiser* (Nov. 22) has given clear indication about the communal trouble brewing in Miraj and Kolhapur. "The increasing influx into certain areas of south and west Maharashtra of Arab nationals with their petrodollars and their nefarious ways has brought a new awakening to the Hindus. One such centre is Miraj in Sangli district. Trouble started two and a half years ago when a large number of rich Arabs came to Miraj on the pretext of seeking medical treatment. Miraj has become an aggressive Islamic centre. Many new hotels have come up to cater to the special requirements of the visitors from Arab lands—and they are flourishing. Another celebration was that of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's birth anniversary. The procession was led by Harijans." At Bijapur the "national press" is being used by the same section to whip up anti-Muslim feeling. Another important feature is the RSS bid to befriend the dalits by observing Ambedkar birth and death anniversaries. At Miraj the RSS-sponsored Hindu Ekta meeting observed Ambedkar birth anniversary in which dalits participated. RSS has started worshiping Ambedkar in a big way. They are repeating what they did to Gandhi. When Gandhi was alive they made his life miserable and finally shot him dead. After killing him they took over Gandhism and today almost every Gandhian institution is monopolised by this section. "Gandhian socialism" is made the political philosophy of the BJP.

(cont. on page 11)

BOOKS FOR REVIEW

R.S. Gavai, *Caste War Over Reservations*, published by WK Ganar, president, Maharashtra RPI, Untakhana, Nagpur, Rs. 5, pgs. 40. Gujarat agitation was not against reservations but a war against dalits. As long as caste system continues, reservations must stay. OBCs can't remain neutral. They must join with SCs if they want reservations.

Dhananjay Keer : *Mahatma Jotirao Phule*, father of Indian social revolution, Popular Prakashan, 35-C Tardeo Rd., Bombay-34, pgs. 295, Rs. 36. A biography of the first leader of modern India who denounced Brahminism as the curse of India, by the author of the famous book, "Ambedkar, His Life and Mission".

RSS *The Guilty*, Jamshedpur communal Riot Inquiry Findings. A CPI pamphlet, pgs 24, Rs. 0-40, Ajoy Bhavan, Kotla marg, New Delhi-2. A summary of judicial commission report that held RSS responsible for the riot.

K. L. Mahendra, *BMS Is Anti Worker*. CPI publication, pgs. 24, Rs. 0 30, BMS, the trade union wing of the RSS, as the agents of capitalists is deceiving workers.

Ans J. van der Bent : *Christians & Communists*, World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1980, pgs 80. A frank assessment of failure of both Christianity & communism, a guide to all Christians interested in social change

Moin Shakir, *Present Political Crisis in India*, Jagruti publications, Dept of Pol. Sc., Marathwada Varsity, Aurangabad, 431 004.

Reign of Terror in Jaffna, Colombo Study Circle, 344, Galle Rd., Colombo-6, 1981.

Ian James Neary, *Suiheisha, Japan's Levellers*, a thesis submitted to the University of Sussex, 1980 pgs 462. a most through-going research into the heart-rending problem of Buraku, treated as Untouchables in Japan whose economic miracle has kindled among its ruling class a revivalist fascist movement. A research

into the Buraku liberation movement especially the history of the period before World War 2.

Dilip Bose : *Bhagavad Gita & National Movement*, Peoples Publishing House, Rani Jhansi Rd., New Delhi-55, 1981, pgs. 48, Rs 3-50. A severe indictment of the Gita which is used by the ruling class to oppress the low castes and continue the exploitation.

Tal Brooke : *Lord of the Air*, Lion Publishing, London, pgs. 190, a personal account of Sri Satya Sai Baba's homosexual perversions, by one of the closest disciples of India's richest godman. Copies available with BTBS, 16-St. Mark's Rd., Bangalore-1 at the subsidised price of Rs. 10.

Dhananjay Keer : *Dr Baba Saheb Ambedkar chitra maya charitra* (Marathi) Popular Prakashana, 35/c Tardeo Rd., Bombay-34 Rs. 30, photo album.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES FOR DALIT VOICE

Annual : Rs. 10

Single copy : 0-50 Paise

Subscription may be paid through MO. Outstation cheques must include bank commission.

Overseas subscribers must bear airmail charges.

Organisations of dalits & persecuted minorities may seek concessions.

NEWS - STAND SALE

Arrangements are being made for sale of *Voice* in State capitals and other centres.

News-agents may write for particulars of commission, etc

Dalits and representatives of persecuted minorities taking up sale of *Voice* will get higher commission.

Phone : 33854

Dalit Sahitya Akademy,
109/7th cross, P.L. Orchards,
Bangalore-560 003, India

BIHAR TRIBALS DEMAND SEPARATE NATION

(AMBIKANAND SAHAY)

NEW DELHI : Far, far away from Khalistan activists or from north-eastern insurgents, a small but determined section of what is known as the "Kolhan tribals" is trying to carve out an "independent nation" in a remote corner of Bihar near Jamshedpur. These tribals have under the banner of the Kolhan Raksha Samiti, designed their own "national flag" and reportedly sent their representatives to the British Commonwealth Secretariat and the United Nations headquarters to lobby for independence. They have also asked their followers to celebrate "Independence Day" on Sept. 21, 1982. They propose to take their case to the International Court of Justice and set up a university that would be affiliated to Oxford University and not to any Indian university. Although the movement was intensified on March 30 1981, when the leaders of the Kolhan Raksha Samiti held an exclusive meeting of tribals at Chaibasa, we have been able to

piece together this story only now. The March meeting was attended by over 4,000 hard-core tribals. The meeting was addressed among others, by Narayan Janko "founder" of the Samiti and PUIS Turkey, Member of Parliament from West Bengal. Almost all the speakers, according to the State Home Ministry sources, repeatedly hammered the point that freedom prevails where Wilkinson rules exist. Explaining the significance of Captain Wilkinson's rules, they said that the real administration of the "Kolhan State" was in the hands of Mankis and Mundas (village headmen and tribal chieftains) in accordance with the law of the land. (*Statesman*, Dec. 12) □

[RSS Prepares for Communal Riots—Cont. from page 9]

Militant dalits fear that RSS is out to repeat the same with Ambedkar. The sudden RSS love for Ambedkar, they fear, is intended to befriend the dalits and use them as cannon fodder to attack Muslims and Christians. Ambedkarites have warned dalits all over India to beware of this new-found love of the RSS towards Ambedkar. In days to come Ambedkar may slip out of dalit hands. *Organiser* (Dec. 6) has called Yusuf, formerly Tangaraj, as the villain of Meenakshipuram. "To ensure communal harmony and peace rowdy Yusuf must be arrested. If the Govt. and the police do not act immediately worst things may follow", it says. This is a clear warning that the RSS is hell-bent to create a communal clash in Rahatmatnagar. It also comes out with another cock and bull story about

the "fundamental right" to take out religious processions before mosques. By this it means that the Hindus have the right to take out processions before the mosque. To support this it quotes a recent (Nov. 9) Supreme Court judgment on the 130-year-old dispute between Shias and Sunnis of Varanasi. But the *Organiser* also quotes that the SC has put 3 conditions to take out such processions. Firstly, the procession is subjected to the order of the authorities who are responsible for regulating the traffic; secondly, exercise of the right must not violate any order of the magistrate passed under the law; thirdly, there should be no infringement with the right of the public. Minorities will have to assert their rights. On the whole, from the issue of conversion to cinema, anything is good enough for the RSS to attack Muslims. □

SHOULD HINDUS SUFFER FOR PAST SINS ?

(R. S. Gaval, Chairman, Legislative Council, Maharashtra)

It is an erroneous argument that the present Hindu generation has been made to suffer because of the reservations. The reservation facilities are provided for the uplift of the downtrodden without affecting the development of the caste Hindus. The present generation pretends to be innocent that they are not coming in the way of SC/STs in their upliftment. In this connection, may I ask certain questions to the present generation? Has the present generation discarded the caste system? Has it adopted inter-caste marriage? Is it not practising untouchability? Has it ever protested against the atrocities on the downtrodden? The present generation is not above board but a party to the miserable plight of SC/STs. It is following the footsteps of its forefathers in committing atrocities & imposing disabilities-social, educational & economic on the SCs. Although Article 17 of the Constitution abolished the un-touchability in any form, the fact remains that the practice of untouchability still exists. The present generation has not discarded the caste system. Atrocities, viz. molestation and rape of SC women, burning of persons and localities, beating, killing, boycotting the SCs are the common occurrences of the day. In this connection, I would like to draw attention of the present generation towards few instances. 1) In Belchi carnage in Bihar, 30 persons were burnt alive; 2) at Sirasgaon in Maharashtra, 3 women were paraded naked; 3) in a village near Akola, Maharashtra, 2 SCs were blinded by Patels, 4) in Bajim-

pur, Bihar, 200 women were molested and 9 women including a minor girl became victims of gang raping, 5) in Lucknow, U.P., the statue of Sampurnanand was purified with Ganga water by Hindus as it was considered polluted by the touch of Jagajivan Ram who unveiled it, 6) at Sholapur in Maharashtra, a BA, BEd. boy, Uttam Kshirsagar, attempted suicide being unemployed, 7) in Marathwade, 6 persons killed, 1,200 houses of SCs burnt on the renaming issue of university. These instances clearly indicate that the Hindus still practice untouchability. How can the present generation of Hindus escape the guilt? How can they say that they do not fall in line with their forefathers in committing the above cruelties. Thus the argument that the present generation is not responsible for untouchability and hence, they should not suffer for their forefathers sins is absolutely unfounded and untenable.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We regret to note that some people have not remitted their yearly subscription of Rs. 10. Therefore, from this issue we are unable to post the complimentary copies. Subscription may be sent to the address given below.

PUBLISHERS.

EDITOR : V T. Rajshekar
Published by the Dalit Sahitya Akademy,
109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,
Bangalore 560 003, India. Phone : 33854.
Annual subscription Rs 10-
Printed at : SVP / PLO / B-3

To

.....
.....
.....