

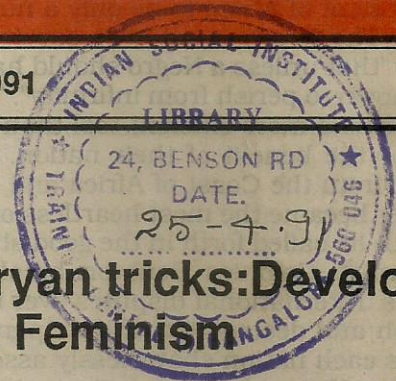
DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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- India's most violent election is coming: Mandals vs. Bandals
- Muslims must throw out the corrupt leadership
- Racism behind anti-Mandal war & violence
- Kerala Newsletter
- What *DV* did in 10 years

Untouchables worse than US Blacks:
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

DOCUMENT

Untouchables worse than Blacks but world has not taken note of this

Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote this book perhaps to educate the Western world in regard to the plight of the helpless and friendless Untouchables. Untouchability is the worst kind of slavery ever devised by man, he argues in this book **SLAVERY & UNTOUCHABILITIES: WHICH IS WORSE?** (1989, C-7/G DDA Flats, New Delhi 110 067, Rs. 30). Providence it seems has inexorably doomed the continent of Africa to be only a nursery of slaves for the free and civilized peoples of Asia and Europe. The Negroes not only survived but prospered so much that it came to be a common opinion "that unless a Negro should happen to be hanged he would never die; for as yet, none had been known to perish from infirmity". The Negro by this own conduct and character gave evidence that he was a more efficient tool than the Indian. The English took a good hand in securing this trade for the benefit of their nation. The first deal took place in 1583 when 24 Negroes were brought from the Coast of Africa and quietly sold in the English market. The most intrepid, and who later became the most heartless of man-stealers known to history, was John Hawkins. Under Elizabeth he sailed forth in the good ship, The Jesus, to get Negroes from Africa whom he sold into the Spanish Colonies Bent on breaking the monopoly of Sapin, Sir Francis Drake followed Hawkins. International disputes over the pirating of these adventures arose which culminated in the clash and destruction of the Spanish Armada. It is interesting to bear in mind that in these disputes each nation shamelessly asserted that these acts of piracy committed by their subjects in stealing Negro slaves were "no private but public actions" supported by the respective states. Negro formed a dominant element in the population of the American Colonies so far as numbers were considered. In a real sense America including its islands was settled chiefly from Africa and by Negroes. *Before 1800 the number of Negroes brought in America was more than 20 times that of all Europeans combined....* **Slavery in India:** Slavery was an institution which continued throughout all Indian history down to the year 1843 and, if it had not been abolished by the British Government by law in that year, it might have continued even today. While slavery lasted it applied to both the touchables as well as the untouchables.... The untouchables by reason of their poverty became subject to slavery oftener than did the touchables. So that up to 1843 the untouchables in India had to undergo the misfortune of being held in double bondage - the bondage of slavery and the bondage of untouchability.... Such was the de facto condition of the Roman slave and the American Negro slave. Is there anything in the condition of the untouchables of India which is comparable with the condition of the Roman Slave and the American slave? How many untouchables are engaged as the slaves in professions such as those of librarians, amanuenses, shorthand writers? How many untouchables are engaged as the slaves in Rome were in such intellectual occupations as those of rhetoricians grammarians, philosophers, tutors, doctors, and artists. How many untouchables are engaged, as the slaves in Rome were, in the state service, in the treasury, in the mint and in other public offices? How many untouchables are engaged in trade, commerce or industry as were the slaves in Rome? Even comparing his position with that of the Negro while he was a slave it cannot be said that the condition of the untouchable has been better. Is there any instance of untouchables having been artisans? Is there any instance of untouchable having maintained a school where Brahmin children have come to sit at his feet in search of learning? Why such a thing is unthinkable? But it has happened in the United States of America. In comparing the de facto condition of the Roman slave and the American Negro I have purposely taken the recent condition of the untouchables as the basis of a comparison for the simple reason that the present times are supposed to be the golden age for the untouchables. But comparing even the condition of the untouchables in modern times they are certainly a sunken community as compared with the condition of slaves in time which historians call barbarous. *There can therefore, be no doubt that untouchables have been worse off than slaves....* **Difference between US & India:** The explanation of this paradox is quite simple. It will be easily understood if one bears in mind the relation between law and public opinion. Law and public opinion are two forces which govern the conduct of men.... *The personality which the law withheld from the slave*

(Contd. on page...10)

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
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Beware of the three latest Aryan stunts to enslave us: Development, Ecology, Feminism

The less than 15% alien Aryan races ruling India through deceit and deception have survived all attempts at making them realise that they are wrong in sucking somebody else's blood and making a living out of that. Like all foreigners who don't love the land they live, they plunder and pillage to the best of their advantage. Aryans too have been living on the sweat, blood, toil and tears of India's vast indigenous native people, namely the Scheduled Castes, Tribes, Backward Castes and the so-called religious minorities like Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. These indigenous peoples represent over 85% of the country's 850 million population. Right from the days of the Buddha, several efforts were made to put sanitay into the souls of these Aryan races called upper castes, Hindus, Savarna etc. But it is like that cockroach-killer. The dirty cockroach eats the very poison that is put to kill it and grows fatter, stronger and also multiples. So far no poison, no medicine, no killer drug has helped to destroy this dirty, dangerous creature (DV March 16, p.4).

The Aryan races are like that very cockroach — indestructible. Even if some medicine works and a couple of cockroaches fall dead, the dying cockroaches will lay thousands and thousands of eggs just before dying and out of which thousands and thousands of better, bigger and stronger cockroaches emerge.

Babasaheb Ambedkar with his western education and marxist moorings perhaps rightly thought that socialism (marxism) would curb the anti-human Aryan racism and its exploitative mentality. But the Aryan races rightly scented the danger from marxism. And to preserve, perpetuate and promote their tribe, they ate the very medicine of marxism, which they thought would annihilate them, and grew fatter and firmer. As the poet-laureate of Karnataka, Dr. K.V. Puttappa, put it "When Karl Marx came to India these Brahmins put a sacred thread around his chest". ("Marxism to the rescue of brahminism", DV edit). Since anything these brahminical forces touch becomes mud, marxism too became mud and dead. They captured marxism and became "top" Marxist leaders of India — thus destroying the little chance of India having a revolution (*How Marx Failed in Hindu India*, DSA). Marxism fell dead. And the Aryans heaved a sign of relief that they killed the marxist monster and swallowed every bit of its flesh. They thought that they can now quietly continue their blood-sucking game using the new machinery of marxism for a

better, quicker and smoother blood-sucking. In fact, marxism has become the latest weapon to exploit our people.

But that was not to be. Soon, the exploited, persecuted, SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs resisted the Aryan blood-sucking game through war and violence and started asserting their human rights. The anti-Mandal war and violence launched by the upper castes was resisted by the SC/ST/BCs and minorities effectively and the Nazi forces had to divert their attention of the exploited by staging the Toyota Rath Yatra ("*Hindu unity destroys Indian unity*", reprint of DV edit of Jan. 16, 1991 Re. 1)

Democracy suppressed in Punjab: The suppression of the human rights led to widespread unrest and unrest led to violence. The Aryans increased the police force to protect themselves. But the suppressed people were forced to take to militancy, terrorism and any means available. The unconstitutional and anti-constitutional steps taken by the tiny Aryan races were effectively countered and fought back. Since democracy proved a danger to the Aryans, they thought that the only way-out is to destroy democracy. No elections were held in Punjab for many years.

Blaming terrorism, secessionism, the Aryans set up para-military forces which once again ruthlessly suppressed the protesters. Border Security Forces, Central Reserve Police, Indo-Tibetan Border Protection Forces, Black Cats, RAW, Military Police, Assam Rifles, and many other forces have been created to suppress democracy and the struggling masses.

When all these failed, military itself was engaged to launch Blue Star and to crush the Kashmiris. Even the Indian Army was sent to Lanka to suppress the spread of Tamil nationalism into Tamil Nadu.

Three nonviolent weapons: While the "sacred brahmins" were indulging in violently tackling the protesting masses of SC/ST/BCs and other Indian races, the "socialist brahmins" devised ingenious, painless methods to dupe, deceive and divert the attention of the oppressed. *Three important "non-violent" weapons were manufactured to shoot down and finish the rebellious Indian races. These weapons are Development, Ecology and Feminism (DEF) which have now become so fashionable.* The mass-media owned by the Aryans almost devote a page each to these subjects. And they have recruited thousands of

INDIA'S MOST VIOLENT ELECTION IS COMING: MANDALS Vs BANDALS (P.8)

SC/ST/BC and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs to do propaganda work on DEF and sing and dance to the tune set by the Aryan castes. A Union Minister (Maneka Gandhi) was appointed to look after this subject. Aryans have so much power on the media and through that our minds that they can make an ugly ass to look like a Derby race horse. These empty boxes (DEF) have been stuffed with so much explosive stuff that whenever people like us are spotted these bombs (DEF) explode right on our face. DEF are the latest "non-violent" bombs developed to destroy our militancy and divert our attention. But even these deadly weapons can succeed only for some time because our people have learnt the art of diffusing even the deadliest explosives. When M.K. Gandhi himself proved a damp squib what can we expect from DEF?

However, hundreds and thousands of organisations well-funded by foreign agencies, Indian govt. and private capitalists have mushroomed to undertake the "Development work". We have dealt with the development and research work in our editorial of March 16 ("Searching a non-existing black cat in a dark room..."). *In the name of Development, Aryans have developed themselves and at the same time diverted the attention of millions of our people also.*

Favourite seminar subject : "Development" of Dalits, tribals has become the most favourite subject. Every seminar invariably has a subject on development of Dalits and tribals. And tons and tons of printed material have been produced on this. The Govt. of India, the State Govts. packed with these Aryan races have laid special emphasis on Development. So much so, every State govt. is compelled to appoint a senior-most IAS officer designated as "Development Commissioner".

Development has become the much-feared mantra and everyone is mesmerised by this mantra. If you go to a bookstore or a library there you have a separate shelf for books on Development. So much Development has been done. So many millions and billions of rupees have been spent on Development but Dalits and tribals remain where they were. All these Development funds went into the stomach of these upper castes. Development means whose development? It is time that our people stop this nonsense. We are fed up with these mantras and tantras of upper caste development.

Narmada Valley heroes: Environment, nature, ecology have become the yet other latest stunt of the upper castes to fool our people. The Indian races — SC/ST/BCs — the children of the soil, are the people who grow all the trees and nurture the nature. They are the children of nature. They all worship nature: mountains, trees, air, water etc. Aryans who specialise in *yagna* and *yaga* burn the nature and products of nature. Those who worship nature do not destroy them. But it is the Aryans, being foreigners do not love this land and its people and are engaged in

destroying the nature. Narmada Valley Project (NVP) was started by the Brahmins, Banias and Patels of Gujarat. The anti-Narmada project heroes and heroines are the cousins and uncles, brothers of the Amtes, Tamtes, the Patkars and Pataskars. Our people, the tribals, are the victims of the NVP.

We did not start the NVP. Look at the beauty. These Aryans create a problem and then ask our people to solve it. When we were in Delhi, the "Narmada Bachao" heroes and zeroes approached us and requested us to address their Boat Club Rally. We declined saying we do not believe in all these ecology stunts. Are these Patkars, Amtes and Tamtes interested in Dalit problem? When our people call these heroes and zeroes will they come and join us, accept our leadership and take interest in our exploitation? No. Why should we join them, accept their leadership and make them heroes to get away with awards and rewards.

We did not start the NVP. It is the Aryans who started it. Our people are the victims of NVP. The Aryans wanted us to make the Patkars and Amtes heroes at our cost. We shall not join them. Can we join our exploiters? Since our people are simple, innocent, good-hearted lambs some of them joined this Narmada agitation. As a return at least one of these Tamtes or Amtes could have in return joined our human rights struggle. The jatwalas of these Tamtes are our oppressors but these Tamtes were nowhere in the scene when we staged our protests. So how can we trust these Tamtes when they invite us to join the Narmada tamasha?

The Aryans are really a worried lot. Because the exploiters are gradually getting identified. All these people (SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs) have come to know the identity of their blood-suckers. They have come to know who is sucking their blood. *Blood-sucking bed bugs have to be destroyed. The bugs came to know this. So, scenting the danger, these bed bugs have started hiding under the cloak of ecology so that instead of fighting the bugs, the victims of these bugs would accept the leadership of the very bugs and join their Narmada Bachao Andolan and get deceived.* In the NVP agitation, once again it is our people who will be beaten up and jailed. But the Patkars, Amtes, Tamtes, Karanths and Bahugunas will get front-page publicity and get away with awards and rewards. They become "famous" and our people are put in the jail. Our people have started understanding all these humbugs.

Who are building the NVP? : The cousins and the uncles of the Patkars and Tamtes, who are building the NVP, will not call our tribal leaders for talks. They will call only the Patkars and Tamtes. As "representatives" of the victims of NVP, it is these Aryans who go to their Aryan advocates of NVP and put up a mock fight. The "national" toilet papers packed with the cousins of these Tamtes will give them all

publicity. And our people get fooled.

Ecology is a wonderful "socialist brahmin" game to fool our people. We have repeatedly warned our people about these stunts. "Beware of environmentalists, DV edit).

Our ecology heroes and zeroes are mostly Aryans and they have also appointed some barking dogs as well as biting dogs. These dogs are mostly let loose only against people like us. The charge against us is that we are anti-humans and anti-Dalit and that is why we take no interest in ecology which should be the prime concern of the Dalits. (1) Our reply is that we need no advice from these ecology-mongers. Our people are the original inhabitants of India. We love our people and the land of our birth much more than the foreign invaders. We need no lessons on ecology from foreigners. Those who nurture the nature don't destroy the nature. It is the Aryan races who destroyed the entire Western Ghats. The Himalayas. And after destroying it they started the Appiko-Chipko stunts to fool our people. (2) The ecology heroes are mostly Aryans and their agents and they are the destroyers of nature. Those who destroy the nature have no right to advise us. We refuse to accept their leadership as long as they don't take interest in our human rights struggle.

The Aryans, who have cultivated the art of enjoying at the cost of the rest, are always in search of new and newer methods of exploitation. Since all other methods including marxism are exhausted they have taken to ecology knowing full well that our people, the original inhabitants of India, are only children of nature. They know our weakness. And since it is the Aryans who are involved in destroying the nature they know that the children of nature will join them in their fake ecology struggle without understanding that the Aryan love for nature is fake.

Fight destroyers of ecology: We love nature because we are the children of nature. But that doesn't mean we should join their *tamasha* to preserve the nature. Instead of joining them we should rather fight the very destroyers of nature. The upper castes/Aryans are the destroyers of nature and we have to fight the Aryan hegemony. Once the Aryan hegemony ends, nature will get nurture. Not the other way round.

The Aryans also know it. They know that all over India it is our people who are involved in fighting the Aryans and that is why they have manufactured a weapon (ecology) to recruit our people to fight their battle. Indian races refuse to take part in Aryan fake battles.

This is what has just happened in Narmada Valley Project. The Patkars and the Amtes recruited tribals to fight their battle. And the pro-NVP people also recruited tribals to defend NVP. Both used our people as their foot-soldiers. So, ultimately it amounted to tribals fighting tribals as the NVP authorities and their cousins, Patkars and Amtes, were dining and wining together and then slept together quietly, betraying the

tribals.

The Amtes' and Patkars' betrayal became so open and blatant that the tribals became furious after they saw through the heinous crimes of the Narmada heroes and heroines. Tribals came to know the conspiracy and the Tamtes and Amtes were about to be beaten up. The matter came to such a serious stage that the heroes and zeroes had to secretly run away giving false excuses. Narmada Valley tribals will no longer trust these ecologists.

Did these Tamtes and Patkars ever join our struggle for human rights? But they want us to join their struggle to get fame and name for them and then to betray us. Our people have seen through this game. We are not against ecology. We can never be against ecology. The entire ecological problem is created by our oppressors, our enemies. *These enemies, traitors, anti-national fellows create a problem and then come to us and ask us to solve their problem.*

We refuse to fight their battle. We have enough of our own problems. The Aryans are a leisured class. They have the time, energy, money and the media to play any game. Why should we become victims and sink deeper into this Aryan stinking pond?

Once our human rights (reservations) are safe and secure, ecology will be automatically taken care of. *Ecological problem is a byproduct of Aryan colonialism.* What our oppressors tell us, and thereby deceive us, is that "human rights of the SC/ST/BCs is no doubt important but if you people concentrate your time and energy only on your human rights by the time you get it, the nature would be destroyed and when the nature is destroyed, how can you get our human rights?" Wonderful question. This baffling question has fooled many of our people. And quite a number of lambs have been hired by the Aryan wolves to carry their Narmada banners, shout their slogans, take police beatings and then get to jail.

Beware of environmentalists: This way, they are confusing and misleading our people. Many SC/ST/BCs and minorities have joined the "Ecology movement", "Save Tree movement", Appiko, Chipko, Nappiko, Yuppiko and got trapped in this upper caste game of deceit. All such innocent Indian races are hereby warned. To us our human rights movement is the most important. That is our No.1 priority. The Chipko chaps are all our oppressors. There is a method in their madness. *Instead of joining them, instead of accepting their leadership, we will fight the oppressors first.* Fighting our oppressors is as good as Chipko, Uppiko, Yuppiko and all put together. Those are humbugs. We cannot join them. The moment we join them, we are accepting their leadership. The moment we accept their leadership, it means we are accepting our enslavement. Beware of environmentalists. Not one environmentalist has ever joined us in our struggle. They ridicule us saying we are engaged in a casteist, divisive struggle.

They make fun of Babasaheb Ambedkar saying he was a British agent. They make fun of us saying that we have no merit and no brain. They shoot down the Muslims and Sikhs saying that they are anti-nationals. The same Aryans come to us as environmentalists to dupe us. This must be stopped.

Feminism: This is yet another pure and simple upper caste stunt. There is hardly any exploitation and enslavement of women among SC/STs and even BCs. It is the upper castes who practice *Sati*, burn their waves, and have dowry deaths. Our people neither have dowry nor the deaths. Being a patriarchal society, which has assured a prominent place to women, the Aryan races have hardly any male domination. If at all there is any male domination, male oppression among SC/ST/BCs, the contagion has come from the Hindus.

But these Hindus want us to join their battle to fight their disease. We must not join these upper caste stunts meant to fool us. Are these fashionable upper caste women, with plenty of leisure, have time to join with the Dalits? No. When they don't join us, why should we join them?

Bombay Red Light Area: Do they take interest in the Devadasi problem? Why no women's organisation in the country has launched an agitation to dismantle the vast stinking horrifying Red Light area in the heart of Bombay? Why? Is it because all these girls are SC/ST/BCs? Why there is no Brahmin prostitute in Bombay? *Sister Rita of the Good Shepherd Convent, Bangalore, who made a study of the Bombay's notorious Red Light area at the instance of the Joint Women's Programme headed by Jyotsna Chatterjee is understood to have revealed the closely guarded secret that most of the girls, if not all these girls employed in this Red light area, are untouchables, tribals or BCs.*

The upper caste rulers have been spreading the canard that "poverty" is the cause of prostitution. *Sister Rita has exploded this "poverty theory" and discovered that these girls have become prostitutes because they happened to be untouchables and tribals.*

Are not these prostitutes women? If they are women, do they not constitute the prime concern of feminists? Why no feminist leader is taking interest in destroying this Red Light Area? Why it should be left to Christians to take up the cause of these non-Christian prostitutes?

Did these Untouchable and tribal girls become prostitutes out of lust? What made them to take to prostitution? Why no Brahmin girl took to prostitution? Why no feminist movement is interested in making a study? *Why it was left to a Catholic nun from Bangalore to discover this hidden truth? Women journalists are in plenty. Women's organisations are there in hundreds. Not one of them is interested in the Devadasi or Bombay Red light Area. Some of them further oppress these Dalit prostitutes saying they are spreading AIDS (disease).*

Feminists and their jatwalas in the "national" toilet papers have been hiding this supreme truth and writing that these girls become prostitutes out of poverty. Damn this "poverty theory". The upper caste media has been misleading the country on every issue. Poverty as the cause of prostitution is one such blatant lies spread to mislead us so that these girls remain as prostitutes and die before reaching the age of 20.

Shanghai prostitutes: Shanghai had the world's largest prostitute den. After the Chinese Revolution all these women have been sent back to their villages and rehabilitated. This writer during his visit to Shanghai had an occasion to go to the area once inhabited by these prostitutes and verify this truth of the Chinese miracle.

Why the Indian rulers are not demolishing the country's largest paradise of prostitutes in Kamatipura, Foras Road, Falkland Road, Lamington Road etc. This is because these girls are not Aryans and don't belong to their Aryan races. This is the truth. Sister Rita's book is awaiting publication and it is sure to explode this truth right on the face of these feminists.

We know what their angry reactions will then be. They will say that these Christians have no other job but to "divide the Hindu society". They will say that Christians are spreading disaffection. They will say that Christians are spreading untruth so that these prostitutes may embrace Christianity. Such blackhearts parade as feminists. We must be careful about these thugs and pindaris.

These feminists' yet another preoccupation is to trap young SC/ST/BC Muslim women and use them against their own jati women - thereby dividing our ranks. Our women should be educated not to fall into the upper caste trap. Beware of feminists.

Love for Muslim women: These feminist falcons nowhere take interest in our problem. When we invite them to Dalit, tribal, BC or Muslim meetings, they don't come. They are simply not interested in our problems but the feminists become all of a sudden active when a Shah Bano case crops up. All of a sudden crocodile tears roll down their cheeks and their breasts burst with milk of human kindness for Muslim women. But these very same feminists had not a word of sympathy when over 10,000 Muslims were massacred at Nellie by their Nazi brothers, near Gauhati. These feminists had no sympathy when thousands of Sikh women and children were killed when the Hindu Army marched into the Golden Temple under the orders of "independent" India's most famous woman, Indira Gandhi. These feminists had no sympathy when thousands of Sikhs were killed in Delhi following the assassination of Indira Gandhi and thousands of Sikh women were widowed. These feminists take no interest in our human rights struggle. When the anti-Mandal upper caste racists launched their war and violence (caste war) on SC/ST/BCs

where were these feminists, Narmada heroines? Where were they when the wives of senior IAS officers in Delhi marched in protest against Mandal?

Murder of Bombay Nuns: When the two Bombay nuns died and the upper caste press put out false reports saying the cause of their death was sexual, why these Patakar and Medhekar's did not protest and parade before the Bombay newspaper offices? Why these feminists did not burst into newspaper offices and blacken the faces of Hindu reporters who put out false reports? Why were they silent even after the High Court of Bombay found fault with the press for being unkind to the nuns? Are not these nuns women? Just because they happened to be Catholics (Christians) do they cease to be women? Why the Aryan/upper caste women of Bombay did not hit the streets to defend the nuns' honour? This is the duplicity and double-game of these Aryans. They are not interested in the problem of women. These feminists are interested only in dividing the Dalits and fortifying their Aryan empire. These feminists are Nazi agents.

Aryans are patriarchal: Aryan races are mostly patriarchal where male domination and female suppression is the rule. Caste system (*varnashram*) is a Hindu custom. Non-Hindus are not contaminated by caste. The males of the Aryan society maintain a strict control on their women while the men can keep any number of concubines. The Aryan gods, Rama and Krishna, are the standing examples of licentiousness. But all Hindu men want their women to be like a Sati-Savitri. Sita's chastity has to be tested by making her jump into fire. But who is to test Rama? Why these feminists did not stop the Nazi rampage at Ramjanambhoomi? That is why we say these feminists are humbugs. Elaborate moral codes are prescribed by Manu only on the Hindu woman. Not on the Hindu man. So it is the Hindu women who have a complaint against their men. Our women have hardly any complaint because ours is a matriarchal society where there is hardly any male domination. Nor even that strict moral rules. Why should the Hindu men and their women export their problems to our people and force us to join their feminist movement and get contaminated by this disease? It is the Hindu man who considers his woman impure during her monthly period and make her sleep outside. SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs don't observe such untouchability against their women. Our women enjoy greater degree of freedom in their personal, family and social life. Brahminical values impose strict restrictions on Hindu women. No such restrictions exist on our women. The feminist leaders (who are mostly Hindus) think that like all Hindu women our women are also enslaved. And they give some stray examples and, rope in our women and thereby they try to brahminise our women. *They forget we have produced Phoolan Devi.* By brahminising our women, trying to impose the Sita value system on our women, these Hindu women are exporting their deadly disease

into our healthy society.

No doubt the Hindu contagions has been spreading. Dowry deaths are invading our pure society as well. The existing brahminical education system is aimed at brahminising our women as well. But, by and large our women have been free from these evils. If we join their feminist movement, not only we get brahminised quicker but succumb to their diseases much earlier. Beware of feminists.

Brahminism is anti-woman: Our women should work to rebuild our glorious cultural past, discover our roots and thereby the destruction of brahminism, rather than joining the Hindu feminist movements and get brahminised. Are the feminist leaders ready to destroy brahminism?

Are they ready to throw away their 'mangal sutra', that grindstone round their neck, tied by their husbands during the wedlock? Are the feminists ready to throw out gandhism which is nothing but sugar-coated brahminism? Are the feminists ready to expose M.K. Gandhi for sleeping with young girls, naked?

No. There are some feminist leaders who praise Gandhi, brahminism and yet parade themselves as champions of women's liberation. Women's lib is not possible in a male-dominated Hindu society. *Gandhi, brahminism, Manu Smriti are the enemies of women. These are the very feminist leaders who are used by the brahminical forces to oppose us, attack us and character assassinate us.* These feminist leaders (may be some of them innocent) play into the hands of upper caste men and act as their tools to torment us. Such feminists are brahminical agents. They must be educated and rescued from their men.

Feminists can't defend Hindu dharma: Those who defend the Hindu dharma cannot be feminists. They are facists. Hindu revivalists in the garb of women libbers. It is Buddhism which liberated women from brahminism. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Periyar, Mahatma Phule, Narayana Guru were in the forefront of women's liberation. Not Gandhi. Not these Shankaracharyas. Hindu revivalism and feminism are two poles apart. Feminists parading as defenders of dharma must be mercilessly exposed. Unfortunately, it is these feminists who are today pretending to be leaders of human rights movement, getting all awards, rewards and publicity in the "national" toilet papers. Frauds have a field day in India.

In public, they pose as feminists, human rightswalas, protectors of minority interests and even as friends of Dalits. And in private they are secret worshippers of Manu Dharma Shastra. Defending dharma means Manu dharma. During Nazi leader Advani's Toyota Rath Yatra women joined it in big numbers. One woman Nazi MP from Madhya Pradesh, Uma Bharati, and another Nazi woman leader, Sadhvi Ritambhara, played havoc causing death of hundreds of innocent Muslims. What happened to our feminist fighters at

that time? Why our feminists did not stop the mischief of these two women? *The secret is these feminists are as much anti-Muslim as the Nazis.* We know all these humbugs. These humbugs talk of Bharatamata which is none other than a brahminised Bharata.

Muslim identity: These are the very feminists who took the leading role in Shah Bano case demanding a uniform civil code because as agents of Nazis they wanted to divide and destroy the Muslim identity. Feminists became Nazi agents.

During the recent anti-Mandal war and violence that rocked the country in the later part of 1990, we had an opportunity to test these heroes and heroines of all the three areas — Development, Ecology and Feminism. We are sorry to say that all these heroes and zeroes were mostly in the company of anti-Mandal Bandals. And those who were not found

there were keeping silent.

We have not heard of any DEF hero or zero joining us. During the anti-Mandal war and violence these DEF heroes and heroines were in the company of their jatwalas. To them their jati became more important than justice. *Jatiwadis cannot talk of justice. They have no right to talk of justice. Jatiwadis have no right to talk of development, ecology and feminism because all these three also stand for justice.* If the upper caste heroes and heroines have become protagonists of DEF, their sole purpose is to deceive us, divide us and destroy us. Beware of Development, Ecology, Feminism heroes and heroines. They must be ruthlessly exposed wherever you find them because they are our oppressors - wolf in sheep's clothings.

REFERENDUM ON RESERVATIONS

India's most violent election is coming: Mandals vs Bandals

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: A preliminary survey has revealed that the masses of Indians are with VP Singh in the coming Parliament elections and the classes with other parties. ("Elections: The choice before the Mandals", DV April 1-p.3). But taking advantage of his mass popularity some Aryan forces have jumped into the VP bandwagon and are trying to sabotage his movement both before and after the elections. The biggest bone in his throat is the "sacred thread marxists". Being in the company of VP (National Front) they will have a field day in Kerala and Bengal. But the problem facing the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims in these two States is that these "marxists" being Aryan races are anti-Mandal and pro-Nazi. In Kerala, they swept the recent district council elections riding the VP wave and ditched the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims. The Kerala "Marxist Party", a pure upper caste outfit, is fully under the thumb of that notorious "Modern Shankara". And intoxicated by the recent victory, his first job was to ditch the pro-Mandal masses of Kerala and strengthen the upper caste rule. SC/ST/BCs and Muslims formed a "Reservation Front" (Samavarna Samudaya Munnani, SSM) comprising the Backward Caste Ezhavas, Dalits and Muslims. But the "Modern Shankara" has now said his party will have no truck with SSM or with the Muslim League. That means he is going to put up mainly upper caste candidate and forcing the masses to vote, riding the VP wave. If this "Modern Shankara" trick succeeds that means once again our people are getting fooled in Kerala. The problem with the Ezhavas and Muslim League of Kerala is that all these years they were in the company of the Congress, India's original brahminical party. Suddenly when they wanted to shift to VP camp they are ditched by another brahminical party of "Modern Shankara."

Tragedy: In Karnataka also, the people are facing a similar dilemma. Here good people are in a bad party and bad people are in a good party. Bangarappa, Basavalingappa and Aziz Sait are powerful mass leaders. But they are in the Congress that is against Mandal. But the notorious R.K. Hegde is leading the Janata Dal in Karnataka. The trend is that the masses of people are going to vote for the Janta Dal and so also the upper caste because the latter hate Bangarappa and Basavalingappa. That means Hegde will again come back riding VP's shoulders. What a tragedy! In AP, the Reddys are in the Congress, and the Khammas in the Telugu Desam may ride the VP wave. But N.T. Rama Rao has already said that he is against Mandal. In Tamil Nadu, the cutthroat Karunanidhi has ditched the State's only powerful Backward Caste party, PMK, led by Dr. Ramdoss forcing him to fight as a Third Front. That means the votes will get divided and the Bangalore *papathi*, Jayalalitha, will have the edge. Here again the upper castes wins.

Bengal scene: In West Bengal, the Brahmin-Baidya-Kayastha rule under Jyoti Basu will continue taking advantage of the VP wave. To fight one Kayasth, the Congress has selected another Kayasth (S.S.Ray) but the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims of Bengal are fed up with both "Marxists" and Congress. They want VP but he has no party in Bengal. Here also the upper castes win. In the Hindi heartland, a social divide is sharper and clearer. Here the VP wave is in full swing. Mandals on one side. And Bandals on the other. *To check the Mandal movement, the upper castes have already started engineering their war and violence. That is why this will be India's most violent elections. Doesn't matter.* Unless we learn the art of dying we can't learn the art of living with dignity. Bahujan Samaj Party's stand has created confusion. VP's party is still contaminated with lot of dirt. A top Nazi, Arun Nehru, and a Nazi agent, Arif Mohammed, are still lurking in his party. So also Biju Patnaik. VP's is a one-man army. The masses are going to vote for him, not his party. *For the first time in the history of India's elections, the people have an issue to discuss and vote; namely reservations which are our human rights. Mandals vs the Bandals.* Our people will have to exercise the greatest caution and see that the Bandals are blunted if not bludgeoned braving India's most violent election.

"Marxists", Nazis, Naxalites gang up against natives.

(V. Prabhakaran, Calicut)

In Kerala, the Congress and BJP have started working together in many parts. As usual, "Marxist" - RSS clashes took away the lives of few Indian races in Palakad district. Savarnas are never touched. As the DV editor said in 1988, CPM priest EMS is proving himself to be the genuine 'Modern Shankara'. When the "Reservation Protection Front" was formed under the leadership of SNDP, he said that is a real danger. When the statement of V.P. Singh appeared recommending 60% party posts to Backwards and minorities, EMS said it is unscientific and that reservation is only meant for government jobs. The Shastra Sahitya Parishat, an upper caste CPM organ, which had published a Nazi literature of EMS — *Bharatham vedangalude nadu* (India — the land of Vedas), has concentrated more on the brahminical brainwashing of children. In one of their publications for children "Why? Why? Why?" (page 171, Parishad Bhavan, Trissur-680 002, Aug. 1988, Rs. 65) it says that the reason for the "higher status" of Brahmins is caste hierarchy in mainly due to the "expertise of Brahmin in agriculture and their wisdom in weather forecasting."

Recently in Malabar, where the whole people agitated against the location of an atomic plant there, this organisation of science and literature supported the Iyengar Atomic Chief.

The Nair Service Society Chief, P. K. Narayana Panickar, in a statement said that the stand of EMS on Mandal is exactly the views of NSS. The only difference is the language and the tone.

Naxalites criticise Babasaheb: K. Venu, Naxalite (Nair) leader, in an interview to *Kerala Sabdam* weekly (March 17) made the following statement about Babasaheb: "We cannot proceed to socialist revolution with Dr. Ambedkar's approach in everything. Because Dr. Ambedkar was not such a socialist. We should not assess him as a democrat with basic revolutionary nature. We should not think of making it part of Marxist-Leninist thought".

"Marxist" corruption in Bengal

Calcutta: "Nandan and Chandan are the only two achievements of the Left Front government," Jatin Chakraborty, Independent MLA, said. He was referring to the construction of the theatre complex and the rise of the chief minister, Jyoti Basu's wealthy industrialist son. Speaking during the debate on the vote-on-account, Chakraborty, a former Left Front minister, accused the government of defalcating funds, nepotism, lying to the 45 lakh unemployed in the state

and printing duplicate ballot papers in order to rig the coming Lok Sabha and Assembly elections. While the government was not doing anything to revive the 30,000 sick industrial units in the state, it bailed out Indian Paper Pulp, because the managing director was Jayanta Ray, brother-in-law of the chief minister. (*Telegraph* March 28).

VP may be killed by Aryans

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

Our support to VP does not mean that we mortgaged our brains and souls to VP. VP is the urgent need of the hour. As long as VP remains faithful to Ambedkarism (not merely bowing to the idol of Babasaheb) we support him. Now we support VP to crush the Aryan Nazis peacefully in the polls. VP is facing the threat of being killed. The govt. is spending crores of rupees to save his life from the Aryan Nazis and racists. His residence in Delhi No.1 Teen Murti Marg, New Delhi-1, is heavily fortified/armed camp. Nazis are out to liquidate him for upholding the just demands of Indian races (SC.ST.BC, Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians). However, we must keep our pressure on VP by presenting our demands and by making him to commit for them.

SC-BC clash engineered in Gujarat village

Gandhinagar: The Scheduled Caste bustee of village Kalmodar of Bhavnagar district in Gujarat is undergoing a social and economic boycott, besides constant harassment from the Ahirs and Kathis for the past 11 months. The latter believe the assertion of two occultists that the untimely death of a Kathi man last April was due to the "witchcraft" practised by the *Harijans*. The police have also aggravated the plight of the *Harijans* there. They failed to prevent an attack on the bustee despite a complaint, recently, forcing the community members to leave the village en masse for the sake of safety. In its report on the situation to the Gujarat Assembly, the Committee for the Welfare of the Scheduled Castes says the Dalits had to stage a dharna at the Office of the Sub-divisional Magistrate demanding protection. (*Hindu*, March 16).

Aryan rule in Indian Airlines

New Delhi: The committee on the welfare of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) on March 12 pulled up the management of the Indian Airlines for leaving a shortfall in the recruitment of SCs/STs. In its sixth report on the ministry of civil aviation, tabled in Parliament, the committee said the shortfall was more noticeable in technical categories such as pilots, engineers, senior navigation instructors and other technical and computer officers. There was a backlog of 60 vacancies in the pilots' cadre and the management was not able to find suitable SC/ST candidates for these posts. The management was able to recruit only ten SC/ST pilots during the last three years, including some pilots from Indira Gandhi Academy. (*Times of India*, March 13).

Muslim masses in India must throw out corrupt leadership

(Our Correspondent)

Bangalore: The world witnessed the greatest political, military and diplomatic drama of history for 42 days in and around Iraq during January and February 1991. This drama was telecast live for all the rich peoples of the world at a very cheap rate when explosives costing billions and billions of dollars were dropped on Iraq resulting in further loss of billions and billions worth military arsenal and oil refineries etc. Comparatively the loss of life was very little. At the end of hostilities, the US-led western white imperialists claimed victory but their faces betrayed signs of defeat and despair. The western propaganda machinery worked overtime to convince the world that Saddam was "defeated" but the people in Baghdad celebrated their victory so joyously and continuously for days together that Saddam had to warn them to stop under threats of punitive action.

Ever heard of such a thing? The "defeated" dancing? ("Welcome War" : DV edit March 1, 1991)

We are with the people of Iraq in the victory celebrations. Because Saddam has actually won the war by quickly withdrawing his troops from Kuwait and achieving his war objectives of awakening the Arab masses against puppet shaikhs and kings, destroying Israel's nuclear reactor, and humbling it to accept its weakness. Saddam saved himself, his revolutionary council and his scientists and above all destroyed the post war objective of the US to establish a New World Order (or disorder)? meaning the white racist-zionist imperialism which is the real motive behind the Gulf War.

Saddam's objectives: From a 15-year-old high school boy to an

octagenarian war veteran-General, anywhere in the world, everybody knows that the world's mightiest super power, US, cannot be defeated in a war. Then how did a Third World (poor) country like Iraq decided

to face the US with 27 more allies and yet declare that he would fight the "Mother of all Wars" and win it? Pessimists all over the world called him megalomaniac or mad, but keen observers were waiting to see the awakening of the Third World. The series of events right from Aug. 2 1990, when Kuwait was overtaken by Iraq, till a few days after the cessation of hostilities show that Saddam is the greatest general and statesman of the century both rolled into one. Of course, the credit goes to his cabinet called Revolutionary Command Council which planned the operation with such mathematical accuracy that the exactly targetted object was achieved. The following facts would prove our observations:

1. Occupation of Kuwait was a calculated risk. If nothing serious happened, control of oil, its marketing and economy would pass on to Iraq, in which case, the western economy could always be kept under Arab mercy. The west would definitely not tolerate it and do everything at its command to turn the clock back. In such a case, plans should be made to throw up Iraq as a sixth power.

2. Keeping the latter contingency in view, Iraq planned to meet the challenge. Hostages were deliberately put into military decoy factories, shown the routes and paths and then released to go back to their countries and emphatically declare that they have seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears to misdirect the enemies if war really comes.

3. Latest anti-aircraft guns were installed to defend Baghdad and decoy guns tanks, trucks and even rubber troops and trees were kept to fool the US pilots.

4. Population from Baghdad and smaller cities,

already destroyed in Iran-Iraq war was evacuated, dispersed to villages so that bombing for weeks and days would virtually destroy nothing new.

DV proves right: Global gangup of white racists-zionists

(G.H.Jansen, Nicosia) The mask has finally dropped from America's real intentions in the Gulf with the announcement that an advanced base of the US. army is to be established in Bahrain. From even before the start of "Desert Storm" doubts were cast on the US. assertion that its sole aim was the liberation of Kuwait. Later, it openly acknowledged that their objectives included the overthrow of President Saddam Hussein and also the crippling of Iraq. But beyond this was the larger suspicion that the US. wanted to seize the opportunity to install a permanent military presence in the area. This has now happened with the announcement that a forward headquarters of the U.S. Army Central Command, its rear headquarters being at Tampa, Florida, will be positioned in the area, almost certainly in Bahrain. It will consist of "a couple of hundred staff officers" who, working on a permanent basis, would provide the skeletal structure of any U.S. expeditionary force, like "Desert Shield". *Times of India*, March 27).

(Contd. from page 2)

was bestowed upon him by society. There lies a profound difference between slavery and untouchability. In the case of the untouchable just the opposite has happened. The personality which the law bestowed upon the untouchables is withheld by society....

A slave had a personality which counted notwithstanding the command of the law. An untouchable has no personality in spite of the command of the law....

But to enslave a person and to train him is certainly better than a state of barbarity accompanied by freedom....

Personality crushed: The question is why was the slave initiated into the high culture and why did it not fall to the lot of the untouchable to be so initiated? The question is very pertinent and I have raised it because the answer to the question will further reinforce the conclusion that has been reached, namely that *untouchability is worse than slavery and that is because the slave had a personality and the untouchable has not.*

The reason why the master took so much trouble to train the slave and to initiate him in the higher forms of labour and culture was undoubtedly the motive of gain. A skilled slave as an item was more valuable than an unskilled slave. If sold he would fetch better price. If hired out he would bring in more wages.... *The slave was not held to be an untouchable that the master could train him and raise him.* We again come back therefore, to the same conclusion namely that *what has saved the slave is that his personality was recognised by society and what has ruined the untouchables is that Hindu society did not recognise his personality, treated him as unfit for human association and common dealing....*

Untouchability is worse than slavery because it carries no such security as to livelihood as the latter does. No one is responsible for the feeding, housing and clothing of the untouchable. From this point of view *untouchability is not only worse than slavery but is positively cruel as compared to slavery.* In slavery, the master has the obligation to find work for the slave. In a system of free labour workers have to compete with workers for obtaining work. In this scramble for work what chances has the untouchable for a fair deal? To put it shortly in this competition with the scales always weighing against him by reason of his social stigma he is the last to be employed and the first to be fired....

Religious sanction Under Hinduism: The second or rather the third difference between

untouchability and slavery is that slavery was never obligatory. But untouchability is obliged. A person is "permitted" to hold another as his slave. There is no compulsion on him if he does not want to. A Hindu on the other hand is "enjoined" to hold another as untouchable. There is compulsion on the Hindu which he cannot escape whatever his personal wishes in the matter may be.

EPILOGUE BY BHAGWAN DAS

Prophet Mohammed had a slave who collected all his sayings. In Moslem society slaves got better treatment than in any other society. Prophet Mohammed had laid down in the Koran humane treatment to be meted out to the slaves. Many slaves rose to high positions in the field of religion, learning, administration, art of war and other professions. Slave dynasty which ruled over a part of India (1296-1290) was founded by a Turk slave, Qutub-ud-din Aibak in the 13th century. Hasan, a slave born in an untouchable (Mehtar) family of Gujarat rose to be a ruler of Delhi Sultanate under the name Khusro Shah. Derogatory terms like mean, lowly, despised Mehtar (honorific title of sweepers) were used against him by Muslim historians. He assassinated Mubarak Khalji and usurped his throne. He was killed in a battle with Ghiasuddin Tughlak, near Hauz Khas, New Delhi....

Seven kind of slaves: Slavery existed in India just as much as it existed in the neighbouring countries of Asia and Africa. The reasons which gave birth to slavery were identical. The Greek historian Megasthenes did not notice slaves in India because there was nothing to compare with the slavery in Greece or Rome. But the law books and religious books mentioned the existence of slavery and slaves of different kinds. Manu the law-maker speaks of seven kinds of slaves....

Narada, another Brahmin law-maker who followed Manu, has mentioned 15 kinds of slaves. Slave market (krita) is mentioned in the Dharmashastras. Arthashastra mentions five kinds of slaves.

In spite of legal provisions slavery in many forms continued to exist in India. Kerala presented the worst form of slavery....

Hindus have been denying the existence of untouchability and avoiding its mention in international gatherings for, according to them it tarnishes the image of India and also of Hinduism....

Hindu imperialism may be more dangerous than the British or any other imperialism because the latter, at least in theory, believed in equality whilst the former is based on inequality. No other religion had condemned millions of people perpetually to

the life of deprivation and destitution to perform degrading and unpleasant duties with no hope of opportunity for change or freedom....

Special problem of India: The difference between the Blacks in South Africa, victims of apartheid, or the Blacks in America, victims of racial discrimination, and the Untouchables is that colour unites the Blacks whereas caste divides the Untouchables. While remaining within the fold of Hinduism, there is no hope for unity and rebellion against the system. Renunciation of Hinduism and declaration of religious independence for their liberation and advancement are as important as declaration of political independence for a subjugated people.

Untouchability having its origin in Hinduism affects more than 150,000,000 peoples living in different parts of the world and yet it has attracted little attention of the world community or the United Nations. Untouchables deserve sympathy, understanding and effective action to get rid of the stigma, discrimination and hostility against them.

Book Review

Congress party crimes to destroy Sikh identity

New Delhi : The present pain of Punjab and its beleaguered people has been vividly and adequately painted in a book authored by Ram Narayan Kumar, a prominent campaigner for civil rights and social justice, and Georg Sieberer, an Austrian scholar, and published by Chanakya Publications, Delhi.

The authors have analysed the Sikh demand for unambiguous recognition of their cultural identity against the background of early and recent history. They have traced in detail how pledges made to Sikh leaders by Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders were broken without batting an eyelid and how Sikhs were let down at every stage since 1947. Trampling under feet their own pledge of 1929, Congress leaders adopted a constitution of free India which was not acceptable to Sikhs and, as a result, two Akali representatives, Sardar Hukam Singh and Sardar Bhupinder Singh, refused to sign the document, rejecting it totally.

The book brings to the fore the new rulers' behaviour in which they treated, with contempt and unfairness, the religio-cultural and linguo-cultural demands of Sikhs, though these did not impinge on the rights of any other community.

Special mention has been made of the much-maligned Anandpur Sahib Resolution which, in all essence, deals primarily with centre-state relations and all the implications which flow from them. Similar demands for loosening the central grip over states' throat and allowing the latter greater say in the conduct of their

political, economic and cultural affairs had been voiced by other parties. Three assemblies of West Bengal, Kerala and Manipur had passed resolutions to this effect. But nobody branded these thoughts or acts as secessionist and, therefore, anti-national. This stigma was reserved for Anandpur Sahib Resolution alone and the press, as dutiful subserver of the rulers, took up the cry. (*Spokesman* March 18)

JD on top in Bihar

Saharsa: Angered by a resurgence of Yadava belligerence over the last few months, the "forward castes" of Darbhanga, Saharsa and Purnea are displaying a rare determination to teach the Janata Dal a lesson in the coming election. The Brahmins, Bhumihars, Kayasthas and even a section of the Rajputs are today standing solidly behind either the Congress or the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). On the other side, a similar determination to return the Janata Dal can be seen among Yadavas and *Harijans*. As a *Harijan* voter of Mahisi said: "V.P. was removed just as he was trying to ensure justice for us." Similarly, the sizable number of Muslim voters in Purnea and Darbhanga also appear to be all set to cast their lot with V.P. Singh. (*Times of India*, March 25).

Violation of human rights in Kashmir

THE KASHMIR DOSSIER

(A Bulletin on Jammu & Kashmir)

Vol.1 No.2-4 of Feb. 91: Open letter to Left parties, massacre in Srinagar, Pakherpura, firing in Badshah Chowk, Young martyr Basheer Ahmed Sheik, Moulana Masoodi shot dead by militants, parade of naked persons in sub-zero temperature, editorials from J&K Press.

Vol.1 no. 5 of March, 91: Let Arms yield to the Gown, Agreement between Kashmir Govt. and its employees, News from the Valley, Japan unit of Amnesty Int. adopts three Kashmir prisoners, Open letter to PM from Mohd. Yasin Malik, Commander - in-chief of JKLF, Accession documents.

The *Kashmir Dossier* is a humble attempt to collate information from diverse sources, mainly the valley press.

Annual contribution Rs.50, Ten dollars abroad.

Smt. Suhasini Mulay

COMMITTEE FOR INITIATIVE ON KASHMIR

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DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR

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Dalitstan-ek Charcha

P.A. Parmar

Dalsukhbhai A. Parmar

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Letters to Editor

John Trimble, Organiser, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, 410-Lynhurst, Atlanta, Ga 30311, USA: We organised an opposition to US military intervention in Gulf. The Jan. 1 DV edit: "India heading towards fascism: first victims will be Muslims," reminded us of the US atrocities on Muslims in Iraq and Kuwait and the daily fascist oppression by Zionists against Palestinians, Jordan and Lebanon. We must encourage not only Muslims but all justice-loving people to fight Zionism, fascism and imperialism. We are keen to know how you are organising your struggle. DV is playing an important part not only in Dalit struggle but also in the world struggle for justice and humanity.

Jonathan Scott, Upper Marlboro, Maryland, USA: I am an African-American and we are with you hundred per cent in your struggle for freedom and equality. The world doesn't know your story. This story must be told to the world.

(Aryan enslavement of the Untouchables of India, perhaps the single largest indigenous population of the world, is the best kept secret in the world. Every Black American must consider it a duty to lift this veil of secrecy and reveal its ugly features to the world. We are here to supply you any amount of literature — EDITOR)

Yogesh Varhade, Coordinator, Ambedkar Centenary Celebrations Committee, P.O.Box-846, Stn.P.Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2Z2, Canada: Congratulations for your excellent work of spreading the message of Babasaheb Ambedkar. Only Ambedkarism can unite all of us, guide us and lead us to success. I shall continue to support you in this direction. DV helps us a lot in knowing and understanding India. So, we all wait for DV. I am sending you a few copies of *Voice of Vision's* first issue which I edited. Those interested may write to us. The journal carries many articles and features including an item, "Dalits seek UN status," reproduced from DV and a box item of Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Calcutta, producing historical evidence to prove that SC/STs are a national minority. I am in close touch with Black leaders, Dr. Velu Annamalai, DV's American representative, Runoko Rashidi.

Iqbal Yunus Khan, Editor, "New Trend", 43 Orton Park Rd., Scarborough, Ontario, Canada: Your Jihad against the oppressors in India is attracting world attention. You are a fearless warrior fighting on behalf of millions. I have great respect for you. In a magazine called *The Persecuted* I was surprised to read your comment about Moulana Hasan Ali Nadvi (Vol. 10 No.6 Feb. 1 p.14). Referring to this knowledgeable Moulana, you say "who is considered to be India's most famous Muslim saint and also winner of the King Faisal Award." Imam Abu Hanifa lived under the

rule of Umayya and Abbasids. They sought his favours but the learned Imam scrupulously avoided association with corrupt and tyrannical rulers. Mansur, the Abbasid Caliph, once offered him a high sum which he refused. Imam Abu Hanifa could never be purchased or cowed down by the rulers. Ibn Hubaira, the Ummayad Governor of Kyfa, once asked him to occasionally visit. Since the Imam abhorred corrupt rulers, he hit back saying: "Why should I meet you? If you favour me, I would be associating myself with your evil". "The venerated saint of India" goes to the court of a corrupt king (kingship is not permitted under Islam) and accepts the reward. Saints do not accept rewards from any king unless an exception is found in the rules for this Indian saint. Has this Moulana ever criticised and denounced this illegal ruler? The Fat Fahad, the agent of Imperialist USA?

(We have great respect for Moulana Hasan Ali Nadvi. It was he who released the first issue of DV ten years ago. His concern for the Dalits is sincere. To err is human and even saints like the Moulana are humans. We are sure he will regret if he has committed any mistake because there is no doubt that he is an authority on Islam — EDITOR)

Fazlul Haq, London: I admire your honesty, sincerity and fighting spirit. When I first came across the *Dalit Voice*, I realised that you are carrying on a crusade which it is my duty to support. I felt we were in the same wavelength. Humanity is indivisible. When you fight against oppression, you fight for the oppressed everywhere. Your struggle is not unrelated to the struggle of Palestinians, the South African Blacks or any other oppressed humans. Oppressors become united when they find their vested interests under threat. I belong to Bangladesh and here I am a practising barrister and settled here.

N.B. Jaronde, treasurer, Maharashtra Magasvargiya Vidyut Karmachari Sanghatana, Nagpur: In this State the Hindu Nazi parties are doing all-out efforts to misguide the Dalits by projecting Babasaheb Ambedkar and Mahatma Phule as "good Hindus". They are conducting Samajik Samarasta and Samata Parishad bribing some corrupt people among Dalits. The Hindu press is giving full publicity to the Nazi work. On March 20, they arranged a Samata Parishad at Mahad, which is a holy place for Dalits where the Father of India performed the satyagraha on the Chavdar Tank. The Nazis are conducting a Vishwa Buddha Exhibition in different cities to show that Buddha was the 9th avatar of Visnu, the Aryan god, and that Buddha helped Hinduism. These Nazis must be exposed.

Saji K. Joseph, Dalit Panthers of India, Mavelikara, Kerala: On March 9 last, our Kerala state president, Pandalam Rajendran, was attacked by a group of upper castes who call themselves Marxists. On March 3, last year some Hindu Nazi party boys attacked Ambujakshan at Badagara. "Marxists" have become the no.1 oppressors of Dalits thereby proving your prediction. A dozen attacks have been made against

our people in recent months by the "Marxists" who are working in close cooperation with Nazis.

Surendran C. Mullanmadakkal House, Urangattiri, Kerala-673 639: When I saw an ad of your latest book, *Ready Reference to Revolutionaries*, (Rs.5) I wanted to buy it and read it. But had no money. So, I stole some pepper from my poor father and sold it. I am enclosing Rs. 5 worth stamp for the book.

(We like this beg, borrow or steal policy for our work connected with revolution. Where there is a will there is a way. Poverty will never come in the way. When you are so hungry for revolutionary literature you will find somebody who will satisfy you — EDITOR).

Mohan Raj, Hyderabad: Local newspapers have announced that the "First World Brahmin Conference" will be held at Tirupati from June 26 for three days. I think we must manage a resolution at this conference to see that they accept that the Balaji Temple at Tirupati is a Buddhist temple and that the Brahmins should peacefully return it to its rightful owners. Or else, we have to threaten an agitation like the Ramajanmabhoomi at Ayodhya. Dr. K.Jamnadas the author of the book (DV March 16 p.18) which for the first time disclosed this fact, must lead the team at Tirupati.

Ramakrishna, Bangalore: The March 9, Karnataka's first Bhoosa (cattle-feed) Sahitya Conference inaugurated by the country's most powerful Dalit leader, B.Basavalingappa, State Rural Development Minister, and presided over by you was a glorious success. Writers from all parts of India attended it. Your presidential address was terrific. Kannada literature is full of cattlefeed. We must have such a conference every year and we must take it to district centres.

Gusain Lal Berry, Retd. C/O Rama Ki Kutir, Doli-Naula, Almora, UP: I love DV but since I have just retired from service I can't afford to renew my subscription. I say this with deep pain in heart.

Paramjit Singh, Hyderabad: I loved your editorial, "Welcome Gulf War", DV.. Feb. 16. Iraqis are the only people who have learnt the art of dying. Some countries forgetting their Islamic heritage became slaves of American imperialism. White wolves are supplying Bible to third world countries and stealing their wealth. UN and other world organisations and international human rights organisations have all proved useless. Mangolian races being closer to the white skins joined the whites instead of siding with their fellow Asians. Only DV has proved that it will not hesitate to speak out the truth on the Gulf War.

M.B.S.Char, Bangalore: I want authorities on Ambedkarism to answer this two specific questions so that the readers of DV all over India and the world are enlightened. 1. What is the characteristic principle of Ambedkarism? (2) What specific method Ambedkarism advocates to our people to adopt for achieving their total liberation from the Aryan

colonialism and rebuild a new India?

Bharat Rai, Dept. of Biology, Kolasib College, Kolasib, Mizoram, 796 081 : I happened to read your book, *Hinduism, Fascism, Gandhism*, and this made me mad. I want to read all books published by Dalit Sahitya Academy.

Rajesh Kumar, New Delhi: I wish to confirm what you have been often writing that the Aryan races conspired to create a separate Muslim state (Pakistan) so that they could clamp a brahminical imperialism over India free from Muslim competition. Writing about the period immediately after the partition of Bengal (1905), Bhai Paramanand, an Arya Samajist and a prominent Hindu Nazi leader, said: "My idea was that the territory beyond Sindh should be united with Afghanistan and the Northwest Frontier Province into a great Musalman kingdom. The Hindus of the region should come away while at the same time, the Muslims in the rest of India should go and settle in this territory". (p.40-41: *The Story of My Life*, Bhai Paramanand, Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore, 1934). From this we can conclude: 1. The Aryan race plan to drive out Muslims to a separate State (Pakistan) was made well before the Muslims came up with a similar demand. Paramananda conceived of this scheme well before 1910 while the Muslim League, which is being accused even today of creating Pakistan, first demanded a separate state for Muslims only in 1940 — after 30 years. 2. Aryan castes in India, to mobilise the SC/ST/BCs against the minorities, tell them that Muslims were responsible for driving out the Hindus from territories now called Pakistan. But here it is Paramanand who is ordering the Hindus living in those territories to quit and migrate to "Hindu India". How then can we blame Pakistan for driving out Hindus? In fact, the same Hindu Nazis are today planning the very same thing in Kashmir. They sent their agent, Jagmohan, to engineer anti-Muslim hatred and he conspired the Pandit (Brahmin) migration. This is exactly on the lines of the Paramanand blueprint.

G.V.K.Asan, Coimbatore: Your edit on the Gulf war (Feb. 16) is a spontaneous outpouring of the anguished, outraged East against the arrogant, exploiting West.

B.S.Sharfuddin, Muslim Writers Assn., Hidayat Centre, Beebi Alabi Rd., Mangalore - 575 001: *Taranga*, a Kannada weekly, has published an objectionable picture in its issue of Dec. 23, on page 24. One Santosh Kumar Gulvadi is its editor. The picture caption reads that it is a Hindu temple which was demolished and later a mosque was built. When we protested he admitted that the picture was false.

(We are not surprised by the behaviour of the *Taranga* Editor. The media in India is owned and run by Aryan races to protect, propagate and preserve their posts, privileges and properties. They will put forward thousand and one lies. They are doing their duty. They are expected to do their duty. All racists defend their racism through lies. But what media the Muslims have, to spread

truth? They have none. Even when we said that we are prepared to defend the truth on behalf of Muslims the monied people among the Muslim elites are not coming forward to support us — EDITOR).

T.K.Sidhique, Yasir Manzil, Trisur, Kerala-676 107: I came in touch with DV when I was studying at Manipal. I was inspired by your great writings. I used to give my copy of DV to my two Ezhava Backward Caste friends who were saying that they were "Hindus" but after being educated by DV the same people today say they are not Hindus. They have joined our movement of uniting the Indian races (SC/ST/BCs and Muslims). Together, we are spreading the message of DV here. You are right in saying that the current education system is brahminising not only the SC/ST/BCs but also Muslims and other minorities. I am so sorry that the elite Muslims behaved like this during the Gulf war. I feel that when the noble teachings of Islam came to this dark pit of brahminical social setup, even such a revolutionary religion of liberation got blunted. Unfortunately, those upper caste converts to Islam carried their old nasty habits along with their Islamic beliefs.

(You are right. Our representative, V.Prabhakaran, in his Kerala Newsletter, DV March 16 p.16, has exposed such brahminical tendencies among the elite Muslims. However, the Students Islamic Movement of India leaders in Kerala and elsewhere are correctly guiding the masses. Abdullah Moulavi, the former chief of the Kerala Jammata-Islami, would not have made such a remark against Dalits if only he had read the Koran correctly. There are several references in the Koran asking the Muslims to help liberate the *Mustadafeen*, meaning the oppressed, who in India are none other than the Untouchables. The gulf between the elite Muslims and the Muslim masses became very clear during the recent Gulf War. SIMI once held a seminar in Calicut on the topic "Liberation of India through Islam". If the Muslims have leaders like Abdullah Moulvi how can Islam liberate India? The former all-India chief of the Jammata-Islami, Moulana Mohammed Yusuf, who is now ailing at Rampur, UP, had presented us a copy of Koran underlining all the references to the duty of Muslims towards the *Mustadafeen*. Sikhism, another revolutionary religion, launched to liberate the oppressed, got brahminised. Islam will also get brahminised if the existing corrupt leadership is not thrown out. A detailed report on this very subject published in this very issue needs to be translated to Urdu and all other languages so that the Muslim masses are recovered from these brahminised Muslim elites. Indian Muslims are mostly converts from SC/ST/BC Indian races. Muslims, therefore, are also Dalits. We are sufferers they are co-sufferers. We were the first in India to give a call for Dalit-Muslim unity which has now become a concrete reality. Those people opposing this unity of the Indian races are not only our enemies but the very enemy of India — EDITOR).

S.M.Doula, Godavari Khani, AP: The Aryan races are committing aggression on Muslim shrines. Babri Masjid is the latest example of their aggression resulting in the death of thousands of innocent Muslims. To counter this, the Dalits must forcefully reclaim the Tirupati, Puri Jagannath temples which are now proved to be Buddhist temples. History is full of Aryan vandalism against Buddhist and Jain places of worship, libraries and even cold-blooded murder of Buddhist and Jains by Adi Sankara. The all-India Jamaate Islami chief, Moulana Sirajul Hasan Saheb, should be approached.

(Sirajul Hasan Saheb is our esteemed friend and is deeply interested in our work. But some of his colleagues are not interested in our work. Rather they are opposing our work. Dalits and Muslims can jointly work and produce miracles. No non-Muslim people have done so much to the cause of the oppressed Muslims as we have done in DV. But our work is not being appreciated by the upper caste converts to Islam who are today controlling the Muslim leadership. Unless and until this leadership is thrown out Babri Masjid issue cannot be resolved — EDITOR).

Press Secretary, SIMI, Tamil Nadu, Madras: The State unit of the SIMI met here on March 3 and elected the following office-bearers; Bakkar, zonal president, Jawahar Ali, gen.sec., Shahjanathan, jt. sec., The election to the all-India SIMI took place in Bombay on Feb. 11 and Mohd.Mahfooz Falahi was elected as the new all-Indian SIMI chief. Jameel Siddique is the new Gen.sec. Falahi was born in 1962 at Bhopal and later had his religious education at Aazamgarh, UP, MA history from AMU, Aligarh. Earlier he was the zonal chief of AP and Karnataka.

Arshad Kalliat, 6/44-Arappura Rd., Valiyur Kavu, Trivandrum-695013: Congratulations on your brilliant piece on the Gulf War. No paper in India has done such an analysis. The failure of the Russians to arrange a ceasefire in the Gulf and thereby stop the massacre of Iraqis by the white imperialists, may be due to the deliberate half-hearted attempts by the Prestroika brand of racists. Meanwhile, their diplomats were busy establishing ties with the illegitimate racist regime of S.Africa. And they came out with flying colours. Consulates have been already opened in Moscow and Pretoria and they will be upgraded to full-fledged diplomatic missions very soon. This incident once again exposes the real colour of the whites. Also the French, with whom Iraq had long-standing relations, too deserted Iraq and in fact were the first to invade Iraq.

(We were perhaps the first in the world to hint at a global gangup of whites and zionists against Muslims and Blacks DV Nov.16, 90 p.20. Bush plan for a New World Order is exactly this. And the Gulf War was the first step in this direction. That the Russian white rulers joined hands with their white brothers in America is no surprise to us. We also feared that the yellows too being close to the white skin would go with them. And we proved correct. The *Time Magazine*, April 1, in its cover story has fully endorsed what all we have said. The White racists, zionists and the Indian Aryans have appointed the US as their global Cop. And this Cop will take care of the Blacks, Muslims and India's untouchables. Already, the US has announced its decision not to vacate the Gulf. But kings and queens ruling over the oil-rich Gulf countries are more interested in protecting their wealth but not the revolutionary Islam or their oppressed Muslim masses. It is high time that Iran steps in and helps overthrow of all these anti-Islamic Arab rulers — EDITOR)

INDIA FACES SHUDRA REVOLUTION

Violent or Peaceful

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Muslim masses in India must throw out corrupt leadership

(Our Correspondent)

Bangalore: The world witnessed the greatest political, military and diplomatic drama of history for 42 days in and around Iraq during January and February 1991. This drama was telecast live for all the rich peoples of the world at a very cheap rate when explosives costing billions and billions of dollars were dropped on Iraq resulting in further loss of billions and billions worth military arsenal and oil refineries etc. Comparatively the loss of life was very little. At the end of hostilities, the US-led western white imperialists claimed victory but their faces betrayed signs of defeat and despair. The western propaganda machinery worked overtime to convince the world that Saddam was "defeated" but the people in Baghdad celebrated their victory so joyously and continuously for days together that Saddam had to warn them to stop under threats of punitive action.

Ever heard of such a thing? The "defeated" dancing? ("Welcome War" : DV edit March 1, 1991)

We are with the people of Iraq in the victory celebrations. Because Saddam has actually won the war by quickly withdrawing his troops from Kuwait and achieving his war objectives of awakening the Arab masses against puppet shaikhs and kings, destroying Israel's nuclear reactor, and humbling it to accept its weakness. Saddam saved himself, his revolutionary council and his scientists and above all destroyed the post war objective of the US to establish a New World Order (or disorder)? meaning the white racist-zionist imperialism which is the real motive behind the Gulf War.

Saddam's objectives:

From a 15-year-old high school boy to an octagenarian war veteran-General, anywhere in the world, everybody knows that the world's mightiest super power, US, cannot be defeated in a war. Then how did a Third World (poor) country like Iraq decided

to face the US with 27 more allies and yet declare that he would fight the "Mother of all Wars" and win it? Pessimists all over the world called him megalomaniac or mad, but keen observers were waiting to see the awakening of the Third World. The series of events right from Aug. 2 1990, when Kuwait was overtaken by Iraq, till a few days after the cessation of hostilities show that Saddam is the greatest general and statesman of the century both rolled into one. Of course, the credit goes to his cabinet called Revolutionary Command Council which planned the operation with such mathematical accuracy that the exactly targetted object was achieved. The following facts would prove our observations:

1. Occupation of Kuwait was a calculated risk. If nothing serious happened, control of oil, its marketing and economy would pass on to Iraq, in which case, the western economy could always be kept under Arab mercy. The west would definitely not tolerate it

and do everything at its command to turn the clock back. In such a case, plans should be made to throw up Iraq as a sixth power.

2. Keeping the latter contingency in view, Iraq planned to meet the challenge. Hostages were deliberately put into military decoy factories, shown the routes and paths and then released to go back to their countries and emphatically declare that they have seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears to misdirect the enemies if war really comes.

3. Latest anti-aircraft guns were installed to defend Baghdad and decoy guns tanks, trucks and even rubber troops and trees were kept to fool the US pilots.

4. Population from Baghdad and smaller cities,

already destroyed in Iran-Iraq war was evacuated, dispersed to villages so that bombing for weeks and days would virtually destroy nothing new.

DV proves right: Global gangup of white racists-zionists

(G.H.Jansen, Nicosia) The mask has finally dropped from America's real intentions in the Gulf with the announcement that an advanced base of the US army is to be established in Bahrain. From even before the start of "Desert Storm" doubts were cast on the US assertion that its sole aim was the liberation of Kuwait. Later, it openly acknowledged that their objectives included the overthrow of President Saddam Hussein and also the crippling of Iraq. But beyond this was the larger suspicion that the US wanted to seize the opportunity to install a permanent military presence in the area. This has now happened with the announcement that a forward headquarters of the U.S. Army Central Command, its rear headquarters being at Tampa, Florida, will be positioned in the area, almost certainly in Bahrain. It will consist of "a couple of hundred staff officers" who, working on a permanent basis, would provide the skeletal structure of any U.S. expeditionary force, like "Desert Shield". *Times of India*, March 27).

5. The Iraqi planes were despatched to various friendly countries and decoy planes kept in airstrips.
6. Decoy troops were kept in sand fox-hole, in Southern Iraq, with not even a rifle or grenade but only food stocks to last during the period of war. These troops consisted ordinary civilians trained only to come out on orders with hands up before the invading troops to hinder their movements and fool them in capturing them as prisoners of war.
7. New type of mines floating deep inside the sea near Kuwait city were planted along with floating mines, so that during mine-sweeping operations, deep sea mines might hit at the bottom of the ships and frustrate action.
8. Mobile scud launching pads and scuds were decided to be the only attacking weapons and aircraft were never to be used.
9. Foreign press reporters were to be called and sent out whenever needed, according to circumstances.
10. Propaganda was made that the real fight would be on the ground and that would be the decisive factor.
11. The real target of Saddam was Israel. To avoid repetition of two earlier expeditions of Egypt in 1967 and 1973, the Iraqi regime decided to show the red rag of Kuwait to Israel and her father America like the matadors in the Spanish bull fight do, diverted their attention on Kuwait when in fact their target was Israel. This is the grandest strategy of Saddam and party.

CIA humbled: These arrangements were kept secret with such perfectness that the world's most intelligent secret agency, CIA, and the Pentagon experts completely failed to know and got humiliated and humbled before the world.

With these arrangements like a net spread by bird catchers, Saddam challenged Bush and Co., and invited them for the war. And on the dead-end date took by ovation the approval of the Iraqi Parliament and said a stubborn no to the challengers to withdraw from Kuwait before the deadline. The wise generals and

strategists of Pentagon wasted 18,000 tons of bombs (twice the explosive capacity of the Nagasaki bomb) and boasted that Iraqi airpower and military installation were crippled and Saddam would surrender. They were so elated that Bush boasted that not only would his troops capture Baghdad, but also Saddam would be captured alive to stand trial for war crimes.

After three days of non-stop bombing, scuds rained on Israeli cities and in Dehran, Americans and their stooges got flabbergasted. They went mad and started dumping bombs after bombs on already ruined debris like whipping a dead horse and attacked the scud launching pads and declared to have destroyed them. But still the scuds continued to pour in and Saddam and his war machine was intact. This maddened Bush and his generals so much, that they started destroying civilian bunkers in Baghdad and Basra and it is here that Saddam's propaganda machinery kept in readiness started working. The western journalists were called and shown the destruction. This strategy so unnerved Bush that at first he refused to comment and then thought over long and accused Saddam of using military bunker for civilian use and later came with an excuse that Saddam himself destroyed the bunker for propaganda. *Nobody on earth worried the Americans as much as Saddam did.*

While continuously bombing Iraqi land territory, the allies tried to move ships for amphibious assault on Basra and Kuwait city only to be hit by deep-sea mines, when they were engaged in mine-sweeping operations. They had never known of the deep-sea mines, which are the new inventions of Iraqi scientists. They were frustrated and abandoned the programme.

Assault on Khafji: Saddam attacked Khafji town in Saudi Arabia, captured it and held it for two days and retreated in such shabby manner on arrival of allies troops that their generals decided that the Iraq ground strength is only a hoax and the best way to assault was the ground war through this road, which they later did, with all the speed at their command. It was here they met with Saddam's greatest weapon - thousands and thousands of Iraqi decoy troops who surrendered like flies on the spray of insecticide. The allies were overjoyed at this surrender and only on the next day they found that these troops were not in military uniform but in

US steps up war against Blacks

Washington: An incident of brutal police beating of a black motorist in Los Angeles is a reminder that race remains a bitter conflict at home. An amateur cameraman videotaped the beating of Rodney G. King, 25 by officers of the Los Angeles police on March 3. It was ostensibly for a traffic offence — speeding above the limit — but that one-and-a-half minute video clip, shown repeatedly over the past couple of weeks on television nationwide, has left most Americans reeling in disbelief at the sheer intensity to which hatred can ascend in the minds and arms of those who have been empowered by society to maintain law and order. At least three policemen bludgeoned King repeatedly with their truncheons — 56 times according to King's lawyers, who have demanded \$ 56 million in compensation — while a dozen more, some say 18, stood by watching the brutal behaviour of their colleagues. The policemen, in a number of cars converging by radio message exchange, had chased King's car before stopping it and dragging him out for the beating which left him with brain damage. The brutality literally has to be seen to be believed. The only resistance King offered was when he tried to get up on his feet. ■

long olive green winter coats without even a single rifle.

They were not soldiers but civilian volunteers, for whom this surrender was just fun. When they were sent from the "battlefield" to the camps on large trucks, they went happily as though on a picnic party or marriage trip. Not a single rifle or grenade was found with these "surrendering soldiers". Without any resistance whatsoever and firing on decoy plastic tanks, the allies troops destroyed abandoned tanks and went deep into the vast stretch of the Southern Iraqi deserts when "suspension" of hostilities was declared by Bush, followed by a ceasefire ordered by the Security Council. Bush was anxious to get his POWs released, but Saddam was not. His POWs now want to enjoy the excursion for some more time and do not want to go home perhaps they want to return after performing the Haj totally at Saudi cost. The US is releasing these POWs of its own. What a splendid "surrender" in the "Mother of all Battles". *The most wily Americans found a more wily enemy in Saddam.*

US military HQ hit: On the day Saddam declared that he has ordered his troops to withdraw from Kuwait, within minutes he shot three missiles simultaneously with pinpoint accuracy. One hit the American military headquarters at Daharan killing 28 and wounding 100 officers — the other hit the American warship, "Glocester", and the third hit and fully destroyed the Israeli nuclear reactor and avenging the destruction of Saddam's own reactor in 1981 and to demonstrate that he too has the capacity to hit with pinpoint accuracy, and that it is no more an American monopoly.

The Iraqi troops from Kuwait were withdrawn with all their armoury on the 32nd day of war when Saddam expressed his desire for peace with a 14-point proposal.

Americans caught in desert: The allies had already destroyed the bridges on Euphrates and the roads linking Basra and Baghdad. But Saddam's troops moved via the Iranian borders northward avoiding the highway without being seen by the allies surveillance machinery. Even if they had been seen, US troops were compelled to keep it a secret to avoid disgrace and also out of fear that any attack on Iranian borders would result in escalation of war and the *Americans are mortally afraid of Iran*. Today, the allies are entrenched in the deserts where they have to fetch water from Bahrain in helicopters. Everyday threatens them of the oncoming summer. They want to get away at the earliest, but Saddam wants them to stay. Britain and France, who have earlier burnt their fingers in Arabian deserts, advice Bush to vacate at the earliest, but Bush cannot do without Saddam agreeing to it by giving some face-saving device.

Foolishly, Bush expected that Saddam would use his chemical and biological weapons against his troops

and Israel. All preparations were made to meet this attack. But Saddam did not. That could have been the last resort of a desperate man. When everything was going on with arithmetical accuracy as per plans, there was no need for these weapons. To bring disgrace to Saddam at least to do so as a reaction, the Americans dropped cluster bombs, and laser guided bombs which were meant for use against world powers, and even dropped the Nepal bombs. This proved the American desperation which Saddam knew and therefore never used the gas weapons to the greatest embarrassment of US.

Patriot proves useless: Saddam's war machinery overawed the Americans. The earlier proud "Patriots" intercepted the scud missiles, but they proved unpatriotic when improved scuds were despatched. Why the scuds did not carry chemicals and bacteria? This was not needed as things were going according to the plan.

By these achievements, Saddam has projected himself as a military genius even though he has not received any formal military training, and has never been a soldier. But Saddam has shown himself as a super statesman and politician.

At the most appropriate time, at the moment of his greatest success he declared his intention to withdraw from Kuwait and stunned the War-monger Bush to say that it was a "cruel hoax". It was not a hoax but it was certainly cruel - but cruel against whom? Bush's comment itself says it was cruel against Bush and his allies. This tactical announcement created division among the allies. Egypt and Syria were lured to dissociate. France was given a pretext to express his acceptance, as it had joined the allies, without any hopes of profits since 70% of the contacts for rebuilding Kuwait were already taken over by US contractors in December 1990 itself and the balance of 30% contracts were snatched away by John Major on his sudden Jan. 3 visit to Taif.

France angry with US: Thus the unwilling France widened the fissure. Russia and Iran were activated, which threatened the snatching of credit from US to themselves, which became the greatest headache for Bush. As things went on developing more and more in favour of "ceasefire", Bush got more and more exposed before the world as a "Bully" and American diplomacy started failing.

Again when Saddam ordered withdrawal of his troops from Kuwait, Bush went on dictating terms like an auctioneer and exposed before the world that he fought his own war and not a war under UN auspices. He tried his best to avoid a Security Council resolution by objecting to the very holding of the meeting. By then he had so alienated the other members that every time he said "no" to a meeting, fresh notices were given by other members one after another and his UN ambassador had to be constantly at their beck and call, fearing, as otherwise, absence would be taken as 'yes' vote as was taken for the first time for the

resolution No. 678, when China's absence was taken as yes vote, which later China had resented.

The biggest diplomats of the world played the children's hide and seek game and ultimately Bush had to yield.

Bush was the most worried person during the war. He virtually went mad and committed political, diplomatic and military blunders after blunders for which he will be answerable before the court of world and American public opinion after the din and noise of the war is over. That is why he is now trying to appease Saddam as far as possible.

What Saddam achieved: Saddam succeeded ("Salute Saddam" DV March 16) in this war and achieved his following objects:

- 1) He stirred the Arab masses to stand against the puppet Shaikhs, Amirs and Kings.
- 2) He kept on pounding Israel, the daughter of America, for 42 days and inflicted such serious mental and physical wounds that she has almost given up her arrogance and is ready for full settlement of the West Asian problems.
- 3) The Palestine question has now come to surface and this is dampening the American enthusiasm to evict Iraq from Kuwait.
- 4) A new type of war has been shown to the world - not to use air force but to use scuds to attack invading forces - mother of all future wars.
- 5) Iraq has its entire airforce, defence installations and ground troops in tact. Only its small navy is lost. With this and its scientists, technicians and engineers it has come up as a sixth power. Baghdad was repaired in five days while Kuwait was not. America said it launched the war to force Iraq to quit Kuwait but Iraq quit Kuwait after totally destroying Kuwait, is this not a defeat for US?
- 6) The allies loss is 20 times more than that of Iraq. Over a lakh air sorties have been used in the war and the cost of each sortie was 1.1 million dollars. This is apart from other expenses of maintenance of troops, transport to and fro etc. Within 40 days such achievements are made which would not be achieved in decades with 10 times more money.
- 7) Small and weak countries like Cuba and India got the courage to see eye to eye with US, and the US started feeling helpless.
- 8) Saudi Arabia's role is fully exposed. By inviting the American troops on the soil and engaging in fighting against a fellow Arab country, Saudi rulers went against all tenets of Islam if not against the very Koran.

US failures: As against this, the following are the failures of US:

1. It failed to achieve its object of killing Saddam inspite of bombing his palace and car.
2. US failed to topple the Baath Party regime. It was so frustrated upon its failure to achieve this object that Bush begged of the Iraqi troops and people to revolt and overthrow Saddam and his regime.
3. Bush's dreams of marching into Iraq, capture Saddam, put him on war crime trial and dismember Iraq are all frustrated.
4. US attempt to destroy Nasserism failed and in its

place a more vigorous Saddamism grew up in the Arab world.

5. Bush's design to establish a New World Order (or disorder) after defeating Iraq suffered its first setback.
6. Bush has become the most hated person in the Muslim world today.

It is no defeat for Saddam: Even if our pessimists take Saddam's withdrawal from Kuwait as retreat, as Bush called it, it is only a tactical retreat but not a defeat. Saddam stooped to conquer. Bush suffered defeat in his "victory."

Saddam, born in the very same village, Tikreet, where Saladin, the hero of Crusades, was born, has really exceeded Muslim expectations. Saladin fought the third Crusade for three years from 1188 to 1191 and his first attempt at Acra was a retreat after 39 days of battle, for regrouping and further assault. Saddam has fought only a defensive battle.

Our observations will not be fully complete without referring to the Saudi rulers. Saudi Arabia is the only country in the world, which is named after an individual - Ibne Saud, just as a private property is named like Saudi villa, Saudi Manzil, Saudi Bhavan etc. It is called a "kingdom", even though its founder, Ibne

Saud, or his ancestors were not kings, like the kings of England, Emperor of Japan or the Shah of Iran, who were kings from generations. This kingdom was established in 1921, by the British and Zionists during

The oppression in Saudi Arabia:

those days when European philosophers were preaching nationhood and nationalism and democracy. This country

has very proud ancient names like Arab Hajaz, Arabastan, but the country retains this colonial name and the people of this country are forced to shamelessly call themselves 'Saudis'. The people of Burma, Ceylon, British Columbia etc., gave up their colonial names. They dropped these names and took honourable names based on their past national greatness, identity and pride, like Maynmar, Sri Lanka etc.

The Saudis are the most oppressed people. They are given all facilities, houses, money, food, medicine, every material comfort. But no freedom of thoughts. All publications are strictly controlled. Even copies of the Koran printed outside Saudi Arabia are seized. All over the world Friday lectures in mosques assure and provide freedom of thought and expression. Even these are not allowed in Saudi Arabia. Every mosque is provided with printed lectures by the government to be read every Friday morning like examination question papers. The imams are to read only these and to add or delete no word, and any deviation results in severe punishment. One such imam was shot dead recently the moment he deviated and spoke against the government policy on Iraq. All those who

come from Saudi Arabia testify that the moment they talk politics, Saudis slip away from the place, fearing that one among those present may be an intelligence agent. That is why, when we see all sorts of processions and demonstrations of approval or protest everywhere in the world, we see none of it in Saudi Arabia.

The great Arab contribution: Arabs have a very great record of transforming the world after the advent of Islam. Ancient and forgotten Greek books were discovered and brought to light before the world. It is not possible to give the names of hundreds of Arab scientists, philosophers, inventors, jurists, generals and discoverers and other great men. All historians have a single opinion about their greatness. The moment we hear of Arab contribution to civilisation our imagination immediately goes towards Saudi Arabia. This is fallacious. The people of the mainland - present Saudi Arabia, have contributed nothing. Their only contribution is for about 50 years after Prophet Mohammed, during which period all great men and companions of the Prophet left the main land and settled elsewhere in the presentday Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Iran and many of their descendents went over to Afghanistan, Turkey and the sub-continent. Even the descendants of the Holy Prophet left Arabia and they are found in countries other than Arabia (Saudi Arabia). We find such descendants with such surnames like Syed, Mir, Farooqui, Siddiqui, Osmani, etc. in countries other than Saudi Arabia.

Anti-Islamic action: The Muslims all over the world have a sentimental attachment for Mecca and Madina and therefore do not like to hear and think against Saudi kingdom, as these sacred cities are its parts. This is fully exploited to its advantage by the Saudi kingdom. *The common masses of Saudi Arabia deserve our respect, sympathy and support for their spiritual and intelectual sufferings but not its rulers who have sold themselves to American racists and zionists. Therefore, their acts are not only just un-Islamic, but anti-Islamic, if not anti-human.*

The Saudi Government has deposited billions and billions of dollars in western banks and lent billions and billions to many countries of the third world. It gets billions and billions of dollars as interest annually. This money is given over to "Islamic organisations" in many countries for building mosques, madrassas and pro-Saudi publications to interpret their brand of Islam.

Thus Muslims are made to perform prayers in mosques built out of the money secured as interest on loans which is prohibited under Islam. That is why the glorious and precious Islamic moral values and commands are getting corrupted among the Muslim elites. Consumerism, craze for western values, music and morals are growing among Muslim elites who never identify themselves with Muslim masses. That is why the Muslim elites in India supported America while masses were with Saddam. Fake prayers, exhibitionist styles devoid of spiritual values are on the increase.

Role of Saudi Ambassador in India: The Saudi Ambassador to India condemned the pro-Saddam stand taken by Indian Muslim masses when he found under Muslim pressure that all political parties were demanding a ban on refuelling of American war planes. He used the very Hindu Nazi jargon of condemning Urdu press instead of understanding and appreciating the sincerity of the feelings of the Muslim masses for a Muslim country's plight.

Another beauty is that conciously or unconsciously the Muslim "fundamentalists" who are funded by the Saudi regime are put in the company of their very arch foes - the Hindu Nazis. Both Hindu Nazis and pro-Saudi Muslim fundamentalists were in the company of American white racists and Zionists.

Millions of Muslims all over the world go to Mecca and Medina on holy pilgrimage. They are overawed by the luxury, comforts and immoral lives of the Saudi rulers and thereby their spiritual dreams are shattered. Only those with very strong convictions come back unafflicted, but very many are befooled to believe that the Islam as practised in the heartland of Islam is the purest and get confused. The Hajis have very little to talk about the moral and spiritual attainments in Saudi Arabia but they talk very much about the comforts and luxuries provided by the Saudi regime to its own people and the visitors. *Islam which is the wealth, honour and solace of the poor has become the showy asset of the rich and corrupt because of the Saudi system of life.*

The Gulf war and the role of Saudi Arabia in helping the Enemy by over a 100 billion dollars to destroy a Muslim power stirred the minds of Muslims all over the world. This is the greatest contribution of Saddam to purify Saudis and the Saudi brand of misinterpreted Islam. Saddam's claim that "this is a struggle between good Muslims and corrrupt Muslims" has come true and the Saudi kingdom stands exposed. The Muslim masses in India have eased to be revolutionary under the influence of the Saudi-controlled Muslim elites. The time has come to throw out these corrupt leadership and purify Islam and make it revolutionary. Only then the Dalits of India will be with such a revolutionary Islam.

Reconversion of Muslims?

Ramanathapuram: Twenty-one Muslim converts belonging to five families in Kooriyur village, near here, re-embraced Hinduism at a ceremony conducted in the village by the RSS and Arya Samaj representatives on Saturday. Almost the entire population of Adi-Dravidas of the village were converted to Islam in 1981 after a communal clash in this district. Some of those reconverted said that they were re-embracing "Hinduism" because they were disillusioned after the conversion. (*Hindu*, March 18)

What DV did in 10 years? It moved the Ambedkarite caravan forward

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

The success and progress of *Dalit Voice* is due to its fearless philosophy of Ambedkarism and the uncompromising attitude of its Editor. Ambedkarites form the nucleus of its readers together with "religious minorities" as its wings. Ambedkarites reached it on their own. DV suffers from many weaknesses — financial and organisational being the main — unable to reach many thousands of Ambedkarites who have not yet heard of DV. In fact, there is no organisation. It is a one-man show playing several roles simultaneously. In fact, all revolutionary activities begin as a one-man show. Yet DV portrays a mini-India with readership among all races and not to speak of the RSS. The Nazis read it to know as to what the Indian races are thinking. DV's international readership reflects the Editor's expertise, eminence — nay devotion to the cause.

Economists say that the price of anything is its alternative value. In this respect the Editor brought Rs.30,000 (monthly) worth of expertise to the field of media for the Indian races through the *Dalit Voice*. In addition, he ploughs back the earnings from DSA publications to subsidise DV without taking even a paise as pay or perk. I do not accept that he made any major contribution to SC races except making DV a channel of communication. In fact, there is no other scope for major contribution because Ambedkarites are in the lead all the time. However, his rare achievement is to give an identity to the Dalit Christians. He liberated them from the clutches of the Aryan race-dominated church.

Impact on napkin papers: Despite innumerable troubles and travails he faced in this work, the Editor has not mellowed down. He is still the same old angry young man. I am to some extent responsible for toning down his angry tones in DV. The purpose of any journal is to inform, educate and enlighten the readers. Its pages should not become the be all and end all of struggles. It merely has to report the struggles in the field.

DV has many achievements to its credit in the field of journalism. Its impact on the "national napkin papers" is considerable. The best achievements are still awaited and they are on their way. *DV is going to revolutionise the whole mental outlook of the Indian races, thereby ushering in a radical political revolution on a peaceful and democratic way.* These credits must certainly go to the Editor. I do not know as to what happened to the proposals of felicitating the Editor on his 60th birthday. Ambedkarities and, more so, the Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims need undertake this job. We must know how to honour our heroes.

My relations with the Editor are one of love-hate flow. We agreed to get on together in the interest of the cause. *I do agree that the Editor moved the caravan a few inches forward, indeed a great achievement. Babasaheb warned our people to leave it where it was if you cannot take it forward. This is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us and we wish the Editor to*

share this contentment. I bombard him with letters, many of them critical and highly provocative. No Editor would tolerate continuous criticisms but the Editor of DV loves criticism because to him the mission is greater than self. On his part, the Editor is stoic and takes a detached view of the pin-pricks. Like the Buddha, he is at complete peace with critics like me. Even with detractors, he is every ready to live in peace. But he is uncompromising with our oppressors.

What DV lacks: Unfortunately, DV is unable to find thinkers and scholars who are free from the Aryan alienating influence. Hence the ideological confusion continues.

Besides, Brahmin-baiting and the baiting of non-existing Hinduism has become wholtime addictions to some of our leaders and writers. Criticising Brahmins is music to some ears. By this our images get further depressed or dimmed. *Indian races must learn to ignore the aliens. We must learn to praise ourselves. We must learn to sing the glories of our own Indian races. Inward look with a befitting outward appearance are important.* We are in the second and final stage of our struggle launched in Oct. 1956. We need not always remember our enemies — daily. They are not worthy of our notice. We are not to fritter away our energies in discourses on Brahmin-baiting and Aryanism.

Homeland for Aryans: The Editor very magnanimously offered a home land for Aryans on the foothills of the Himalayas. It is for the Aryans to accept this offer. How can they expect us to remain as their subject races? They should find a solution to their problem of colonialism and imperialism. Otherwise, they are in danger from awakened Indian races. They cannot defend and justify their own barbarism. Indian races are ready to run the govt: even without salaries. We want our 85% posts/powers and lands as well. We request our readers not to mislead us towards Brahmin or Hindu religion-baiting. It is a waste of our time and energy. We sing the glories of our leaders, rather than remember the nincompoops.

What minorities can do: By the end of this year, I am sure, DV will free you from Aryan slavery of political as well as of the tomfoolery variety.

Cowards die many times before their death. The one-nation died before it could be born. "One-nation" is itself a cowardly name. Eminent Advisory Boards and fat cats with their tomfoolery cannot win the hearts of the Indian races. *Each religious minority should purchase 5,000 copies of DV and distribute them on their own.* For this, they should enrol 5,000 life members. Only the Indian races have the audacity and the capacity to voice the minority rights and protect them from the rapacious colonialism and racism. *Muslims, Sikhs, Christians cannot protect themselves single handedly.* These are sacred obligations imposed on them by Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar — the will is guided by vision. DV and its Editor earned their credits through struggle and sacrifice.

Sikh honour: A Beant Singh (SC race) and a Satwant Singh (BC race) sacrificed their lives to save the Sikh honour. DV does not depend on the eminence of any board for its credibility. If the eminent are eminent, why we are the victims of colonialism?

As the proverb goes — the wolves requested the lambs to serve the dinner. How the lambs can accept such a harmless proposal? *The elite of all religious minorities are a suspect in the eyes of the masses of*

minorities. Dalit Muslims, Dalit Christians, Dalit Sikhs. Naturally "one-nation" evaporated on its own merits. Ambedkarites shall remain the backbone of DV — let others come and go. Any attack on DV and its Editor is an attack on SC/ST races, the pride of Indian races. Let BCs decide it for themselves, whether they are Indian races or alien races. They are completely lost to the alien enslavement. The awakening need come in themselves. ■

RESERVATIONS ARE PART OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Racism behind anti-Mandal war and violence

(V.T. Rajshekar)

"Mandal Commission Report and Anti-Reservation Agitation", Paper presented at the National Consultation on "Emerging Trends in Indian Politics" held at ECC, Bangalore, 22-24, February, 1991

Introduction: Since volumes have been written on this "controversial" subject which brought down the V.P. Singh govt. itself and enough discussions have taken place, I don't want to go into what is already said but examine the sociological essence and consequence of this report and the violent agitation that rocked the latter part of the year 1990. The Govt. Order on the report is now before the Supreme Court and knowing the bias of the upper caste-dominated judiciary in this country, we can easily forecast the outcome.

A word of caution: I was closely associated with the preparation of the Mandla Commission. My name appears in the report itself. As a member of the national executive of the National Union of Backward Castes, New Delhi, I was intimately connected with all the agitations on the Mandal report. And as a correspondent of the *Indian Express* for 25 years, I can also speak with authority on the heinous role played by this so-called national press on the anti-reservation agitation. So, I speak from my experience and intimate connection with the country's persecuted, deprived Scheduled Castes, tribes and Backward Castes, who form 65% of India's population, plus the 20% religious minorities. Some of my statements may, therefore, hurt the ruling class but they are all historical truths and sociological facts, echoing the feelings of the oppressed, the victims of the ruling class violence. So mine is a view from the bottom. Hence I request you to have an open mind keeping aside the prejudices, if any, created in your mind by the upper caste media. I want to say with full responsibility that the Mandal Commission Report is not only scientifically prepared but also most acceptable to the largest number of our population. Over 85% of the country's 850 million population is happy over the report. This can be judged from the fact that no political party, not even the Hindu Nazi party, had the courage to openly criticise the report. The Congress Party which opposed the report was defeated in the latest district council elections in Kerala.

V.P. Singh used Mandal to fight Devi Lal?: Some people said that Prime Minister V.P. Singh did not implement the report out of love for the Backward Castes. A person cannot suddenly develop a love for the have-nots. He had a quarrel with Dy. Prime Minister Devi Lal and so he used the Mandal Report to fight Devi Lal. That is all. The critics of V.P. Singh say that he had selfish motives. But this criticism is by the opponents of the Mandal Report. In other words, upper castes. But we the beneficiaries of the Mandal Commission will not make such a charge. A hungry man eats whatever is given. He will not go into the motives of the giver. It is only the well-fed upper castes who go into such hair-splitting arguments.

BCs taken for a ride: Even against such a truncated,

multilated Mandal some upper castes went to the Supreme Court which immediately obliged the upper castes and gave a stay. A five-judge bench headed by the Chief Justice, who is noted for his orthodox views, is currently hearing the writ petitions which are argued by a battery of lawyers headed by Palkhiwala, the topmost lawyer for India's top income tax payers. Or evaders? The upper castes celebrated the Oct. 1, 1990 Supreme Court stay by bursting crackers outside the court hall and distributing sweets. It is a victory for the upper castes and a temporary defeat for SC/ST/BCs and minorities. But VP Singh, who has now emerged as the unquestioned hero for the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims, has already undertaken tours of the different States and even our pronouncedly anti-Mandal newspapers have admitted that SC/ST/BCs and Muslims are with V.P. Singh and if an election is held today, he would sweep the polls. The latest Kerala district council elections in which anti-Mandal parties were crushed proves which way the wind is blowing. That is why Chandrashekar's anti-Mandal govt. and its godfather Congress are afraid of the general election.

Mandals and Bandals: So the country is today divided into two neat camps. And we have named these camps as (1) Mandals (2) and Bandals. Mandals are 85% and Bandals are less than 15%. This is a very healthy division. SC/ST/BCs, the original inhabitants of India, are on one side. The upper caste Aryan invaders on another side. Of course, with minor exceptions and exceptions, only prove the rule. V.P. Singh has become India's first Prime Minister to bring about such a beautiful polarisation of social forces. And we call this "social engineering".

Emphasis shifts from religion to jati: The violent agitation launched by upper castes in some North Indian cities has helped us to understand one thing:- that the Mandal social engineering made us witness a major transformation in society. The violent agitation was a great blessing in disguise. What we witnessed (between Aug. - Dec. 1990) was a sort of mini-revolution. All the hidden hypocrisies came out. Our so-called "intellectuals got exposed. Our so-called "national press" has proved anti-national. Mandal has also proved that we have only a jati press, jati judiciary, jati legal system, jati political parties, jati intellectuals. The upper castes all these years were talking about "nation", "national unity" and "integrity". Later they shifted their emphasis from nation to their religion. Today, they don't speak even about their religion. They are worried only about their jati (caste). To put it more scientifically in sociological terms, to them their Aryan race (*varnashrama dharma*) became more important than the entire 850-million population of India. This has helped us to understand that the anti-Mandal agitation is to preserve the hated caste system and the laws of Manu that protect it. To a Hindu, his jati is more important than his religion. Because, Hinduism is built on the solid bedrock of caste. Remove caste, the so-called Hindu religion collapses. The Mandal agitation has helped us understand that a Hindu loves his caste (jati) more than his religion. Because,

caste brings the upper castes so much of privileges, posts and powers. It also helps them to enslave the rest. We must, therefore, thank Mandal for exposing all this humbug. We have to also thank Mandal that this hidden *racism* in India has come to the surface. And this racism is given the mask of "merit and efficiency". In the name of these two things, the upper castes have been practising their colonialism. Small minds may criticise these welcome social convulsions. But these very same small minds admired and praised the breakup of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe. They welcomed social convulsions outside India but when it happens in India, they hate it. Caste wars should be welcomed, because that is the only way to cleanse the stinking, stagnant cesspool that is India. Only the churning of the ocean produced Amrit. V.P. Singh might have lost his chair by churning the ocean but in fact he won the hearts of the millions of the oppressed. What he produced might have become poison to the upper caste rulers but we the oppressed welcome it as Amrit. *I will even go to the extent of saying that India's road to socialism lies through caste wars because in India "caste is class".* Since the Aryan varna castes, in other words racists, are not prepared to concede our human rights assured in the Constitution in the shape of "reservations" without resorting to violence, the awakened original inhabitants of India, who have the support of the Constitution of India, will fight it out in the streets. So what is going on today is a battle between the Constitution of Manu (Manu dharma shastra) and the Constitution framed by our leader and saviour Babasaheb Ambedkar, whom we call the Father of our Nation.

Greatest objection against Mandal: The greatest objection against the Mandal report is that it has taken "caste" as the sole criterion. Such people are speaking without knowing the facts. Mandal has adopted three different yardsticks, social, education and economic. Please see page 52 of the I part of the Report. If the upper castes critics of the report want to think that Mandal has "over-emphasised caste", it is because the BCs happened to be the least educated and the "poorest". The problem with anti-Mandal racists (Bandals) is that they have not read the Mandal Report. It is on this basis that in Karnataka it has included the entire rural Vokkaligas and 42 sub-castes among Lingayats. That means about 30% of Lingayats are BCs. What a beautiful report. That is why there is hardly any opposition in Karnataka. Even in Maharashtra, there is no opposition because Kunbis are included among BC. Even Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are included, making it a secular document. *In fact, by uniting 85% of the people of India, Mandal has strengthened the national unity and integrity. If this is true those opposing Mandal are trying to destroy the country's unity and integrity.*

Economic criterion: The Constitution of India (Art. 15(4) and 16(4) under which reservations to BCs are made) speaks only of "socially and educationally BC citizens". It does not refer to "economic backwardness".

I don't know from where the advocates of "economic criterion" get their brainwave. For your information during Nijalingappa's Chief Ministership in Karnataka reservations on the basis of "economic backwardness" were tried and it was discontinued because it proved to be impractical. Because those who could afford to pay the bribe to the Tahsildar or those having influence got the certificate as "economically backward". That means all the rich became "economically backward". *Judging by the country's scale of corruption, "economic yardstick" is simply unworkable and it will be disastrous.* "Economic backwardness", therefore, is an impracticable proposition and even those who advocate it know it. Even after knowing it, they advocate it. That means their motives are different. They are motivated more by their prejudice against SC/ST/BCs. *Prejudice has no medicine. It is a mental disease. For mental disease, you know where we have to take the patient. Mental hospital?*

The "Bandals" have their "national press" in their pocket. And through this "national press" they are trying to mesmerise us saying those who advocate "economic criterion" are in a majority in India. If the "Bandals" are in a majority, why they took to violence and launched caste wars against the innocent SC/ST/BC lambs? If they have the majority, they can force a midterm election, solely on the "economic criterion" and get the Constitution amended and make poverty and "merit" as the sole yardstick for job reservations. We "Mandals" want peace. We are interested in the country's unity and integrity. So, we are prepared to face the mid-term poll to make "merit" as the sole criterion. Are the "Bandals" ready? No. that is why they are postponing elections. Truth and justice are not with the "Bandals". SC/ST/BCs and the religious minorities believe in democracy and peace. In the anti-Mandal agitation, it was the upper castes who took to violence. Our people were the victims of violence. *Dalit Voice* was burnt in Delhi. I had to face serious trouble. We did not burn anybody. We did not destroy buses and trains. It was the advocate of Ahimsa who took to violence. During the anti-Mandal violence, it was they who defied the Constitution. Even after the Supreme Court gave a stay (Oct.1, 1990) and called for peace, it was these people who refused to stop violence. They continued the violence even after the stay. But our people were non-violent before the stay and after the stay. It was the upper castes who took to violence and expressed no confidence in democratic methods. Is this not a sure sign of facism?

Are Hindus the "majority community" of India?: Hindu Nazi parties say India is a "Hindu country" and that SC/ST/BCs are all Hindus. They say Buddhists are Hindus, Sikhs are Hindus. Everybody is a Hindu in India except Muslims, Christians and Parsees. Over 85% of Indian population is Hindu. If this Nazi claim is correct, why the Hindus are opposing the Mandal? If SC/ST/BCs are their brothers, why these Hindu brothers are opposing our human rights? *SC/ST/BCs are kicked, killed, burnt, raped, their little property destroyed not by Muslims, not by Christians, not by Sikhs. They are persecuted by Hindus only. This should remove all our doubts that Hindus and SC/ST/BCs are not brothers. They are racially different. Hindus are Aryans and SC/ST/BCs are pre-Aryans-Dravidas and Adi-Dravidas.* So, the anti-Mandalists are Aryans, foreigners and "Mandals" are original inhabitants of India. "Mandals" love India's unity and integrity. This is the reason for the clash of interests which are covered in high-sounding Palkhiwala platitudes. The Anti-Mandal agitations were not the first Aryan caste war against the original inhabitants of India after "independence." Gujarat witnessed two caste wars. Maharashtra witnessed one. Bihar and UP had one each. This war between the two did not start now. The Adi-Shankara's violent wars against Buddhists was the first major war.

Caste rules India. Chief Ministers, judges, Governors, Vice-Chancellors, everything is selected on the basis of caste. The one and the only qualification of Rajiv Gandhi to become PM is that he is from the Nehru family. Archaka posts are given only to a Brahmin in all Govt. managed temples. Brahmins, who oppose Mandal because it made caste the sole criterion, have no objection to caste as the sole criterion for archaka post. See their double-standards. That means whenever caste is advantageous, they want "caste criterion" and whenever "economic criterion" is advantageous they want that. That means they want to eat the cake and have it too. This can no longer be tolerated.

Remove caste, Hinduism is dead: So VP Singh is not the cause of caste clashes. Mandal did not invent caste. Caste is the bedrock on which Hinduism is built. Remove caste, Hinduism collapses. So everybody wants caste. Caste led to clash. *Are those opposed to Mandal prepared to destroy caste? No. In fact the anti-Mandal agitation is the upper*

caste last ditch battle to save caste. They want caste because it brings them so much of pleasure, power, position, privileges and posts - of course without doing any work.

Palkhiwala's two-nation theory: Then we have our great rich man's lawyer Palkhiwala saying Mandal has divided the country into two nations. If there is a truth in this charge, why there was no anti-Mandal agitation in South India? Does he consider South India as part of India? Tamil Nadu, AP, Karnataka have 50 to 68% reservations. Did not the upper castes accept the reservations here? Why there was no agitation in West Bengal, Assam, Gujarat or Maharashtra? Palkhiwala is wrong. However, Palkhiwala is right that Mandal has divided the country into *savarna* and *avarna*. The *avarnas* are 85%, and *savarnas* are 15%. It is this 15% *savarnas* who are opposing Mandal. They are also demanding a separate homeland for *savarnas*. We are ready to concede their demand. Instead of this daily mindless violence, it is better to be separate but equal. We have to actually thank Mandal that for the first time, it has made our people, the SC/ST/BCs, realise that it is Hindus (upper castes) who are opposing our human rights - because we are not Hindus. Mandal, therefore, was a great blessing. *In fact, the Mandal brought down the edifice of "Hindu unity" crumbling down. "Mandals" on one side and "Bandals" on the other side. It is this collapse of the hindu pyramid that forced Advani to launch his Toyota Rath Yatra.* The "Mandal" forced the Masjid agitation. It was a beautiful polarisation.

Mandal decision was not sudden: The other charge is that VP Singh has suddenly plumped for Mandal without consultation or consensus. This is wrong. Every part of this deal is part of a longdrawn struggle. It began with the Kaka Kalelkar Commission. Parliament had held three debates on the Mandal. The report was submitted in 1980. There were hundreds of agitations, conferences during the past 10 years. I had courted arrest at least three times on Mandal. Addressed scores of conferences. Hundreds of MPs had submitted signed petitions to PM. Mandal was implemented after good deal of discussion and hence perfectly democratic. Every political party including the Nazi party has included Mandal in its manifesto. How can anybody say that VP took a hasty decision? Those who say this are prejudiced against SC/BCs and minorities. *And prejudice is a mental disease. And those suffering from mental disease have to be taken to mental hospital.*

Merit, my foot: Another funny argument of the anti-reservationists is that reservations will affect "merit and efficiency". We are tired of replying to this stupid argument. Justice Krishna Iyer has replied to this charge in his judgement, the full text of which is reproduced in my book, *Merit, My foot*, Dalit (Sahitya Akademy, 1988, Rs.8). But even Justice Iyer's sympathies extends only upto SC/ST. When it comes to BCs, his sympathy dries up.

India was ruled by the "merited": only: During the past 45 years or so we were ruled only by the "merited" upper castes who claim "merit" as their sole monopoly. Of our eight Prime Ministers, all belonged to upper castes. Of this, four were Brahmins. All the top positions are occupied by them. All decision-makers are upper castes. All of you know it. It is a fact. So this country managed by the upper caste "meritocrats" should have been on the top of the world. But the fact is it has become a beggar nation. A laughing stock. We are at the bottom. In every sphere, every sector we are at the bottom. That means 45 years of "merited" rule is responsible for this. What is the use of this "merit and efficiency"? With highest number of holidays in a year, we have become the laziest people in the world. If the country is pushed to such a crisis, we the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims can't be blamed, but these "merited" upper castes. To hell with their merit and efficiency. I don't want to go into the arguments of these heartless merit-mongers except to say only this: - *Even if it is admitted that SC/ST/BCs have no brains, in a democracy, which assures equal rights to everybody, even the brainless have right to rule themselves. Self-govt. is any day better than efficient govt.* The British

advanced the same argument to deny "home rule" to India. They said Indians have no brains. They said India will go to dogs if India is given independence. At that time, B.G. Tilak, M.K. Gandhi and others said: "We Indians prefer self-rule to efficient British rule:." Bengali Muslims revolted against Punjabi "merit" and formed Bangladesh after a bloody war. The same argument applies to SC/ST/BCs. These people constitute 65% of India's population. Together with religious minorities, they become 85%. This 85% of the people say they want to rule. They say we will not accept the upper caste rule. Their argument is perfectly democratic. *India will be torn to pieces if the identities and dignities of the different segments of this country are not respected. Please learn lessons from the breakup of Soviet Union.* Reservations is the most well established, constitutionally accepted principle to pull up a socially submerged group. In America, Blacks have reservations and the Supreme Court of America has accepted it. *Reservations means human rights.* Every section of the population has its human rights including the Brahmins, but in proportion to their population. We are prepared to concede the human rights of every section.

Conclusion: Reservations therefore is part our human rights movement. V.M. Tarkunde, father of the Indian human rights movement, despite being a Maharashtrian Brahmin, supported Mandal because reservations are our human rights movement. Reservations are not given on the basis of poverty. Every section is entitled to human rights on the basis of its ethnic identity. That means those who oppose reservations are opposed to human rights. In other words those who oppose human rights are anti-human. Human rights (reservations) are given not on the basis of poverty. They are given because a particular section is entitled to its human rights. Many people joined this anti-Mandal madness without understanding things. I am not referring to the prejudiced mental cases - those who committed those fake self-immolation. I am referring to the prejudiced "intellectuals". I am referring to the many BCs and minorities who joined these agitations. They joined the agitation because the govt. did not prepare the ground to sow the seeds of Mandal. This is where Periyar EV Ramaswamy succeeded in TN, Devraj Urs succeeded in Karnataka but VP failed in North. VP wanted to use Mandal as a political stick. Mandal is part of the human rights movement of the SC/ST/BCs and minorities. It is not a political game. It is part of a great socio-cultural experiment which are described as "social engineering". It needs great minds to lead such a movement. Dr.B.R. Ambedkar, Periyar EV Ramaswamy, and Dr. Lohia became the three greatest minds of India because they led the human rights movement of the deprived. If VP wants to join this galaxy of great souls, he must not play politics with Mandal but take it as an exercise in social engineering. If so, he will become the greatest Prime Minister that India has produced.

Suggestion to Supreme Court: The Supreme Court is now seized of the Mandal report. According to judicial norms, the Court should be not only be impartial but "appear impartial". But the five-judge bench is completely upper caste. And hence the 85% of the Indians will not be wrong if they get the impression that the Supreme Court, to which we have the highest respect and reverence, that it does not "appear impartial". For this we have a suggestion. It can co-opt judges belonging to SC/ST/BC and Muslims from High Courts and reconstitute the bench. Otherwise, there is a chance of the bench coming out with an anti-Mandal verdict because the judges in this country are not above prejudices. *All over India, it is the judiciary that scuttled the different govt. orders on reservations.* The elected members of Parliament and Legislatures, who are the true representative of the people, are not opposed to our human rights. It is the judiciary that always came in the way. The Supreme Court is today facing the supreme test. If it has to pass the test, it has to reconstitute the bench. And this is not late nor can it be said as unconstitutional.

WANTED BOOKS ON SELF-DETERMINATION

The following books on self-determination announced in the *Human Rights Internet Directory* are needed by the *Dalit Voice* office. DV readers overseas may post them to DV Office. 1. Bucheit, Lee C: *Secession: The Legitimacy of Self-Determination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978. 260p. MRG has now published 74 reports (many of them updated), each approx. 20 pages and focused on the problems of one or more minority groups. Although the quality of the reports varies with the authors, the series is the best single source for information on minorities worldwide. The reports are excellent teaching material for both high school and university level classes and provide a rapid introduction to and overview for research on a given minority group. Most reports usually have a select bibliography. Umzurike, Umzurike Oji. *Self-Determination in International Law*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1972. 324 p. United Nations, Sub-Commission ... *The Right to Self-Determination; Historical and Current Development on the Basis of United Nations Instruments*. Aureliu Cristescu, Special Rapporteur. 1981. 125 p. E/CN.4/Sub.2/404/Rev.1.

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Draupadi is stolen by the Aryans from the Dravidian mythology, says a foreign scholar

THE CULT OF DRAUPADI

Mythologies from Ginghee to Kurukshetra

Dr. Alf Hiltebeitel, professor of Religion at George Washington University, US.

Draupadi, the heroin of the Aryan epic Mahabharata, was stolen by the Aryan writers. A study of the South Indian Tindivanam temple in Tamil Nadu reveals that the Draupadi cult is famous in South India. Draupadi is none other than the famous Tamil Ginghee, the regional medieval capital. Draupadi's Tamil connections are Meenakshi of Madurai, Kamakshi of Kancheepuram and also the goddess of Tiruvannamalai.

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