

# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

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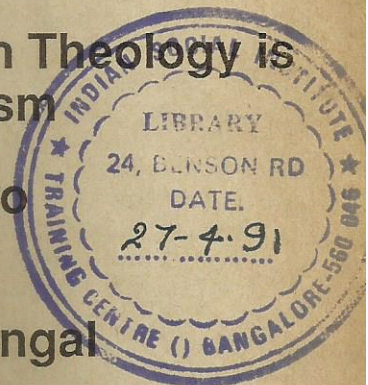
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Hindu imperialism forced Muslims to seek partition: Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Muslim case for partition of India arises out of Hindu imperialism

( With this issue we begin excerpts from the book, Babasaheb Ambedkar )  
writings and speeches Vol.8, Maharashtra Govt. Publication 1990. )

Some argue that this demand for partitioning India into two political entities under separate national states staggers their imagination; others are so choked with a sense of righteous indignation at this wanton attempt to break the unity of a country, which, it is claimed, has stood as one for centuries, that their rage prevents them from giving expression to their thoughts. Others think it need not be taken seriously. They treat it as a trifle and try to destroy it by shooting into it smiles and metaphors. "You don't cut your head to cure your headache," "you don't cut a baby into two because two women are engaged in fighting out a claim as to who its mother is," are some of the analogies which are used to prove the absurdity of Pakistan. In a controversy carried on the plane of pure sentiment, there is nothing surprising if a dispassionate student finds more stupefaction and less understanding more heat and less light, more ridicule and less seriousness..... I do not think the demand for Pakistan is the result of mere political distemper, which will pass away with the efflux of time. As I read the situation, it seems to me that it is a characteristic in the biological sense of the term, which the Muslim body politic has developed in the same manner as an organism develops a characteristic. Whether it will survive or not, in the process of natural selection, must depend upon the forces that may become operative in the struggle for existence between Hindus and Musalmans. I am not staggered by Pakistan; I am not indignant about it; nor do I believe that it can be smashed by shooting into it smiles and metaphors. I believe that it would be neither wise nor possible to reject summarily a scheme if it has behind it the sentiment, if not the passionate support, of 90 p.c. Muslims of India. I have no doubt that the only proper attitude to Pakistan is to study it in all its aspects, to understand its implications and to form an intelligent judgment about it (p.8). Now that India the "Sleeping Beauty" of Prof. Toynbee is awake, what is the view of the Indians about her? On this question, there can be no manner of doubt that those who have observed this Sleeping Beauty behave in recent years, feel she is a strange being quite different from the angelic princes that she was supposed to be. She is a mad maiden having a dual personality, half human, half animal, always in convulsions because of her two natures in perpetual conflict. If there is any doubt about her dual personality, it has now been dispelled by the Resolution of the Muslim League demanding the cutting up of India into two, Pakistan and Hindustan, so that these conflicts and convulsions due to a dual personality having been bound in one may cease forever, and so freed from each other, may dwell in separate homes congenial to their respective cultures, Hindu and Muslim. It is beyond question that Pakistan is a scheme which will have to be taken into account. The Muslims will insist upon the scheme being considered. The British will insist upon the scheme being considered. The British will insist upon some kind of settlement being reached between the Hindus and the Muslims before they consent to any devolution of political power. There is no use blaming the British for insisting upon such a settlement as a condition precedent to the transfer of power. The British cannot consent to settle power upon an aggressive Hindu majority and make it its heir, leaving it to deal with the minorities at its sweet pleasure. That would not be ending imperialism. It would be creating another imperialism. The Hindus, therefore, cannot avoid coming to grips with Pakistan, much as they would like to do (p.9).

*(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume VIII 1990 Rs.40, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.*

## Only one-point agenda for coming elections: Reservations as our human rights

Elections come and go. But we go on for ever. The country has seen several elections, even the most "exciting" ones. But once the din and bustle are over and the dust is settled, we find the same bandicoots back. The masses are deceived once again. Elections are a mind-manipulating game played by the ruling class. We know it. So those who are interested in revolution, not reform, do not get deceived by a duststorm. We call elections as that season of the mad dogs and right now we are in the midst of one such mad, mad season. But this time, the 1991 May-end mini-general elections are no ordinary elections. For the first time in the history of India, the people are given an ideology to discuss and vote for. That is our human rights, described in the Constitution of India as reservations. The Aryan upper castes comprising less than 15% of the population are opposing our reservations symbolised by the Mandal Commission and the pre-Aryan Indian races are fighting for their human rights. The former are called Bandals (15%) and the latter (85%) are Mandals. It is Bandals vs. Mandals. A clear-cut division is taking place. This is a good sign.

So the coming mini-general election has for the first time given us an opportunity to win political power for the suppressed Indian races. Here we have an opportunity to defeat and dump the alien Aryan races. That is why we called it a referendum on reservation (April 16 p.8). We need not go by the merits of individual candidates. Vote for ideals and parties. We should not vote for the Aryans in general.

This time we have to vote for VP Singh and his company called the National Front whatever may be its shortcomings. After the elections, the performance of VP will depend on the pressure we can exercise on him. If he is elected, the Indian races (SC/BC/ST and Dalit Muslims, Christians/Sikhs) will have one in the chair who will be ready to listen to our demands. He will be willing, if not forced, to remedy the injustice done to Indian races. Going by the mood of the masses, we have no doubt about VP's victory. Since we have no party of our own, the Aryans are sure to destabilise him. That is why the Indian races must have our own party. We cannot depend upon the Aryans and their parties. All the existing parties including the "communist" parties are Aryan. This sort of dependence and our eternal search for benefactors is an undignified job for Indian nations/races. That is why we must have our own party. A party of Scheduled Castes, Tribes, BCs and Muslims, and minorities to fight for the just demands of Indian races and self-determination of the different nationalities. But until that is forged we must use VP.

In the coming mini-general election, our action will have to be somewhat negative, defeating and dumping

to dustbin the alien Aryan parties and leaders. This should be our supreme goal. Never vote for the Aryan candidates as far as possible. Vote you must to elect your friends and to defeat the oppressors who for the first time have now been identified. Who are they? They are the Aryans/aliens/invasers/foreigners vowing to clamp their *varnashrama* on the outcaste/casteless untouchables — meaning those untouched, uncontaminated by racism (*varna*). It should be a clean, neat divide.

We have explained enough that in India all posts and positions have been totally and illegally reserved to the Aryan races. It needs a magnifying glass to clearly see those invisible reservations. These Aryan reservations are not merely invisible but they are unknowable. Precisely for these reason, the Aryan metriculates — and non-metriculate pilots become prime ministers. Goondas become governors, ministers, suppressing highly educated Indian races. Thus the Indian races must have counter-reservations and their effective implementation to upgrade their political status. The coming election has a one-pint agenda : reservations. Mandals vs. Bandals.

Violence will be in plenty to prevent the return of VP. If violence also fails the Adi-Seshans may act to set aside the elections. All sorts of hurdle will be put. Money, muscle and mafia will be mobilised. But we will face the whole world and yet overcome to recover our human rights. It will be the bloodiest battle. But victory is certain — because we represent 85%? And justice is on our side. ■

### UP Dalits-Muslims for JD

(Our correspondent)

Gopeshwar, Chamoli: The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Castes and Minority communities met here recently to discuss the coming elections. Bachan Lal, President of the Shilpkar Sabha, presided. S.N. Gairola, B.S.P. Chief, K.D. Kanyal, a noted journalist, Prasadi Lal and Prem Lal Bharti of Janta Dal, Sri Keshava Das, President S.C., S.T., B.C. and Muslim unity Front, Chamoli, Sheri Lal, student leader, and others participated. Criticising the role of Uma Bharti and Kalyan Singh, the meeting felt ashamed that as a Non-Hindu, Uma Bharti and Kalyan Singh working for BJP., which are against SC/ST/BCs and minority communities. The meeting asked Uma Bharti and Kalyan Singh to join hand with Sharad Yadva, Ramswaroop Varma, Ram Vilas Paswan to fight the Nazi fanaticism. ■

## Muslim masses reject League leadership

(Our correspondent)

**Bangalore :** Kerala is a unique State, the political setup of which is worth emulating all over the country. Here each caste, community and religious group has come up as a distinct nationality with its own political party, daily newspaper, trade union. And with commitment to the noble policy of live and let live. The Kerala Congress is a Christian party, the "Marxist" and Congress parties are the Brahmin-Nair upper caste outfits. Muslim League is for the Muslims and SRP and SINDP Yogam for the Backward Ezhavas. Dalits have the Indian Labour Party. Latin Catholics have one. Apart from these political parties, the various nationalities have very strong, well-knit non-political organisations which serve their respective communities. Example: the Nair Service Society, Muslim Education Society, SINDP Yogam etc.

All nationalities live in perfect harmony with full respect for each other. It is the "all-India" parties- meaning the North Indian Aryan/Brahmin/Hindu parties like the Congress, BJP - which try to meddle in beautiful atmosphere of Kerala and spoil its multinational character.

**Gulf war:** Right now the Marxist "modern Shankara" is seriously trying to destroy this basic character of Kerala by trying to aryanise the Malayalees. This Namboodri octopus has spread his tentacles around the once formidable Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) which has become his first victim. He has succeeded in isolating the IUML not only from the Janata Dal - Nation Front but also from the Muslim masses. V.P. Singh and his Janata Dal are very popular among Muslims all over India, because of its clear-cut stand on Mandal Commission Report as well as the Babri Masjid. The Mandal-Masjid twin issue brought the Dalits-Muslims-BCs together all over India and specially in Kerala. The formation of the "Pro-Reservation Front" was the direct result of the Muslim-Dalit alliance for which DV was working all these years. The Gulf War further contributed to the unity of the oppressed in Kerala. The oppressed Muslim masses saw a new ray of hope in Saddam Hussain during the Gulf War. The unity of the three forces - Dalits, Backwards and Muslims - and awakening so unnerved the Aryan oppressors. But the elite leadership of the League because of its non-Malayalee origin, did not make use of this greatest opportunity to exploit the Gulf. While the Muslim masses were with Saddam, the League leadership was divorced from the masses and lost a golden opportunity to forge a Muslim-Dalit Alliance. And the wily "Modern Shankara" alongwith his Nair compatriots in BJP and the Congress fully used the Muslim mass anger against Muslim League leadership and as we

write this the League is on its deathbed. Even the "Reservation Front" has disowned the League which has gone back to the hated Congress, the original brahminical party of India. *DV has proved right in Kerala ("Muslim masses must throw out corrupt leadership" DV April 16 p.15). Even before the ink is dry on our report, the Kerala Muslim masses have acted.* League was the sole party for the Muslims at the time of partition. But it got confined to Kerala. And even here it dying. And the persecuted Muslims are getting scattered in different Aryan political parties and getting deceived. The coming elections should be used by the middle level leadership and the Muslims masses to consolidate itself under the Janata Dal. Once the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims use the coming elections to their advantage, they can think of having their own party after the elections.

Be that as it may, we welcome the Kerala development which offered us the first proof that Muslim masses have started kicking out their corrupt leadership. ■

### SHAHABUDDIN FOR VP

**New Delhi:** Syed Shahabuddin, convenor of the All-India Babri Masjid Coordination Committee, has asked Muslims to support the Janata Dal in the coming elections. V.P. Singh and the Janata Dal have become conscious agents of history for the restructuring of Indian society and are taking country forward in the right direction, he said. (*Telegraph* - April 10) ■

### Aryan bid to divide SCs & BCs

(Our correspondent)

**Bangalore:** The Aryans races headed by the Congress and BJP are bent upon dividing the SCs from BCs during the coming elections. Here is a story to prove it. This is a racial war launched by the alien Aryans against Indian races called SCs. Four hundred huts means about 3,000 victims. This also mean the attackers/looters were also in thousands with the active connivance of police. The police is a wholesale monopoly of the Aryans:-

(**Saharsa, Bihar:** More than 400 SC hutments were looted and set ablaze in Pipra and Sindheshwar areas of the recently upgraded Supaul and Madhepura districts last night. Koshi range Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Deepal Rajak, said here today that land dispute was stated to be the cause of the incident. No casualties. The total loss or damage to property was yet to be ascertained. Rajak said over 100 hutments were looted and later set ablaze by a group of people at Bhura Tola, Kamal Tola and Bela Tola of Rajpur village under Pipra police station, Supaul district. Simultaneously, over 300 huts were looted and set ablaze at Jalwar, Mulahi, Manpur, Damaha Sarwaha, Saghunta, Urmuha, Kanwar and Goriari villages under Sindhewar (Gamarhia) police station in Madhepura district (*Hindustan Times* - March 27). ■

# RACISM IN BENARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

(A correspondent, New Delhi)

The story of Kalpanath Ram might appear incredible to some, but to those millions born and bred as untouchables in India's religiously sanctified racist society Ram's case is not very different from that of theirs.

Kalpanath Ram, a Scheduled Caste student from Ghazipur (E. Uttar Pradesh,) is a brilliant scholar. He enrolled at the Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi, for the Master's degree programme in Political Science in 1986 and stood first in the University in both the years of the degree course. Yet, he was denied the merit certificate normally given to university toppers of BHU because, according to him, the university authorities told him that the prestige of the BHU would be shattered if it were known that an untouchable had topped in one of its departments. Being insulted thus, Ram is now determined to strive to oppose the brahminical system in every way he can.

According to Kalpanath, he was the sole SC student of his class with a total of 60 students. Most of the students were Brahmins and Rajputs. In the Political Science Department of BHU, there are a total of 30 teachers, 29 of whom are Brahmins and one Rajput. In the whole of BHU, there are nearly 1,230 teachers, of which a mere three are SC/ST but not one of professor grade.

**VC refuses to help:** This, then was the social environment when Kalpanath came to the BHU to study. The trouble began when Kalpanath stood first in the MA (previous) examination. Angered at this great performance by a Dalit student, Kalpanath says that some Hindu students threatened him, brandishing a gun, warning him not to appear for the MA (final) examination. He complained to the Vice-Chancellor of the BHU and the controller of Examinations, but they were unwilling to intervene in the matter.

The MA (final) exams which were scheduled to be held in 1988 were boycotted by the students of the Pol. Sc. dept. This was, according to Kalpanath, so to prevent him from standing first again. The final exams could only be held in 1989. Not surprisingly, Kalpanath stood first again in this examination. But, he says, he was awarded much lower marks in those papers marked internally by the BHU professors (who knew of his Dalit identity) and was marked much better and more fairly in those papers which were evaluated externally, outside the BHU (by examiners who did not know of his identity). Thus, in those papers internally evaluated, he scored 40%-41% and 43% respectively, while in the two external papers he scored 73% and 72% respectively. The vast difference between these two sets of marks clearly reveals the fact that he was victimised by the *savarna* professors of BHU, merely because he was a Dalit. Yet, taking the overall performance of the two years of his MA

together, Kalpanath Ram topped the University. The normal practice in BHU is that the topper is awarded a certificate certifying that the particular student has stood first. But Kalpanath was rudely denied such a certificate by the university authorities, because they felt that it would be a blow to the prestige of the BHU, the great bastion of brahminism, if it were publicly known that a Dalit had stood first.

Kalpanath went from pillar to post in an effort to seek justice. But justice eluded him. He approached the Vice-Chancellor, met the Controller of Examinations, wrote letters to the then PM, Rajiv Gandhi, the President of India, the SC/ST Commissioner... but remained without any response from them. His plight was highlighted in local dailies, but the upper caste authorities remained as hard-hearted as ever in their stand on not dispensing justice to him.

**Separate mess for each jati:** Kalpanath has been at the BHU since 1982, staying at the Rajaram Mohan Roy Hostel. Yet, he says, he was never eaten food at the hostel mess even once till now. The upper caste students resent the very thought of his eating with them. He also states that each hostel has 3 (unofficially) separate messes — one each for the Brahmin, Bhumihar and Rajput students. No SC is employed as a cook in the mess. He says that when one SC friend took food in the Bhumihar mess of Rammohan Roy hostel, the Bhumihar students, on realising his caste identity, forced him to stop eating there.

Untouchability is also practised in the other hostels. He cites an incident in the Bhagwan Das hostel where the SC student, sitting on a chair watching TV was forced by the upper caste students to leave the chair and sit on the floor, at their feet instead. Apparently for the *savarnas* a Dalit sitting on a chair is too much of an insult (Manu advocates the slicing of a shudra's buttocks if he sits on the same couch or bench as *savarna*). To take another example, a Dalit student was severely beaten with a rod by a Brahmin for having by mistake, splashed a little water on him (the irony of it is that this hostel is named after the "veteran socialist," Acharya Narendra Dev, in whose name Chandrasekar swears. The list of similar cases continues....

Kalpanath's story has an urgent message for India's socially oppressed millions. It appears from his case, as well as from the countless others of a similar nature, that the "Hindu Rashtra" being so fiercely advocated today by the *savarnas* will prove to be disastrous and grossly inhuman not only for the religious minorities but also for the Dalits and Backward Castes — indeed, for the vast majority of the Indian population — the "Bahujan Samaj" — comprising full 85% of the people of this land. ■

# American Baptist Church role in abolishing slavery in India

(A Wati Longchar, ETC, Jorhat, Assam)

The contribution of the American Baptist missionaries towards social transformation, particularly their involvement towards the liberation of the oppressed people in north-east India, is acknowledged by all. Needless to say, they brought the greatest social transformation upon the life of the people. Being enlightened by the liberative motifs of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they stood for the cause of the poor and the oppressed. When the missionaries came to north-east India in the 19th century, they found many dehumanizing practices that were prevalent all over the region like the slavery system. They fought against this evil system. We can say that one of their greatest achievements was the abolition of slavery system in the region. Here, I would like to highlight, in brief, the American Baptist missionaries contribution to this particular aspect.

*In the United States:* Before the event of the Great Awakening in the West, many theologians saw the politics, business, and other secular matters as evil which had nothing to do with religion. They looked upon slavery as something which did not affect religion and so without any question, many people owned slaves. In fact, it was an accepted practice and even the ministers of the church owned slaves. According to James Cone, a black theologian, in 1844, 200 Methodist travelling preachers owned 1,600 slaves and 1,000 local preachers owned 1,000 slaves in the United States. Robert Torbet, a Baptist historian, also reported that in the South Carolina approximately one-third of the Baptist laymen and two-fifths of the ministers were slave-holders. This indicates that slavery was not a theological issue. As a matter of fact, theologians of that time failed to relate the issue of slavery as a human bondage, an unjust system. Pointing out the theological approach of that time, James Cone wrote:

The Negro was taught that his enslavement was due to the fact that he had been cursed by God. His very colour was a sign of the curse which he had received as a descendant of Ham. Parts of the Bible were carefully selected to prove that God had intended that the Negro should be the servant of the white men and that he should be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water.

This shows the tolerance and propagation of slavery system. A general theological notion of the people was that "God who has cursed them to be servants and that they serve Jesus Christ while they are at work for their master".

However, the evangelicals, especially the Baptists, who came from the lower class in society but socially sensitive people recognised the system of slavery as a theological problem. Theologians like John Wesley in England and the missionaries like Nathan Brown, E.W. Clark, Miles Bronson, etc. in north-east India understood the slavery as a theological issue. John Wesley's book, *Thought on Slavery*, is a significant

work. Nathan Brown who even opposed mission receiving contributions from American slave-owners, became prominent in the anti-slavery movement in America in 1850s. Their theological approach was that "a Negro is a child of God, a brother man, an immortal soul for whom Jesus Christ died".

(b) **In North East India :** The practice of slavery was very common all over north-eastern region. This evil practice was very common in Assam since the time of the Ahoms. In 1830, a census, which gave the population of lower Assam as 3,50,000 estimated that of these 27,000 were slaves. It was said that in 1837, David Scott, a British administrator, released 12,000 slaves in Kamrup alone, and 10,000 from the Singphos and the Khamtis tribes. These figures give us a clear evidence that the practice of slavery was very dominant in the society. Just like any other commodity, slaves were bought and sold openly. Concerning the price of slaves, h.K. Barpujari recorded thus;

The price ranging from about twenty for an adult male of good caste; to three rupees for a low caste girl ... A Koch boy cost twenty five rupees, a Kalati fifty.

**Ahom slave owners:** It was also said that the Ahom nobles sometimes used slaves as gifts to present to his nobles and spiritual advisers.

The practice was very common among the Naga community also. Almost all the Naga tribes, e.g. the Aos, the Lothas, the Rengmas, etc. used to own slaves. Among the Aos, it was said that the warrior's villages like Lungkhum, Uagma, Chuchuyimlang, etc. used to possess hundreds of slaves. Owning many slaves was considered prestigious and the society gave honour and respect to those who owned many slaves.

The slaves were treated not as persons, but as commodities. They were sold and bought openly. W.C. Smith in his book, *The Ao Tribe of Assam* had recorded the price of slaves among the Ao Nagas like this:

It was a general practice to sell children into slavery for debts that ranged all the way from the value of a pig, or even less, up to the value of six or seven cows. After this first sale the slaves might be passed on from village to village.

Often slaves were served the food which was given to domestic animals. When a slave could not work any longer due to ill health, he/she was killed. During head-hunting, if the owner could not get any head, then he would kill one of his slaves. Because to come back without any head to village was considered as shameful on the part of man. Again, during war time, when a village lost the battle, the villagers used to give away slaves as price to redeem the village from the enemies' attack. A person automatically lost one's clan right when he/she becomes slaves. Female slaves

were not allowed even to be tattooed. Slaves could not marry and set up house on their own. They had to live in their master's houses. The owner was on no account allowed to have sexual relation with his own female slaves. In case, the slave becomes pregnant, abortion was used or the child was disposed of immediately after birth. Indeed, the condition of the slaves were miserable and deplorable.

A person could easily be reduced to slave. The reasons were: first, parents used to sell their children in times of individual distress or general scarcity; secondly, adult men and women sometimes sold to discharge debts of their parents, brothers and sisters or relatives; thirdly, free woman who married to slave also became slave of her husband's owner; fifthly, prisoners of war or those captured in war became slaves; sixthly, a person who had committed offence against the community and could not afford the fine demanded became slave; and seventhly, male and female slaves were left to mate as they liked, the children of such union turned to slave.

**British supported slavery:** Surprisingly, however, the British administrators did not recognise the slavery system as evil practice, an unjust system. They thought that it was a part of social custom of the people. This position becomes clear when Sir Robert Reid wrote:

Not the least important question in connection with our assumption of direct administration over the Aos is that of slavery, an institution which in the domestic form prevails widely throughout the tribe. Some rich men are said to possess as many as ten or twenty slaves. Slaves are not allowed to marry, nor to possess property, and children borne (sic, born) by female slaves are usually put to death. It is obvious such a state of things cannot be allowed to continue in British territory, but the question arises - is Government to declare at once all slaves emancipated or should we leave the institution to disappear by slow, but equally certain, method of refusing to enforce the supposed rights of slave-owners? The later system was that adopted, I presume unconsciously, by Government in the Kuki country, where slavery was, however, not so widespread as among the Aos, and the result has been that slavery has entirely disappeared.

The above quotation shows the attitude of the British administrators. They were not very keen to stop slavery outright but they rather accepted it as a part of social custom of the people. It was the American Baptist who recognised, first, the slavery system as inhuman practice. They appealed continuously to the Government to repress the slavery system at once, and preached the Gospel which gives liberty to the captives. They strongly voiced, saying;

Christ proclaimed liberty for the captives, and any gospel which ignores this grand principle, though preached by an angel from heaven, is another gospel than that of Christ. Freedom and Christianity move on together, through all the world's history.

Hence, the missionaries were responsible for prohibition of slavery.

**Theological motivations:** The Great Awakening during the 19th century among the evangelical Christians in the West inspired people to be conscious of the understanding of the Word of God in relation to

social life. The evangelicals became enlightened that Christianity could not exist without taking into consideration the social issues. They perceived both sin and salvation as a social reality. Regarding the evangelical social sensitiveness, Alter wrote:

The British and American Protestant missionaries came to India with a heritage of social activism and with a zeal to reform and regenerate the life of the people among whom they served. They conceived of the missionary movement as a great liberating force, called into being by God to rescue men and women through the power of the Gospel from sin, ignorance, false religion and oppressive social customs and practices.

Therefore, the Baptist missionaries fought against any activity that dehumanised human beings. They found the slavery system totally contrary to the teaching and practice of Christian faith. Therefore, they stood for the cause of slaves, the oppressed people.

The Baptists, the socially conscious evangelical and egalitarian American, "gave a bias in favour of the masses over against the elite". They identified themselves with the interest of the exploited masses especially with those of slaves over against the oppressive elite, because a person who is created in God's own image should not be oppressed and denied the right.

The great heritage of social activism certainly made the Baptist missionaries to oppose the slavery system because it was inhuman and oppressive. The theological rationale behind their involvement in various social issues may be summarised in the following ways: Firstly, they saw Christians as called out community who have a responsibility to extend God's mission, that is, to fight against injustice. Secondly, "*In Christ, there is no Brahmin and outcaste, slave and landlords, man and woman, rich and poor, but all are same.* Everyone has got freedom to enjoy his or her own rights. Hence, oppression and dehumanisation of one's fellow being should not be tolerated in the society. Thirdly, they perceived the saving work of Christ as breaking the fetters of bondage, a transforming weapon to create new humanity. Jesus came to this world so that humankind may be liberated from alienation, sin and oppression. Fourthly, they saw the very essence of God as love. "God is loving, not simple, love is one of the attributes of God.. but that God is love. This very love has been manifested on the cross, a love which is selfless, enduring and sharing. Therefore, the ultimate duty of the Christian is to love our Lord and live a life of love in action. *One cannot love God, if we do not love others especially those who are exploited and dehumanised.*

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(Baptist News Jan - March, 1991)

## CALL FOR DALIT REVOLT AGAINST UPPER CASTE CHURCH

### Christian liberation theology must be based on Buddhism, not Hinduism

(Rev. D. Manohar Chandra Prasad, C.S.I. Church, Doddaballapur - 561203)

It is shocking to observe the scenario of Indian Christian theological world where there is a total shallowness due to the rejection of Buddhist oriental way of liberation. It is also surprising to note that right from the time of Indian renaissance, Indian Christian theologians like Mohan Roy, Brahma Bhandav and to the latest upper caste theologians, including Syrian Christian theologians, categorised themselves with Hindu framework or with marxian class analysis. This in total reveals the fact that the revival of Buddhism during Indian renaissance period was not at all considered as the period of liberation for untouchables and dalits.

Indian renaissance was the period of great awakening for untouchables in India. The revival of Buddhism gave firm footing for untouchables to realise their freedom from brahminical barbarism for leaders like Mahatma Phule. Indian Renaissance was a superficial reform movement. Hence Buddhist revival was inevitable to counder brahminism and revivaism.

In the later part of the 19th century establishment of the Mahabodhi Society gave an ideological thrust to Buddhist movement. Scholars like David Hewari Thane of Sri Lanka founded the Mahabodi Society at Buddagaya. Japanese monk Kazame made Calcutta as the centre of Buddhist studies and published the Mahabodi journal and Pali became the language of Buddhist interest. This was also the period of World Parliament of Religions which was held in Chicago in 1883 where Buddhism was one of the main religions for discussion.

Scholars like Mylaisene Venkataswami's Boudamum Tamiliium said untouchables had Buddist origin. Tamil Pandit C lyodhidass revived Buddhism and did scholarly work on *Thirukural* and *Asvaghosa*.

Now the question is why our Indian upper caste Christian theologians refused to take Buddhism as a theological framework for Indian Christian theology.

The reasons are simple : (1) Buddhism is anti-brahmin and anti-caste, (2) Buddhism is the religion of the, oppressed and untouchables, (3) Buddhism was countering Hindu Advitic Philosophy (destruction of Nagarjuna Konda can be referred), (4) Buddhist revival during Indian renaissance-countered Hindu reforms and rejected purohitism, (5) Buddhism is mainly the ideology of Mahatma Phule, Dr. Ambedkar and modern Dalits.(6) Buddhism is the religion of Non-Aryans in India.

Christianity in India is under test. Is it with the Aryan aliens or Indians?

At this juncture one of the main commitments of the Indian Christian dalits is to fight against brahminism, in other words 'purohitism' which prevents the oppressed people from participating in decision-making and to understand the realities of their life.

This priestly brahminical Christian minority is silent with regard to caste problems in the Church and in society. And this minority in the Church has generalised and justified the humiliation of 75% of the Christians at the hands of the upper caste Hindu Christians as the 'theology for India'. It is high time that the dalits and the oppressed in the Church identify these oppressive caste and class forces and take up the 'Jesus model' of cleansing caste and class dirt in the Church and in society. Indian Christians have great responsibility to lead the oppressed people from all types of bondage to liberation and not from Hindu caste bondage to Hindu-Christian bondage.

In 1961, at the World Council of Churches Third Assembly held in New Delhi, Ivanton spoke particularly on Christian confession concerning racism and categorically condemned any form of discrimination as 'unchristian'. This was not taken seriously by our people. After two decades the Church is still suffering from caste and varna problems. Dalit Christians must to raise questions like: can the sanskritised brahminial theologies, the imported consumerist theologies of Brother's and Bills's, the transplanted liberation theologies and the uprooted Christian radicals, serve the oppressed? We must always remember it is the theology of the basti and the Chery and places of the class-caste exploitation which will have more relevance in making the voice of the people heard along with the experience of God of the oppressed.

Hence, to consolidate their struggle against the larger dalit problem the dalits should reject first those who are agents of imperialism and brahminism. Dalit Christians should reject those who deviate from dalit problems in Church and in society. They should reject those whose priorities are not the education, health and total development of dalits and other oppressed people. Christian dalits should reject those who wrongly segregate racism, casteism and class struggle. They should reject those who give wrong leadership in the Church and in society. Now it is time for dalit Christians to draw all revolutionary democratic elements from the teachings in Bible to begin a protracted war along with other oppressed groups. With all these rejections let us remember that the Church is an instrument of the Kingdom of God and is called upon to bring good news to the poor and the oppressed. it is an instrument of God in His mission because Jesus says, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me. Because he has appointed me to preach good news to the poor, release the captives and to set at liberty those who are oppressed. To proclaim the acceptable years of the Lord" (Luke 4.8).

## Muslims support Mandal com.'s caste-based reservations

(S.M. Pasha, Madras)

Individuals, as well as organisations, see the Mandal Commission Report in the same manner as the proverbial six blind men of Hindustan saw an elephant and whose views on the shape of the animal were partly right and wholly wrong. I am a Muslim no doubt but I have penned this article not from a communal point of view but as a student of Muslim minority psychology. I have grappled with the intricacies, profoundities and also the idiosyncracies of the Commission's Report with an open mind and made an academic and objective study of the reactions of the Muslims about the Commission's recommendations. Hence, at the outset, the psychology of the Muslim minority is analysed.

No religious minority anywhere in the world really feels secure and accepted. It is but natural for no dissatisfaction-proof social system has been so far evolved to accomodate such dissatisfied groups in a society. The Negroes in America, the Copts in Egypt, the deviationists in communist countries and Hindus in Pakistan and Bangladesh were and are dissatisfied and afraid for their own reasons. Indian Muslims too are dissatisfied and worried that they might gradually and ultimately become second class citizens in their own motherland. This dissatisfaction and fear has not gripped them overnight but it has been there ever since the question of reservation was decided adversely against them by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. *The Constituent Assembly decided in 1949 to do away with the separate electorates but retained the reservation of seats for Muslims on the basis of population for a period of ten years.* Unfortunately, after 2 years, the framers of the Constitution chose to unsettle what had been amicably and sagaciously settled. They took away what had been conceded and guaranteed to them. A careful and dispassionate study of the Report of the Advisory Committee on Minorities presented by Sardar Vallabhai Patel and the discussions on it will throw ample light on the subject. Since what could not be cured had to be nobly endured by the Indian Muslims though they resurrected the demand for reservation now and then, here and there. The murmuring was so feeble that it could be ignored and forgotten easily. Today for the Muslims the recommendations of the Mandal Commission appears to be a manna and hence their vociferous participation in the hullabaloo is but an eruption of a volcano long suppressed.

**Muslims support caste criterion;** "Caste" is the core of the Mandal Report and the root cause of the conflicting opinions on its recommendations. It would be sheer hypocrisy not to admit the fact that those who cry aloud know the least about the real or imaginary "inequities" of caste. Their knowledge comes not from direct and unbiased study and

research but from indirect caricatured and exaggerated presentation of the issue by films — documentary and commercial — literature issued by vested interested political and religious groups and further buttressed by newspaper reports about the atrocities of one community on the other. Therefore, the subject was discussed with several Muslims — leaders as well as commoners, intelligentsia and ignorantsia. Some of the questions put to them are: Is caste oppression in India a myth or a reality?; have educational and employment opportunity and economic prosperity or adversity any bearing on caste? Is the status of the Muslims progressively worsening? The answer is in the affirmative. The subject was debated with non-Muslims also, who were questioned as to whether they felt that reservations, as recommended by the Commission, constituted any/or perpetuated an evil? Most of them honestly admitted (though they would not say so openly) that caste has been, is and will be a significant factor in the country, talks about secularism notwithstanding

Yet another argument of the Muslim is : why not treat caste discrimination as a sort of positive and constructive discrimination even as it is accepted as a successful method to uplift those section of society which suffer disadvantages owing to their sex? To substantiate their point, they refer to the case of reservation of jobs in local government and civil service for the Blacks and the Asians in Britain, which initially disturbed the hornet's nest but eventually the opposition died down when the justice of the measure was realized and appreciated. Similar was the case of America and Europe. Muslims are pained that the members of the "majority community" are making a mountain out of a molehill. Instead of implementing the recommendations of the Commission on an experimental basis, rejecting them would be unsuitable or detrimental to the interests of the minorities or to the country. The findings of this study are that there is consensus of opinion approving the recommendations of the Commission — may be with slight modifications. ■

### Centenary for one more year

**New Delhi:** Prime Minister, Chandra Shekhar, on April 14 announced that the centenary celebrations of Dr.B.R. Ambedkar would continue for one more year up to April 14, 1992 which will be observed as a public holiday. Addressing a public meeting at the Ramilla Grounds here. Also announced that a major airport would be named after Dr. Ambedkar. ■

## Violation of human rights in India

**New Delhi :** A young research scholar the Jawaharlal Nehru University here was picked up from his home in Tanda village of Rampur town in U.P. on March 26, on the pretext of needing help in some investigation. His father wired a message to the police superintendent the same day. On March 27, Shahabuddin Ghor, was officially arrested under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act. Brought to Delhi the same day, Shahabuddin's room in Kaveri hostel of JNU was searched, and certain documents seized. Thereafter Shahabuddin remanded in police custody till April 9. It was only to April 1 after his father had filed a habeas corpus petition that Shahabuddin was produced before the court of Justice Sharifuddin and Justice Nag on April 1. Since Shahabuddin appeared to be in a bad shape, his counsel sought orders for a medical examination which was ruled out by the judges, who held that a separate petition would have to be filed. However, the counsel was allowed to confer with the client. Upon being asked whether he had been tortured, Shahabuddin, broke down. He only managed to convey that he had been blindfolded and beaten, before he was whisked away by the police. The investigating officer objected to counsel's asking such questions. A separate petition filed for a medical examination was to be heard by the court of the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate, M.L.Sahni, where Shahabuddin was to be produced. After delaying the matter, the police finally informed the court that Shahabuddin was ill and could not appear. The magistrate ordered an immediate medical examination at the Safdarjung Hospital. However, this was not complied with by the police at the Lodi Road interrogation cell of the Special Branch. When on instructions from the DCP, Sukhdev Singh, the orders were finally accepted, the police informed Shahabuddin's counsel, Ashok Aggarwal, that since the investigating officer was absent, an examination would be possible only the following day (Friday). The charges against Shahabuddin that a certain name has been mentioned in a letter found on the person of an alleged JKLF, Ashfaq Khan. The police are of the opinion that the name is a code name for Shahabuddin. Students of JNU who have taken up this issue, point out that whether or not the charges against him are justified, he should be given a fair chance and that his rights must not be violated. A large number of Human Rights organizations, including South Asia Documentation for Human Rights, the Amnesty International have also taken up the issue. The JNU Teachers Association intends to issue an appeal in this regard. However, the university authorities themselves seem to be unconcerned. Quick to disown responsibility because the arrest took place outside the university premises, the university's only attempt is to keep its name clear. (*Statesman* April 5.)

**New Delhi:** Three persons, including a research scholar of the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), arrested on charge of funding militancy in Jammu and Kashmir, have been remanded to police custody for nine days by a Delhi court. The accused, Ashfaq Hussain Lone, Shammu Dayal and Shahabudeen Gori, the JNU research student, taken into custody under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), were produced before the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate on April 10 and remanded to police custody. Police Commissioner Arun Bhagat said that Lone and Shahabudeen allegedly acted as conduit for funds and communication with militant outfits in Kashmir, including the banned 'Hizbul Mujahideen. Incriminating documents and cash and drafts worth Rs.16.27 lakh had been recovered from them. (*Indian Express*, April 12).

## KERALA JAMAT ISLAM CHIEF MUST APOLOGISE FOR INSULTING MUSLIMS

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

Kudos to V. Prabhakaran for his excellent factual report on Kerala in the manner of a seasoned journalist. (DV March 16, "Kerala Newsletter" p.16). Abdulla Maulavi's insulting insinuations against Dalit Muslims that "Islam is not a free boarding and lodging house for *undons* and *adakodans*" reveals the ugly mentality of elite Muslims in India. What does he want from Indian races Muslims? He wants Dalit Muslims to mortgage their dignities and votes to fatten the alien, colonial races? We cannot expect these aliens to become true Muslims. It is time that they assume control and custody of mosques to end the colonialism of elite Muslims. Dalit Muslims also should seek the assistance of their racial brethren (SC/BC) to secure emancipation from the elite Muslims. Over 90% of Muslims in India are Indian races (SC/BCs) who opted to Islam centuries ago after deserting their Buddhism. But they continued to remain Indian races. Despite their attempts to forget their racial origins because of the powerful egalitarian influence of Islam, these Dalit Muslims are being treated as untouchables and "lower", by the rest of the 10% alien race elite Muslims. This 10% per cent elite Muslims are exploiting and looting the posts and positions of Dalit Muslims. In the name of Muslims, it is the elite Muslims who are cornering all grants and aid from the govt. This 10% elite Muslims control all the Islamic institutions properties and mosques in India. Hence, they treat the 90% Muslims as wretched and lower castes and style themselves as upper caste (upper race) Muslims. This 10% elite Muslims are the descendents of Nawabs, Jagirdars and slaves of Nawabs brought from Iran and Afghanistan. The Muslim League leadership which is today isolated in Kerala belongs to this elite Muslim category. The elite Muslims are closer to upper caste/Aryans, nay Hindus. These elite Muslims eat away the cream, while the Dalit Muslims die in hundreds in communal massacres. These elite Muslims do not demand even compensation for Muslims killed in communal violence because they do not want the Dalit Muslims to make any progress. They merely issue paper statements to fool the victims of "communal violence". On the other hand, they secretly hold talks with the Aryans, cursing the Dalit Muslims as deserving the punishment in "communal riots". Both the Aryans and Muslims are a single united lot in degrading and depressing the Dalit Muslims. As an Ambedkarite I demand public apology from Abdul la Moulavi for insulting the Muslims of Indian races by calling them the wretched low-castes (*undons* and *adakodans*). Anyone depicting Indian races as lower castes is insulting all Indian races called SCs, BCs, Buddhists, Dalit Christians, though he directed his sins against Dalit Muslims. All Indian races demand public apology from the said Abdulla Moulavi. Let the Aryan races too faking themselves as "upper castes" and Hindus, heed this warning not to depict the Indian races (SC/BC/ST) as castes, lower castes, backwards, Other Backward Castes (OBC), *Harijans*, inferior castes, inferior tribes, *anti-shudras* and such other nonsense. The Indian races have arrived. Beware of this supreme truth.

## Sikhs are slaves in India, says Bimal Kaur

**Stockton, USA:** Bibi Bimal Kaur Khalsa in an emotion-charged speech declared: "Sikhs are slaves in India, it is a crime in the eyes of India to just be a Sikh. All Sikhs have been branded terrorists despite the fact that 90% of the sacrifices made for India's independence were made by Sikhs. We must not waver from the goal set for us by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who roused the sleeping Sikh nation to the grave danger facing the panth. We must not go back to sleep. Sikhs were born to rule or to become martyrs but never slaves."

The widow of Sikh hero and martyr, Shaheed Bhai Beant Singh, Bibi Bimal Kaur is also an elected member of the Indian Parliament. She was appreciative of the support she had received to be able to sit in front of Rajiv Gandhi in Parliament. Speaking to a packed Gurdwara Sahib here on March 17, her speech was often punctuated by full-throated choruses of "Jo bole so Nihal, Sat Sri Akal" and "Khalistan Zindabad"

She recounted the Sikh struggle in India since 1978 when 13 Sikhs were murdered by government agents in the garb of Nirankaris. "What atrocities has not India heaped upon Sikhs since then. Sikhs are murdered with impunity and the perpetrators of the November 1984 Sikh massacres had been rewarded rather than punished. There is no legal recourse for Sikhs. The houses of Sikhs are searched at will and young men are taken away for questioning. They are often tortured to death or killed in fake encounters. The jails in Punjab are full of thousands of Sikhs, many held for years together without trial or charge. Even the bodies of the Sikhs who are killed are not returned to the relatives. Often parents beg the police to just let them know if their sons are dead so that they could perform last rites."

The attack on the holiest Sri Harmandir Sahib on

June 4, 1984 was a deep-rooted conspiracy to finish the Sikhs altogether, she said. June 4 was the martyrdom day of Guru Arjan Dev and hundreds of thousands of Sikh pilgrims visit the Golden Temple on this auspicious occasion. Bibiji said in a raised voice, no human power on earth could destroy the Sikhs but those who have tried have always been finished themselves. It was to avenge the affront of Operation Bluestar that Saheeds Bhai Beant Singh, Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh had to lay down their lives.

Bibi Bimal Kaur described the situation in Punjab as very grim. The army, police, CRPF and BSF were everywhere. There was no security of life or property. Not only homes, but gurdwaras are also searched by the police who desecrate the holy places with their hobnailed boots. Even the Golden Temple was in police custody, she said.

In giving examples of Indian oppression, she cited the case of Bhai Sukhminder Singh and Bhai Ranjit Singh who had raised their voice against oppression. They are now in a New York detention facility. The Indian courts could find no evidence against them and virtually declared them innocent but the Indian government refiled the case against them after having lost it last year just so the voice of the Sikhs remains repressed.

Parliament passed a resolution expressing grief at the Bhopal gas tragedy but the Sikh massacres have not even merited a mention, she said.

Bibi Bimal Kaur appealed to Sikhs in western countries to come together in this time of struggle. She made particular reference to the tussles among local groups over control of gurdwaras and said our resources should not be wasted in courts.

Bibi Bimal Kaur was presented with a siropa by Dr Harbhajan Singh. (*World Sikh News*, March 22).

### COMMUNICATION Controversy on Babasaheb's "Three Commandments"

(M.L. Dohray, Agra)

Recently, I had an exchange with the noted Ambedkarite scholar, Dr. D.R. Jatav, on the "Three Commandments" of Babasaheb: "Educate, Agitate, Organise" I had read lot of books by Dr. Jatav in which he had quoted the "Three Commandments" as "Educate, Organise, Agitate". I wrote him a letter enclosing your booklet, "Three Commandments of Babasaheb", which is a reprint of the DV editorial (Feb. 16, 1989). I wanted to know from him how the people got misguided from the path shown by Babasaheb, this being the birth centenary year. I am reproducing his reply of Dec. 3, 1990 from Jaipur. I asked him to prove his claim but he did not. I am still waiting for his reply. As I am confused, I am placing Dr. Jatav's reply so that the readers may get a correct guidance:-

Received your letter of 22.11.90 along with the booklet written by V.T. Rajshekar. You have written your letter in a language as if you are an authority on Dr. Ambedkar. People twist things or ideas as they like and take the sequence of "Educate, Agitate and Organise" from D. Keer who was a Brahmin and did not quote it in right earnest. Mr. Bhagwan Dass has given the full speech in his book, *Thus Spake Ambedkar*, Vol.3 and the sequence is in consonance with the spirit of Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy of life. Mr. Bhagwan Dass has given such a source, and I agree with him. He is an authority on Dr. Ambedkar. I have original sources, that is the entire Ambedkar Literature in English.

(EDITOR: We have great respect for Dr. Jatav's scholarships and contribution. We are prepared to correct ourselves and always ready to learn things.)

## Letters to Editor

**Douglas R. Spitz**, Department of History, Monmouth College, Monmouth, USA.: You may remember that this past March 4 I came to meet you: I'm most grateful to you for taking time to speak with me, and my only regret is that I was unable to meet with you for a longer period. I do hope that when I am next in India I will be able to meet you again and learn more of your views about the situation in India. I wish to subscribe to *Dalit Voice*. Our students here, and especially our Afro-American students, are very interested in the condition of the Dalits in India.

**Victor G. Jackson**, San Antonio, USA: The great, good Dr. Ambedkar was a man of his times. He thought internal warfare for India was inevitable. But he did not know that millions of US dollars would be given to Dalits, wealthy, influential, educated international friends were willing to support Dalits, computers and world-wide communications would be available for Dalits. Dr. Ambedkar did not fully make use of the international law and international minority rights, the United Nations and the World Court could come to the rescue of Dalits. The great, good Dr. Ambedkar, necessarily operated within limits of perception. But the time has come in this Dr. Ambedkar's Centenary Year to internationalise the Dalit issue. Because India's Untouchables together with the tribals constitute the world's single largest indigenous population, perhaps exceeding the population of even Africa. Hence the UN, the World Court, international human rights organisations and all those concerned with justice and peace in the world will have to take note of the exploitation and persecution of Dalits in India. Dalit has become the world's single most important problem needing urgent attention. Without solving the Dalit problem, no other problem can be solved. Dalits don't need a war. Dalits need money, millions of US dollars, and international publicity. The Editor of DV must locate a lawyer who will work for the Dalits and is not afraid to take on the ruling powers. We can turn the world upside down. My research has revealed illegal conspiracies between certain multinational corporations and the US Govt. Will DV help break this conspiracy of silence? If a dedicated lawyer will work with my information, the Dalits can within one year gain international publicity and gain share in substantial out of court settlements and law suit awards. We can change the course of history. Will the Editor of DV help us?

**K. Mohammed**, Riyadh: Because of *Dalit Voice* the world has come to know the heart-rending story of Satyan ("Nazi crucifixion of a Kerala Brahmin boy to prevent his conversion," DV Jan. 1, 91). Many people in India and outside think that the Indian courts are

real courts of justice. DV has exposed the true character of the Indian courts. Poor Riberio reached Romania too late or else he could have taught Nicolai Cousescu's Securitatat one or two Indian Nazi tricks in preparing his hit lists. In India, the Brahmins and other Aryan races want Dalits to go under the label of "Hindus" so that the Dalits will never realise their strength that they constitute 85% of the Indian population.

**Ram Rattan Ram**, New Delhi: In the last few issues you have been making campaign for V.P. Singh and asking us to vote for the Janata Dal-National Front. But when you shifted to Delhi and got the Delhi Edition of DV released by Ram Vilas Paswan, the then Union Welfare Minister, these people never came to your support when you unexpectedly landed in trouble following the sudden burst of violence by the anti-Mandal upper caste boys. In fact, DV was the only paper then supporting the Mandal Commission in the whole of capital. But those who invited you to Delhi and gave you all hopes never stood by you during this violence that forced you to close down the Delhi edition and retreat to Bangalore.

(You are partly right. Our support to Mandal and V.P. Singh is given not with any selfish motive. Remember one thing. We might have been forced to close down the Delhi edition and come back to Bangalore but within days of our retreat VP Govt. also fell. All of us became victims of Aryan war and violence. We have to recover the lost ground by voting VP back to power. Individuals do not count in the march of history — EDITOR).

**S.K. Angurana**, Jammu: On March 15, some Dalit workers of the Bahujan Samaj Party allegedly broke some parts of M.K. Gandhi's samadhi at Raj Ghat in Delhi. The brahminical mass media magnified these and gave out of proportion publicity. Paid agents of the Congress and all other brahminical parties condemned the BSP and its chief, Kanshi Ram. We came to know of all these things from the "national toilet papers" which were vying with each other to tarnish the BSP. But none recollected the mischief done by M.K. Gandhi against the Untouchables and how Dr. Ambedkar, the Father of India, himself had declared Gandhi as the Enemy No. 1 of the Untouchables.

**Miss Sukanya Bharati**, Nagpur: I congratulate the BSP workers for rightly taking objection to the word *Harijan* inscribed on the *Hundi* kept at the Raj Ghat. The authorities of the Raj Ghat defended this obnoxious word which means "bastard" in Gujarati. Gandhi by renaming our people as *Harijans* has only denegated us. Our angry brothers took objection to this word which is not used in the Constitution or by the Govt. When the Raj Ghat people defended this unconstitutional and anti-national concept, the BSP people rightly protested. The whole country was happy over this incident.

**N. Sreenivasulu**, Gen. Sec., Dalit Youth Service Assn., Tada, Nellore, AP-524 401: I want to draw your attention to the services rendered to our people

by R. Rajendra Prasad, a statistician in the MRO Office here. Suler taluk in Nellore dt. has 70% SCs to whom Prasad has become a darling. But upper castes never recognised his services only because he is a SC.

**Mahesh Chandra & Bhaggi Lal Sankhwar, Kanpur:** The residents of Atwa, Post Pokhrayan, Kanpur, are celebrating the Dr. Ambedkar centenary year by silently spreading his burning thoughts. We will be installing a life-size statue of Dr. Ambedkar on this occasion.

**Mrs. Kamala Devi, New Delhi:** With ref. to your editorial on DEF (April 16), I liked the way you ruthlessly exposed our well-fed upper caste "feminist" leaders. Kanshi Ram used to keep a name plate bearing the name of Phoolan Devi in his bed room in Delhi. I came to know that he kept this name board after you made him the request to get Phoolan Devi elected to legislature on a BSP ticket. To remember your request he got this name plate made and kept it hanging before his eyes. DV has been campaigning for the release of Phoolan Devi. You hailed her as India's greatest fighter for the human rights of Dalit women. But she is rotting in the Gwalior Jail even without a trial for the past decade or so. She is innocent. She can't be called a dacoit because she killed only those Thakurs who raped her. In self-defence even murder is allowed. Actually, the country has to honour Phoolan Devi. She can be put up by the BSP to the Lok Sabha in this election. But no feminist leader took up her cause because she doesn't belong to the Aryan race. Your edit is superb.

**M. Punithan, Madras:** DV has been enlightening us on our problems, our origin, cause of our degradation, effect-solution etc. At the same time, when we debate, talk to others regarding the position of India, our different types of social problems, we feel difficult to express it in a convincing way. This is due to lack of statistical data, lack of knowledge about various problems apart from caste. For example, you have educated us in such a way that we could easily and at the same empirically convince others. This is regarding the caste and communal problems. But we need to be educated in other ways also.

**Ramachandrayya, Bangalore:** Your "Aryan tricks" editorial on DEF (April 16) came as a shock to me. Because I participated in the brahminical tricks, called Appiko, in North Kanara etc. Most of the Appiko heroes were Havyak Brahmins. I did not know the inside tricks until I got it confirmed by your edit.

**Srinivasa Raju, Hyderabad:** I endorse your edit on DEF (April 16). I approached DEF heroes three times to join our Andhra Dalit Mahasabha work here but they refused saying that we were undertaking a casteist job. Most DEF heroes are upper caste Aryans. You are right.

**G.H. Shanmugam, Madras:** You are right in criticising the "feminist leaders" (April 16 edit). Brahminical

philosophy has no respect for women. The man, according to Manu, supplies the seed. The woman is only a bed on which the seed is sown. The credit therefore goes to the seed and not the bed. Our feminist leaders don't repudiate Manu. *Manu vadis* can't be feminists. Periyar was a greater feminist leader than all our Indian feminist leaders put together. This edit must be translated to all Indian languages to educate the Indian races about the Aryan tricks.

**R.L. Yadav, 2/18 Ramananda Nagar, Allahpur, (N) Daraganj, Allahabad, UP-211006:** Your DV edit, "Hindu unity destroys Indian unity", has been translated to Hindi and published as a pamphlet. Those interested may write to us.

**Pranita Roy, Bagula, Nadia, W.Bengal:** The "national press" controlled by the upper castes are building up the image of the Congress and the Nazi party, BJP. The Brahmin-Bania-Thakur gangup is total.

**G.S.Mane, Bombay:** I am employed in Bombay University. Since the inception of DV I am its reader. Here, we seriously discuss the issues raised by DV. Upper caste Nazis don't agree with DV but they have no arguments to refute what is propounded in DV. So they get defeated. To argue with these Nazis, I have kept all DV issues bound into a volume so that I can easily refer to the right subject. I have bound volumes from the year 1981.

**Arun Kumar Nerunkar, and seven other Dalit students of Gulbarga University, Gulbarga, Karnataka:** We thank you for bringing out the truth in your report "Dalit-Lingayat clashes in Gulbarga (DV Feb.1). Newspapers published false reports to tarnish the Dalits. Because of these we were all arrested and put in jail. The man behind this action is the Lingayat vice-chancellor of this university, Dr.N.Rudraiah. The university is being used to build up the Lingayats and other upper caste interests.

**Buddhist Society of India, Ambedkar Bhavan, New Delhi-55:** Over 5,000 delegates attended the Buddhist conference here which pledged to bring India under Buddhism. A mass conversion of Dalits to Buddhism was the highlight of the conference. Ven.L.Aryavansha conducted the conversion ceremony. Prof.H.C.Joshi, president of our society, administered the oath. Ram Vilas Paswan was the chief guest.

**C.Majumdar, Gen.Sec., All-India SC/ST Bank Emp. Fed., W.Bengal, Unit, No.14 India Exchange Place, Calcutta - 1:** The birth centenary of Babasaheb and the second state-level conference of our Federation was held on Feb.16. Nikhil Chandra Biswas of the Central Bank was elected as our new president with myself as the gen.sec.

**M.C. Vimal, Dr. Ambedkar Weaker Section Welfare Society, Jammu:** The J&K Govt. spends lakhs of rupees on purchase of books. But during the past 40 years it did not buy even a single book of Babasaheb. After two years of our fight, Rs.12,000 worth of Babasaheb's burning thoughts (books) were

purchased by the Mohd. Yusuf Teng, Director-General of Culture, Jammu. This is because of the pressure of Ambedkarites who were inspired by the work of DV and Dalit Sahitya Akademy.

**Daya Ram Meghwal**, New Delhi: At a time when the Hindu Nazis are crying hoarse that they alone are the true nationalists, it would be interesting to recall their track-record of gross violation of the symbols of Indian nationhood. Thus, A.B. Shah, a Gujarati Bania, in an article in the *Secularist* (Jan. Feb. 1973) writes about a meeting organised by the Saraswat Brahmins of Maharashtra. "The conference was attended by the religious heads of the four Saraswat *maths* of Kavale, Gokarn, Chitrapur, and Kashi. The four swamis gave their blessings to the community but refused to stand up when the national anthem was sung..." (p.4). Shah adds that "years ago, a Shankaracharya refused to stand up when the national anthem was being sung at the PEN conference in Baroda. Nehru asked in his characteristic angry tone: Isn't that the Swami going to stand up?" (p.4). Besides not giving any respect to the national anthem, it is also wellknown that the RSS has always advocated saluting the Bhagwa (saffron) flag in place of the Indian tri-colour. The claims that the Hindu fascists alone are true nationalists and that the minorities are not, therefore, is proved hollow.

**S.M. Pasha**, Madras: DV article (April 1) by Dr. Upendra Baxi regarding the Gandhian perfidy on Untouchables was interesting and thought-provoking. You have to publish another article to expose India's Nazi historians. My reference is to the conflict between Jinnah and Gandhi on separate electorate for Muslims and the Untouchables. Such an article will help the posterity to know and decide for itself as to who the real villain of the piece was. For, little is known or made known that it was Gandhi's unreasonable attitude despite opposition from Dr. Ambedkar towards the reasonable proposal of the British which was responsible for the failure of the Round Table Conference and the imposition of the "Communal Award." Indian history would definitely have been written differently, and with it the destinies of the Muslims and Dalits, if Babasaheb had joined hands with Jinnah and clinched the issue on the reservation of seats to the Dalits.

**Pastor C. Alghar**, Emanuel Churches, Christian Pet, Palakol, AP-534 261: I am writing a thesis on the "Untouchables and their religious, social customs and conditions before and after their conversion into Christianity." I was much impressed on reading DV and that is why I am seeking your guidance.

(Dalit Christians may directly supply him the needed material and prove how the church in India is controlled by the Aryan converts who continue to discriminate against the Untouchables even after conversion — EDITOR).

**Raju Thomas**, Madras: Dravida Kazaghama chief K. Veeramani says in an interview to *Alive* pg. 18 (1990) that "any one who is not a Brahmin is a Dravidian." Some writers speak of Aryans, Dravidians

and Adi-Dravidas. Then we have the Mangoloid races. Some writers say that the Untouchables are Adi-Dravidas and BCs are Dravidas. Romila Thapar, an upper caste historian, has discounted the Aryan invasion theory (DV Jan. 16, 1990). Dr. Ambedkar maintains that Dravidians of the South are the Asuras or the Nagas of the North. Dravida is not an original word. The word Dravida denotes the language they speak but not the race. Tamil was the all-India language before the Aryan invasion. So Nagas and the Dravidians are the same people. Nagas was a racial name and Dravida their linguistic name. So there are only two races, the Aryans and the Nagas (*Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches*, Vol. 7 p. 291 to 300). So all non-Brahmins cannot be called Dravidas. DV must clear this confusion. ■

#### BHEEM MARCH — 1990-91

Dr. B R Ambedkar Birth Centenary Forum-Karnataka  
No.155, 27th Cross, 6th Block, Jayanagar,  
Bangalore - 560 082

With immense pleasure we inform you that we have launched a year-long programme called *Bheem March* : 1990-91, a cycle rally to commemorate the birth centenary of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. Bheem March. A dedicated team of 14 young men, a woman and a nine-year-old boy led by M. Gopinath, commenced the march on 14.4.90 from Bangalore. The rally has covered nearly 25,000 villages, all the mandals, hoblis, taluk and district h.Qs. of Karnataka. It also visited places like Nagpur (Maharashtra), Hyderabad (A.P.), Kasargod (Kerala), and Hosur (Tamilnadu). All the way it has covered more than 35,000 kms. of distance on cycles. Now it is moving in the districts of Mysore, Mandya and will be reaching Bangalore on May 12, 1991.

Bheem March faced innumerable hindrances and problems on its journey. Yet it successfully organised several seminars, few workshops, hundreds of literary campaigns, thousands of cultural programmes and village meetings on dalit culture and problems. Throughout the cycle rally, the Bheem March team had their food and sleep in the houses of dalits which enabled them to have detailed discussion and on-the-spot study of dalit culture and their existing problems, which are varying from district to district. It also compiled substantial statistical data on the present social and economic status of dalits. Bheem March arranged continuous programmes for 13 months to create cultural pride and historical awareness among the oppressed. It is destined to take the caravan of Dr. Ambedkar to secure liberty, equality, fraternity and justice to every exploited and to develop self-reliance and self dignity among dalit masses.

Bheem March will be welcomed in Bangalore on May 12th & 13th 1991 when we would organise a mammoth rally and flood light cultural festival. On this historical occasion we would also organise a National Seminar on "Dalits and Their Rights" which would be attended by social scientists, committed dalit leaders and important Ambedkarites in India and abroad. You are requested to participate in this seminar as a delegate/special invitee/Guest speaker and make this venture a grand success.

NOTE: Delegate fee of Rs.20/ may be sent to us by DD/ Cheque favouring Dr.B.R. Ambedkar Birth centenary Forum — Karnataka. ■

## CONFERENCE TO SAVE INDIA'S UNITY AND INTEGRITY

(Our correspondent)

**Bangalore:** For the first time in the history of Karnataka, a spirited group of patriotic youths has decided to celebrate the birth anniversary of that great revolutionary, Che Guvera. On this occasion, they have arranged a "Conference on Regional Autonomy" to save the unity and integrity of India threatened by the Hindutva Nazis, and to assure the constitutional rights of different ethnic races, Dalits, religious minorities and cultural groups who have contributed to its unity through diversity. So from all these angles, it is a unique conference because for the first time at least some youths are taking interest in saving India from disintegration.

The two-day conference to be held here on June 15-16 has raised lot of hopes among the country's progressive forces worried about the country's rapid disintegration, said a spokesperson of the National Self-Determination Youth Front (NSDYF). Representatives of all those involved in the country's unity through diversity are invited. Kashmiris, Punjabis, Bodos, Jharkhandis, Tamil Elam, ULFA, GNLF, Telugu Nation and different struggling masses caught in the jaws of the Hindutva Nazi wolves are invited. Outside India, they propose to invite the American Blacks and Palestinians. NSDYF leaders met the Editor of DV, who is also deeply worried about the country's unity and integrity, and requested him to invite all readers of DV interested in this burning topic of the day to participate in this conference. It is learnt that the conference, to be inaugurated by a top political leader of India, has received the blessings of all revolutionary forces working for the country's unity and integrity thus saving it from the jaws of Hindutva Nazis bent upon vivisectioning India into several countries. "Nationality question" is receiving lot of attention following the break up of Soviet Russia and convulsion in Eastern Europe. DV wrote an editorial itself on the subject, "Nation, Nationality and Indian union". (Aug. 16 89) It was followed by another editorial "Hindu unity will destroy Indian unity". (Jan 16, 91) In *Dalit Voice* our primary concern is for the Indian races, its original inhabitants called Dalits who are scattered all over the sub-continent. Any break-up of the country for which the Aryan/Hindu Nazis are trying will first effect the Dalits. So it is the Dalits who are in the forefront of the movement for India's unity and integrity. Hence the June 15/16 conference is very important for all the Indian races, SC/ST/BCs and religious minorities.

Those interested may contact:- Convener, NSDYF, No.129, Chick Bazaar Street, Shivajinagar circle, Bangalore - 560 051.

## Plea to raise SC seats

**Bombay:** A division bench of the Bombay high court on April 8 heard a writ petition seeking an order restraining the Election Commission from issuing a notification for the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections unless the number of scheduled caste seats in Maharashtra was increased from three to six. Madhukar Kamble and Deepak Patil filed the petition on the ground that the number of seats had been reduced from six in 1951 to three now. In 1951, the population of SC was 12.5 percent of the population. Article 330 of the Constitution says that reservations should be in proportion to the population. Following the conversion of a large number of SCs to Buddhism in 1956 under the leadership of Dr Ambedkar, only three seats were reserved in Maharashtra for the 1967 parliamentary elections. However, in June 1989, a Presidential Order had been issued making Buddhists also part of the scheduled castes for reservation of seats. The petitioners said that the population of scheduled castes was now about 18 percent in the State. They should therefore get eight seats by proportion or in the alternate, the six seats given in 1951 should be restored (*Times of India*, April 16)

## 700 Buddhist Viharas in Bihar forcibly occupied by Aryans

(Debashis Chakravarthy, A.M.U. Aligarh)

The "tolerance of Hinduism" has already been proved to be a fallacy in history. The great monist Vedantist, Sankaracharya, entered into arguments with his adversaries on condition that, if they conceded defeat, they would commit suicide. Buddhism was the widespread religion of this peninsula till the rise of Sankara, yet there are very few remains of Buddhist temples and viharas left in India today. There were at least 700 viharas in the State which was, therefore, named Bihar. How many of them still exist? Who destroyed them?

The sacred fig-tree, Bodhidrum, at Gaya, was said to have been felled by the Sankara's followers. The Jagannath temple of Puri, as even Vivekananda acknowledged belonged, originally to the Buddhists. How did it become a Hindu temple? Will the modern protagonists of Hindutva probe into all these facts before taking up the cudgels to correct the historical error of the Babri mosque? (*Statesman*, March 28).

*Untouchables of Bihar will have to launch a struggle to recover our viharas — EDITOR.*

# History according to Ambedkarism: Further research into our roots

(N. K. Sharma, New Delhi)

1. Tribes become castes (Hutton, 1931 census, Vol. III). This means races become races. Tribe means race. Caste means race.

2. Castes mean races. We can say that there are three castes in America: Whites, Africans and Red Indians. (*Castes in India*, 1916, Dr. Ambedkar).

3. SC/BC/ST are Indian races. The Hindu castes are alien Aryan races (Vol. III. *Dr. Ambedkar Speeches and Writings*). Both do not have a common religion or culture. Hindu castes are alien to Aryan culture which is hostile to Indian races.

4. SC/BC Buddhists opted to Islam to gain political patronage from Afghan Nawabs. But the Afghan Nawabs showered political patronage on the Hindu castes headed by the Brahmin at the cost of their own indigenous Muslims. Nawabs denied political power to SC/BC Muslims of Indian races. (Vol. III, *Dr. Ambedkar Speeches and Writings*).

5. The Nawabs favoured the Brahmin and his castes to post them as his colonial agents as jagirdars, talukdars, village officers. But the same Nawabs degraded the Indian Muslims as Untouchables. Those without administrative and political powers become untouchables, irrespective of their religion. Thus the credit for introducing the concept of untouchability goes to the Afghan Nawabs from 650 AD to 1800 AD. (Vol. III, *Dr. Ambedkar Speeches and Writings*).

6. Untouchability does not mean touch-me-notism. It means denials and deprivations. Denial and deprivations means colonialism. Thus the Indian Muslims were made Untouchables and victims of untouchability by Afghan Nawabs. Thus Indian Muslims were colonial subjects (Untouchables) and victims of colonialism (untouchability). That means the terms, "Untouchables" and "Untouchability" are secular terms, (political terms) and not related to any religion.

**Why Buddhists opted for Islam?** Had the Indian Muslims were appointed as village officers, talukdars and jagirdars, the Afghan Nawab rule would not have become a colonial rule to Buddhists who opted to Islam. They, then, would not have become untouchables and victims of untouchability. (Ibid)

7. When we say Indian Muslims, we mean that they belong to Indian races of SC/BC. In India, we have the Afghan Muslims (descendents of Afghan races) and Iranian Muslims. These Afghan and Iranian Muslims are Indian citizens, but they are alien castes/races. In DV, they are sometimes called "elite Muslims".

8. Why the Afghan Nawabs preferred Hindu castes

or the Aryan castes headed by the Brahmin as allies and colonial agents? Whether the Aryans were the cousins of Afghan races? As the Aryan castes were aliens, Iranians and the Afghan Nawabs trusted them. As they were Aryans with no total support (weaklings), the Nawabs considered the Brahmins and his Aryan castes as better colonial agents. They did not enjoy local strength to rebel and revolt.

9. Had the Nawabs made the Indian Muslims as their allies and political agents, they might have rebelled for they enjoyed support of the local indigenous population. As Indian races, the Muslims might have activated all other Indian races. Hence the Indian Muslims were degraded by the Nawabs and they became untouchables.

10. In the same way due to denial of political power, SC/ST/BC Indian races also became Untouchables and victims of untouchability because of Afghan Nawabs. The Nawabs defeated SC/ST/BC races between 650 AD to 1400 AD and deposed them from power. Nawabs did not defeat the Aryan castes for they did not have any homeland or kingdom in India. SCs were kings and kingdoms. SCs included BCs because BCs were later development. Those SCs expelled from SC races became BCs. The expulsion resulted because of BC contact with alien Hindu castes. SCs all the time right upto 1800 tried to keep themselves at a distance from the alien Hindu castes. The cobbler and scavenger castes too are those expelled from SC races by SCs for becoming servants to Hindu castes. These ex-communications are nothing to do with chastity or sex. This way ex-communicated families were settled by the Brahmins nearer to him Aryans enslaved them as they were the colonial agents of Nawabs. After defeating them, the Afghan Nawabs appointed the Brahmin as political and colonial agent in all the villages. The Nawabs scouted for the Brahmins and his castes in Benares and other places and posted him as talukdars and village officers all over India. This way the Brahmin and his slave castes reached South India.

## THE ROLE OF SHUDRAS IN SOUTH INDIA:

11. Initially one or two Brahmin families and Shudra families were settled in each village as the trusted agents of the Nawab. The Shudras (slaves) were given to the Brahmin for his protection. When the Brahmin and the Shudras were killed away by SC/BC races, the Nawabs army used to raid SC/BC villages. SC/BC races used to kill the Nawab's colonial agents whenever the aliens entered their homelands. SC/BC

used to be wild and violent against the aliens unmindful of the consequences. Hence in some villages the slaves (Shudras) were posted as village officers. The Brahmin refused to go to such dangerous villages or taluks. You find this living history in South India.

*Thus the Afghan Nawabs reserved all posts and positions to the Brahmin and his caste while they denied the same to SC/BC races and SC/BC Muslims.*

12. As the original kings and kingdoms, SC/BC races waited patiently from 650 AD to topple the Nawabs and their colonial agents, called Hindu castes.

**Dalits built the British Raj:** Finally the SC races defeated the Nawabs and the Brahmins and erected the British empire in India in 17th century. SC armies defeated Hindus and also the Nawabs.

13. *SCs were in power as the army of the entire British empire from 1772 to 1892. Of course, BCs were not in the British army. SCs captured total power as soldiers of the British Army. But they could not utilise that power for their advancement. Why? Because they did not have a religion, they could not demand posts and lands to their community. They were aimless. Radarless. No religion was there to guide them.*

BCs were also aimless without a religion. As the Nawabs disarmed them and degraded them as Untouchables, they could not capture power even when the Nawab was defeated by another Nawab. As they were Indian races and Buddhists, they were degraded as untouchables. For want of political patronage, Buddhists got degenerated into a sort of tribal faiths. Till Ambedkarism reached SC/BC races as a religion, they could not demand political power.

14. But in 1892, the ungrateful British degraded SCs as untouchables and enforced untouchability against them. How the British made SCs and BCs and STs as Untouchables?

15. They made SC/BC/ST Indian races Untouchables by law and enforced untouchability by law. They dismissed lakhs of SCs from the army and from all offices and banned the future recruitment of SC/ST/BCs to any office. And then they reserved all posts and positions to the Hindu castes in Administration and Military.

#### ORIGIN OF ANGLO-INDIAN RACE

16. The British removed all SCs from offices and this means the British degraded them as untouchables. They banned their entry to the offices. That meant that they were made untouchables. This is how untouchability is enforced against them. Indian races were boycotted by the British rulers in India. This means they inflicted colonialism (untouchability) of SCs/ST/BCs. Yet the British used to hundreds of SC/BC women and produced the Anglo-Indian race.

17. Like the Nawabs, the British also reserved all posts to the Hindu castes (the Brahmin and his four

varna castes). This means, the British inflicted the Aryan or Hindu (castes) colonialism on SC/ST/BCs.

18. Why the British degraded the Indian races now called SC/ST/BC and inflicted barbaric colonialism (untouchability) on them need not be discussed here. It is enough if we remember that they did play this barbarism on our people. The British were the emperors and the Hindu castes were their administrators oppressing SC/ST/BCs. Both had a common objective.

19. Many British generals protested against this barbarism against the innocent martial, but Indian, races. It was an ungrateful act on the part of the British empire, the generals said. They pointed out that the SCs were the British empire-builders in India as well as South-East Asia. To dismiss such brave soldiers and ban them forever from the military and offices was nothing but mountains of ingratitude on the part of British rulers. Despite these arguments of the British generals on behalf of SCs, the British dismissed them and banned their recruitment.

20. *That is why the terms 'Untouchable' (orphans of power) and 'Untouchability (colonialism) are political terms. The Nawabs introduced these terms against Indian races and also against indigenous Muslims. The British leagalised these two terms again in 1892 against SC/ST/BC races.*

21. By linking these two terms to the non-existing Hindusim, we are fooling ourselves. We are unable to understand the meaning of untouchability as colonialism. We are unable to perceive that we are the victims of the colonialism of the Hindu castes. Our enemies are misleading us by turning our attention to the non-existing Hinduism.

22. *The Hindu castes are Aryan castes but not Hinduism. This term was invented in 1928 to fool Indian races. To depict Indian races as part of Hindu castes is nothing but madness.*

#### "HINDU" WORD NOT FOUND IN BRAHMIN SCRIPTURES

23. Even if the Aryan castes / Hindu castes forward their religion as Hinduism from 1928, how Indian races become Hindu castes from 1928, how Indian races become Hindu castes from 1928 onwards? These words "Hindu" and "Hinduism" nowhere figure in the brahminical scriptures, said Dr. Ambedkar in Vol. V of his *Writings and Speeches*.

24. When the Indian races (SC/ST/BCs) were not Hindu castes in 1927, how could they become Hindu castes from 1928? Indian races are not "castes" and much less Hindu castes. Even if they were called Hindu castes from the 1931 census, by what trick they become castes and Hinduism? They remain Indian races. **CASTES MEANS RACES.** *Scheduled Castes means scheduled races and Backward Castes means backward races. SC/ST/BCs worship their own*

tribal dieties. They never worship the Aryan gods like Brahma, Indra and Vishnu. Even if SC/BC worship some alleged Hindu gods, thereby they do not belong to the same religion as Hindu castes, said Dr. Ambedkar. They do not become Hindus by worshipping gods (refer to 1931 census and observations by the then Census Commissioner, H. N. Hutton, page 426, Vol. III).

25. SC/ST/BCs worship their own deities from Krishna, Kali Ellamma, Murugan, Buddha, Dr. Ambedkar and seven thousands of other gods. They worship their own ancestors. The Black Krishna is not an Aryan God. *They worship many gods but the Indian races (SC/ST/BCs) are non-religion races. Until they take to a religious they would be continued to be fooled and ruled. They continue to be victims of colonialism. They will remain powerless orphans (untouchables) and an easy prey for exploitation, oppression and suppression. For the present, Ambedkarism is assisting them as a religion. They should pursue Ambedkarism blindly and become Buddhists.* Even after becoming Buddhists, BC and SC races in all the States are to remain as separate, distinct social and political identities. Religion gives them history, heritage, pride and unity for the greater glory of this country of Ashoka and Buddha who belong to the SC races.

#### STOP CRITICISING BRAHMINS

The Hindu claim that Buddhism emerged as a revolt against brahminism is false. In the sixth century BC, the total number of Aryans were not even 50,000. To say that they occupied some important positions in those days is foolish. Aryans were slaves to SC/BC races during Buddha's life time. Buddha preached that all races are equal for the Indian races used to often fight the aliens because they were independent nations.

26. Do you want me to blame the Hindus / Hinduism and the Brahmins for the sins / crimes of untouchability? If your hatred against Hinduism and Brahmins get satisfied this way, this proves that you are a non-Hindu. Indicting Hinduism (non-existing) and the Brahmins, is not my business. I consider Brahmins as harmless as a race and I do not want to give them any importance or credit. They are too small brains to invent untouchability and Untouchables. *In 700 AD, the Brahmins and his Hindu castes were pariahs under the Indian races called SC/ST/BCs. Do not give them any good or bad credits. Topple them from colonial power.*

27. Do not be fooled by remaining busy all the time indicting others. Be busy and die for the demands that elevate your caste. Every small human group is caste, meaning a race, a distinct ethnic identity. Demand political power, posts and positions to your caste / race by reservations. Forget about the past. Be proud that you are Indian races. Do not recollect

your degraded history of past, said Dr. Ambedkar.

28. Brahmins and Hinduism have nothing to do with the origin of the terms, "Untouchables" and "Untouchability". Nagas practice touch-me-notism with Mizos and *vice versa*. Hence, they remained Nagas and Mizos.

29. Why the Aryan castes called themselves as Hindu castes? From what period they called themselves as Hindu castes? They called themselves Hindu *jatis* in Sanskrit, meaning Hindu races. Castes mean races in the case of Brahmin castes also. Are there any other Aryan castes which are not Hindu *jatis*? Or else, why these Aryan *jatis* described themselves as Hindu *jatis*?

#### ELITE MUSLIMS ARE ARYANS

30. The Afghan and Iranian Nawabs and their descendents are also Aryan castes / *jatis*, though they were not Indian *jatis*. These Aryan or Afghan *jatis* have their own homeland also. Hence the Nawabs called the Brahmins and his *jatis* as Hindu *jatis*. "Hindus" merely means Indian citizens during the Nawabs. By "Hindu castes," Nawabs merely meant Aryan castes settled in India. The Afghan-Persian-Iranian-Aryan *jatis* (descendents of Nawabs and Afghan rulers) were not Indian *jatis* at that time. Today, these Afghan-Aryans in India may call themselves as Indian Muslims but in fact they are the elites of Muslim community in India. The Nizam regularly imported Iranians or Aryans to his army. Iranian are Aryans. Better remember Aryameru Shahenshah of Iran, rightly deposed by that great Ayatollah Khomeini. The Nizams also recruited Kumaon Brahmins and Gharwal Brahmins to his army (two districts called Kumaon and Gharwal in Uttar Pradesh). Because they were also Aryans and aliens.

The Nawabs of Afghanistan and Iran always sought the Hindu castes because they were Aryans and aliens. The most benevolent Moghul emperors like Akbar too never forgot the Hindu castes; they being his own Aryan aliens in this country and appointed them as ministers and jagirdars. But even Akbar did not allow SC/BC Muslims to enter his durbar. Then what to speak of other SC/BC races who were not Muslims? Most of Muslims in Akbar's Durbar were also Afghan or Iranian races.

31. This is not exactly racism of Akbar and other Nawabs against Indian races (SC/BC) and the Indian Muslims. Those were the days of dictators and imperialism. Imperialism is both racism and colonialism in theory and in practice. Those were not the days of democracy.

32. The present-day outcry of the Hindu castes headed by the Brahmin, against Islamic Sheikhs was only aimed to hide away the historical truth of their colonial collaboration with Nawabs and Begums. The outcry was also aimed to denigrate SC/BC Muslims as a part of their racism. But the Hindu castes even

today maintain the most cordial relations with the descendents of Afghan and Iranian Muslims castes of India. The Muslims occupying high positions in India are mostly alien Muslim races but not the 90% Muslim population of SC/BC races. *The alien Muslims reap the fruits while the Indian Muslims are killed in anti-Muslim riots.* There is no hope of any salvation to the Indian Muslims unless they reclaim their particular identities and roots. Why should SC/BCs Muslims remain as victims of colonialism of elite Muslims? The Mandal Commission included 6% of Muslim population (SC/BC races) among Backward castes for reservations. This way Ambedkarism rescued half of SC/BC Muslim races.

33. This way, both the Muslim historians and the Hindu castes are bent upon perverting all the historical truths to upgrade the Aryan races and denigrate the Indian races called SC/BC/ST and the oppressed Muslims of Indian origin.

34. Only to fool the Indian races called SC/ST/BCs, the Hindu castes called themselves as "Hindus" instead of Aryans. After calling themselves Hindus, they floated the big lie by calling themselves as Hinduism. ("Hindu unity aims at destroying Indian unity", reprint of DV editorial of Jan., 16, 1991). Hinduism is the other name for brahminism, said Dr. Ambedkar. Then the Aryan castes advanced a step further in 1928 to claim the Indian races as Hindus and Hinduism, though SC/BC hate the Brahmin, his castes and his brahminism, yagnas, human sacrifice, sati and caste system. *SC/BC hate everything that is called Hinduism as it is alien to their culture or Indian culture.* Thus Hindu castes are not Hindus but Aryans and there is no such thing as Hinduism. There is no bond that links SC/BCs with Hindu castes who style themselves as Hindus. These Hindus are colonials and claim SC/BC/ST as their colonial victims.

35. The Persians and the Afghans acted as rulers over the Sind delta and other Pakistan areas even prior to Aryans coming into India.

36. When the Aryans drifted into India in 1500 BC as naked nomads, the Persians and the Afghans were already ruling the Sind areas. The naked nomads, called Aryans, worked as serfs and slaves to the Suras called Indra and Varuna and worshipped them as gods. Indra and Varuna were Afghan landlords. Hence they were called Suras. These Suras were defeated by Asuras (Indian races) and freed the Aryans from slavery and serfdom to Indra and Varuna etc.

37. In view of those historical details, it is totally foolish to say that the Persians / Afghans began calling Sind people as Hindus from 700 AD. They knew Sindh river many centuries before the Aryan arrival in India. "Hindu" was derived not from Sind but from "Indies". Even up to 1600, this country was called "Indies" in English. India is derived from Indies. So also Hind and Hindustan were derived from "Indies". *Hindus means citizens of Hindustan and not the followers of alleged*

*Hinduism.* Brahminism (yagnas and Brahmins) is the tribalism of Aryan tribes. Indian races pursue their own tribal faiths called Adi-Dharma even today, but they have nothing to do with Aryan tribalism even if it is called Hinduism.

38. From the beginning SC/BC/ST races were Buddhists. After the Nawabs destroyed Buddhism, SC/BC races degenerated into tribal faiths. They destroyed Buddhism to weaken the Indian races.

#### TAMIL BRAHMINS & MUDALIARS

39. History stands as mute testimony to the fact that SCs expelled BCs from their castes as the BCs maintained close contacts with the aliens, called Hindu castes. SCs also expelled and ex-communicated scavengers and cobblers from their caste, as these two functional groups maintained contact with the alien races called Aryan castes. Dr. Ambedkar repeatedly pointed out that SCs do treat even the Brahmins as touch-me-nots (untouchables), what to speak of the other Hindu castes? In some parts of the country, BCs from the beginning were independent races as SCs.

40. Indian tribes normally kill away their own kith and kin, who make any contact with other races. Even today, the Jarawas of Andamans kill away their men, who make contact with others or Indians. Tribes do not meet other tribes as well.

41. The Brahmin claiming untouchability as the central point of his dharma / religion. Hinduism is nothing but a big lie. His trick of painting untouchability as touch-me-notism is another tomfoolery. As there is no such thing as Hinduism, how can untouchability become its part? How can untouchability become Hinduism?

42. Touch-me-notism is the central point of all tribes and human groups. SCs treat the Hindu castes as touch-me-nots and untouchables. All Muslims treat non-Muslims as Untouchables. Notional untouchability is in vogue among all races and human groups. This is nothing but touch-me-notism. But SC/BC/ST races are the victims of colonialism. Colonialism is the real name of untouchability.

43. By claiming untouchability as his Hinduism, the Brahmin is claiming Untouchables as his Hindus. Look at these tricks of the trade. He is trying to fool you as Hindus and Hinduism.

44. To end these deceptive claims, look at the Brahmin not as priests or castes but as colonial rulers. Look at the Brahmin as a political powerhouse. When the just 3% Brahmin population (12 lakh population or 3 lakh families) occupy 70% posts in Tamil Nadu, what is it? It is barbaric colonialism. The 4% Mudaliars are occupying another 25% of government posts. But the remaining 93% population of Tamil Nadu are SC/BC races and victims of barbaric colonialism.

45. *This colonialism is to be toppled immediately*

by retiring all Brahmins and Mudaliars with full salary as pensions. This will give self-government and their due rights to SC/ST/BC races. Or else, why the Indian races should go on waiting for self-government until the Hindu castes retire? Let the Hindu castes take full salaries as pensions and retire from government offices. In those vacancies, the Indian races (SC/ST/BCs) are to be recruited. This should be the central demand of SC/BC races. To realise this goal SC/BC need take to Buddhism.

46. Unless SC/BC races become Buddhists, they will continue to suggest that theirs is a mixed races. This suggestion comes from their inferiority complex, injected by the Brahmin and his agents.

47. At present the Brahmin and his four varna castes are committing sins and crimes against Indian races as colonial powers. The Brahmin began committing fresh crimes against Indian races from 1928 by his foolish claims on Indian races as castes,

Hindu castes and Hinduism.

**SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus:** Those who describe the Indian races (called SCs BCs and STs) as "lower castes" are simpletons and fools. Those who describe SC/BC/STs as Hinduism and Hindu castes are tomfools. Do not try to be a simple fool by believing that you are Hinduism and your caste is "lower caste" of non-existing Hinduism. Believe that you are the victim of political colonialism. *Neither the Hindu castes are Hinduism nor Indian races are Hinduism. There is no such thing as Hinduism.* The descriptions — "lower races" and "upper races" — are totally foolish expressions. This is a racist expression. Henceforth we must refer to the Aryan castes as Hindu castes and Hindus. Their brahminism would be called Hinduism as and when the Brahmins make such a declaration. SC/ST/BCs would be referred to as Indian races and non-religious races. ■

## Namasudras: Religious revolution of a Bengali Untouchable community

(Debendra Lal Biswas Thakur President, Harichand Mission and Editor - "Harisevak", A/35, Rabindra Palli, Calcutta-86)

Matua Sahitya is the only Dalit Sahitya under the Bengali literature. It is based on the Matua religion of the Dalits of East Bengal (now Bangladesh). The greatness of Matua Sahitya forced Kalyani and other universities of West Bengal to award the degree of Ph.D. in the subject. Matua religion was founded by Harichand Thakur of Orakandi, Gopalganj district, East Bengal, now Bangladesh.

Harichand was considered an Avatar, like Krishna and Buddha, but hated by the upper castes and the brahminical social order. Because he was a Dalit (Namasudra). He was born in 1812 AD. At that time the untouchables of East Bengal were embracing a Islam and Christianity in big way. Had not he appeared then, Untouchables would have en masse become Christians. He founded the Matua religion and saved them from conversion to other religions. He died in 1877. His chief disciple, a famous folk poet and saint, late Tarak Chandra Sarkar, wrote the life history of Harichand. This life history of Harichand is called Sri Harililamrita, a big book of poems. The saint Tarak Chandra Sarkar was also a Namasudra (Untouchable). He wrote another book, Mahasankirtan,, a book of songs at the end of 19th century. He died in 1914. Harililamrita was first printed in 1916, two years after his death. Its composer bribed the Calcutta Sastra Prachar Press manager. Because, the Press Authority refused to print it on the ground that Harichand was an Untouchable and hence can't be called an Avatar.

**Vaishnava persecution:** East Bengal was mainly populated by the Untouchables, the Namasudras being 50% of the total "Hindu" population. Because of the Vaishnav religion innovated by Chaitanyadeb, Untouchables were persecuted like anything. Upper caste oppression had reached its peak. Because of

this, conversion became popular.

Harililamrita is the oldest book on Dalits in Bengali literature. Perhaps it is the oldest book on Dalits in the whole India. Hence Saint Tarak Chandra Sarkar may be hailed as the Father of Dalit Sahitya in India.

**Mauritius is Dalit:** The Island of Mauritius is also an independent Dalit country. The people of Mauritius are the latest generation of Indian labourers supplied 200 years ago by the foreigners for cultivation of sugarcane. They went there with the Hindu religious book, Ramcharit Manas, in Hindi written by Tulsidas. But Dalits cannot depend upon any such Hindu scriptures which are full of brahminism preaching against our basic interests. In the circumstances we should have a common religious book. The Harililamrita of Matua religion fills this gap. This should be translated into English and other languages so that the Dalits can unite on the basis of a single religious culture.

Are we advising Dalits to embrace Matua religion? The answer is found in the Harililamrita. Those following Matua religion in India and Bangladesh are about 1 crore. It is my opinion that if Dr. Ambedkar was aware of Matua religion then he would have embraced it.

Harisangeet, a book of Matua song written by Saint Ashwini Kumar Sarkar, is highly valued. This book is better than the Gitanjali of Rabindranath Tagore.

Harichand Avatar is nothing but Hari Avatar. His son guruchand Thakur was also an Avatar. All these miracles are described in the books by Bicharan Pagal and Guruchand Charit composed by the late Acherjea Mahananda Halder, advocate and MLA.

**How Dr. Ambedkar got into Parliament: Guruchand**

was not only an Avatar but was also a great social reformer, preacher of Matua religion and educationist of East Bengal. His education movement in 1881, ten years prior to Dr. Ambedkar's birth, made many people politically conscious. The education movement produced Jogendra Nath Mandal, Mukunda Behari Mallik, Dwarika Nath Barari, Gayanath Biswas etc. — all of whom voted for Dr. Ambedkar to be a member of Parliament prior to independence in 1946. Without their support Dr. Ambedkar could never have become a member of the Constituent Assembly and drafted the Constitution of India. All the above supporters of Dr. Ambedkar belonged to the great Namasudra community of Guruchand Thakur. That is why Guruchand Thakur is highly respected by the followers of Dr. Ambedkar in India.

Dr. Ambedkar revolutioned his own Mahar community in Maharashtra. This community was divided into 18 sects. Dr. Ambedkar united them into one Mahar community. Guruchand Thakur also united his own Namasudra into one community divided into eight

sects.

Matua religion is dead opposed to brahminism. It is an independent religion like Buddhism and Sikhism. Hundreds of non-Bengalees are embracing it attracted by its simplicity and greatness. Due to the partition of India the Matua people got scattered in West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, UP, MP, Maharashtra, the Andamans. The total number of Matua population is not known. In Bangladesh it may be about 60 lakhs. The greatest festival of them is birth anniversary of Harichand on Madhu Krishna Traodasi Tiithi every year. On that occasion a Baruni Mela is held at Orakandi in Bangladesh, about 7 lakhs of people attend it. Mela is also held at Thakurnagar in 24 Paraganas, West Bengal, the Bangladesh government declares a national holiday for this.

*(Excerpts from the speech delivered at the 6th National conference of Dalit writers held in Delhi on Dec. 6-7, 1990 under the auspices of Bharatiya Dalit Sahitya Akademy).*

#### PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

### UN definition of racism must be made applicable to India.

*(Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Calcutta)*

Art. 17 of the Indian Constitution reads, "Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law." But the word 'Untouchability' has nowhere been defined in the Constitution. Without defining it, no person can be punished for practising Untouchability. Even an instigation of social boycott is not treated as an offence. (Devarajah Vs. Padmanna, A. 1961, Madras 35 (39).

Even The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955, and The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, do not define 'Untouchability.' Without this definition, all persons accused of practising untouchability, go scot free under these Acts. The UN General Assembly vide its Resolution 2106-A (XX) of 19 Jan. 1965 adopted "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination." The General Assembly declared in this Convention that "Any doctrine of superiority based on racial differentiation is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, and that there is no justification for racial discrimination, in theory or in practices, anywhere."

#### Untouchability is racism

Untouchability is nothing but racial discrimination based on descent, called *jati*. Defending the Untouchability/racial discrimination, the General Assembly wrote under Art.1 (1), "In this Convention, the term "racial discrimination" shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin

*which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."*

Art.4. states Parties condemn all propoganda and all organizations which are based on ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin, or which attempt to justify or promote racial hatred and discrimination in any form, and undertake to adopt immediate and positive measures designed to eradicate all incitement to, or acts of, such discrimination and to this end, with due regard to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rights expressly set forth in article 5 of this Convention, inter-alia:

(a) Shall declare an offence punishable by law all dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination, as well as all acts of violence or incitement to such acts against any race or group of persons of another colour or ethnic origin, and also the provision of any assistance to racist activities, including the financing thereof;

(b) Shall declare illegal and prohibit organizations, and also organized and all other propoganda activities, which promote and incite racial discrimination, and shall recognize participation in such organizations or activities as an offence punishable by law."

The Indian Union has already signed and ratified this Convention. Thus, this definition is very much applicable in cases of victims of untouchability in

India. This definition must be invoked in all court cases to punish the guilty. *All Dalit organisations must pass resolutions asking the Government to incorporate this definition in Art. 17 of the Constitution and in The Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 and "The Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955" for the sake of clarification to the Courts.*

**India's refusal;** India has already signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966, but has refused to sign the Optional Protocol 1966 under this Covenant. Dalits must insist on India signing this Optional Protocol to safeguard their human rights by appealing to United Nations as Dalits are the worst victims of Police tortures etc. They must insist upon India signing UN. Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1975. This will help the victims in getting adequate compensation from the State for Police torture, and the guilty police officials will also be tried as criminals. ■

### Communication

#### Untouchables are not Hindus: Wanted More convincing arguments.

(S.R. Talukdar, New Delhi)

I find lot of articles in DV emphasising that SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus. N.K. Sharma's articles are mainly to prove this point. Though I fully agree with this view, I am not fully convinced about the reason shown by Sharma. He says our forefathers were not Hindus, so we are not Hindus. This is not very convincing. Because in that case, the Indian Muslims are not Muslims as their forefathers were not Muslims and Indian Christians are not Christians as their forefathers were not Christians. We are not Hindus because we were never converted into Hinduism. A Muslim or a Christian was formally converted into his respective religion though in the opinion of Babasaheb, these were imperfect conversions. Any newcomer to Islam is given all the rights and privileges of the Muslim society. He can enter any mosque and he can perform all the sacraments of the Islam. Within a short time he is completely assimilated into the religion. Though some sort of casteism is practiced in Muslim religion also that is not so rigid and mostly because of Hindu influence.

Compared to Islam, the conversions into Christianity is more imperfect. A neo-Christian maintains his Hindu caste and observes most of his Hindu rituals. Marriage is mostly on the caste lines. But the differences among the Christians are purely social in nature. It has got no religious sanction.

Now, let us come to Hinduism. SC/ST/BCs were never converted into Hinduism. Because, Hinduism is not a

proselytising religion. Newcomers have got no place in the Hindu society. So SC/ST/BCs were not converted into Hinduism but they were captured by the Hindus. They became the slaves of Hindus and in course of time the slaves started imitating the masters. Being suppressed and oppressed by the Hindus the SC/ST/BCs got completely demoralised and got satisfied with the lowest position under the Hindus. They lost their original identity. In every society, the inferior always imitates the superior. The same has been the case with the SC/ST/BCs also. They started following the Hindus though Hindus never accepted them as Hindus. When the Muslims claimed their share in Indian politics then only the Hindus accepted the SC/ST/BCs as Hindus just to increase their number. Now we have to discover our identity and go back to our forefathers' religion. ■

### JAINS ARE NON-HINDUS

**New Delhi:** A writ petition seeking to define the term Hindu, Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism used in the Constitution of India has been filed in the Supreme Court. K.C. Kulish, writer and journalist of Rajasthan, has filed the writ petition. He has also prayed that the terms "minority" should also be defined to avoid confusion in the country.

The petitioner has submitted that the words like "Hinduism" and "minority" were commonly used these days and in order to weed out communal virus from the society it was necessary to define these words in the light of prevailing circumstances. He has pointed out the use of word Hindu in Explanation II of Article 25 which reads as: "In sub-clause (b) of clause (2) the reference to Hindu shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jain or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institution shall be construed accordingly. He has submitted that "until" this date there is no precise definition of the term "Hindu" available either in any statute or in any judicial pronouncement. The petition pleaded that Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism are independent religions and urged for an appropriate writ or direction in this direction. (*Statesman*, March 26). ■

### Request to Support – R. Elumalai

(V.T. Rajshekar)

**Bangalore:** We are happy to announce that our colleague, R. Elumalai, Editor of the Tamil Edition of the *Dalit Voice*, convener of the powerful Dalit Cultural Front, Madras, and general secretary of the militant Pattali Makkal Katchi (Toilers Party) headed by Dr. Ramadoss, is contesting the Lok Sabha elections from Vanoor, S.Arcot Dt. He contested the last Lok Sabha elections from Chidambaram but lost narrowly only for want of funds. Our readers are requested to support him. His address is 4/35 Balaji Nagar, III Cross, Selaiyur, Madras - 600 073. ■

## Supreme Court upholds reservations in promotion: Bank job

**New Delhi:** The Supreme Court has rejected a plea of the Central Government and the Syndicate Bank on reservation of posts in promotion to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Division Bench, consisting of Justice Kasliwal and Justice Agarwal had said last August that the officers were eligible for reservation in promotions by selection method to the highest levels. The Bank and the Union Bank of India had said in their review petitions that reservation in promotion for selection in higher grades was not permitted under the Government's reservation policy. The court rejected the plea to review its judgment of last August and dismissed the review petitions. The court asked the bank to implement its judgment dated August 10, 1990 with effect from April 1 this year (*Deccan Herald* - April 5.) ■

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Today, on the occasion of his birth centenary, we salute Dr. Ambedkar - the architect of our Constitution. And strive to live up to his ideals.

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