

# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

Vol. 10

June 16 - 30, 1991

No. 15

LIBRARY  
24, BENSON RD  
DATE  
17-6-91  
BANGALORE-560 046

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United States: RUNOKO RASHIDI

Circulation: A. PATRICK

Printer: A. PRABHAKARAN

Sales & Distribution: HEMLATA

Dalit Voice is also published  
in Tamil ; Urdu, Telugu,  
Malayalam and Hindi

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Are Muslims a separate nation in  
India? Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Do the Muslims constitute a separate nation within India?

Nationality is a social feeling. It is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. This national feeling is a double edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one's own kith and kin and an anti-fellowship feeling for those who are not one's own kith and kin. It is a feeling of "consciousness of kind" which on the one hand binds together those who have it, so strongly that it over-rides all differences arising out of economic conflicts or social gradations and, on the other, severs them from those who are not of their kind. It is a longing not to belong to any other group. This is the essence of what is called a nationality and national feeling. Now apply this test to the Muslim claim. Is it or is it not a fact that the Muslims of India are an exclusive group? Is it or is it not a fact that they have a consciousness of kind? Is it or is not a fact that every Muslim is possessed by a longing to belong to his own group and not to any non-Muslim group? If the answer to these questions is in the affirmative, then the controversy must end and the Muslim claim that they are a nation must be accepted without cavil. What the Hindus must show is that notwithstanding some differences, there are enough affinities between Hindus and Musalmans to constitute them into one nation, or, to use plain language, which make Muslims and Hindus long to belong together. Hindus, who disagree with the Muslim view that the Muslims are a separate nation by themselves, rely upon certain features of Indian social life which seem to form the bonds of integration between Muslim society and Hindu society (p.31) In the first place, it is said that there is no difference of race between the Hindus and the Muslims. That the Punjabi Musalman and the Punjabi Hindu, the UP Musalman and the UP Hindu, the Bihar Musalman and the Bihar Hindu, the Bengal Musalman and the Bengal Hindu, the Madras Musalman and the Madras Hindu, and the Bombay Musalman and the Bombay Hindu are racially of one stock. Indeed there is more racial affinity between the Madras Musalman and the Madras Brahmin than there is between the Madras Brahmin and the Punjab Brahmin. In the second place, reliance is placed upon linguistic unity between Hindus and Muslims. It is said that the Musalmans have no common language of their own which can mark them off as a linguistic group separate from the Hindus. On the contrary, there is a complete linguistic unity between the two. In the Punjab, both Hindus and Muslims speak Punjabi. In Sind, both speak Sindhi. In Bengal, both speak Bengali. In Gujarat, both speak Gujarati. In Maharashtra, both speak Marathi. So in every province. It is only in towns that the Musalmans speak Urdu and the Hindus the language of the province. But outside, in the mofussil, there is complete linguistic unity between Hindus and Musalmans. Thirdly, it is pointed out that India is the land which the Hindus and Musalmans have now inhabited together for centuries. It is not exclusively the land of the Hindus, nor is it exclusively the land of the Mahomedans (p.32) All this, no doubt, is true. That a large majority of the Muslims belong to the same race as the Hindus is beyond question. That all Mahomedans do not speak a common tongue, that many speak the same language as the Hindus cannot be denied. That there are certain social customs which are common to both cannot be gainsaid. That certain religious rites and practices are common to both is also a matter of fact. But the question is: can all this support the conclusion that the Hindus and the Mahomedans on account of them constitute one nation or these things have fostered in them a feeling that they long to belong to each other? There are many flaws in the Hindu argument. In the first place, what are pointed out as common features are not the result of a conscious attempt to adopt and adapt to each other's ways and manners to bring about social fusion. On the other hand, this uniformity is the result of certain purely mechanical causes. They are partly due to incomplete conversions. In a land like India, where the majority the Muslim population has been recruited from caste and out-caste Hindus, the Muslimization of the convert was neither complete nor effectual, either from fear of revolt or because of the method of persuasion or insufficiency of preaching due to insufficiency of priests. There is, therefore, little wonder if great sections of the Muslim community here and there reveal their Hindu origin in their religious and social life. Partly it is to be explained as the effect of common environment to which both Hindus and Muslims have been subjected for centuries. A common environment is bound to produce common reactions, and reacting constantly in the same way to the same environment is bound to produce a common type. Partly are these common features to be explained as the remnants of a period of religious amalgamation between the Hindus and the Muslims inaugurated by the Emperor Akbar, the result of a dead past which has no present and no future (p.34).

*(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume VIII, "Pakistan or Partition of India", 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.*

## Thoughts on Rajiv Gandhi murder: The only people who stand to gain are Hindu Nazis

Rajiv Gandhi went the way of his mother falling a victim to the swelling cult of violence that has become the creed of this country — falsifying the ruling class boast of India being the land of non-violence. In the midst of the "country's most violent (238 killed in first round) of all elections", (DV April 16, p.8), Rajiv died in a bomb blast (May 21, 91) in Tamil Nadu just as his mother died of an assassin's bullet in Delhi proving our oft-repeated charge that India is fast turning into the world's most violent country. Hate produces more hate. Those who live by hate die of hate. "This burning hatred in the Hindu heart" is roasting this country alive. Hindu Nazis who alone stand to gain by this hate-mongering are the only people rejoicing today. It is a pity that the two of the three Nehru dynastic rulers were denied even dignity in death. Indira Gandhi was killed by a Sikh as a revenge for launching the "Blue Star" (1984) that resulted in the alienation of the entire Sikh population. And Rajiv Gandhi, according to ruling class theory, is said to have been killed by Lankan "terrorists" as a revenge for launching the unwanted IPKF war against Lankan Tamil Tigers. But in both the cases they — Indira and her son — were manipulated by the ruling brahminical social order to declare war on the ethnically strong Sikhs and Tamils and in the process the rulers did not realise that hate creates more hate.

So much so, India described as the "world's largest working democracy" peopled by over 850 millions is not only becoming ungovernable but it is becoming more and more clear that the rolling Hindu Nazi juggernaut is breaking the sub-continent into pieces. In an ancient country accustomed to the rule of kings, nawabs and feudal lords, the western-type democracy is proving to be unworkable because of strong ethnic and subnational pulls. And the only way to forcibly keep the country "united" is through violence, murders, assassinations, a game in which the Hindu Nazis are experts.

As peace-loving people and the eternal victims of upper caste violence, we hate all killings. So we are, naturally, very much perturbed by Rajiv's assassination. We can even say that his assassination is nothing but the cold-blooded assassination of the last remaining vestiges of democracy in India. *The surge of the saffron Hindu nazism is bound to get a shot in the arm because of this assassination. The one who stands to gain most by this assassination is Hindu nazism which is hand-in-glove with global white racism and zionism.* That many ex-generals with Arya Samaj connections and also zionist leanings joined the nazi party on the eve of the elections

together with dreaded dacoits and hardened criminals is a pointer.

One side India is pushed to unprecedented economic crisis and coupled with all-round moral decay, intellectual corruption, and criminality. All this also represents the "Congress culture" — the quintessence of brahminical culture. All this has made this country ungovernable. Within 45 years of our so-called independence, the rulers have not only quarrelled among themselves but started killing each other seeking international support, pushing the country to unprecedented depths. The ruling upper castes comprising merely 15% of its population should take the blame for this all-round chaos.

The brahminical social order has devised such a perfect well-oiled, fool-proof machinery of exploitation from top to bottom. And if the country has not collapsed so far it is only because of this wonder machine of exploitation. This machinery stretches from every village-level upwards right up to Delhi and works in perfect harmony. It is this machinery of exploitation working in close collaboration with the *varnashrama dharma* (caste) that keeps this country from collapsing. It is this machinery that rules out the possibility of a revolution in India. Hindu nazism wants not only to strengthen this wonder machine but modernise it. The New World Order of President Bush and the zionist forces seemed to have assured to supply fuel to this machinery.

The Congress Party, the original brahminical party of India, is the cause for all the country's ills. The different nazi parties are its children. That is why the brahminical press spread so much of lies against poor Sonia Gandhi whose nomination as Congress President would have been welcomed by the religious minorities, tribals in particular, women and other weaker sections. But a well-orchestrated campaign was engineered to block her entry by spreading all sorts of lies. They wanted to hoist only a Brahmin — Narasimha Rao of Andhra Pradesh — and succeeded. But how far he being a South Indian will be acceptable to the ruling cow beltwalas is still not clear. But it is quite possible that the forces opposed to this Andhra Madhwa Brahmin, may sponsor the wily Chandrasekhar, the Thakur from UP, who has all the qualifications to please the brahminical social order.

Everything looks uncertain except better exploitation and more violence. The Hindu Nazi elements are deeply worried. If they lose this one and only chance, they may not get it again. So they are desperately wanting to clamp their Nazi dictatorship over India

ganging up with American white racists and zionists. When such anti-national forces are getting ready, should we also not get ready to protect ourselves and the country? So in the midst of this most crucial mid-term elections, disrupted by the death of Rajiv Gandhi, we are once again appealing to the country's saner elements among SC/ST/BCs and Muslims, Christians and Sikhs to assert themselves and save this country from Hindu nazism.

We are also appealing to the upper caste rulers. Are you not tired of this war and violence? Can you solve human problems by waging these endless, mindless

wars, caste wars, Hindu-Muslim wars? Wars on the rebellious Dalits? Wars on the Sikhs? Can wars bring them under Hindu subjection contrary to their wishes? Use of force will be only temporary but not a permanent solution. "Blue Star" did not subdue the Sikhs. The Hindu Nazi forces must know that the non-Aryan SC/ST/BCs and Muslim/Sikh and Christians yearn for their distinct cultural identity. And they would rather die than surrender their cherished values. Those who forget history cannot make history. But have the Hindu nazis the heart to learn from history? We have our own doubts. ■

## BIRTH OF SAMATA SAINIK DAL

### Karnataka Dalit unit takes a more militant turn

TEEPEE

**Bangalore:** A mammoth public rally held here on May 13 marked the conclusion of the historic 'Bheem March'. Thousands of disciplined red shirt army of Dalits assembled at Cubbon Park. Chants of "Jai Bheem" rent the skies and a distinct consciousness seemed to have gripped the Dalit psyche. The collective consciousness symbolising the solidarity of the Untouchables is a product of a movement which in turn is a product of the Dalit Sangharsh Samiti – now renamed Samata Sainik Dal (SSD).

B. Basavalingappa, Karnataka's most famous Dalit leader, was dismissed from the cabinet in the mid-seventies for admonishing the brahminical Kannada literature as 'Bhoosa Sahitya'. The Dalit Sangharsh Samiti (DSS) was an offshoot of this Bhoosa agitation. The entire Dalit force was consolidated under the banner of DSS which for the first time in Karnataka emerged as the most powerful cadre-based organisation.

But sadly, the "sacred threads" began to infiltrate. They connived and wrecked the organisation from within. It reached the abyss when the then Chief Minister, the wily Ramakrishna Hegde, "purchased" a Dalit poet, said a DSS activist. A few Dalit leaders were given prominent positions. Thus a great movement was brought to a grinding halt by the brahminical forces.

**Self-determination:** At this juncture the DSS got split into two factions, one becoming a tail of Hegde. Today, it is this non-political faction which is closer to Ambedkarism, that renamed itself as SSD. They basically function at grassroots as 'action groups'. They mobilise their masses against landlords, money lenders, zilla sarkars, and rajya sarkars. They have initiated many agitations for the causes of the oppressed. The DSS faction, now renamed, may be smaller in size but content-wise it is purer and more radical.

They launched a one-year programme called 'Bheem March' a cycle rally to commemorate the birth centenary of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. A dedicated team of 14 young men, a woman and a nine year-old boy led by M. Gopinath an ideologue, left Bangalore an year back on 14.4.1990. The rally covered 2,500 villages and approximately 35,000 kms of distance on cycles. Throughout their journey they raised the historical awareness and cultural pride among the deprived masses. They were given a rousing welcome when they reached Bangalore on May 12 this year.

On the same day, a 'national seminar' was held on the crucial issue of 'self-determination of Dalits'. It was attended by social scientists, eminent Ambedkarites and Dalit leaders. The seminar concluded that Dalit salvation rests in self-determination. We don't think that any Dalit organisation in India has taken such a radical stand.

The organisation in its initial phases was caught up in an ideological muddle. Now the leadership has realised that there is no alternative to Ambedkarism.

A new name, Samata Sainik Dal, originally founded by Babasaheb, was announced at the historic public rally inaugurated by Maharashtra Minister and Dalit Panthers Leader, Ramdas Athawale. This change was engendered to counter the moves of the other DSS faction which took all the credit for the efforts made by this faction. A seven-member working committee was constituted with M. Venkataswamy as the president and Gopinath as general secretary. Mahesh, Dikayya are among the members.

SSD members will wear red shirts and black pants and will undergo rigorous ideological training. The uniform and its striking red colour has already struck terror in the hearts of brahminical forces. Interesting developments are awaited. The birth of SSD from DSS is a major development in the history of Karnataka Dalit movement. ■

DR. R.K. KSHIRSAGAR, AURANGABAD, MS

A good number of the Scheduled Castes, to get rid of the disgraceful untouchability practised under Hinduism, was converted to egalitarian Buddhism under the leadership of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar on Oct. 14, 1956 at Nagpur. Since then the SCs have been converting to Buddhism in large numbers throughout the country. However, they were denied the special privileges under the Constitution as they were treated to have ceased to be SCs on account of their conversion to Buddhism. It was but an unreasonable discrimination on the ground of religion. Hence, the Dalit leaders have been vigorously demanding for being treated on par with the SCs.

It was during Prime Minister Pandit Nehru's period the Constitution (SC) Order 1950 was wantonly amended in 1956 to restrict the scope of the nomenclature of "the Scheduled Castes" so as to deprive the neo-Buddhists of their special privileges which they were enjoying under the Constitution as SCs before their conversion. It is because of this unreasonable and apathetic attitude of the then government towards the Buddhists, who renounced Hinduism, they could not secure the constitutional privileges.

During the period of Indira Gandhi, SC students who embraced Buddhism were treated eligible to get post-matric scholarships in 1971. Further, during the period of Prime-Minister V.P. Singh the SC converts to Buddhism were put on par with the SCs for the purpose of securing all the social, economic and political benefits under the Constitution. Ultimately, the Bill to amend the Constitution (SC) Order 1950 was passed on June 3, 1990 (The Constitution, SC Orders Amendment Act, 1990. No. 15 of 1990). The Act inserted "or Buddhist" after "the Hindus or Sikhs" in section 3 of the said order, thereby enlarging the scope of the "Scheduled Castes". It was contemplated that the "neo-Buddhists, would be entitled to all the statutory reservations in the public services, Parliament and the State Assemblies and to non-statutory concessions like scholarships".

**Reserved seats reduced:** The government should have implemented the said Act expeditiously. However, the said Act remained on the statute book only. The SCs converted to Buddhism in large number especially in Maharashtra did not secure the political justice. Provision under Article 330 and 332 is a mandatory provision under the Constitution, which envisages the right of representation to the SCs in proportion to their population. Therefore, it is necessary to know the proportion of the SC population along with the Buddhist population in the total population in Maharashtra and their quantum of representation.

### The population of the SCs and Buddhists in Maharashtra.

Census Year	Total population	SC population	Buddhist population	Total SC + Buddhist
1961	3,95,53,718	22,26,914 (5.63%)	27,89,501 (7.05%)	50,16,415 (12.68%)
1971	5,04,12,235	30,25,761 (6%)	32,64,223 (6.48%)	62,89,984 (12.48%)
1981	6,27,84,171	44,79,763 *7.14%)	39,46,149 (6.28%)	84,25,912 (13.42%)

### The number of seats reserved for the SCs in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha of Maharashtra.

Year	Total Lok Sabha Seats	Total S.C. (R) Seats	Proportion	Total Vidhan Sabha Seats	Total S.C.(R) Vidhan Sabha Seats.	Proportion
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1952	40	6	(15.00)	299	38	12.71
1957	44	6	(13.64)	264	33	12.50
1962	44	6	(13.64)	264	33	12.50
1967	45	3	(6.67)	270	15	5.56
1971	48	3	(6.25)	270	15	5.56
1991	48	3	(6.25)	288	17	5.90

Thus, half of the reserved seats were cut down in the general elections held in 1967 and thereafter. Why there was reduction in the SC (R) seats in 1967 is the main question. It is presumably because of two reasons — (a) the SC converted to Buddhism reported as Buddhists in the census of 1961, as such the number of SC was considerably reduced. (b) the decision of the Supreme Court in *Punjabrao V.D.P. Meshram* (AIR 1965 SC 1179) set in the precedent that the neo-Buddhists were not eligible to be treated on par with the Scheduled Castes. Hence the reserved seats were reduced in that proportion.

**Mischief:** In order to do away with the mischief under the Constitution (SC) order 1950 as amended in 1956, the new amendment was made in June 1990. *Notwithstanding the passage of the Amendment Act that intended to restore the rights of the neo-Buddhists, the election notification dated April 19, 1991 announced only three reserved seats in Maharashtra in the ensuing parliamentary elections.* After making addition of neo-Buddhist population to the Scheduled castes population, the percentage of the beneficiary group would be near about 13. Hence the seats in that proportion would be six in total 48 Lok Sabha seats.

It was, of course the responsibility of the census authority and the Election Commission respectively to determine and estimate the population of the SCs and the neo-Buddhists, and to decide the reservation quota and the constituencies in proportion to their population under the Article 330 of the Constitution.

The Union Government, despite the modified Act and the spirit behind it, proceeded further as per precious arrangement which is a gross neglect of the legal responsibility and violation of the mandatory provisions of the Constitution. The anomaly between the substantial statutory law and subordinate procedural

law if any could have been avoided by the appropriate authorities under the Constitution by expeditiously resorting to appropriate action in that respect. The Buddhists, however can contest SC(R) seat.

The sum, the declaration of only three reserved parliamentary constituencies in the total 48 constituencies without due regard to the proportion of the SC and neo-Buddhist population ultra vires the Constitution, goes against the will of Parliament and deprives the neo-Buddhists of their legitimate right to political justice. It is, therefore necessary to restore the position as existed before 1967 in this respect. ■

## BRITISH HISTORIAN'S DISCOVERY

BALDEV SINGH, CALCUTTA

India of today is the creation of the British. The questions, "What is India? What does this name India really signify?", have been answered by John Strachey, 100 years back, in his book, *India — Its Administration and Progress*, 1888. We quote some excerpts. Strachey writes, "There is no such country, and this is the first and most essential fact about India that can be learned.

"India is a name which we give to a great region including a multitude of different countries.... The name Hindustan is never applied in India, as we apply it, to the whole of the Indian continent; it signifies the country north of the Narbada river, and especially the northern portion of the basins of the Ganges and Jumna.

"I have been told by intelligent Natives of India who have visited Europe that they could see little difference between the European countries through which they had travelled;... The differences between the countries of India, — between, for instance, Bengal and the Punjab, or between Madras and Rajputana — seemed to them, on the other hand, immense, and beyond comparison, greater than those existing between the countries of Europe.

"The differences between the countries of Europe are undoubtedly smaller than those between the countries of India.... European civilisation has grown up under conditions which have produced a larger measure of uniformity than has been reached in the countries of the Indian continent, often separated from each other by greater distances of climate. It is probable that not less than fifty languages, which may rightly be called separate, are spoken in India. The diversities of religion and race are as wide in India as in Europe, and political catastrophes have been as frequent and as violent. There are no countries in civilised Europe in which the people differ so much as the man of Madras differs from the Sikh, and the languages of Southern India are as unintelligible in Lahore as they would be in London. A native of Calcutta or Bombay is as much a foreigner in Delhi or Peshwar as an Englishman is a foreigner in Rome or Paris.

"I have spoken of the different countries of India, but

## Indian continent — A home of many countries ?

they are not countries in the ordinary European sense. In India, as Sir Alfred Lyall has explained in his *Asiatic Studies*, there are no nations of the modern European type. J.R. Seeley writes in 'The Expansion of England': 'One gradually discovers the population of Central India to be distributed, not into great governments, or nationalities, or religious denominations, .... but into various and manifold denominations of tribes, clans, seats, castes, and sub-castes, religious orders and devotional brotherhoods'.

"This is the first and most essential thing to learn about India — that there is not, and never was an India, or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political, social or religious no Indian, nation, no people of India, of which we hear so much."

"No superiority of the Englishman would have enabled England to conquer by her own military power the continent of India with its 300 millions of people, nor could she hold it in subjection if it had been occupied by distinct nations."

"We have never destroyed in India a national government, no national sentiment has been wounded, no national pride has been humiliated; because no Indian nationalities have existed.... Such administrative bonds of union can in no way lead towards the growth of a single Indian nationality. It is conceivable that national sympathies may arise in particular Indian countries; but that they should ever extend to India generally, that men of Bombay, the Punjab, Bengal, and Madras should ever feel that they belong to one great Indian nation, is impossible."

"I wish especially to insist on the fact that we can never hope to arrive at any accurate knowledge of India until we properly appreciate the immense diversities of the countries included under that name, and understand that there is no part of the world in which it is more easy to be misled by generations." (pg.1-8).

This book is available in National Library, Calcutta. We are grateful to Mrs. Surinder Kaur for making this material available to us. ■

## FAILURE OF CHURCH TO SUPPORT DALIT LIBERATION

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

*Address to Principals of Catholic Christian High Schools of Bangalore at the St. Joseph's Indian High School, Bangalore, on Feb. 20, 1991: Sub: "Role of Church in Education: A Dalit point of view."*

I am rather surprised how you happened to invite me to this meeting. I have been in Bangalore, earlier in the *Indian Express* for 15 years and now as Editor of the *Dalit Voice* for 10 years. My son studied in this very school and he was president of this school, yet nobody cared to invite me - though I am invited all over India by Christians and Christian institutions.

*Dalit Voice* of which I am the Editor has a large circulation among Christians, particularly the Jesuits. However, I thank you for giving this opportunity to put forward before you a Dalit point of view of the work you are doing in the field of education. Since it is a Dalit point of view, it means it is a view from the bottom. Things look fine only from the top - not from the bottom.

So, some of my views may rattle you, shock you, but I assure you that they will be facts - historical truths, sociological facts.

**Truth shall free you:** It is said in the Bible: "Know the truth and truth shall free you".

India is not yet free because our people have not been allowed to know the truth. Truth is deliberately suppressed by our parents, teachers, elders, press and even the sacred scriptures. Because the moment the truth is known, the people will try to become free. India's ruling class fears truth and it has used religion, god, the govt., police and everything to suppress truth. *Suppression of truth is a collective conspiracy and unfortunately the church and even some Jesuit priests have become part of this collective conspiracy.*

Falsehood is taught in our very schools - through our very textbooks. It took 40 years for me to discover the truth - though I was considered a conscious person.

So when you, despite being teachers, come to know this truth, the naked truth, you may get little bit shocked. But I can't help if they are facts. And that facts shock you.

**Tributes to Christian service:** At the outset, I have to pay tributes to the great services rendered by the Christian church - missionaries, in particular. And that too the Jesuits.

In Karnataka, the first printing press was started by the Basel Mission. Kittel's Dictionary was a pioneering effort. My district of South Kanara on West Coast is a very advanced district because of the missionaries.

If the Christians had not arrived in India, perhaps, India

would have been like one of those African jungle countries today. The British rule was a Christian rule and any day British rule was better than the existing brahminical rule.

The very concept of "nationalism" was taught to Indians by the Christians. The very first president of the Indian National Congress, India's ruling party, was a Christian. It is the Christians who told India's Brahmins and other upper castes "to fight the British" and become "independent". Until the Christians told this the Indian upper castes did not even know the meaning of independence - let alone freedom movement. Gandhi, Nehru, Patel were all products of Christian education. My father, myself, my wife, my son, my grand child, my daughter-in-law entire family, are all products of Christian educational institutions.

The best studies on India, particularly on untouchables and tribals, were undertaken by Christians. For example - Abbe Dubois, the great European monk, the author of the monumental book, *Hindu Manners and Customs*. (Asian Educational Services, C-2/15 SDA P.B. No. 4534 N. Delhi - 16, Rs. 50, pp.750)

Jesuit priests are leading the movement to liberate Dalits and tribals. The entire North-East India is liberated by the Christians/church. But inspite of all these services, inspite of educating the entire ruling class of India, and its children, the church is today a suspect in India.

**Murder of Bombay Nuns:** The murder of the two (Catholic) nuns in Bombay and the false report put out by India's brahminical "national press" saying they were murdered for sex proves the anti-Christian bias of the ruling upper castes. Several such cases of prejudices against church were published in DV.

The very person whom you describe as the "Father of the Nation" had bitterly criticised the Christians in a speech in Bangalore. Please read his own book, *On Christians*, published by his own Navajivan Publications, Ahmedabad. If this is the opinion of the "Father of the nation", the opinion of his children will be much more prejudiced.

**Christians, an internal threat ?:** The Hindu Nazi philosopher, M.S. Golwalkar, called the Christians an internal threat. Read his book, *Bunch of Thoughts*, which is the Nazi Bible. But are you an internal threat? May be your work is viewed as a threat to the brahminical social order. According to this order the brahminical social order is India. And hence you are a threat to this part of India. This point needs little elaboration.

That is why while the Govt. of India extended the reservations to Buddhist converts, the Dalit Christians

were denied. Because the Christians are "an internal threat" - meaning threat to the brahminical social order.

This is a country so much steeped in prejudices. Prejudice against untouchables. Prejudice against women, Backward Castes, Muslims, Sikhs - over 85% of India's population is victim of this prejudice. Because, this 85% of the population is outside the brahminical social order.

Prejudice is a mental problem and you know where to take the mental patients.

**Prejudice against original inhabitants:** Why this prejudice against this 85%? Before answering this question, we should know who are this 85%? I have to give you the population break-up

Scheduled Castes	20%	Muslims	20%
Scheduled Tribes	10%	Christians	2.5%
Backward Castes	30%	Sikhs	2%
Total	60%		25%

$$60\% + 25\% = 85\%$$

This 85% of India's 850 million population is the victims of prejudice.

Who are the oppressors of this 85% population? They are mostly the Aryan races known as upper castes forming just 15% of the total population. They are: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. A total of 15%. This 15% comprising the brahminical social order - in other words Varnashrama dharma, Sanatana dharma, or Hindu religion - is India's ruling class.

**Wolves and lambs:** The church-run educational institutions are unfortunately educating mostly the children of this ruling class. And here I am addressing the very principals of such high schools.

May be the St. Joseph's Indian High School here is slightly better. But the St. Joseph's European High School, your sister institution, is catering mainly to the ruling class.

This ruling class (15%) may be taken as wolves and the oppressed (85%) may be called lambs.

Is the church expected to look after the wolves or the lambs? What does the Bible say?

**Jesuit promise forgotten:** As far back as 1987, "the Jesuit Order announced the decision to cater more to the deprived sections than the elite" (*Hindu*, Jan. 19, 1987). I had quoted this decision in the foreword to my book, *Christians and Dalit Liberation* (Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1987). And ever since then I have been repeatedly reminding them about their decision. But I am sorry to say the Jesuits have failed to implement their own decision. Once upon a time Jesuits were considered, perhaps, the most dedicated cadres of the Papal hierarchy. Today, good number of them have become pleasure-seekers and maja-makers. When the Jesuit chief Klovenbach came to India, the

Jesuit organ, *Jeevan*, (Jan. 1988) called him Swami Klovenbach, applied *tilak* on his head, recited Sanskrit mantras and fooled him. Why they did the Jesuits do this? Is it to please the brahminical social order of just 15%? And by pleasing this 15%, they hurt the feelings of 85%. The Indian church leaders did the same when the Pope came to India.

It is four years since the Jesuit decision was taken but, I am sorry, hardly any changes have been made. ('Jesuits realise their mistake," DV May 16, 1991 p.6).

**Dalit Christians Ignored:** Church continues to look after the wolves only. Who are the beneficiaries of your educational institutions? We can take a census of the students in Mount Carmel, the Sophias, St. Joseph's College and such elite colleges here. Go to the St. Stephen in Delhi, Queen Mary's in Madras, St. Xaviers in Bombay. what are their jatis?

*Even your own Dalit Christians are not getting admissions in your institutions.*

I have brought with me my two colleagues - both Dalit Christians and both Catholics. Both could not get any facilities from the Catholic church. They are here and you can ask them.

**Textbooks preaching falsehood:** Even if you Christians become really good and give priority to the lambs in your admissions, still you will not be permitted by the wolves to teach the truth. This is another problem which perhaps you did not know till today.

All our school and college textbooks, syllabi, are prepared by the Aryan rulers and every ruling class will have an education system that will help perpetuate its rule. So it prepares its own textbooks. And you have to teach the students that "Muslims invaded India". But you can't teach that Aryans also were invaders.

If Muslims are invaders, Aryans are also invaders. But you will not be permitted to teach this truth.

Church will be tolerated only as long as it serves the wolves. The moment you switch over to lambs you will be further branded. Already the church is called a suspect. Church people are ridiculed. And many of your very dedicated foreign missionaries are asked to quit India. "Outsiders" are not permitted to enter many North-eastern States. I can cite any number of persecutions faced by Christians. But in spite of these persecutions, the church by and large is busy serving the ruling class.

However, it is a good sign that you have started thinking of serving the lambs. And the Principal of St. Joseph's Indian High School told me that was the purpose of calling me here today. I am glad at last there is a rethinking. But is this "rethinking" forced upon you or are you voluntarily doing it?

**Three disservices:** You will be better able to serve the lambs if I point out to you the three disservices you are doing to the lambs.

The ruling class (the wolves) has cunningly imposed

a dual education system on the country.

Expensive public (meaning private) schools with English-medium, which take no govt. grants, are reserved exclusively for the children of the wolves (upper castes who being the propertied class can afford high tuition fee).

The Govt. - run schools are reserved for the country's "poor", meaning the lambs, where the medium is the mother tongue.

Most of the "elite schools" are run by the church and we have many such in Bangalore.

Those educated in English become IAS officers, doctors, bosses. And those mastering the mother tongue become clerks.

How beautifully and "non-violently" the ruling class has conducted a painless vivisection of the society through the education system keeping 85% of the original inhabitants of India as a powerless population. And this system is enforced through the help of the church. And all this surgical operation is done in a peaceful, non-violent way.

**Dogs & cats speak English:** In the homes of our upper castes only English is spoken. Even the dogs and cats of the ruling class know only English.

Church is becoming a party to this crime. Church is making the upper castes as rulers and our people as ruled through a dual system of education. This is the first disservice.

In the eyes of god, everybody is equal. If you are dedicated Christians, how can you tolerate such a discrimination? Such a great divide?

**Church stabbing itself:** The second disservice is this. You are educating the wolves and the children of wolves. And it is these very wolves who tomorrow occupy important positions and declare that church is anti-national, Christians can't be trusted, Christians are converting the tribals.

All these allegations against the church are today made not by us, not by the lambs. But by the wolves only. Who educated them? The church.

The church is, therefore, stabbing itself. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the church has become a party to denigrate itself. You are manufacturing your own killers. You are pouring milk to the very serpent that bites you.

**Church arming Dalit oppressors:** The third and the most serious crime is that you are arming, supplying weapons to our oppressors. SC/ST/BCs are the lambs. Our people all over India are oppressed by the upper castes.

The violent anti-Mandal agitation (in the latter part of 1990) was launched not by Muslims, not Sikhs, not Christians.

Our reservations, (human rights) are opposed by the brahminical social order which you are arming through your educational institutions.

All over India, we are kicked, killed, burnt, raped and our little property burnt by these upper caste wolves.

Who educated them? The church.

That means you gave them the arms. You helped develop their brains. You gave strength to their muscles. If we make this charge, we will not be very much wrong. *In other words, church is indirectly aiding and abetting the crimes against Dalits. If I am wrong I am prepared to correct myself.*

I do feel for the selfless service rendered by the Christians deep inside tribal belts where no Hindu institution has so far had the heart to go. Especially in Bihar, MP etc. *When I criticise the church I also appreciate the work you are doing. But if you go on serving the ruling class in cities and big towns the good work done by the church in remote areas becomes useless. Those dedicated Christians in remote areas will feel let down. Many of these dedicated Christians teachers, nuns, Jesuits have written us pathetic letters asking us to fight the church on their behalf.*

I have listed the three greatest crimes committed by the church.

You are committing this crime not because the Bible allows it. Bible has not sanctioned this.

All the three crimes listed by me are crimes even according to Christ and the Holy Bible.

Still, why the church is doing it?

**Upper caste control on church:** This is because the church is controlled by the upper caste Christians. Some call it "Syrian theology".

These upper case "Brahmin Christians" are committing this crime because their own brothers and cousins are part of the ruling class.

If the church wants to support the Dalit revolution, and thereby the Indian revolution, you have all the opportunity. You have the funds, you have the infrastructure, you have the vast landed property. But have you the heart? The Christians are famous for their service but your services are rendered to the wrong people.

**How to make church revolutionary:** I have listed in my book, *Christians and Dalit Liberation* (p.23) six programmes which I will read out with your permission:

1) *Christian educational institutions, not depending on govt grants, must immediately introduce reservations to SC/STs giving preference to Dalit Christians. Once you give reservations to SC/STs in elite Christian schools and colleges these upper caste boys and girls will themselves stop coming to it. Preference must be given to the education of Dalit girls. A professor of the Madras Christian College, who spoke here earlier, said there were no Dalits in his college. This is shocking. The Madras Christian College was started by a foreign missionary to educate Dalits. What a fall. Today, they say, there are no*

Dalits in it. Are you not ashamed of this development?

2) Our boys and girls must be given free education and free hostel facilities. Dalit girls must be given all facilities by the Church. Our children must be taught our pre-Aryan ancient culture, our origin. The Catholic nun who spoke yesterday (I forget her name) spoke with great commitment. Such nuns should be put in charge of girls' hostels. She can revolutionise the Dalit girls. You have a number of such dedicated priests and nuns, like the Jesuit priests. Put them in charge of these hostels. Our boys and girls must be also trained in self-defence.

**Foreign funding:** Mao Tse-tung has said women are better revolutionaries than men. He also said that women should be the vanguard of the revolution. There is no job which a woman cannot do. But in India we keep them out. Even the Church keeps the women out.

3) What the Church can do is to direct these foreign funding organisations to set apart 10 to 20% of their funds to bring about "revolution". This fund can be partly used to publish Dr. Ambedkar books and literature. These funds can also be used to translate Babasaheb books into different Indian languages. Right now his books are not available. There is a great hunger for these books. Christians can print these books - cheap editions and distribute them in millions. *These funding organisations are now supporting only "relief" and "reformist" schemes but not "revolutionary" programmes. So, a part of their funds may be diverted to "revolution."*

4) As many churches as possible must be converted into "revolutionary" centres. For this, we need committed priests and nuns. *The Church has a capacity to become a "revolutionary centre." Christ was a revolutionary, Christians have churches and landed properties in the heart of every city and town all over India. These places can become "revolutionary centres". The Church has the money, the Church has the space, it has the human power. Only thing that is needed is the will.*

**Parallel Church:** Otherwise, Dalit Christians will not remain in the existing Church. *Dalit Christians may walk out of the Church and form a rival Church. Already in Kerala, Dalit Christians have started a parallel Church. Dalit Christians will breakaway and organise a parallel church or they may even embrace Islam.* This is another big danger. A study made by Dr. Dwight Baker, an American professor on Islam teaching at the United Theological College, Bangalore, says that in Meenakshipuram, Ramanathapuram, Madurai (Tamil Nadu) etc. several Christians also had gone over to Islam.

5) Christian churches, we are sorry to say, have almost stopped their conversion drive. The Hindu rulers might have put all sorts of hurdles, including constitutional hurdles, to check conversion. But that does not mean the Church must on its own should call off the conversion drive.

Conversion is must to get rid of brahminical religion.

Law cannot stop it. Hindu rulers may ban conversion (there is no ban in all the States and the Constitution does not prohibit conversion) but nobody can stop the urge of Dalits to quit Hinduism. *The Indian Church controlled by the upper caste Christians is afraid of converting Dalits and others as it fears that Hindu rulers may take away the Church property and cut foreign funds and that might affect the leadership's gala time. the Church must revise its stand on conversion. Because our people are going to be the beneficiaries of conversion.*

**Foreign funds must stop:** (6) Dalit Christians and their well-wishers within the Church must press the govt. and foreign donors to stop the inflow of foreign funds. It is this foreign funds that has taken away the revolutionary spirit of the Church. The Church on its own must voluntarily forego foreign funds. Only after this flow stops, the real revolutionaries in the church will get a scope to shine. *It is this foreign funds that has taken life out of the Church in India. It has become docile. The leadership is corrupted by the Hindu rulers by allowing them to use these foreign funds.*

### **Soviet publishing house closing down**

*(Riaz Qidwai, in Delhi, Feature and News Alliance, New Delhi)*

The soviet information office here is to be closed. This will be the final denouement for the gargantuan publishing empire of sorts which has been crumbling under the hard knocks of glasnost during the last few years.

The organisation's huge office here is currently the venue of a 4-month-long sit-in demonstration by its 200-odd employees whose services have been terminated. It was formally known as the 'Information Department of the USSR Embassy in India' but was working as the office of the APN (Novosti Press Agency). The APN is run in the name of Soviet Trade Unions. It was listed in Moscow as the largest APN centre abroad and held the dubious distinction of the largest information department of an embassy here staffed by several dozens of Russians. During over 40 years of its existence the number of Soviet staff always exceeded the limit under the diplomatic norms. The ministry of external affairs had urged the Soviet embassy to reduce the diplomatic staff under the information department more than once. What exactly prompted the gradual closure of this office-glasnost (openness), economic slump or the Bachhawat Award? Till this day it was functioning as a large publishing house with print orders of the flashy, multi language magazines (for example *Soviet Land*) running into lakhs. The Indian employees from journalists to drivers and dispatchers have been fired without any compensation. Dismissal notices were served ostensibly due to reduction of work. Privately the economic difficulties of their country are described as the reason. But employees repudiate this explanation, saying they are being terminated for demanding full implementation of Bachhawat Award. The Soviet officials refuse to answer queries in this regard.

## Anti-Sikh riots: Delhi police indicted

**New Delhi:** The Delhi police have been severely indicted for registering false cases, carrying out 'grossly inadequate' investigation and for dragging their feet in respect of certain cases pertaining to the November 84 anti-Sikh riots in the capital in the wake of the assassination of Indira Gandhi.

"Police investigations have certainly been grossly inadequate and in certain cases designed to shield the guilty", say sources close to the Jain-Aggarwal Committee which has studied 100 such cases till date on the basis of records made available by the Delhi police.

Justice J.D. Jain and D.K. Aggarwal who comprise the committee established in December last year after the Potti-Rosha Committee fell through in September has sent all the cases it had examined to the Lieutenant-Governor calling for fresh registration of FIRs in some cases and re-investigation in others.

**Monumental:** Sources close to the committee say that the latter committee has found the police inaction to be monumental and also designed to make the entire exercise of bringing the culprits to book infructuous. "The police have registered an FIR even after knowing that they are false".

The Committee set up in December 1990 took off where the Potti-Rosha Committee left. The Potti-Rosha Committee provided the working system under which every individual affidavit made available by the Delhi police was carefully scrutinised for "alleged lapses".

Even the Potti-Rosha Committee found the police

reaction to be "grossly wanting" and made positive recommendations in respect of a few isolated cases. The Jain-Aggarwal Committee has confirmed, in the cases it examined, the findings of the Potti-Rosha Committee and is working on the theory that the underworld too was involved in the riots.

Of the 100 cases that the committee has examined, 30 have been done so individually. The whole thing has come into proper focus now and the committee has been able to pin down what has been done by their predecessors, the sources quote one of the committee members as saying. "The ultimate aim is to bring the culprits to book".

**Indepth study:** The earlier committees including the Jain-Banerjee Committee did not make any study of police station records. Even the Potti-Rosha Committee studied only the affidavits. This committee has gone indepth into police station records to ascertain whether the cases have been investigated properly or investigated at all.

The committee is yet to study 300 more cases of killing and murder pending with it. But it established the fact that police reaction was grossly wanting even if it is considered that the matter was subjective or uninterested.

With this, yet another jolt has been given to the Delhi police in its endeavour to save its image from the wrath of those who criticised it for alleged protection and shielding of the guilty involved in the November '84 riots. (*Hindu*, May 19).

## Why ex-Generals are joining Nazi party?

MAJ. GEN. NARINDER SINGH, D-7, LAJPAT NAGAR-III, NEW DELHI - 24

When we are fighting a vital election to safeguard the stability and national integrity of India, senior service officers are jumping on the "Ram bandwagon". When we are caught in the vice of religious and caste polarisation, tearing the very fabric of India apart, retired generals like Jacob and Candeth have thrown all the wisdom of their distinguished careers to the winds. Laurels which were heaped on them by the previous Congress Governments have been buried, as in their declining years they now seek some position and publicity, with what, in their perception, might be a winning party. Gen. Candeth's statement on the first political disaster of 1947 shows a general's military point of view disregarding political compulsion and international pressures. The second political disaster as pointed out by Candeth is the 1962 Chinese war. I was myself serving with the 4 Infantry Division and was near Bompilla when it fell on 20 Nov. 1962. No doubt we got the bloody nose and were found unprepared. But here we had been tricked by China, whom Jawaharlal Nehru had befriended. Out of this disaster started the modernisation of the Indian Army. Today we are in the first rank. Regarding "swapping of territories" in 1965 and 1971 on which Candeth feels so strongly that "political leadership let the land remain in Pakistan hands", Candeth was GOC-in-C Western Command and should have had the courage of his conviction to resign, having failed to convince his political bosses. Some senior officers have woken up now to state that political decisions taken then were militarily wrong. Retired Army Officers joining any political party is nothing new. However, the present trend smacks of populism and opportunistic tendencies. General Candeth has always been regarded as the Liberator of Goa. Liberation of Goa was only a moving of occupation forces. He faced no military opposition. On a purely political decision he got the glory. It will not be inappropriate to appeal to all ex-servicemen not to be swayed by the moves of these senior retired officers. We stand committed to a secular united India and will be proud soldiers serving an elected Government committed to secular ideals (*Hindustan Times*, May 20).

## Letters to Editor

**Joseph McKelvey**, PO Box-51, Comstock, New York, 12821-0051, USA: I am an African from America. I have been reading a good book, *African Presence in Early Asia*, by Ivan Van Sertima and Runoko Rashidi. This book informed me about the struggle of the Black Untouchables that is going on India today. There is one section in this book written by you specially on the Black Untouchables. The book gripped me and I started taking good lot of interest in this struggle because it is mentioned that the Black Untouchables of India and the Africans have a common origin. This came as a revelation. So, I consider you as my people. That is why I want to order a subscription to *Dalit Voice* and order a full set of your books. I think that the African-Americans can do a lot to support the struggle of the Black Untouchables of India.

Brother Joseph can contact Dr. Velu Annamalai who is heading the newly-formed International Dalit Support Group at PO Box 842066, Houston, Tx 77184-2066, USA, and join this along with all those Afro-Americans interested in this joint struggle of the Blacks against white racism, zionism and Hindu nazism which have ganged up to clamp their New World Order.  
*EDITOR.*

**Ross Mallick**, 420 Gloucester St., Apt.2110, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1R 717: I heard that you published an article on the "Namsudra Movement" in which you mentioned my grandfather's brother, M.B. Mallick. I am interested in this article.

**Asif Saleem**, The Australian Federation of Islamic Councils, PO Box-331, Waterloo, 2017 NSW, Australia: A Sydney weekly, *Good Weekend* (May 18, 91) has an article by Louise Williams on the Untouchables of India titled, "Castes Asunder". The author describes how the movement of the Untouchables for human rights is violently opposed by the ruling upper castes in the name of "merit" and their Hindu religion.

We are thankful to Brother Asif for drawing our attention to this article. The Indian brand of sanctified racism is the most dreadful form of Apartheid in the whole world. The Constitution of India assures our human rights but a handful of Aryan racists who managed to capture the country's ruling machinery are violently suppressing our struggle. Unfortunately, the outside world doesn't know this shocking truth. India has the world's largest Muslim population and over 95% of them are converts from Untouchables and hence our supporters. They sought salvation in the egalitarian Islam — *EDITOR.*

**Mrs. Annette Gordon**, Clarity Press, Suite 469, 3277 Roswell Rd., NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30305, USA: We are sorry to inform that even the second reprint of your book, *DALIT - The Black Untouchables of India*, published by us is sold out. Many copies were distributed to American Senators and Congressmen. We could forward only 50 copies to you.

**Mustafa Abdu**, Doha, Qatar: Very recently, I happened to read some books of V.T. Rajshekar concerning the Untouchables, Muslims, Backward Castes etc. I am very much interested in these human problems.

**P.P. Lakshman**, New York: Glad to inform that the Upendra Baxi article in the April 1 issue of DV is reproduced in the Dr. Ambedkar centenary souvenir circulated at the function here on April 14. Although the function was very good and memorable, the ethnic Indian papers published from the US did not give any coverage. The collective conspiracy to hush up Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts revealed by Dr Baxi seems real.

**C. Gautam**, gen. sec., Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Celebration Committee, London: Our committee has unanimously decided that you should be given the "Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Award" in recognition of your outstanding contribution to the cause of the oppressed and human rights movement in India and in particular for the propagation of the mission of Babasaheb Ambedkar. We would like to present this award to you.

Our whole family is living in London itself. Son is studying at the London School of Economics. Gautam can arrange a modest function and hand over the Award to any member of our family: Address: 109-William Goodenough House, Mecklenburgh Square, London WC1N 2AN, Phone 071 833 2144 — *EDITOR.*

**Hari Ram Berry**, Mohalla Bawani Ganj, Post Ram Nagar, Nainital, UP-244 715: I have been a devotee of Dr. Ambedkar from my student days in the 30s. I am now 76. I want to establish a holy pilgrim centre to worship Babasaheb on the lines of Badrika Ashram. I have also a best place, about 30 kms from Nainital, 7,000 ft. above sea level, covered by a dense forest atop high hills and filled with blooming flowers. I want to give my ten *nalies* land for this purpose. I want to seek the advice of fellow Ambedkarites on this plan. There is a motorable road to the spot.

**M. Velayudhan**, Machipuram House, Post Chervathur, Kerala-671 313: I want a help from old subscribers of *Dalit Voice*. I am badly in need of DV from 1981 (from its very first issue) to 1983 Oct.1 for my file.

**Prof. Jagmohan Sahoo**, Vedvyas College, Rourkela,-41, Orissa : We are getting good response from fellow teachers in other colleges. Prof. Mihir Ranjan Sethi, Lecturer in Political Sc. is collaborating with me in spreading the message of Babasaheb.

**Jagannatha Rao**, Hyderabad : I have a suggestion to increase the circulation of DV though you may have to compromise a little. Please introduce a cinema column and some sports item. As it is, DV is too serious a journal. My wife and children will also start reading DV if such lighter items are included.

We don't know if our friend is seriously meaning what he says or joking. DV is a journal meant for thinkers and scholars. We are not interested in increasing our circulation by compromising on our principles. To this day we have not even published a picture in DV except on two special occasions, the last being the Dr. Ambedkar birth centenary (April 1-15, 1991). We would rather close

down the paper than compromise – *EDITOR*.

**G.P. Chaudhary**, Chakia, Varanasi, UP: I was surprised to read your May 16 edit pleading for "Rajrishi" V.P. Singh who sought the blessings of the Kashi pandits. How can he become the darling of the SC/ST/BCs and minorities?

**G.B.R. Ambedkar**, Vizag, AP: Why you are not supporting Bahujan Samaj Party but asking us to back the Kulak V.P. Singh?

**Dr. S.B. Gaikwad**, Aurangabad, MS: You would have supported BSP and not VP. Singh, who is an Aryan.

We have received some more letters on these lines and we had replied to them in our June 1 issue. The situation has slightly changed since the murder of Rajiv Gandhi. The second and third phases of the mini-general elections are before us. The entire Aryan forces, our oppressors, are ranged one side trying to prevent the entry of V.P. Singh. There is hardly any difference between the BJP and the Congress, the original brahminical party of India. BJP is in fact the child of Congress. When the entire lot of our oppressors is unitedly working for the defeat of V.P. Singh party it means that the social forces in India, for the first time, are totally polarised. Such a polarisation is very much in our interest. BSP is not contesting all the seats, all over India in this mini-general election. Consolidation of the entire non-Aryan forces in this election is possible only if we "bring back VP Singh with a vengeance" – *EDITOR*.

**Bajirao Kamble**, Ex-MLA, Pune: We want to bring out DV in Marathi from Aug. 15. We need your permission.

**T.K. Narayanan**, Trivandrum: DV has been very vigorously fighting the cause of the oppressed Muslims, Christians, Sikhs. These three sections are financially much better compared to we Untouchables. I don't think there is anybody in the whole of India who has fought so vigorously for the sake of these three religious minorities as you have done. Not only you have fought for them but you have also suffered and sacrificed for them. You were arrested under the Terrorist Act and put in Chandigarh Jail for the sake of Sikhs. So, these three sections have a moral obligation to support DV. The role of revolutionary literature in moulding the human mind for liberation is very important. DV has been successfully fulfilling this role during the past ten years.

**N. Mohan Rao**, Andhra Pradesh Dalit Mahasabha, Umareddy Gunta, Kondaya Palem, Nellore-4, AP: I wish to join the International Dalit Support Group, set up in US under the leadership of Dr. Velu Annamali. I want to know the membership fees.

**B.A. Ganvir**, Hinghanghat, MS: In this Vidarbha area there is M.K. Gandhi's Sevagram which has full of SC /St/BCs. Both Gandhi and his Chitpavan disciple, Vinoba Bhave, to keep these three sections enslaved opposed industrialisation of the area and also kept them uneducated.

**Nalini**, Secretary, "Jagruti", At/PO Kodapad, via Anandpur, Dt. Keonjhar, Orissa: We are a group of young women engaged in a voluntary organization working for the development of women and children. We are not getting any magazine to gain knowledge. We were told the *Dalit Voice* was doing a lot for social transformation.

**Ms. Sangat**, Madras: God forbid, if similar death Morarji or VP. Singh had met, would they have secured such attention as Rajiv Gandhi got? The 1984 India Gandhi murder and the May 21, 1991 Rajiv Gandhi murder seem to be having lots of similarities. Both seem to have been sacrificed by the 15% Aryan ruling races to create a "sympathy wave" and for defaming certain nationalities who are engaged in fighting these Aryan/brahminical forces. Indira Gandhi was denied entry three times to the Puri Jagannath Temple. Rajiv was denied entry to the Pauspathi temple in Nepal. But after their deaths they were paraded as "holy Hindus" with Brahmins officiating as priests. These 15% Aryan "Bandals", as you beautifully described them, want to defeat, if not eliminate, the 85% non-Aryan "Mandals". Kanchi Shankarachari's open support to BJP or Congress is a clear indication that other than these two parties, the rest are anti-national.

**Arul**, Dr. Ambedkar Study Circle, Koil South St., Annamalai Nagar, Chidambaram, TN-608 002: We want to publish the Tamil translation of all DSA books. DV readers in TN are requested to support us. We met the Editor of DV during his recent visit to Chidambaram in connection with the election of Dalit R. Elumalai, his colleague, who is contesting this Lok Sabha seat as the PMK candidate.

**Moulana Syed Mohammed Musavi**, president, National Inter-Faith Council, Bombay: We are glad to note your activities and be assured of our full support for the cause of justice, non-violence and equal rights of all human beings. Your campaign through words against inequality, social injustice and all sorts of oppression is commendable.

**Tajul Haque**, Patna: I just read your book, *Muslims and the Liberation of the Oppressed*. I got it from the Students Islamic movement Library here. It is very interesting and reveals many hidden facts. I am very much interested in your other literature.

**Dr. Mushtaq Khan**, Chairaiyakote, Mau, UP: The people who come to my clinic find it difficult to follow the English language of DV. That means the valuable message of DV doesn't reach the masses. Hence the urgent need for Hindi SDV.

**F. Ahmed**, Chingdong Leikai, Jiribham, Manipur-795 116: I read N.K. Sharma's piece, "Kerala Jamat Islami chief must apologise" (DV May 1). Islam is the only religion that not only teaches but also practices equality. In Manipur and Assam, we have the Pangal (Manipuri Muslims) who are converted from a "low caste" called Phunga Nai. But Muslims treat them as equals. There is no discrimination. N.K. Sharma should avoid dividing Muslims into high and low.

## Sikhs must not support US: Next attack on Iran & Pakistan

SATNAM KAUR KHALSA, DAL KHALSA, MT. HOREB, USA

Here in the United States, everywhere you look, yellow ribbons and American flags decorate homes and businesses. The atmosphere is one of victory. Bumper stickers and signs proclaim pride in American military might.

"We went to war", we are told by our censored press, "because we had to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi occupation." We are not told, however, that we are restoring an unelected tyrannical ruler; a high spender at the cost of the Kuwaitis themselves. We begin to wonder why, if the US is so intent on "liberating" countries, that we have ignored so many other occupied countries and oppressed peoples.

Why has the US been assisting Israel in the occupation of Palestinian territories for almost a quarter of a century? Nearly two million Palestinians suffer under an oppressive occupation, even though the UN Security Council has condemned this occupation year after year. Why does the US insist only on Iraqi compliance with UN Security Council resolutions while ignoring those resolutions against Israel? The US claims to have had reason to destroy Iraq in order to force Iraqi compliance with UN resolutions. Meanwhile the US continually supports Israel's defiance of the UN. Not only does the US bolster Israeli defiance but supports it at a cost of 3.5 billion dollars a year. We wonder how we can afford to support this lawlessness on the part of Israel while the homeless accumulate on the streets of America.

President Bush has convinced most Americans that he is in the process of establishing "The New World Order", yet it seems to me that he is simply bringing back the old colonial world order.

Despite independent human rights groups who report Israel's policies of house arrest, deportations, "administrative detention", and extrajudicial executions of Palestinians, the US remains silent. Where is the big commitment to human rights?

**Crimes against Sikhs, Kashmiris:** Congressman Dan Burton has disclosed similar atrocities by the Indian Government against the Sikhs of Punjab and the Muslims of Kashmir. Congressman Burton has proposed cutting US aid to India if India continues to bar human rights groups from investigating these atrocities. Yet, the US continues to support these oppressive regimes. Obviously the US foreign policies are manipulated by political and financial pressures and not based on honest promotion of human rights, self-determination, and democracy for all. In fact, US foreign policies are self-serving and hypocritical.

We Americans, who are against the brutal policies

of Bush, are appalled at the carnage which took place in Iraq. Army General Schwarzkopf, however, was quoted as having urged further fighting to "rap great destruction upon them," he said. "We could have completely closed the door and made it, in fact, a battle of annihilation".

Although the Iraqi troops were fleeing the US attack, they were destroyed, along with thousands of innocent people. Surrender of the troops, or retreat from Kuwait was not the issue for the US. It became clear that the US Generals were reverting to the old world order wherein empires would destroy all the men and boys in conquered territories to prevent future revolts. US Army General Schwarzkopf says that a "ball-park" figure of 100,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed; "I would estimate that we easily killed more than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers," Schwarzkopf told a group of about 35 lawmakers. It is probable that many more civilians were killed in the bombings, perhaps up to two times the number of soldiers, by the estimates of some analysis. It is interesting to note in connection with the "ball-park" figures, that the entire coverage of the war took on a "Super Bowl" atmosphere, as if it were a game. What a grim game it turned out to be.

**Attack on Iran:** A UN survey of civilian damage caused by the allied bombing of Iraq calls the results "near apocalyptic." In fact, UN observers say that Iraq is now reduced to "a pre-industrial stage." The UN is warning that Iraq could face "epidemic and famine if massive life support needs are not rapidly met."

*Iraq is now destroyed; what is next on the agenda of the US? Other Third World powers, after seeing the punishment meted out to Iraq, are bound to be frightened. So is this the "New World Order" an Order built around the domination of the world by the US?* The US is demanding the destruction of all facilities in Iraq which could contribute to a future defence. Some Americans, elated with our fabulous success, have even suggested that now is a good time to knock out other future threats in the Islamic world, such as Pakistan and Iran. We might wonder, however, why Israel manages to continue to produce nuclear bombs with the blessings and cash of the US. Perhaps this "New World Order" may only serve to create greater hostilities in the Third World, and the US will have to wipe out more countries who are considered a threat.

**Muslims most hated:** Another effect of the war has been the open hostility of the American people against Muslims, (or anyone perceived to be a Muslims), in the US. Before the war it was considered socially unacceptable to show hatred and prejudice towards a racial or religious group. Now there is no such stigma.

The government leads the way with FBI agents harassing "Arabs" in the US, even Arab-American citizens were not spared. Some Americans are so culturally isolated that they vent their self-righteous anger on the Sikhs, sensing that they must be turban-clad Iraqis or "Arabs" *Sikhs have been abused physically and verbally by the racist Americans. Muslims have had their mosques defaced and threats have been made against them by the "patriotic" Americans.* Americans have yet to reap the fruit of the hatred that these acts will bring against them.

Isn't it amazing that Americans are thanking God, (who must be American), for our destruction of a nation. Does Bush think that God, (even if He is American), shares his disdain for human lives?

We, as Sikhs, and Americans, are firmly against this "New World Order". We are not so foolish as to think that the US will look with sympathy upon the Sikh struggle in Punjab, or at the freedom struggle of our Muslim sisters and brothers in Kashmir. *The US would not have been involved in "liberating" Kuwait if the Kuwaiti national product was cauliflower or wheat.*

Has the US shown any interest in liberating the poor Tibetans who are being slaughtered in their own country and being replaced by Chinese? Is Bush concerned about the violations of human rights in South Africa, where a minority of white rule the downtrodden black race? The answer is NO, and you can be sure that the *US will never show any interest in saving the oppressed Indians from destruction at the hands of the Indian Government.* If anything, the US will be glad to help the Indian Government by the suppression and censorship of all news from the area. *All Americans hear in the news is that the Muslims and Sikhs are terrorists, and that they must be stopped.*

Let us show our commitment and demand the opposition of all foreign occupations, and let us champion human rights and self-determination for all. Let us fight for a US policy which would be free of self-serving economic and political interests. If we support such US policies as selective attack of countries, based on our security or economic interests, we will soon meet our own destruction.

London Times Report

## Brahmins tighten grip on top jobs

CHRISTOPHER THOMAS IN DELHI

The eruption of caste as a political issue in India has focused attention on the power wielded by Brahmins, who comprise 3.5 percent of the population.

Judging by people's names, which generally reveal caste, the newly formed 15 man cabinet includes five Brahmins. Most newspaper editors are Brahmins, which may explain why the press has been unanimous in opposing the reservation of government jobs for low castes.

Nearly all senior government officials are Brahmins, as are a large percentage of military officers. The Nehru political dynasty is Brahmin.

Khushwant Singh, the author and journalist, who is a Sikh, said that during British rule Brahmins held only 3 percent of high-ranking government jobs. Now they held 70 percent. Out of 500 posts from the rank of deputy secretary upwards, 310 were held by Brahmins. Nineteen of the 26 state secretaries are Brahmins, as are 13 of the 27 governors and lieutenant-governors.

Nine of the 16 supreme court judges are Brahmins. Of the 330 high court judges, 166 are Brahmins. Fifty out of 98 vice-chancellors are Brahmins. So are 258 of the 438 district magistrates. And 2,376 out of 3,300 officers of the elite Indian Administrative Service are Brahmins.

In politics, too, Brahmins are strongly placed. Of 530 MPs in the Lok Sabha (lower house), 190 are Brahmins. In the Rajya Sabha (upper house), 89 out of 244 members are Brahmins.

Mr. Singh, declaring that he had not the slightest prejudice for or against any caste, wrote in a magazine article that Brahmins held between 36 and 63 percent of all plum jobs in the country. He observed that in whatever sphere – literary, scientific and bureaucratic – the Brahmin was top dog. "How this has come about I do not know. But I can scarcely believe that it is entirely due to the Brahmins' higher IQ."

During British rule, the Kayastha community from north India and Bengal, not the Brahmins, dominated the administration with their clerical skills. To this day they are influential in government and the press. An Indian proverb declares: "Bribe a Kayastha, feed a Brahmin, flatter a Rajput, thrash a low caste."

Under British rule in 1935, Kayasthas held 40 percent of the top posts. Muslims came next, with 35 percent. Christians, who nowadays are almost non-existent in the upper reaches of government, held 15 percent of the top administrative jobs.

The figures may explain why most members of parliament and the higher bureaucracy were appalled late last year at plans by Vishwanath Pratap Singh, a Rajput, then the prime minister, to introduce job quotas for "backward" castes. His successor, Chandra Shekhar, also a Rajput, has quietly put the issue aside, doubtless because it is so politically explosive. Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) party, which is overwhelmingly dominated by Brahmins in its upper ranks, opposes low-caste job quotas — (*The Times, London, Jan. 25, 1991*).

# New York celebrates centenary of Dr. Ambedkar

P. P. LAKSHMAN, NEW YORK

In a keynote address delivered here on the occasion of the 100th birth anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Indian Ambassador, Dr Abid Hussain, drove home the point that social equality was basic to preservation of democracy. He said that what Dr Ambedkar had said 35 years ago seemed prophetic, seeing the mounting discontent today. India would be a better place to live in if it heeded Dr. Ambedkar's message of equality. He saw Dr. Ambedkar as a remarkable social force whose dreams and philosophy symbolised courage, honor, freedom and quest for social justice. He was speaking at a conference arranged by the Ambedkar Centenary Celebration Committee in collaboration with the Southern Asian Institute of Columbia University, in Altschul auditorium, on April 14, 1991. The Committee headed by Prof A. Embree of Columbia University had as members a number of university professors, and office bearers of VISION (Volunteers in Service of India's Oppressed and Neglected, an organization set up in the USA 15 years ago). The Indian Ambassador was introduced to the audience by P.N. Arya, a former president of VISION.

The Ambassador from Sri Lanka at the UN, Dr. Stanley Kalpage, said a people, half-slave and half free, cannot live together. Ven. Punnaji, chief monk from Toronto Mahavihara, Canada, said Dr Ambedkar was responsible for revival of Buddhism in India. Paying tributes to Dr Ambedkar were several others including Prof Ralph Bultjens of New School of Social Science and Research, Manjuvajra from Buddhist Center at Poona, Prof Prakash Damshala of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, and Dr S. Gedam of New York. It was a day-long program beginning with seminar, discussions on human rights and Dr Ambedkar's life and mission, at 8.30 in the morning, and ending with a cultural programme and dinner in the evening.

**Segregation even inside jails:** Yogesh Varhade, Program Coordinator, welcomed.

Dean Jack Greenberg of Columbia University, also the President of Asia Watch, referred to the conditions in the prisons of USA and India, and said how the Indian prison codes separated "high caste" prisoners from "low castes". He spoke about the violation of human rights in Indian prisons, and commented on the sadism, brutality and custodial rape inflicted on the prisoners. He also drew attention to the question of civil rights as dealt with by Prof Mark Galanter in his latest book.

Prof. Mark Galanter, University of Wisconsin, said that Dr Ambedkar had compared the Untouchables in India with the descendents of the former slaves in the US. Mandal Commission had identified caste for backwardness. According to Mandal, merit needed to be moderated. There were however problems of

dealing with "backwards" and "forwards" in the same caste. He hoped the Indian government would solve the paradoxes of compensatory preferences.

Dean Mark Juergensmeyer, University of Hawaii, said that Dr Ambedkar stood for "humane dharma" and fought the "traditional concept of dharma". He embraced Buddhism to prevent the flaws of Hinduism from engulfing the Untouchables in modern India.

Prof Owen Lynch of New York University, moderator for the panel on Dr Ambedkar's life and mission, spoke about the sensitivity of Dr Ambedkar as a student of Columbia to the problem of Blacks in the USA. His embrace of Buddhism was also an act of patriotism, because Budha was born in India. Although other nations had adopted his creed, he had hardly a large following in India.

Giving a very vivid account of Dr Ambedkar's legacy through a slide show, *Prof Eleanor Zelliot of Carleton College, Minnesota, brought home to the audience how Dr Ambedkar still lived in the hearts and souls of millions whom he continued to inspire*, particularly in Maharashtra, years after his death. She had made an extensive tour of India recently. Zelliot hastened to point out that the role of the government in rehabilitating the Dalits should not be minimised. Zelliot also said that though Gandhi and Dr Ambedkar differed vigorously in their approaches to the caste problem, the former appreciated Dr Ambedkar's struggle. He had even recommended that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru appoint Dr Ambedkar as his Law Minister.

**Dalits and Blacks:** Dr Christopher Queen of Harvard University, who had just returned from a visit to Sanchi and Sarnath, spoke about his discussions with a British monk who was adviser to Dr Ambedkar in 1956. Dr Queen referred to Dr Ambedkar's "international eye" and said that the civil rights leader saw a parallel between the Black struggle in America and that of the Dalits in India.

Initiating the discussions on the presentation made by the professors from the different universities in America, Dr Velu Annamalai from Houston, Texas, heading the newly -formed International Dalit Support Group, dealt with the approach of Dr Ambedkar and Gandhi to the problem of untouchability. *Gandhi's belief in the caste system had been an obstacle to social progress, although it helped him to get support for his national movement for independence.* He referred to the recent desecration of Gandhi samadhi in Delhi by Dr Ambedkar's followers. Prof Maya Chadda from William Paterson College, New Jersey, also spoke.

**A minority ruling India:** P.P. Lakshman, a backward caste leader from Kerala living in New York, gave the

latest census figures from India and pointed out how a small minority of upper-castes ruled over the destinies of the vast majority of "low-castes", with monopoly power in everything including the media. The desecration of Gandhi samadhi, he said, should be viewed as a demonstration out of frustration. Dr Raman Pichumani of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Washington, D.C. sympathised with the anguish of the ill-treated, but felt that it could have been demonstrated in other ways.

Madhukar Kamble from Knoxville, Tennessee, said that Dr Ambedkar's burning thoughts were beyond suppression. His book, *Riddles of Hinduism* was published by the Government of Maharashtra after 30 years, but it got banned due to upper castes Hindu Nazi pressure. This brought down the wrath of the Dalits who poured into the streets, and the government was forced to unban it. Kamble spoke about Dr Ambedkar's scholarship, versatility and thoroughness in whatever he did. He gave the example of a building that Dr Ambedkar got constructed in Bombay on the basis of a detailed plan he had made, though he was not an architect, not even a civil engineer.

Summing up, Har Dayal, New Jersey, thanked the participants. Ved K. Chowdhary, President, VISION, explained aims and objects and said that VISION sought to bring together the Dalits in North America and galvanize them into helping Dalit causes in India. He gave a brief account of what it had been able to achieve so far. In an emotional speech, with the recital of a poem dedicated to Dr Ambedkar's thoughts, he said the curse of caste which the Hindu religion was plagued with was infecting other religions too. Dr Ambedkar had embraced Buddhism after close examination of all the religions. He had said that Hinduism, where even gods discriminated against Shudras, was not the religion for the dalits. Chowdhary emphasised the role of conversion in the liberation of the Dalits.

**How Buddhism was destroyed:** The cultural program began with a moving portrayal of the "Footprints he left behind", a theatrical drama on untouchability through the ages and the role of Dr Ambedkar in the emancipation of the Untouchables. It was written by Vijay Pathare and produced by VISION in cooperation with Sangit Vidyalyaya of New Jersey under the direction of Ramesh Shah. The historical background in this drama was played with great force and emotion by Ms. Joan Suval, a Broadway theater artiste, and Rama Arya, a TV star. The rise of Buddhism and the decline of Hinduism, during four centuries from 600 BC to 184 BC, as depicted, left an indelible impression on the audience. The rise of Buddhism received a setback when in 184 B.C. the Mauryan King, Brihadrath, was treacherously assassinated by his Brahmin military commander, Pushyamitra. After the assassination, Pushyamitra set out on a campaign, to wipe out Buddhism and to establish brahminism. He

ordered the destruction of thousands of Buddhist stupas erected throughout the country by Emperor Ashoka.

The highlight of the dance programme that followed was Chandalika, based on Rabindranath Tagore's dance-drama depicting the story of a young girl who is shunned during Holi festivities. She develops a complex which prevents her from giving water to a thirsty Buddhist priest. The priest tells her that all people are equal. This drama as well as other items in the programme were arranged by the Academy of Indian Dance, Montclair, New Jersey, and choreographed by Ms Reeta Baidyaroy. The cultural show, focusing on castes and untouchability, and casteless Buddhism, was well conceived, and was lustily cheered by the audience.

The programme ended with a vote of thanks by Mrs Basant Chowdhary. The guests had an Indian buffet dinner on the sixth floor of the International Affairs Building. Standing in queue in the food line, one guest was heard quoting George Bernard Shaw: "There is no love sincerer than the love of food". His friend retorted in the style of Oscar Wilde: "After a good dinner you can forgive anybody, even your relatives and caste Hindus".

The entire program of the Dr Ambedkar centenary celebration from morning till evening was recorded on video, and VISION is also planning to bring out a commemoration volume on the event. VISION may be contacted at 359 Morningside Ave, Fairview, NJ 07022; USA, Phone (201) 945 3774. ■

## Nazi chief defends Godse killing Gandhi

**Pune:** "We are proud of Nathuram, he saved the country from second partition," said the Shiv Sena supremo, Balasaheb Thackeray, here on May 16. "Nathuram was not a hired assassin. He was genuinely infuriated by Mahatma Gandhi's betrayal of the nation," Thackeray told a mammoth election rally at the Alkha Talkies square here. "Killing of any person is necessarily an evil act and it should be condemned, but we must find out the reason behind such incidents," he said while referring to Mahatma Gandhi's assassination by Nathuram Godse. "Mahatma Gandhi betrayed the nation. He had said he would lay down his life before allowing the division of the country. But ultimately he did nothing to stop the partition. Moreover, he insisted on giving Rs.55 crore to Pakistan at a time when the country was ravaged by the trauma of partition," Thackeray said. (*Times of India*, May 18).

**Read "Why Godse Killed Gandhi?"**

V.T. Rajshekar, DSA, 1986, Rs.8)

# WCC gets closer to tackle Dalit persecutions in India

REV. BOB SCOTT, WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, PCR, GENEVA

The Dalit Solidarity Programme (DSP) is now more fully discussed and understood because of the meetings and conversations in Bombay, Guntur, Madras, Bangalore and Delhi. In total, I was able to meet with nearly 130 people, half of that in group meetings in Madras and Delhi.

The DSP is intended as WCC/PCR's solidarity role in the advancement of Dalit emancipation within Indian society. We are asking the Dalit community to indicate what the role of an outside body, such as the WCC/PCR, might be. The DSP was not conceived as a funding instrument. The intention is to actualise the spirit of solidarity expressed at the 1989/PCR Commission meeting held in Madras and, more recently the WCC VIIth Assembly in Canberra. In the debate in Section II of the Canberra proceedings, *Bishop Theophilus of the Mar Thoma church said: "the Dalits are the poorest of the poor, the most exploited.... We must express solidarity with them and extend our support in their struggle".* And the assembly statement on indigenous peoples and land rights said: "the WCC should continue to work with Indigenous Peoples to ensure that issues identified by them, their communities and organizations, will be heard and acted upon. We affirm the growing consciousness of Indigenous Peoples' struggle for freedom, including those of the Dalits in India."

With the establishment of a specific programme within

the Programmatic categories of PCR there is now an opportunity to strengthen that commitment, in addition to the bi-lateral assistance and arrangements already in place between the Dalit community and various sub-units of the WCC or other overseas agencies. (DV Jan. 1, 1991 p.23: "World Council of Churches' concern over Dalit persecutions in India")

I very much appreciated the way people responded so positively to these discussions and pronounced themselves willing to participate, at PCR's request. I was particularly pleased to participate in warm and positive conversations with NCCI, CSI, CNI leaders. The intention, as you will know, is to work towards a National Consultation of about 100 persons, preceded by gatherings of women and youth. There was no disagreement on that framework.

We have made provision for a Planning Committee to meet mid-year. It is far better than a group of people be charged with the responsibility of reaching consensus on these details — rather than merely collecting the ideas and impressions as it became my task during my visit. So I have begun consideration of that Planning meeting with my colleagues here in Geneva. The tasks of that Planning group will be to decide dates, venues and liaison; preparatory material which will be needed and the process for issuing invitations to the women's and youth meetings and the national consultation.

## What Muslims and minorities get out of Mandal Com.

ABDUR RAHIM MUSA HAKIM, BOMBAY

In keeping with Article 340 of the Constitution of India, the Mandal Commission Report (Dec. 31, 1980), has identified "Other Backward Classes" of India on the basis of both social and educational backwardness. Excluding Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who account for 15.05% and 7.51% respectively (totally 22.56%) of the total population of India, the Commission estimated the population of Hindu "Other Backward Classes" to be 43.70% and of Non-Hindu OBCs to be 8.40% of the total population. *It estimated 52% of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Budhists and Jains as belonging to socially and educationally Backward Classes* (OBCs). The population of OBCs thus covered by the Mandal Report constitutes 52% of India's population.. According to the Report, the Non-Hindu communities and religious groups are 16.6% of the total population and the forward Hindu castes and communities are 17.58% of the total population. The Commission's estimates were based on the caste-wise Census of 1931 (no caste-wise population census was done in India thereafter).

Calculating on this basis and up-dating the information further in relation to the 1991 Census which estimates India's population to be around 845 million, the population of castes, communities and religious groups estimated to be now covered by the Mandal Report are 1928 lakh Hindu OBCs, 492 lakh Muslims, 84.5 lakh Christians, 73.3 lakh Sikhs, 29.4 lakh Buddhists and 20.6 lakh Jains.

**3,000 year-old injustice:** The Commission states that "mythology, scripture and ritual" have enabled a hierarchical caste order to survive in India for over 3,000 years. Under it, the lower caste 'shudras' have suffered unequal treatment and serious injustices in social, educational and economic fields, resulting in their backwardness. It has pleaded for a human and just social order, based on equality, non-discrimination, special protection for the weaker sections and justice in accordance with the Constitution and law

**Criteria for Non-Hindus OBCs:** The Commission evolved the following rough and ready criteria for identifying non-Hindu OBCs:-

(i) All untouchables converted to any Non-Hindu

religion, and (ii) such occupational communities which are known by the name of their traditional hereditary occupation and whose Hindu counterparts have been included in the list of Hindu OBCs (examples: Lohar, Darji, Badhai etc.)

**Mandal Recommendations:** Gist of the Commission's recommendations are: Reservation of 27% appointments or posts in services under the State for OBCs, including in promotion quota. The Scheme to be made applicable also to all public sector undertakings, all nationalised banks, all Universities and affiliated Colleges and all Government aided private sector undertakings. The reservations to apply to all Government services as well as technical and professional institutions both in the Centre and the State.

Phased up-gradation of special educational facilities, in selected areas containing high concentration of OBCs. Special emphasis on vocational training; Special coaching facilities in the technical and professional institutions to OBC students.

Special Programmes for upgrading skills of village artisans, subsidised loans to them for setting up small-scale industries. Separate network of financial and technical institutions to be set up by all State Governments, for promoting participation of OBCs in industry and business. Rigorous implementation of progressive land reforms and structural changes in existing scheme of production-relations to be effected

## "Indian Express" becomes Nazi organ ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The *Indian Express*, claimed to be the country's largest circulated English daily, had virtually become a Hindu Nazi mouthpiece even when Arun Shourie was its editor. The amount of lies it printed to inflame passions during the anti-Mandal upper caste war and violence late in 1990 is all a part of history. Since the Hindu believes what he wants to believe, the "Hindu Mind" never found fault with the Nazi Editor, Arun Shourie. On the other hand, he got many awards and rewards – including a govt. award. In this country, awards and rewards are given mostly to those who trample the human rights of Indians. Those who fight for the human rights are put in the jail, character assassinated, if not dubbed insane. Following the second dismissal of the Punjabi Brahmin Shourie, a Tamil Brahmin was appointed in his place and this editor virtually converted the *Express* into a Hindu Nazi organ. But with the appointment of Prabhu Chawla of the *India Today*, noted for his pro-Nazi sympathies, the *Express* is now poised to become the official organ of the growing Nazi parties. Official confirmation is expected after the current mini-general elections which got a break with the murder of Rajiv

by all States.

Welfare programmes specially designed for OBCs should be financed by the Central Government in all States in the same manner and to the same extent as done in case of SCs and STs.

**Implementation of Report:** During discussion of the Report in Parliament, V.P. Singh, then Prime Minister, had strongly supported the Commission's Report and had assured phased implementation of the Commission's Recommendations. He had also promised representation of a Minority Committee Member on Selection Boards, more legal powers to Minorities Commission, Reservation of 40% seats for "poor" in Parliament and Assemblies and reservations for women in panchayats, zilla parishads and municipalities.

It is unfortunate that as yet copies of the Mandal Commission Report have not been made available to the people. Public knowledge of the report is therefore hazy, even more than 10 years after submission of the Report to Government. Those to be benefited by the Report being 52% of the population, deserve a better deal. The Government should therefore expedite publication of the Report. It should also make available translations of the Report in all recognised languages of the Country. The public has a right to information. Denial of it for so long, is causing serious misgivings in the public mind. ■

Gandhi. But the wonder is it is not only the *Indian Express* that it is turning into a Nazi organ. Other dailies and periodicals are no better. Almost every "national" English daily has a soft corner for the Nazis because the journalists who write and the press barons who own the papers belong to the same jati of the Hindu Nazis. The conclusion is that there is a collective conspiracy in this country to hoist the Nazis in Delhi and thereby bid goodbye to democracy, secularism and socialism. People get the govt. they deserve. And if this country deserves Nazi rulers, who are we to prevent it? ■

## Why not a Muslim PM ?

PROF. IQBAL MOHAMMAD KAZI, PUNE

Till now India has had eight Hindu Prime Ministers (or nine, if we count Gulzarilal Nanda also). As Muslims form one-seventh of the country's population, we should now have a Muslim Prime Minister for India after the current Lok Sabha elections. Later on we should also have a Sikh, a Christian and a Dalit by turns. In this way we can prove India to be truly and wholly secular. ■

# Obscenity in Aryan literature

P.S. SRIDHARA MURTHY, ADVOCATE, BANGALORE

I was amused to read in DV (April 1, 1991) that the Govt. of India has banned Ms. Elaine Arone's book, *Samraj*, on the ground that Draupadi of the Mahabharata epic is depicted in a vulgar and obscene manner. Mahabharata itself is mainly a story full of obscene affairs. In fact, the great revolutionary saint-poet of Karnataka, Sarvagna, of the 14th century refers to Hindu epics as stories of prostitution (Hadarada Kathe). The Hindu epic literature has a lot to be ashamed of, said Dr. Ambedkar.

Nazi leader L.K. Advani and Arun Shourie, a Nazi journalist, did shed profuse tears over the denial of freedom of expression to that notorious Salman Rushdie when his book containing blasphemous writings on Islam was banned in India. How is it that these self-styled votaries of freedom of expression have not come out in defence of Ms. Elaine Arone who has exposed the characters of Mahabharata?

**Sex teacher:** Applying the same standards, the 400-page Kannada novel, *Parva*, wherein the Aryan novelist, S.L. Byrappa, some 15 years ago retold the story of Mahabharata ought to have been banned. On reading it one gets a feeling that this author must have had first-hand knowledge of such details which only a ward boy or midwife of a maternity home could have come to know. In this book, Draupadi reflects on the sex experiences with her five different husbands. The Dasi women or female slave-servants of the palace teach sex matters to the blind king Dritarashtra. The sick and impotent brother of the blind king, Pandu, sends his first wife, Kunti, to the adjoining kingdom of Devas said to be situated close to Himalayas, so that she may spend nights with the Devas until she is impregnated. Some days after the birth of her first son, Dharmaraja, she craves for sex life and the considerate husband again and again sends her to this neighbouring kingdom and the obliging members of this royal family satisfied her lust until she becomes

pregnant. This is how Bheema and Arjuna were born. The younger wife, Madri, jealous of the elder wife who had enjoyed conjugal company of three men, pleads with her husband that he should also arrange for her pleasure. The noble husband readily obliged twice. That is how Nakula and Sahadeva were born.

**Five husbands of Draupadi:** S.L. Byrappa narrates that whenever epic heroes went for wars, cartloads of female slaves also used to accompany the warriors for meeting the lust of these warriors. The problems faced by the blind king, Dritarashtra, and the blindfolded queen, Gandhari, relating to their conjugal plays in their bedroom are also dealt. The perverse Aryan concept of wife's devotion to husband demanded that she cannot see the world which her husband was not destined to see out of blindness from birth. So she always remained blindfolded since the day of her wedding. The blind king is assisted by the female slaves whenever he went to toilet.

The author was certainly very wise in selecting the Mahabharata to display his pornographic skills, as the story is rich with obscene instances. Even according to the orthodoxy, Draupadi who had five husbands had been nursing a grievance that she did not have the opportunity of sharing her bed with Karna, the eldest brother of her five husbands. Kunti had given birth to Karna even before she was married to Pandu. While Bheema and Arjuna were husbands of Draupadi, each of them had their own wives i.e. Hidimba and Subhadra respectively. It is utterly foolish to pretend when it is well known that Rama, Lakshmana and their brothers, Pandavas, Anjaneya or Hanumantha and Ganesha were not born to the husbands of their mothers. Sugreeva marries the widow of Vali, his brother, whom Rama had killed treacherously. Dritarashtra, Pandu and Vidura who often played the role of a jurist, were also not born to the husbands of their mothers. ■

## Sohan Singh back from Pak

**Chandigarh:** Sohan Singh, Sikh militant leader and chief of the Panthic Committee, is in India, according to official sources. Dr Sohan Singh was reported to be in Pakistan for the past one year or so. It was believed that he was ill and had been in a hospital at Multan in Pakistan for many months. Dr Sohan Singh, 75, is learnt to have been granted safe passage into India with the consent of Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar. He had been underground since June 1984 immediately after Operation Bluestar. (*Statesman*, May 23). ■

### YOUTH AND MORALS

Youths are backbone and future of the nations. It is deadly conspiracy of western imperialists and eastern socialists that youths of all the Asian, African and Arab nations, would be addicted to corruption by means of social and moral evils. AIDS, drug-addiction, free-sex, blue-film and pop-music are their effective tools. The book, 'YOUTH AND MORALS' (p.235) is a torch-bearer for youths in the darkness of arrogance and guides them how to lead a safer and healthy life in the society and how to save their nations from nefarious designs of imperialism and colonialism.

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## In defence of Dhananjay Keer

N.K. SHARMA, NEW DELHI

This is with reference to M.L. Dohray "communication" on Babasaheb's Three Commandments (DV, May 1, 1991, p.11). We do not need any great authority to correct the slogan of our saviour. Any semi-educated man instantly corrects it as "organise and agitate". The semi-educated people emphasise that there could be no agitation without organisation and hence Babasaheb might have announced it as "organise and agitate". Naturally, in defence he cites the authority/reference of Dhananjay Keer etc.

Even 99% of our literate and illiterate Ambedkarites find it easy to understand the sequence as "organise and agitate". For years, I have faced the problem of understanding the Keer's dictum, "Agitate and organise". Now if Dr. D.R. Jatav says that the "Brahmin Keer distorted it wilfully," we may get answer but this is no explanation. Dr. Jatav did not in any of his books on Dr. Ambedkar find it essential to point out this earlier. Dr. Jatav's cursory dismissal of Keer as a Brahmin is very unfortunate. Bhagavan Das is also not authentic. Shankarananda Sastry, who claims some association with Dr. Ambedkar, followed the sequence as "agitate and organise". Das and Dr. Jatav must come out with their sources to prove their authenticity.

I stand by Dhananjay Keer's sequence, "Educate, Agitate and Organise". There cannot be an organisation without agitation. Some goody-goody organisations that are merely social and cultural can be formed without agitation and they need not have any plan for agitation. A political party gets more and more organised by agitations. It is not formed for agitation. Hence "agitate and organise".

Secondly, I believe that Babasaheb gave us some higher forms of thought with the sequence, "agitate and organise". I do not believe that Babasaheb gave just a simple message, as the man in the street wishes it as, "organise and agitate". By all means, let us not drag down the message of Dr. Ambedkar to our level of understanding. Until otherwise disproved, Dhananjay Keer's version, "agitate and organise", remains correct. We wish Dr. Jatav and Bhagavan Das disprove it beyond doubt. Despite the shortcomings and inadequacies, Keer's biography of Babasaheb remains the most inspiring and outstanding even while acknowledging the contributions of both Dr. Jatav and Bhagavan Das to Ambedkarism.

**Nazi bid to distort our movement:** Dr. Ambedkar said that one single Ambedkarite is equal to one lakh followers. We should strive to come up to that level.

We do not believe that the Brahmin in Keer wilfully or skillfully distorted the slogan as "agitate and organise". There is not much to gain by this simple slogan through distortion. We are keen to know the distortions in Keer's book. Dr. Jatav should write this and DV should publish and educate our people. Unfortunately, most of our "organisations" begin with a war cry and end up in a whimper. The Hindus are fomenting the formation of Dalit Senas, Balmiki Senas and other war groups – setting up Mangs against Mahars in Maharashtra. Shiv Sena is specialised in this Nazi art of setting one group of Untouchables against the other. "Organise and then Agitate" suits such Nazi lords.

Political organisations should raise war cries and agitations. Otherwise, we need a great number of organisations for peaceful reconstruction of our societies. All organisations need not aim at "sangharsh/agitation" Agitation is only to articulate our rights and demands. Pity, even Buddhist organisations produced no such organisation like the Red Cross or the Lions Club to rehabilitate and resettle the victims of atrocities/racism. Let not every organisation aim at agitations.

Here in this context, let me pay my grateful thanks to Dhananjay Keer for this biography on Babasaheb. His biography inspired me to dedicate my services to Ambedkarism and the community service. His approach was one of sentiment affection and highest regard for Babasaheb. Keer sanctified his personality by Baba's biography. There may be some shortcomings in it but he wrote far better than many biographers belonging to SC races. On the lines of the *Buddha and His Dharma*, we need more biographies on Babasaheb that would suit the students at various levels – they need concentrate more on Babasaheb and Indian races, rather than on Brahmin-baiting. Dry and lifeless research studies are no biographies.

**Read DV editorial reprint:**

**"Dr. BR. Ambedkar's Three commandments" Educate, Agitate, Organise: The Essence and Consequence" 1990-Re.0.50)**

## How can a non-Hindu Ambedkarite praise Hindu Nazis

DR. GANGADHAR PANTAWANE, AURANGABAD

The article of Gopal Guru, a learned professor from Pune University, appeared in *Dalit Voice* of April-15 1991, is thought provoking. But the cursory statements made against some individuals are not only purely imaginary and biased but based on false reporting and gossips to defame and to damage the image of individuals also.

Guru has charged in his article that Gangadhar Pantawane joined not only the ABVP — sponsored Sandesh-Yatra but also shared the platform of Samarasta Manch on various occasions in the State to respect Savarkar, a Hindu leader.

In fact, I have not attended the so-called Sandesh Yatra. I was never concerned with this Yatra. Therefore, I wonder how the learned professor made such a baseless statement. Is it a conspiracy against me? Intellectuals like Gopal Guru are expected not to make such statements that would be very harmful to one's career. I am in no way concerned with the ABVP, BJP, RSS or Samarasata Manch. I am not a member of these associations. I am not even a Hindu. I have embraced Buddhism on Oct. 14, 1956 with Babasaheb Ambedkar at Nagpur. Thus, how can I join the Hindutvavadi sanghatanas?

I must make it clear that I was invited by the Samarasata Manch three years back and that too only once. In my speech I emphasised Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's ideology which was not liked by the members of the Samarasata Manch. This speech is published. Those who have read or listened me cannot object my purpose. I think Guru has not read my speech like others. In this speech, I have not praised any Savarkar or Hedgewar. How can I? On the contrary, I strongly said without accepting the thoughts of Babasaheb on casteless society and intercaste marriages, Manch has no meaning. So, I have attended only one function of the Manch on their invitation and I spoke boldly on Babasaheb's teachings. I don't think I did wrong. To my surprise thereafter the Manch people never invited me for any occasion.

In this regard, I should say that am I the only person who was invited by the Hindutvavadis? No not at all. Our leaders like Dadasaheb Gaikwad, Barrister Khobragade, R.S. Gavai, Shantabai Dani also have shared their platforms for various reasons. Well known writers like Shankarrao Kharat, P.I. Sonkamble, Dr. Yashwant Manohar (the disciple of Gulab Baba), Datta Bhagat, Daya Pawar, Keshav Meshram, Laxman

Gaikwad, (award winner-Sahitya Akademy), Shanta Bai Kamble (mother of well known Janata Dal leader, Prof. Arun Kamble) have also graced the various functions of above associations. Does Guru believe that these personalities are anti-Ambedkarites or Hindutvavadi? Guru has deliberately ignored the names of these writers and he only concentrated upon me. I have always criticised Savarkar and Hedgewar (see my book *Journalist Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Dhammasampada* — Dr. Ambedkar Birth Centenary issue and various articles). I was never a disciple of Savarkar or other Hindu leaders. My inspiration is only Dr. Babasaheb and Dr. Babasaheb only.

I have great regard for *Dalit Voice*. But to my surprise that in what way the editor of DV has given the subtitle 'Gangadhar Pantawane joins Nazis?' I do not understand. Why did Guru and the editor of DV play gossip to spread rumours and defame myself without peeping into reality?

### Indian author's book on Kurdish tragedy

Cairo publishers, Dar al-Sahwah, have just released a new book

#### HALABJAH

by the Indian scholar of Islam and West Asia,  
Dr Zafarul-Islam Khan

who heads the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Studies in New Delhi. Dr Khan is the author of a number of books on Islamic and Middle Eastern themes in Arabic and English, published in Cairo, Beirut and London. He has a PhD in Middle Eastern Studies from the University of Manchester (UK). The book, written originally in Arabic, is an account of the Iraqi regime's use of chemical weapons against its own Kurdish population, especially the Iraqi-Kurdish town of Halabjah in March 1988 during the first Gulf War. It was an unprecedented crime in the history of chemical warfare, condemned by major countries and the UN. No other country has ever used chemical weapons against its own people. The crime was described by world media correspondents who visited the town at the time as 'open graves', 'living corpses', 'Middle East Hiroshima...'. Out of the town's total population of 100,000 souls, an estimated 6,000 were immediately killed by the poisonous gases, 10,000 were disabled for life and 70,000 took refuge in Iran and Turkey. The town was later erased by Iraqi bulldozers in a bid to hide the crime. The book is in 145 pages with a number of photographs. It also traces the history of chemical weapons, in general, and the Iraqi chemical arms programme, in particular.

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## When Hinduism is not there how can you say Gandhi strengthened it ?

N.K. SHARMA, NEW DELHI

Congrats for your excellent editorial of April 1. Ideologically, it is the best integrated and rational presentation. However, there are two points which are not correct on page 5. M.K. Gandhi did not assign shudra status to SC/ST/BC as alleged by you. He called SCs as *panchamas*, meaning the fifth varna, BCs as sixth varna and STs as seventh varna. He assigned no varna to Buddhists and Jains who are being claimed as Hindus or Hinduism. It is also incorrect to say that Hinduism would have died, had not Gandhi strengthened it. How can Hinduism die when it is not there at all? How any one or Gandhi could strengthen it, when there is no such thing as Hinduism? Gandhi strengthened Hindu (Aryan) colonialism over SC/BC/ST. Gandhi created the illusion that there is something called Hindu religion and a common religion between Hindus and Untouchables (SC/ST/BCs).

This issue of April 1, is of very high quality. For the first time you abandoned the use of "upper caste"s and used the term "Indian races".

Even when there are no restrictions on inter-racial marriages, races like animals do not mate indiscriminately. Even ten per cent inter-caste/inter-racial marriages, keep the race in a position to retain its racial identity.

In the case of India where inter-racial marriages are prohibited by custom and law, it is silly to say that there is a great deal of mixed population or the races have ceased to exist only in the case of SC/BC/ST. It is not the blood that decides the races, but upbringing culture.

**Soviet example:** All British people look-alike not because of sexology or sexual adulteration, but because of the climate that is uniform to all English people... no one can distinguish an Irishman from Scot or from an English man in the British Isle. But no one argued that these three are not distinct races.

Despite sexual adulteration, rapes and inter-racial marriages in the Soviet Union for the last 70 years, how they are vowing to get separate from each other now? Mixture of blood do not lead to adulteration or merges of races.

*The attack on brahminism or our enemies will begin with the finding of alternate symbols and terms. So leave out this mysterious term called "caste" about which our scholars display so much of ignorance about its meaning. Hence use the term "race" as races are there in all countries and they should also*

be in India.

Functional castes are racial fragments or broken races. They had lost the memory of racial names by and large.

**Andhra races:** I say that all SCs, BCs and STs, Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims of Andhra Pradesh are Andhra race or Adi-Andhra race. They make up 93% of state's or Telugu population. Each of this section is also Andhra race. Is it not? Who adulterated whom? Do you mean to say that the seven per cent Brahmins or shudra castes adulterated 93% population of Andhra race ?

The sexual adulteration within SC/ST/BC, is an internal matter that takes place within the Adi-Andhra race. This can not be called racial mixture, for SC/BC belongs to the same race. Sexual adulteration between Andhra SCs and Telugu Brahmins is a trans-racial transaction or intra-racial transaction. When they are untouchables to each other, how could you imagine that they are meeting sex-wise secretly?

Sociology and anthropology are not sexology. It is more a matter of climate and culture.

**Father of India:** Please do not repeat the allegation that Dr. Ambedkar is the "father of our nation". *Dr. Ambedkar is the Father of the country and Father of all nations in this country.*

Tamil translation of DV edit, "Hindu Unity aims at destroying Indian unity."

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**PUBLISHED FROM:**  
109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,  
Bangalore - 560 003 - India

**Annual Subscription: Rs.90**  
**Payable in MO or DD to: "Dalit Voice".**  
**Foreign Airmail: US 40\$ dollars**

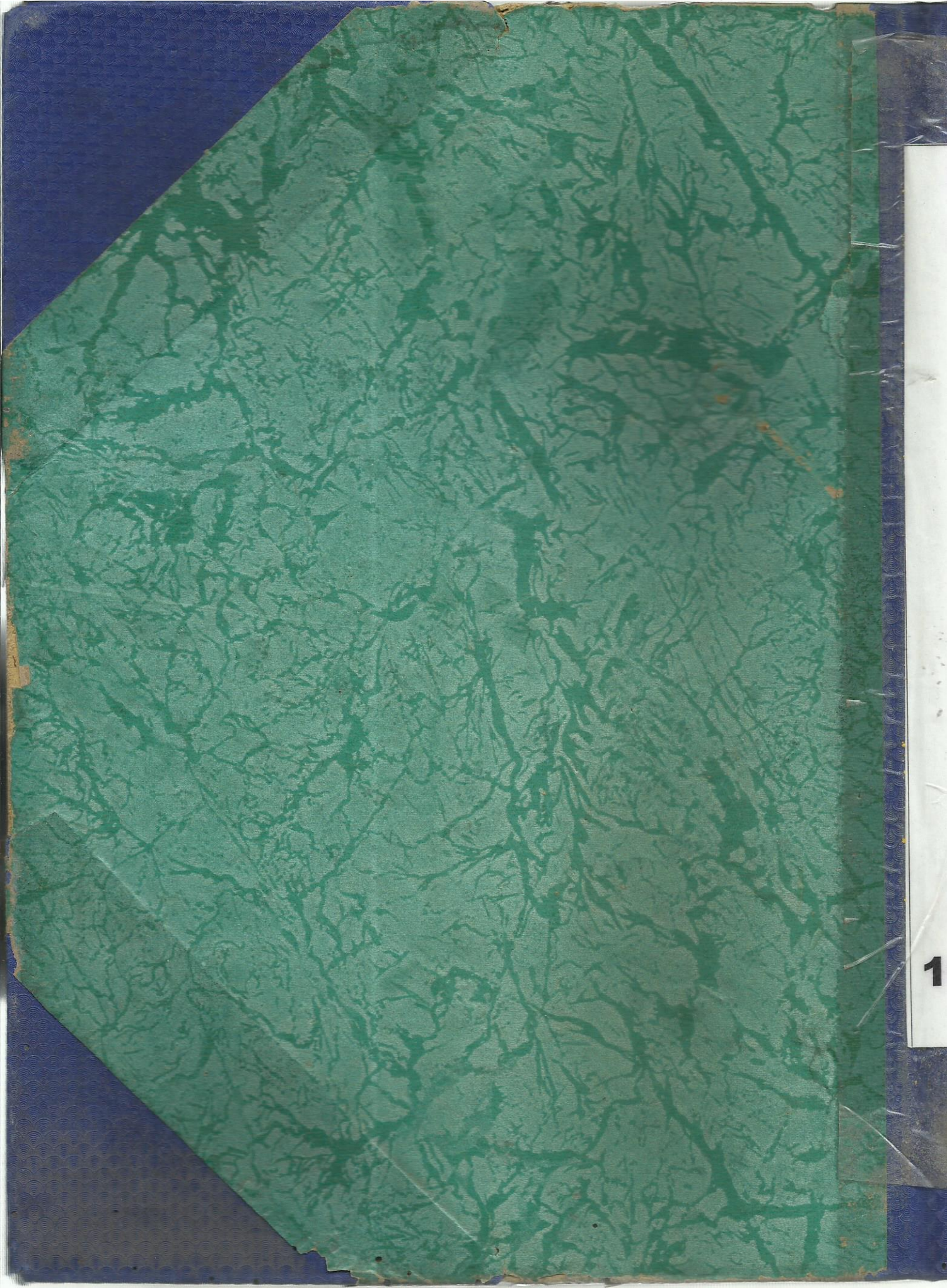
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