

DALIT VOICE

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Denied Human Rights

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Hindus & Muslims not a single nation
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Sack all anti-Mandals & build up a cadre-based Janata Dal party of SC/ST/BC/minorities

The brahminical social order which managed to put the Congress Party in power and install P.V. Narasimha Rao as Prime Minister is now trying to save his minority govt. through defections from the Janata Dal where many upper caste wolves are hiding and too eager to cross over to the ruling party. These wolves in the JD were never happy with the Mandal Commission. They were in the JD only because they were sure that the party would come to power.

The Hindus will never, ever compromise with anything that benefits the SC/ST/BC/Muslim lambs. The Mandal Commission seeks to restore the human rights to lambs. And that is why the wolves in the Congress, Communist and every other Hindu party including the Hindu Nazi parties are opposing Mandal. They all ganged up and launched a violent caste war during the latter part of 1990, toppled the JD-National Front govt. headed by V.P. Singh and to divert the attention of lambs launched their 'Hindu unity' game through the Ramjanambhoomi stunts.

If the JD's one-point election programme was Mandal, the anti-Mandal Aryan wolves' one-point programme was to defeat the Janata Dal. To do this, they installed Chandra Shekar's notoriously anti-Mandal govt. in Delhi, then misled Mulayam Singh Yadav to toe the Chandra Shekar line. When the Shekar govt. collapsed because of its own weight they managed to postpone the mid-term elections fearing an outright victory to JD. And finally when they could not postpone the elections any longer, they managed to put a schemer as the chief of the Election Commission and this man played havoc with the entire poll process. Top Aryan brains were involved in Delhi to ruin the electoral chances of Janata Dal.

Four-way split in UP: The Nazi parties spent billions and billions of rupees to launch an unprecedented high-pitch election campaign - the primary purpose of which was to frighten the Muslim lambs and then confuse them if they fail to frighten them. All the Aryan gimmicks failed, and as expected the country got neatly divided into two hostile camps - Mandals on one side and *Bandals* (anti-Mandal) on the other. Non-Aryans vs Aryans. As predicted in this column, the division was clean all over India except in UP - the core of the cowbelt. The Hindus and their Nazi parties succeeded through the wily Chandra Shekar and Subramanian Swami (Iyer), the Chief Nazi contact man with the Zionists, to get the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims in UP split four ways: between the JD, the bogus Samajwadi Janata Party, (SJP), formed just to divide the pro-Mandal votes, and the Congress. Bahujan Samaj Party also took away some votes of

SCs.

Despite all these well-planned Hindu Nazi tricks, the JD-National Front was well poised to emerge as the single biggest party in the elections. And the worried brahminical brains got a proof of this when the first phase of the elections was over. They got a shock of their life when the intelligence agencies alerted them that the elections were going the Mandal way.

The well-planned upper caste/Aryan/Hindu conspiracy to defeat the Mandal miserably failed. A victory to Mandals, they feared, would mean disaster to the Aryan *Bandals*, if not a suicide.

International conspirators: How to avert this disaster? How to check the march of Mandals? The brahminical social order was prepared to pay any price to shoot down the Mandal. And it was at this crucial juncture the international conspirators approached India's *Bandal Bajees* and they all agreed that to avert the "national" disaster and save the sinking brahminical social order, sacrificing Rajiv Gandhi was not too much. Did they not kill their own "Father of the Nation" to avert a similar disaster in 1948? Did not the same brahminical social order gave up meat-eating and turn vegetarian - a supreme sacrifice - to avert the danger from Buddhism? Such sacrifices are always made in the "national" interest and the whole Aryan nation appreciates such sacrifices.

No less a paper than the *Blitz* (June 22) had disclosed the "Mossad's deadly hand in Rajiv murder" thus confirming the fear expressed in our editorial ("Thoughts on Rajiv murder," DV June 16) and then in our report, "Who killed Rajiv Gandhi?" (DV, July 1, p.21). *Blitz* has been throughout a pro-Congress paper and its editor, R.K. Karanjia, a Parsee belonging to Rajiv Gandhi community, has been close to the Nehru family, and hence he may be having an inside information.

The Rajiv murder had an electrifying effect. It achieved what the Nazis wanted and what their international allies in the New World Order desired. The murder brought a handsome 10% swing in favour of the Nazi's mother party, the Congress, which sacrificing its own president managed to emerge victorious, but not with enough majority to form a govt. The three Iyers in Delhi had a quick midnight meeting and gave a three-week break to the elections to manipulate the voters mind and particularly to frighten the Muslims. They quickly managed to instal an Andhra Brahmin as Congress President paving his way to become the PM.

Sharad Pawar cut to size: The only obstacle was Sharad Pawar. Hailing from the hated shudra (Maratha) community of Shivaji, he was not only humbled and humiliated but also cut to size for challenging the brahminical social order. The shudras are accustomed to put up with any amount of such humiliations and insults because the shudras in Sanskrit means slaves of Brahmins. And these willing slaves think that if those belonging to the brahminical social order spit on their face, it is a great honour done to them. They don't even wipe off the spit but, on the other hand, they smile as the spit falls on them. Such is the servility of these shudra slaves. And they deserve this kick. And one such slave unmindful of all these treatment has now joined the

Narasimha Rao cabinet unmindful of all the insults. Another, Shivashankar, a Munnoor Kapu from Andhra Pradesh, resigned his post in protest signalling that PV path is not fully paved.

But the problem facing PV's minority govt. is that it cannot survive without outside support. The Nazis would be too willing to join because they are the children of the Congress, the original brahminical party of India. Both are sworn enemies of the Mandals, the original Indians, the natives, the SC/ST/BCs. But if the Nazi support is taken some of the self-respecting SC/ST/BCs in the Congress may get offended. That is why PV is hesitating to take Nazi support openly.

"Modern Shankara": The Aryans in the Communist Party are willing and the "Modern Shankara" of Kerala had already hinted about the "Left" support to the Congress even

before the elections. When his party (CPM) got routed in Kerala because of the wholesale gangup of all Aryan forces to defeat the Mandals in Kerala, there was a revolt against the "Modern Shankara" who as we write is put in the dog house. Like that Maharashtrian Brahmin, SA Dange, founder - chairman of the undivided Communist Party of India, who was dismissed from the party for having said that "all the wisdom of Karl Marx came from the Vedas", we will not be surprised if this cantankerous communist is also sacked for having called Kerala as the "Vedangulude Nadu" (the land of Vedas). Stupid. No doubt, the No.2 man in CPM, Jyoti Basu, the Bengali Kayasth, is also too willing to join the Aryan forces. Because he too is rabidly anti-Mandal

and the enemy of the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims in Bengal. The Hindu Nazis and the Congress Brahmins will be also too willing to embrace him. But the wily Basu fears that if he lends support to the Congress there will be a revolt in his party and he too will have to go the "Modern Shankara" way. Being a shudra not only Basu will get nothing in the Congress but he will lose Bengal also. That is why the Bengali Babu quietly withdrew while pretending to be angry with the "Modern Shankara" whose exit will naturally make Basu the boss of the "sacred thread marxists".

Unity of Aryan wolves: One happy development of this election is that all the Aryan wolves are coming together. This should be welcomed. Some Aryan

wolves are still hiding in the party of the lambs wearing the lamb's clothings, like that notorious R.K. Hegde of Karnataka. It will be good if all such Aryan wolves in disguise discard their mask and form a party of 15 wolves headed by the Hindu Nazis. We will not only welcome it but we will give all-out support to it.

The minority PV govt. having been disappointed with the "sacred thread Marxists", it has now set its eyes on engineering defections in the Janata Dal where quite a number of their cronies are feeling suffocated. The wily Hegde is the leader of this group and it was his voice that was heard when some leaders and pleaders with no base spoke at the recent Janata Dal executive committee meeting (June 27/28) against the Mandal. Biju Patnaik, the Kayasth Chief

Minister of Orissa, openly opposed Mandal and that is why he ate dust in the recent elections. Such people are a liability to the JD.

We call upon VP Singh to kick out all these hiding wily wolves. They must be mercilessly removed so that many lambs imprisoned in the Aryan parties of wolves are rescued and rehabilitated in their natural surroundings.

Doesn't matter even if the Janata Dal loses a Chief Minister Biju Patnaik. One Lalloo Prasad Yadav is equal to one million Bijus and Hegdes. Even George Fernandes is not fully with Mandal. So also the Jat leader Ajit Singh.

New Finance Minister

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : *The new Finance Minister, Manmohan Singh, is a sardarji. But sardarjis are the most hated people in India. They are terrorists, anti-nationals, untrustworthy. And what not. But not this sardarji. He is not a member of both the Houses of Parliament and yet he is praised and paraded by the Brahmin-Bania press. One Iyer in the Times of India praised him skyhigh saying Manmohan Singh will prove to be the country's best Finance Minister. Going by the laws of contradictions, what the enemy loves must be poison to us. If our oppressors are true then Manmohan Singh is sure to become the country's biggest disaster. How can he become the darling of the rulers without exploiting our people to please them? The rulers are not allowing the "national-cake to grow". That means Dr. Singh will have to deny us more and more of our share to feed the already over-fed rulers. They are sure he will be do it and that is why they are praising him. And we can soon find the proof of it. Already the rupee is twice devalued. The country already devalued will rush to its doomsday with greater speed under this new Finance Minister.* ■

Bihar shows the way: Bihar has shown the way to the whole country. There the society got neatly divided. Haves and have-nots. Wolves versus lambs. Brahmins, Bumihars, Thakurs and Kayasths on one side and SC/ST/BCs and Muslims on the other. The 15% versus 85%. In UP also the same pattern would have been repeated in a more effective way if only Mulayam Singh had not fallen a prey to the tricks of the notorious Aryan leaders like Chandra Shekar and Subramanyan Swami (Iyer). If the BJP has come to power in UP today, its sole credit must go – not to Advani - but to Chandra Shekar because it was he at the behest of Nazis who conspired to get the Mandal votes in UP divided four-ways.

A Hegde pro-Nazi chela complained at the JD executive meeting in Delhi (*Indian Express*, June 29) that Karnataka's Brahmins, Vokkaligas and Lingayats – its traditional vote bank - shifted away from the party because of Mandal. Yes, he is right. These three ruling upper castes went over to BJP and they have done the right thing. That is where they should be and that is where they went. They are the property-holders and BJP is their right party. Why should the wolves be in the party of the lambs?

Follow K.C. Pant model: The Congress in Karnataka because of Bangarappa-Basavalingappa-Aziz Sait social engineering (DV Feb.1, 1991 p.10) is a party of the SC/ST/BC/Muslim lambs. The Hegde and Pigde wolves have no place in it. To defeat the lambs the Hegdes and Pigdes joined the Janata Dal but the wolves out of hatred against JD, the party of lambs, crossed over to the BJP. The problem with the Hegdes and Pigdes is that if they quit the JD, they will not be admitted to the Congress which in Karnataka is a party of lambs. So, to these Hegdes and Pigdes and their Jethmalani relatives, the only way-out is to shed their "socialist brahmin" masks and join the BJP. That is where they should be.

Even the president of the JD is a Lingayat. S.R. Bommai and his community voted for the BJP in Karnataka. A worn-out Royist, he may be naturally unhappy in the party of lambs. Just as Veerendra Patil, a Lingayat, is not happy in Congress, Bommai also is not happy in JD.

Sharad Yadav as JD president: For all these unhappy souls, K.C. Pant has set the noble example. His wife joined the BJP. The Congress, the mother of Nazis, will soon fade away and BJP will still become stronger. We will any day welcome the BJP. The Congress, the original brahminical party of India, is the Enemy No.1 of the SC/ST/BC Muslim lambs. And all our energies must be directed to crush this party.

So, all those finding themselves uncomfortable in JD may quit JD like Arun Nehru, the Kashmiri Brahmin. If not, they must be mercilessly sacked. The party has to be cleansed and converted into a party of pure lambs. Mandal should be its one point

programme. Sharad Yadav, who was defeated in UP because of Nazi machinations causing a four-way split of Mandal votes, should be made president of the lamb's party with VP as its guiding spirit.

In Tamil Nadu, the JD should drop the cut-throat's party of DMK and go in for an alliance with the revolutionary PMK headed by Dr. Ramadoss.

In Karnataka, it has to find new forces to build up the party. A leader is born out of the churning of the society – out of the wishes and aspirations of the people. The Hegdes and Pigdes are leaders made by the brahminical press. Such paper-tigers are a liability to a revolutionary party like JD.

So it must convert itself into a cadre-based party making the Mandal mantra as its sole platform. Mandal means recovering the human rights of 85% of the deprived population who are the original owners of India. And no amount of upper caste ridicule against Mandal can diminish the importance of Mandal.

VP Singh must weed out the wolves, rescue the many starving, imprisoned lambs from other parties and buildup a cadre-based party. The future belongs to Mandal and JD and we are here to lend all our support to restore the country to its original owners. ■

Marxist goodbye to "Modern Shankara"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : We hear a happy news that Kerala's "Modern Shankara" has been at last sacked as the boss of the country's Communist Party – Marxist (CPM), dominated by the "sacred thread marxists." We had said that this "Modern Shankara" would not retire before completely destroying the party. Yes. We proved right. We also knew that he would meet with an ignoble end.

During his stewardship, the "Modern Shankara" was chiefly responsible for misinterpreting marxism to suit brahminical interests. The Adi Shankara is said to have destroyed Buddhism resorting to violence but the "Modern Shankara" did the same job in a more effective way "non-violently". He promoted brahminism calling it marxism.

Right now, the CPM is confined only to West Bengal where the future boss of the CPM, Jyoti Basu, has made it a party of Brahmins, Baidays and Kayasths with Marwadi money and mafia muscle. In Kerala, the CPM got defeated in the recent election because the upper caste Nairs and brahminised Syrian Christians voted for the Congress, the country's chief brahminical party. The Hindu Nazi party, which also contested the elections in Kerala in a big way, sacrificed itself by working for its mother party, Congress, with which the "Modern Shankara" had conspired even as the election were midway.

Brahminical Bolshevik: An article in the Sunday *Times of India* (June 16), "The brahminical Bolshevik",

correctly portrays the Namboodiri Brahmin chief of CPM. EMS Namboodiripad (83) who in his Malayalam book (so far not translated to English), *Vedangalude Nadu*, calls Kerala the "Land of Vedas". The *Times* article sums up what characterised "the mindest of this Brahmin Bolshevik right from childhood as the scion of a prosperous and conservative Namboodiri clan of Valluvanad in Kerala's south Malabar region. Groomed to be a hymnologist (he had practised to perfection the art of chanting vedic slokas), he admits

with candour that until his teens, he was a traditional Namboodri, with no iconoclastic aspirations. Even later, when he joined the Namboodiri Welfare Association and began writing for its organ, *Unni Namboodiri*, the ambit of his concern was restricted to ushering in social reforms within his community, securing a better deal for the greatly oppressed Namboodiri women and opening the doors of English education to the conservative clan." ■

ELECTION SUMMARY

Glorious defeat of Janata Dal

N.K. SHARMA, NEW DELHI.

We congratulate VP Singh and the Janata Dal for their glorious fight—nay defeat. Anti-Mandals are mauled, humiliated and routed. This is one more stage of supreme victory for the Mandals on their onward march to ultimate victory to regain their stolen human rights. Don't think that the JD lost the elections. The Aryans rigged the polls with their clout in the Administration — aided and abetted by the three Iyers at the top. Even then, they could not gain a majority. This is a matter of supreme satisfaction for the Indian races (SC/ST/BC). The days of the Aryan colonialists and the Aryan colonialism are numbered. In the next polls, victory will go to Mandals. In this first round the Mandal's have lost neither the battle nor the war — we regained the wings to fly.

The Aryans conspired at the supreme self-immolation - murder of Rajiv Gandhi - to aid and perpetuate the barbaric Aryan colonialism, and yet failed miserably at the polls. In the absence of any "sympathy wave", they manufactured "tension-wave" to rig the polls in their favour. This way, they sabotaged the certain victory of Mandals and Janata Dal. In Bihar, the Aryan upper castes manning polling booths created all the problems. And despite this, when the JD votes swelled the Iyer in Delhi obliged and countermanded the elections.

Crocodile tears for Rajiv Gandhi: Tamil Nadu police and administration in a valiant bid to cover up their lapse in protecting the life of Rajiv Gandhi, neatly rigged the polls and all seats in favour of the Congress and its ally of the Bangalore *papatti*. In the face of such clean operation, you cannot even make this allegation — everyone that matters knew the truth of rigged polls, but no one is in a position to prove the open secret.

With crocodile tears swelling in their eyes for the lost Rajiv Gandhi, the Aryans neatly rigged the polls. Depending on the clout of the particular Aryan group in a region, the rigging was done in favour of Shiv Sena, BJP and the Congress etc. If you want to be the exclusive looter and rigger, you will be exposed. Hence the Nazi parties Shiv Sena, BJP, Congress and its allies, shared the spoils depending on ones own clout in that region. The police and the polling officers are all Aryans, "a three-in-one" looters, judges

and hangers. This way, the Aryan colonials cheated the victory of Janata Dal and of the Mandals.

The Janata Dal and the National Front should challenge the Congress on the Mandal Commission issue. Since the Aryans predominate, the Congress will naturally oppose it.

Shekar gets credit for Nazi victory: Those who wrecked the JD govt — Devilal, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Chandra Shekar etc. all had been thrown into the dustbin of history — rightly. Of the three, Shekar tops in fetching so many seats to BJP:

The JD should overcome its organisational shortcomings and misguided tactical errors. It should not hope to win merely on the popular wave of SC/BC/ST. It is not the job of Indian races to work for the victory of Janata Dal howsoever good it may be. It is the duty of the JD and its candidates to enthuse and activate the Indian races to reach the polling stations and vote for it. In every village and in every locality, party workers (full-time paid workers) should see that everyone goes to the polling station and ensure their voting. Public meetings should not be "be-all-and-end-all" electioneering. JD has no organisation at the grass roots, its main weakness in Hindi belt.

Last laugh: BSP supremo Kanshi Ram attributed his poor performance (loss of security deposit) to the pro--Mandal wave of VP Singh.

DOCUMENT ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN PUNJAB

Chandra Shekar Multipronged Offensive

Amnesty International in its May 9 report pointed out widespread abuses of human rights in India. In the American Parliament, many members point out instances of state terrorism in Punjab. The United Nations Centre for Defence of Human Rights, Geneva, says that there is one law for Hindus and another for Sikhs in Punjab. A British MP, Terry Dicks, in a speech in UN on Feb.16 says the Sikh heritage is under threat in India. In a complaint to British govt. he compares India with South Africa where the Blacks are subjected to racist crimes. Punjab newspapers like *Ajit* and others have been raided and copies seized. Committee for the Defence of Human Rights in India brings out a 28-page report in United States on Punjab.

1991 pp.40 Rs.4

Punjab Human Rights Organisation, 27/D, Sarabha Nagar
Ludhiana — 141 001

How Rajiv Murder helped the Congress

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Reports of election results from different parts of India indicate that the Congress Party gained only because of the Rajiv Gandhi murder. And had he not been sacrificed, the Janata Dal-National Front would have emerged as the clear victor, as we predicted in DV. And this confirms our fear expressed in our editorial of June 16 and the July 1 report that Rajiv Gandhi's murder was part of an international conspiracy to ensure the victory of Congress, the original brahminical party of India.

In the pre-murder first phase of the min-general election, the Congress got only 31.6% of the vote and in the post-murder two phases the percentage rose by 10% (*Times of India*, Bombay, June 28). This swing of 10% made the Congress the single biggest party.

The *Times* report based on New Delhi TV centre says: The Congress emerged as the single

largest party because of the marked upswing in its fortunes after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and a divided opposition. In the May 20 election, the party bagged only 55 of the 211 seats. In the second phase in June, the party obtained 169 of 294 seats where results have been declared. In terms of voter percentage, the Congress support rose by nearly 10% – from 31.6 to 41.31% over the two stages.

In Uttar Pradesh, it was the Janata Dal which suffered most by losing more than 8% of its support in the second phase. In Andhra, on the other hand, it was the Telugu Desam who found its support decline by 9% in the post-Rajiv election. In the first phase, the Telugu Desam had won 11 of the 17 seats, but in the June election it could add only three more.

The Nazi parties, despite all their high publicity stunts and Rama Mantra, failed to become the ruling

party— thus falsifying their own prediction. Since the Nazis are experts in lying, nobody takes them seriously. Their biggest lie is that they will demolish the Babri Masjid to build the Rama temple. Now that they have captured UP they have no more hurdles. But they will come out with new lies to hide their old promises.

BJP said it will capture Delhi but it lost three states where it was ruling – MP, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh. By resorting to this gimmick, the Nazi parties did scare the Muslims whose votes got divided between Janata Dal, Congress and others. This is what the Nazis wanted and they succeeded in it. The Nazi intention was to put the Congress, its mother, in power. Here they succeeded. And to put the mother in power, they did not mind losing the President of the mother-party-Rajiv Gandhi.

FILM REVIEW

"Balak Ambedkar", a must for every Dalit

HEMALATA R. SHETTY

Bangalore: The situation has hardly changed in the last 100 years. That is what you feel while you watch *Balak Ambedkar* – a cinemascope movie made in Kannada and Hindi (duration two hours). The film deals with the childhood of Babasaheb at Mhow (near Indore MP) from his birth upto the age of 20 (from 1891 to 1912) when he leaves for USA for further studies. The film is glossy but doesn't miss the inhuman treatment meted to Dr. Ambedkar in the school, in his village and even in Bombay city where he studied at the prestigious Elphinston High School and later Elphinston College. Twice or thrice the impact of the beastly treatment given by the Brahmin teachers and fellow student is so very effective, that we could hardly resist tears. The photography is good and the actors are not shown as impoverished. Though the music is bit loud and the acting not so lifelike, the purpose of the film is not lost. Because the sincerity of the makers of the film (who are totally new to the tinsel world of film) is evident in every frame. Dr. Ambedkar is shown as a chubby child but

surprisingly docile.

This film is a must for every Ambedkarite because many of the followers of Babasaheb are not aware of the background in which the Father of India had grown up. Babasaheb's father, Subedar Ramji, was the guiding spirit behind this explosives personality. Hard work, perseverance coupled with the timely financial support of the Maharaja of Baroda ultimately blossomed and burst the brahminical social order. Bhimrao Ambedkar's determination and hard work is worth emulating by the millions of young Dalits who are still discriminated at every step in this heartless Hindu society.

Brain behind the film: The brain behind the film is the dynamic Dalit IAS officer from Andhra Pradesh, S. Swatantra Rao, who is on the Karnataka cadre as Secretary to Industries and Commerce Department, Government of Karnataka, Bangalore.

A final word though a bit unconnected with the film review. Dalits often make the complaint that because

of their village background and poverty they are not able to come up and compete with the upper castes. The film shows that the "Balak" Babasaheb reading under a kerosine lamp, sleeping with sheep in a mosquito-infested single room in a dirty Bombay Chawl. If such a "Balak" could catapult as the greatest Indian of the "independent" India, dwarfing the many mahatmas, threatening to convert the 21st century into an "Ambedkar Era", today's Dalits — a thousandfold better than this — cannot put forward any more such excuses. Where there is will there is

a way. Each person is his or her own architect. The "Balak" Babasaheb film proves this. Dalit organisations in India and abroad should make their members see this movie — not once but at least thrice. More they see, more inspiration they will get to become another Babasaheb. We want more such angry youngsters.

Those interested in the film (cost Rs. 30,000 per print), may write to the maker at 410, 12th main, 5th Cross, RMV Extn., Bombay - 400 080.

The Muslim who saved the Mahatma: Story of an ungrateful "nation"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

A Brahmin killed M.K. Gandhi but a Muslim saved the same Gandhi, the Father of the upper caste nation. But that "nation" remained ungrateful to this Bihari Muslim despite the fact that he saved the life of the "Father of their nation".

The *Hindu*, India's chief brahminical daily (June 28), brought out the fact of this great betrayal:

Patna: It is an unchronicled, unpublicised, but poignant episode in the country's freedom struggle — an event associated with Mahatma Gandhi's agitation against the British indigo planters in Champaran district of north Bihar. It is also the story of a patriotic Indian named Battak Mian.

The British administration had hatched a conspiracy to kill the Mahatma — by administering poison — and the job was given to Battak Mian. He was employed as a cook at the quarters where the Mahatma stayed.

According to the episode brought to light by the working chairman of the State Religious and Linguistic Minorities Commission, Prof. Jabir Hussain, Battak Mian had been promised a reward if he carried out the assignment. At the same time he was threatened with dire consequences if he failed. All he had to do was offer a cup of poisoned milk to Gandhiji.

But the sense of deep patriotism and loyalty to the Mahatma prevailed over threats and allurements. Battak Mian took the cup of milk to Gandhiji but warned him not to drink it as it was poisoned. The Mahatma threw it away.

According to Prof. Hussain and the son of Battak Mian, Mr. Mohammad Jan Ansari, the country's first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, was an eyewitness to the incident. Battak Mian was jailed and his family ruined by the British administrators for his failure to carry out the task. His land was auctioned.

Order ignored: In 1950, Dr. Rajendra Prasad instructed the Bihar Government to allot 50 acres of land to Battak Mian who was then alive. The tragedy is that the President's orders are yet to be

implemented. Battak Mian died in 1957. His dilapidated grave can be seen in his native village, Siswan Ajgari, in East Champaran district. His family is living in abject poverty at Ekwan Parsauni village in West Champaran district.

Mr. Mohammad Jan Ansari, who is now over 90, recently sought financial help from Prof. Hussain for repairing his father's grave and organising an annual 'urs' ceremony at the site.

Prof. Hussain has urged the State Government to take steps to repair Battak Mian's grave and open a 'Madarsa' with a hostel, playground and a pond to honour his memory. "If we can do this little bit to honour the memory of this unknown, unsung freedom fighter, then only we shall be honouring ourselves and our country," Prof. Hussain told *The Hindu*.

CHURCH IGNORES DALITS

Bangalore: Participants at a seminar on "Education policy of Church-related institutions" organised by the Karnataka Dalit Christians' Samata Vedike, here on June 30 said that educational institutions run by Churches had not provided adequate opportunities for Dalits. Dalit poet Dr. Siddalingiah, Prof. Babu Mathew. Rev. Manohar Chandra Prasad, Fr. Stan Lourduswamy spoke. Fr. Stan Lourduswamy said that out of 65,000 Christian children attending schools and colleges in Bangalore diocese only 17,700 had been admitted in education institutions run by the Catholic church. There was near unanimity that the church starting institutions in urban areas was with a profit motive. Of the 43 high schools run by the Catholic church in Bangalore Diocese comprising Bangalore, Kolar, Chitradurga and Chickballapur only seven were located outside Bangalore. Rev. Manohar Chandra Prasad, who spoke on educational institutions run by the Protestant Church said there was not much difference between institutions run by Catholic and Protestant Church. "Most of these institutions have become centres of politics and corruption", he said. Japhet Shantappa, State convener, Karnataka Dalit Christians' Samata Vedike, said though Dalits had embraced Christianity, there was not much improvement in their social status. Caste system prevailed even among Christians. (*Indian Express*, July.)

Read: "Churches' three crimes against Christ," DV June 16 p.7

Self-determination for Dalits: SSD Manifesto

TEEPEE, BANGALORE

A seminar on "Self determination of Dalits" was organised by Karnataka new militant outfit, "Samata Sainik Dal" (SSD) (DV June 16, 1991 p.4). The issues raised were very sensitive and it needs to be taken seriously. These are some notes about the deliberation.

Dalit and Nationality: A common psychological make-up is an implicit criterion for any nationality. The *Dalit personality* has been wrought over several centuries of historical and existential dehumanization. It is this thread that weaves the disparate, heterogenous Dalits into a distinct fold. The *latent consciousness* that was dormant over a long period has now gathered enough momentum to burst the sky's asunder. The Dalit Nation is rooted in this 'consciousness'.

Nation, Power and Community: The demand for self-determination is not to be understood as a 'secessionist move'. Every people have a right to make their own history, to decide their own destiny, and are endowed with a capacity to govern themselves. After all, a Nation rises in response to the needs of a community.

Adult franchise and *reserved constituencies* have failed to secure effective participation from the Untouchables. Separate electorate is the only alternative available for Dalit liberation. Hence their self determination includes the demand for separate electorates.

Population more than whole of Europe: Dalits are not localised territorially. They are geographically and linguistically spread over every nook and corner of the subcontinent. Although in absolute numbers they constitute more than the population of Europe, they are a minority in every single village. Hence, they cannot effectively resist the atrocities committed on them by the (Hindu) "dominant castes". To undo this calamitous situation, *separate settlement* emerges as the only answer. Therefore, the demand for self-determination also includes 'separate settlement'. These 'settlements' would also ensure building up of a cohesive community.

Class struggle and Ambedkarism: Class struggle is inadequate to articulate the liberation of the Dalits. Historical materialism formed the basis of Indian Society only upto the Indus Valley civilization. After the "invasion of Aryans", it was the ideological superstructure, 'brahminism' which determined the material and social organisation. The genesis of untouchability lies in the savage ritual system. It is not to be obtained in the material conditions of life. Contemporary capitalism, feudalism, authoritarianism, Hindu Nazism are all offshoots of this brahminical

superstructure. To be more precise, all these oppressive features enjoy a symbiotic relationship with the accursed value system. Hence the principal contradiction which Dr. Ambedkar discovered was brahminism and not class.

Cultural Hegemony: Any structural change presupposes change on the cultural plane. It is for this reason that the self-determination of Dalits envisages *Cultural Revolution* as one of the most important items on their agenda. This endeavour will be an effort to instill a sense of historical and cultural pride among the Untouchables.

The Dalit worldview does not fall under the rubric of 'brahminical worldview'. Dalits possess their own belief system. Of course, it is not contained in texts and scriptures. It exists largely in a non-literary idiom. The SSD is setting up a research centre to verbalise this non-literary tradition. Efforts will also be expended towards tracing their history of their glorious past.

Modernisation and Social Change: The processes of economic growth, expansion of science and technology and changes in the social structure commensurate with demands for social and economic growth are its essential components. But the prevailing brahminic model of modernisation has excluded the interests of Untouchables, the original inhabitants of India.

Investigation of the constitutional safeguards for about a quarter of our people, located at the margin, struggling for equity and justice against adverse forces, rooted both in tradition and also the nascent social and economic order, is an unenviable task. This is particularly so when these forces operate with an *aura of progressive modernisation* and are deemed to be intrinsic to the processes of structural transformation. *The brahminic socio-economic order has created a fourth world in a third world.*

The SSD Dalit perception allows for sustainable development. Labour intensive technology should displace capital intensive technology. Macro planning should yield to micro planning. Greater regional autonomy and decentralisation is necessary to correct regional disparities. In the traditional sector of our economy the crucial issue of land reforms needs to be refocussed. If not there may be a bloody backlash.

Women & ecology: In a Dalit society women are treated equally. There are no complaints of dowry deaths. Female infanticide is not practiced. *Hence the liberation of Untouchables will also herald the liberation of women in our society.*

Dalits worship nature: Also trees, animals, rivers and forests. There is oneness between themselves and nature. Experts on ecology are sure to find the

wisdom of Dalits very useful. On the other hand, *the ecological devastation caused due to the brahminic model of development has played havoc on the lives of Dalits and Adivasis.* In fact this has resulted in the labour being alienated from the means of production. Also, they have lost command over the resources.

The non-implementation of the Land Reforms Act passed by the Devaraj Urs Ministry is a case in point. Large tracts of forest land were to be distributed to the Dalits and Adivasis. But the fact remains that these lands were passed on to the forest contractors on lease to grow eucalyptus. After all, eucalyptus happens to be the major raw material required for the Birlas' Harihar Polyfibres. And can anyone displease the Birlas?

Oppression of Dalits in Karnataka: Dalits constitute about 17% of the population. They are mainly rural landless labourers and marginal farmers. This is largely due to the non-implementation of land reforms.

Being socially ostracised and spatially segregated from the main village, brahminism props its head under the guise of feudalism into everyone bone and fibre of the already emaciated Dalit.

A few years back, some Untouchable youths were forced by the upper castes to eat human excreta. This bears a grand testimony to the kind of human indignation that the Dalit is subjected to.

Organisation & Ideology: SSD is a non-party political formation. It has its cadres in every single village of Karnataka. Its leadership is young, rural and educated. Its ideology is orthodox revolutionary Ambedkarism. Its central working committee is based in Bangalore. Venkatswamy, who has had a long association with the erstwhile Dalit Sangharsh Samiti (DSS), is its new president. Gopinath, who resigned from a lucrative government post and led the year-long Bheem March, is its new general secretary. SSD holds the model for all Dalit Units in India.

Nation-state is never given but always taken

S. SIVANAYAGAM

President Premadasa of Sri Lanka is reported to have told a Sinhala audience recently – in a bilingual flourish – that while he was not prepared to concede Eelam, but short of it he was prepared to give "ellam" (all, in Tamil). That we think is a good beginning. After all, one should be pragmatic enough to understand that no ruler anywhere can concede anything that is not in his power to give. New nation states are never given, they are always taken. General Yahya Khans and Bhuttos could not have given Bangladesh; it was taken from them.

Premadasa also cannot be unconscious of the dramatic development that are taking place around the globe today.

Sweeping changes in world map: The winds of change are blowing with such devastating effect that the smug assumptions of yesteryear are being blown away. Soviet leader Gorbachev might not want to let go his hold on the Baltic states, but the leaders of those states are busy talking to President Bush. Eyebrows were raised in western capitals when Chinese Communist Party leader Jiang Zemin arrived in Moscow the other day, the first visit by the senior-most Chinese leader after

the late Mao Tse-Dong met Krushchev in 1957. In Yugoslavia, Croatia has warned that it would withdraw from the union if Serbia blocks its nominee for Presidency. The long-forgotten question of Chinese-occupied Tibet is being revived by the Americans. Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani says that he and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had agreed to key points in a proposal to end the rebellion against the Baghdad regime. Israel says that the gap between the Jewish state and the Arab states had narrowed. In India, whichever government comes to power, it

would not only have to contend with hitherto unexperienced domestic compulsions, but would also be compelled to review its stances in external relations, not excluding the Tamil question in Sri Lanka. In short, new permutations and new combinations are emerging in inter-state relations all over the world. The oft-repeated truism that no country has permanent friends or permanent enemies, but only permanent interests, takes on a heightened relevance

Self-determination meet postponed

National Self-Determination Youth Front, 129, Chick Bazaar Street, Shivajinagar Circle, Bangalore

We want to inform Dalit Voice readers that the proposed Conference on "Self-Determination of nations in India" is postponed owing to unavoidable circumstances. The future date, venue, time, and topics taken for discussion will be informed through Dalit Voice. We thank the Editor of DV, Samata Sainik Da and other Dalit comrades for guiding us.

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I was given a copy of your periodical, *Dalit Voice*, by a friend. For the last two months he is regularly sending me *Dalit Voice* after he finishes reading it. I must say I find your periodical a powerful and very straightforward one. You have the courage to call a spade a spade.

I only wish you would devote more attention to the Backward Castes who are, in fact, the bastion of orthodoxy and it is only by reaching out to them that radical social change, especially in North India, can be brought about. Besides giving attention to social exploitation (i.e. caste), don't you feel that you should deal with economic exploitation too?

Dalit Voice asserts that the Untouchables and the Backward Castes are not Hindus. Surprisingly, your argument is confirmed in a remarkable book I have just finished reading, *Indian Caste Customs* by O Malley, CIE, ICS retd. (Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1932).

Fear of conversion: The learned author says:

A generation ago orthodox Hindus regarded the untouchables as outside the pale of Hinduism and did not scruple to say so. A Bengali Brahman, Mr. U.N. Mukharji, merely reflected current opinion when he wrote in 1909:-

'It is all one to the Brahmins whether they (i.e. the untouchables) call themselves Hindus or not. They are just as much untouchables as they were before. Their adoption of the Hindu religion causes some amount of amusement and sometimes gives rise to a certain amount of indulgent contempt'.

A Hari or Dom (both untouchables) and a dog would be hunted out of a place of worship with equally little ceremony and with equally little hesitation. If anything the dog will get off more cheaply than the other two, as they are supposed to know better. Few now would be so outspoken, at any rate in public. The same views may be held, but it is

not thought politic to express them. A change has come over the scene since the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford political reforms and the separate representation of Moslems. Communal passions have risen high and Hindu politicians have realised that the untouchables are not a negligible quantity. There has been really anxiety that they should not be driven into the fold of either Islam or Christianity and so decrease the

numerical strength and voting power of Hindus". (pp. 158-59)

Put simply, the author asserts that even though the ruling classes still despise the Untouchables, for the sake of preserving their hegemony they (reluctantly) have 'hinduised' the untouchables.

This confirms what you have been saying all along. Please bring this to the notice of your readers.

The writer being new to DV doesn't know how much we have written on this subject. In fact, rescuing the Backward Castes, hovering in what is described as "Trishanku Swarga", has been our main concern. Fortunately, the anti-Mandal agitation came as a blessing in disguise. Our first major piece on the BCs was "Backward Castes are Neither Sudras nor Hindus," (N.K. Sharma, DV March 1, 1987) and this was brought out as a reprint because of the big demand for it. Hundreds of copies were sold all over India. It was also translated to several languages. If the author is interested he can get it reprinted again and translated to Hindi as well. Then we had another piece, "BCs and SCs not Sudras: They are a distinct, Separate Entity." (N.K. Sharma, DV Nov. 16, 1990, p.18). There were several smaller items in between. The caste war launched by the Aryan forces against the Mandal Commission in the later part of 1990 convinced the BCs about the truth of our argument and finally the war culminated in the entire non-Hindu Indian races siding with Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar crushing the alien Aryan races. No journal in India has done so much to awaken the BCs and unit them with the other non-Hindu indigenous counterparts like SC/STs, as DV. Over 85% of the Indians are non-Hindu. Only less than 15% are alien Aryans/Hindus/upper castes/savarnas. The Aryans also know this supreme truth. But to hide this truth and to hoodwink the innocent SC/ST/BCs, the Hindu Nazis started their much-publicised Toyota Rath Yatra "to unite the Hindus". What is going on in India today is a violent war launched by the Hindus against the 85% non-Hindu natives of India for peacefully demanding their human rights assured in the Constitution of India. The recent election was about to turn into a veritable war between the "Mandals" (the 85% non-Hindus) and the "Bandals" (15% Aryans) but the latter averted the danger because of the well-timed murder of Rajiv Gandhi — EDITOR.

Mossad in Kashmir?

Islamabad: The Pakistan Foreign Office has reserved its comments on the Srinagar incident in which an Israeli tourist and one militant were killed in the course of an abduction attempt. However, the media here have concluded that the Israelis involved were members of a commando group working in tandem with the Government of India. Sections of the media here have concluded that the Israelis are Mossad agents and that they were present in the valley on the basis of a clandestine understanding between the Government of India and Israel. (Hindu July 1).

Letters to Editor

P.K. Mahanandia, Malsyrd, Sweden: I am reading *Dalit Voice* and other literature you sent. I am very much fascinated by the life and work of Babasaheb Ambedkar because I am myself an Untouchable from Orissa. I had to struggle not only against poverty but all sorts of prejudices when I made my way. In my school I suffered constant humiliation owing to my birth as an Untouchable. My (upper caste) teachers never called me by name but by the name of my caste – that too in a humiliating way. I am very much interested in reading the original works of Babasaheb. My new assignment at the Swedish International Development Authority, Uppasala, is teaching art and culture of the Third World to Swedish diplomats going on foreign service and Swedish young officers to be posted in Asian and African countries. The most popular and oldest weekly of Sweden, *Allers*, founded in 1877, has just published an article on me and my wife. The Swedish people are trying to understand the situation of Dalits, and the racism they suffer from, through my life history in the Swedish press. Very often I am invited to deliver lectures on India and the problems of its Untouchables.

We are soon coming out with a writeup on this internationally reputed artist working in Sweden proving to the world that given opportunity anybody can rise to any heights. India's loss was Sweden's gain. Our greatest joy is that he has not forgotten his past and the blessings of Babasaheb even after reaching the peak of professional prosperity. We will also announce about the "Mahanandia International Scholarship" which he and his Swedish wife have instituted to encourage talented Indian artists — EDITOR.

Gautam Chakravarthy, London: Recently the birth centenary of Babasaheb Ambedkar was celebrated by the Indian Embassy at Bonn and also at Frankfurt. The UK Centenary Committee presented them with portraits of Babasaheb and Ambassador Madhav accepted our gifts. In his speech the Ambassador spoke about the caste discrimination that is continuing even to this day in India. Dr. Ambedkar had a connection with Bonn through his education there as lawyer. The people of Bonn should be proud that such a great man of India had lived in this city. Chanan Chahal, chairman of the UK Committee, also spoke and said more than a quarter population of India are followers of Babasaheb. Dr. Ambedkar came to Bonn as a lawyer. Untouchables in India despite all the safeguards in the Constitution still suffered from all racist discriminations he said. S.L. Sampla, president of the Buddhist Society of Frankfurt, had made all the arrangements.

Dr. Velu Annamalai, Indian Dalit Support Group, 14902 James River Lane, Houston, Tx 77084 USA: IDSG is growing slowly and gaining recognition. Runoko Rashidi and myself were in Washington from June 7 to 9 and did lot of talking. Local Afro-Americans gave us good response. A sister, Nubia Kai, read a beautiful poem on the Dalits. I also gave a radio talk thrice on the Dalit problem. I think the Afro-Americans will be our greatest support because both have a common origin and a common oppressor. Soon we will have so much activities that DV will have to earmark a column for us. Take care of yourself.

V.T. Hirekar, London: Before I left for Toronto, I met your wife here and we had a fruitful exchange. In Toronto, I found DV in the house of Yogesh Varhade. All the Dalits whom I met in Canada are full of praise for DV. Varhade's book *International Law & Dalits in India* is well-written. In this book he argues that the Indian brand of racism is worse than any other form of racism in the world. It is in Toronto that I read your book, *DALIT- The Black Untouchables of India*, published from the US.

Raj Kumar Paul, general secretary, Dr. Ambedkar Committee of Great Britain, Upper Zoar Street, Wolverhampton, UK: We are sending through your wife our 1991 souvenir on the opening of our new Buddha Vihara and the birthday centenary of Babasaheb.

M. Mahananda, president, Orissa SC/ST Emp. Welfare Council, Post Burla, Dt. Sambalpur-768 017: A big public rally was organised by our people of western Orissa to carry the Dr. Ambedkar Jyoti from one corner of the State to the other. It took 15 days. Shortly we are inaugurating the Orissa chapter of the Dalit Union here together with our own Dr. Ambedkar Bhavan and the Samata Sainik Dal.

Mangu Ram, Delhi: DV has been acting as the publicity agent of the Bahujan Samaj Party despite my repeated warnings against it. On the eve of the elections you realised the mistake and expressed your reservations on the role played by the BSP which helped the Hindu Nazi party to capture the UP Govt. by dividing the SC/BC/Muslim votes which otherwise would have gone to the Janata Dal.

BSP chief continues to be our friend. Our philosophy is dog doesn't eat dog. We don't criticise our people even inside the Nazi parties because some day they will all come back repenting. We have received many letters on the role played by the BSP in the recent elections and the big defeat it suffered. Kanshi Ram himself has admitted (Sunday July 30) that in UP the fight was between the Janata Dal and the BJP — EDITOR.

T.K. Narayanan, Trivandrum: Your June 16 edit and your speech, "Church's Three Crimes against Christ", in the same issue were superb. Recent elections have proved that in Kerala the Syrian Christians have become neo-brahmins. The entire lot went against

the Mandal, meaning SC/ST/BCs and Muslims, and voted for the anti-Mandal Congress. Untouchable converts to Christianity in Kerala must come out of this brahminised church and build their own church

R.U. Rangari, Vasai Rd., Thane Dt., MS: My Marathi review of your great book, *Ready Reference to Revolutionaries* (DSA 1991) has appeared in the prestigious *Bahujan Nayak* and the *Bahujan Sandesh*, Napur, *Jai Bhim* and *Amarapali*, Bombay.

Madhu C., Kochuvilayi House, Kuttanam, Pallikkal Post, Kerala - 690 503: I have translated to Malayalam N.K. Sharma's historical piece, "History according to Ambedkarism: Further Research into our Roots," (DV May 1 p.16). I would like to publish it as a pamphlet to educate our youth here but I have no money.

To repeat what we have said, those having money have no brains and those having brains have no money. How to reconcile the two has been our endeavour. Kerala is the state of the enlightened and somebody having both in Kerala would definitely get it touch with Madhu at the above address — EDITOR.

Mahendra Deep, chairman, Dr. Ambedkar Amar Jyoti, Sambalpur-4, Orissa: We thank Prof. J. Sahu of the Vedavyas College, Rourkela, for his support to spread the message of *Dalit Voice* and *Dalit Sahitya Akademy* in Orissa. Our Backward Caste comrades in the state should learn a lesson from him and realise the supreme truth that like the Untouchables and Tribals, they are not Hindus. BCs are neither Sudras nor Hindus. BCs can secure their salvation only if they join with us. And DV is trying to unite all non-Hindus-SC/ST/BCs and religious minorities.

M. Velayudhan, Cheruvathur, Kerala: Thank you for publishing Shyam Sunder's "document" that Untouchables are Mool Bharatis and not Hindus (DV May 16). It is a befitting answer to the Hindu Nazis who are selling their Hindutva to the unwilling non-Hindus.

R.L. Yadav, Allahabad: Your English pamphlet, "Hindu unity destroys Indian Unity" (a reprint of the DV editorial) was published in Hindi. The first print of 2,000 copies was exhausted in one month. Another 2,000 copies were printed to meet the demands from DV readers. We covered the whole cowbelt. We received orders even from TN and Kerala. This gave us lot of encouragement. A lot of Hindi-speakers have appreciated the Editor of DV for coming out with such a valuable and timely piece which convinced the BCs and SCs that they are not Hindus, that non-Hindus formed 85% of the Indian population and the real aim of the Ramajanbhoomi stunt is not to harm the Muslims but to enslave the SC/ST/BCs in the name of Hindu unity.

Ms. Sangat, Madras: T.K. Narayanan of Trivandrum is wrong in saying that the caste system was challenged by none except the Buddha (DV June 1 p.3: "Dr. Ambedkar's warning to Hindus"). I want to

draw his attention to Mahavir, Kabir, Guru Nank, Preiyar EVR etc. who also questioned the Aryans and their caste system. I can quote several passages from the works of Nanak who formed a caste-less society as far back as 1699.

T. Harikrishna Prasad, Secretary, Atheist Society of India, Vizag, AP: I scent some danger from a group of pseudo-Ambedkarites who deceive Dalits saying that Dr. Ambedkar opposed communism and that he worked for the liberation of only Untouchables. Such an argument will antagonise the BCs for whose liberation also Babasaheb had worked. Babasaheb never opposed communism. In fact, he was a better communist than many of our today's communists. Those who make a living out of Dr. Ambedkar should be identified and eliminated.

S.M. Pasha, Madras: The New Nazi Chief Minister of TN, "Miss" Jayalalita, who is a pastmaster in stunts, has said she would assume office on the Bakrid day to please the Muslims. But we will not be deceived by such stunts. If she is sincerely interested in the Muslims she must (1) publicly denounce the Nazi proposal for uniform personal law, (2) establish an autonomous minorities commission for TN and (3) constitute an anti-communal riot force comprising Muslims and Dalits.

A.R.M. Hakim, Bombay: I am very much impressed by the frankness, forthrightness and dedication of DV. You have been fighting the cause of all the oppressed and their unity to fight the Nazi oppression. Hence DV deserves our full support.

Arshad Kalliath, Trivandrum: Quoting from a letter in a Malayalam weekly by the Amnesty International, those interested could send documents concerning violations of human rights in India to Susanne Moses, Amnesty International, Matzwil, CH 3036, Detligen, Switzerland.

S. Akhtar U. Patel, Khanpur Deh, Gujarat-392 150: I have sent you the manuscript of my translation of your piece, "Hindu Unity will break Indian unity." As I have no money I am sending the MS to you so that you may arrange its publication. If it comes out in Gujarati it will very much enlighten the Gujarati Dalits, Backward Castes, Tribals and Muslims who will be shocked with your scientific arguments that non-Hindus are 85% of the Indian population and that Hindus are only 15%. Once our people come to know this great truth, Hindu Nazis will simply run away.

We have sent the MS to our representative in Ahmedabad, Ramesh Chandra Parmar, to do the needful as he has already many publications to his credit — EDITOR.

Buddhapriya Mhaske, Ullhasnagar, MS: From your editorials (June 16 and July), it is clear that it was the Nazi Aryans who managed to bring back the Congress, the original Nazi party of India, to power by playing all sorts of tricks such as diverting the attention of the original Indians. The Nazis also

arranged to get Rajiv Gandhi murdered in the midst of the elections and used "Ram" to divide the Bahujan Samaj.

Raju Thomas, Madras: Recently I attended a national seminar on "People's Theology" at Kottayam organised by the *Jeevadhara*, an international theological journal published from Kottayam. The seminar revealed that more and more people are now realising that the Dalits are not Hindus and that they are a distinct identity. Dalits Christians are also separate and must have a separate church. A few of the "Gandhian priests" who attended the seminar were miserably defeated. ■

Dalit Christian leader on Buraku discrimination in Japan

Osaka (Japan) : The Kyodan Buraku Liberation Center (BLC) is deepening international understanding of and solidarity with the *buraku* liberation movement. Its founding director, Imai Kazuichi, went to India and the US for that purpose, and the present director, Rev. Sumihei Heiichi, visited various liberation groups in India in 1984. In return, the BLC has helped persons from India and other countries learn about *buraku* discrimination and the *buraku* liberation movement.

Recently, D. Henry Thiagaraj, a Dalit Christian and Managing Trustee of the Dalit Liberation Education Trust of Madras, India, spent three weeks in Japan under the sponsorship of the World Council of Churches Programme to Combat Racism (WCC-PCR). Arriving on May 7, Thiagaraj was introduced to various human rights issues in Japan such as the situation of day-laborers, resident-Koreans, the discriminated *buraku* and Okinawans. He also spoke of his organization in India which supports Dalits in self-awareness education, solidarity building and self-help projects. (Dalit is a word used by the oppressed persons to refer to themselves. The official Indian term is "scheduled castes", but "outcaste" or "*Harijan*" are also used. (*Crowned With Thorns, Buraku Liberation Centre Newsletter June 1, 1991*). ■

MURDER, MADNESS, AND THE HARE KRISHNAS

MONKEY ON A STICK

John Hubner and Lindsey Gruson
1990 p.462 U.S. \$ 4.95

John Hubner is a reporter for the San Jose *Mercury News*. Lindsey Gruson is the El Salvador bureau chief for the *New York Times*. They have covered the Hare Krishna Hindu Nazi Movement separately for their respective papers and jointly for Rolling Stone. Supposed to be a CIA outfit, the movement aims at confusing the oppressed and killing their revolutionary zeal.

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Upper caste police kill 20 Yadavas in Bihar

SOROOR AHMED, PATNA

May 29 night witnessed a unique type of mayhem which shook the entire Bihar. A police party of about 100 including 50 CRPF personnel headed by an inspector of Samastipur town, Girish Pandey, attacked the marriage party of the daughter of Sukrit Rai, a Yadav, at Haripur-Saidabad village. How many killed even the killer (police) is not sure. Initial official report put the toll at only three but other sources fear it may be over 20 as, according to them, police took away many bodies with them and threw them at some desolate place.

What provoked such a bizarre killing? Versions and mouths are almost identical in number. But one thing is clear the carnage if not provoked by caste consideration, as argued by many, had certainly intensified the ongoing battle between the "forward" and "backward" castes in the region.

The police went to the house of a noted criminal of Samastipur, Chetan Roy, but when they failed to find him they thrashed his brother. When Chetan heard it he went on a beating spree. He singled out people suspected to be police informer and in the process even assaulted a volunteer of Samta Gram Seva Sansthan, a voluntary body run by some socialists.

On the May 29, police inspector Pandey raided the marriage party without informing the district police chief.

Rajput and Yadav criminals had been at loggerhead in this region since long and Inspector Pandey was in league with the Rajputs. The Indian Peoples Front which sent its fact-finding team to the village said the former Congress minister, Anugrah Narain Singh, was behind the carnage. (*Feature & News Alliance*). ■

Caste war in Bihar

Patna: At least 13 persons, mostly belonging to the weaker sections including *Harijans* were massacred allegedly by members of the Kunwar sena (a private army of Rajput landowners) in two villages of Bhojpur district in the small hours June 23. The victims belonging to Deobandha and Bahuara villages within Terari police station were all supporters of the Indian People's Front (IPF). At least seven others were seriously injured by the armed assailants who raided the villages. The carnage is believed to be a sequel to the killing of two Rajputs of the neighbouring villages by the IPF supporters three days ago. The scene of occurrence is within the Arrah constituency which has been simmering with caste tension in the aftermath of the elections. (*Hindu June 24*) ■

They are Babasaheb's Final words: "Educate Agitate, Organise"

VASANT MOON, EDITOR, DR. BABSABHEB AMBEDKAR WRITINGS & SPEECHES, MAHARASHTRA GOVT., BOMBAY.

Dhananjay Keer was not a Brahmin but belonged to the Bhandari jati, a non-Brahmin caste from Konkan. A well-to-do community, it once used to deal in trade of neera, toddy, etc. Keer's biography was recently published in Marathi by the Popular Prakashan, Bombay. Keer was not even a graduate but he was proficient in English and became the topmost biographer through mere study and perseverance. (Debate on Babasaheb's Three Commandments, DV May 1, p. 11 & June 16 p.21)

"Educate, Agitate and Organise" is correct. According to my knowledge, these words first appeared in his speech in 1942. It was during his reply to a reception given by the Depressed Classes Congress on July 20, 1942 that Babasaheb gave this call. The following is the text of his speech (copy enclosed) to clear all doubts. The xerox is taken from the report of the Depressed Class conferences, Nagpur sessions, held on July 18-20, 1942 page No.51:-

"Reply to the address by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar".

In replying to the address, Dr. Ambedkar said:-

Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you for the Address you have presented to me.

"I wonder if such an address was at all necessary. Toasts and addresses have a peculiar history behind them, at any rate, toast has. The ceremony of drinking to the health of the King as we see it in the English Society came in after the civil war and during the period of restoration. It was originally a matter of compulsion and was forced on those English Regiments which had rebelled against the King. It was to enforce loyalty to the new King that they were forced drink to the health of the King. Drinking to the health of the King is now universal and nobody cares to inquire about its origin. Its origin, as I told you, lay in the desire to compel doubtful loyalty to proclaim itself. Your loyalty, I know, is not doubtful and I should have thought it was unnecessary to vouchsafe it by means of this Address. Now that you have insisted on my accepting it, I welcome it as a token of the sentiments of love and affection

which you bear towards me. It is a token of your appreciation of what I have done for the Untouchables. This Address proves that you uphold the stand I have taken in Indian politics in the name of the Untouchables of India. Our ideal is to be recognized as honourable partners with the Hindus and the Muslims in running the Government of this country — partners on

honourable and equal terms. I can assure you that I will strive to achieve the ideal we have fixed before us".

"You have less need of an assurance from me that I will fight for the ideal. I stand in greater need of an assurance from you. You have assured me of your love and affection. It was quite unnecessary. I want an assurance of another kind. It is an assurance of strength, unity and determination to stand for our rights, fight for our rights and never to return until we win our rights. You promise to do your part. I promise to do mine".

"With justice on our side, I don't see how we can lose our battle. The battle to me is a matter full of joy. The battle is in the fullest sense spiritual. There is nothing material or sordid in it. For ours is a battle, not a battle for wealth or for power. It is a battle for the reclamation of human personality which continue to be suppressed and mutilated if in the political struggle the Hindus win and we lose. **My final words of advice to you is educate, agitate and organize, have faith in yourselves and never lose hope.** I shall always be with you as I know you will be with me." ■

"Three Commandments" based on Buddhism

D.C. AHIR, NEW DELHI

I have read with interest N.K. Sharma's strong reaction (DV, June 16, 1991 p.21) to Dr. D.R. Jatav's letter to M.L. Dohray (DV, May 1, 1991 p.11) on Babasaheb's "Three Commandments". I am also an Ambedkarite. My published works include *Buddhism and Ambedkar* (1968), *Gandhi and Ambedkar* (1969), *Dr. Ambedkar and Indian Constitution* (1973), *Dr. Ambedkar on Buddhism* (1982), and the *Legacy of Dr. Ambedkar* (1990). In all my writings I have adopted the sequence of "Three Commandments" as given by Keer. In my view, the trio-slogan of action "Educate, Agitate and Organise" as given by Keer is correct, and it is in accord with the philosophy of Babasaheb who was a man of action. Babasaheb derived his trio-slogan of action from the Triple-Gem of Buddhism — Buddham, Dhammam and Sangham, the Buddha being the symbol of wisdom, education, the Dhamma — symbol of struggle, agitation, and the Sangha — symbol of unity, organisation. Seen in this light, the sequence, Education, Agitation and Organisation, appears to be more meaningful. Moreover, Keer's biography was published during the life time of Babasaheb who was interviewed by the author a number of times to seek clarifications on doubtful matters before writing this book. Hence, this sequence of Three Commandments can be said to have Babasaheb's tacit approval. As regards Keer's biography of Babasaheb, I agree with Sharma that Ambedkarities ought to be thankful to Keer for producing such a wonderful biography which still remains unsurpassed. There may be some minor shortcomings in it but it is trustworthy by and large. To denigrate Keer in the name of caste is rather uncharitable. ■

None has right to tamper with Babasaheb words

S.R. TALUKDAR, NEW DELHI

Lot of controversy has been raised in DV on the "Three Commandments" of Babasaheb. No doubt, Dr. D.R. Jatav is a great authority on Ambedkarism. Same thing can be said about Dr. Bhagwan Dass also. But no person, however big a scholar he may be, has any right to make any change, delete, add or even interchange the words in the writings of our saviour. Even a coma or semi-colon is very important in his writings. Dr. Ambedkar was a prophet. With our common intelligence if we do not understand today any of his prophecies, we should not change it to bring it down to our level. Instead, we should try to raise our level of intelligence to understand what this great man said. I fully agree with the views expressed by N.K. Sharma (DV, June 16, '91, p.21)

Babasaheb is not a mythological figure. Most of his writings are in black and white. Why the Ambedkarites who countered the arguments of DV Editor did not scan the writings of Babasaheb to remove their doubts? I am giving the reference where Babasaheb used these three words together. We find these words in *Communal Deadlock and a Way to Solve it* - page 357 of *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches* - Vol. I. While addressing the annual session of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation in Bombay on May 6, 1945, he said - "... we have no money. We have no press. The cruelest of tyrannies and oppressions, to which our people are subjected, day in and day out all over India, are never reported by the press. Even our views on social and political questions are systematically suppressed by an organised conspiracy on the party of the press. We have no funds to maintain a machinery, to render help to our people and to educate, agitate and organise them".

The sequence is **Educate, Agitate and organise**. I hope all the doubts in the minds of the Ambedkarites are now removed.

Indian racists face racism in US

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Indians including the Brahmins have become the most hated community after the Blacks in America. Inside India, these Aryans/Hindus practice racism against their own Untouchable countrymen. But when these Hindu racists go to US, they get the same treatment from the American white racists. And those who practice racism inside India have no right to criticise the American racism. (*DALIT — The Black Untouchables of India*, V.T. Rajshekar, third reprint, 1991, Clarity Press, Suit 469, 3277-Roswell Rd., NE,

Atlanta Ga 30305, USA, Rs.125 including postage in India).

Here is a report:-

Edison (New Jersey): A major police investigation here has led to the arrest of 13 teenagers and adults charged with being members of a vicious anti-Indian gang known as "The Lost Boys". The gang, known for macabre intimidation ceremonies and wearing identifying red bandannas, was formed for the primary purpose of intimidating and attacking Indians. Revelations about the terror campaign of "The Lost Boy"s are troubling not just to Indians in Edison. The concern is that the emergence of this gang is evidence of wider pattern of racial harassment in the State. (*Indian Express* July. 21).

Brahminical revivalism gets foreign funds ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Hindu Seva Pratistana - a registered charitable trust founded in 1980 by Ajit Kumar, a Karnataka Jain who recently died in a car accident, is part of the RSS parent organisation it seeks to bring about "social change" through selected trainees who will be called "Hindu missionaries". The sole purpose is brahminical revivalism to enslave the SC/ST/BCs, and instigating them against Muslims, Christians and Sikhs.

Young men and women, who "dedicate" their whole life for three years for "social service" are their *sevavratīs* (full-time service missionaries). They are selected only from among the "Hindus" and trained in various disciplines and assigned to work in specific field of "social service".

Their total trained workers in whole of India include :

<i>Sevavratīs</i> (unmarried girls)	1,300
<i>Sevavrats</i> on work	700
Projects and schemes	45
Associated institutions	300
Places covered	500

The States covered (including Assam and Manipur) are six and beneficiaries and people involved over 10 lakhs. The "Seva in Action", headed by a local Brahmin woman, getting huge foreign funds, is part of this net work. Their fields of activity cover: Removing untouchability, upliftment of the downtrodden, helping children imbibe "Hindu" culture, rehabilitation for the disabled children, home care, yoga, helping the needy women to become self-reliant, medical aid for poor, popularising Sanskrit, counselling and guidance, rural development, protecting environment, health education, training couples for developing "Hindu" homes, financial assistance to the needy and deserving students etc. The organisation is headed by the Pejawar Swami of Udupi close to the RSS. N. Seetaram Kedilaya, also a Brahmin, is the Director. Both are South Kanara Shivalli Brahmins. The address is 87/4, "Padmasadan", Gandhi Bazar, Bangalore - 560 004 Phone: 608926.

India cannot remain united by declaring a war on Muslims

We are pleased to publish the first of the three historical speeches delivered by Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly, the copies of which were made available to us by the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Vichar Manch, Dilshad Garden, Shahdara, Delhi-95, whose general secretary, R.L. Kain, in a letter to us dated 1.5.91 says that they have secured the permission of the Lok Sabha Secretariat for such a publication authorised through its Chief Editor, I.S. Jain, in his letter of Feb. 7, 91-
EDITOR.

On 17-12-1946 - Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar gave this speech in the Constituent Assembly on the Resolution moved by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru on the future constitution of free India. He digs out many infirmities and the lack of vision of Nehru. The Resolution spoke of certain rights but did not speak of remedies. Baba Saheb wanted a strong united India by inducting the Muslim League in the Constituent Assembly which could have saved the partition of India. While concluding his speech he quoted Burke that it is easy to give power, it is difficult to give wisdom.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (Bengal: General):

Mr. Chairman, I am indeed very grateful to you for having called me to speak on the Resolution. I must however confess that your invitation has come to me as a surprise. I thought that as there were some 20 or 22 people ahead of me, my turn, if it did come at all, would come tomorrow. I would have preferred that as today I have without any preparation whatsoever. I would have come liked to prepare myself as I had intended to make a full statement on an occasion of this sort. Besides you have fixed a time limit of 10 minutes. Placed under these limitations, I don't know how I could do justice to the Resolution before us. I shall however do my best to condense in as few words as possible what I think about the matter.

Mr. Chairman, the Resolution in the light of the discussion that has gone on since yesterday, obviously divides itself into two parts, one part which is controversial and another part which is non-controversial. The part which is non-controversial is the part which comprises paragraphs (5) to (7) of this Resolution. These paragraphs set out the objectives of the future constitution of this country. I must confess that, coming as the Resolution does from Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru who is reputed to be a Socialist, this Resolution, although non-controversial, is to my mind very disappointing. I should have expected him to go much further than he has done in that part of the Resolution. As a student of history, I should have preferred this part of the Resolution not being embodied in it at all. When one reads that part of the Resolution, it reminds one of the Declaration of the Rights of Man which was pronounced by the French Constituent Assembly. I think I am right in suggesting that, after the lapse of practically 450 years, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the principles which are embodied in it has become part and parcel of our mental make-up. I say they have become not only the part and parcel of the mental make-up of modern man in every civilised part of the world, but also in our own country which is so orthodox, so archaic in its thought and its social structure, hardly anyone can be found to deny its validity. To repeat it now as the Resolution does is, to say the least, pure pedantry. These principles have become the silent immaculate premise of our outlook. It is therefore unnecessary to proclaim as forming a part of our creed. The Resolution suffers from certain other lacuna. I find that this part of the Resolution, although it

enunciates certain rights, does not speak of remedies. All of us are aware of the fact that rights are nothing unless remedies are provided whereby people can seek to obtain redress when rights are invaded. I find a complete absence of remedies.

Even the usual formula that no man's life, liberty and property shall be taken without the due process of law, finds no place in the Resolution. These fundamental rights set out are made subject to law and morality. Obviously what is law, what is morality will be determined by the Executive of the day and when the Executive may take one view another Executive may take another view and we do not know what exactly would be the position with regard to fundamental rights, if this matter is left to the Executive of the day.

Sir, there are here certain provisions which speak of justice, economical, social and political. If this Resolution has a reality behind it and a sincerity, of which I have not the least doubt, coming as it does from the Mover of the Resolution, I should have expected some provision whereby it would have been possible for the State to make economic, social and political justice a reality and I should have from that point of view expected the Resolution to state in most explicit terms that in order that there may be social and economic justice in the country, that there would be nationalisation of industry and nationalisation of land, I do not understand how it could be possible for any future Government which believes in doing justice socially, economically and politically, unless its economy is a socialistic economy.

Therefore, personally, although I have no objection to the enunciation of these propositions, the Resolution is, to my mind, somewhat disappointing. I am

however prepared to leave this subject where it is with the observations I have made.

Now I come to the first part of the Resolution, which includes the first four paragraphs. As I said from the debate that has gone on in the House, this has become a matter of controversy. The controversy seems to be centred on the use of that word 'Republic'. It is centred on the sentence occurring in paragraph 4 "the sovereignty is derived from the people". Thereby it arises from the point made by my friend Dr. Jayakar yesterday that in the absence of the Muslim League it would not be proper for this Assembly to proceed to deal with this Resolution.

Now, Sir, I have got not the slightest doubt in my mind as to the future evolution and the ultimate shape of the social, political and economic structure of this great country. I know today we are divided politically, socially and economically. **We are a group of warring camps and I may go even to the extent of confessing that I am probably one of the leaders of such a camp.** But, Sir, with all this, I am quite convinced that given time and circumstances nothing in the world will prevent this country from becoming one. *(Applause)*: **With all our castes and creeds, I have not the slightest hesitation that we shall in some form be a united people.** *(Cheers)*. I have no hesitation in saying that notwithstanding the agitation of the Muslim League for the partition of India some day enough light would dawn upon the Muslims themselves and they too will begin to think that a United India is better even for them *(Loud cheers and applause)*.

So far as the ultimate goal is concerned, I think none of us need have any apprehensions. None of us need have any doubt. Our difficulty is not about the ultimate future. Our difficulty is how to make the heterogeneous mass that we have today take a decision in common and march on the way which leads us to unity. Our difficulty is not with regard to the ultimate, our difficulty is with regard to the beginning.

Mr. Chairman, therefore, I should have thought that in order to make us willing friends, in order to induce

every party, every section in this country to take on to the road it would be an act of greatest statesmanship for the majority party even to make a concession to the prejudices of people who are not prepared to march together and it is for that, that I propose to make this appeal. Let us leave aside slogans, let us leave aside words which frighten people. **Let us even make a concession to the prejudices of our opponents, bring them in, so that they may willingly join with us on marching upon that road, which as I said, if we walk long enough, must necessarily lead us to unity.** If I, therefore, from this place support Dr. Jayakar's amendment, it is because I want all of us to realise that whether we are right or wrong, whether the position that we take is in consonance with our legal rights, whether that agrees with the Statement of May the 16th or December 6th, leave all that aside. This is too big a question to be treated as a matter of legal rights. It is not a legal question at all. *We should leave aside all legal considerations and make some attempt, whereby those who are not prepared to come, will come. Let us make it possible for them to come that is my appeal.*

In the course of the debate that took place, there were two questions which were raised, which struck me so well that I took the trouble of taking them down on a piece of paper. The one question was, I think, by my friend, the Prime Minister of Bihar who spoke yesterday in this Assembly. He said, how can this Resolution prevent the League from coming into the Constituent Assembly? Today my friend, **Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee** asked another question. Is this Resolution inconsistent with the Cabinet Mission's Proposal? Sir, I think they are very important questions and they ought to be answered and answered categorically.

I do maintain that this Resolution whether it is intended to bring about the result or not, whether it is a result of cold calculation or whether it is a mere matter of accident is bound to have the result of keeping the Muslim League out. In this connection I should like to invite your attention

to paragraph 3 of the Resolution, which I think is very significant and very important. Paragraph 3 envisages the future constitution of India. I do not know what is the intention of the mover of the Resolution. But I take it that after this Resolution is passed, it will act as a sort of a directive to the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution in terms of para 3 of the Resolution.

What does para 3 say? Para 3 says that in this country there shall be two different sets of policy, one at the bottom, the autonomous Provinces or the States or such other areas as care to join a United India. These autonomous units will have full power. They will have also residuary powers. At the top, over the Provincial units, there will be a Union Government, having certain subjects for legislation, for execution and for administration.

As I read this part of the Resolution, I do not find any reference to the idea of grouping, an intermediate structure between the Union on the one hand and the provinces on the other. Reading this para, in the light of the Cabinet Mission's Statement or reading it even in the light of the Resolution passed by the Congress at its Wardha session, I must confess that *I am a great deal surprised at the absence of any reference to the idea of grouping of the provinces.*

So far as I am personally concerned, I do not like the idea of grouping (hear, hear) I like a strong united Centre, (hear, hear) much stronger than the Centre we had created under the Government of India Act of 1935.

But, Sir, these opinions, these wishes have no bearing on the situation at all. We have travelled a long road. The Congress Party, for reasons best known to itself consented, if I may use that expression, to the dismantling of a strong Centre which had been created in this country as a result of 150 years of administration and which I must say, was to me a matter of great admiration and respect and refuge. But having given up that position, having said that, we do not want a strong centre, and having accepted that there must be or should be an intermediate polity, a sub-federation

between the Union Government and the Provinces I would like to know why there is no reference in para 3 to the idea of grouping. I quite understand that the Congress Party, the Muslim League and His Majesty's Government are not *ad idem* on the interpretation of the clause relating to grouping. But I always thought that, — I am prepared to stand corrected if it is shown that I am wrong — at least it was agreed by the Congress Party that if the Provinces which are placed within different groups consent to form a Union or Sub-federation, the Congress would have no objection to that proposal.

I believe I am correct in interpreting the mind of the Congress Party. The question I ask is this. *Why did not the Mover of this Resolution make reference to the idea of a Union of Provinces or grouping of Provinces on the terms on which he and his party was prepared to accept it? Why is the idea of Union completely effaced from this Resolution? I find no answer.* None whatever.

I therefore say in answer to the two questions which have been posed here on this Assembly by the Prime Minister of Bihar and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee as to how this Resolution is inconsistent with the Statement of May 16th or how this Resolution is going to prevent the Muslim League from entering this Constituent Assembly, that here is para 3 which the Muslim League is bound to take advantage of and justify its continued absence.

Sir, my friend Dr. Jayakar, yesterday, in arguing his case for postponing a decision on this issue put his case. If I may say so, without offence to him somewhat in a legalistic manner. The basis of his argument was, have you the right to do so? He read out certain portions from the Statement of the Cabinet Mission which related to the procedural part of the Constituent Assembly and his contention was that the procedure that this Constituent Assembly was adopting in deciding upon this Resolution straightaway was inconsistent with the procedure that was laid down in that Paper.

Sir, I like to put the matter in a somewhat different way. The way I like to put it is this. I am not asking you to consider whether you have

the right to pass this Resolution straightaway or not. It may be that you have the right to do so. The question I am asking is this. Is it prudent for you to do so? *Power is one thing; wisdom is quite a different thing and I want this House to consider this matter from the point of view not of what authority is vested in this Constituent Assembly, I want this House to consider the matter from another point of view, namely, whether it would be wise, whether it would be statesman like, whether it would be prudent to do so at this stage.*

The answer that I give is that it would not be prudent, it would not be wise. **I suggest that another attempt may be made to bring about a solution of the dispute between the Congress and the Muslim League.** This subject is so vital, so important that I am sure it could never be decided on the mere basis of dignity of one party or the dignity of another party. **When deciding the destinies of nations, dignities of people, dignities of leaders and dignities of parties ought to count for nothing. The destiny of the country ought to count for everything.** It is because I feel that it would in the interest not only of this Constituent Assembly so that it may function as one whole, so that it may have the reaction of the Muslim League before it proceeds to decision that I support Dr. Jayakar's amendment — we must also consider what is going to happen with regard to the future, if we act precipitately.

I do not know what plans the congress party, which holds this House in its possession, has in its mind? I have no power of divination to know what they are thinking about. What are their tactics, what is their strategy, I do not know. But applying my mind as an outsider to the issue that has arisen, it seems to me *there are only three ways by which the future will be decided. Either there shall have to be surrender by the one party to the wishes of the other — that is one way. The other way would be what I call a negotiated peace and the third way would be open war.*

Sir, I have been hearing from certain members of the Constituent Assembly that they are prepared to go to war. I must confess that I am

appalled at the idea that anybody in this country should think of solving the political problems of this country by the method of war. I do not know how many people in this country support that idea. A good many perhaps do and the reason why I think they do, is because most of them, at any rate a great many of them, believe that the war that they are thinking of, would be a war on the British.

Well, Sir, if the war that is contemplated, that is in the minds of people, can be localised, circumscribed, so that it will not be more than a war on the British, I probably may not have much objection to that sort of strategy. But will it be a war on the British only? I have no hesitation and I do want to place before this House in the clearest terms possible that **if war comes in this country and if that war has any relation to the issue with which we are confronted today, it will not be a war on the British. It will be a war on the Muslims. It will be a war on the Muslims or which is probably worse, it will be a war on a combination of the British and the Muslims.** I cannot see how this contemplated war be of the sort different from what I fear it will be.

Sir, I like to read to the House a passage from Burke's great speech on Conciliation with America. I believe this may have some effect upon the temper of this house. The British people as you know were trying to conquer the rebellious colonies of the United States, and bring them under their subjection contrary to their wishes. In repelling this idea of conquering the colonies this is what Burke said:-

First, Sir, permit me to observe, that the use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment; but it does not remove the necessity of subduing again; and a nation is not governed, which is perpetually to be conquered.

My next objection is its uncertainty. Terror is not always the effect of force and an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource for, conciliation failing, force remains; but, force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness; but they can never be begged as aims by an impoverished and defeated violence.

A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavour

to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest."

These are weighty words which it would be perilous to ignore. If there is anybody who has in his mind the project of solving the Hindu-Muslim problem by force, which is another name of solving it by war, in order that the Muslims may be subjugated and made to surrender to the Constitution that might be prepared without their consent this country would be

involved in perpetually conquering them. The conquest would not be once and for ever.

I do not wish to take more time than I have taken and I will conclude by again referring to Burke. *Burke has said somewhere that it is easy to give power, it is difficult to give wisdom.* Let us prove by our conduct that if this Assembly has arrogated to itself sovereign powers it is prepared to exercise them with wisdom. That is the only way by which we can carry with us

all sections of the country. There is no other way that can lead us to unity. Let us not have no doubt on that point.

Reproduced from the Constituent Assembly Debates Dated Dec. 17, 1946 with permission of the Hon'ble Speaker". By courtesy of R.L. Kain, General Secretary, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Vihar Manch, 1-66-B, Dilshad Garden, Delhi - 110 095.

Buddhism of Babasaheb dream not possible without a massive conversion drive

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Buddhism – the reigning religion of India for 1,000 years or so – was responsible for producing what is described as the "Golden Period of Indian history". But the brahminical upper caste forces infiltrated Buddhism and sabotaged it from both inside and outside. These Aryan infiltrators into Buddhism were more interested in promoting their *jati* interests than Buddhism. The only person who revived Buddhism and gave it a revolutionary push was Babasaheb Ambedkar. Had he lived for at least four more years, after he wrote his posthumous work, *Buddha and His Dhamma*, he would have re-established Buddhism in its homeland and through that emancipated the Untouchables and all those denied human rights. The brahminical forces scented the danger to their *jati dharma* of exploitation and finished Babasaheb within two months of embracing Buddhism. Even his cherished blueprint for Buddhism outlined in the *Buddha and His Dhamma* could not be implemented. Such heartless people have been ruling us, converting India into the world's most violent country. The just concluded mini-general elections, including the murder of Rajiv Gandhi, is a proof of this.

In the midst of Babasaheb's centenary celebrations, perhaps the

country's only upper caste-dominated Buddhist organisation that spared a thought to Babasaheb was Bangalore's Mahabodhi Society. Until Buddhharakhita Thera, who never hesitated to identify himself as a Bengali Brahmin despite being a Buddhist, was its head, the multi-million-rupee Bangalore Centre of the Mahabodhi Society never bothered about Babasaheb or his thoughts.

Untouchables could nowhere enter its premises in downtown Bangalore. Even the word "conversion" was disliked by to him. This writer, who knew Buddhharakhita well, many times tried to persuade the Buddhist monk to think of converting the Untouchables to Buddhism. He used to brush aside such suggestions saying that conversion was not part of his work as that would antagonise the upper castes. He used to resort to all sorts of publicity gimmicks converting the entire Bangalore centre into a brahminical stronghold. In fact, this was so with all centres coming under the Mahabodhi society. Where there is sugar, there will be ants.

Sanghasen arrives: Soon things became little uneasy and Buddhharakhita Thera migrated to US – perhaps to explore more fertile pastures. And fortunately Venerable

Sanghasen, a Ladakh Buddhist, was put in charge. And this new monk revolutionised the institution bringing it closer to the dreams of Babasaheb. And that was how B. Basavalingappa, Karnataka's topmost Dalit leader and the Minister for Rural Development, became a friend, philosopher and guide to the Mahabodhi Society which held its centenary celebrations alongwith that of Babasaheb Ambedkar centenary here on June 9 and 10. When Buddhharakhita was there, he never used to allow any Untouchable into his sprawling complex situated in the heart of Bangalore. But the two-day centenary celebrations proved that the brahminical forces are giving up and Untouchable converts to Buddhism are gradually taking control of the institution. This goes entirely to the credit of Ven. Sanghasen who has come to realise that without Babasaheb there will be no Buddhism. Brahminical ants came to eat the sugar but they had no genuine interest in Buddhism. But that was not the case with Untouchables who once belonged to Buddhism and now wanted to return to their original home.

Glaring omission: Basavalingappa, who has himself established a Buddhist centre in Bangalore, was the chief guest at the centenary celebrations. He said soon India would be in the world Buddhist map. His paid tributes to Ven. Sanghasen for bringing the institution closer to the people. The two-day function was well attended by top Buddhist

monks from different parts of the world. But the delegates pointed out one glaring omission in the agenda: steps to attract people to Buddhism were not discussed. If Buddhism is the religion cut for the Untouchables and the Untouchables are hungering for it, is it not the duty of the Buddhist leaders to supply food to the hungry? Many Dalit delegates at the conference pointed out this lapse.

Since Babasaheb, their saviour, has become a cult figure now, dwarfing all *Mahatmas* and *Kutatmas*, they are the only people eager about conversion. It is true that Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus. They are its victims. But there is no organised attempts in India to take them into Buddhism and constitute them into a separate community. Conversion takes the

topmost priority in Babasaheb's scheme of things to liberate the Untouchables. But our Untouchable political leaders imprisoned in different political parties – all controlled by Hindus – cannot take interest in conversion for fear of reprisal. Some Untouchable leaders (we call them *Harijans*) being slaves of their Hindu bosses mislead their people saying that Babasaheb never advocated conversion.

Dalit Voice gets letters daily from Dalits from different parts of India seeking our guidance on conversion. They want monks. They want Buddhist Vihars. They need religious teachings on Buddhism. They need literature on Buddhism. Every leader talks on Buddhism and promises Buddhism but no concrete steps for conversion are taken.

The two-day "international

convention" discussed different aspects of Buddhism but failed to supply the food to the hungry hearts yearning for Buddhism.

Barring this one glaring omission, Ven. Sanghasen did a fine job and his actions indicated that he wants to take slow but steady steps as he is well aware of the numerous hidden thorns in the way. Those who have killed their own "Father of the Nation" will not hesitate to do anything. That is why Ven. Sanghasen wants to be cautious. And perhaps he is right. And before he takes this revolutionary step, the numerous time-servers, racketeers, flatters and Buddhist businesswalas hovering around the society will have to be first cleared and genuine Ambedkarites inducted.

Communism is dead in the place of its birth

JONATHAN STEELE

Moscow: It was only the name Leningrad which died yesterday. The Kremlin — that shorthand word which has summed up the world's concept of power in the Soviet Union for our life-times — also keeled over and sank.

For two generations people inside the Soviet Union and outside it have thought of this country's power structure as a triad. We accepted it as an axiom of life. The Kremlin was symbol and reality, metaphor and place. It meant unelected power, exclusive communist party control, and centralised administration.

All three elements lie in ruins today. The trend which has been gathering pace for the last three years has become unstoppable. It was Mikhail Gorbachev who started it off, but it is Boris Yeltsin and the voters of Russia who finished the job.

His impressive victory in the first presidential poll in Russian history has legitimised the concept of full "democratic" participation in the choice of supreme leader. It has dramatically weakened the role and influence of the communist party, hastening the day when it splits apart. And it has made the transfer of power from the federal centre to the republics irreversible. Together they mean that "the Kremlin" is no more: (*Hindustan Times*, June 15)

DEBATE

Bali not a historical figure

N.K. SHARMA, NEW DELHI

"An open mind is welcome", said Babasaheb Ambedkar, "but if an open mind is also an empty mind, it is a dangerous situation". This is what I conclude from "Tirupati God, Bali or Balaji?" by Jaru (DV, May 16-21, 1991 p.19). What is the rationale presented by Jaru except a few cock and bull stories from the Puranas? By stretching one word Bali-Baliji-Balaji, Jaru weaved an irrational and meaningless story. It is totally silly to rely on what North Indians and Tulu-speakers call a temple located in Andhra. Is there any history on this? Worse, Bali Chakravarti is a puranic and not a historical figure. All this Bali business is against what Dr. Ambedkar asked us to follow viz. Buddhism for liberation of SC/BC/ST (Indian races). What evidence Jaru has in his possession to say, "Brahmins by and large were happy with Bali's rule, but only some selfish Brahmins opposed Bali" Why this folsome importance to the Brahmins?

This fable by Jaru damns the famous "Document" of Dr. Jamnadas: "Tirupati temple is Buddhist" (DV March 16-31, 1991 p.16).

Hindi/Kannada books

BHARATA BHAGYA VIDATA

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Author : Tatyao Rao Kamble, Advocate

Publishers: Prajna-Karuna Prakashan
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Racism in Punjab govt: Dalit staff denied human rights

RAM SHARAN, PRESIDENT, PUNJAB CIVIL SECRETARIAT, SC EMP. ASSN., CHANDIGARH.

The Scheduled Castes of Punjab comprising about a third of its population are worried about the non-implementation of reservation policy in this upper caste-dominated Punjab Govt. These anti-Dalit officials hold key posts in the State administration. No SC official is given such posts. These racist officials cheat and misguide the govt. in the State and Centre. Even Supreme Court orders are disobeyed. The clarification issued by the Supreme Court on the reservation issue is deliberately misinterpreted thereby violating our fundamental rights assured under Article 14 and 16(4) of the Constitution.

The following rate of reservations are in force for SC/BCs in direct recruitment/transfer or promotions under the Govt. of Punjab as per the circular No.890-SW-1-74/10619 dt. 6.6.1974:

	SC	BC
Vacancy filled through direct recruitment or by transfer in Class I, II, III and IV services.	25%	5%
Circular No. 1494-SW-1-74/8115 dated 4.5.1974		
Vacancies filled by promotion to or within class I and II services by selection or by seniority-cum-merit etc.	14%	2%
Circular no.3180-SW-1-70/893 dt. 11.1.71	20%	2%
Vacancies filled by promotion to or within Class III and IV services by selection or on seniority -cum-fitness etc.		

Circular No.2125-4-WB-64/5213 of 18.3.1964 provides that the eligible SC/BC officials will be given promotion against the reserved posts irrespective of their seniority in the general seniority list.

Till 1982 reservation policy remained almost unimplemented and even upto 10 to 20% of reserved posts were held by non-SCs.

Court order: Upper caste officials misguide the judiciary by misinterpreting the facts of clarificatory instructions in Punjabi dt. 7.1.80 which were wrongly translated. This was challenged in the State High Court in the case of Joginder Singh Sethi and others Vs. Punjab govt. and others (1982(2)SLR 307). The case was of asst. cadre in the office of Chief Engineer, Irrigation dept. The court ruled:

"In the light of the above discussion it is patent that the Scheduled Castes/Backward Classes people can take advantage of the reservation made in their favour on July 30, 1970 till their representation in the cadre of Assistants in the Irrigation Department of the Punjab Govt. is reached or completed and not beyond that. For working out this percentage the promotion/appointments in this cadre whether on the basis of reservation or otherwise have to

be taken notice of."

The above orders were to be implemented in the irrigation dept. only but once again the upper caste vested interests got these orders circulated as a mere policy direction. The State govt. challenged the order in the Supreme Court. Several writ petitions were filed in the Punjab and Haryana High Court. The full bench of the Supreme Court upheld the order and said that: (1) unreserved posts are not reserved for non-SCs, (2) SCs can compete unreserved posts along with others on seniority-cum-merit, (3) to debar SC for appointment/promotion to higher post on seniority-cum-merit purely on caste consideration is unconstitutional, (4) roster does not stop. It is meant for SCs and non-SCs. The seniority of SC has to be reckoned from the date of his appointment by promotion to the post reserved for SCs and his seniority inter-se cannot be reckoned with reference to the Class or Grade from which he was promoted (based on decision of Supreme Court in Karamchand case) (5) and SC person appointed/promoted on a post is not to be counted for calculating quota of reserved posts.

Governor's intervention: An appeal against this judgement was admitted in the Supreme Court- filed by Hindus, but the stay they asked for was refused. However, the Hindus prevailed on the State govt. to withhold implementation of the full bench judgement and no promotion was made. Following the intervention by the Governor, the govt. was asked to implement it on 6.11.1989 and some promotions of SCs seniority-cum-merit basis were made.

Following the latest order of 10.12.90 by the Supreme Court with regard to the stay of operation of the Full Bench judgment and in continuation of earlier order dt. 8.3.1983 in the Joginder Singh Sethi's case, the reservation policy in the State came to a standstill.

Roster system: The meaning of the word "post" has been misinterpreted and it has been intermingled with the meaning of word 'vacancy'. Actually, when the post is created, but when it is filled up, it is called vacancy. The posts are very small in number when these are created, but these are multiplied into vacancies when these are filled up. Accordingly, to remove discrimination between the word "post" and "vacancy", the roster system has been prescribed. But after the judgment in the Joginder Singh Sethi's case, the matter has been misinterpreted only to give maximum representation to non-SCs in appointments and promotions.

Demands: In the light of such blatant discriminations, our Association has placed the following demands before the govt.

1. When the State govt. as well as the Centre are

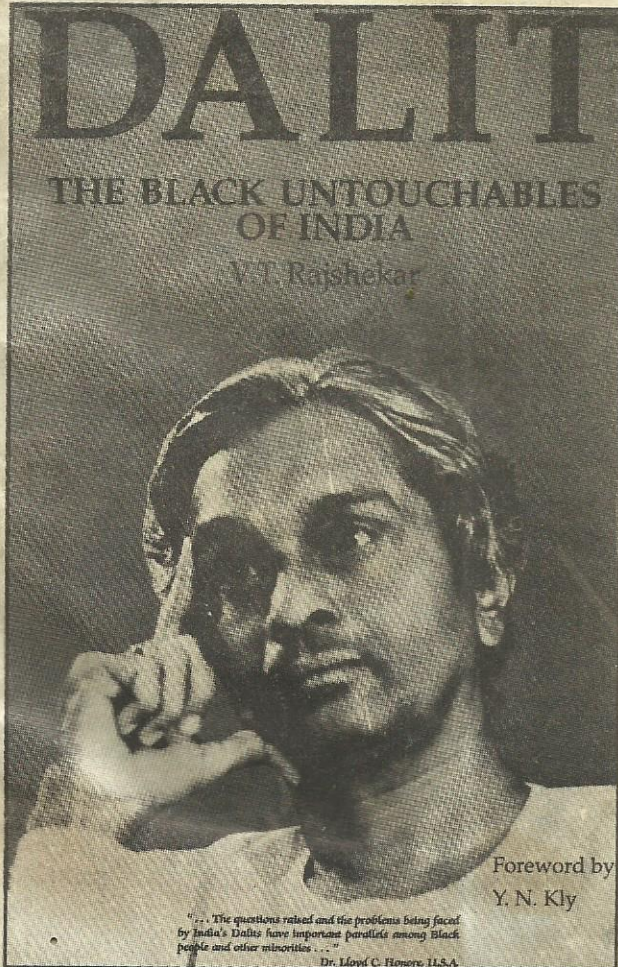
publicising the historical achievements of Babasaheb Ambedkar, Father of reservation policy, his actual dream of uplifting the weaker sections through the reservations, which are nothing but our human rights, is being sabotaged by misinterpreting the factual provisions of reservation policy and judicial decisions by upper castes holding key posts in the administration. This blatant discrimination needs a thorough probe. 2. Such discrimination amounts to criminal atrocities on Untouchables and the State govt. will be directly held responsible for such racist policies. 3. SC/BCs in different cadres like Suptd. grade I, Under Secretary, and Dy. Secretary, who have been superseded in promotions by junior non-SCs in their respective cadres, should be promoted retrospectively with effect from the dates their juniors were promoted. 4. *The seniority list should be strictly followed in promotions. Smt. Joginder Kaur, a SC woman, Supdt. Grade-II, who is senior to non-SC men in the seniority list, has been superseded in promotion as Suptd. Grade I.* 5. The State should move the Supreme Court to re-clarify its order of 10.12.90 bringing to its notice the complaints of the SCs regarding the misinterpretation of its order.

Chief Secretary order: Following the clarificatory order of the Supreme Court dt. 10.12.1990, the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Govt. has passed orders

that SC promotions may not be made even on seniority cum merit in the cadres in which their representation is in excess or complete. But the cadre-wise position of reserved points given in promotion to the SC employees from 4-5-1974 to 26-12-1991 is as follows:-

	SGI	US	DS
Total number of vacancies from 4.5.1974 to 26.2.91	343	132	43
Vacancies reserved for SC/BC	54	21	7
Given to SC/BC on reserved points	20	3	2
On seniority-cum-merit	25	16	3
Vacancies given to non-SCs	298	113	38
SCs promoted after 8.2.1983 on reserve points	-	-	2
Balance to be given to SCs as per Sethi's case	9	2	2

This proves that the SCs were not promoted on the seniority points in excess of their prescribed percentage of reservation. The reservation is on vacancies and not on posts. In fact, there is a big shortfall of reservation for SC employees in all the categories.



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