

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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Gita manufactured to counter Buddhism:
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

The Gita was manufactured to counter Buddhist revolution against brahminism

Two other questions are sure to be asked in relation to my thesis. Whose are the Dogmas for which the Bhagvat Gita offers this philosophical defence? Why did it become necessary for the Bhagvat Gita to defend these Dogmas? To begin with the first question, the dogmas which the Gita defends are the dogmas of counter-revolution as put forth in the Bible of counter-revolution, namely Jaimini's Purvamimamsa (p.361-362). Mr. Tilak is largely to be blamed for this trick of patriotic Indians. The result has been that these false meanings have misled people into believing that the Bhagvat Gita is an independent self-contained book and has no relation to the literature that has preceded it. It was to save them for the attack of Buddhism that the Bhagvat Gita came into being. Buddha preached non-violence. Buddha preached against Chaturvarnya (p.363). The Kshatriya may kill without sinning because the Vedas say that it is his duty to kill. To say that killing is no killing because what is killed is the body and not the soul is an unheard of defence of murder. This is one of the doctrines which make some people say that the doctrines make one's hair stand on their end. If Krishna were to appear as a lawyer acting for a client who is being tried for murder and pleaded the defence set out by him in the Bhagvat Gita there is not the slightest doubt that he would be sent to the lunatic asylum. Similarly childish is the defence of the Bhagvat Gita of the dogma of chaturvarnya. Krishna defends it on the basis of the Guna theory of the Sankhya. But Krishna does not seem to have realized what a fool he has made of himself. In the chaturvarnya there are four Varnas. But the gunas according to the Sankhyas are only three. Without the help of the Bhagvat Gita the counter revolution would have died out. If the counter-revolution lives even today, it is entirely due to the plausibility of the philosophic defence which it received from the Bhagvat Gita (p.364). The first injunction is contained in Chapter III verse 26. In this Krishna says: that a wise man should not by counter propaganda create a doubt in the mind of an ignorant person who is follower of Karma Kand which of course includes the observance of the rules of Chaturvarnya. In other words, you must not agitate or excite people to rise in rebellion against the theory of Karma kand and all that it includes. Krishna tells that every one do the duty prescribed for his Varna and no other and warns those who worship him and are his devotees that they will not obtain salvation. In short, a shudra however great he may be as a devotee will not get salvation if he has transgressed the duty of the Shudra (p.365). What are the probabilities? Indeed so far as I can see there is nothing against it. In examining this question, I propose first to advance direct evidence from the Gita itself showing that it has been composed after Jaimini's Purva Mimamsa and after Buddhism (p.366). Weber had on the authority of Winternitz assigned 500 AD to the composition of the Brahma Sutras (p.367). Gita is full of Buddhist ideas (p.369). The similarity between the two is not merely in ideas but also in language. Can anyone who knows anything of the Gospel of Buddha deny that the Bhagvat Gita has not in these stanzas reproduced word for word the main doctrines of Buddhims? (p.370).

(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume III 1987, Rs.40, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

DALIT VOICE

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Punjab peace only through talks with militants — paving way for polls and restoration of democracy

No other Prime Minister has taken such a bold step as Chandra Sekhar in inviting Simranjit Singh Mann for talks and paving the way for a meeting with the militants to resolve the country's most serious crisis, namely Punjab on which we have written so much. It is true that only a small communal (Nazi) section among upper castes are opposed to peace in Punjab and in this opposition to peace the Nazis and the "Marxists" have joined hands — proving our oft-repeated contention that when Karl Marx came to India our *vaidiks* have put a "cross-thread" round his chest. Marxism in India is nothing but brahminism in red. It was the Marxists of India who gave a lead on the nationality question but it is the same people who are now opposed to the nationality question. (*National Question in India CPI Documents 1942-47* Editor J.G. Jacob, Introduction by K.Venu - 1988, CPI-ML gen. sec. Puthen Veedu, Anthikadu, Trichur dt. Kerala). In the course of the last 30 years the upper castes thought that Marxism was a better weapon to fight Muslims and Sikhs and enslave the SC/ST/BCs. ("Marxism to the rescue of brahminism," DV edit June 1, 1985). And that is why the Sikh militants have made the "Marxists" their main target in Punjab. Had our Marxists been really honest Marxism in India would not have been like this. To our "Marxists" their *jati* became more important than their party. So on Punjab, Kashmir, Jharkhand, Mandal Commission and many other problems afflicting the SC/ST/BCs and religious minorities Nazis and Marxists are hand in glove. If the Nazis are our open enemies, "Marxists" are the more dangerous enemy in disguise. "Sacred brahmins" are any day better than "socialist brahmins" ("Beware of socialist brahmins", DV edit. Jan.16, 1984). In fact the Marxist opposition to the latest Punjab talks is more vehement than that of the Nazis.

Yet, despite this opinion from all "national" parties including the Congress, Chandra Shekar's stand on Punjab has secured good response from all those peace-loving people interested in the country's unity and integrity. Because even the PM has said that Mann's memorandum did not talk of Khalistan or Article 51. Neither Sant Bhindranwale nor the Anandpur Saheb Resolution ever demanded Punjab as a separate country. If the Sikhs wanted a separate country, they had the option at the time of partition (1947) itself but they willingly opted for India. This should convince all of us that Sikhs would like to be in India. Khalistan like Pakistan is a Nazi invention. Sikhs

may not want Khalistan but their gesture and generosity for having opted for India should not be misused and abused.

Sikhs have their own religion, their own culture, identity which have to be respected. That is all they are asking for. When Mann talks of "self-determination" what he means is the right of the Sikhs to decide what they should talk, eat, sing, dress, write, plan, work and think. That is all. *Self-determination does not mean Khalistan as a separate country. We will be the first person to oppose it. We have said this in our editorial.*

In other words, self-determination means their distinct cultural identity should not be interfered with by others. And if this is also the demand of all the different national segments inside India. Nazi forces and "Marxist" Nazis are trying to give their own interpretation to the "nationality question" and spoil everybody's brain.

Punjab has a large (30%) Dalit population and these people are never consulted by the authorities on the Punjab problem. Dalits are not interested in going over to Pakistan or Khalistan. ("Khalistan Forced on unwilling Sikhs?" DV. edit Feb.16, 1986). So in any dialogue with the govt. Dalit representatives also should be included. Sikhs also should know that the corruption that has set into their religion started because they started straying away from the tenets of Sikhism which was founded by Guru Nank and cemented by Guru Gobind to liberate the oppressed. Sant Bhindranwale was the first to realise this and when he tried to purify Sikhism by weeding out brahminism, he was finished with "Blue Star". All this has become part of the Sikhs' blood-stained history (Sikh Revolution, Jagjit Singh).

Parliamentary democracy functions on the basis of periodical elections. But the govt. has been repeatedly imposing presidential rule on Punjab — for the last four years or so Punjab is under the President's rule, which is unconstitutional, denying democracy to Punjab. The ruling class fear is that if elections are conducted, Mann and his militants would get elected. We don't rule out this possibility. But on this score can democracy be denied? If so, what claim India has to boast of being the "world's largest working democracy?" Already human rights organisations in India and outside have produced mountains of

evidence of army and police atrocities in Punjab. We don't know how long India's ruling class can carry on like this in Punjab — denying democracy and killing innocent Sikhs and making them angry. In Delhi, the rulers are living within fortresses fearing death from Sikhs. What life is this? Is it not a living death for Rajiv Gandhi, Bhuta Singh, Arun Nehru, H.K.L. Bhagat? Do they like to be prisoners in their own home? See what has happened to Gen. Sundarji on the Ooty hills? See what happened to Gen. Vaidya? Can we go on like this? Should we not become a free country? Or, do the rulers want this to be a vast prison house? People all over the world are laughing over this prison house that we have made of India. But our rulers are not ashamed of it.

We on our part congratulate Shekar for his initiative and urge him to put all his heart and soul to solve the country's gravest problem that has already taken thousands and thousands of innocent lives.

We also want to warn the Hindu Nazis (those who subscribe to this thought are not even 5% of India's population) that if they think that by crushing and killing the Sikhs (or for that matter anybody else) they can bulldoze the people they are mistaken. We have said that in India Hindu fundamentalism, or Nazism to be more apt, has a place. It has been there and it will be always there with us. We wish them all success. Neither the Sikhs, Muslims nor Dalits are interested in Hindu Nazism. This Nazism can remain with Nazis. We have no objection. But the problem with the Nazis is they think that Nazism can thrive only by consuming the flesh and blood of the rest. This is bad. Why should the Nazis think that? Cannot the Nazis live if others don't die?

Sikhs were never against the Hindu or Hindu Nazis. There was no Hindu-Sikh conflict before the partition. How did it crop up after 1947? What is the role of Arya Samajis? We have written enough on these subjects (DV edit: "Hindu war against Sikhs in Punjab", June 16, 1984, "A Dalit kills Indira Taking Sikhs closer to Khalistan". Nov. 16, 1984).

So, for the first time Punjab has a leader, that is Mann. Also for the first time, the country has a PM who knows Punjab and the Sikh problem so well and has the courage to say so. This beginning that is made must be taken to the logical end. We can assure the PM that he has the support of the over 85% of the country's population. Particularly Dalits. Only a small section which is contaminated with a anti-national Nazi thought is opposing it. Since they control the media, they are magnifying their opposition, and making it appear as a national consensus. But the silent majority of India wants peace and country's unity and integrity which is possible only by talks with Mann and his militants — leading to elections and restoration of democracy. ■

Bengal Backward Caste Minister faces dismissal

(Our correspondent)

Calcutta: West Bengal's only Backward Caste Minister, Bhakti Bhushan Mondal is facing dismissal from the Brahmin-Kayasth-Baidya — controlled "Marxist" cabinet headed by Jyoti Basu, who now lives a five-star luxury life and faces multi-billion dollar corruption charges. A hint to this effect appeared in the *Telegraph* (Jan. 3). Mondal is given the useless portfolio of Cooperatives. President of the India-China Friendship Association of which V.T. Rajsekhar, editor of *Dalit Voice*, was once the president of its Karnataka unit, the charge against Mondal is he is critical of the Left Front failures to implement the Mandal Commission report. The "Marxists" of India, poor Mandal does not know, does not believe in reservations. In opposing the human rights of SC/ST/BCs, Marxists are a step ahead of Nazis. When BP Mondal came to Calcutta as chairman of the Govt. of India's second BC Commission, Jyoti Basu as CM questioned Mandal and said Bengal had no backward or forward people. In fact, Bengal had no caste problem, Basu said. But everybody knows that in the caste-ridden Bengal these three Bengali upper castes — Brahmins, Kayasths, Baidyas — rule. Every CM belonged to one of these caste groups. Though the Muslims are a very substantial section of the State population, they have hardly any representation. The problem is not with the CPM alone, Mondal's own party, Forward Bloc, has taken objection to his criticism on the Mandal Commission. So much so, the state Forward Bloc secretary, Ashok Ghosh, has asked him to quit the committee for campaigning for the Mandal cause. Luckily for Mondal, there is one person who applauds his refusal to succumb to the CPI(M)'s pressure: his party and cabinet colleague, Kamal Guha. ■

Aryans vs The Natives

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

The Aryan conference held in Delhi on Dec. 13, 1990 proves DV's thesis that Hinduism is Aryanism and Aryanism is Hinduism. The Indian races known as SC/BC/STs are neither Aryans nor Hinduism. The Aryans by naming their brahminism as Hinduism and styling themselves as Hindus, are only fooling the elite and foreign scholars. Honestly, they should call their religion as aryanism. These very Aryans rejected "Hindustan" name of this country and preferred "Bharat". Why? Because Hindustan has nothing to do with "Hinduism". "Jai Hind" is an ode to Aryan Nawabs and Begums that ruled this country for a millenium. Aryans are Iranians. Ninety percent of Indian Muslims are SC/BC races i.e. original Indian races. Hence, the Aryans instigate communal riots against Muslims so that Indian races die on both sides. The Indian races — SC/BC/ST population of the country — are ready to give Aryans a separate and exclusive State in any part of the country. *Hindustan Times* (Dec. 14) adds: The Sarvadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, which heads the 8,000 units of Arya Samajis worldwide, president Swami Anand Bodh Saraswati and senior vice-president Vandematram Ram Chandra Rao said that the growing concern for the deteriorating political values and conditions in the country had led them to convene an international Aryan conference in the Capital from Dec. 23 to 26. The last such conference was held 15 years ago. A public declaration will be read out on behalf of the Arya Samaj to say Aryans are not foreign invaders. ■

Karunanidhi Betrays Periyar & Stabs Tamil-Eelum liberation forces in the back

(Ekalavya, Madras)

Tamil Nadu, once the leader of Dravidian movement for the whole country under that great Periyar EV Ramaswamy — ranked second among the three greatest revolutionaries of "independent" India — is today actually under a counter-revolution. Periyar wanted his Dravida Khazhagam movement to confine itself to social and cultural revolution and avoid parliamentary politics. But Annadurai, his chief lieutenant, disobeyed Periyar and started the Dravida Munnetra Khazhagam (DMK) and became the first Dravidian Chief Minister of TN. He was followed by Karunanidhi and to outwit him, a film actor, the late M.G. Ramachandran, formed his rival party, Anna DMK, now headed by the Bangalore *papathi* Jayalalita, whose party was defeated by Karunanidhi, now facing dismissal as this goes to press. Anna gave the first blow to Periyar's Dravidian national movement. MGR killed it and Karunanidhi buried it. The three non-Brahmins only strengthened brahminism. We had pronounced our verdict on the rise, fall and slow death of the TN Dravidian movement on several occasions. Now a leading lawyer of TN and a close confidant of Karunanidhi himself comes out with the following damning indictment of DMK regime under a pen-name. Tamilians, the purest Dravidians of India, are disgusted with the two Khazagams. They are now seeing a ray of hope in the up and coming revolutionary party of PMK comprising SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians in TN under the leadership of Dr. Ramadoss who has given a unique combination of Ambedkarism, Periyarism and Marxism to his new party attracting not only the Tamil Dalits, BCs and Minorities but also the Lankan Tamils fighting for self-determination. — EDITOR.

Once again the *Dalit Voice* has proved right as it revealed the "secrets of M. Karunanidhi (MK) again becoming the Chief Minister" (DV, Feb. 16 1989 p.9). This article correctly exposed MK for pampering the *papans* just to get into power. Now these very *papans* of TN boldly claim that it was because of them and their leader, Kanchi Sankarachari, that MK could capture the power. They did not do it out of love for MK. They demanded their price for their support and got it. What was the price MK paid them at the cost of the *avarnas* of TN? It is no longer a secret. The followers of Periyar EV Ramaswamy, the father of Dravidian nation, are fast getting disillusioned with MK. The rise of the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) headed by a revolutionary leader, Dr. Ramadoss who is fast rising as the third force in Tamil Nadu, is an indication of this frustration.

Veeramani let down: What are the grave errors of MK? He filled up top posts in TN govt. with *papans* like Guhan, Dr. Ramamurthi, G. Ramaswami, T.T. Vasu etc. This single fact has disillusioned the Dravidians. Former Speaker of TN Assembly P.H. Pandian had written in a leading weekly questioning MK: "What happened to your sons of the soil slogan?" In that article, Pandian had given numerous instances of *papans* being given key positions in the Government. Certain departments which are under the direct control of MK are handed over to *papans*.

So too the Planning Commission and other Boards. The powerful Dravida Khazhagam daily, *Viduthalai*, wrote several times protesting this trend urging MK not to pamper the *papans*. That is why MK frowned upon the *Viduthalai* and its editor, Veeramani, who is heading the powerful DK founded by Periyar.

Papan Wives: MK continued to pamper *papan* writers like Sujatha, Sivasankari etc., *papan* film actors like Kamalahasan and actresses like Lakshmi etc. In turn, they invited MK and got periodical assurances of his loyalty to Aryan *varnashrama dharma*. Staunch DK people and Periyarists are wondering if the *papan* wives of MK are responsible for the undue *papan* influence on the Chief Minister.

MK has appointed one *papan* "Savi" to head the Tamil Nadu Isai Nataka Academy. This Savi and other *savarna* writers now and then write articles praising MK extolling his "capabilities" skyhigh. In fact, this Savi is writing a story serial in his weekly and dedicating it to MK. Such funny things are happening in TN presided over by a Dravidian CM who belongs to an Untouchable (temple piper) *jati*.

In Dec. 1989, the Tamil Nadu Brahmins Association (TAMBRAS) conducted its state conference with much fanfare at Tiruchy. All the Brahmin big-guns were present and they all publicly praised MK. They even passed a resolution congratulating VP Singh for appointing Murosoli Maran as a Union Minister who is a close relative of MK. At the Tiruchy conference speakers openly flaunted their *poonool* and spoke about its power to make and unmake history. The cine-world magnate "GV" criticised non-Brahmin doctors and said they are incompetent and "some of them do not know even now on which side of the body the heart lies". Film star, "Delhi Ganesh" went to the extent of saying that MK had no brains and he was working with the brains of Guhan (his *papan* advisor). Since the resentment over MK's hob-nobbing with the *papan* grew in TN, the DK was forced to often point it out. Even DMK ranks became restive over the failure of the govt. on several issues. Hence MK at a cost of Rs.70 lakhs conducted a conference at Tiruchy proclaiming it to be a "turning point conference" just to assuage the feelings of the Dravidians and hoodwink the DMK workers. MK said his party was started as a social reform organisation. But later got reduced as a mere electoral outfit. He assured that he would take the party back to the old position of social reformation.

The party ranks, however, were not much satisfied with this verbal assurance. They wanted MK to prove it by actions which were lacking. Not only he betrayed

the Tamil cause but also the cause of Tamils of Eelum. His soaring ambition and his unquenchable thirst for power is now well understood throughout TN. In fact, the "Congress strategy paper" issued during Aug. 1989 when Rajiv Gandhi was in power had given details as to how to manage their local problems in TN.

It said "In Tamil Nadu, the Congress (I) will keep the pressure on Karunanidhi. It calculates that his singular concern is to ensure that he does not lose the chief ministership again. This being the case, pressure will persuade him to desist from going all out with the opposition".

Lankan Tigers: The Congress in TN is considered a *papan* party and as such the *papans* as a community know how to tackle MK. Therefore the entire *papan* press continues to raise a hue and cry, raising a bogey of separatism and violence in TN, especially in the wake of the heroic fight of the Liberation of Tigers (LTTE) against the Sinhala chauvinists. MK obliged the *papans* and banned the Tanjore conference of Nedumaran to declare TN's right of self-determination. The conference was to be presided over by Shanmuga Sundaram, a noted Dravidian leader of Bangalore, with Dr. Mitra from Andhra Pradesh as the chief guest. MK got the conference pandal dismantled. All the photographs kept in the exhibition were seized. Scores of leaders and hundreds of volunteers were arrested including Nedumaran and Dr. Mitra etc. He didn't stop at that. Just before the BJP executive meeting at Madras, he arrested organisers of the Tanjore conference under the National Security Act just to please the *papans*. This detention was challenged in the High Court. Nedumaran appeared before the Detention Review Committee consisting of three High Court Judges. All the confiscated photos exhibited at the Tanjore exhibitions had been published in MK's paper *Murasoli*. MK also detained Nagai Mugan under NSA just because he had met Simranjit Singh Mann. The most despicable Act of MK was that he arrested dozens of wounded and sick Tiger cadres in TN hospitals. There are dozens who are now rotting in the jail while DMK men charged with bomb explosion, causing death etc. are allowed full freedom. The most famous case is the detention of Palani Baba, a revolutionary Muslim leader, in Tiruchy jail. That is why the TN *papans* and their organ, *Hindu*, the "Mount Road Mahavishnu," are immensely happy. The President of TAMBRAS Balasubramanian publicly gave MK a certificate.

The rabid communalist, AS Raman, regularly writes pro-MK articles. The *Hindu* *papan* editor, N. Ram, writer Manian who is the arch-enemy of Dravidian movement, the late TR Ramaswamy (TRR) became best friends of MK. TRR was once the arch-foe of MK. Now his *Makkal Kural* daily has become a great supporter of MK. S.N. Narayanan wrote in the *Alive* (Nov. 1989) 'Kalainjar MK is wisely consolidating his

position and is poised to be the chief minister for life, literally and metamorphically like the Dravidian predecessors".

MK was so mean as to bitterly criticise DK leader Veeramani, prior to the Assembly election, just to win over the *papan* support. He repeatedly assured the *papans* that Veeramani was no longer with him. Though Veeramani continued to be a great supporter of MK, he was badly let down thus proving our contention that to retain power MK would stab anybody in the back. In some of his speeches Veeramani had to lament this betrayal by MK.

Bid to break DK: In the past two years, MK was taking steps to break and finish Dravidar Kazhagam, the very parent organisation of his DMK party itself. He had influenced several leading DK workers to break away from DK and form rival organisations. He is giving financial, organisational and propaganda support to such break away groups. He weaned away a number of DK front-ranking speakers to his party. He made a few top DK leaders to revolt against Veeramani. This brought immense joy to *papans* and they gave good publicity for the MK-Veeramani differences.

The communal forces are today very happy. MK asked the police to tackle the DK volunteers for the alleged cutting of *papan* *poonools*. Because of all these things the *papans* of TN have started hailing MK as the saviour of the Aryans.

Power drunk, MK has started mercilessly tackling the Tamil Eelum forces and putting them in the jail.

He did nothing to promote Tamil interest among the Tamils living abroad like Singapore, Malaysia, Burma Mauritius etc. They need help and support to promote their language (Tamil) and culture but he is not bothered. It is also well known that MK was the cause for the Cauvery river water debacle.

Greatest crime: His greatest crime was in badly letting down the Lankan Tigers. He succeeded in confusing the TN people as to who were the real freedom fighters in Tamil Eelum. His present activities are not only not conducive to Eelum Tamil Liberation struggle but also will very much affect TN's future as well. For example, he ruthlessly suppressed all the Tamil national groups. His attitude towards Tamil Eelum became all the more dangerous in view of the fact that the RAW is promoting disaffection among various language sections of TN.

He got his party constitution amended by inserting the word 'uniformity' (*orumaipadu*) of India will be defended by the DMK. The late C.N. Annadurai had been opposing any move for taking steps to destroy the diversity of India. Destroying the diversity would put an end to the various ethnic identities found in India by allowing the Aryans to swallow the rest. But MK by this action has gone against the Dravidian principle of diversity for which Periyar and Annadurai

lived and died.

Ban on Pattimanram: In his Tamil daily, *Murasoli*, the official organ of the DMK, he has started publishing articles and reports praising the *Ramayana*. Temple authorities often invite MK and his wives. He has started consulting astrologers and inaugurating *Navaratri* festivals. What came as a surprise and shock is the ban on the popular DK propaganda public debate on the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha* called *Pattimanram*. This was very much resented to by the DK and rationalists. MK also sidelined noted DMK Parliamentarians like Gopalasami for supporting Eelum Tamils and Tigers. The one-crore signature petition to be submitted to the UNO was entrusted to a *papan* called Radhakrishnan.

MK is unashamedly exhibiting his clanish mentality by attending his own *jati* (Isai Vellalar) conference every year. This has a very bad effect on so many other Dravidians who have forgotten their tiny *jatis* in the overall interest of Dravidian national unity.

To please the *papans*, he declared that henceforth in all the temples there would be Bharata Natyam, which was banned long ago during the Justice Party rule to liberate the thousands of Devadasi (Untouchable) girls from prostitution. Devadasi is a Hindu social custom that sanctions prostitution of Untouchable girls in the name of religion. These girls cannot marry but work as prostitutes around temples. Though MK belongs to the same *jati* he re-introduced this wretched system in temples. Veeramani took strong objection to this move but MK had no answers to it.

Palani Baba arrest: MK's all out support to brahminical forces gave a big boost to Nazis in the State and they are now flourishing with full State patronage. Nazi leaders, especially one Ramagopalan, often makes inflammatory speeches against Muslims and Christians and yet no action is taken against him. But Palani Baba, a leader of poor Muslims, was detained under NSA. Because he brought out a booklet replying to the anti-national activities of the Nazis. This action of MK against Palani Baba has shocked all progressive forces. Even the DK lodged a protest against it. The PMK, the up and coming revolutionary party, demanded his release. V.T. Rajshekar, editor of *Dalit Voice*, addressing a public meeting, presided over by Dr. Ramadoss, founder of the PMK at Periyar Thidal on Nov.25, demanded the release of Palani Baba whom he hailed as a great Muslim leader and suggested Dr. Ramadoss to give Palani Baba an important place in PMK and also a public reception to Palania Baba (on his release from jail) at Madras under the leadership of Dr. Ramadoss. *All this prove how unpopular MK has become among the revolutionary forces in TN.*

Instead of supporting such forces, MK is buttering the Nazis and their anti-national forces and refusing to withdraw the cases filed against 'Madurai Adheenam' during the ADMK regime.

Bharatidasan ignored: This is the centenary year of the great revolutionary poet, Bharathidasan. But the Karunanidhi govt. is celebrating it on a very low-key. He is the poet-laureat of TN and leader of Tamil nationalism and in fact the father of Dravidian movement. But MK is not showing any enthusiasm.

During the MGR rule an university was named after Bharathidasan. That university had prescribed some of his poems for students against which the *papans* had raised certain objections during the Governor's rule and got it removed from the textbook. Despite demands from many Tamil leaders including the powerful DK, MK is refusing to reintroduce it under *papan* pressure.

Promoting sex: MK is owning a dozen papers — dailies, weeklies, monthlies etc. One such, *Vannathirai*, a film magazine, always publishes pornographic stuff. Till he came to power, it remained a soft-porno magazine. But after he became the Chief Minister this magazine became an all-out porno puff. Some women's organisations had held demonstrations before this magazine office. Still it continues to publish rubbish, vulgar, obscene, nude pictures and nasty writings. As a consequence many other papers also got bold to follow this pattern and converted themselves into pornographic magazines to compete with MK's magazines in the market. MK's weekly magazine, *Kungumam*, started a supplement of pornographic writings which are translations from Western rubbish and cheap jokes from the *Play Boy* magazine. Who can stop this vulgarisation of Tamil culture when the CM himself sets the example? On the eve of his much-publicised "Penta-Feat" in which VP Singh as Prime Minister took part, he gave a new slogan to his partymen: "Dear Brothers, Come to Madras and Praise your leader"

Dr. Ramadoss, the rising star: While MK's stand on issues like Tamil national interest of BC/SCs, Eelum Liberation etc., minority protection are very doubtful if not treacherous, one voice in the whole of Tamil Nadu is ringing in clear and mistakable terms on all these issues without mincing any words. And that is the voice of Dr. Ramadoss of the revolutionary Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) or Toilers Party. He along with DK leader Veeramani, the seasoned fighter for the rights of Tamil Nadu's Dravidian and adi-Dravidian forces, can lead Tamil Nadu into a bright future.

MK's strength was tested during the recent Tamil Nadu Bundh organised by the PMK party and its allies under the guidance of Dr. Ramadoss. The bundh was against the Supreme Court's stay against the implementation of Mandal Commission's recommendations. MK had tried his best to scuttle it and arrested about 5,000 PMK workers on the penultimate day of the bandh. Even top leaders of the party like Dalit Elumalai, the party general secretary, was arrested. But the bandh was successful and even the worst enemies of the party admitted it. This

is a shame on MK.

Paswani Ignored: During Union Minister Ram Vilas Paswani's tour of TN campaigning for the Mandal Commission, MK ignored Paswan totally. This is because of Paswan's praise for Veeramani for his tireless campaign for Mandal for the past 10 years. This shows how deeply MK hates Veeramani who in spite of knowing it has been tolerating MK.

Meanwhile PMK, Dravida Khazagam's Veeramani, Tamil nationality leader Nedumaran, Muslim leader Palani Baba and all SC/ST/BC groups under Elumalai are all coming together under the leadership of Dr. Ramadoss with the Tamil Tigers supporting the birth of "Tamil Nation" from outside. ■

T.N. BRAHMINS OPPOSE MANDAL

New Delhi: Two lawyers from Tamil Nadu on Jan.4 met Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar and submitted a memorandum on the treatment of Brahmins in Tamil Nadu and sought protection to Brahmins, who allegedly were being sought to be attacked by members of the DMK. V.S. Ramasubramaniam and A.G.S. Ram Babu, MP, also requested the Prime Minister to throw out the Mandal Commission report. ■

IF SC/ST/BCS ARE HINDUS, WHY THIS HINDU VIOLENCE ON THEM?

(K.D. Kanyal, Gopeshwar, Chamoli, UP)

The Shilpkar community of Scheduled Castes in this Indo-Tibetan border district, Chamoli, will soon have an agitation against Hindu Nazi parties for involving innocent SC/ST/BCs and other minorities in the Babri Masjid — Ramjanambhoomi issue. Since the SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus, they have nothing to do with Ram or with his alleged birth place. Bachan Lal, President of the Shilpkar Sabha, said the Nazis are calling SC/ST/BCs as Hindus but are daily burning, killing and humiliating these people who are all victims of Hindus only. Yet no Hindu protests against atrocities against these "fellow Hindus". If SC/ST/BCs are Hindus, why the Hindu parties like RSS, VHP, Shiv Sena and Bajrang Dal are against reservations? Why are they opposing Mandal Commission which is for the good of their own "Hindu" SC/ST/BC brothers? The shocking incidents at Agra, Panwari, Belchi, Bhadauli, Kalphalta, Balia, Udhampur etc. are the examples of Hindu violence against SC/ST/BCs. Why the Hindu leaders are silent on these violence? Why the Hindu leaders did not protect these innocent SC/ST/BCs. On the other hand at no place and at no time Muslims attacked SC/ST/BCs. The human right of SC/ST/BCs and Muslims are getting crushed under brahminical rule. Therefore it is proved that SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus. ■

Phule works to be published

Bombay: The state government has appointed a committee to publish the collected works of the great revolutionary and the country's only genuine Mahatma, Jotiba Phule, and various other aspects of his period. To mark his death centenary, it is proposed to write his biography and of his wife. The committee, headed by education minister Vilas Deshmukh, includes Dr Janardan Waghmare, executive chairman, Dr Y.D. Phadke, N.D. Patil, Baba Adhav, M.P. Mangudkar, Ms Kamal Vichare, Dr Gail Omvedt., Hari Narke and Ms Nalini Ladke. ■

When people come to know the secrets of ahimsa

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: A good lot of confusion is being created in this country by its ruling class on the issue of (ahimsa) non-violence. The ruling class wants everybody else in India to remain non-violent while reserving the right to use violence to itself. It sent army to crush Nagas, Kashmiris and Sikhs. In parts of UP, the Hindu police alone killed Muslims. Thousands of Muslims have been killed in anti-Muslim riots. Murders are a daily front-page stuff in our morning papers. All these wars and violence are launched only in the name of non-violence. And the very apostle of non-violence is the father of this upper caste nation. The persecuted peoples of India have come to know the secret of this ruling class mania for non-violence and here is what the Chandigarh correspondent of the *Hindu*, India's chief brahminical daily, S.S. Chawla, says:

"A significant thing about the Akali formula in the last Dec. (1990) conference was the belligerent tone of every speaker. There was open support for the militant struggle, not the least of it by Mr. Mann. There was also open admission by Mr. Badal of the futility of the *morchas* and *Dharam Yudhs* launched by the Akalis in the past decade or so. He said that in 40 years — despite his two terms as Chief Minister and the rule of other Akali Chief Ministers — the Akalis could not stop the construction of the SYL canal in Punjab. Nor were they able to enforce the use of Punjabi in all govt. work. But the militants had secured both these objectives in a trice".

What is the meaning of this? It means that the ruling class frankly admits that it will yield only to violence.

Fear of the gun: Gobind Tukral, Chandigarh correspondent of Birla's *Hindustan Times* (Jan.5) says the same thing:

It ought to gladden those who for decades were making tireless efforts to see that Punjab's official language Punjabi gets its due in the affairs of the State, universities, schools and colleges. Punjabi writers, and others who wished to see their mother tongue reach a pinnacle of glory, had failed. Government records have 300 memoranda since 1960. In any way, at the people's level, at the writers level, the language flourished in all its vitality. It was the Panthic Committee which issued detailed instructions twice during the last two months that Punjabi is fast becoming the official language. Not only name plates, sign boards, official notings and instructions have changed, even the Governor O.P. Malhotra took his oath of office in Punjabi. Now, he heads a powerful Punjabi Language Development Committee. What made the "Operation mother tongue" click so fast was the fear of the gun behind it. The committee issued a directive and the copies reached every officer.

(Note: This subject of violence and non-violence is discussed in our just released book *Ready Reference to Revolutionaries*, Dalit Sahitya Akademy 1991). ■

PM resorts to cheap trick to please upper castes

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: Newspaper reports indicate that Prime Minister Chandrashekar, elected on an anti-reservation plank, is all-out to butter brahminical forces. Only some three months back, he was the country's worst hated man in the Janata Dal ("A PM kept in the oxygen", DV edit, Dec.16, 1990) but today he is paraded and paraded by the upper caste "national" napkin press because he was found to be favourable to their class-caste interests. Though describing himself a Lohiate, he goes against all the things which that revolutionary Ram Manohar Lohia stood for. His belief in astrology, friendship with fraud (god) man Chandraswamy, his flirtations with corrupt capitalists and more so his opposition to reservations will naturally take him nearer to upper caste hearts. It is true that being a Thakur (Kshatriya?), his *jati* interests have to be antagonistic to that of Brahmins. But Brahmins are not the only people who are the upholders of brahminism. Kshatriyas too are Aryans and brahminical. There are any number of shudras who are more brahminical than the Brahmins.

Shudra lobby: Indications are that Shekar is trying to build up a Thakur-shudra lobby in league with Sharad Pawar, Maharashtra Chief Minister and a Maratha (shudra), to fight the Congress, the original brahminical party of India. And to fight Rajiv Gandhi and his Congress party, Shekar is playing all sorts of stunts and these stunts have made him fall at the feet of Kingmaker Kanchi Shankarachari on Dec. 25 and please the *papans* of Tamil Nadu.

His all-out efforts to snuff the "cut-throat Karunanidhi", please the Bangalore *papatti* Jayalalita, and criticise the Lankan Tigers are all part of these larger designs, it is said. But these are cheap tricks. Pawar courting the Shiv Sena chief, Bal Thackeray, a Kayasth, is a cheaper trick.

But what we are not able to understand is that can a Prime Minister who has to uphold the Constitution of India, which stands on the pillars of socialism, secularism and democracy, can go and prostrate before one who swears by the Constitution of Manu (Smriti) which is against socialism, secularism and democracy? That too at a time when these votaries of Manu are out to break the Constitution of India?

The upper caste "national press" gave the widest publicity to Shekar prostrating before the Kanchi swami to prove that these forces are out to see that the PM surrenders before them and that the readers are thereby frightened by the power of the Kanchi swami. It is true that the upper castes are trying to confuse everybody and rule India. Chandra Shekar by playing such cheap tricks is only adding to this confusion. By resorting to such cheap tricks he may continue for some more time as PM. Many before him had become PMs. But none was able to bring about any social change. The only PM who did some social engineering and created some hopes in the hearts of the millions was V.P. Singh.

Racism in Railways: Protest by Bombay Officer

Bombay: The all-India secretary of the scheduled caste and tribe (SC, ST) officers of the Central Railway began an indefinite fast at the V.T. railway station here on Jan.7 to protest against "the injustice done to SC & ST officers by depriving them of promotions, wrong fixation of seniority, non-observation of rules and procedures while writing confidential reports and the anti-SC, ST attitude of certain superior officers." Assistant officers selected in 1980 were still kept as assistant officers and the unreserved officers were selected in 1982, 1984 and 1987. In many cases the annual confidential reports were written after the period was over. There was a rule that no adverse remark in case of gazetted officers should be recorded and the concerned officers should be advised in order to give a chance to improve. The officer should be allowed to represent against such remarks as a principle of natural justice. However, this rule was being violated by the officers.

Orissa Dalit demand

(Our correspondent)

Sambalpur: Dalit employees of Bargarh municipality here went on a strike as the minimum wages declared by the govt. was not paid. The other demand is payment of subsistence allowance of a suspended employee. Both the demands are legal but the municipal authorities said no even during this "social justice year" forcing them to resort to strike. One Dalit clerk was suspended for joining the procession arranged by Dr. Ambedkar Amar Jyoti (an Ambedkarite Awareness Association) in which a memorandum was submitted to the sub-collector, Bargarh, for implementing special drive programme for SC/ST. The municipality declared the procession as "communal" despite the fact that the sub-collector himself addressed the gathering (DV, Feb.1-15, 1990). Upper caste municipal authorities are violating the Constitution of India.

CHRISTIAN WOMAN LEADER FROM INDIA

Geneva: Aruna Gnanadason of India has been named Director of the Sub-unit of Women in Church and Society of the World Council of Churches. She replaces Ms Anna Karin Hammar of Sweden. Ms Gnanadason is Executive Secretary of the All India Council of Christian Women and has served as one of the Vice-Moderators of the Working Group of the Sub-unit on Women since the Vancouver Assembly of 1983. She is planning to take up her post early in 1991.

Yadava - Dalit clash in Patna

Patna: The Bihar Pradesh Kisan Sabha has accused Ramlakhan Singh Yadav, Congress (I) MLA and a caste leader of the Yadavas, of masterminding the killings. An estimated 400 to 500 strong gang raided the Karjaria-Dariapur village in Patna dt. on Dec.17 and began firing indiscriminately on the villagers, killing Ramchandra Paswan, 60, Barbu Beldar, 40 Brijdeo Mochi, 22, and Babu Chand Mochi, 27, on the spot - all Untouchables. (The Hindu, Dec.22)

Dalit - Lingayat clashes prove growing awareness in Karnataka

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: Gulbarga, a district in the Hyderabad-Karnataka, saw serious clashes between Lingayats and Dalits in the last week of Dec. 1990. A Law professor of Gulbarga University, J.S. Patil, notorious for his anti-reservation stand, was said to have been attacked by Dalits students on Dec. 25 and five Dalit PG students were arrested in this connection. Lingayats, though a non-Hindu "protest" religion started by a great saint-reformer, Basaveswara, gradually got absorbed into brahminism and corrupted. Lingayat (Veerashaivas) were made part of Hinduism and thereby became an oppressive upper (shudra) caste. And like the Vokkaligas, they have become the slaves (shudras) under Hinduism. Ever since Karnataka was formed, Lingayats have been the ruling class of the State together with Brahmins and Vokkaligas. Every chief minister of the State was either a Lingayat or a Brahmin. For the first time a backward caste man (Bangarappa belonging to the toddy-tapper untouchable community) became the CM and that is why the upper castes are upset and SCs and BCs got elated. Caste contradictions are never before so sharp. The Gulbarga clash is part of this. And such clashes are unavoidable and inevitable. The problem with the Lingayats is that they have completely lost their founder Basaveshwara's revolutionary fervour and accepted the brahminical leadership. This distanced them from SC/ST/BCs and also from Muslims. And in some places the clash between the two sections became common. The latest Gulbarga clash is a result of this. (Lingayats not Hindus" DV, Jan. 16).

Bhim Sena leadership: B. Shyam Sunder, the great Bhim Sena leader (*They Burn* - Shyam Sunder, DSA 1987), was the first to give leadership to Dalits in this area. Dalits of the Hyderabad-Karnataka region thereby became the most militant in the whole Karnataka. During the recent anti-Mandal agitation, it was the Lingayats who provided the muscle with Brahmin brains. The Nazi parties in the State also have plenty of Lingayats - though Lingayats as a community do not entertain Brahmin priests as they have their own priests.

Though the Lingayats are not Hindus and have nothing in common with Hindus, they allowed themselves to be gradually swallowed by the brahminical social order. Brahminism first corrupts an individual and then a community and then having corrupted it, the community becomes ripe for swallowing. Sikhs are the standing example for this.

Role of Magdum: Most Lingayat swamis attend Nazi

meetings. The head of the State Nazi party is a Lingayat. A retired Lingayat police chief of the State is a top Nazi leader. But I.M. Magdum, a retired Lingayat chief engineer and a long-standing subscriber of DV, is the head of the All-India Veerashaiva community and he is the only person repeatedly and boldly reminding his community about the community's drift towards brahminism. Now recovering from a paralytic attack, poor Magdum is perhaps sidelined by pro-brahminical forces in the community because too much corruption has crept in. Its community political leaders like S. Nijalingappa, B.D. Jatti, former Vice-President of India, Veerendra Patil, S.R. Bommai, former CMs of Karnataka, are all opponents of reservation. And this opposition to reservations (human rights) immediately put them in the hostile camp of SC/ST/BCs and minorities. That is why every Backward Caste Commission — Havanur Commission, Venkatswamy Commission, Chinnappa Reddy Commission — has declared Lingayats a forward community. Such a classification should have warned the Lingayats and reminded their folly in getting isolated. *Instead of opposing the human rights of SC/ST/BCs and minorities, the Lingayats should have asserted their non-Hinduism and declared that they are a distinct entity deserving reservation in proportion to the population of the community. They did not do it fearing brahminical wrath. Lingayats loved Hinduism and thereby lost everything.* They are hated on one side by the Brahmins and SC/ST/BC/Muslims on the other. Only a second Basaveshwara can salvage the Lingayats. We pleaded with Magdum several times to take up this task but he was hesitating.

Basavalingappa Role: Their recent opposition to the Panchayat Raj Amendment Bill brought by the powerful Dalit Minister, Basavalingappa, proves that Lingayats prefer to be in the enemy camp of the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims who constitute over 85% of the State population.

Bangarappa's new cabinet fully reflects the 85% of the State population. Basavalingappa and Aziz Sait, a leader of the Muslim masses, rank next only to the CM. The Cabinet is packed with SC/ST/BCs and minorities. A State once ruled by Lingayats and Vokkaligas, each of the two communities got only one cabinet post. Brahmins for the first time had no Cabinet post. The powerful Home portfolio is given to a BC leader from Gulbarga. Lingayats are literally burning and this burning brought about the Gulbarga clashes. Vokkaliga heart - burning will soon surface.

Dr. Ambedkar's fears: The Chinnappa Reddy

Commission (DV, Jan.1, p.15) has rightly classified these three upper castes — Brahmin, Lingayat and Vokkaliga — as forward. On the top of it Bangarappa has snubbed these three sections while forming his cabinet. He rubbed salt on the burning upper caste wound by introducing reservations to SC/ST/BCs and minorities in Panchayat Raj institutions. Of the 21 or so Zilla Parishad presidents, almost all belong to these two "dominant communities". Zilla Parishad proved to be an instrument to arm the upper castes. Democratic decentralisation (village republic) was not provided in the Constitution by Dr. Ambedkar as he rightly feared such a decentralisation was not possible as the upper caste continued to control the village.

Why Hegde was thrown out?: The wily R.K. Hegde as the Chief Minister of Karnataka introduced the zilla parishad system to please the two dominant communities. He introduced a first class brahminical rule over Karnataka making the urban-dwelling Brahmin to stand on the shoulders of the shudra Lingayats and shudra Vokkaligas, the two willing slaves of the brahminical social order. He corrupted the leaders of these two communities, made the Lingayat (S.R. Bommai) fight Vokkaliga (H.D. Deve Gowda) and vice-versa through this divide and rule policy and thereby cunningly built up a brahminical rule. *Hegde's regime was the worst enemy of SC/ST/BCs and Muslims who suffered a lot during this period.* What Devraj Urs, the greatest Chief Minister of Karnataka, did for SC/ST/BCs and Muslims, Hegde destroyed and handed over the 85% of the State

population to the upper castes. The oppressed communities went over to the Congress, threw out Hegde and brought the Congress Party. And unfortunately the Congress also elected a Lingayat (Veerendra Patil) as CM. Basavalingappa who brought the Panchayat Raj Amendment Bill was stripped of his Rural Development portfolio — thereby proving that Patil was a Lingayat first and last. This brought Bangarappa, a powerful BC leader, to the fore. Actually Bangarappa should have become the CM at least a decade back. The three oppressive communities of the State — whether in Congress or opposition — always joined hands to keep Bangarappa out. Finally they failed and Bangarappa's first cabinet gave them a shock. That they have not yet recovered from the shock is proved from the Gulbarga clash.

The three upper castes are burning with anger and the country's chief Nazi paper, *Indian Express*, (Bangalore) has started a column solely to malign Bangarappa and Basavalingappa. The upper castes might have scored a temporary victory in getting the Panchayat Raj Bill shelved but with the determined leadership in Bangarappa and Basavalingappa, zilla parishads will be soon shaken up. The Bill is expected to revolutionise the rural setup but unfortunately the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, now under an urban-born Rajiv Gandhi, may not give a free hand to Bangarappa. That is why Bangarappa, Basavalingappa and Aziz Sait would do well to put their community interests before that of the party. ■

BEWARE OF THE TEMPLE ENTRY DRAMA

Jaipur: Almost three years after the attempts by *Harijans* to enter the Vaishnava temple at Nathdwara, near Udaipur another mass temple entry for *Harijans* is planned in the State capital's Govind Deoji temple this month-end. The latest attempt, after several of such kind spearheaded by the Arya Samaj leader, Swami Agnivesh, in Rajasthan, is sponsored by the Simata Manch, a recently-formed outfit of socialists in Rajasthan. According to Pandit Ramkishan, MLA and socialist leader, one of the organisers of the programme, the idea to sponsor yet another *Harijan* entry was to disprove the claim of the BJP as a Hindu party. (*Hindu* Jan. 5).

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: The above report is reproduced to alert our readers in Rajasthan and adjoining areas about the Nazi tricks to dupe the Untouchables. The Hindu Nazis are opposed to the SC/ST/BC reservations. They are opposed to the Mandal Com. If SC/ST/BCs are "Hindus" why are the Hindu leaders opposing our human rights? But when it comes to temple entry, our people become "Hindus". Three years ago when the Andhra Pradesh Brahmin-turned Arya Samajist staged the drama of temple entry, the unwilling Untouchables who were forcibly taken inside were beaten up. But not Agnivesh. The Untouchables of Natadwara did not join this comic opera. They knew that the Natadwara temple has nothing to do with them. They kept away. But the Agnivesh brought some so-called Untouchables from outside and played his drama to get awards and rewards and kicks for the Untouchables. At our cost these *veshas* become heroes from being zeros. We call upon our Dalit activists in Rajasthan to see that our innocent people are not misused and abused to get glories for these *veshas*. If the Nazis are interested in us they must fight with us to secure our human rights (reservations). We are not interested in these cosmetic treatment like temple entry. Untouchables have their own gods and temples. They are not interested in the Hindu temples nor in entering them. We should be left in peace and the govt. must protect our peace. Untouchables, said our saviour Babasaheb, are not Hindus and never Hindus. ■

Letters to Editor

D.S. Pagare, Ullhasnagar, MS: Reservations to Dalit converts to Buddhists, as ordered by the VP Singh Govt., have not been implemented in Maharashtra which has country's the largest Buddhist population. The authorities here say that they have not yet received the GO issued in July last.

(Upper caste Nazi elements in the Maharashtra Govt. and elsewhere are not only not obeying the government order, they are violating even the Constitution to indulge in anti-national activities. They will do it as long as we allow it. In our Aug. 16, 90 issue p.19 we had reproduced the GO on the Buddhist reservations as published in the Govt. of India gazette dated June 4, '90. We had met the then Union Welfare Secretary, P.S. Krishnan, IAS, and conveyed to him the complaints that we had then received and he asked us to publish the gazetted portion of the GO. But the Nazis in the govt. care a damn to these orders. We have received hundreds of complaints from all over India about the Maharashtra Govt.'s office of the Director of Govt. Printing, Stationery & Publications, N.S. Marg, Chowpatty, Bombay-4 not supplying Babasaheb Ambedkar books published by the govt. itself. Eternal vigilance is the price of democracy. Those officials who refuse to obey the GO and the Constitution have to be taught a fitting lesson. See the mirades created by the Panthic Committee orders in Punjab, DV Jan. 1 p.22 - EDITOR)

Naval Vijogi, gen. sec., Bharatiya Dalit Sahitya Akademi, Ludhiana; You have written that we are the makers of history but those who write our history are our oppressors. The Indian history is distorted because it is written by the Aryan invaders. Hence the need to rewrite the Indian history. BDSA has decided to form a committee of historians for this purpose. Those having the true history of India may contact BDSA office 233-Tagore Park, Model Town, Delhi - 110009.

Jitendra Kumar Ambedkar, DOA trainee, Kharabad Eye Hospital, Kanpur - 208 602 : I owe everything to DV which gave me a new life full of meaning. From its "Letters to Editor" column I got the address of Dr. Harish of the GSVM Medical College, Kanpur, from whom I came to know of this course which I joined. P.S. Ambedkar of the Mata Rajpati Home Library, Deoria, UP, was the one who inspired me to read DV which I now read from word to word. It is only by reading DV I came to master the English language though I still have too much of my "Bhojpuri English." I use lot of words, phrases and sentences of DV and those who hear me appreciate it with a hearty laughter.

V. Prabhakaran, PMS Cottage, RN-5, Nellikad, Kallekad post, Palghat dt., Kerala - 678 015 : American ex-ambassador Moynihan's book, *A Dangerous Place*, 1979, Seeker & Warburg, London, exposes Indira Gandhi's CIA connections. Another Brahmin PM, Morarji Desai's CIA connections were exposed by Seymour Hersh in his book, *Power of Money*. Those

having these two books may send it to the Editor of DV so that the misdeeds of our rulers are brought out in DV.

R.R. Sivalingam, director: The Dares Centre, PO Box - 2758 Coimbatore, TN 641 011: I am highly impressed by the DV analysis, its style, forthright views and the force of its writings. We are working with Dalit repatriates from Lanka and also with local Dalits in Nilgiris dt. We need to have contacts with Dalits all over India.

K. Mukundan, Peruvattoor, Quilandy, Kerala: I have translated your famous book, *A Recipe for Revolution*, (DSA) into Malayalam with the help of Gopinath-Meppayil. It will be published soon. Besides, Babasaheb Ambedkar's famous speech, "My Three Gurus and Three Dieties," delivered on Oct. 28, 1954 in Bombay is ready for sale.

Hon. Flt. Lt. R.L. Yadav, 2/18 Ramananda Nagar, Allahpur north, Daraganj, Kanpur, UP 211 006 : Only an year back I became a DV subscriber after I read your article in the *Times of India*. Within such a short time I have been so much influenced that I formed the "Chetna Parivar" and started publishing a Hindi monthly, enrolled many subscribers to DV, conducted two marriages in my family with non-brahmin priests, with no printed invitations, no pomp. Only ten people formed the marriage procession. Only sweets were distributed. All thinking sections of Dalits appreciated our work and said this openend their eyes. All this is due to the influence of DV within one year. What I could not learn in all my life I learnt in one year. So I am sending my life membership. I want all DV readers to support DV without putting any conditions. I shall also gladly entertain visiting DV family members on advance notice. I also want DV to go weekly within an year and all preparations must begin right away.

(Our readers in UP may all get in touch with the above address and form a powerful DV readers forum at Allahabad and all cities. UP is the heart of the cowbelt, the so-called Aryavarta where the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims form over 85% of the population but the Nazis having brainwashed our people are claiming all these 85% population as Hindus and thereby riding on our shoulders. R.L. Yadav must immediately bring our Jan. 16 DV edit on "Hindu Unity" into Hindi and publish it as a cheap pamphlet which has to be sold all over the cowbelt so that we blast this myth of UP being the heart of Aryavarta. This mission of cleaning should be called "Bombarding the Aryavarta with Babasaheb thoughts." No politician should be associated with this bombarding project. Only hardcore Ambedkarites should take over the leadership with Muslim support. We will come to inaugurate this project. Befor the "Babasaheb Ambedkar Era" begins with the dawn of 21st century this project should be completed - EDITOR).

Dr. Lallan Prasad, Mata Rajpati Home Library, Bahorwa, Parari Bazar, Deoria, UP-274 701: Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Medicos Assn. held its all-India convention on Dec. 22/23 at Nagpur. You were invited to address the convention but you did not come. All Dalit doctors in India and abroad are requested to become members.

Sudhir Ranga, Jhajjar, Dt. Rohtak, Haryana-124 103:

From DV (Nov.16) I learn that Punjab Dalits and Sikhs would join hands to fight brahminism and Bania monopoly. This is a welcome development. For centuries we have been the victims of these two forces in Punjab and I am happy that the Panthic Committee orders have struck terror in the hearts of these anti-national forces. As a result on Dec. 23, seven Brahmins were killed by unidentified people in Baras village, near Gagar, Punjab.

C.L. Kachrodia, Chattarpur, MP-I am a bank employee in this poor MP district inhabited by uneducated, backward class people. After reading DV I am convinced that within a year the people of this district can be transformed into a militant army if only the contents of DV are explained to them in their local language.

(MP is another problem state. Nazis are ruling this backward State though the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims are in such an overwhelming majority. This is because our people in MP are sleeping. Our DV Hindi edition is coming out from Bhopal. Christian missionaries have done a good job in the tribal belt. Despite all these advantages we have not been able to do much because we have not yet been able to spot militant Ambedkarites — EDITOR).

Bikas Kusum Roy, Calcutta: I became a subscriber of DV only in Nov. and within this short period I am simply gripped by the influence of this great journal. I have introduced DV to over 20 people of which six have already become subscribers. There are thousands of educated SC/ST/BCs in Calcutta and once the most active among them come to know DV, it will lead them to fight against injustices. I propose to create a study circle/publicity committee comprising senior readers of DV here as well as W. Bengal not only to launch a subscription drive but also to spread the thoughts of Babasaheb. Contact me at Central Bank of India, 37-Gopal Lal Tagore Rd., Baranagar, Cal - 700 036.

Buddha Priya Mhaske, Ashok Bhavan, Daha Chawl, Ullahasnagar, MS-421 004: BSP held a very big rally in Bombay's Shivaji Park on Jan.6. But the Nazi toilet papers blacked out the news. Kanshi Ram addressed such a huge rally rarely witnessed in Bombay — almost 5 lakhs. Ram made it clear that he is not having any alliance with any party in the coming elections.

Chand Peer, Bangalore: I have left my organisation following ideological differences — perhaps influenced by DV. You remain as a fountain of inspiration to me. I need your constant guidance.

Nani Gopal Das, 17-Dattabad rd., Bidhan Nagar, Calcutta-64: Hindu Nazis are making so much of noise over the alleged migration of a few Kashmiri Brahmins from Kashmir and securing massive compensation for their rehabilitation in Delhi. But the refugees from East Pakistan are rotting in the suburbs of Delhi for the past 40 years but the same govt. did nothing for them.

G.P. Chaudhary, Chakia, Varanasi dt. UP: The Jan.

1 DV edit that India is going fascist is 100% correct. Today, everybody is talking about it here. Brahminism is pushing India towards destruction.

Dr. (Mrs). Panchfula K. Wasnik, Alto Betim, Goa: The Bombay TV centre had telecast the Marathi serials, *Najuka* and *Bhaai Ani Fhul*, which must be shown all over India as it narrates the stories of Dalits.

Dr. D. Yadaiah, MBBS, Hyderabad: That the SC/ST/BCs and minorities of India must have their own press is a fact that everybody admits. Hindu Nazis by their opposition to Mandal and their engineered agitation against Babri Masjid have effectively convinced us the need for such a press. The so-called national press has turned anti-national. DV is the only hope for India and there is no second opinion that it should go weekly. As a DV reader for the past ten years I am prepared to contribute my share.

B.K. Mallik, Bhubaneswar: Happy to note that DV is getting popular in Orissa.

Mrs. Sumedha Bhagat, Warora, MS: There is an urgent need for a strong Dalit Lawyers Assn. at the all-India level and at state levels to defend victims of atrocities on Dalits. Top priority must be given to this work during this centenary year.

Bhaya Mahesh Kumar, Bidar: Hyderabad Karnataka Education Society established in 1957 has developed into a powerful Lingayat institution and the govt. gave liberal financial support and land. Now, it is controlled by the very oppressive business community of Lingayats running two engineering, one medical and 38 other educational institutions. The entire governing council members are Lingayat but nobody has so far dubbed it communal though it is fanning and financing anti-reservation agitations and anti-Dalit poison. Many Lingayats producing false caste certificates have taken advantage of SC/ST reservations in medical and engineering. This society was established for the welfare of this backward Hyderabad-Karnataka region but it has gone to the stomach of one caste group. It is to protest against this looting by the Lingayats that we called for the Gulbarga bandh on Dec. 29. The recent Dalit-Lingayat clashes are the result of this monopoly. Through DV you must press the Bangarappa govt. to institute a probe into the communal atrocities of HKEL Society.

Prof. Mihir Ranjan, Sundergarh, Orissa: This is a small but a dt. hqrs. town. Rourkela steel city is in this dt. Most of the students here are tribal Christians as this a tribal dt. I have introduced DV to many church leaders.

Debasis Bhattacharya, Kailashahar, Dharmanagar, Tripura: Hindu Nazi party people got me evicted from house and I am publishing my magazine from a friend's house. I am a victim of Nazism despite being a Brahmin.

Mrs. Nalini Shekdar, Hyderabad: Is it not better to

remain innocent than know this dirty politics of India? I agree with you fully but feel helpless at this age of 69 years. I am circulating DV and your books among friends. But nobody seems to be interested.

Moulana Abdul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Nadwatul Ulama, Lucknow: I would like to welcome the step to make *Dalit Voice* a weekly as it will have greater impact than a fortnightly.

(DV was inaugurated by the Venerable Moulana Nadvi, who is considered to be India's most famous Muslim saint and also the winner of the King Faisal Award, ten years ago. We would like him only to inaugurate the DV weekly — EDITOR)

Prof.S.A. Ansari, DM College of Arts & Commerce, Imphal: Hindu communalism (or brahminism) is far more dangerous than religious fundamentalism. Even the Hindu police has joined hands with the Nazis forcing the Muslims to lose faith in the govt. itself. These Nazis call themselves nationalists while dubbing all those victims of their Nazism as anti-national. This is a very dangerous development.

(Even professors like S.A. Ansari think that "Hindus are a majority community" which has no basis in sociology or history. Hinduism is confined only to the 15% Aryans. SC/ST/BCs comprising 65% of the country's population are not Hindus. All these doubts and confusion will be solved if friends like Ansari get our Jan. 16 DV edit translated into local languages and get it widely circulated. Once the SC/ST/BCs understand the fact that they are not Hindus, our job is done — EDITOR)

DR.K. Basheer, MD, Calicut, Kerala: I was a DV subscriber while at the Manipal Medical College but discontinued it since two years. I am badly missing my favourite DV as it is the only true spokesman of the minorities and backward classes and other oppressed.

M. Basheeruddin, Advocate, Raichur, Karnataka: The Jan. 1 edit, "India heading towards fascism", speaks the truth which no Indian had the courage to say so far. The other story about the Kerala Brahmin boy is very interesting but shocking. I want this to be translated to Urdu.

Ashraf Agha, Advocate, editor, *Nida-e-Goa*, Panjim: Your appeals for unity between SC/ST/BCs and Muslims is not practical as Muslims all over India are attacked by these very same three sections. So the unity should be between Muslims and Hindus.

(It is innocent Muslims like Ashraf Agha who are a problem. Muslims ruled this country for over 1,000 years and yet they have not correctly understood the social structure and history of India. It is to educate such innocents that we came out with our Jan. 16 DV edit on "Hindu unity." Ashraf can translate the entire edit into Urdu and distribute it to all Muslims in the country. That will be his greatest service. Know the truth and the truth shall liberate you — EDITOR)

A reply to Hindu Nazis

Is Tipu Sultan a religious bigot or an Enlightened ruler?

C. Rajeswara Rao

The Sword of Tipu Sultan - facts and fiction,

Hasan Abdullah

Tipu Sultan's observations to prove that he was a nationalist.

1991 pp.30 Re.1

Communist Part of India Publication, Ajoy Bhavan,
Kotla Marg, New Delhi - 110 002.

Nazi party splits in Bihar, MP

(Soroor Ahmed, Patna)

Various BJP leaders were getting suffocated by the growing Bhumihar domination in the party. These elements ganged up against the Bhumihars. That is all. All those who were suspended from the party were non-Bhumihars. Sensing the caste pulls and pressures, BJP Central leadership removed Kailashpati Mishra, a Bhumihar, from the State scene and made him in-charge of Assam and West Bengal. BJP expelled Inder Singh Namdhari, president of the State party. Namdhari was very much in the forefront of the Vananchal (tribal) demand for a separate state. RSS had opposed the tribal demand. Namadhari (a Sikh from Daltonganj dt in South Bihar) was hated by the RSS. The BJP leadership was also getting alarmed at the Muslim support to the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha in the South. The upper caste hatred against Namdhari and Samresh Singh led to the current crisis. The two succeeded in engineering the split with 13 MLAs - out of the total 39 - breaking away from the party. But later use of muscle and money power compelled four MLAs to retract from the earlier stand.

Chos in MP: Meanwhile, something interesting is happening in the BJP-ruled Madhya Pradesh. Within one year of the Nazi rule the party got divided and the Nazi rulers are fighting with each other. The entire party is divided from top to bottom. Chief Minister Sunderlal Patwa, a Bania, is hated by the Brahmin group led by Kailash Joshi whom Patwa refused to take into the Cabinet till two months ago. RSS papers have been daily attacking Patwa. In the recent party elections, the RSS failed to have its nominees elected unanimously. Saklecha, another Bania who was sacked as CM by the RSS on corruption charges during its previous rule, challenged the RSS again and contested the State BJP chief's post and secured goot lot of votes. No doubt the official nominee, also a Bania business man, Lakhiram Agarwal, got elected but Saklecha sent shivers in the Nazi ranks. Reports said SC/ST/BCs supported Saklecha. All these prove the false claims of the Nazis that after they come to power everything will be roses. Nazis are deeply divided on caste basis and also in sharing the spoils. In fact to see the Nazi rule in true colours one should visit MP.

SELF-DETERMINATION IN CONSTITUTION

New Delhi: Sikh leader Simranjit Singh Mann said on Dec.28 that the right to self determination was very much within the framework of the constitution under Article 51. (Article 51 says: The State shall endeavour to (a) promote international peace and security (b) maintain just and honourable relations between nations; (c) foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised people with one another, and (d) encourage settlement of international disputes by arbitration (*Hindu Dec.29*))

Muslims are warned: Babri Masjid Enters Dangerous Phase

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: The failure of the Hindu Nazis to demolish the Babri Masjid on Oct. 30, 1990 is a great historical event. They had collected billions of rupees, mobilised millions of volunteers to march to Ayodhya (UP), instigated thousands of non-Hindus (SC/ST/BCs) to attack Muslims in hundreds of places all over India and engineer a bloody anti-Muslim holocaust. They had also pressed the "national" napkin papers to carry false reports on all these programmes. But everything failed and the Nazi machinery got crippled. The gap between what was planned and what actually resulted is so wide that today the Nazis are dejected, forlorn, crest fallen — if not desperate.

The disrespect they showed to an Islamic shrine by climbing over it and hoisting the Nazi flag before they were pulled down and their flags removed has brought disaster to the Nazis — one after the other — demoralising them and blackening their faces.

Lumpen elements take over: In fact, the main Nazi parties have been now pushed to the background. More rabid, more corrupt and purely lumpen elements have taken over the reins.

1. Ten RSS workers were gunned down in Punjab within a few days of this event by Sikh militants to avenge disrespect to the Holy Granth Saheb.

2. This was followed by a historic peace march by Muslim-Sikh-Dalit rally in Delhi (DV Dec.16, p.23) which went right into Sadar Bazar, a Nazi stronghold, full of Punjabi immigrants, Nazi Baniyas who provide the financial muscle to the Nazis out of their ill-gotten money by bloating a hundred and thousand folds their losses in Pakistan. The Nazis obstructed the peaceful procession of the Dalit-Muslim-Sikh Unity seekers resulting in police-firing in their own area, where seven Nazis fell down. The importance of these victims can be realised from the fact that the Prime Minister rushed to Sadar Bazar and announced ex-gratia payment of Rs.5 lakhs to each victim, from out of his relief fund. Ever heard of a compensation of Rs.5 lakh on any death in riots so far?

3. This is only an instant payment. Much more would be paid later, because the life of an upper caste man is 10 times more precious than the life of a Sikh, 50 times more than that of a Muslim and 100 times more than that of a Dalit. We have only been saying so, but the Prime Minister has officially confirmed it.

4. In the earlier stages of Sikh struggle, one Sharma (Brahmin) journalist was gunned down in his house in Punjab. For weeks together the entire "national press" had mourned his death and shed tears after tears, published not only his pictures but even the pictures of his house and his family members. The

thread-bare details of his pedigree, the entire plan of his house — everything connected with him — was very minutely described. That is the value of a *vaidik* life. By granting Rs.5 lakhs as spot compensation to the bania merchants of Sadar Bazar the Prime Minister himself has officially recognised the value of the upper caste life. The Nazis fear that this may increase the value of the life of Sikhs, Muslims and Dalits as well.

5. Nazis had to face yet another frightening slogan of *Allaho-Akbar* right inside Parliament raised by the MPs of the National Conference in response to the Nazi slogans of *Jai Siaram*. Inevitably *Allaho Akbar* sound more militant and has louder and greater phonetic impact than the drab sound of *Jai Siaram*. The Nazis who feel frightened on hearing *Allah Akbar* five times daily in Muslim localities were simply shocked to hear the same slogan right on their faces, that too in the Lok Sabha. Imagine their plight.

6. The Sadar Bazar incident sent shock waves in all Nazi circles. They feared that the Muslim-Sikh-Dalit unity is taking a practical shape and future battle-fields may not be Muslim, Sikh, Dalit localities but upper caste areas. Such a shift of the battle-fields was never imagined by the Nazis. They have now realised the dangers to their lives, properties and free movements. The Nazis are really worried and many don't get sound sleep.

7. The lack of response to Nazi war drums shown by the 85% non-Hindu population of India including Backward Castes and Dalits and to their *kar seva* programme has terribly upset the Nazi calculations. Today, they feel they have become a political pariah castes. The word *kar sevak* is gradually becoming a word of abuse.

8. *Kar sevaks* have become targets of harassment by the so-called Naxalites of Telengana who in fact are tribals fighting upper caste oppression. *Kar sevaks* returning from Ayodhya are easily identifiable as committed, active and exposed enemies of India's unity and integrity.

9. The Nazis and their Indian brand of Nazism were being exposed by great leaders of the past and present. But this was being done only at the intellectual levels. One more century would have been needed to convince all the victims of Hindu Nazism but the Ayodhya and their much - publicised *kar seva* was able to quickly and convincingly expose the Nazis in their true colours within a few days. That is we think the Nazis have done a very great service to our cause by exposing the oppressors before the oppressed. Those in disguise have atlast removed their mask. And today we can identify the Nazis.

10. The Nazis, shouting the name of their god Rama, whom they describe as an Avatar of Vishnu, are also exposed before the vast majority of Shaivites upper castes (Hindus) who have nothing to do with Vishnu and his avatars. The Shaivites consider Vaishnavite gods as the enemy of their ancient original god Shiva. Thus, Ayodhya has sharpened the Shaiva-Vaishnava controversy and conflict.

All these ten factors have brought gloom in the Nazi rank and file. The Mandir (Ayodhya) might have helped to temporarily shelve the Mandal issue and might have toppled VP Singh who was bent upon implementing the Mandal Report. Reservations are our birth rights — human rights. They may be delayed but cannot be denied. If we can't take it today we will take it tomorrow, or the day after. The Nazis have paid a very big price for this slight delay.

The net result of all this forced the Nazis to bend and crawl on their knees and that is why for the first time they agreed to have direct talks with the Muslims. We know that this is only a shift of strategy, like stooping to conquer. *The Nazis cannot survive without*

falsehood, just like the wolves cannot survive without blood. Greater the blood, fatter the wolves grow. Similarly bigger the lies, stronger the Nazis become. As their position is today weak they want to appear humble, but once their position betters, they will resort to the same old falsehoods and anti-national actions. That is why Muslims should be very cautious in negotiating with the Nazis.

Muslims should be thankful to the Nazis for starting the Babri Masjid controversy. It has given them a chance to unite and show their might. This is the second chance the Muslims got after the Shah Bano case. (Read DV edit "Babri Masjid cleans cow belt").

Muslims therefore are warned. They should be very careful in negotiating with the wolves. The Nazi promise are a scrap of paper. They say one thing and do another thing. When they can ignore the very Constitution of India to uphold which there is the Supreme Court, what will they care for their promises elsewhere?

Babri Masjid has now entered into the second phase, which is more dangerous. Muslims are warned. ■

Babri Masjid can't be demolished even with Muslim consent

New Delhi: Besides the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, two more mosques, the Shahi Masjid Edigah at Mathura and the Gayanbafi Masjid at Varanasi, are also on the immediate hit-list of our Hindu Nazis. That there is no legal dispute at all with regard to the title of the latter two is immaterial to the Nazis. Because the Nazi thesis is: "Hindus constitute 85% population of India. So whatever we say is right. Faith is beyond adjudication. If Muslims do not behave, we know how to deal with them". The Nazi march to Ayodhya on Oct. 30, 1990 which was against all norms of morality and canons of social justice, is a vivid glimpse of "we know how to deal with them". In addition to the said three mosques, there are 3,000 more which await destruction. The Nazi plot is a part of a bigger plan, the plan to ultimately Hinduise or Brahminise the multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-lingual, multi-national character of India. Under the inspiration of Nazi forces — they are just 5% of Indian population — sustained efforts have been made to distance Muslims from Islam. That means destroy Islam. In the name of uniform civil code, Muslim identity is sought to be destroyed, besides periodic efforts at annihilation and assimilation of Muslims. Babri Masjid was a live, functional mosque till Dec. 1949. For the last 500 years, prayers were being said there. It was following the "miraculous appearance" of the idols, engineered by the Nazis, the mosque was locked. It was on Feb. 2, 1986 that the entire mosque was thrown open for *puja* of the idols. Now for all practical purposes, idol worship is being performed in the mosque. The Nazi case is myth, concoction and sheer flight of a morbid imagination. And to say that their argument in this regard is beyond adjudication is tantamount to unreason. It is this Nazi approach that brings them in direct confrontation with the rule of law, democratic norms and secular credentials of the Indian Constitution and our plural polity. Do they mean to suggest that the Nazis are above law because they make the false claim to be in "majority" today? Are they really in a "majority 85%" as they claim? These questions are answered in the DV editorial of Jan 16, 1991). Those who want to read more about the facts on the Babri Masjid, the verdict of distinguished historians, researchers like Sher Singh, IAS, Calcutta, what foreign scholars say on the subject, archeological data, what "eminent citizens of India" say on the subject write to

RADIANCE Special issue on Babri Masjid, No.2448, Baradari Sher Afghan, Ballimaran, Delhi-110 006

1990 pp 50 Rs10

Rajiv Gandhi formula : Meanwhile, a mischievous "Rajiv Gandhi formula" on the Babri Masjid to refer the "dispute" to a judicial probe by the Supreme Court has distressed all Muslims and democrats. The Nazi plan is to create a dispute and then manufacture a "public opinion" that it is a "dispute" and later refer that dispute to judicial verdict. Can such a thing be accepted in a country where the thief, policemen, prosecutor, judge, and the hangman happened to be the same person? How can we trust a people who are not prepared to abide by the verdict of court by desperately inciting hatred and violence and even inciting Hindu police and military forces to violate govt. orders? Does it not lead to end of a civilised govt.? India will have to bid goodbye to all secular values and democratic norms and go back to the priest-ridden medieval Manu Dharma Shastra. Destruction of Babri Masjid even with Muslim consent would shame this country and shame the world. It is worse than "Blue Star" attack on the Golden Temple. ■

DR. AMBEDKAR DESERVES NOBLE PRIZE FOR ECONOMICS

(Om Prakash)

Politics, particularly in India, has tended to eclipse the brilliance of academicians. In the current context, there is no example better than that of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who was an economist par excellence. He was one of the two luminaries who succeeded simultaneously in making the discipline of finance both scientifically sound and operationally meaningful, while adding to it lot of literary flavour to attract academic interest in an otherwise dull area of study. The other academician was Dr Hugh Dalton of the London School of Economics who, migrating to politics, came to serve as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Britain's Labour Government after the historic general elections of 1945. A premature budget leakage, however, brought him back to the pavilion.

Dr. Ambedkar had moved to politics via law, and was at the crease as Labour Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council for four years (1942-46) and as Minister for Law for another four years (1947-51) in the Government of India after independence. During

of Political Economy for two years (1918-20). But, London was still calling the young economist who, after supplementing his savings with funds from some other sources, accomplished the near-impossible task of writing three dissertations within three years (1920-23). The first one on 'Provincial Decentralisation of Imperial Finance in British India' was completed in 1921 for his M.Sc. degree. The second one on 'The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and its Solution' was submitted in 1922 for his D.Sc. degree to London University. Not satisfied with all this, the academic entrepreneur in Ambedkar impelled him to seek further enlightenment in Germany (University of Bonn), the land of hardboiled economists, thus following a route reverse to that adopted by Karl Marx. The Indian economist's stay there (1922-23), though cut short by an urgent call from Professor Cannan of the London School of Economics (seeking a revision of his D.Sc. thesis without changing its conclusions), saw the practical vindication of an anti-inflation thesis at a

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was an economist par excellence who succeeded simultaneously in making the discipline of finance both scientifically sound and operationally meaningful, while adding to it a lot of literary flavour to attract academic interest in an otherwise dull area of study. But very little is known about this part of his genius.

the brief interlude (1946-47), he returned to academics for a while, bringing out a Bombay reprint (1947) of his London classic (1923), as also his own model constitution for the proposed "United States of India". However, his desire to bring out Volume II of the 'History of Indian Currency and banking' as an up-to-date supplement to 'The Problem of the Rupee' (after 1923) remained unfulfilled. Having graduated from the university of Bombay in 1912, Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar sailed for America in 1913 with financial support from the Maharaja of Baroda. Within three years (1913-16), he was able to complete two dissertations at Columbia University. 'Ancient Indian Commerce' (1915) for his M.A. degree and 'National Dividend in India: A Historical and Analytical Study' (1916) for his Ph.D. degree.

His thirst for knowledge unquenched, the young Bhimrao reached London in 1916, seeking admission simultaneously to Gray's Inn for Bar-at-Law and to the London School of Economics for further research. He wrote to the Maharaja of Baroda soliciting help for higher studies. Such permission being refused, he returned to India in 1917 to serve Baroda state under the bond executed for procuring financial assistance. But Ambedkar's heart was with academics and he soon moved to Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay where he served as Professor

time when as many as eleven trillion marks were required to buy one pound!

Ambedkar returned to Bombay (via London) and submitted a modified text of his thesis on 'The Problem of the Rupee,' somewhat softer for the examiners to swallow. The revised version was, readily accepted for the D.Sc. degree by the London School of Economics, and published the same year (1923) by P.S. King & Son Ltd, London.

Within two years, another monumental work entitled 'The Evaluation of Provincial Finance in British India: A Study in the Provincial Decentralisation of Imperial Preference' was brought out by the same publisher in London (1925). By that time, Ambedkar had risen to the top echelons as a qualified economist of Indian origin. But law and politics took most of his time over the next three decades except for a breathing spell during 1946-47 when he got his D.Sc. thesis reprinted. Yet, he was able to contribute to economic thinking through a score of books, such as 'Small Holdings in India and their Remedies,' 'Federation vs Freedom,' 'States and Minorities,' and 'Annihilation of Caste' (edited by Mulk Raj Anand in 1990), besides his intellectual perceptions incorporated into the Constitution as enforced in 1950.

While prefacing 'The Problem of the Rupee,' Ambedkar crossed swords with J.M. Keynes, Britain's prophet

economist, as follows:

"On the theoretical side, there is no other book except that of Professor Keynes which makes any attempt to examine its scientific basis. But the conclusions he has arrived at are in sharp conflict with those of mine. Our differences extend to almost every proposition that he has advanced in favour of the exchange standard. This difference proceeds from the fundamental fact which seems to be overlooked by Professor Keynes, that nothing will stabilise the rupee unless we stabilise its general purchasing power. That exchange standard does not do. That standard concerns itself only with symptoms and does not go to the disease: Indeed, on my showing if anything it aggravates the disease."

Edwin Cannan, in his foreword, criticised Ambedkar, but accepted the latter's originality and practical wisdom as follows:

"I do not share Mr Ambedkar's hostility to the system, nor accept most of his arguments. But he hits some nails very squarely on the head, and even when I have thought him quite wrong, I have found a stimulating freshness in his views and reasons. An old teacher like myself learns to tolerate the vagaries of originality even when they resist severe examination such as that of which Mr. Ambedkar speaks. In practical conclusion, I am inclined to think he is right."

Taking the period 1875-76 to 1891-92 as a case in point, Ambedkar expressed concern at the depreciation in the external value of rupee - from 21.63 pence to 16.73 pence. About the same time, as he noted, India's sterling debt and rupee debt roughly grew three-fold and two-fold, respectively. History would appear to have repeated itself after some one hundred years. The rupee cost of one dollar rose from Rs 7.86 in 1980 to Rs 18.13 on November 30, 1990, while that of the pound sterling went up from Rs 18.29 to Rs 35.07 during the same period. The (overall) ET/NEER Index of the Indian rupee fell from 96.10 in 1981 to 45.62 (less than half) in 1989. The rupee burden of India's external debt is estimated to have gone up from Rs 1,02,592 crores on December 31, 1988 to about Rs.1,25,000 crores on November 30, 1990 largely due to exchange depreciation. As such, Ambedkar's thesis propounded some seventy years back is crucially valid today: First, that inflation at home is bound to erode the external value of rupee; and, secondly, that such depreciation which bolsters the rupee burden of foreign debt is not in India's national interest.

Dr. Ambedkar's treatise on 'Provisional finance' started with an invigorating preface: "For a long time to come students will be saved the conventional humiliation of making an apology for presenting a study of Indian Finance or Economics." It was supported by a powerful foreword from the Columbia don, Edwin R.A. Seligman, who testified: "The problem discussed by Mr Ambedkar in his excellent dissertation is one that is arousing a growing interest in all parts of the world."

Tracing the evolution of provincial finance in India, Dr Ambedkar identified three areas over a period of fifty years: (a) Budget by Assignment (1871-77); (b) Budget by Assigned Revenues (1877-82), and (c) Budget by Shared Revenues (1882-1921). The first period was

associated with rigidity, since revenue assignments remained fixed whereas expenditure tended to grow, more so with the fall in the purchasing power of the rupee.

The second phase provided some scope of flexibility with better management of revenue realisation under certain heads, on the part of provincial (state) governments. During the third stage a good many sources of revenue were wholly provincialised. Presenting a critique of the change, Ambedkar opined: "It is obvious that good finance; for, finance is the fuel of the whole administrative machine". In fact, his book formed the cornerstone of federal finance in India.

To him, finance was not mere arithmetic; it was a great policy leading ultimately, in 1950, to the constitutional provision of the quin-quennial Finance Commissions and the emergence of the Gadgil Formula (sought to be revised again in 1990).

Dr Ambedkar, in his own model Constitution, had dreamt of a socialist structure based, inter alia, on: (a) nationalisation of all key industries; (b) nationalisation of all land, along with adoption of collective farming, particularly for the benefit of the landless rural population; and (c) state monopoly of insurance, with compulsory life insurance for every citizen of India. But such a ginger approach could not be pushed through the Constituent Assembly even though Dr Ambedkar came to be Chairman of the Drafting Committee.

In spite of his socialist manifesto, Dr Ambedkar did not favour an ostentation on austerity. In 1937, he criticised the then Bombay Government's move to lower the salaries of ministers to just Rs 500 per month. As a member of the Legislative Assembly, he asserted that "nobody is going to be deceived by all these things". He put forward four arguments favouring higher salaries: (a) Social standard; (b) competency; (c) democracy (with a sense of responsibility); and (d) integrity and purity of administration. Dr Ambedkar also implored the Government to give up the greed for revenue from excise on liquor. He pressed for implementation of the prohibition policy to save human beings from demoralisation and to upgrade the quality of life.

Bhimrao Ambedkar can be compared, on the one hand, with Karl Marx, as a socio-politico-economic crusader and, on the other, with Lord Keynes, as a monetary and financial economist. None of these thinkers could complete the biblical life span of seventy years. The death of Marx coincided with the birth of Keynes, for whom Ambedkar was a younger contemporary. Marx moved from Germany to the UK and spent much time studying in the British Museum. Ambedkar, too, tried to get the best from this academic treasure, missing his lunch to save both time and money. But he moved from the UK to Germany for further enlightenment.

Violation of human rights in India

The USSR witnessed the first major challenge to Marx in 1985, followed by the collapse of many other Marxian systems (with China still a major exception) by 1989-90. The dream of Keynes to have an international currency is on the verge of partial fulfilment (with 1992 as the target-year for the unification of EC nations). But his doctrine of deficit financing, having brought misery to many developing and even developed countries, had fallen from grace even before the Marxian debacle. The theory of trickle-down, having virtually failed to ameliorate the socio-economic lot of the masses in spite of massive capital investment, met with the same fate. However, Ambedkar's anti-inflation thesis is still valid and crucially relevant for the Indian economy.

In the days of Marx, there was no Nobel Prize at all. When Keynes and Ambedkar were writing, it did exist, but the discipline of economics was not covered by the same. The Nobel Prize for Economics came to be instituted as late as 1969.. More recently, financial economic has come to be recognised as a separate sub-discipline, with Modigliani of MIT leading in 1985 followed by Markowitz, Miller and Sharpe — the three who shared the Nobel Prize of 1990. Ambedkar was, certainly, a formidable fore-runner on this score. (*Financial Express*, Dec. 24 & 25, 1990) ■

Parallel Dr. Ambedkar panel meets

New Delhi: The parallel Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Committee set up by the National Front on Jan.5 reiterated its determination to ensure a fair deal to the poor, specially the scheduled castes and tribes, through measures like job reservations as recommended by the Mandal Commission. Meeting for the first time since its formation, the committee after its deliberations decided to hold a series of demonstration throughout the country, culminating in a massive rally here on April 14 on Dr Ambedkar's birth anniversary. Former prime minister VP Singh in his address to the committee said that even though the BJP and the Congress-I had succeeded in bringing down his government, the caravan of social justice would continue even in the face of bombs and stones. He was referring to attempts made by his rivals to disturb his meetings at various places in UP and Bihar. ■

Tribals to liberate temple from Brahmins

Jamshedpur: The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha will launch "kar seva" for the "liberation" of the famous Baidyanath Shiva temple at Deoghar from the clutches of "Brahmin pandas." Shailendra Mahato, MP and general secretary of the party, told newsmen here on Dec.29 that the temple would be restored to the Santals who had originally looked after it. Baiju Santhal had been instrumental in installing the idol of Lord Shiva at Deoghar, he said, but in course of time, the pandas (priests) drove them out and took over its management. Other temples of the Jharkhand region would also be "liberated" in due course. He alleged that the BJP always acted in the interest of upper-caste Hindus and the business community. (*Telegraph* Dec.30)

(All the rock temples are non-aryan built by Buddhist, Jains and others, later captured by Aryans. They have to be liberated from Aryan aggression — EDITOR) ■

New Delhi: In an unprecedented move, the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Dr.B.D. Sharma, has written to the Attorney-General to highlight in Parliament and advise the Government on serious breaches of constitutional safeguards relating to the tribal community and other deprived sections. He said: "I had the privilege of submitting two reports so far to the President under Article 338 of the Constitution concerning the working of the constitutional safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These reports are required to be placed before Parliament which has also been done. However, they have not come up for discussion so far". "May I, therefore, formally request you on behalf of the deprived section of the community in general and the tribal people in particular that you may bring to the notice of the Government and also Parliament the serious breaches of the constitutional safeguards and advise them accordingly so as to ensure that the voice of the tribal people is heard and the authorities concerned are obliged to take such action as may be necessary to remove these distortions...." The situation in the tribal areas is rather grim. It is largely due to the fact that there is inadequate appreciation of the tribal situation. The exotic legal system is not in consonance with the tribal tradition and needs of the tribal economy. In utter disregard of its responsibility for providing protection to the tribal people whose protection is their trust and who are engaged in the grim battle of their survival and are defending their right to life. Article 88 of the Constitution says: "Every Minister and the Attorney-General of India shall have the right to speak in and otherwise to take part in the proceedings of either House, any joint sittings of the Houses and any Committee of Parliament. (*Hindu*, Jan.4) ■

If "castes" in India are races, is it possible to destroy races?

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

Social groups all over the world are called ethnic identities. But in India they came to be called "castes" with the selfish philosophy to claim them as "Hindus". These false claims are based on the big lie that Hinduism alone has "castes" and all those coming under the graded castes are Hindus. To begin with, there is no such thing called Hinduism. The recently held Arya Samaj conference here did not say they are Hindus. They said they are Aryans. Not castes but varnas is special to brahminism. Even Brahmin castes are social groups and ethnic identities. Iyengars are distinct from Iyers. Even among Iyengars, the Vadagalai and Thengalai Iyengars fought and went up to the Supreme court on the *nama* on their forehead. So each one is an ethnic identity.. SC/BC/ST races are non-religious groups and no way related to brahminism/vedism/aryanism/hinduism.

Now the question is: Is there any possibility of the social groups/ethnic identities disintegrating themselves? Whether such a disintegration has taken place in any of the Western advanced countries? Disintegration of identities means society turning into a mass of unrelated individuals. When the family is disintegrating as a unit in Western countries, how did they retain their identities as collective entities?

Families in US, Germany, UK may be disintegrating but the social groups or ethnic identities are not disintegrating. Why? Did Christianity erase the caste memories of the Untouchables or Brahmins who embraced it? No. Black Bishop Azariah of Madras says he is a Dalit first and Christian next. Neither Dalits nor Hindu caste groups are going to forget their social identities (roots) whether they become Christians or Sikhs. Bhuta Singh remained an Untouchable despite being a Sikh. Justice Chinnappa Reddy remained a Reddy despite being a Christian (Catholic). People may tolerate each other and feel equals but there is no hope of anyone forgetting their social origins! Their roots.

Buddhism for unity of SCs: Castes/races do not disintegrate. No possibility of a race turning into a mass of individuals. The point is in India "caste" replaced "race". In other words, caste is the other name for race. Every social group is a race. Khammas are a race. Vanniyars are a race. Jats are a race.

Functional castes among SCs should go by giving up dirty professions. They need consolidate themselves under racial names. Adi-Dravidas in Tamil Nadu, Adi-Andhras of Andhra Pradesh and Mahars of Maharashtra are racial names. These are racial castes. In each State, all SCs must consolidate themselves as its racial caste by giving up their names and dirty professions. This is possible when all Untouchables take to Buddhism. Then only the SC castes become one caste and one race and one religion. Then there won't be any discrimination within the Adi-Andhras. They will be known as Adi-Andhras proudly, and Buddhists. They need a religion to create racial affinity within them. So we emphasise the point "Do not hate Hindus". The moment we know we are not Hindus and never Hindus, we are liberated. ■

SC / ST / BCS ARE INDIAN RACES

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

The Constitution of India declares: Scheduled Castes means Scheduled races. Backward Castes means Backward races. Scheduled Tribes means Scheduled races. Tribe means race. So why not follow the Constitution and call them "Indian Races" Yadavas are a race! Why say "Yadavas are a caste? Adi-Andhras are a race! Why say "Adi-Andhras is a caste? Maharas are a race! Why say "Mahar" is a caste? Chamars are a race. Balmikis are a race. Mangs are a race. Nam-shudras of Bengal is a race. Ladak Buddhists a race! Fools call these races as caste to club them under Hindus. All to fool them as Hindus! This way our "highly educated" are fooling themselves, and what to talk of our semi-educated? DV must take this revolutionary step. Remembering our races meaning identities is not racism! If Adi-Andhras hide themselves as Hindus it is nothing but alienation and ruination of their proud racial identities. They need call themselves only as original Andhras. All SC/ST/BC are "Indian races". Atrocities on "Indian races," victimisation of Indian races, amounts to anti-Indian act. ■

If Dalits are Hindus, Why Hindus attack Dalits?

(K. Mukundan, Peruvattor, Quilandy, Kerala-673 305)

Today, it is no longer a news that Nazis are attacking Dalits all over Kerala. It has become a daily routine. A Nazi Malayalam daily, *Janmabhoomi*, says that, the "Dalit Movement is a movement of Haji Mastan to convert the Untouchables to Islam". *Kesari*, their Malayalam monthly, is also printing all sorts of bluffs but our people are not bothered.

On March 3, 1990, the Hindus Nazis attacked Ambujakshan, a Dalit Panther leader, at Palolipalam, in Vadakara (DV April, 1990) by about 50 Nazi workers with deadly weapons. To this day nobody was arrested but the police prohibited the mike permission to Dalit Panthers all over Kerala making us suspect that the Marxist govt. is also pro-Nazi. On the Dec.25 (Christmas) night, at Kadiyangad, Perambra, Kozhikode dt., Ramesh Nanminda, the Indian Dalit Students Federation leader, was attacked by 25 Nazis with deadly weapons like iron pipe and soda bottles etc while addressing a meeting on Babri Masjid, Davadasi system etc. He argued that Sabarimala temple, Kodungalloor temple, Tirupati temple etc. were all Buddha Viharas., forcibly converted into Hindu temples by the Nazis. This shocking truth provoked the Nazis. All of a sudden Nazis jumped shouting "Don't say anything about our temples". He was mercilessly beaten up after switching off the lights. Dalits couldn't understand anything as it was pitch dark. Yet they defended the victim. Fortunately, Muslims also came with sticks to fight the Nazis and protect the Dalits. Thus the poor Nanminda narrowly escaped death. Eight IDF workers including Ramesh are now in hospital.

Gandhi-killers: In Nov. last, while Ramesh was addressing a poor Muslims gathering he was attacked by the same Nazis. In the last few months Ramesh used to address many meetings in Kozhikode and Wyanad districts especially from Muslim platforms about the Babri Masjid, Mandal Commission Report which has united the Dalits and Muslims. Now he is editing a Malayalam monthly, *Janasabdham*, which reproduces article from the *Dalit Voice*. This further irritated the Nazis. They cannot counter this monthly. To add insult to Nazi injury, IDF had a three-day jeep jatha (Dec.8 to 10) in Kozhikode. Speaking at all these meetings Ramesh asserted that M.K. Gandhi is not the father of our nation. Our leader and Father of our Nation is Dr.Ambedkar. At this time also the Gandhi-killers tried to stop the jeep jatha. But they couldn't because Muslims were in full strength. At last they decided to finish this young intellect. He is studying I BA at the Guruvayurappan College, Kozhikode. The Dalits and backward castes of Kerala are having a doubt. The Nazis, the killers of Gandhi and destroyers of Indian unity, say that Dalits are Hindus. If we are Hindus, why Hindus only are attacking us? We are publishing small articles of Dr.Ambedkar which impressed all Dalits. Kanshi Ram also came with his Bharata Yatra. Through this Dalits identified their enemy. Once before the Marxists stoned the IDF workers. Besides, they have organised separate SC/ST house meetings saying that it is a castiest organisation. As the Nazi attacks increased, it helped Dalit-Muslim unity which is growing. ■

Muslim League dilemma in Kerala on Mandal Commission

(V. Prabhakaran, Calicut)

Mandal Commission has given a shock to all political parties in Kerala particularly the upper caste Nair-controlled Congress Party. Representatives of 50 castes and communities, including the Muslims and Ezhavas, who being 27% of the State population — the single largest community of the State — have come together to form the United Front of Reservation Communities. K.K. Viswanathan, ex-Governor of Gujarat and president of the powerful Ezhava organisation, SNDP Yogam, heads the new organisation. Another prominent Ezhava leader, M.K. Raghavan, is the general secretary. Every caste and community except the Brahmins, Nairs and Syrian Christians is represented in the Front. Formation of the Front has perturbed the Congress Party because the Muslim League is an ally of the Congress while the Congress is opposed to the Mandal Commission Report. The Muslim League, which is part of the Congress-led United Democratic Front of Kerala, is supporting the Mandal. Backward caste Ezhavas, (27%) the followers of Sri Narayana Guru, are also Untouchables though they form the muscle of the Nazi parties. The other groups are SC/STs (16%), some other BCs form 4%, Muslims 21%, Christians 25%. Only 7% are upper castes comprising Brahmins and Nairs.

Meanwhile, the confusing stand taken by the Muslim League and Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party on

the Mandal Commission is being widely discussed among Dalits and Muslims of Kerala. During the recent tour of Kanshi Ram in Kerala, he was closely questioned about his stand. League leaders are also subjected to criticism. The common mass of Muslims say that the Congress is the cause of India's Muslim problem. Despite being cheated all these years, the League has continued to remain an ally of the Congress in Kerala. Not only that there were reports that the League would join the Chandra Shekar Cabinet.

Muslims, the biggest minority: V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, inaugurated the powerful Muslim Education Society's seminar on Mandal Commission at the packed Cochin Town Hall on Dec. 23, M.K. Raghavan presided. This is the first time the Editor is invited by the MES which is considered an elite organisation of Muslims. The invitation to the Editor proves that even the elite Muslims of Kerala have been forced to think of the Mandal Commission and such other problems facing the non-Muslims. The Editor in his speech explained in detail how the upper castes are spreading lies that the Hindus are a "majority community" forming 85% of the country's population. The facts are exactly the opposite. The non-Hindu communities are 85% and Hindus actually are a minority. That means the Muslims become the country's single biggest "majority population" — not Hindus. This revelation came as a shock to the Muslims but the convincing explanation of the Editor, who is a highly respected figure among the Muslims of Kerala, brought them new hopes. The Editor is visiting Kerala again on Jan. 19 to address yet another Mandal Commission meeting at Calicut. ■

WE ARE AGAINST BANNING R.S.S

New Delhi: The Union govt. is worried about the infiltration of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) activists into the judiciary and is contemplating a check. "Such a move cannot be enforced by legislation unless the organisation is banned and declared unlawful but their entry can be regulated", informed sources said adding that it is on this line that the govt. is initiating further moves. The President approves the appointment of judges in High Courts and the Supreme Court after the list is submitted to him through the Union law ministry. Lists of the judges, recommended by the State law ministry will be scrutinised at this level if such panels included people with RSS background. (*Telegraph*, Jan.2)

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: We are against banning any organisation — whether it is RSS or anti-RSS. During the Emergency, Indra Gandhi banned the RSS but she failed to curb its philosophy. RSS represents a particular thought and those subscribing to this thought are not only in the RSS but also in the Congress, Communist parties. RSS is a thought and this thought was existing even before the RSS was founded in the year 1925. (RSS - 1979, D.R. Goyal Radhakrishna Prakashan, 2 - Ansari Road, New Delhi -2). Chief Justice Ranganath Mishra of the Supreme Court who said that the place of woman is in the kitchen, his advocacy of astrology are all part of this thought. Defence of sati, devadasi, dowry are part of this thought. Subscribing to caste system and supporting brahminical scriptures is part of this thought. Doing *homa* to cleanse the already polluted Ganga waters and thereby further spoiling it is part of this thought. Krishna advocating violence in the Gita is part of this thought. But there is nothing wrong with this thought. This thought has been there ever since the Aryans brought their racism into India. We should not ban this thought. A thought cannot be banned. It has to be ideologically fought. To ban a thing it should be a physical object. RSS represents a thought and those holding this thought are in the Supreme Court, top defence posts, science labs, newspapers and in culture-vulture societies. They will continue to be there because this particular thought is given job reservation based on caste. Once all the Indian castes, communities, races and ethnic entities get reservation in proportion to their population, this thought will be pushed to its proper place — say about 5% of Indian population. Now, these people forming less than 5% of the population are occupying 95% of the positions, posts and power because those upholding democratic values have no reservations. So reservations (85%) to all including those holding the Nazi thought is a must. We are opposed to banning any thought however dangerous it may be. The Nazi thought has a place in Indian society. We are not against it. But we will assure it free play but confined inside a physical territory: say Gorakhpur, under the foothills of the Himalayas. Since those holding this thought say they are born to the cow and worship cow as (*Gomata*), the befitting place for them is Gorakhpur (which means cow protection city). ■

THE MEANING OF "HINDU COMMUNALISM"

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: The monster of Hindu communalism, which has turned into the world's worst form of Nazism, is having its dance of death before our eyes daily but India's upper caste rulers seem to enjoy it. Being rulers, they could have easily checked it if only they had found it harmful in the interest of the country (DV edit Jan.1 1991: "India Heading Towards Fascism"). To these rulers their *jati* interest became more important than the interest of the country, its unity and integrity.

The rulers are merciless in crushing the nationality demands of Sikhs, Kashmiris, Gorkhas, Jharkhandis, Bodos, Tamils, etc. in the name of communalism. Those fighting for identity, human rights, honour of their women are dubbed communal and violently dealt with. But when it comes to "Hindu communalism" which is nothing but the communalism of upper castes, the rulers are silent. In fact, they are indirectly encouraging it. Even the demand of SC/ST/BCs for reservations is called communal.

M.A. Jinnah, whom Sarojini Naidu once called as the "young ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity" in 1918, was dubbed by the upper castes as communal. Sant Bhindranwale was also called communal. Even Moulana Azad described as "India's only secular Muslim" was called communal. Every religious minority demand is called communal. Even if they assert their constitutional rights to establish minority educational institutions, they are called communal. But when L.K. Advani went on his *rath yatra* and his Nazi hordes entered the Babri Masjid and tried to demolish it, it was not called communal.

Cow slaughter ban: The battle against "Hindu communalism" was lost not now. We can say that the "battle was lost" only if the battle had begun. To tell the truth such a battle had never begun. The very "Father of nation" MK Gandhi's demand for ban on cow slaughter was communal. If the very Father of Nation is communal what is the surprise if his children also follow his example? Beef is not the food of Muslims and Christians alone. It is the food of all Dalits, tribals and even among Backward Castes, and the innumerable foreigners living in India. *So by this ban on cow slaughter Gandhi tried to hit the very stomach of the country's religious minorities and also his own children of god ("Harijans"), meaning bastard.*

That means the very founding fathers of this country were soft towards "Hindu communalists". This view was endorsed by a person hailed by the upper caste themselves as "a noted historian of India", Bipin Chandra. This is his verdict:-

The basic failure of the national movement on the communal question lay precisely in the ideological arena. Gandhiji, with all his deep-seated secularism, failed to understand communalism

as an ideology. He, therefore, failed to challenge it except at the Hindu-Muslim bhai-bhai level. He hoped to counter communalism with humanism. Nehru of the 1930's clearly saw that communalism was basically an ideology that was rooted in the existing class and political structure. But he too, except very briefly in 1933-34 and 1936-37, failed to organise a struggle against it, and assumed that changes in the class and political structure (anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism) would gradually erode communalism. After independence, while heroically standing in opposition to communal violence, he depended on economic development and spread of education and science to bring about this erosion. Throughout, the communists and socialists have continued to rely on class struggle and struggle for social transformation to achieve this result". (Hindu, Dec.21, 1990).

"Hindu communalism" therefore is not new. "Hindu communalism" means brahminical social order which is today struggling to overpower the Indian social order sought to be established by Babasaheb Ambedkar through the Constitution of India. ■

ATTENTION UNTOUCHABLES & TRIBALS

VOLUNTARY FUND FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Since 1985, the United Nations have a special fund to cover the travel expenses of several indigenous representatives who wish to attend the session of the Working Group. It is a voluntary fund which has received contributions from the Governments of Australia, Canada, Finland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and of several NGOs. The fund is administered by the Secretariat and Board of Trustees, composed of: A. Willemsen Dias (Guatemala), Chairman, L. Danfjeld (Norway), A. Sene (Senegal), H. Tauroa (New Zealand), D. Turk (Yugoslavia). In 1988 and 1989, the fund provided travel grants to 27 and 39 indigenous representatives respectively. For 1990, it could only provide 21 travel grants. This can be explained, in part, by the fact that the extension of the meetings to two weeks increased the expenses considerably. For 1991, requests for travel grants should be sent before 31 March 1991 to Gudmundur Alfredsson, Centre for Human Rights, Palais des nations, 1211 Geneva 10. ■

Census again ignores caste

New Delhi: Enumeration of caste, which was discontinued after the 1931 census, will not be done in the present census (except that of scheduled caste or scheduled tribes which is mandatory under the constitution) despite the controversy of the Mandal commission. According to an official of the census office, a demand from some backward class organisation was made for the inclusion of the caste component but as the questionnaire is finalised a year in advance, "it was operationally not possible to incorporate caste at this late stage." ■

Ezhavas of Kerala asked to follow Vanniyar model

(Miss Beena Joseph, Madras University, Madras)

Raju Thomas from Kottayam, Kerala, writes (DV Oct. 16, p.7) that the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK) headed by Dr. Ramdoss has given the leadership to a very powerful Admbedkarite Dalit, R. Elumalai, by making him general secretary of the PMK. This may be unbelievable and unconvincing to the BCs all over India and the Ezhava BCs in Kerala. But it is a fact. The BCs will be able to follow this example of the PMK if only they study Ambedkarism and accept Babasaheb Ambedkar as their liberator. Will the Ezhava backward castes headed by the former Governor of Gujarat, K.K. Viswanathan, as its President, and the General Secretary Pratap Singh, show that much honesty and sincerity to give their leadership to a Dalit who is a stainless Ambedkarite? R. Elumalai had been putting much effort to teach Ambedkarism to the BC Vanniyars of Tamil Nadu who constitute about 30% of TN population. And DV too deserves credit for achieving this great task of Dalit-BC unity in TN. Thus the long-standing dream of Dr. Ambedkar is fulfilled at least in TN. Other States can follow this example.

Kerala Nazi party Muscles: BCs will succeed in their Mandal fight only if they make the Dalits lead the movement (DV Oct. 16, and Nov.1, 1990). But I have my own doubt if the BCs will do this because the Ezhava BCs in Kerala are more hinduised than the original Hindus. They still keep limitless hatred and hostility towards the SCs and other religious communities. In Kerala, it is the BCs (the artisans, and the Ezhavas) who are the muscles of all Nazi parties. The BC leaders should educate their people and ask them to quit all Hindu parties and Hindu organisations. Remember : BCs are neither shudras nor Hindus. Fighting against brahminism and at the same time practising brahminism is nothing but the act of dogs. Even a dog acts wisely when somebody stones it. The dog never bites the stone that hits it. Rather it chases the man who threw the stone. The BCs should have at least this much wisdom of the dog. Why the BCs follow brahminical Hinduism? It is the very Aryan/savarna Hinduism which made the BCs and the SCs untouchable. It is the Aryan/savarnas who are opposing the Mandal Commission. Stop practising brahminism and throw away all Aryan gods and goddesses from your homes. The problem with BCs is that they do not have a god to keep in their homes. The Ezhava BCs have at least Sree Naarayan Guru. Let all BCs accept Dr. Ambedkar as their leader and Messiah. I am fully confident that in case the BCs and the SCs in Kerala quit the Hindu Nazi parties, in the next election the BC/SC/Christian

and Muslim alliance will rule the State which had been once ruled by the Dalits in the ancient Chera Nadu. All the BCs and the SCs should be de-hinduised.

Ezhava girls with bindi: I have seen at Kottayam (7.10.1990) that during the Mandal Protection Rally all the Ezhava BCs with *bindi* on their forehead. Two girls leading the rally wore *mulakkacha* as the Nair virgin girls used to wear a piece of linen cloth over their chest while receiving the Namboothiries. Shame, utter shame for the Ezhavas!! Why are they adopting the brahminical methods? The BC Ezhavas and the SCs must reject Aryan rituals, way of dressing, their religion and gods. Even the names. Fighting the oppressor means fighting the religious-cultural values also. *I am glad that M.K. Raghavan had openly appealed to all 27% of the Ezhavas to stop worshipping Rama and not to go to the Aryan temples.* He recalled how the BCs unknowingly worship Vishnu for 365 days and at the same time remember Mahabali, the greatest ruler of Kerala, only once a year. Raghavan seems to have understood Ambedkarism because of reading DV. *He had long back declared that the "Ezhavas are not Hindus and never been Hindus"* (at Vaikom on 5.5.1985). Raghavan also challenged the Shudra Nair, Raman Pillai, ratham puller of Rama by asking him if Raman Pillai was aware of the fact that it was the very Rama, whose ratham he was pulling, who beheaded Shambuka for learning penance and Shamuka belonged to the ancestors of Raman Pillai, a shudra. The four Aryan varnas being foreigners will naturally forget all their internal contradictions and let the shudra, the worst victims of brahminism lick the feet of brahminism. Even traditionally there is story in which the shudra Nairs have to eat the *pindas*, a kind of rice powder spread on a wooden plate, and the Brahmin woman sits on it during her menstruation and the Nair has to eat this. ■

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