

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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Shudras form part of Aryan Varna society: Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Shudras formed part of Aryan varna society

The word Asura is generic name given to various tribes known by their tribal names of Daityas, Danvas, Dasyus, Kalananjas, Kaleyys, Kalins, Nagas, Nivata-Kavachas, Paulomas, Pishachas and Raxasas. We do not know if the Suras and Devas were composed of various tribes as the Asuras were. We only know the leaders of the Deva community. The well known amongst them were Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Surya, Indra, Varuna, Soma etc. (p.418). The Asuras and Suras were communities of human beings as the Aryans were. The Asuras and Suras were descended from a common father Kashapa. The story is that Daksha Prajapati had 60 daughters, of them 13 were given in marriage to Kashapa. Diti and Aditi were two among the 13 of Kashapa's wives. Those born to Diti were called Asuras and those born to Aditi were called Suras or Devas. The Aryans were a race. The Aryans were a collection of people. Any one who accepted the Aryan culture was an Aryan. Colour prejudice as being factors for division and antagonism between Aryans and the Dasyus is based upon a wrong meaning given to the two words Varna and Anas which are used with reference to the Dasyus (p.419). The statement that the Aryans had a colour prejudice which determined their social order is nonsense. If there were any people who were devoid of colour prejudice it is the Aryans. The Dasyus were members of Aryan community who were deprived of the title of Arya for opposing some belief or cult which was an essential part of the Aryan Culture. Dasyus were Aryans. It is erroneous to believe that the Sudras were conquered by the Aryan invaders. India is the home of Aryans. Dasyus have nothing to do with the Shudras (p.420). Sudras were Aryans but it was Manu who suppressed them. It is wrong to treat the Dasyus and Shudras as one and the same. Culturally they were quite different. Dasyus were Non-Aryans in the sense - shudras on the other hand were Aryans. Shudra was an integral, natural and valued member of the Aryan society (p.421). King Sudas was a shudra. A shudra could be a reigning monarch. Two dynasties which preceded Manu were dynasties of Shudras Kings. The Mauryas who succeeded the Nandas were also shudras. Ashoka who was not merely the Emperor of India but a shudra and his was the Empire built by the shudras. There were shudras who had reached the status of Rishies. (p.423). Drinking of Soma was not only permissible but it was compulsory on all including the shudra. With regard to the upanayana ceremony and the right to wear the sacred thread there is nowhere an express prohibition against the shudra. (p.424). Why did Manu suppress the shudra? This riddle of the Shudra is not a simple riddle. It is a complex one. The Aryans were for ever attempting to Aryanize the Non-Aryans. Bringing them within the pale of the Aryan Culture. So keen were the Aryans on Aryanization that they had developed religious ceremony for the mass conversion the Non-Aryans. The ceremony was called Vratya-stoma (p.425)

(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.

American Black soldiers must refuse to fight whiteman's racist war in Gulf

We have reports that the White racist govt. of America, much against the wishes of its people and particularly the Afro-American Black people, is using the Blacks to fight the Iraqis in the current Gulf War. The Blacks had no quarrel with the Iraqis. In fact, the Muslim world is closer to Blacks. Militant Blacks in America like Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan have become Muslims. When that is the case, we are not able to understand why the Blacks have gone to the Gulf to fight the whiteman's war against Muslims and save the whiteman. The following report in the American *Time Magazine*, (Feb. 4) a journal of the whites, indicates the feeling inside America. The Editor of DV is an important member of the premier American human rights organisation of Blacks (IHRAAM). The very American representative of *Dalit Voice* is a noted Black historian, Runoko Rashidi, who inaugurated the first All-India Dalit writers conference at Hyderabad. Our editor's famous book, *Dalit - The Black Untouchables of India*, was published in the US by a prominent Black publishing house. DV has a large readership among the American Blacks. In US, the Blacks and Dalits have set up a joint Foundation to support the Dalit struggle in India. Both Blacks and Dalits have a common origin. That is why the Indian Dalits are very much against this racist, zionist —

sponsored war against Iraq. (DV edit Feb.16). Therefore, we call upon our Black brothers and sisters in the American army to revolt against this slaughter in the Gulf. The *Time Magazine* report will help us understand the feeling even among many sympathetic American Whites:-

Simple arithmetic if nothing else, gives African Americans a special stake in Operation Desert Storm: they make up 12% of the U.S. population, but represent nearly 25% of the American fighting forces in the Persian Gulf. When the air war finally shifts to a grinding ground confrontation, therefore, they are likely to spill a disproportionate amount of blood onto the desert sands. That has only fueled uneasiness among those blacks who feel that their friends and loved ones are being asked to do more than their fair share of dying for a nation that gives them less than their share of economic and social opportunities. According to last week's Time/CNN poll taken by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, 49% of all blacks supported involvement in the war, compared with 77% of whites. While they take pride in the accomplishments of soldiers like Powell, many black activists are openly voicing their opposition to Desert Storm. "It is not anybody's war to fight, but most definitely it's not African America's war to fight," says Representative Maxine Waters of California, who warns black soldiers that they may return to a country where the President is unwilling to "take some affirmative steps to make sure you have job or an education." Waters joined the majority of black Democrats in Congress in voting against the Jan. 12 resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq.

D.V. proves right on gulf war

When the entire ruling classes in different countries the world over are arrayed wholesale on one side and the western media that controls the minds of the masses blaring the orchestrated music that Saddam Hussain is a demon who ought to be destroyed, it is no easy joke to pronounce a judgment in such a hysterical atmosphere. But none could confuse us. Because we knew that justice and truth were always with the oppressed and hence we had no difficulty in predicting the future. And that is how we proved right in our leader on the Gulf War (Feb.16, 1991) which perhaps was our boldest, bluntest and brutally frank editorial after the one on the Sikh struggle for self-determination that landed us in jail. When we wrote down our editorial (on Jan.25) it was hardly a few days since the war had began and nobody would have had the courage to predict its outcome when the world's richest and the mightiest country, US, was boasting that Saddam would be sandwiched in three days. But we knew the trends and the shape of the things to come. Careful readers of DV would have already got the hints in our two writeups on the subject. (Oct. 16, 1990 and Nov.16, 1990). So we knew which way the wind was blowing, and we had no difficulty in predicting the outcome. We were also the first in the world to say it was the beginning of the Third World War. As we write this piece the war is raging and burgeoning into a veritable Armageddon. In this, Saddam might not have yet militarily won the war but he has already scored a political victory. The American arrogance, intoxication is getting melted in the "Desert Storm". American President Bush is behaving like a mad butcher. And he is so much mentally exercised and physically alienated from his own American people that if he does not succeed he may have to end himself. If Saddam wins, white racism and zionism will have to commit suicide. And we have to see that Hindu nazism also disappears with its racist brothers. But on the other, if Saddam is killed that is the beginning of the real war — with the revolutionary Iran taking over. So from all these points of view we repeat that this Gulf War is a welcome war because it has for the first time united the entire oppressed of the world, called the bluff of communism, proved that the yellow (mangloid) races would like to maintain their aloofness — and that the pro-US Indian ruling class love for socialism is all fake. Dalits and Muslims, the two worst persecuted peoples of India, should carefully watch the situation, join hands with the oppressed of the world and go with Saddam and join this fight against white racists and zionists outside India and their Hindu Nazi followers inside India. And convert this war into a war that will end all other wars.

Zionism & Racism

(G.H. Jansen)

Nicosia: Isreal, its government and its Parliament, has at last accepted the complete Zionist blueprint for a Jewish state: that is, a state created by Jews for Jews and — the latest addition — for Jews only, through the expulsion of the Palestinians. Demographic exclusivity became a probability when Prime Minister, Yitzak Shamir brought into his cabinet General Rahavam Ze'evi, the leader of a party called Moledet or "homeland". The main, and only, plank in this party's programme is what is euphemistically called "voluntary transfer" of the 1.7 million Arab Palestinian inhabitants of the Israeli-occupied territories, the West Bank and Gaza, and the 800,000 Palestinians who live in Israel "proper". They are to be "transferred", that is expelled across the River Jordan into Jordan, where they are supposed to form the Palestinian homeland, taking the place of the present Jordanian state. This racist programme, like many other aspects of Israeli policy, is easily recognizable as an imitation of Hitler's "final solution" of the Jewish problem in Europe, which made use of mass deportation. (*Times of India*, Feb.8)

Racism in India

Bangalore: Four shops of a *Harijan* were allegedly set on fire by a group of Hindus in Attibele in Anekal taluk late on Feb.7. Police said Srinivasa, brother of Nagaraj, the Taluk Dalit Sangharsha Samithi president, was playing cricket around 4 p.m. with friends when some Hindu youth came to the ground and wanted to join the play. Srinivasa and his friends did not allow them to do so. A quarrel followed. Later, when Srinivasa and his friends were going home, some Hindu boys allegedly abused them, resulting in fistcuffs. One of the friends of Srinivasa allegedly stabbed one youth, Vishwanath, injuring him seriously. Soon the news spread, upper caste (Hindus) came to the streets and set fire to the shops belonging to Nagaraj, brother of Srinivasa. (*Indian Express*, Feb.8)

India's population 860M

New Delhi: What is the country's population on the eve of the century's last head count that began on Feb.9. Figures vary, but the final estimate is anywhere between 840 and 860 million. The figure was less than 300 million in 1901, when the growth rate was less than one per cent. This mark was crossed in 1921. In the second half of the century, that is between 1951-61, it touched the two percent mark. From then on the rise is seen as sharp. It was 2.2 per cent during 1961-71 and 2.25 percent during 1971-81. The figure recorded in the 1981 census was 685,184,692.

Dalit-Muslim unity move: new front formed

New Delhi: Scheduled Caste leaders cutting across party lines are trying to gather their folk under one umbrella organisation called "Samata Andolan" in a bid to consolidate the SC/ST political power in the coming election. A meeting of over 250 leaders of SCs and STs took place here on Feb.3 under the presidentship of Ram Mohan, MP. Another prominent person at the meeting was Yogendra Makwana, former Congress-I Minister. Among the prominent SC/ST leaders who attended were Dada Ropwate, former Maharashtra Minister, L.R. Bali, editor, *Bhim Patrika*, and Prof Joginder Kawade, leader of the Dalit Panthers. The meeting formed an 11 - member steering committee under the convenorship of Makwana. The committee decided to explore the possibility of contacting other organisations particularly of backward castes and minorities. They have not decided to form a separate political party. The Republican Party of India, founded by Dr. Ambedkar, is at present split into many groups. The organisers apparently are being cautious having obtained support beyond party lines. But the move seems to be in response to the consolidation of the backward classes which is supposed to benefit the Janata Dal. The issues to be agitated are being sorted out in consultation with BC/minority leaders. The backward vote was decisive during the recent district council elections in Kerala when the LDF consisting of the left parties, the Janata Dal and Congress-S made a clean sweep of 12 out of 14 districts. (*Hindustan Times*, Feb.5)

New UN for ethnics

Amsterdam: Ethnic minorities and peoples seeking independence will set up an "alternative United Nations" at a meeting in the Netherlands next week, one of the group's organisers said on Feb.4. Called the "Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation", it will at first have 20 members, including representatives of the Baltic republics and Australia's aborigines. "This will be an independent body for peoples and nations that can't get into the United Nations... the purpose is to offer services to them". said Catherine Ingram, an American author and one of the group's coordinators. The body aims to promote the peaceful resolution of conflicts and offer diplomatic training advice on dealing with the UN public relations counsel and expertise on environmental issues, she said. The group will later be opened up to others among the estimated 5,000 ethnic groups and nations in the world not recognised by the UN Ingram said. (*Indian Express* Feb.6)

Merit-mongers push India to bottom

We draw the attention of India's merit-mongers who live in a fool's paradise but are not tired of boasting about India's industrial and economic achievements. The following excerpts are reproduced from "India's largest circulated journal", *India Today*, (Jan.31, 1990) run by the very same upper caste merit-mongers who led the recent violent caste war against the Mandal Commission. The article headlined, "Indian industry way below par — Goods can't compete in foreign markets," proves by giving facts and figures that during 40 years of upper caste "merited rule" India has become a beggar country. Indian upper caste industrialists want "reservations" to sell their goods inside India. Otherwise, it will not be sold because of the competition from Japanese goods. But the same people oppose reservations to SC/STs. World economic forum dumps India at the bottom among developing world competitors — *EDITOR*.

When the Bombay -based Godrej Soaps cast a roving eye on the vast export market, it came to a gloomy conclusion. Its soaps would have been a wash-out in the market place. For one simple reason: the cost of its main raw materials—oils and fats—was three times higher than what its competitors abroad were paying. Automobile giant Mahindra and Mahindra might be one of the big boys at home, but out there in the big, bad world, it's a mere toddler. The company has a capacity to produce barely 10,000 lightweight trucks annually when no Japanese competitor would be comfortable with anything less than eight times that amount. Steel-maker Mukand Ltd sure has cheaper

labour than its international rivals. But that doesn't help its export effort much. For when cheap labour comes tied with low productivity—Mukand produces 225 tonnes of steel per man year when its peers abroad manage at least four times as much — the results is higher cost. Godrej, Mahindra and Mukand aren't the only ones finding the international market tough to crack. And for more reasons than mentioned above. Cocooned behind the protective walls of high import duties and non-tariff barriers that almost eliminate the icy chill of competition, few manufacturers contemplated selling beyond home shores in the past.

INDIA'S COMPETITIVENESS SCOREBOARD: BOTTOM OF THE LADDER*

RANK	ECONOMIC DYNAMISM	INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY	MARKET ORIENTATION	FINANCIAL DYNAMISM	HUMAN RESOURCES	EXTERNAL ORIENTATION	FUTURE ORIENTATION	POLITICAL STABILITY
1.	Taiwan	Singapore	Hongkong	Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Taiwan	Singapore
2.	S. Korea	Thailand	Singapore	Hongkong	Taiwan	Hongkong	Singapore	Hongkong
3.	Singapore	Hongkong	Taiwan	Taiwan	S.Korea	Taiwan	S. Korea	Malaysia
4.	Hongkong	Taiwan	Malaysia	S.Korea	Hongkong	Thailand	INDIA	Taiwan
5.	Malaysia	Malaysia	S.Korea	Thailand	Malaysia	S. Korea	Thailand	Thailand
6.	INDIA	S. Korea	Brazil	Indonesia	Thailand	Malaysia	Malaysia	S. Korea
7.	Thailand	Indonesia	Thailand	Malaysia	Brazil	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico
8.	Indonesia	Mexico	INDIA	INDIA	Mrazil	Hongkong	Hongkong	Indonesia
9.	Brazil	INDIA	Indonesia	Mexico	Indonesia	Indonesia	Indonesia	INDIA
10.	Mexico	Brazil	Mexico	Brazil	INDIA	INDIA	Brazil	Brazil

* Source: The World Competitiveness Report 90

* Performance compared with other newly industrialised countries

Retire upper castes with full salaries

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

Dalit Voice: has popularised the slogan, "Reservations are our human rights". Now, DV must popularise the slogan, "Reservations are for self-government". This is the most important slogan. Unless "Indian races" are in the administration, how could they get self-government? This slogan helps the foreign scholars and also our readers to understand the meaning of reservations. Denial of human rights means denial of self-government. When self-government is denied, the "Indian races" become subjects of colonialism. We do not aim to change Hindu minds. We want our people to be empowered.

**Reservation are for self-government
Reservation are for self-protection
Reservation are for human rights**

We demand posts and powers in proportion to the population of our people. We are not interested in remembering that we were a fallen people in the past. We are not to live in the past. When 25% of police constable are SCs, no idiot can commit atrocities on illiterate masses outside. For this "Hindu castes" must be retired with full salaries as pensions so that the "Indian races" can secure self-government. When the "Hindu castes" get full salary by sitting at home, where is the injustice to them? "Hindu castes" should not exceed 10% strength in any office. They should not exceed 7% in South India for shudras and Brahmins have only 7% population in South India. Self-government is the best slogan; for it makes our demands clear to our supporters and enemies.

Beef - eaters vs "sacred brahmins": Crisis in Nazi party

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: The Hindu Nazi thought did not take birth with RSS. It was existing even before the RSS was born. The pure Nazi thought as expounded in the *Bunch of Thoughts*, the Bible of the Nazis, by Glowalkar, the Nazi philosopher, is an honest thought. We have nothing to fear from this thought. It is a thought which has a place in the Indian society. If Aryans, though aliens, want to maintain their racial purity by maintaining their identity, nobody can object to it. As long as this thought does not harm others nobody has the right to oppose it. We on our part, time and again, have said that we wish all success to this Nazi thought provided it maintains its purity, identity, seclusion, without trying to interfere with ours.

It is this conviction that prompted the honest Nazi, Nathuram Godse, to kill the father of their own upper caste nation who was trying to dilute this thought. Godse did not like Gandhi trying to interfere with the non-Nazi thoughts. Those who uphold this pure Nazi thought have been called "sacred brahmins".

But things get complicated and blurred only when the "socialist brahmins" like Gandhi take over. "Socialist brahmins" are the real danger to our people. M.K. Gandhi, Nehru and Company belong to this category. That is why a "sacred brahmin" finished Gandhi, the "socialist brahmin".

Beef-eating boys: RSS and BJP, the latest incarnations of the purest Nazi thought, originally propounded by Adi-Shankara, were harmless as long as Golwalkar was in charge. After his death, a cunning operator took over and he diluted the whole thing if not subverted the whole Nazi thought for short - range, ignoble gains and tried to convert the pure party of the "sacred brahmins" into a hot-potch of somersault "socialist brahmins". Alien concepts like socialism, secularism and democracy were all drafted to this unwilling *sanatana* soul. And this created all the confusion and BJP lost heavily. Vajpayee, the sole "socialist brahmin" in the company of Nazis was replaced by a "sacred brahmin", Advani. And now a more pure Aryavarta (cowbelt) "sacred brahmin" has taken over. And Murali Manohar Joshi is expected to take the party back to its prestine pure days of Deen Dayal Upadhyaya. So goodbye to socialism, secularism and democracy. This decision was taken at the just concluded national convention of the party at Jaipur. The change was visible. No more *namaste* or *pranams*. Delegates started greeting each other saying 'Jai Siya Ram'. Hindutva bulldozer will start rolling. Opposition to Mandal Commission and reservation to SC/ST/BCs was openly discussed. This shows the party is trying to become honest. We like this. We wish M.M. Joshi all success.

Yuppies: But even with this change over to the original

Guru Golwalkar brand of Nazism, it is not going to be a cake-walk to the Nazi party. Because the upper caste, English - speaking, over-fed, daily drinking, beef-eating, "modern" boys, who are the country's worst corrupt, are joining the Nazi party like anything. This "western-oriented" youth can't fit into the company of the "sacred brahmins" with their purity and pollution obsession. This "modern" youth which has neither read history nor geography but came to occupy important positions through bribery, capitation fees colleges and their sole asset of caste will soon prove a headache to the Nazi party. This youth is divorced from the past and hence divorced from the future also. To such floating souls the only sanctuary is the Nazi party and such youth is making a mad rush into the Nazi party. M.M. Joshi will find it hard to manage these yuppies — nay scuppies.

Telegraph (Feb.2) adds: The "scuppies" have arrived or they soon will if the BJP's new mission to reach out to the "national intelligentsia" makes any headway in urban India. The scuppies, or the saffron clad upwardly mobile yuppies, are the party's new potential support base and the BJP is all-out to woo them. Over the past few months, the BJP has discovered that the Ramjanmabhoomi issue has not just struck a chord among the religious masses of north India. A large number of young and middle-aged professionals in the metropolises have become BJP supporters and throng L.K. Advani's meetings. *Calcutta businessmen, Bombay's executives and Delhi's bureaucrats have suddenly displayed great enthusiasm for this "party with a difference"*, and there has been a growing trickle of requests from this breed to associate themselves with party. The BJP leadership knows that few will give up their jobs to become full-time party activists and most of these young professionals do not have any political experience to be of much use as polling booth agents or campaigners.

Kamal clubs: Therefore, the 11-member working group which was set up to formulate a plan for the party's organisational growth has come out with the concept of "Kamal clubs." These clubs will organise meetings of BJP sympathisers regularly and impart ideological training and tap the talents of the professionals to help the growth of the party.

The report said, "We should form Kamal clubs of BJP sympathisers in urban areas. These clubs could meet once a month or so by rotation in members' homes." The idea, party leaders said, was to transform sympathisers into active supporters and use their professional skills such as marketing, conceptualising, writing research papers, working out development projects as well as other jobs for the party.

Narmada Dam is upper caste racist war against India's indigenous peoples

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

For the world Bank to aid the Rs.6,400 - crore Narmada Valley Project is nothing but midsummer madness for it is going to displace and destroy the community life of 3 million tribes in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Three million tribes means a full-fledged nation with exclusive habitats. Over 50 countries in the world including Israel, Jordan and Kuwait have population around 3 million. To displace by drowning their centuries - old lands, hearths and homes by the gigantic dam is nothing but midsummer madness. Whether the lives of 3 million tribes are to be destroyed in this way just to benefit 3 lakh farmers who are "Hindu castes" in Gujarat and MP? Sardar Sarovar dam, therefore, is a midsummer madness.

Because: 1) The beneficiaries are just 5% "Hindu castes", while the displaced are 3 million tribals. 2) The dam irrigates less areas than it submerges. 3) It also submerges a hundred thousand hectares of prime forests which could not be replaced by man-made forests. 4) The destruction and drowning of prime forests is sure to eliminate rainfall and thereby lead to the destruction of Narmada river itself. 5) No amount of compensation and resettlement of 3 million tribes is going to benefit them once their community life is destroyed. It is nothing but a plan for degradation and destruction of 3 million tribal position. 6) It is impossible to resettle 3 million population.

Testimony of the World Bank: The World Bank itself says that Sardar Sarovar dam will be just standing as a monument for the next 50 years until the canals are dug out to utilise its waters. It will take 50 years to complete the canals. Why and how the World Bank could not make independent inquiries about the resettlement plans of displaced population? Why it should participate in the degradation and destruction of 3 million population of tribes? *Sardar Sarovar is a racial war of "Hindu castes" over "Indian races" called tribes.* The world Bank has no other way except to depend on the cooked up statistics. It is time that the World Bank refused to aid such destruction of ecology and human habitations and instead advocate that the whole project be dropped. *If the World Bank does not stop this crime against humanity we may have to say that this Bank itself is a party to this international conspiracy to promote brahminism.* The thirty thousand tribals displaced in 1962 by the authorities of Sardar Sarovar dam are yet to be

resettled. The colonial powers, called "Hindu castes" who rule India, follow naked racialism against the tribes. This is the meaning of Gujarat govt. failure to resettle 30,000 tribes for the last three decades. How could we believe that it could resettle 3 million tribes now? The community life of the tribes is to be destroyed to benefit a microscopic "Hindu castes". With what sense we can call this "development"? This is degeneration of human life. No dialogue is needed except the dam is to be damned. By disintegrating and dispersing 3 million tribes, these heartless upper castes are planning to enrich themselves by disposing off tribal women to Bombay brothels.

Conclusion: From all angles Sardar Sarovar dam or the Narmada Valley Project is a midsummer madness. Only insane minds can aid and abet it.

Ambedkarites and DV readers in America, Europe and England should take up this matter with the World Bank and see to it that it is dropped. The tribal population of all the three States around Narmada should be united into a form of single State with the creation of an exclusive tribal state. The fact that the Gujarat and Rajasthan "Hindu castes" are intimidating tribes to foil their peaceful meetings and demonstrations near the Sardar Sarovar dam, the barbaric colonialism of the Hindu castes is visible even to the sightless blind.

Tripura Tribals on Warpath

Agartala: The Tripura Tribal Employees Association has alleged irregularities in filling up reserved posts for Scheduled Caste and Tribe candidates in several state government departments and public undertaking in Tripura. The association general secretary, N.K. Debbarma, told newsmen that 35,000 ST/SC candidates had been appointed in the Central government establishments under the special recruitment drive to fill in backlog vacancies in 1989, but in Tripura only 53 of such candidates got jobs under the scheme. Against the declared vacancy of 5,529 posts reserved exclusively for ST/SC candidates, the cabinet sub-committee had agreed to fill 1,953. Even those posts which were to be filled by May last year still remained vacant barring the said 53 posts. Particularly departments of public works and panchayat violated the ST/SC reservation rules, he said *Times of India*, Feb.5)

"Environmentalists" let down Narmada Valley tribals

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: We have once again proved right on the Narmada Valley Project. The Tamtes and Patkars have withdrawn their agitation. Just as the upper caste "saviours" of the Bhopal Gas tragedy victims have taken them for ride, the tribal victims of the Narmada Valley Project are also fooled. We have warned about this long back in our article. "Beware of environmentalists". So we have proved correct. Both Baba Amte and Smt. Medha Patkar, the upper caste self-proclaimed saviours of the Gujarat, MP and Maharashtra tribals, have deserted them. And the tribals too realised that at last their "saviours" got all the publicity, awards and rewards, and finally they went along with their *jatwals* leaving the tribals high and dry. Their own cousins are advocating the construction of the Narmada Valley Project on one side and these Amtes and Tamtes are putting up a fake opposition on another side. Both are two sides of the same coin. During the day they quarrel. But in the night they dine together and sleep in the same bed. The game of the "environmentalists" is to fool the Scheduled Castes, Tribes, Backward Castes and Muslims, who are the victims of environmental destruction, by blunting their opposition. Otherwise, the angry SC/ST/BCs and Muslims would go out of control and devour those destroying the nature. At such a crucial time, these Tamtes and Amtes appear on the scene as their saviour with their soothing balm. And blunt the edge of anger. By this they achieve three things: 1) The agitated producers of wealth are fooled with false promises and their enslavement is assured, (2) their *jatwalas* are ensured the water from the Narmada river to irrigate the lands and thereby they get more fat to suck more of our blood, and finally (3) the Tamtes and Patkars get publicity, awards, rewards as human rights heroes. Beware of environmentalists. They are more dangerous than upper caste Patidar Patels advocating the Narmada project. ■

Buddhists as SCs

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: The Karnataka govt. has issued orders, dt. Sept. 26, 1990, implementing the Govt. of India decision to extend reservation to Scheduled Caste converts to Buddhism. The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) orders (Amendment) Act, 1990 received the assent of the President on June 3, 1990 and was published in the Gazette of India on April 4, 1990. The Director of Census, Karnataka, in his order of Oct. 5, 1990 has also issued orders to treat all neo-buddhists as SCs and STs. ■

Invitation to DV readers and Dalit writers

(Our correspondent)

Bangalore: A conference to declare Dalit literature as the future literature of Karnataka and the existing anti-human brahminical Kannada literature as cattlefeed (*bhoosa*) will be held here on March 9. Karnataka's most prominent Dalit leader, B. Basavalingappa, who was once dismissed as Minister (1973) for denouncing this brahminical literature as *bhoosa sahitya*, will inaugurate. V.T. Rajshekar, editor of *Dalit Voice* who had taken a leading part in the "bhoosa agitation" then, will preside. All revolutionary writers who have the courage to denounce and disown the brahminical literature are invited. So also our readers. For the information of our readers, it was V.T. Rajshekar, then with the *Indian Express*, who inaugurated Karnataka's first Dalit Sahitya Sammelan at Bhadravati on Dec.18, 1976.. Basavalingappa had presided over it. It was this conference that gave birth to the Dalit movement in Karnataka. Now after 25 years Basavalingappa has once again raised the "Bhoosa controversy". At a conference of Kannada writers, Rural Development Minister Basavalingappa said on Jan.1 here that he would stick to his view that Kannada literature was *boosa* (cattlefeed). "Referring to his controversial remark equating Kannada literature with *boosa*, which had eventually led to his exit from the Devaraj Urs ministry, Basavalingappa said: Years ago, I had offended many by my remark. But I shall continue to call your writing *boosa*, until you writers come down from your platform. Epics like the Ramayana had also distanced literature from life by fostering belief in myths, he said. On the other hand, the Buddha and Mahavira, whose words had influenced a very large mass of people, had spoken in the simplest language, he said". (*Deccan Herald*, Jan. 2). He also did not leave out the *Indian Express*, which has sarcastically said had started a column for him, by naming him as 'BBB' and asked all the literatures to read the newspaper". (*Indian Express*, Jan.2).

The fields of teaching, literature and media have been a brahminical monopoly. Brahminism survives through brain control of our people, the 85% non Hindus. We should not lend our brains for brahminical brainwashing. Those interested in launching such a revolutionary process may come here on March 9. Place: Senate Hall, Central College, time 10 AM. ■

Jharkhand within Bihar

Ranchi: Chief Minister Laloo Prasad Yadav on Jan. 26 declared that the Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas districts of South Bihar would be known as Jharkhand and announced that a Jharkhand Vikas Parishad would be set up soon for directing all developmental activities in this region. (*Telegraph* Jan.28) ■

Violation of human rights in India

Bellary: Untouchables were charged more than Hindus in hotels in Sanganakal village, Bharamappa, an agricultural labourer, told the Justice S.R. Venkataramu Commission of Inquiry here on Nov. 19, 1990. They were charged 75 paise for a cup of tea while Hindus were charged 50 paise per cup, he said. The commission is inquiring into the attacks on untouchables and burning of their huts in the village in April last year. On April 29, a group of Hindus entered the *Harijan* colony and started burning the huts. When he tried to stop them, he was hit on the head with an axe, and fell unconscious. He was in hospital for 24 days. (*Indian Express*, Nov. 20).

Bombay: Police officials reportedly continue to harass Church leaders in the northeastern state of Arunachal Pradesh, where Christian missionaries are officially denied entry. Recently, catechist Pongham Robert of Mintong village, reportedly advised by Police Inspector Khonsa to continue catechizing and visiting the villages, was arrested when visiting a neighboring village by police who followed him there. Another catechist, Saika of Kasa village, was arrested and his baptism register was seized by the police. Honnai Thomas of Chase village was arrested and detained for 13 days allegedly for seeking Church help for the 33 families in his village who had lost their belongings in a fire. The arrests have reportedly shocked the people of the area. Some months earlier, Police Inspector Khonsa had issued a summons to two pastors who had taken group of youth to the Don Bosco School in Tinsukia, in the neighboring state of Assam, for a friendly volleyball match. The summons issued to Ngamwang Lowang and Wangchoi Lowang asked them to appear for a police enquiry with all nine persons whom they had taken to the school. Arunachal Pradesh, a hill tract on India's northeastern border with Bhutan, Burma and China, has a predominantly tribal population of about 632,000 people. Under a policy, framed to protect the local tribal culture, conversion to Christianity is punishable by law. The Arunachal Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act of 1978, however, says the tribals' faith includes Buddhism and Vaishnavism, a form of Hinduism. Accordingly, there is little curb on Hindu missionary activity. The state has more than 25,000 Christians and their number is reportedly growing. Meanwhile, in the past decade, many Christians in the state have been persecuted. Several have been arrested and some churches burnt. *UCAN - Examiner*, Bombay, Jan. 16).

Washington: The paramilitary and police forces deployed in Punjab, Kashmir and the north-eastern states have been responsible for "significant" human rights abuses, the U.S. State Department said in its annual report on the human rights situation in countries around the world released here on Jan. 1. The report, noting that the very thinly-stretched paramilitary was often "poorly trained and equipped" to deal with crowd control and public disturbances, said it had frequently resorted quickly to "deadly force" when faced with large crowds. "Ultimately, abuses by the paramilitary and police are questions of the effectiveness of civilian oversight and the extent of the Government's ability to vigorously prosecute offenders," the report, presented to Congress said. In an introduction to the 1,800 page report that covers 186 countries the State Department said two South Asian democracies, India and Sri Lanka, were beset by domestic conflict based on ethnic, religious and political differences, leading to thousands of deaths in each of these countries.

Police attack on Bhopal Dalits

Bhopal: Prakash Chandra Ambedkar, MP, on Jan. 30 severely criticised the BJP Government in Madhya Pradesh for unleashing a reign of terror on scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the State. Speaking to newsmen here he said that a glaring example of these atrocities was the police attack on peaceful demonstrators of Ambedkar Nagar on Jan. 13 when several of them were severely beaten up. He said atrocities on SCs and STs were on the rise in the State. He demanded the dismissal of the Collector and Superintendent of Police, Bhopal, and other lower ranking officers for illegal confinement of several followers of Baba Saheb Ambedkar and torturing them in custody. Some anti-social elements had removed the statue of Dr. Ambedkar in Ambedkarnagar in the city. The followers of Ambedkar were agitating for the arrest of the culprits and compensation for the installation of a new statue. While the Government had accepted the demand for compensation, it failed to take any proper action against the miscreants, they alleged, and also that the police gave protection to the miscreants. On Jan. 13, they took out a procession to press their demands. Police tried to stop the march and later the situation took an ugly turn with a massive lathi-charge on the peaceful processionists.

Anti-Mandals defeated in Kerala

(V.R. Mani)

Thiruvananthapuram: Mandal and masjid seem to have helped the ruling Marxist-led Left Democratic Front in its sweeping victory in the district council elections. Nothing else can explain the LDF's landslide victory throughout the state and inroads even in the Muslim bastion of Malappuram district where the LDF has managed to get 12, of the 40 seats. The backward castes, including the Muslims, account for nearly 60 per cent of the state's population. The Christian-dominated central Travancore districts, hitherto considered to be UDF strongholds, have also been swept away by the LDF whirlwind. The LDF has bagged 12 of the 14 districts. In Kasaragod none of the Fronts has got an absolute majority. In terms of seats the LDF has got 320 and the UDF 141. In all, there are 474 seats. A top Congress leader admitted that the United Democratic Front had substantially lost the Muslim votes throughout the state, especially in Malappuram, due to the ambiguous stand of the UDF on the Mandal and masjid issues. The LDF had not only made the twin issues its main campaign plank but also came to be closely identified with V.P. Singh who is perceived as a saviour of the backward castes (*Times of India*, Feb. 1)

21st century is "Dr. Ambedkar Era": Hindi book proves the prediction

Yugpurush Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar:
Jiwan Sangharsh Evam Rashtra Sewan

(J.C. Berry, New Delhi)

Shankaranand Shastri's latest book on the life and philosophy of Babasaheb Ambedkar, the Father of our Nation and the saviour of the exploited masses and oppressed women of India in Hindi fulfils the vital need of Hindi readers particularly in the cow belt. This deals descriptively as well as analytically with the life-struggle of Babasaheb and his great contribution to the country.

Shastri, a Kannada Dalit and a learned scholar, was closely associated with the Messiah of Indian Masses for three decades. Therefore, the book is not merely an account of leading events of the life of Babasaheb but also a historical record of Dalit liberation movement which in other words is India's second independence struggle. (Shastri's English book, *My Memories and Experiences of Babasaheb*, 1989, Rs.60, is available with Dalit Sahitya Akademy).

The Hindi book is divided into four sections beginning from origin, birth, education of Babasaheb to his struggle for human rights of downtrodden and his achievements. As soon as one goes through the pages one is stunned to know how great a martial race were the Mahar untouchables who produced commanders of great valour like Rainak and Shirnak in Shivaji's army and finally fell prey to brahminical conspiracy and ingratitude of Britishers resulting in severe inhuman atrocities on Untouchables during the Peshwa rule. Untouchables were treated worse than beasts. In such a time, their emancipator took birth among them and not only got the Mahar regiment remounted but also opened all avenues of progress for Dalits of India.

Masterpiece: The book is a masterpiece of Dalit literature. Shastri is capable of rousing emotions and sentiments of the reader when he depicts the scene of child Bhim protesting against his step-mother, Jijabai, for wearing ornaments of his own mother, Mata Bhimabai, who died of illness. Then he portrays the prevailing circumstances of Untouchables before the birth of Babasaheb. An Untouchable had to tie a broom to the waist while walking through public streets, they were compelled to die but not allowed to drink water from public ponds, wells or other natural resources.

Bhimrao boldly revolted against all these brahminical but cowardly forces despite all kinds of miseries and

calamities, intelligently he operated Mahad and Kalam satyagrah to prove to the world that Untouchables were not Hindus, fiercely he attacked the Gandhian false propaganda at the Round Table Conferences in London to secure human rights for the Untouchables in independent India. The entire book is full of sensational disclosures. Once taken for reading one cannot stop without finishing it. During the Second Round Table Conference, Gandhi's claims to be the sole leader of Untouchables was tarnished with telegrams sent to Dr. Ambedkar by thousands of Untouchables from all over India. Among those telegrams one from Almora, a remote district of UP hills, received by Dr. Ambedkar during his historic speech in the conference created magical effect on the British PM and Gandhi (This telegram came from Rai Bahadur Munshi Hari Prasad Tamta of Almora where Babasaheb admittedly never visited before).

Arya Samaj humbug: The author has presented his own experiences and reflections also in this book in a very devastating style. Shastri says that our MPs MLAs and members of panchayat sabhas have become "His Masters Voice" of Brahmin-Banias. Sarcastically Shastri quotes the reply of Krishnaji, editor *Pratap*, to an elderly Untouchable of Lahore during the Arya Samaji soap-distributing procession to wash and clean untouchability. "*Bhai, assi tawanu sabun dene aye hain, pani dene nahin*". (Brother, we have come to provide you with soap but not with water).

He also reveals how Sarojini Naidu told Mountbatten that Congress had to spend millions of rupees to keep Gandhi in his semi-nude attire (when Gandhi used to pretend to live among bhangis (sweepers) at Bhangi colony, Mandir Marg, New Delhi). Not only this, the sharp pen of the writer does not spare even the Muslim story of apathy towards untouchables which is reflected with the instance of Ali brothers - Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali — who suggested to Gandhi to share untouchables fifty-fifty between Hindus and Muslims.

Shastri has successfully communicated what he wants to convey to the reader about Babasaheb. No doubt, one can find many common and known facts about Dr. Ambedkar from biographies written by other writers too. But Shastri's latest book focusses on many uncommon, unknown facts from the life and personality of the architect of Indian Constitution.

The biography of Babasaheb in itself is and will be a constant source of inspiration for the present and coming generations of Dalits and other oppressed nationalities..

Journalism is a business: Babasaheb never liked those officials among Untouchables who either got trapped with the romance of Nazi girls or hide their identity or misbehave with their own kith and kin and thus betrayed their whole community.

Babasaheb's thoughts on journalism are very relevant even today: "There was a time in India when journalism was recognised as a profession. Now it has become a trade". To make Dalit organisations strong on economic ground *he always advocated that every Untouchable must donate 20% of his income to such organisations. Those who are in govt. services must donate their one month's salary annually to Dalit organisations.*

Babasaheb had a great sense of humour. He loved to look smart in dress. He used to stress the English proverb, "Dress is the index of heart".

He was a great scholar and savant. Once he told an admirer his secrets on how to study books. That some books are seen in a bird's eye view. Some are read casually. But a few are seriously studied from beginning to end. The personal library of Babasaheb was considered to be the largest among all private libraries in the world.

Mysterious death: There is a hint of doubt on Babasaheb's death in this book. The mystery of Dr. Ambedkar's death is yet to be unearthed.

The book consists of 472 pages. Of course there are many a minor mistakes of proof and repetition of facts at some places. But they do not mar the taste and curiosity of the reader. Moreover, the language adopted by the author is simple and chaste. The style is lucid. The book has been provided with rare photographs of Babasaheb and printed on good paper. As a whole this book is a very precious document on the life history of Babasaheb Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar and Dalit liberation movement. It is also a great work of Dalit journalism. Hence, this book is strongly recommended to every Dalit reader and to all those who believe in Ambedkarism.

For this painstaking enterprise during Dr. Ambedkar's birth centenary year many, many kudos to Shastry. The book strengthens the *Dalit Voice* editor's prediction that the 21st century shall be "Dr. Ambedkar Era".

Dr. Ambedkar statue at Thane

Thane: An 11 - foot statue of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar will be installed in front of the Thane collectorate by April 14 when Dr. Ambedkar's centenary year commences, according to the Thane Mayor Mohan Gupte. This is the second biggest statue - the biggest is in Agra.

Catholic church gets divided

Geneva: More than 750 Dalit Christians (scheduled caste people, sometimes referred to as Untouchables) including three priests, were arrested following a protest against the appointment of a non-Dalit bishop for the Roman Catholic diocese of Trichy, in Tamil Nadu. The Dalits make up 75 percent of the Christian population in Tamil Nadu. (EPS).

Caste war in AP village

Hyderabad: The festival of harvest (*sankranti*) on Jan. 17 only brought misery for nearly 1,200 families of scheduled tribes and backward classes in the predominantly rice-growing village of Timmasamudram in Prakasam district. Over 1,000 upper caste men led by a local Telugu Desam MLA, Karanam Balaramakrishnamurthy, raided the harijanwada, reduced their hutments to ashes and let loose a reign of terror on the hapless residents. "While the police led by a DSP, a circle inspector and four sub-inspectors along with 50 armed policemen stood silent spectators, the upper caste men led by the TDP MLA descended on us, setting fire to our houses and beating up our women and aged," said Rattula Yadaiah, whose brother was grievously injured and was admitted to the government hospital at Chirala. Incidentally, Timmasamudram is hardly 7 km from Karamchedu village, which witnessed a similar daylight carnage by upper castes in 1985 in which nearly 12 *Harijans* were killed.

The trouble between the upper caste (mostly Kammas) and the weaker sections in Timmasamudram started brewing last year when the latter started cultivating nearly 100 acres of government land under the aegis of the Andhra Pradesh Dalitha Mahasabha. The land was identified and formally given to the *Harijans* by the district collector. The upper castes, however, considered the idea of backward classes owning and cultivating land independently as an insult to the landed gentry, who mainly depended on the weaker sections to work on their land for a pittance. According to Katti Padma Rao, general secretary of the Mahasabha, the upper castes led by the TDP MLA of Martur constituency had tried to thwart their attempts to start cultivating the land in 1990, but strong interference by the local officials saved the *Harijans* from losing their land allotments. (*Telegraph* Jan.18).

ATTACK ON PURI DALITS

Puri: A quarrel between two boys belonging to different castes snowballed into an attack on 12 untouchable families by over 50 Hindus at Baunsiapara under the Nayagarh police station on Jan.17. The police said the armed mob went on a rampage, ransacking and looting the houses of the Dalits. (*Telegraph*, Jan. 20)

Letters to Editor

Dr. Edward & Mrs. Marie Schroeder, 47 - Aberdeen Place, St. Louise, Missouri 63105, USA: Your "Voice" from the Underside of History emboldens those throughout the world who have been pushed there by their fearful oppressors. They are the waves of the future. Courage and peace.

(The Schroeders have been subscribers of DV for the past eight years and great supporters of India's Black Untouchables struggle against Aryan racism. There are many more Americans like them. We want all of them to support the newly-formed "International Dalit Support Group" (EDITOR).

Dr. Velu Annamalai, Houston, USA: After discussing with Runoko Rashdi, your American representative, and Victor Jackson, the two great American Black pillars who have come forward to support the struggle of the Indian Untouchables against Aryan racism in India, we have now established the

International Dalit Support Group

P.O. Box - 842066

Houston, TX. 772 84-2066, USA

to solicit the support of Americans and in particular the Afro-Americans to propagate the Dalit problems in this country and then support the great, historic cause taken by the *Dalit Voice*. As soon as we register this as a non-profit charitable organisation, we will get the telephone number. We three are the co-chairmen for the time being. I am also its secretary/treasurer. Bylaws are being drafted. (1) It will distribute Dalit-related literature, (2) act on behalf of *Dalit Voice* and Dalit Sahitya Academy to represent them in this country, (3) encourage people to become members of the Group for a nominal membership fee (not yet fixed) and (4) set up a good data collection and distribution centre on Dalit problems and finally (5) undertake lectures, tours in US and much more. I am looking forward to the day I can quit my job and commit full time to this noblest cause of liberating Dalits from racism and thereby strengthen India's unity and integrity.

V.G. Jackson, San Antonio, USA: I am thinking of selling lifetime *Dalit Voice* subscriptions (200 US dollars) in the US to university studies depts, students and professors who should be delighted to know about the Indian brand of racism. I recently leafleted a national symposium of police officers which convened in San Antonio. The leaflet on the Dalit problem was well received. Question: Why should Americans, who have their problems, care about Dalits? Answer: Because Dalits can help Americans. How? Dalits and Americans can solve common problems together with information transfer and education. Besides, Afro-

Americans and India's Black Untouchables (Dalits) have a common origin. Dalits along with tribals and Backward Castes, all the three constituting the original inhabitants of India, will be 65% of India's 1,000 million population. All the three put together constitute the world's largest racially oppressed group and if this group joins the Afro-Americans, they together will become the most formidable fighting force in the world. There are any number of sympathetic whites in the US who are willing to support this struggle. Since we heard that you are a brilliant speaker we want you to have a speaking tour of the US to explain this world's greatest problem.

Ruth Wady 1240 Fillmore St. Apt. 410 Los Angeles CA 94115, USA: I want to contact Dalit artists, painters, sculptors, print-makers, water colorist etc. or any one who may know of any Dalit artists.

(This is the second time we are publishing her appeal to Dalit artists. The first one appeared in our Dec. 16 issue p.12. Our readers may use a Rs.5 aerogram and intimate her the addresses of our artists who eventually may be invited by the Black artists to America if they are impressed with our people. International exchanges, that too with the Blacks, is very important — EDITOR).

Kwame Ture, Central Com., All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), GPO Box-863, New York NY 10116, USA: Greetings from the AAPRP to India's Black Untouchables. Fighters for justice worldwide call upon freedom-loving peoples to observe the 33rd anniversary of the African Liberation Day (May 24/25). This takes place at a crucial juncture in history. US imperialism continues its campaign of terrorism. Increasing its arrogance from invasion of Granada (1983) to the bombing of Libya (1986) to the attack on Panama (1990), the beast has launched naked aggression against Iraq to protect the zionist settler colony of Israel and puppet neocolonial Arab regimes as well as to crush the Palestinians' escalating Intifada and wider Arab peoples revolution.

Balwant Bharati, Dalit Welfare Assn., Wolverhampton, UK: We want to donate a computer to DV. We had donated 100 £ to Y.P. Rao, a Dalit student at the JNU, New Delhi, on hearing his pathetic appeals in DV. We also want to know your plans to convert DV into a weekly and its annual cost. We also want to extract items from DV and publish them in Punjabi for which we need your permission. We are publishing a small monthly from here.

(We have prepared a project report to convert DV into a weekly. The initial investment will come to about Rs.10 lakhs which includes the cost of two computers. The recurring expenditure per month comes to Rs.1 lakh. Those who are pressing us to convert DV into a weekly are the India's oppressed peoples. The problem is the oppressed have brains but no money and those with money have no brains. Caught in this contradiction we could make hardly any progress. Our readers abroad, who are affluent, come to us and say that DV is doing a wonderful work. They assure support and then there is no news from them. Those who have the commitment will have to pay for it, suffer for it. Look at our oppressors. They committed "self-immolation" during their violent agitation against the Mandal Commission. But our people, the

beneficiaries of the sweat and sacrifices of Babasaheb Ambedkar, are busy enjoying the fruits EDITOR).

V.T. Hirekar, Dr. Ambedkar International Mission, London: On Nov.4 last year we held a demonstration here against India's brahminical social order of which the Dalits are the victims. The Hyde Park demonstration was impressive. Then we marched to the Indian High Com. and met the High Com. The news appeared in the BBC. The Indian rulers had invited Mandela in Oct. to praise M.K. Gandhi for his anti-apartheid work in S. Africa. But why Gandhi did not continue his work in India? Mandela wrote back to us saying that the caste system is unacceptable to him as racism. Racism practised in India under *Varnashrama Dharma* is worse than apartheid. Our Lord Ambedkar has written volumes on this.

D.G. Collier, Director, Communications, International Human Rights Assn. of American Minorities (IHRAAM), Ste 253, 919C Albert, Regina, SK, S4R, 2P6, Canada. As per our announcement about IHRAAM achieving the NGO status at the United Nations (DV Feb. 16 p.14: "UN recognition to American Black organisation,") we are writing to you as one among our ten Council of International Legal Advisers representing India, to find out your interest in serving the IHRAAM in the same position.

(We will be too glad to continue our services though in the past we have been hardly of any use — EDITOR).

K. Vijaya Raju, Vijayawada: Luckily I got the picture of the Khargadhari Buddha as suggested by Mrs. Surinder Kaur of Calcutta, though it is different from the one described by her. She had spoken of the Buddha guarded by four Khargadharis. In this picture Lord Buddha is himself holding the Kharga (sword) of wisdom in his right hand and a book in the left. The pic. is found in the chapter titled "Manjushri, Javanese Figure," on p. 200 in the book, *Buddhist Art in India* by A. Grunwedel, Cosmo Publications, 24-Ansari Rd., N.Delhi-2. First published 1901 Rs.350. The caption to the picture says: "Old Javanese relief of Manjushri Bodhi sattva, inscribed with the date 1265 saka: 1343 AD, original in Berlin Museum."

M.L. Dohray, Agra: Devi Prasad Azad was elected sarpanch out of the 33 Choudhuris at the election meeting of the Jatavas (Untouchables) of 33 Mandis on Dec.2 here. On Jan. 20 all the 33 Choudhries met to popularise Buddhism. Born on April 5, 1935 at Jamuna Bhaion, Belan Ganj, Agra, he is the grandson of a great noble person, Ninno Ram, after whom a mohalla here is also named. The family migrated here from Punjab after 1945. Azad is a versatile personality having created several organisations for the liberation of Untouchables and to spread the message of Babasaheb.

G.P. Chaudhary, Varanasi: Glad to inform that Kanshi Ram addressed a huge 25,000 - strong rally of Bahujan Samaj Party people on Jan. 30. at Chakia. Pandalam Rajendra, State president, Dalit Panthers

of India, Mavelikara, Kerala. "MECA News" (Muslim Emp. Cultural Assn., Pandalam) carried a letter of Miss Beena Joseph in its Jan. issue that DV is the only journal in India courageously fighting for human rights. "MECA News" very often quotes from DV. But the other Muslim weekly, *Radiance*, hardly mentions DV though it is the oldest one in the country. Kerala too has many Muslim journals but hardly any committed to the Dalit cause except the *SIMI* journal, *Vivekam*, from Calicut. We don't know why the Muslims are unable to speak out the truth in the language of DV.

M. Punithapandiyan, Madras: We thank you for telling us that reservations are our human rights. Those who oppose us are, therefore, anti-humans. Such anti-humans, who can be easily identifiable, must be fought.

Siddhart Wasnik, scientist, IISR, Lucknow: You must have heard the shocking news of the mass murder of 13 Untouchables (Pasi) and three Kurmis in the Churagaon village, near Kunda, Pratapgarh dt. on Jan. 14. Police themselves killed them on behalf of Hindu landlords cooking up a story of encounter. The actual reason is these Untouchables refused to follow the slavery enforced by Brahmins and Thakurs who demand supply of their daughters for their pleasure. The Hindu police were drafted to punish the Untouchables. I am enclosing clippings of the reports from the *Navabharat Times* (Jan. 24). Untouchables must wake up and revolt against such upper caste barbarity and assert their identity.

(All over India the conscious sections among the Untouchables have started fighting for their human rights and in this fight the Hindu police will naturally side with their racist jatis. Though the Kunda Police said that they shot dead the Untouchables "while escaping in a stolen jeep after committing a dacoity," the reports are clear that they were killed by the Hindu police for defying the upper castes and their racist rules. Such a challenge of the racists is taking place all over UP and Bihar and this is a good sign. We must welcome more such challenges though it might result in sacrifices. Unless we learn how to die, we cannot learn how to live an honourable life — EDITOR).

Asish Kumar Massey, IPRO, Rohil Khand University, Bareilly, UP: The first Dr.B.R. Ambedkar University of the country is coming up at Lucknow and it will be excellent if you join as its first vice-chancellor. I am doing work on "Dalit Sociology" for which I need your support.

Adivasi Vikas Parishad, Panchamahals, Gujarat: We are the original inhabitants of India and hence a distinct ethnic identity. Once we were rulers here. But the invading Aryans destroyed our glorious culture, identity and pushed us into jungles and made us bonded labour. The Aryans invented the varna system to enslave us. We had our biggest religious centre at Puri, Orissa, on which they built their temple. An adivasi, Ekalavya, proved a greater expert in archery than Arjuna but the Brahmin Drona disabled him. Hindus are disabling us even today. Adivasis form 15% of the Indian population. But inspite of the 7%

reservation, nothing is being given to us. So we demand a separate "Bhिलistan", which is the only way for our salvation.

B.S. Bangariah, Nellore, AP: Your struggle for the liberation of the Untouchables is something very great. In the normal course, you should have been by now heading a revolution. But that is not to be. This is because you are dealing with a people literally straved over mellinia. The vital fluids appear to have tried up in them, their bones bleached, their spines crooked, and their blood all but turned into water. It will take much longer time for them to stand up upright, look their detractors full in the face and fight them. I am facing a communication problem. Our people can't understand English. Hence we need a language revolution. Though I am not willing to admit it, something deep down in my mind had been telling me that it is perhaps easier to educate our people in English.

Prof. K.S. Bhagavan, Mysore University, Mysore: Your latest book, *Ready Reference to Revolutionaries* (1991 DSA), is terrible. It is a sure guide to revolution. It is not a book. It is a bullet. It kicks out all doubts, all confusions, all misconceptions and makes the mind clear. I want every one to read it.

Ejaz Ahmed Ejaz, Chak Nagari, East Champaran, Bihar: All our so-called fundamental rights assured in the Constitution are only on paper. They are reserved only to upper caste rulers of the land. The Nazi chief Advani visited this area on his *rath yatra* using all sorts of abusive words against the Muslims. Upper castes donated him weapons. But none were hauled up for violation of the Constitution. Because they only have the rights and we have only duties. They are the very people who violated the Constitution to attack the fundamental rights of the BCs assured through the Mandal Report. But when the Muslims, Sikhs and Dalits came on the street to jointly protest against this rape of the Constitution in Delhi they were attacked. So over 85% of India's population has no rights. They are not free.

Prof. Tahir Hussain Jafri, Durg., MP: Congratulations on your bold editorial on the Gulf War. (Feb.16). You have rightly said that it is not a Muslim-Christian conflict. The bombing of a church in Iraq by the Americans proves it.

Syed Shah Ghazlauddin, Advocate, Solapur, MS: On the direction of the Bar Council of India, the local bar assn. called a meeting to pass a resolution criticising the Mandal Com. report. But the SC/ST/BC advocates showed their customary indifference by remaining absent. Only two advocates opposed it — myself and A. Gafoor Khairidi — both Muslims. We spoke in favour of Mandal.

Rev. D. Manohar Chandra Prasad, CSI Church, Doddalballpur, Karnataka: Congratulations on your edit on the Gulf War. You rightly warned the Dalit Christians that it is a war of the rich against the poor.

Your warning to the racially oppressed is timely. The pro-American upper caste Christians inside India are singing carols on the war news against Saddam Hussain. These racist Christians are silently admiring Bush, Billy Graham and the Pentagon propoganda who are preaching war instead of peace. Bush and Billy are protecting Zionism. It was shocking experience for me when I visited Israel in 1989 where I saw with my own eyes how Palestinian children, women and young Intefadas were brutally killed by Israeli soldiers on public roads. Palestinians include large number of Arab Christians who are taking a leading part in Palestinian struggle. International Christian organisations and human rights forums must question the theological basis of the Bush-Billy war against Iraq. Dalit Christians in India must heed the warning of our Editor and extend their fully solidarity and salute the Palestinian Davids who fight the Zionist Goliaths.

Jangam Joseph, Advocate, Hyderabad: A Dalit sub-inspector of police in AP committed suicide when his boss insulted him by calling him by his caste name. Dr. Ambedkar had asked separate electorate and separate settlements for Dalits. Instead of fighting for petty things we must all concentrate our energies and time on achieving these two goals. It is no longer possible to live with these Aryan racists.

Fr. William Toppo, SJ, St. Xaviers Residence, Pathalgaon, MP-496 118.: I don't know how to thank you for the great service you have done to the cause of the Dalits the world over.

M.I. Krishnan Kutty, Trichur, Kerala: P.K. Kuttan, a Dalit diploma holder in mechanical engineering with experience in refrigeration, joined Kerala Livestock Development Board after an 18-year military service, as an Assistant Engineer. In all Govt. undertakings a diploma-holder with 5 years service is treated on a par with a degree-holder and promotion is given. But for a subsequent promotion from that cadre, some other community official with less qualifications but senior to Kuttan was selected and the designation of Kuttan changed as Operation Superintendent. Kuttan protested the change of designation and demanded promotion as Plant Manager. But this was not granted by the Board. Kuttan went to the Kerala High Court which directed the Board on 16.8.1990 to consider his case and issue orders accroding to the law. The Board flouted the court order. The KLD Board has shown a masterpiece of efficiency by promoting one OC official neglecting the qualifications of a SC official. But when the case of promotion of the same official came, they seek better qualification for efficiency. This is the "merit" which has acquired a new meaning in our country.

Dr. Jamnadass, Chandrapur, MS: I am glad to inform you that my long-awaited book *Tirupati Balaji was a Buddhist Shrine*, is now available. It is published by Sanjivan Publications, "Sahalimar", Main Road

Chandrapur, MS-442 402. This book was released by Rarndhan, Chairman, SC/ST. Commission, on Feb. 3 at a function held at New Delhi and was well received by the audience. PP. 200 Rs.175.

Dattsons, Jawaharlal Nehru Marg, Sadar, Nagpur - 440 001: We are sending you a copy of our latest book, *Foundations of Ambedkar Thought*, by Dr. K.S. Bharathi for review. We will appreciate if you will review the same in your journal. pp 200 Rs.40. ■

Upper castes forging SC/ST certificates

New Delhi: During the torrid two-and-a half-month protest over the Mandal issue the authorities had urged Prof. Upendra Baxi to close the Delhi University. However, he (Vice-Chancellor) had declined believing that the university was the only place where democracy could flourish. However, the same class of people who had protested against the Mandal Commission had forged and bought SC/ST certificates to gain admission. "Rights become resources for certain classes", Prof Baxi said on Jan.25. (*Statesman*, Jan.28). ■

Judiciary is anti-Backward Caste

Bangalore: L.G. Havanur, former Law Minister who had headed the first Karnataka Backward Classes Commission, has criticised the role of the Judiciary in dealing with cases challenging reservations for the other backward classes (OBCs). Speaking at the release of his book, *Backward Classes*, here Havanur said he had brought out the book to serve as a guide to the Supreme Court Bench, hearing the petitions challenging the implementation of the Mandal Commission report. Present at the function were some of the judges of the Karnataka High Court. Havanur said that he had often been critical of the judges and the judiciary though he had faith in them. The courts had not been consistent in defining the backward classes and in their interpretation of fundamental rights and the power of the executive. The courts had made much of the definition of BCs, which could be obtained with ease from the Constitution. He alleged that there was a subtle form of casteism in the High Court and the Supreme Court judgements on backward classes from the case of Champakam Dorairajan Vs. the State of Madras (1950) upto Rangachari's case (1962), in which the Late Justice P.B. Gajendragadkar changed the attitude of the Court. In those 12 years there was none in the judiciary to protect the poor. A book written by him in 1963 helped in changing the attitude of the courts towards the BCs. (*Hindu*, Jan. 11) ■

Anti-Muslim judge for High Court

Lucknow: The Centre has finally paved the way for the appointment of K.M. Pande as a high court judge. As a district judge of Faizabad. Pande on Feb.1, 1986 delivered the notorious judgment to unlock the gates of Babri Masjid. This judgment had fanned anti-Muslim tension. He retired on March 31, 1990. But since his name was already in the panel and the govt. did not reject his name finally, the claim survived. The decision continued to be deferred. ■

Mandal divides parties

Lakhtar (Surendranagar dt): The emergence of a new political force, wedded to the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations is on the cards in the country. This was evident from the one-day convention of pro-reservationists organised here by the Anamat Samwrthan Samiti (pro-reservation committee), headed by the veteran Gujarat Congress leader, Jinabhai Darji. The convention, inaugurated by the former planning minister, P. Shivshankar, called upon the backward castes to stand by only those parties which were committed to the Mandal commission. Karamsi Makwana, the excise and prohibition minister in the Chimanbhai patel ministry, who is also vice-president of the samiti, even threatened to resign from the ministry once he realised that the Mandal recommendations were not to be implemented in Gujarat. Harobhai Mehta, former Congress MP, described the convention as a forerunner to the realignment of political forces in the days to come. (*Times of India*, Jan.22) ■

Innocent Sikhs presecuted in Punjab

Amritsar: All the 40 accused, including six women, in the "Operation Black Thunder" case were on Jan. 23 ordered to be released by a special court there. Besides sedition, murder and attempt to murder, the accused were charged for "waging war against India." The case was registered soon after "Operation Black Thunder" in May, 1988. The designated court judge, S.S. Grewal, discharged the case accepting the pleas of the defence counsel that prosecution failed to make out any case against the accused. The judge said that "there is no sufficient ground for the prosecution against the accused and they stand discharged." Among those who were facing trial were the Panthic committee spokesman, Bhai Nirver Singh, two militants, Milikiat Singh Ajnala and Bhai Chanchal Singh, who surrendered to the security forces. The women included the wives of some militants, including Bhai Surjit Singh Painta and Bhai Milikiat Singh (*Times of India*, Jan.24). ■

Brahmin influence "Indian races" is exaggerated

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

The role of the Brahmin in all sectors of Indian society is exaggerated to the levels of a fable and fantasy. If the Brahmin had floated this tomfoolery, it is understandable. But it is not the work of the Brahmin alone. The non-Brahmin, Brahmin-baiters and the anti-Brahmins account for most of the tomfoolery. Why? Because they are ignorant, lazy and lousy. Some of the "anti-Brahmin heroes" blame every evil in the country on the Brahmin's head, transforming this simple man into a huge monster. This is nothing but making the Brahmin into a hero. In matters of good or bad, the Brahmin influence on "Indian races" is a big double-zero. It was the Brahmin himself who was influenced by the "Indian races" (SC/BCs). The Brahmin lived in his own isolation. The Indian races lived their own free lives in isolation. The Brahmin enjoyed no freedom of movement in the habitats of SC/BC races. No doubt he made incursions into their habitats as the colonial political representative of nawabs and begums. This was to collect land revenue. He did not dare enter their villages but settled in a corner of approach road. Wherever the Brahmin settled it became the village centre because he was the political representative. In this work, he was aided by his slave (shudra) castes. His influence on Untouchables (SC/BC) was zero. Instead of spreading his Aryanism and compelling the people to worship his gods, the Brahmin paid his great reverence to all the SC/BC deities in all the corners of the country. He worshipped their Shiva in the Himalayas, Viswanatha in Benares, Dom king in Banares burial grounds to reach heaven, Kali in Bengal, Mahalaxmi in Maharashtra, Murugan in Madras, Venkateswara in Andhra, Jagannath in Puri, Ellamma in Bangalore and Pollamma in Telengana and Ayyappa in Kerala. He presides today over the sacrifice of 6,000 goats everyday to Kali in Calcutta. In Tirupati, he offers 6,000 flowers to Buddha. He converted the people's Buddhist custom — "laity becoming temporary monks by tonsure of hair on the head" — into offering of hairs to Bhagavan Buddha. He changed nothing — neither the idol of Buddha nor the name nor customs. It became a ritual for him and the devotees. The Brahmin himself had forgotten that Venkateswara, Jagannath, Ayyappa, Viswanath, Murugan are all the idols of Buddha and the titles of Buddha. All that the Brahmin could do is to claim these shrines and gods of Untouchables (SC/BC) as his own gods and goddesses. Just by worshipping the Buddha in Tirupathi, Sabarimalai (Kerala), Puri, people are being blessed by heaven. This way, the Brahmin remained faithful to the Buddha; for the Buddha saved the

Aryans from their slavery. Buddha is an Untouchable i.e. "Indian race" of SC/BC. Buddha is no Aryan. Before the Buddha, no Brahmin and brahminism existed. Even to this day Aryans worship Buddha while practising their tribalism called ayanism side by side. Aryanism is the *jati dharma* of Aryans while Buddhism is considered by the Brahmins as *desh dharma* and dharma of the world. Benares, a pilgrim centre of Brahmins, belongs to Buddhists. The Brahmin cunningness is the only problem: marketing of his ayanism as Hinduism and his deceptive claims over SC/BCs as his Hindus. He is claiming SC/BC tribal faiths as his Hinduism. This is a great degradation to the Brahmin. ■

Reduce govt. service to 20 years

(N.K. Sharma, New Delhi)

With immediate effect, the total length of govt. service should be reduced to 20 years, with incentives to retire at the end of 15 years. This way more people gain posts to raise their skills and social status. To dismantle the present colonial setup, all employees with over ten years service should be retired with full pay as pension. This is to enable the "Indian races" (SC/BC/STs) to assume their share of representation in services immediately. Or else, why should the "Indian races" go on waiting to realise self-govt. until the alien Aryan races retire? Are they to wait another 30 to 40 years to regain self-govt.? It is more economical to retire the alien races with full pay-pensions. They lose nothing financially. This is the only way that power could be transferred to SC/BC/STs "Indian races" immediately to raise their social status. This brings instant revolution to raise their social status. This brings instant revolution in peaceful and democratic way without loss or damage to any one. Let the social reforms begin in the Supreme Court now hearing Mandal writ first with its Indianisation. ■

Patnaik against reservation

Bhubaneswar: At a "pro-reservation" seminar organized by the SC/ST joint action committee here on Jan.23 a stiff warning was issued to Chief Minister Biju Patnaik, not to go ahead with "clandestine" moves to abolish reservation in promotions and introduce economic criteria. Ruling Janata Dal leaders, Srikanta Jena, MP, and Umesh Swain wanted reservations at every stage, giving the assurance that it was the Janata Dal stand which Biju Patnaik could not ignore. The editor of a local daily, Ranjan Patnaik, was against the whole concept of quotas. It was not proper to have two sets of policies, one for those who were already in position by virtue of their caste status and another for those who sought a position. ■

Confederation of Indian sub-continent with full autonomy for each nationality

Bangalore: A symposium attended by journalists, advocates, professors, political leaders and retired army officers here on Jan.3 at the Gandhi Bhavan called upon the peoples of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Lanka to think of forming a confederation of the Indian sub-continent with full autonomy for every nationality.

Since India's social and economic situation has very much deteriorated after the partition, and the different nationalities are in revolt against the 'Hindutva hegemony', such a confederation would solve the problem of Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, Jharkhand, Nagaland etc. but also bring permanent peace with Pakistan.

Speakers included, A.K. Anantkrishna, MLA, secretary of the Karnataka Congress Legislature Party, and a Lohiaite, Col. M.S. Mehta, a retired Sikh army officer from Pakistan, V.T. Rajshekar, Editor, *Dalit Voice*, E.P. Menon of the Friends World College, Iqbal Ahmed Sherif, Advocate. Prof. S.K. De, who hails from Bangladesh, presided.

All the speakers said the Muslims of India never wanted Pakistan and that M.A. Jinnah was not the architect of Pakistan. Neither India was a single nation nor Pakistan. It is a sub-continent comprising hundreds of nationalities. If a confederation was not forged assuring full autonomy to all the nationalities there was every chance of the sub-continent breaking into several warring countries. The RSS which had once popularised the "Akhand Bharat" slogan gave it up because it quickly realised that in a united India the upper caste population, now at 15%, would go down to 5%. Since "Akhand Bharat" was not advantageous to upper castes, it was given up. L.K. Advani, the former BJP chief who revived the idea during his recent Rathayatra, was snubbed by the RSS and was forced to deny his statement. This proved that even inside the BJP those coming from Pakistan like Advani and K.R. Malkani, both Sindhis, were in favour of such a confederation. Col. Mehta said as one born in Pakistan and a Sikh he knew how close Sikhism was to Islam. He also knew how badly the Muslims were treated before independence and even today. Pakistani Muslims would welcome the confederation. Anantkrishna recalled Dr.Lohia's pioneering efforts to have such a confederation, which was not a fond dream or an impractical proportion but an urgent need of the hour. E.P. Menon said only a confederation could bring peace to the sub-continent.

Dalit point of view: V.T. Rajshekar speaking from the Dalit point of view allayed fears that they were trying to revive the RSS idea of Akhand Bharat. Once the confederation was formed, the Muslim percentage now at 15% would go up to 30% and the SC/ST population would jump from 30% to 40%. Consequently the percentage of "Hindutva heroes" now at 5% would be pushed down to mere 2%, or even less. Besides, *India would become the world's largest Muslim country.* That was why the RSS no longer talked of Akhand Bharat (DV Dec.16, 1990 and Jan.16, 1991). When the concept of "nation states" is growing in the world and the Soviet Union broke up on this question and the two Germanys got united, it is time that the peoples of Pakistan and India who belong to a common ethnic stock should also get united. The Dalit movement would get strength because of such a unity and the "Hindutva heroes" would be reduced to a miniscule minority. Right now, the brahminical value system was governing the country and it was not allowing the full flowering of the genius of the country's 65% indigenous peoples and the religious minorities forming another 20% of the population. In the "United States of India", the brahminical values would be buried as Muslims and Dalits would be an overwhelming majority assuring full autonomy to every nationality.

Elam Issue: Even the Lankan problem of Sinhala-Tamil conflict would be solved as the Lankan Tamils along with Tamil Nadu would have their Elam leaving the Sinhala Buddhists alone. Hindu unity, he said, was intended to break India's unity. Since SC/ST//BCs being India's original inhabitants, they loved this country and its people much more than the Aryan invaders. They feel that if this Hindutva bulldozer is allowed to have its free play, this country would be torn to pieces with the cowbelt States of UP, Bihar, MP, Rajasthan and Delhi declaring itself as Hindustan. *Hence to strengthen India's unity and integrity and bring lasting peace to the different restive nationalities, confederation of the sub-continent, called the United States of India, is an urgent necessity.* The forward Bloc people led by Prof. Nirmal Bose, West Bengal Minister, had recently had a similar seminar in Bombay under the presidentship of S.B. Kolpe, a noted journalist and editor of *Clarity*. Many others are also thinking on these lines.

It was announced that a bigger conference could be held if the confederation idea were to catch up.

Nazi violence on tribals in MP town

(Ratnakar Bhengra, "Johar", Delhi)

It is with anguish and concern that we report to you about the increasing violations of human and democratic rights of the Adivasis in Madhya Pradesh. On Jan. 17, 91 at Jashpur Nagar, members of the ruling party (BJP) in the State and non-advansi communal elements of the area in connivance with the police let loose a reign of terror in the area to prevent the tribal community from exercising its democratic rights and freedom of expression in holding a rally. Scores of people including women and children apart from tribal men were indiscriminately beaten up with grievous injuries by the local non-advansi RSS members and the police. Many men and women were illegally detained and confined in the police custody. All those who were responsible for the terror and brutalities have been left free.

Background:The All-Jarkhand Students Union, Jashpur Nagar, was to hold a public meeting there on Jan.17. Members from Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal were to attend the rally along with those from MP. On Jan.16, the ASP was informed about the rally by the AJSU. The Nayab Tehsildar refused to grant permission if the rallyists carried their traditional weapons.

Some pamphlets about the rally reached the RSS. They asked the organisers to cancel it and abused the women of the organisation and also threatened them with physical assault. These students had met the Nayab Tehsildar before the AJSU members met him and had persuaded him not to grant permission for the rally. Meanwhile two of the AJSU members, Dularchand Minz and Vijay Ekka, who were standing in front of the PMT Girl's Hostel were forcibly taken to the police station by the RSS students and locked up.

The rally was cancelled. However, the information about the abrupt cancellation could not be sent out. On the Jan.17 morning, some AJSU members from Ranchi, Sudarshan Bhagat, Prof. Vinod Bhagat and Monto Oraon, reached Gholeng in their van (BR 14A 2244) and two local members, Swati Rita Tirkey and Elvina Minz, joined them. They set forth for the PMT Boys Hostel in Jashpur Nagar.

On their way back from the hostel they were stopped and surrounded by a group of students armed with hockey sticks and other weapons. Naresh Gupta, Rajesh Thakur, Satyendra Singh, Hemant Vaish and Santosh Gupta, all upper caste boys, were leading the violent group. The AJSU members were dragged out of the van. A few lecturers who happened to pass along also supported the attacking students. The van was pushed into the college campus. Anjela Kness, an AJSU member, who came to their rescue, was threatened with violence. RSS students beat up the

AJSU members from Bihar. The van was damaged and all the glasses were broken. The ignition key was taken away and the tyres were deflated. Prof. Vinod Bhagat suffered severe head injuries due to the stones and rocks flung at the van.

RSS elements then entered the hostel and started beating up the advansi students there. Most of the inmates shut themselves in, but the goons broke open the doors and about 15 Adivasi students including John Kujur, the warden, were seriously injured. The police reached the spot after all this was over and arrested the driver of the van, Monto Oraon, Sudarshan Bhagat and Prof. Vinod Bhagat, Swati Rita Tirkey, and Elvina Minz. The police also rounded up the other already brutalized and took them to the police station. None of those responsible for causing the violence were arrested. All this happened between 10-11 A.M. on the 17.1.91. Members from Bihar were locked up at the police station and 13 others were arrested after interrogation on the same day. Some of these (13) had been picked up while they were walking about in Gholeng, some while they were eating in a restaurant and some from a cycle repairing shop. Dularchand and Anil Minz were kept in the lock-up for more than 48 hrs. Swati Rita Tirkey and Elvin Minz were released at 11.00 P.M. (at night), after a long and sustained interrogation, on personal bonds. Meanwhile, the RSS students organised a "bandh" in Jashpur Nagar in the afternoon with the active collaboration of the local police. These students then went riding around the town in a police vehicle.

Till Jan 24, Anil Minz, Dularchand Minz, Sudharshan Bhagat, Prof. Vinod Bhagat and Monto Oraon had not been released. Those who were released earlier on bail were summoned by the court on Jan. 22, due to the absence of the Sub-Divisional Officer the date of hearing has been postponed. ■

Bias against BCs?

New Delhi:A family belonging to the scheduled caste and personally known to the chief justice, Justice Ranganath Misra, had cornered four IAS posts by virtue of the reserved category. Misra, who was heading a five-judge constitution bench of the supreme court currently hearing petitions relating to the implementation of the Mandal commission recommendations, on Jan.22 pointed out during the hearing that he knew at least one retired IAS officer's family whose three sons and a daughter were selected in the IAS and another daughter had appeared in the central services examination. He said one family had cornered four IAS posts because they were SCs. (Times of India, Jan.23) ■

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(V.T. Rajshekar)

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"Fraud" parading as scientist suspended at last

Chandigarh: At last, the Punjab University has acted in the much-publicized fossils fraud case. Prof. V.J. Gupta of the Department of Geology of the Punjab University and the central character in the fossils fraud controversy, has been suspended. He has been in the news for nearly two years ever since the eminent Australian geologist, Professor John Talent, challenged his research work of the past two decades or the Himalayan fossils. ("Frauds parading as scientists", DV edit Oct. 1, 1989.) The fossils controversy has been attracting the attention of both the national and the international media including the BBC. The Geological Society of India in its report released last week stated that the findings of Professor Gupta were not genuine. The prestigious science journal — *Nature* — had also twice editorially questioned the research work of Professor Gupta. — (*Statesman* Feb.8). ■

Saudi becoming bankrupt

Washington: Saudi Arabia, its enormous cash reserves depleted by the cost of the Gulf war, may seek large loans for the first time from international banks, says *The Washington Post* quoting knowledgeable diplomatic sources. The strain on Saudi finances has arisen because of war-related expenditure and pledges of support totalling \$48 billions — half of the kingdom's annual income — made since Iraq invaded Kuwait. The largest single portion of this extraordinary outpouring of funds went to the U.S., which was promised \$ 13.5 billions for the first quarter of this year alone. (*Hindu* Feb. 14). ■

Anti-Christian press

(Allwyn Fernandes)

Bombay: The Catholic church has demanded an unconditional apology from several newspapers, including *The Times of India*, for allegedly publishing "false and unfounded allegations on the character and life-style" of two nuns who were murdered at Jogeshwari last November. The newspapers had published reports that the autopsies on the bodies of the two nuns had revealed sexual activity on their part and that one of them was even suspected to be suffering from a sexually-transmitted disease (STD). The reports had caused a furore in a section of the Catholic community. A month later, on Dec. 15, when the forensic laboratory and histopathology reports were available, the police issued a press release that no evidence of venereal disease was found. "Questions are being asked as to how the press learnt of the post-mortem findings the day they were performed and before a signed report had officially gone to the police. (*Times of India*, Feb.11) ■

Dalits treated worse than animals

Hyderabad: Inmates of some of the Andhra Pradesh Government-run hostels for backward castes and scheduled castes lived semi-naked and had to share their food with stray pigs and dogs, State Minister for Backward Class Welfare J. Chittaranjan Das said here on Feb. 11. The Minister, who recently visited four such hostels in Khammam district, said that the children lived in sub-human conditions. The children had no plates or trays and food was served on the floors. He saw many children eating in plastic glasses or rejected polythene sachets while keeping the pigs and dogs at bay. Similarly, most of the children he saw did not have a shirt and the half-pants they were wearing were often in tatters. At least 50 of the children he met had various skin ailments and other diseases. About two dozen children had ugly patches of scabies on the faces and bodies. The children told him that no doctor had visited them for months. (*Hindustan Times* Feb.12). ■

IN DEFENCE OF POLEMICS

Once in a way we receive letters from readers who are not Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes or Muslims/Sikhs complaining that our writings are polemical, provocative and prejudiced. These letters come not from the "persecuted nationalities denied human rights" to whom DV is the only journal in India. They have no complaint against DV because being the victims of the existing system they relish our writings as it echoes their pains and pangs. Over 85% India's population like the DV writings. These complaints are from non-SC/ST/Muslims/Sikhs. Occasionally some brahminised Christians also write letters. Years back - an upper caste Christian woman from Nagpur discontinued DV alleging that our "writings are polemical and not constructive." Most of these critics are innocents though upper castes. The problem with them is their "Marxist background". And these critics will understand only if we use the Marxist jargon to reply them. The editorial we wrote at that time (Nov.16, 1986) is reproduced because we have again started getting similar letters. — EDITOR.

We are often being accused of polemical writings. Our critics say we take pleasure in kicking up controversies. They say that there is very little of "constructive suggestions" but a series of abuses. We preach hate. They say that they did not expect this from a journalist who has worked for over two decades in "national" English dailies. To such of these critics we want to answer in this piece. A journal of persecuted nationalities is unthinkable without polemics because its very birth is in the campaign against forces that hamper historical development. No working class publication can overlook polemics, inasmuch as "one cannot develop new views other than through polemics". (Lenin: *A Talk on Cadet-eating, Collected Works*, Vol. 18, pg.297). Our critics say that we should be "constructive". Can this not be done without engaging in "excessive polemics," without offending anybody, they ask. Here again we want to answer our critics in the words of Lenin. "One cannot develop new views other than through polemics". (Ibid). In an autocratic feudal-capitalist country like India a working class paper "cannot present their practical conclusions in a constructive form for reasons beyond our control." (Ibid) We in India live today at a time of acute ideological struggle between different caste and religious groups with the opinion-making weapon controlled by the mass-media owned by the upper caste property-holders. A sort of a Nazism of Indian brand is fast taking shape. It is here that the Leninist school of journalistic polemic acquires invaluable significance. The Leninist school teaches us that polemics shall be our weapon because it excites readers interest, draws attention to vital facts, events and problems of social, economic and political life.

Hate Teachers: Our critics say Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the three greatest personalities of independent India, preached hatred. Since the DV and our Dalit Sahitya Akademy books follow their philosophy, we are also accused of emitting hate. This accusation is not necessarily true. We want to answer these critics in the words of America's great Black leader Stokely Carmichael:

"There are two types of philosophies in the world: there is metaphysical philosophy and there is dialectic philosophy. Metaphysical philosophy is archaic. I don't want to waste time with that. Now dialectical philosophy is the one that deals with opposites. It says that for every action there is a reaction, and every emotion has an opposite emotion, etc. For example: for hot there's cold; for wet there's dry; for laughter, tears; boy, girl, white, black — they're opposites. We live in a world of opposites. And dialectic philosophy says that the way the world changes is when these opposites react with each other, they polarize. Now, a lot of people say, "I don't hate folks; you're not supposed to hate". Well, if you don't hate you can't love-unless you're only one-sided. But you agree that you live in a world of dialectics, then if you love you must at least have the capacity to hate. And you must know hate in order to differentiate love. If there's no such thing as hate, then there's no such thing as love".

Stokely said this is his address to young American Black students who are being brainwashed by the Whites saying that Black leaders have no other business but to preach hatred against the Whites and that hatred is bad. We are experiencing the same thing here in a much worse way.

Let us imagine a situation: two upper caste/Hindu landlords come to our huts in a village in the dead of night with burning torches. If you believe in this false philosophy that we should not hate anybody, will you sit quiet and allow them to burn your huts? Or will you alert others and retaliate? Will you allow your landlord to rape your sister in front of you saying I don't hate anybody? You try to attack the landlord because you love your sister. You try to attack the people who come to set fire to your huts because you love your people. It is not that we hate anybody. It is only because we love our people more. If you are not capable of love, you are not capable of hate and vice-versa. (Read: Mao Tse-tung: *On Contradictions*, Selected Works, Vol.1)

Ethics: India's big business-owned "national press" run by upper caste journalists is a weapon for consolidating the power of the ruling class. This is glaringly apparent when that power or its hallowed right of private ownership is threatened. Every one in the press gangup against the toiling masses of India — its Dalits, BCs, minorities and women. And yet this "national Press" boasts of

journalistic ethics, while its only ethics is to protect and promote its class/caste interests. No less a person than the Prime Minister of India had recently commented about the nasty role played by this "national press". (*Hindustan Times*, Oct.3, 1986).

The publication of a newspaper or magazine in a feudal-capitalist society is a normal commercial undertaking requiring the investment of a huge capital on modern printing equipment and paper and for maintaining high-paid staff. If the corrupt businessmen alone can afford such an investment, the journalists come only from the upper castes. So both ways it is a class-caste gangup against the propertyless Dalits and other lower castes and religious minorities. Such a press will work only for profit as its motive.

The monopoly of mass-media is made possible

composes for purposes of blackmail and extortion.

Days of Dwarfs: To put it in Lenin's words it has become a symbol of "apostasy, renegacy and sycophancy". (Ibid — p. 275). Gone are the days of Frank Moreas, Pothan Joseph, Chalapati Rau. This writer had the opportunity of working with walking encyclopaedias. Dwarfs have taken over Indian journalism. The days of towering titans are over. Today's journalist reads nothing better than Enid Blyton or some such yellow stuff. This is proved in the shallowness of these papers, the absence of any reference to the serious issues of the day in both dailies and magazines. These upper caste journalists, who when asked to bend started crawling, avoid painful issues. Speeches of petty politicians are pissed over columns and columns but burning problems of the people are glossed over.

Wanted destruction before construction

P. Lakshmi Narasu, author of the famous book, *The Essence of Buddhism*, writes the following in his foreword to his book, "A Study of Caste"

He who fights social intolerance, slavery and injustice need offer neither substitute nor constructive theory. *Caste is a crippling disease.* The physician's duty is to guard against disease or destroy it. Yet no one considers the work of the physician as negative. The attainment of liberty and justice has always been a negative process. Without rebelling against social institutions and destroying custom there can never be the free exercise of liberty and justice. A physician can, however, be of no use where there is no vitality. Similarly argument, philosophy, ethics, religion, legislation will not avail to transform a people who have not developed the will to live. Truth and freedom are the motive forces for the highest development of moral health, and on truth, virtue and knowledge depend all progress. Politicians, swayed by exaggerated creature comforts, fight for wealth, power and success, but give no thought to the psychological revolution so necessary for the progress of India. I have taken my stand on truth, unbound by convention and untrammelled by anxiety. I have nowhere attempted to tickle vanity or excite sentiment, nor have I resorted to compromise and equivocation. I have everywhere stated plain facts in a plain manner, but I mean no affront to anybody. It is not my desire to force progress on those who are unwilling to bear it, but I hope to render aid to those whom experience has taught the necessity of forging a new life...."

because of the financial power of the capitalists who are generously subsidising these publications through advertisements. Advertisement is the principal means by which the big business could exercise a decisive influence on the press and this entire mind-manipulating machine and dictate its conduct.

India's premier English daily, *Times of India*, owned by the Sahu Jains has almost become a Hindu Nazi mouthpiece (DV - Nov.1, 86). On Punjab, this "national press" has consistently taken an anti-Sikh stand, barring honourable exceptions. It is simply not possible for this "national press" to echo the wishes and aspirations of the poor because both caste and class-wise it represents the interests of the opposite forces. That is why it has become notorious for its scandalous lack of principle, prurient perverted views and the shady deals surrounding the satirical pieces which it often

India's "national press" often drummed up petty issues, and sometimes even pseudo-issues in lieu of profound and serious analysis of the vital questions of the day. Except the *Statesman*, an English daily published from Delhi and Calcutta, we have not come across any other daily providing us with any in-depth analysis. But even the *Statesman* takes up a hostile stand when it comes to the question of "reservations" to Dalits and backward classes.

Caste Ideology: Phrase-mongering is a habit deliberately cultivated by the press to hoodwink the readers. Such phrases usually masked its emptiness, its divorce from reality and the vagueness. It has hardly any ideology. Its only ideology is caste ideology. Their pompous editorials have no relationship with the corrupt life-style of the editorial writers. Just because they have a paper to write, they feel they can write

anything they want. Through these empty phrases and phrase-mongering, asses are made to appear as race-horses and race-horses are painted as donkeys. A person is called Mahatma, Lok Nayak or Lok Manya not because he has transformed the society but because of his power to mislead the gullible.

Extraordinary importance is given to elections because it is during these elections the "poor" get divided and the rich consolidate. Look at the publicity given these days to TV and computers in the name of technological development. But does this "national press" talk of "human development?" Never. It is not interested in human development. That is why it uses technological development to crush human development.

Trade union bosses : The *Statesman* is the only English paper in India having a civil rights correspondent. But even this column is not regular and when it appears it seldom takes up the question of Dalit, tribal, Muslim or other persecuted nationalities. Most of these civil rights people were exposed on the Muslim women Bill.

On the trade Union front, hardly any daily has exposed the imperialism of the Left party bosses on the workers. Trade union leaders, lawyers and courts together make monkeys out of workers and their disputes are kept pending for years. Strike, lockout and other agitations are carried on in the name of Marxism. But these "Marxists" are only interested in wage-rise and economic demands but seldom advocate fundamental changes in society.

Newspapermen and women seldom leave the cities. So much so the villages, comprising 80% of the country, do not find any coverage in the "national press." Untouchability is "abolished" but it is widely prevalent all over — even in cities. But no paper has cared to launch a campaign on that. Newspapers are not expected to take any interest in the burning social problems because such reports do not sell. Readers don't like to read such a dull and drab story. So a journalist will have to be guided by the demand and supply rule. Readers get the papers they deserve. Readers want entertainment, eternal entertainment. And papers give it in plenty. That is why "book reviews" are getting a back seat.

Poison in national press: The flow of lies and slander in the "national press" normally increased when the class/caste struggle intensified, and the ruling class faced a critical situation. For example in 1984, before the "Blue Star Operation" and after that the entire "national press" banded together in a chorus of slanders and collective lying alliance against the Sikhs. It shut down the truth, to prevent it from being heard, to drown it in a torrent of invectives and shouts. Hundreds of black lies were invented to prejudice readers.

Besides lies and slander, the "national press" also resorted to the method of scaring the public with the "Khalistan" danger which was equated with anarchy, disorder, violence and disruption. Scare them as much as you can. This is the slogan of the whole "national press." Even this writer was called a terrorist!

When this is the case there is no point in attempting to cure this "national press" of any ailment, to cleanse it of its deficiencies or morally improve it. If we want to put an end to these evils, including the chronic habit of lying, character assassination, we have to put an end to the existing feudal-capitalist setup based on caste system which is sustaining this "national press." Until then we should as much as possible try to avoid reading them, particularly its journals-both English and language.

Freedom of Press: So much is made out in India about the "freedom of the press" which is assured in the country's Constitution itself. But what happened to this editor when he exercised this freedom? He was arrested under the Terrorists Act, handcuffed and dragged all the way from Bangalore to Chandigarh, and jailed. Krishna Raj, editor of India's only intellectual weekly, *Economic and Political Weekly*, had to face sedition charges for publishing an article on Punjab (*Statesman*, Oct. 18, 1986).

What freedom of the press for the Dalits and religious minorities and working class people can there be in the present caste-based society where the printing, publishing, advertising business and so on are all in the hands of the upper caste property-holders? We cannot think of any "freedom of the press" for people in such conditions, one can only talk of the freedom of the Press for the propertied classes. This is so all over the world. "Freedom of the press" means freedom to own newspapers, to hire journalists, to manipulate public opinion for the benefit of the ruling class. The myth of India enjoying full freedom of the press is created by our mind-manipulators to mask its class/caste nature. Public opinion cannot exist independently of class/caste contradictions within the existing society. The "national press" is the mouthpiece of the ruling class. We cannot eliminate the ruling class without first eliminating this "national press".

Lenin's Motto: Coming back to the charge that DV is indulging in polemics, we want to repeat the two arguments in defence of polemic advanced by Lenin. First, he underlines, "one cannot develop new views other than through polemics". (Ibid p. 297). Secondly, the Marxist Press was obliged to operate in autocratic, bourgeois-landowning Russia or for that matter, in any bourgeois country. In such an arena the Bolshevik papers "cannot present

their practical conclusions in a constructive form for reasons beyond our control" (Ibid). Lenin therefore thinks those who charge him with indulging in polemics are using it as a propaganda to discredit the Marxist Press. This is exactly our position in India today.

Lenin's motto was not to wait for an attack, but to go into action oneself, not to defend but to attack. Not to be on the defensive but always in the offensive. Offence is the best form of defence.

Lenin had his own militant and aggressive style of polemicising and therefore quite naturally he could not bear the slightest manifestation of cowardice in the ideological struggle and attempts to evade questions no matter how painful. "A newspaper must itself seek out, itself discover in good time and, at the appropriate moment, print certain material. *Collected Works Vol.35* p. 64). Delay means losing half the polemical battle. We are committed to the same line of thinking.

The ruling class press often manipulates truth and mixes it with lies. As days pass this press is becoming our single biggest problem. Even Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had to give vent to his feelings other day in Nagpur at the *Hitavada* function.

We have to learn a lot from this Enemy. We should know how to read a daily paper, where to find truth, where to find lies and where to locate garbage. We should keep a watch on the Enemy press. If the Enemy praises a person, he must be bogus. If a person is attacked, he can be trusted. We should cultivate the art of reading the enemy Press. This is called reading between the lines.

Our "socialist press" is a even more dangerous foe than the "communal" press. Therefore to fight against counter-revolution with the pen, would mean, first and foremost, to expose those disgusting hypocrites and when we do it our writings are dubbed polemical. However, we admit that such a polemic is not an end in itself. It is necessary as a major and integral part of the overall struggle for the destruction of class/caste monopoly and establish socialism. We cannot build up our people unless we ruthlessly fight every lie that is told about our people. Therefore, it is essential to indulge in polemic though we take care to see that we are positive, constructive, proving by results the veracity of the arguments.

Facts are sacred: Lenin said: "Only in order to be harsh, one must have the right to be so and the right to be harsh is given by one's words not differing from one's deeds." (Vol. 27, pg. 192). So those who criticise us for polemics must tell us where we have gone wrong in our facts.

DV and the DSA literature are meant not for the ruling class but the Dalits and persecuted peoples.

In our own humble way we are trying to educate them in Dr. Ambedkar, Periyar, Lohia thoughts towards a class and caste struggle. We don't claim that we only are right and others are wrong. There may be lots of mistakes in what we do. But if we commit mistakes and lead our readers to wrong path, it is our readers who will punish us. If the readers don't like our writings, they will ask us to shut up. Why should the ruling class use its police and press to attack us? We don't come in the way of the ruling class criticisms against us. When the ruling class says that "freedom of the press" is assured, why is it launching prosecutions against Editor Krishna Raj of EPW, editor British Nandy of the *Illustrated Weekly*, Editor Sukhdev Singh of *Dignity*, Chandigarh, Editors of *Radiance* and DV? ■

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