

DALIT VOICE

[The Voice Of The Persecuted Minorities]

Adviser : Dr. Mulk Raj Anand

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No. 2

R.S.S. ALSO TURNING HYPOCRITICAL ?

Dalits and persecuted minorities in India have two types of enemies. The open enemy that stands right before us and threatening. The other one is the closed, concealed enemy coming disguised as our friend and thus killing us with its slow poison of *garibi hatao* slogans, Marxist jargons, Gandhian charities. Such a disguised Enemy is more dangerous. That is why we say: "Beware of Socialist Brahmins".

The Hindu Nazis, defending caste and persecution of Untouchables as recommended in the Vedas are our open Enemy. We never had any difficulty in identifying it. As victims of this Enemy from centuries we know it too well. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar had made our task more easy by telling its size, shape, colour, smell. But lately this open Enemy is also becoming a disguised Enemy to confuse and confound the Dalits. Here lies the real danger. It is changing its strategy in keeping with the notorious Hindu hypocrisy. As Dalits are also waking up, it is becoming difficult to fight them with the out-dated Vedic weapons. But it is easier to deceive Dalits if disguised in socialist

garbs and Marxist *Mantras*.

The RSS philosophy laid down in its Bible, *Bunch of Thoughts*, (Rastrothana Parishad, Kempegowda Nagar, Bangalore-560 019, pages 690, price Rs. 25) is very honest in defending caste and the persecution of Untouchables as the slaves of the Hindus. But the very same RSS leopard is trying to change its spots to befriend the lamb.

Faced with a serious internal crisis of Brahmin-Nonbrahmin and regional fight, RSS is facing the biggest challenge posed by Indira Gandhi who is getting popular with the Hindus. The Shankaracharyas say that in the interest of maintaining the Hindu high caste hegemony, RSS must get closer to Mrs. Gandhi. If she can fool them better with her socialist *mantras* why not RSS outdo her? However, "conservatives" like Nanaji Deshmukh and K. R. Malkani, are critical of the RSS turning

hypocritical. They want it to maintain its pristine purity as laid down by Golwalkar. But RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras has totally rejected the Golwalkar line. If Mrs. Gandhi can "save" the Hindus, why not support her? It is this new turn in RSS that resulted in the sacking of Mal-kani as the editor-in-chief of the RSS official journal, *Organiser*, (Telegraph Oct. 6) for refusing to support Mrs. Gandhi. He is joining the other Sindhi leader, L. K. Advani, who is fighting his "socialist boss" Vajpayee inside the BJP. Even Nanaji Deshmukh effort to stage a comeback into RSS mainstream was foiled by Deoras and was asked to mind his business of Hinduising tribals in the remote district of Gonda, UP. Nanaji effort to create a centralised setup of all voluntary organisations working for Untouchables and tribals and take over its leadership was frustrated by Deoras. Nanaji, a very sad man now, had put up a big show of all these hardcore RSS workers at his Deendayal Research Institute, New Delhi, with this object of capturing RSS. But he was snubbed. There is so much of jealousy & hatred among RSS leaders that each one is trying to "finish" the other.

All these indicate that RSS for the first time is undergoing a serious crisis. RSS boys jailed by Mrs. Gandhi during the Emergency hate her intensely. But the leadership made them work for her party in Delhi, Kashmir and MP. This has brought utter confusion in the RSS ranks. Deoras presiding over opening of a RSS temple by Mrs. Gandhi at Hardwar is not liked by many RSS workers. Some honest workers openly say that as long as the Chitpavan Brahmins are allowed to keep the leadership, RSS will have no future. But

Deoras and Co. feel that RSS will die if it sticks to the "Vedic Brahmin" image prescribed by Golwalkar. A "Socialist Brahmin" can fool Dalits and OBCs better. One policy towards the Dalits and OBCs and another towards the persecuted minorities. The latter will get a month-long feast (Nov. 16 to Dec. 16) when through its Vishwa Hindu Parishad, it is launching a country-wide anti-Muslim and anti-Christian riots. A cross-country chariot march carrying portraits of Hindu gods accompanied by an armed battalion of RSS boys will begin on that day. Be prepared.

Be that as it may, the Oct. 2 Delhi workshop which brought together 200 prominent leaders from 53 voluntary organisations running over 4,000 RSS-inspired projects to Hinduise the Untouchables and tribals, is an important landmark. The 3-day workshop (*Organiser* Oct. 23) has decided to step up its efforts "to love" these two sections, fast slipping out of Hinduism. As regards funds, there was never any shortage. This new tilt in RSS will pose a serious problem to Dalits because it now becomes more difficult to identify the Enemy.

RSS meddling in Dalit affairs is not new. Since the days of the mass conversion of Untouchables to Islam and the RSS-inspired Hindu attacks on Christians, both in South Tamil Nadu, the Hindu Nazis had stepped up the wooing of Untouchables and tribals in a big way. RSS is also very active in tribal areas of Bihar, MP, Maharashtra, Orissa etc. The Christians having won over the tribals by their sincere, selfless service, it looked as if the entire plains tribals

[Contd. on page 11]

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION TO PROBE UNTOUCHABILITY

[Bhagwan Das, Advocate, Delhi]

[Cont. from previous— Oct 16-31 —issue]

This is II part of the testimony given by me as Chairman, All-India Samata Sainik Dal & Ambedkar Mission Society, Delhi, on behalf of World Conference on Religion & Peace, on Aug. 19, 1983 at the 36th session of the United Nations Sub-Commission on Human Rights (on prevention of discrimination & protection of human rights) at Geneva :—

I am grateful to the chairman of the sub-commission for granting me an opportunity to present the case of the Untouchables of India & the neighbouring countries coming under the influence of the Hindu religion and culture. This testimony is on behalf of the Secretary-General, Dr. Homer A. Jack, of the World Conference on Religion and Peace.

I also speak on behalf of various Untouchable and Buddhist organisations of India: All-India Samata Sainik Dal, Indian Buddhist Council, Ambedkar Mission Society (India), Ambedkar Mission Inc., Canada, & Dr. Ambedkar Mission, Bedford (U.K.) etc. *The II part of the testimony:* Accordingly provisions were incorporated in the Constitution abolishing untouchability and certain ameliorative provisions

such as "reservation" in legislature, services of Central Govt. and States, education institutions etc., were introduced. Untouchables were subjected to inhuman laws like forced labour in rural areas. A provision to abolish such a slavery was made in the Constitution but the law was enacted only in 1976. Millions of rupees were provided for the economic upliftment of the Untouchables in the Five-Year Plans.

In spite of these laws the Untouchables suffer from numerous disabilities especially in India's smaller towns and villages. Untouchables do not have wells in thousands of villages and Hindus do not allow them to dig wells. Untouchables have to beg for water from a distance lest their shadow should pollute the Hindus. Sometime the water-pipes are laid and stopped a few yards short of the Untouchable locality. This writer struggled for

T.N. GOVT. TO DISMISS DALITS FOR CONVERSION

[R. Elumalai, Dalit Cultural Front, Madras]

The MGR Govt. in TN is well known as a Brahmin stooge. The Chief Minister's party legislators have been demanding that Dalit converts to other religion should be hanged in public, meaning that those who quit Hinduism ceased to be humans. The cry to punish the converts became loudest during the 1981 Meenakshipuram mass conversion of Dalits to Islam. Now the TN Govt. has issued orders "that any person getting selected under the Scheduled Caste quota for public service, changes his religion any time after his entry into public service, he should have his selection cancelled". (*Indian Express*, Oct. 18. This is a fit case for a writ before the Supreme Court. □

7 years to get a public tap fixed in a village of Himachal Pradesh while every Minister and even the Chief Minister announced that water had been provided. If the Untouchables demand higher wages in villages, the Hindus pour filth or kerosene into the wells so as to starve them of water.

Untouchability is widely practised. A mild and harmless law which was neither educative nor awarded deterrent punishment was enacted in 1955 under the title, 'Untouchability Offences Act, 1955'. This was amended and passed as 'Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976', providing for minimum punishment. Owing to the illiteracy of the Untouchables, very few cases are reported and a still less reach the law courts. Untouchability in worst form is practised in the Hindi region but the largest number of cases are registered in those States where the Untouchables are awakened and better organised. Of all the countries where untouchability is practised, India has the best of laws and the most generous provision in its Constitution. Yet it is in India the largest number of atrocities are committed.

The British had introduced quota system with a view to giving share in administr-

ation to all religious groups and other minorities. Untouchables were, however, denied a share on the plea that there were no educated candidates available. Through the efforts of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar 'reservation' in services was introduced for Untouchables also in 1943 during the vice-royalty of Lord Linlithgow. Later on, provision was made in the Constitution for Untouchables and Tribes but the reservation for other minorities was abolished.

During the early years after "independence" there was little resistance because very few qualified people were available to fill up the reserved seats. Resistance was offered by non-implementation of Govt. orders or by declaring that suitable candidates were not available or if available, 'not found suitable' & also through courts of law by filing writ petitions. Since 1974 organised resistance is being offered by the upper caste employees who have been enjoying the monopoly of all Govt. jobs.

The private sector does not employ the Untouchables excepting in the lowly, low-paid and degrading posts. The table below gives some idea of the success on the part of the opponents of the "reservation" :

UNION GOVERNMENT

Percentage of jobs reserved for the Untouchables	15%	Posts filled up Class I - 4.95% Class II - 8.54% Class III - 13.44% Class IV - 19.46%
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Source : India 1982

Discriminatory treatment is being meted out to the Untouchables even in recognising their unions on the plea that 'communal' organisations of employees will not be "recognised" by the Govt. But Hindu employees' unions opposed to reservation have the support and blessing of the Govt. as well as political parties.

'Scheduled Castes' (SC) is an artificially created minority under the Constitution. Names of such castes can be deleted or added by the President. Pressure is mounting now, through the Press to delete the names of the more-awakened and better-organised castes.

Majority of the Untouchables (about 76%) live in the 568,000 villages of India. In some places they are allotted Govt. land. Dr. Ambedkar had demanded nationalisation of land with 'collectivisation' or allotment on cooperative basis. But the Govt. favoured small holdings and peasant proprietors. Fragmentation of land is non-productive but the Untouchable farmers, who never owned land because of the laws prohibiting possession of land in some States, desire to own land. The land-holding dominant upper castes do every thing possible to obstruct distribution of land. Even if land is allotted Hindu landlords do not allow the Untouchables to cultivate it. If Untouchables demand higher wages or even the minimum wages fixed by the Govt., Hindu landlords resort to murders, torture, arson, rape etc., to terrorise the poor ignorant Untouchables.

Bonded Labour and Prostitution: Thousands of men and women are employed as bonded labourers and kept away from the cities, police etc. Hundreds of

women are forced into prostitution by exploiting their ignorance, poverty and superstitious beliefs and sold into the brothels of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur and Delhi.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

Untouchables are becoming increasingly convinced that the Hindus hate them not because they perform unpleasant duties but because their religion teaches them to hate certain castes. Many embraced Christianity or Islam. Dr. Ambedkar, who saw no hope of Hinduism reforming itself, exhorted his people to quit Hinduism and embraced Buddhism which he had revived in 1956. Millions of people responded to his call and embraced Buddhism. The Government immediately ordered that if any Untouchable renounces Hinduism and embraces any religion (other than Sikhism) will become disentitled to concessions and grants allowed to the SCs. When a few hundred Untouchables in Tamil Nadu embraced Islam because of Hindu atrocities of not allowing them even to wear shoes or loin-cloth, which went below the knee cap, Hindu militant organisations turned riotous and burnt the huts of Untouchables and molested their women. Even Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, forgetting that she was the head of a "secular government" showed concern and delivered speeches discouraging the conversion of Untouchables to Islam. Some States have enacted laws making conversion difficult. Those renouncing Hinduism have to obtain a certificate from the magistrate that the person desiring conversion to Islam or Christianity is doing it voluntarily.

POLICE

The police is also dominated by high caste Hindus and, therefore hostile to the Untouchables. The Indian Penal Code contains provisions under which the police have the power to arrest and detain a person if he has no ostentatious means of livelihood. This is a country where a majority of the people have no employment, house or shelter of any kind. The police abuses its powers especially against the Untouchables and many people are killed or incapacitated through torture in police custody.

ARMED FORCES

Hinduism had closed the doors of armed forces to the Untouchables for ever. They were admitted to the armed forces of Islam after embracing Islam which many did. During the early decades of their rule, the British recruited Untouchables to the Army but after some time they began to close the doors especially in Central India & Bengal under pressure from Hindus. They introduced the pernicious theory of 'martial races' and 'non-martial races'. Later on they disbanded the Untouchable armies and raised class regiments, recruiting only men from the high caste. The Indian Govt. has not completely abolished the class regiments but has officially removed the ban on recruitment. It has not, however, taken any step to change the mode of recruitment. Recruiting officers, mostly from the landed castes, and their medical officers invariably ask a man's caste and reject him on medical grounds. Untouchables thus have little share in the Army: 0.44 % in officers' cadre and 10.62% in her ranks etc., 7.3% in other ranks of

Navy and 0.156% in Officers cadre and 2.568% in other ranks of Air Force.

LEGISLATURE

Untouchables have equal right to vote and contest elections. They have 79 reserved seats in the 542-strong Lower House of Parliament. Out of a total strength of 3997 members in the State Legislatures and Union Territories, 540 are SCs. On paper this number appears very impressive but owing to Indian election system it is the majority (Hindu) community which elects the Untouchable representatives.

In the villages Untouchables cannot freely vote. Very often police protection has to be provided. After the elections, they have to pay a heavy price if the Hindu landed castes feel that they did not vote for the Hindus.

VIOLENCE IN VILLAGES

Untouchables in villages demand land, better wages, right to wear dress and assert the rights granted under the Constitution. But the Hindus want to maintain the status quo. Tensions arise and often result in confrontation. Landlords have raised armies of trained men released from Army and police to terrorise the Untouchables. But the police protects the strong against the poor. The Govt. through its machinery and religious policies strengthens caste and superstition because that helps the Ruling Classes. Leaders of the struggle are picked up and either involved in false criminal cases or murdered by the police in what is officially called 'encounters'. Men, women and children have been massacred and burnt alive whenever the Untouchables put up resistance against the oppression. Men have

been killed for offering Ganges water in a shrine. A man was killed in Aligarh (Uttar Pradesh) for affixing the word "Chauhan" to his name. Women's toes were crushed for wearing rings. A man was killed for twirling his moustache. In Meenakshipuram, where mass conversion to Islam took place, men were not allowed to sit beside the upper caste

Hindus in the State buses, nor allowed to walk through the streets; women were punished for wearing sandals. In Kafatla (UP) 11 persons were done to death for the 'crime' of riding a horse in a marriage procession and for using a palanquin. The incidents of violence in the villages have been showing an upward trend for the last five years :-

YEAR	No. of incidents of violence, atrocities etc.,
1976	6,197
1977	10,879
1978	15,070 **
1979	13,884
1980	13,341 **

** Break - up of the figures :

1979 Murders 383, Violence 1398, rape 425, arson 1011, other offences 10,667.

1980 Murders 482, Violence 1,355, rape 530, arson 921, other offences 10,053.

Source : pp. 340-344 27th Report of the Commissioner for SC/ST - 1979-1981.

Recent figures are not available but Home Minister N. R. Laskar stated in Parliament that the number was showing an increase but later said the number of incidents has fallen considerably.

Govt. figures do not represent the facts but only a tip of the iceberg because many of the cases remain unreported. Untouchables feel very insecure owing to the growing resentment against the Govt's declared policies and programmes which are very rarely implemented. The bureaucracy is being blamed for non-implementation but it is the Govt. that lacks the political will to take action against those who flout its authority. Even a simple and harmless demand by the SC Parliament Members to have a portrait of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar installed in the Central Hall of Parliament, where he played a

very important and historical role both as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council (1942-46) and the first Law Minister and Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee (1947-51), has not been acceded to. The Govt. has been resisting this demand on some pretext or the other. Similarly in recognition of the great services rendered by Dr. Ambedkar in the field of education, a unanimous decision was taken in the Maharashtra State legislature to re-name the Marathwada University as Ambedkar University. This university came into existence chiefly owing to the establishment of three colleges by Dr. Ambedkar at Aurangabad in the most backward region of Maharashtra. Hindu high castes in the region felt offended and instigated the illiterate & ignorant villagers that now 'Ambedkar'

an Untouchable, will enter their homes in the form of degrees, diplomas and certificates and they will have to repeat his name. As a result, many houses of Buddhist converts were looted, women molested, old men insulted, buildings demolished or set on fire and some people were killed. Hundreds of men were forced to flee to the towns. The Govt., could not implement its own decision and the oppressor won the field. Untouchables and the Buddhists are continuing the agitation with unshaken determination.

In spite of the fact that the Indian Constitution has the most liberal provisions, the Govt. has failed to implement its own declared programmes and policies for the removal of untouchability and upliftment the poor.

Prejudices cannot be removed merely through legislation. Religious policy of the Government is discriminatory and is biased in favour of Hinduism and Sikhism and prejudiced against Buddhism, Christianity and Islam. The Govt. has used coercive measures to stop the conversion of Untouchables to Buddhism lest they should unite and organise a liberation struggle. The present policy of the Govt. appears to be based on the tenets of Hinduism. Methods may have changed the aim of the Hindu law-makers but religious leaders have not changed.

Anything which the Untouchables consider good for them is vehemently resisted and opposed. Whatever goes to make them weak, dispirited and dependant is encouraged.

PROPOSALS

1. A commission should be set up to

investigate and submit a report on the practice of untouchability in the countries wherever it is practised.

2. Action against countries and institutions encouraging this practice in the name of religion and custom.

3. Governments should be asked to stop discrimination against the despised and segregated groups in the matter of freedom of religion.

4. A commission to monitor the activities of Govt. and religious groups in the countries where untouchability is practised.

5. Governments of the countries, where the Hindus and Sikhs have migrated and practise untouchability and discrimination against the Untouchables, should be approached to enact laws to discourage this practice.

6. A separate office should be set up to receive cases of untouchability and disabilities arising from the practice of caste system and untouchability and the States concerned should be asked to report what measures they have taken to eliminate discrimination in their respective countries.

Chairman of the Sub-commission on Human Rights. : Ms. Haleema Waziri (Morocco)

Rapporteur : Mr. Justice Masood, Retired Judge, Calcutta High Court.

Indian observers :

1. Mrs. Lakshmi Puri
2. Mr. Mohan Prakash.

HOW CHINA TREATS ITS MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN MINORITIES ?

(V. T. Rajshekar)

Bangalore : *India has a Muslim population of about 15% (officially about 12%). The community-wise figures of the latest census (1981) are not released perhaps fearing that it will upset the balance of power of the Ruling Class. And how this Muslim minority is treated in India is known to the whole world. Barring Indonesia, India has the highest Muslim population in the world. As the Indonesian Muslims are not considered "orthodox" by the Muslim world, the Indian Muslims become the most important segment in the world. And the daily anti-Muslim riot in one or other part of India has made them the worst persecuted minority and their deaths in hundreds if not thousands has fully exposed the humbug of Gandhian non-violence. But China has a total of 14 million Muslim population forming just 1.4% of its 1,000 million population. As a religious minority, they are the single largest but the way they are treated in China despite being a communist society, not believing in god or religion, should be an eye-opener to the "god-fearing" Indian Ruling Class which has been persecuting its Dalits and minorities inviting the attention of all those concerned with human rights in the world. Despite all this the Indian Ruling Class does not stop mouthing its slogan of non-violence. It is more concerned about cow slaughter but not the slaughter of human beings. Both during my previous visit (1980) to China as the leader of a goodwill delegation and this time (August, 1983) I went to mosques and churches in Beijing and Shanghai and met many leaders of the Muslim and Christian community. Prof.*

Bashir Hussain, Principal, University Law College, Bangalore, and a member of the delegation, was with me during my last visit to mosques and churches. China's Constitution recognises national minorities who are given special status. Muslims are among the 55 national minorities. At the Shanghai mosque, I met two Muslim leaders (Mahamud and Salim, leaders of the Shanghai Islamic Association, address : No. 52 - Shao Tao Yuan Street, Shanghai, China) and they gave the following account of the treatment given to Muslims in China : Protection to minorities is not only ensured in China's Constitution but strictly implemented. When prayers are going on in the mosque, non-Muslim neighbours do not create any noise. Nobody cooks pork near the mosque as pork is a religious taboo to Muslims. This gesture on the part of the non-Muslims is very much appreciated by the Muslims. If anybody brings pork, he will be punished. As Muslims don't eat pork, they are permitted to open their own hotels and there are any number of them in big cities. Muslims are permitted to keep their special identity.

Muslims being a microscopic minority, China could have crushed them as the Indian Ruling Class is trying to do with its minorities here. But on the other hand, we found them enjoying full freedom and their life & property secure unlike in India.

When I told them the way the Muslims

were killed in India in hundreds, the Muslim leaders of China were very much shocked as they knew very little of India. Surprisingly they had not even heard of the recent Assam massacre of Muslims. When I told them about the mass killings of Muslims at Moradabad, Aligarh, Hyderabad, Jamshedpur, etc. they wanted more details. They felt very bad that the Muslims and Dalits suffered alike in India and both were victims of a common enemy. When both had a common enemy, they should put up a united fight, they said. They sought more information about the slaughter of Muslims and Dalits in India. Though officially they had no touch with the other Muslim countries, they considered that the current conflicts between different Muslim countries were due to the manipulations of the two super Powers, USA and USSR. They said they had full religious freedom and assured to conduct special prayers for those killed in Hindu atrocities on Muslims and Dalits in India. Women attended mosque services in China. They had sent a small team to Saudi Arabia for the Haj. This was because China did not have full diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia. They agreed to examine our suggestion to invite an Indian Muslim delegation to find out how beautifully Muslims and other minorities were looked after there.

As for Christians, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, several outside church delegations had visited China and their reports about the excellent treatment given to Christians were published. According to Chung Tseng Chu, priest of the Shuijia Huei Catholic Church, Shanghai, which I visited, China had a 3-million Catholic population and they were free and secure. □

DALIT SENA LAUNCHED

Patna : The one-day Bihar State Harijan-Adivasi Conference on Oct. 9 decided to launch a country-wide 'Dalit movement' headed by a militant organization named Dalit Sena. The conference, attended by a large number of tribals and Harijans from all over the State and representatives from Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Pondicherry & Nagaland, regretted that "despite 36 years of independence we are not getting our full constitutional right".

Ram Vilas Paswan, Janata MP, and convener of the conference, declared that this was the beginning of a new "social-cultural revolution" for the downtrodden.

For the first time Mirda and Christian tribals led by Shiboo Soren and N. E. Horo, were coming together to fight for a common cause. (*Statesman*, Oct. 11) □

MANDAL AGITATION

Trivandrum : Thousands of volunteers of the Socialist Republican Party marched to the Raj Bhavan on Oct. 3 and presented a memorandum to the Governor demanding early implementation of the Mandal Commission report on backward communities. The SRP, a partner of the Congress (I)-led ruling front, claims its support mainly from the backward Ezhava community. (*Times of India*, Oct. 4) □

Dalit Leader Presides Over RSS Function

[Our correspondent]

Nagpur : Barrister Khobragade, president of a Republican party faction presided over the RSS function when a 65-foot idol of Ravana, a Buddhist, was burnt. Dalits earlier warned him to keep away from the Hindu fascist forces. He cut a sorry figure, as RSS chief Deoras openly decried that it was neither possible nor necessary to answer the queries raised by the barrister. □

Editorial

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were slipping out of the Hindu hands just as North-Eastern India's Mongloid tribes of Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Tripura, Mizoram etc.— who do not consider themselves as Indians.

Despite the fact that the Constitution of a "secular" India is itself being used to protect the dominant Hindu religion by withdrawing "reservations" to those Untouchables quitting Hinduism and embracing other religions (except Sikhism), the Untouchables have been steadily slipping out of Hinduism. It is said this is one of the reasons for not publishing the 1981 census figures of scheduled castes, tribes, Muslims, Christians etc. Since number is strength, such a fall in the Hindu population deeply divided into hundreds of *jatis*, has given nightmares to Shankaracharyas, Maharaja Karan Singhs, Hindu temple leaders— all commanded by the RSS and its scores of front organisations with millions of rupees at their disposal. The Hindu worry is natural because once the Untouchables and tribes slip out of Hinduism and those who are still inside rebel, who is to serve as the full-time, unpaid slaves of the Hindus? More serious than this is if the Untouchables who constitute the foundation of Hinduism start trembling, the very edifice of Hinduism may collapse. And those standing at the apex of the caste pyramid will be the worst hit in this fall of the Hindu pyramid.

It is this worry that has made all the top Hindus to join hands under the leadership of the RSS to "save" Hinduism by "serving" the Untouchables. But Dalits will not be fooled. Till recently no Hindu ever thought of the Untouchables. They did not even form part of Hinduism— its

four-fold caste system. Even now, no Hindu admits them into their temples. It was only very recently, about 50-60 years, since the advent of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and his ruthless exposure of the Hindu crimes that Hindu leaders like M. K. Gandhi started thinking of them. Not out of love but to 'save' Hinduism. Even then their work was confined to mere charity. No body can serve the Dalits unless the person intending to serve first loves the Dalits. RSS bid to love Dalits, therefore, can never be sincere. In the name of the "Harijan uplift" they want to swindle the millions of rupees collected for this purpose from the Hindu capitalists. Not only such a work will provide jobs to several thousands of Brahmin boys and girls but give them enough publicity in the willing "national press". Besides these short-term objectives, the latest RSS decision has some deeper motives :-

1. Pump millions of rupees to Hinduise them but at the same time see that the SC/ST reservations schemes are scuttled. Encourage the most corrupt and incompetent among them and make them build gangs of hooligans to attack, character-assassinate honest, militant Dalit leaders.

2. Recruit Hindu OBCs in a big way into the RSS by sharpening their Hindu hatred against Dalits, Muslims, Christians and thus use OBCs as cannon fodder in violent attacks on them. As long as the OBCs, constituting over 50% of the Hindu population, are in perpetual enmity with the Dalits and minorities, the Hindu upper castes led by Brahmins can remain happy. This is the most vital part of the famous Brahmin dictum of divide and rule.

3. Since there is every chance of the OBCs joining hands with the Dalits and minorities once the Mandal Commission

Report recommending reservations to OBCs is implemented, use every means to scuttle this report. Since the Hindu Nazis do not believe in means but only the ends no-holds-barred effort is being made to sabotage the Mandal Report. The best method is to set up the Dalits to oppose Mandal report saying that once reservations are extended to OBCs, the SC/ST quota would suffer. And Dalits will be too willing to fight the OBCs, who in the rural areas are the natural enemies of the Dalits. As OBCs are not Untouchables, & hence Hindus, & Dalits are Untouchables, and hence not Hindus, there is a perpetual enmity between the two—though the OBCs are also, some times, as poor if not poorer than the Dalits. This serious

caste contradiction in the rural side should be fully exploited pitting one against the other.

4. By Hinduising the Dalits and tribals, it becomes easy for the RSS to use them against the Muslims and Christians as it did in Meerut, Jamshedpur, Mandaikadu (TN) etc.

5. As the Left movement is getting weaker and the working class may come more and more under the spell of the fascist movements, by fanning language conflicts, it is possible to take them away from class-caste struggle.

6. As the country's Prime Minister herself is getting closer to RSS, it becomes easier to fool the Dalits.

These are considered some of the ideological aims of the RSS discussed at the Delhi meeting.

Tribal Army

Jamshedpur : A one-lakh strong militant volunteer force would be raised within six months to intensify the Jharkhand movement. N. E. Horo, MP and president of the Jharkhand Party, said here on Sept. 26.

In an exclusive interview, he said it was not correct to blame the ruling party alone for turning a deaf ear towards the demands of the tribals. All the Opposition parties, including the Left forces, had remained indifferent to the plight of the tribals. The volunteer force would be prepared to launch Assam and Punjab-type movements.

Dalit Research Centre

Bangalore : A Centre for Research and Development of Dalits is set up as a trust with P. L. Kumaraswamy, Rtd. Addl. Law Secretary to Karnataka Govt., V. Balasubramanian, IAS, and others as trustees to undertake action programmes for development of children and women in particular of scheduled castes, minorities and others. Also to do research, training, employment information service, vigilance and evaluation of the State policy etc. Those interested may contact: Prof. Mumtaz Ali Khan, its Director, 1st 'C' Main Road, Gangenahally Extension, Bangalore-560 032.

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