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Denied Human Rights

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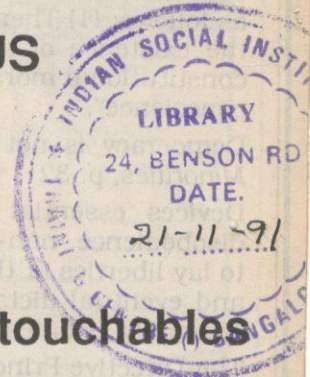
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State funds should not be used to promote religion: Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

State funds should not be used to promote any religion

Liberalism:

If the liberals have faith in and love and respect for Ranade their supreme duty lies not merely in assembling together to sing his praises but in organising themselves for spreading the gospel of Ranade.

What hope is there of the Liberals coming forward to fulfil this duty? Signs are very depressing. In the last election (1936) the Liberals did not even contest the seats. That, of course, is in itself a matter of some surprise. But this pales into nothing when one recalls the announcement made by the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri - the leading light of the Liberal Party - that he wished the Congress to succeed! There is no parallel of this except the treacherous and treasonable conduct of Bhishma who lived on the bounty of the Kauravas but wished and worked for success to their enemies, the Pandavas. This shows even the Liberals had lost faith in the gospel of Ranade. If this is the general condition of health of the Liberal Party it is better if the Party died. It would clear the way for a new orientation and spare us the tedium of idle clatter of liberals and liberalism. For such an event even Ranade may express satisfaction from his grave.

- Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah, pp. 63-64

Parliamentary Democracy :

(1) Western writers omit to take into account the incontrovertible fact that in every country there is a governing class. (2) They fail to realise that the resistance of a governing class is inconsistent with democracy and self-government. (3) Self-government and democracy become real only when the governing class loses its power to capture the power to govern. (4) The governing class may be so well entrenched that the servile classes will need other safeguards besides adult suffrage to achieve the same end. (5) Social outlook and social philosophy of the governing class is not taken into account. - *Pakistan or Partition of India*, p. 300

Democracy is "a form and method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed. The conditions are as follows: (1) There should not be glaring inequalities in society i.e. privilege for one class; (2) the existence of an opposition; (3) equality in law and administration; (4) observance of constitutional morality; (5) no tyranny of the majority; (6) moral order of society; and (7) public conscience".

- *Parliamentary Democracy*, p.6.

Democracy is not a form of government, but a form of social organisation. - *States and Minorities*, p. 32

Devices essential to maintain democracy: - (1) Constitutional methods. The methods like civil disobedience, non-co-operation and satyagraha, he regarded as 'Grammar of Anarchy'. (2) Not to lay liberties at the feet of a great man - Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and eventual dictatorship. (3) Make a political democracy a social democracy. - *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol. XI, p. 979.

The Directive Principles have a great value for they lay down the ideal of economic democracy. - *C.A. Debates*, Vol. VII, p. 494.

In his book, "*States and Minorities*" he maintained that fundamental rights are of no use to the underdog in the absence of economic security. Parliamentary democracy by itself could not achieve the economic ideal and the alternative of dictatorship could be defeated only by realizing state socialism within the framework of parliamentary democracy.

Secular State :

The conception of a secular state is derived from the liberal democratic tradition of the West. No institution which is maintained wholly out of state funds shall be used for the purpose of religious instruction irrespective of the question whether the religious instruction is given by the state or by any other body. - *C.A. Debates*, Vol. VII pp. 870-871.

DV thanks Deoras for opposing reservations & helping SC/BCs to know they are not Hindus

We want to profusely thank Deoras, the chief of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, because in his annual Vijayadashami address to his *chaddi* party flock at Nagpur he frankly admitted that his party's mad pursuit of *Hindutva* and its frenzied work for "Hindu unity" has suffered because of reservations.

On reading the *Statesman* (Oct. 18) report from Nagpur headlined "Deoras call to review quota policies", we can clearly make out that the RSS chief, whose Hindu party stands for the protection of the brahminical social order, is seriously perturbed that the "Hindu unity" for which his party has been so desperately trying for the past several decades by misleading the non-Hindu SC/ST/BCs that they are Hindus is collapsing so rapidly. *Because the anti-Mandal war and violence launched by Deoras and his chaddi boys and Hindu heroes has convinced the SC/ST/BCs that they are not Hindus.* That the ailing RSS chief, who could not even read out his prepared speech in full, chose reservations (our human rights) as the burden of his speech proves the depth and extent of the worry within the *chaddi* party over the reservations.

The Hindu nazi party chief in his speech desperately appealed in particular to political party leaders "to go against" reservations. But he must know that under our existing system of parliamentary democracy those in favour of reservations are in a big majority. The anti-reservation Aryans are a small minority. So, who is going to listen to him?

Anti-reservation political parties will not get votes, and if they don't get votes they can't come to power.

If a party wants power it must support reservation. This is the dilemma of all Hindu political parties today. Mandal has caught the neck of all parties and its Hindu leadership is gasping for breath. That is why they are resorting to all sorts of bluffs.

Threat to destroy Constitution: When the nazi chief asks the parties to oppose reservations, he is hinting at another dangerous threat. Because he knows that political parties wedded to parliamentary democracy cannot afford to oppose reservations. That means the brahminical social order (BSO) led by the nazis will have to overthrow the parliamentary democracy itself to frustrate our demand for reservations. And that means Deoras is threatening the political parties that if they don't oppose our human rights the nazis will destroy the parliamentary democracy. That means the very Constitution of India.

The country's SC/ST/BCs, the original (indigenous) peoples of India – or the Dravidas and Adi-Dravidas – have been assured their human rights. *And these human rights are called reservations in the Constitution of India. And that is why the SC/STs have constitutional reservations which are permanent as long as this Constitution lasts.* Can we take it that when Deoras threatens the political parties, all headed by members of the BSO, he is indirectly hinting that his *chaddi* party may destroy the very Constitution of India?

That the constitutional reservations are not implemented by the ruling BSO is a different question. Besides the SC/STs, the Constitution has assured reservations to BCs, Muslims, Christians and this is

ECONOMIC CRITERIA WILL DIVIDE BCs

Patna: Secretary-general of the Janata Dal, Sharad Yadav, has said the Congress had introduced "economic criterion" in the job reservation scheme to once again divide the backwards and maintain themselves in power. The Mandal formula was in no way linked to any employment guarantee programme. Mandal report was an effective weapon for the weaker section to wage a decisive war against thousands of years of exploitation at the hands of

upper castes. Any dilution in the Mandal formula would jeopardise the interests of the deprived section.

It was Yadav who authored the "Mandal-Masjid" plan during the last general elections to consolidate the support of the BCs and Muslims in favour of the JD. The plan, though, brought desired results for the party in Bihar, it failed to catch the imagination of the voters in other States including UP and Orissa. But the Mandal-Masjid plank

failed to save his Badayun seat. Why did the formula fail in other States of the country? Sharad Yadav has a clear-cut opinion about the Congress and the BJP. While the BJP is the party of the "conservative Brahmins" the Congress is of "liberal Brahmins", said Yadav. Both the parties have the same goal to perpetuate the brahminical system and maintain their hegemony by dividing the backwards. (*Hindustan Times*, Oct. 21)

what the Mandal Commission has recommended over 10 years back.

Who opposed Mandal ? : This reservation assured to the BCs, who according to the Mandal Commission formed a staggering 52% of the country's population but would get a mere 27%, is being opposed not by Muslims. Not by Christians. Not by Sikhs. The so-called religious minorities did not stage any fake self-immolations. They were all with us, SC/ST/BCs, in supporting the Mandal.

Who then opposed the reservations to BCs? They are the Hindu nazis in our different political parties including the country's original brahminical party, namely the Congress. Every party is opposed to Mandal including those belonging to the BSO within the Janata Dal also. Marxists, leninists, communists, naxalite nataka companies are the greatest opponents of Mandal. So, we can't blame Deoras and his *chaddi* party alone for opposing Mandal and the reservation. In opposing our human rights, BSO cuts across all political parties and stands as one single block.

That is how the entire SC/ST/BCs plus the Muslims/Christians/Sikhs stood united behind Mandal. We have to thank the Mandal miracle that it united all the enemies of the SC/ST/BCs and Muslim/Christians/Sikhs on one side and also those opposed to it on another side. There was a clean division. A neat polarisation of social force. Alien Aryans one side and pre-Aryan Indians on another side. (DV edit "Mandal Com. Churns the stagnant, stinking cess pool forging unity of the oppressed," Sept. 1 1990)

Reservation divides Hindus? : This is what Deoras said at Nagpur:

RSS chief suggested that social leaders, educationists, economists, administrators and politicians should come

together and jointly re-examine the policy that was being laid down for providing reservations in jobs on the basis of castes.

In the absence of a concrete and positive approach to the problem of reservation, it is more likely that political leaders would indulge in building a caste-based votebank to serve their political ends. "That is exactly what is happening today. Those who call themselves secularists are following unabashedly this mean caste-based politics. They discard *Hindutva*, but engage themselves in appeasing and promoting casteism. We must remain alert and on guard in view of such activities aiming at the disintegration of the Hindu society, he said.

Deoras said, "we must think seriously about this problem. Political leaders will always emphasise the dissensions in the society. That is in their blood and that is their political character. But society and its welfare must always have precedence over political considerations. Nothing that creates dissensions in the society should be tolerated and we have to be particularly vigilant about that.

Enemies of SC/ST/BC want economic criterion:

If we read the speech carefully, we can make out that he is against "caste-based" reservations and he is hinting at "income-based" (economic criteria) reservations. This is the argument of all enemies of SC/ST/BCs. This is the argument of alien Aryans. *This is also the argument of all those upholding and promoting the caste-based "chaturvarna" (caste system).*

Deoras says 'Hindu unity' will be destroyed if reservations (human rights) are implemented for SC/ST/BCs. But the same enemies of our human rights (reservations) speak

with two voices. They launch a war and violence on us when we demand reservations and at the same time they say SC/ST/BCs are also Hindus. On Oct 30, 1991 they took hundreds of our people to Ayodhya and asked them to demolish Babri Masjid saying that Muslims are anti-Hindu. *If SC/ST/BCs are also Hindus and brothers of Deoras, why his*

A reply to anti-Mandal racists

A JUSTIFICATION OF RESERVATION FOR OBCS

(A critique of Shourie and others)

Mihir Desai, Advocate, Bombay)

Hindu nazi editors like Arun Shourie published so much of falsehood on the Mandal during the 1990 Aryan anti-Mandal war and violence that not only the VP Singh govt. collapsed but the Hindu nazi party started its Toyota *rath yatra* to check the crumbling "Hindu unity" through its fake Ramjanambhoomi stunt.

The author of this small booklet proves that not all Aryans have gone mad on Mandal. He point by point rebuts anti-Mandal falsehood and particularly their dangerous "economic yardstick" within BCs - which the PVN Congress govt. has just introduced to destroy the Mandal impact.

Does not the caste criteria of reservations only institutionalise the caste system? No, says Desai.

"Communal identities are not the result of Muslim Personal Law, sexism not an effect of the women's right to Property Act. Dowry deaths do not originate from the Dowry Prohibition Act, he says.

The question of the "elite" among the BCs reaping benefits at the cost of the poor hardly arises. This would arise only when the full reserved quota is filled up. But, as in the case of SCs given a 15% reservation quota, only 4 percent is actually filled up. Even if all this goes to an SC "elite", there's still a further 11% more still open to be filled in.

Warning against the argument for reservations for the "poor" only among the BCs, he says it will result in the "richer" BCs being excluded and the poorer sections being in an inadequate position to benefit from it. In effect, neither the rich nor the poor BCs will benefit from it.

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BSO is opposing our human rights ? Our human rights (reservations) are not opposed by Muslims, Christians or Sikhs. Our human rights are daily denied and destroyed by Hindus only. At Ahmedabad, his *chaddi chores* stood before M.K. Gandhi statue, cut their fingers and applied the dripping blood as *tilak* on the forehead of their "Father of the nation" and took a pledge "to fight and die opposing our human rights (reservations)". That is the extent of BSO hatred against us.

Nazis not against Muslims: So what is the meaning of this perplexing "Hindu unity" which the Deoras party is trying to forge? This is what we had elaborately explained in our Jan. 1 1991 edit: "Hindu unity means what ? Why this Hindu unity? And this unity is against whom?"

In that editorial we had also explained that the BSO of Deoras (renamed Hindutva) is not against Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. *Those (15%) belonging to the BSO had lived peacefully with the Muslims during their 1,000-year-rule over India.* BSO had lived peacefully with the Christians during the 250-year British rule. Until the "independence" (1947) BSO had no conflict with the Sikhs also.

BSO had served loyally as slaves and servants of the Muslims and Christians. Supplied the Muslim and Christian rulers their own wives. And joining with Muslim and Christian rulers, they had oppressed us only.

But the BSO has been always at war with those not belonging to this order – meaning the non-Hindu Dravida original inhabitants of this land. The Dravida and Adi-Dravidas had never forgiven the Aryans for destroying their glorious Indus Valley Civilisation and usurping their rulership through deceit and deception.

The story of how Bali Chakravarti was dethroned and defeated by the dwarf Brahmin Vaman is told in every village of India and Diwali or Deepavali is celebrated in memory of Bali. How this world famous non-Aryan Bali Chakravarti, a great Buddhist ruler of India, was defeated through a cowardly back-door blackmail, is a case in point.

Muslims are brothers of Dalits: What is going on in India today is a war between the original inhabitants of India's SC/ST/BCs and the BSO. Over 90% India's Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are converts from the SC/ST/BCs and that is why they are with us in our human rights struggle.

That is why Muslims, Christians and Sikhs always stand by us because if we are sufferers, they are our co-sufferers. They are all our sisters and brothers. *SC/ST/BCs are the blood relations of the equally oppressed Muslims/Christians/Sikhs.*

This unity of the over 85% of the original inhabitants of India to regain their human rights is coming up in a big way. And Deoras, his *chaddi chores*, the snakes in the Congress grass, the "sacred thread" marxists, the naxalite natak companies, human rights heroes

are all worried about this growing unity of the Indians. And that is why all those people belonging to the BSO are removing their socialist, gandhian, marxist masks and joining the *chaddies* in opposing our human rights.

Because once we recover our human rights through the Mandal Commission, the unity of the 85% is established. India's unity and integrity will be strengthened. The BSO is opposed to this unity and that is why all the parties headed by the BSO and their national toilet papers are working overtime for "Hindu unity" – the unity of the 15% Aryans who are against the 85% Indians.

And that means "Hindu unity" aims at destroying Indian unity. ■

Gujarat Hindu atrocities on Dalits

Mehsana: Locked doors and death-like silence greet the visitors to *Harijanwas* situated at the centre of the Chitrodipura village, just 10 kms from here. The signboard of Dalit Hit Vikas Mandali and seven policemen, guarding the *Harijans'* houses, are the only visible signs of the once-busy area. The entire 300-strong *Harijan* population of the village has migrated and is camping near the sachivalaya in the state capital at Gandhinagar for the last four days. They cannot go back because of the terror of the majority. Their offence: they have "dared" to challenge the supremacy of the Chaudharys, and registered an offence of "murder" of a *Harijan* youth, which the Chaudharys wanted to hide under the disguise of an "accident". (*Times of India* Oct. 23). ■

Babasaheb, Phule Memorials

Chandrapur: The Maharashtra government will spend Rs 2 crores for raising a memorial for Mahatma Jyotiba Phule and opening an institute at his home, which would be declared as a national monument, Dadasaheb Rupavate, former minister and acting president of Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar centenary celebrations committee, said here on Oct. 15. The government would also spend Rs. 2.5 crores on the chaitya bhoomi and rajagriha of Dr B.R. Ambedkar. Sixteen books written by Dr. Ambedkar had been translated into Marathi and about nine of them would be available within a month. Similarly, the works of Mahatma Phule also were being translated into English. (*Times of India* Oct. 18). ■

Hindus Kill Dalits

Berhampur: Two *Harijans* were killed and at least 15 others injured when a *Harijan* bustee was attacked and burnt by Hindus in Goudia Barada village under Bhanjanagar sub-division in Ganjam district on Oct. 18, according to delayed official reports received here. (PTI – *Deccan Herald* Oct. 22) ■

Bangalore: The Malayali "Jewish General in Action" (DV Sept. 16 91, p 9) has already started his actions and his zionist zeals are now in full swing. In a well-publicised speech in London, the zionist in Lt.-Gen. Jack Jacob (retd) ("A Jew as Nazi MP", DV Aug. 16 1991, p 7), who is just back from a trip to Israel, his holy homeland illegally taken from Palestinians, not only defied the Indian sentiment as well as the official policies by pleading for diplomatic connections with Israel, but what is more shocking is he singled out Muslims for all the problems in the world and also India. It is now well evident that this ex-General is acting on behalf of the Hindu nazis who are using him as a link with the world zionist lobby.

The Jewish general, who has joined India's nazi party, was given the false promise of being made India's army chief when the nazis take over India.

But poor Jacob, who is new to the Hindu brand of nazism, does not know that the brahminical social order does not believe in keeping up any promise. Innocently, Jacob praised the Indian rulers and the govt. and was tutored to utter the big lie that "religious minorities are well-treated in India."

Why then the minority commission? : If the minorities are "well treated" why the Govt. of India itself has a Minority Commission headed by its own ex-Home

Secretary, and this Commission has given (its annual reports after reports pinpointing severe minority persecution in India?

India's pro-nazi and pro-zionist national toilet papers gave wide publicity to Jacob's London speech:

London: The Commonwealth Jewish Council presented its prestigious award to a retired general of the Indian Army, Lt.-Gen. Jack Jacob, at a function here last night which he accepted "on behalf of the people of India" who for over a period of over 2000 years had given a home to the Jewish community displaying "a degree of compassion and tolerance unequalled anywhere".

The General was presented the award by Paddy Ashdown, leader of Britain's Liberal Democratic Party, for "services to the Commonwealth and its Jewish communities".

Judge Israel Finestein said that anti-semitism never took roots in India. But he wondered why India was

hesitant to establish diplomatic relations with Israel.

Greville Janner, President of the Commonwealth Jewish Council, said that Jacob's personality reflected the excellence of the "tiny minority" of Jews in India, just 7,500.

Gen. Jacob said the compassion and tolerance of Indians enabled Jews, Zorastrians and Armenians fleeing from religious persecution to settle in peace and to flourish. A host of Christian denominations, some among the oldest in the world, were also part of the varied Indian panorama. They had been joined by thousands of Tibetans, Chakmas from Bangladesh and Sri Lankan Tamils.

But he warned that Muslim fundamentalist forces "are bent on disrupting the unity of India and the traditional harmony of its people."

He hoped for full diplomatic relations between India and Israel - "the two open societies wedded to democratic institutions." (*Hindustan Times*, Oct. 16).

Tagore was pro-zionist ?

Bombay: Was the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore a Jew and pro-Israel?

Yes, would be the answer if the reproduction of an article by Dr Alex Aronson, who was the lecturer in English at the international university at Santiniketan, in the latest issue of the "News From Israel" brought out by that country's Consulate here. "Jewish people all over Europe and in America took to Tagore's poetry. Most of his books were translated first into Yiddish and later on into Hebrew. He asserted that Dr. Tagore, a Bengali Brahmin, remained a staunch supporter of zionism. (*Statesman* Oct. 20).

Why Delhi ticket denied:

Jacob was tipped for the New Delhi Lok Sabha seat which fell vacant because of L.K. Advani resignation. Since the Hindu nazi party's mother, the ruling Congress put up a Punjabi Khatri film actor, Rajesh Khanna, the nazi party did not like to field this unknown South Indian Malayali with a Christian name. The Hindu nazis want to exploit the Malayali Jew so that they will get closer to

the zionist lobby.

The only common similarity between the two is their hatred for Muslims. But there the comparison ends. Jews have produced world-famous philosophers (Karl Marx), scientists, thinkers and scholars. But India's BSO has produced none. Poor Jacob is being fooled and this became evident when it fielded a Bhumihar Brahmin film actor, "Shotgun".

The brahminical social order will never, ever accept any one who is not a born Brahmin or in the BSO. The BSO will exploit the Malayali Jew to get all favours from zionists and kick him out finally. The Malayali Jew will realise that he has been sucked dry only when he feels feeble and falls to the ground.

Hitler and Brahmins: Delhi reports say that the Malayali Jew is already upset that after doing so much for the Hindu nazis he is being ignored. *He*

must know that in history Jews were always killed by non-Jews. But in India the BSO was never killed. BSO only victimised and killed others. Jews were killed in millions by Nazi Hitler (Who is the Mother of Hitler, Dalit Sahitya Akademy 1984) and India's BSO was Hitler's greatest admirer. The same BSO is also an admirer of Zionists. Look at this contradiction. Some people used to describe the BSO as the "Jews of India". How can admirers of Hitler be Jews of India?

Jews are not Hindus: The Malayali Jew would do well to study and understand the "Hindu mind" (*Know the Hindu Mind*, DSA 1990) before accepting any further assignment from the Hindu nazis. The Jew must also know the Hindu nazi definition of a Hindu: "One who is not a Muslim, Christian, Parsee or Jew is a Hindu." Why should he sweat and toil for a hostile camp to which he will never, ever be admitted? Already the innocent Jew has passed one-third into the nazi stomach and he is feeling the pain as he is being swallowed. If he doesn't quickly get himself extricated from the nazi stomach, it may be too late

before he wakes up.

The Jews are supposed to be the "brainiest" but the BSO has beaten the Jews. ■

Punjab's only Gandhi statue under threat

Patiala : The statue on the Mall Road of this formerly princely city of Patiala is a standing testimony to more than Punjab's terrorist problem. The M.K. Gandhi memorial, located on a bustling road close to the district headquarters is guarded by the police.

It was over two decades ago that some Naxalites tried to dent and desecrate the sculpture. Soon, thereafter, came up the shielding walls and two tents housing the guards. And, they have stayed.

The incongruity of the barechested naked fakir, leaning on a staff alone, under the custody of half a dozen armed men in uniform has continued to rile the local Gandhians. But, their objection has lost all chance of a hearing with the onset of 'Khalistanis'. ■

Soviet funds for "sacred thread" marxists

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: A closely guarded secret has just leaked out: India's "sacred thread marxists" have received enormous amount of money from their Soviet godfathers. A *Times of India* report puts the figure at over 500,000 dollars.

Why India's upper caste rulers, who through their official machinery in Delhi keep such a strict vigil on the flow of foreign funds, allowed such a torrent to flow into India? Because the torrent helped fertilise the "sacred thread" soil. Both the officers in charge of foreign funding and those receiving the foreign fund in the marxist parties – are "sacred threads". Simple.

What did the "communists" do with such a massive dose of funds? They used it to further the interests of the "sacred threads".

In Bangalore, we have two or three beautifully furnished fabulous "communist" book stores – selling "sacred thread" literature like the Ramayana, Mahabharata, Bhagvad Gita. This New Karnataka Natak Company also publishes some Kannada garbage stuff of their own "sacred threads".

Lately, these bookstores have removed Marx, Lenin books and stuffed their shelves with more of Hindu nazi stuff.

Babasaheb book dubbed communal: These bookstores refused to keep Babasaheb Ambedkar books and Dalit Sahitya Akademy books saying they are "communal" literature. "Sacred thread" books are

secular but Babasaheb books are communal. Their well-funded publishing house in Delhi (no dearth of money) to this day has not published a single book on the problems confronting the SC/ST/BCs and religious minorities except of course of some "sacred thread" fakes.

And that is why when the Soviet funds went into the stomach of the "sacred threads", their "sacred thread" officer-cousins did not take objection to the flow of foreign funds.

New Delhi: The Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) has distributed over \$ 20 million every year since 1937 to "fraternal parties" – including the CPI – through KGB channels, according to report in the latest issue of the Soviet weekly, *Rossia*. The CPI received \$500,000 – a modest sum compared to the \$2 million made available to the French community party. (*Times of India* Oct. 12).

SC/ST/BCs and religious minorities – meaning the 85% of the non-Hindu original inhabitants of India – are oppressed on different sides by alien Aryans disguised as Hindu nazis, gandhian fakes, sarvodaya serpents, the Congress grass snakes, naxalite nataka companies and "sacred thread marxists". The latest to join this growing natak company are the Ecology, Development and Womens lib. heroes, Narmada Bachav walas, human rights jokers.

Beware of all these snakes in the grass. ■

Brahmin-baiting, Periyarism and fall of Dravidian movement

K. KARUPPAIAH, TIRUCHY, TN

After reading the DV edit (Oct. 1-15) I sat with a heavy heart for over five minutes thinking about the scientific reply for the "fall of Dravidian movement in Tamil Nadu". I read the editorial again. As pinpointed the cause for the fall of Dravidian movement is its sole pre-occupation with anti-Brahmin campaign. Had the Dravidian movement followed the correct principle, it would have been a deciding factor in TN politics and social movements.

It is the moral duty of Periyarists to reply word by word and sentence by sentence to this editorial. But I know they will not because they cannot reply. Because the leadership has become corrupt as pointed out in the editorial. Some Dravidian leaders and Periyarists are running educational institutions, collecting huge capitation fee. When they turn into a money-spinning business, these leaders cannot concentrate on ideology.

The editorial says that in DK no Untouchable is given any worthy post. This is true. If the Periyarists are interested in social change they should have kept the Untouchables in the forefront of their movement. Instead of doing that they were busy indulging in

Brahmin-baiting and job-hunting. Had they bothered about the social changes they would have encouraged the Dalit people to have better and important positions in the movement. Instead, they even collected capitation fees from the Dalit students. That is why no Dalit is interested in Periyarist movement because they find no wavelength with the Dravidian movement or Periyarism.

PMK & Dr. Ramadas only hope: The editorial has rightly warned the Dravidian masses not to fall into the brahminical social order. As mentioned in one of the famous editorials, the mind of our youngsters is already controlled by the BSO. Creating social awareness among the youngsters is the only solution to realise and act against the dangers of BSO.

As for the unity of Tamil SC/BC/Muslims/Christians, the only hope is the newly-formed PMK. The cadre formation of PMK should be a principled one. Otherwise, we cannot achieve the desired goal. That is why I wrote long back to Dr. Ramadas about the importance of brotherhood between the Vanniars and Dalits. ■

DK chief's support to brahmins shocks TN Dravidians

P.C. KANDA VELU, MADRAS

This is with reference to your editorial, "Aryan fate will be decided in Tamil soil" (DV Oct. 1).

Though I am not a member of the Dravida Kazhagam, I have been its great admirer, frequently visiting Periyar Thidal, reading its literature, participating in all DK activities – despite the fact that I am an Untouchable working in Madras University.

But the stand taken by its general secretary, K. Veeramani, has shocked me because he has started praising the *Bangalore papatti*. I am quoting from the *Hindustan Times* (Oct. 22) which speaks for itself.

Madras: Casteist politics has begun rearing its ugly head in TN again with the DMK accusing the ruling AIADMK of trying to promote brahminism through the temple renovation fund and the proposed vedic Institute.

Chief Minister Jayalalitha had launched a fund for temple renovation in the State and an institute for vedic studies costing Rs. 1 crore.

Although DMK chief Karunanidhi had questioned the need for a vedic institute, Dravida Kazhagam general secretary K. Veeramani has surprisingly welcomed Jayalalitha's announcement to reserve 18% seats for

Scheduled Castes in the vedic Institutes. DMK leaders accused her of perpetrating brahminism and going against the tenets of the Dravidian ideals laid down by the late Periyar EV Ramaswamy and the Anna.

But the ruling AIADMK supremo has been hailed by even the Dravida Kazhagam (DK) now for fulfilling its founder Periyar EV Ramaswamy's desire for making even SCs temple priests.

Veeramani has also stated that while earlier govts. had failed to fulfil the desire, Jayalalitha had succeeded in fulfilling the desire of the late Periyar who wanted the profession of *archakas* to be thrown open to all the communities including the SCs.

When the DMK is continuing to fight brahminism, how Veeramani, a close associate of the DMK chief, is praising the brahminical forces ? ■

DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR

His Last Days & His Last Message

Nanak Chand Rattu

1991 pp.70 Rs.12

Praja Bandhu, Saroor Nagar

Hyderabad - 500 035

Dalits protest temple priest stunt

VEERA PANDIAN, TANJORE

"Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus", said Babasaheb Ambedkar, the saviour of the Untouchables. Hence they have no connection with Hindus or their temples. So, we Untouchables strongly oppose the *Bangalore papatti* move "to make *Harijans* temple priests." Untouchables have their own religion, their own temples, their own deities. They are not interested in entering their oppressor's place of worship nor are they interested in becoming priests in their enemy temples.

The *Bangalore papatti* does not know that her own religion says that only a born Brahmin can be a temple priest. This brahminical rule had been upheld even by the highest Supreme Court itself.

So, the *Bangalore papatti* is indulging in mere stunts to deceive the innocent Untouchables by making false promises.

Did she take the permission of her Kanchi lord before announcing it? Will the Hindus tolerate an Untouchable priest? Will the Hindus enter a temple with an Untouchable priest? Is there any precedent to what the *papatti* is trying to do?

All this proves that the *Bangalore papatti* is only trying to fool the innocent Untouchables. When we Untouchables don't want to interfere with her temples, her people, her religion, why she is trying to interfere with our innocent people?

We are sorry that instead of sternly condemning this action of "hinduising" (meaning hoodwinking) the Untouchables, the Dravida Kazhagam is praising the *Bangalore papatti's* dangerous move. This makes us think that Periyarists have been corrupted and that DV has proved right. The editor of DV must write to the DK chief, Veeramani, to stop flirting with the *Bangalore papatti*.

Dalit Presecution in TN

K. UADAIAPPAN, ASST. POST MASTER,
DEVAKOTTAI, TN - 623 302

I have completed 30 years of service in Postal Dept. I am a Scheduled Caste and a reader of DV for the past eight years.

On Sept. 19 midnight, in my native place, Chinna Unjanai, near Devakottai, I was arrested for being allegedly pro-LTTE. I was kept in the Madurai jail for three days and later released on bail.

Now I am under suspension. I met many brothers of my community in the jail. Nearly 70% of those arrested under NSA are Dalits.

Now I am 51. For 30 years I have been working and telling our people that we cannot live with Hindus (DV edit Sept. 1 1991).

Rama burning to retaliate Ravana burning

New Delhi: The Marxist-Periyarist Communist Party says that unless smaller States like Jharkhand, Uttarakhand, Bundelkhand, Chattisgarh, Vidharba, Telengana, Udayachal and Mithila are created, agitations by the people of these regions and linguistic and ethnic identities will not subside and "chaos and confusion" will follow.

At a three-day convention here, it adopted a resolution asking the Centre to form a Constituent Assembly for the sole purpose of restructuring the present unitary India into a real federal set-up. The constituent units of the federation would voluntarily give certain powers to the federal Government.

All-India services must be abolished and the States must be empowered to have the required machinery for recruitment.

The convention said the act of burning the effigies of Ravana, Indrajit and others every year at New Delhi as a festival and a celebration wounds the self-respect feelings of crores of South Indian people. The convention asked the Union Government to stop forthwith the "ignominious act of burning the effigies of Ravana the great, Indrajit and others. Otherwise volunteers of the Marxist-Periyarist Communist Party would, in protest and to uphold the self-respecting principles of Periyar E.V.R. burn the pictures of Rama, Lakshman, and Sita at Ramalila Grounds in New Delhi in the ensuing year of 1992."

It criticized the adoption of Hindi as the "sole official language of India without any clear voting in the Constituent Assembly 40 years ago." It asked the Government to "declare immediately all the languages under the VIII Schedule of the Constitution as official languages and introduce them for administrative purposes in all Central Government offices and departments situated within the respective States. (Statesman Oct. 22)

Ex-Naxal Dalit leader jumps to fight Hindus

Vijayawada: A naxalite group has organised a "Samatha Volunteer Force", an army of youth trained in self-defence, to counter attacks on Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.

The force is being organised by K.G. Satyamurthy, who founded the Marxist-Leninist Centre after 16 years in the underground in the People's War Group.

The 62-year-old ex-Naxalite leader said the force had succeeded in checking possible attacks on Dalits by Hindus with the Dalit movement itself growing from the stage of "self-respect to self-defence" after the Tsundur carnage. (*Hindustan Times* Oct. 19).

DV role in uniting Africans & Dalits hailed

JOHN TRIMBLE, ORGANIZER, ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, ATLANTA, US

Your work not only aids the Dalit movement, and the broader community seeking information on the Dalit struggle, but serves as an example to us all on the importance of revolutionary education.

The work of the *Dalit Voice*, in consistently explaining the cultural and historical ties between the Dalits, Scheduled Castes, and Tribals; and Africa, deserves the highest praise. Africans, people of African descent, must work together to resurrect the glorious history of Africa. Armed with our correct history, we use it as a weapon to "educate, agitate, and organize", to use Babasaheb Ambedkar's golden words, to carry on the legacy of great organizers like Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

African culture is the synthesis of all the experiences of African people. The base for this synthesis is the traditional African experience. Within the traditional African experience we find egalitarianism, humanism, and collectivism. This is both the kernel of the African personality and the building blocks for true socialist, and communist societies.

Racist historians: We must resurrect African history and point out the falsehoods perpetuated by racist European historians who were supporters of slavery, colonialism, zionism, imperialism, and neocolonialism. These bankrupt historians have spread lies that Africa was backward, barbaric, "jungle countries" with little development or hope before the arrival of European Christianity and European civilization. The dishonesty of capitalist historians has been so intense that even the most dedicated revolutionaries can upon occasion fall victim to using our enemy's stereotypes. As revolutionaries we must be vigilant in pointing out and correcting our errors.

Christian church: Africa was and is far from a cluster of backward 'jungle countries'. We realize that *Africa is the mother of human civilization*. Africa gave the world its first universities. Africa was the first to develop writing, iron tools, and monotheism.

Early Christianity had its birth in Africa. *When Jesus had to hide, his parents brought him to Africa*. The first Christian church was established in Africa.

However, Christianity as an institution is controlled by a small ruling class that dominates and oppresses the masses. This institution has taken on bad habits and characteristics. This was the case first under European feudalism and now under capitalism. *The Christian church played a leading role in the slave trade, slavery, and colonialism in the Americas and Africa*.

The religions of the indigenous people of the Americas and Africa were branded 'primitive' and 'subhuman'. This religious intolerance coupled with racism became the basis of miseducating the broader European community. This miseducation was necessary to involve the broader European community in the inhumane treatment of Africans in the slave trade, slavery, and African colonization and the near extermination of the indigenous people of America. All this was done in the name of Christianity.

Missionaries did good work: We must become aware of the positive and negative history and contributions of Christianity, particularly the missionaries. In Africa and America the missionaries helped develop the economic and ideological infrastructures which made colonization possible.

We must be conscious of the negative concepts incorrectly associated with Africa to justify the exploitation of Africa's people and natural resources. *The notion of Africa as a jungle devoid of development was a lie used to justify exploitation*. We must crush this lie by educating ourselves regarding both the glorious contributions and mistakes made by African people.

A correct analysis of our history is indispensable in planning our future.

New Dalit organisation

New Delhi: The former Union Minister and president of the Dalit Sena, Ram Vilas Paswan, on Oct. 21 announced the formation of a new organisation, the 'All-India Dalit Action Committee for Social Justice' to help consolidate the efforts of the various Dalit organisations in the country. Stating this at the end of the two-day conference of Dalits organisations here, he said the need to build a federal coordinating committee was felt in order to strengthen the struggle for social justice for all the oppressed groups including minorities and backwards. (*Hindu* Oct. 22).

Latest Hindi book

YUGAPURUSH BABASAHEB DR. BHIMRAO
AMBEDKAR JEEVAN SANGHARSH EVAM
RASHTRA SEVAION

Shankaranand Shastri
1991 pp. 472 Rs. 160

Rs. 160 Library edition Rs. 130 Ordinary
Dr. Ambedkar Research Institute,
No. 3, Institutional area, Sector 4, RK Puram
New Delhi - 110 022

The present work is a sincere attempt by several people to provide a comprehensive listing of African-Centric sources that outline and detail what we consider vital elements of the African presence in world history. In this effort there is also an attempt to acknowledge those writers who have for a long time been contributing to the general rewriting of world history. Most of these writers, but not nearly all of them, are continental Africans or members of the global African community. While some of these works will be difficult to find, not readily available, or out of print, we should at least begin to familiarize ourselves with some of the names and the texts of many of the men and women who have advanced and made possible the current level of African-Centric scholarship. At the same time, however, many of the sources that we have listed are quite recent and easily obtainable.

The bibliographic listings are the center of this work. The commentaries are included only to help introduce and supply for the bibliographies an effective framework. Obviously, this is not a complete bibliographic listing, and future editions of the publication shall contain numerous additional entries. Indeed, we invite and encourage our readers to constructively critique the publication, to question each entry, and to supply us with the references that we have innocently omitted. At the moment, however, we are earnestly trying to fill a void, and are confident that we are moving in the right direction.

Not slave but master: The first section of the work concentrates on the African presence in antiquity. Our readers should not bother to look in this section for listings on the African as a servant and slave of other peoples. There is no shortage of sources available on that subject, and this has not been

our focus. Admittedly, the African, like other peoples, has been a bondsman. The African experience as bondsman, however, is only a very limited and limiting portion of our total historical experience. Instead of the stereotypical and

In the second section of the work we have endeavored to list the major African-Centric studies that focus largely on the contemporary Africoid presence among the Dalits (*the Black Untouchables of India*), and the Black populations of

The following preface is reproduced from the forthcoming book from our American representative who is a noted Black historian in view of its relevance to India's untouchables human rights struggle and underline the need to rewrite the existing brahminical history of India. Just as a great Black revivalism is currently going on in USA, we too must have a Dalit revivalism.

The book titled, *African People Around The World: Commentaries and Bibliographies*, is compiled and edited by Runoko Rashidi

with contributions by: James E. Brunson, Legrand H. Clegg II, Karen A. Johnson, C. Martin, V.T. Rajshekar and Larry Obadele Williams. Foreword by Dr. John Henrik Clarke. The book is dedicated to The Dalits of India, The Kanaks and the Koori, Total 154 pages.

over-exaggerated African slave, savage and primitive, we have consciously chosen to list those sources that pertain to what Ivan Van Sertima has referred to as "That Other African". This is the African that we have chosen to identify and emphasize. *This is the African that first peopled the earth. This is the African that gave birth to, or significantly influenced, the world's oldest and most fundamental cultures and civilizations.* This is the African that entered ancient Asia, primeval Europe, and the early Americas not as slave, but as master.

Australia and Oceanica, particularly Melanesia.

The *Dalits (Untouchables)*, who are probably the most oppressed people on earth, are engaged in a desperate and fundamental struggle for basic human rights.

The Koori (Australian Aborigines) are fighting to stave off physical and cultural annihilation. The Kanaks (Melanesians) are battling for national liberation against aggressive and ruthless colonial powers. We maintain that these populations form critically important, but insufficiently known aspects of the global African community.

NATIONAL CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

New Delhi Jan 3 to 8 1992,

Jointly organised by

National Centre for the Protection of Human Rights, New Delhi, & World Organisation Against Torture, Geneva

Theme: Human rights violations in India - national & international remedies.

Venue: Indian Social Institute, 10 Institutional Area, Lodhi Road, New Delhi 110 003.

Travelling: Second class train fare assured.

Jose P. Verghese, Advocate,
B.2/63, Safdarjung Enclave, New Delhi - 110 029,
Telex: 31-72366 SITC IN Fax: 91-11-6875545

Dr. Velu Annamalai, Houston, USA: In an effort to increase the number of *Dalit Voice* subscribers from US, Yogesh Varhade of Canada and myself contacted our Dalit brothers and well-wishers to become life-members and I am glad to inform that they have paid including myself. More will follow.

Ms. Anne Walker, New York, US: We are in the midst of a big "Black Revivalist Movement". Happy to read in *Dalit Voice* that India's Black Untouchables are also interested in joining us.

Muslehuiddin Ahmed, King Abdul Aziz University, Jeddah, S. Arabia: I am very much impressed with your work. Your *Dalit Voice* and books are very valuable. I want to introduce your literature to important leaders of thought here. I am co-editor of an Urdu supplement here and would like to translate some of your writings.

M.M. Sao, Engineer, Chandrapur, MS: When my brother weeps, how can I remain without weeping? DV's suffering is my suffering. Tears started coming spontaneously as I read about the plight of DV. So I am sending Rs.1,100, a tiny gift, which has to be treated as a token of your devotion towards the oppressed whose age-old voice has been enshrined by you in DV which is embarking into its splendid 11th year. That is why eleven hundred rupees. Tears out of compassion are more powerful than words. It is the language of heart. It is the language of existence. That is Buddhist meditation.

Bodhan Rajak, 385 -Rabindrapally, PO Katwa, WB-713 130: I am a poor washerman community student of final B.Com. In this caste-based society, washermen are one of the most oppressed communities. So, I am hardly in a position to continue my DV subscription as I can't spare Rs. 90. Yet I am doing my best to send the money, as DV has not only given me a new vision and a new hope to live but also improved my English language and sharpened my will to fight brahminism.

S. Venkata Ratnam, Amalapuram, AP : Regret to inform the death of B.V. Ramanayya, ex-MLA of the Republican Party of Babasaheb, on Oct. 22 here at his residence after a 15-year-long illness. He was one of the greatest Ambedkarites of the country, a great orator, founder of the Republican Students Federation, Editor of *Jai Bheem, Republican Jyoti* etc., founder, Dr. Ambedkar Study Circle, and a Stuanch Buddhist. A condolence meeting will be held here on Nov. 3 to which we invite all friends.

Prof. Jaganmohan Sahoo, Rourkela: The anti-Mandal agitation in Orissa by upper castes is spreading to different corners of Orissa. SC/ST/BCs

ignorance of facts made them support the agitation. Our people are unable to counter the fascists due to inadequate Oriya literature on Dalit problem. I am worried about this issue but failed due to lack of support from intellectuals. Being a lecturer, I can't come to the road to counter the Hindu false propaganda. Thinking sections of SC/ST/BCs feel that they can no longer live with Hindus. No paper, except DV is fighting for Mandal report. I have some Oriya leaflets on the Mandal Commission. It can be collected by sending 50 paise postal stamp for 20 leaflets: DL 257, Basanti Colony, Rourkela-769 012.

Neerav Patel, No. 4, Hemang Park, Vejalpur, Ahmedabad-380 051: Thank you for sending me the poem "Dalit". I have never read such a beautiful Dalit poetry, so subtle, so truthful, so sensitive, so imaginative and so finely crafted. I am going to translate it into Gujarati and read it before our fellow Gujarati Dalit poets. And the greatest wonder is it is written by an Afro-American girl living thousands of miles away from the Indian reality and yet how she happens to capture the Dalit agony and desire for deliverance in far better way than the Dalits themselves. Through DV I convey my kudos so that Dr. Velu Annamalai (DV July 16 p.13) may convey it to her. People like Nubia Kai should be invited to our Dalit poetry workshops so that crude craftsmen of Dalit poetry like us could learn the lessons of literature from them. *Dalit Voice* service to Dalit movement has gone into history. Your contribution towards the course of Dalit liberation would be remembered in history. Every age finds its own Babasaheb.

C. Madhavan, Trivandrum: This is with ref. to "Aryan fears behind tears for poor BCs" (DV Oct. 16-31, p.3). The Ezhavas in Kerala have achieved some success in unity and organisation. As an Ambedkarite, I was keenly following their cultural assimilation with Hindus. They never bothered about Dr. Ambedkar or Dalits. They still call our people *Harijans* in their newspaper, *Kerala Kaumudi*. They want Mandal Commission. They are calling upon their followers to fight tooth and nail for the Mandal Report. They are seeking our support also and yet they claim superiority over us. That is why they get no justice. If they had followed Ambedkarism combining it with the ideals of Sri Narayana Guru, they could have definitely forged unity with us and got the required strength to rule Kerala along with our people. This is the secret of the failure of all BCs everywhere in India because they did not follow Babasaheb Ambedkar's "Three Commandments": Educate, Agitate, Organise.

M.I. Krishnankutty, Manalur, Trichur, Kerala: If marxism is the philosophy of social change, we should study it. We should make it a part of our thinking. We have to study first the people whom we are trying to change. Even its necessity has not been approved by any wing of the Indian communists. The CPI

it recently in an article *Mainstream*, a weekly in English. Have we studied about the phenomenon – caste – which is existing in Indian social system for the last thousands of years, but not anywhere in the world! Karl Marx has pointed out about it in a few articles written by him. Marx has only expressed confidence that caste system would disappear on expansion of industrial age and class struggle. We cannot blame Marx for not mentioning a solution for it. Indian communists have to do that work. Without that they cannot make any revolution in India. This is what C. Achuta Menon said in the *Mathrubhoomi* weekly (Malayalam) recently.

V. Prabhakaran, Palghat, Kerala: Your speech at the Calicut Town Hall on Oct. 6 last in the "History seminar", sponsored by the Arabic Teachers Association of Kerala, was described as electrifying by the organisers. They said the entire audience was stunned by your sharp and factual presentation of the calculated perversion of history by the nazis. They were really taken aback by your golden concluding words: "It is up to you to re-write this distorted history. You can't re-write it by using the existing ink. But it can be rewritten only with the ink of your blood." I am sure none will forget these prophetic words of yours. You have captured and captivated their hearts. Your lecture at the Islamic Youth Centre was also very fruitful as it cleared almost all their doubts. Most of the Muslim youth present came to know the genuine revolutionary message of Islam for the first time. They were asking me how a non-Muslim, not trained in Islamic concepts could come out with such an authoritative interpretation of Islam. Even though your speech at the book release function was very brief, it helped open the eyes of many who were misled by the brahminical propaganda. Your assessment of marxism in India was also endorsed by such old veteran marxist-leninists like Brother Vasu ("Marxism used to oppress SC/ST/BCs: Naxal leader's sorrow", DV Nov. 1 p.18). Vasu is fully convinced by what you explained.

A. Elankovan, Shaktinagar, Raichur, Karnataka: The SC "cream" is more allergic to us than to the upper castes. This "cream" is rightly called the "SC Brahmins". They knock off all facilities. This renegade clan is more dangerous than the Brahmins.

Debendralal Biswas Thakur, president, Harichand Mission, Calcutta: The mass murder of Dalits at Chundur (DV edit Sept. 1 91: "Chundur proves non-Hindu Dalits can't live with Hindus") fully proves that you are right. What we have is a brahminical autocratic rule in the guise of democracy. I have explained this in detail in my forthcoming book, *Boudha Dharma O Matua Dharma Samiksha*, in Bengali.

Shanta Deshpande, Tumkur, Karnataka: There are greeting cards available for all holy occasions of all

some cards for the occasions like April 14, May 6, Oct. 14, and Dec. 6. I pity the Buddhists' divine contentment.

Dwarika Prasad, ONGC Flats, Mulund, Bombay: I read your article in the *Hindustan Times* (Sept. 23) on the "Lessons of Chundur. On an earlier occasion, you wrote in the HT that "we must welcome the caste war launched by the Hindus as it will sharpen the contradictions and help create committed leadership." You have rightly stated now that the Hindu hatred against us creates explosions like Chundur. Untouchability is another form of hatred. So to end hatred and untouchability, the Hindu religion that is the cause of both must be finished first.

R.L. Kain, Dr. Ambedkar Vichar Manch, Delhi - 95: Congratulations for your "Letter to Editor" in the *Hindustan Times* (Oct. 16) effectively rebutting the argument in favour of economic criterion in reservations and thus trying to destroy the most scientific Mandal Com. report. You have rightly said "SC/ST/BCs and minorities are fighting for reservations not because they are poor but because they are deprived. That means reservations are our human rights. The poor people are taken care of by the Constitution and the govt. through the Planning Com. and hundreds of poverty alleviation programmes."

Raju V.V., social worker, Sreyas, Kuttanellor, Trichur - 680 014: I have been fully briefed about your work by your Kerala rep., V. Prabhakaran. In my own way I am spreading the Ambedkar Mission and philosophy. As I have no income, I want to get a free copy of DV so that I am in touch with you. I have programmes in all the 14 districts of Kerala.

Chinmay Kumar Sethy, H.398/E-7, Arera Colony, Bhopal-462 016: I am thankful to Mrs. Hemalata Shetty's (DV Aug. 16) "letter" pointing out the plight of SC/ST students who can't avail of the foreign scholarship. I am a SC student doing my final year engineering degree and I want to avail some foreign scholarship for my master's degree. Will some of your readers help me?

D. Koteswara Rao, State Bank of India, Putrela, AP: In our state I am pained to note that our two most important Dalit leaders, Katti Padma Rao and Bojja Tarakam, are not coming together to fight the Chundur Dalit cause.

We had a long meeting with Bojja Tarakam during his visit here on Oct. 27. He said recently he had a meeting with Katti Padma Rao and that both had agreed to work together. The Hindus in the govt. and the press tried to create the differences between the two by making Katti Padma Rao to accept some of the govt. doles. He is now realising the mistake of falling into Hindu traps as well as that of the nazi naxalites. Soon the two will come together – EDITOR.

V.B. Rawat, Lokayata, Hauz Khas village, New Delhi - 16: I just read a thought-provoking "letter" by you in

upper caste but very much willing to work for the oppressed SC/ST/BCs. Now, I am working with the noted gandhian, Mulk Raj Anand. A fight against the brahminical ruling class through peaceful gandhian means is our urgent need. It is a pity that we fight against the S. African apartheid while practising the world's worst form of racism inside this country.

Gandhians cannot fight brahminism because gandhism is a more dangerous and deadly form of poison sold as a sugar-coated pill. M.K. Gandhi was declared as the Enemy No.1 of the Untouchables by our leader and saviour, Babasaheb Ambedkar. Read all the books of Babasaheb so that you can be really ready to fight brahminism – EDITOR.

The Students Islamic Movement of India, No.6, Rauza Tahira St., Opp. Null Bazar Post Office, Bombay-3: We are holding the *Iqdaam-e-Ummat* Conference here from Dec. 23 to 25 at the sprawling Bandra Reclamation Grounds. It is an open secret that the prime target of the world's most evil forces, namely the Zionists, is Islam. In India too, the brahminical lobby is following the footsteps of zionists. Because of such forces the 25 crores Muslims of India have found themselves in an abject, blighted, hopeless, beleaguered state since we have become apologetic, passive and defensive and have practically discarded the principles of Islam. To propogate the message of *Iqdaam-e-Ummat*, and to channelise the thoughts in this direction on mass scale, the SIMI has decided to confer its 4th all-India conference the title of *Iqdaam-e-Ummat* Conference. Moulana Hasan Ali Nadvi, the world famous Islamic scholar, will inaugurate the conference. Thousands of delegates are expected to attend the historic conference. The conference bulletin can be had from the above address.

Mohd. Ali Karpancheri, Tawhid Inst., Areekode, Kerala-673 639: DV is effectively exposing the so-called secular face of the Indian ruling class and highlighting the plight of the Dalits, Muslims and other oppressed Indians. It is a pity that very many Muslims still trust the secular credentials of the ruling Congress Party and its Govt. in Delhi. Hindu fanatics have almost destroyed Babri Masjid.

M.A. Siraj, Features & News Alliance (FANA), New Delhi: DV is looking brighter with each new issue.

M.A. Saleem, Lecturer, Sangareddy, AP-502 001: Telugu DV is selling well here. I am preparing the ground to sell your valuable books published by the Dalit Sahitya Academy.

Buddha Priya, Bombay: The brahminical forces are trying to confuse the Untouchables. Even the same forces dominating the Supreme Court of India are joining in this conspiracy. It is your duty towards all Untouchables to tell them not to fall a prey to this. Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus, said Babasaheb. So there is no need for them to enter

his consent". Very dangerous trends are visible in the Supreme Court hearing on the All-India SC Federation petition against the Puri swami which came up for hearing before the court. (*Indian Express* Oct. 29).

Rev. Christy Paul, Pastor, Olivet CSI Church, Palad, Manimoly- 679 333: After reading the *Dalit Voice* and some of your books, I am now an altogether different person. I became fully aware of the brahminical imperialism ruling India. Dividing our innocent people, they are ruling us. We must make our people aware of their slavery and prepare them to fight this imperialism. We are Malabar Christians facing yet another acute problem.

Anthony Vellara, secretary -genral, All-India Catholic Union, Banalore: Dey's Medical Stores, Calcutta, has published a brochure depicting the picture of the Virgin Mary along with Infant Jesus to promote their contraceptive pill. Our Union has protested against this and the firm agreed with our demand to withdraw the literature after tendering an apology. ■

DV articles distributed in Canada

HYDER SHAIKH, SCARBOROUGH, ONTARIO, CANADA

I must congratulate Iqbal Ahmed Sheriff for his excellent article on Jamate-Islami (DV Aug. 16, 1991).

I made some copies of this article and distributed to the Jamat supporters in Toronto.

I urge Muslims, Sikh, Christians and Dalit organizations to write the Noble Peace Prize Committee in Norway to nominate the Editor of DV for the award of the next Noble Peace prize for working for the cause of the down-trodden humanity. V.T. Rajshekars name should also be recommended for the Faisal Award.

A few hundred enlarged copies of DV article have been distributed here among Jamat supporters, and they agree. This is just for your information for the good work you are doing.

Muslims should be aware of the people selling Washington Report, etc. They think selling some journals from Great Satan's country is a Big Jihad, and they are going to liberate Kashmir and Palestine. They don't support *Dalit Voice*, *New Trend* or *Crescent International*, *the Voice of the Mustadafeen*. They suffer from inferiority complex and feel proud to be the servants of the Great Satan. They even don't care to find out about those 50 or so scholars who presented a memorandum for Human Rights in Saudi Arabia, whether they are dead or alive. They call themselves Muslims. The Prophet said a true Muslim is he who feels the pain of other Muslims, whether they be from Somalia, Palestine, Kashmir or Albania. Albanians are shot, injured and kicked out

of Italy, but the vast rich empty lands of Libya and Saudi Arabia are closed to the Muslims. The Imams of the mosques in Canada have not a single word to say in *khutbahs* on these vital matters facing the *ummah*, perhaps they have to safeguard their pay cheques.

"Unpious Muslims can't fight Nazis

M.K. KHAN, 11-1-1195, HABEEB NAGAR,
MALLAPPALLI, HYDERABAD-1

This refers to the article of O. Mahboob Suban in debate column on Jamate-Islam (DV Oct. 1 p.15).

The writer has picked up only a few words of the "Quranic verse under reference, which is unfair. The complete verse deals with three points:

- 1) **Hurmat:** (here it refers to the agreement among all the Arabs to maintain peace and harmony and provide full security to the pilgrims going to Mecca for *Umra* in the month of *Rajab* or for *Haj* during *Zekad*, *Zilhaj* and *Moharam*). Quran says that this *Hurmat* should be enjoyed equally by all. If any one breaks the agreement, he should be paid in the same coin.
- 2) **Reaction:** Muslims need not hesitate or wait for any further clarification in avenging the attackers on such occasions.
- 3) **Precautions:** While encountering such attackers the Muslims should remember that the promise of help is only for the "pious" persons.

Before blaming any party for its failure to follow the dictates of Quran, one should note that, as has been declared in point three of the above verse, the promises and advices of Quran are subjected to the "piousness" of its followers. The piousness of the Muslims of this age, if judged according to Quran, is entirely disappointing.

Hence the *Hikmat* (forethinking) desires the adoption of principles of the Prophet during his Mecca life where he and his followers were under the domination of others. Till then no Muslim was allowed to retaliate the ill-treatment of non-Muslims of Mecca.

Hence the main responsibility of the religious class and parties now, is to bring the masses closer and closer to Quran and the creator. Once this goal is achieved the, "nazis" with all their plans will fall into their own digged ditches.

On the other hand, if the unpious masses are laced with arms and bombs before their moral is built, the

riots will change into civil war and thousands will die or suffer daily. Even then the nazis will be safe and the "poor class" and castes – fooled and purchased by the nazi planners – will only die.

We are already seeing in the press the fate of these "poor classes" who refuse or avoid to be a toy in the hands of their masters.

Jamate-Islami wants only power: Oppressed Muslims ignored

LIYAKHAT ALI, KEREKILCHI, SHIMOGA DT.,
KARNATAKA 577 218

Your "debate" on the Jamate-Islami is becoming interesting. This is with reference to Syed Asif Ali's defence of the Jamat (DV Oct. 16 p10).

I can say that what Iqbal Ahmed Shariff wrote (DV Aug. 16) is exactly right.

Syed Asif Ali in his admiration for Jamate-Islami is overlooking the realities. The Jamate-Islami has only a two-point agenda: (1) politics and (2) history.

Asif Ali says the Jamat is only following the rules of Koran and Sunnah. If so, why it opposes President H.M. Irshad in declaring Bangladesh as an Islamic state? Why it opposed Ziaul Haque in introducing Shariat law in Pakistan?

It opposed Zia and Irshad because it does not want non-Jamate-Islami rule over Pakistan and Bangladesh. It thinks that only it has the right to rule over these countries.

Similarly, the Hindu nazi parties are using the name of Rama, their Aryan god, to get power in India. The Jamate-Islami is using the the name of Rahim to get involved in Indian politics. These few points are enough to say that the Jamate-Islami is only trying for political gain and not concerned with the plight and persecution of the oppressed Muslims.

Islam & Sheikhs

SULTAN AKHTAR PATEL, KHANPUR,
DEH, GUJARAT 392 150

This is with reference to the debate on Jamate-Islami. No wonder the *Radiance* wallas (who have, I am afraid, become moderate, most probably due to their nearness to wealth-worshipping Shahs and Sheikhs) could not publish my report, in full, about the worst violence of Muslim minorities on Jambusar (Gujarat) on 24/7/91. Islam does not recognise kings and Sheiks.

Latest Telugu book
DALITULU, ASMANATULU, ATMA VIMARSHALU
AND IKYATHA
(A Guide to Every Dalit)
1991 pp 40 Rs.3
Dalit Sahitya Akademy
Telugu Unit
29-14/72 Prakasam Road, Vijayawada
AP 520 002

Sikh heart with Dalits & DV

GURBJAJAN SINGH GILL, SIKH VICHAR MANCH,
27-D SARABHA NAGAR, LUDHIANA - 141 001

We read the revered *Dalit Voice* (Oct. 1 91) of which we are great admirers. We understand your anguish and dissatisfaction that the Sikh leadership has not supported you while you have been supporting the Sikh struggle. (Ref: "*Dalit Voice* offer to Sikhs" p 10) But there is no overground leadership and there is a vacuum. The overground people i.e. Akalis, etc. are hand-in-glove with the Indian ruling class. Thus, neither we nor you should expect anything from them. The underground leadership, though divided, is busy in armed struggle and has, perhaps, no time or occasion to think of a media of their own. In Punjab, it is next to impossible to start a paper to highlight the problems of the Sikhs because of the law of the jungle prevailing here. Because of the undeclared censorship over the Sikh papers, no journalist dares to come out.

You must be remembering Sukhdev Singh, journalist (president of the PHRO), editor of "Dignity" weekly at Chandigarh, and he ended in a six-month detention

in jail along with you in Chandigarh jail. Because you were not a Sikh and influential, you could get out of the jail.

You have termed the publication of the PHRO, *The Fourth Estate as Fifth column*; as a shabby booklet. Had you been living in this part of the sub-continent, it would not have been possible for you to bring out the *Dalit Voice*, what to say of the "shabby booklet". The Sikhs are passing through tremendous awful times.

Need of the hour is media: We fully agree that the need of the hour is a media for the Sikhs, the worst persecuted people under the brahminical empire. The Akalis, the sham federationists embracing the Russian agents (communists), are all for power, position while the dedicated underground leadership is, at present, fighting for their survival unable to start some newspaper though several proposals seem to be on anvil. I would request you not to be displeased with the Sikh masses for the follies and mischief of the so-called conventional leadership.

Mischievous item: There is another mischievous item on page 11 by some State - inspired correspondent. He knows that the *Dalit Voice* is a powerful paper which is supporting the Sikh cause. The headline says "Dalits killed by Sikh militants".

The Sikhs can never be anti-Dalit. It is our religion, it is our creed and it is our baptismal pledge. You cannot admire a person who helps the enemy in a struggle. May he be, his friend or a relative. *Police informers, liquor-vendors, extortionists etc. are being killed by the militants in retaliation; this is a truth.* This report from your Calcutta correspondent about Punjab (more than 1,000 miles away) is very mischievous. He has written that Dalits were killed in Punjab because they refuse to change their religion to Sikhism. He does not know that the Dalits about whom he is writing were already Sikhs by birth.

He has mentioned Malkiat Singh's name among the killed by militants. Does he know that this Malkiat Singh's name has been given thrice in the item and the man is not a Dalit, though he was a BSP candidate. And 70% candidates of the BSP in Punjab were not Dalits. Most of them were Jat Sikhs.

I would request you not to be led astray by the news items inserted and planted by the brahminical agents.

Please keep the flag flying for the Sikh struggle as usual, irrespective of the delusions etc. about the proverbial Sikh leadership. ■

We want to assure the Sikhs and all the persecuted peoples of India that our support for their human rights struggle shall be continued. We support all human rights struggles for self-determination as expected of all followers of Babasaheb Ambedkar, the Father of India. Babasaheb lived, worked and died for this very cause that was dearest to his heart and also to our heart. What forced to us come out with this piece, "Dalit Voice offer to Sikhs" is the serious financial crisis facing us. We have everything - a worldwide virile readership, a committed, sincere cadre in different parts of India to work for DV and tremendous flow of articles, reports, letters and other communication. What we lack is advertisement which is the only source of income that can keep a publication going. So, for mere

want of funds if DV were to close down that will be a great tragedy that will break our hearts. And that will end up the one and only revolutionary experiment in Indian journalism to counter the brahminical toilet papers that are poisoning the country. Faced with such a grave threat, we wrote that piece as a warning to our suffering Sikh sisters and brothers - EDITOR ■

DV the only Voice of Non-Hindus

MS. SANGAT, MADRAS

With reference to the "DV offer to Sikhs" (Oct. 1 91), it is pertinent to mention here that *Dalit Voice* is the only organ for the over 85% of the persecuted Indians, including Sikhs. DV transmits their feelings, nationally/internationally without any adulteration, facing all odds. The Editor of DV is struggling single-handed for the achievement of human rights for one and all - specially the over 85% non-Hindus of India since last 10 years even under the hostile surroundings/environments.

All necessary help, wherever possible, is to be rendered to DV so that it can raise the voice of the Dalits (not 30% but 85%) still more loudly. ■

Ram Declares War on Brahminism

The editorial of the Vol. I No. 1 (Oct. 15, 1981), the very first issue after DV became a "registered newspaper" (annual sub. Rs.10, total pages 12) was: "Bid to Throttle Christians in India,". It deals with the brahminical bid to swallow the country's most prestigious (christian-catholic) St. John's Medical College, Bangalore. Prof. Abul Qasem, Calcutta, proves prophetic pointing out that the CPM in W. Bengal has become "a party of capitalists". He figures in the "Letters to Editor" column along with Prof. K.S. Bhagavan of Mysore University. Both continue to be our subscribers even to this day. "RSS going mad over Jamshedpur anti-Muslim riots inquiry report" which indicted the Nazi party. For the first time, "Jagjivan Ram declares war on brahminism", when angry Hindus voted against the Janata Party fearing that an Untouchable would be the PM. Even the RSS worked for the Congress Party. Before Oct. 15 1981, DV was coming out for six months "for private circulating only". The editorial of its very issue is published here below:

A Dream Come True

To bring out a journal of our own has been our long cherished dream. Persecuted minorities all over India in general and members of the Karnataka Dalit Action Committee in particular have been urging us to start a publication.

No doubt we had all the talents and enthusiasm. But what we lacked was funds. Funds will pour if we swim with the current. But the Dalit cause means swimming against the current. There is a chance of getting drowned also. Who will give us funds?

So for quite sometime, we were handicapped for want of funds. But funds alone should not stand in the way. When good wishes are there in plenty, funds will prove to be no problem. This has been our experience.

We could not withstand the mounting pressure of our Dalit comrades-representatives of the persecuted minorities: untouchables, tribals, other backward class (OBCs), Muslims and Christians.

Oppression is increasing day by day. Caste riots have spread from Marathwada to Gujarat. Anti-reservation agitation is threatening to engulf the whole country. Hindu-Muslim clashes are becoming a daily feature. Muslims and Christians are feeling that they are second-rate citizens. Even the very guardians of law and order are joining the forces of oppression.

The persecuted minorities are having hardly any friends in political parties, the government, judiciary, police, administration, professions. Intellectuals are turning dishonest. When there is no friend in these, how can they get a friend in the press? And the Press in India is owned by corrupt capitalists and manned by high-caste journalists, with some minor exceptions.

The milk of kindness is getting dried up. The rich are getting richer, the poor poorer. Perhaps, these are signs of revolution. Therefore, we thought we better not delay.

About 10% of the Indian population is ruling us. This "ruling class" is composed of those rich who mostly come from the high castes. It is a class-caste dictatorship. Naked dance of Hindu communalism.

We dedicate this journal to fight this "ruling class" as the Dalit Voice, the voice of all the persecuted minorities of India.

We have a long way to go. Even a million-mile-march begins with a first step. And ours is a modest step. We fully know our limitations. But we will try to improve in days to come.

We suffer from no prejudice, no rancour, no ill-will. To us, no single individual is our enemy. We are concerned more with issues – primarily social and cultural and then economic.

We, therefore, attack the existing corrupt system. We assure that we will mercilessly attack the corrupt system.

Politics is not our playfield. While we may comment, we consider every political party as no friend of the Dalits-persecuted minorities. And the woman is a Dalit among Dalits. A slave of the slave.

For all these reasons, therefore, ours will be a unique experiment. Bangalore City has a vast working class and student population and they can consider us as their trusted friend - a friend of all the poor, struggling people. Dalit writers will be encouraged.

We will support the Left movement - the CPM, CPI and the Naxalites as we have the greatest respect for Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. Our only suggestion is that while adopting Marxism to Indian conditions. It has to be Indianised by taking into consideration the havoc played by the caste system.

We will do our best to propogate the philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar, Periyar and Lohia, and all other progressive thinkers. Genuine Marxists and Rationalists and all those working for social change shall count on our support in their struggle. It is the **Dalit Voice**.

(Editorial of the Very First Issue of *Dalit Voice For Private Circulation Only*) Vol 1 June 1 1981 No.1)

Untouchables are not Hindus but a separate element

THE FOLLOWING PAGES (305 TO 314) ARE TAKEN FROM THE APPENDIX TO THE BOOK, *WHAT CONGRESS & GANDHI HAVE DONE TO UNTOUCHABLES*, DR. B.R. AMBEDKAR, THACKER & CO.

Appendix VI: Recognition of Untouchables As a Separate Element.

Pronouncements of the British Government on the position of the Untouchables in the Constitution of India.

INTRODUCTION

The necessity for recalling the pronouncement of the Viceroy and of the Secretaries of State has arisen because of the recent criticism in the Press against the reply of 15th August 1944 given by Lord Wavell to Mr. Gandhi stating that the Scheduled Castes are a separate element in the national life of India and that their consent to the new Constitution was essential before power is transferred to Indian hands. This criticism is based upon the supposition that the Cripps's proposals did not recognize the Scheduled Castes as a separate element and did not make their consent necessary. Reliance is placed upon the fact that the Cripps's proposals spoke of "racial and religious minorities" only and it is argued that the Scheduled Castes are neither a racial nor a religious minority.

It is hardly necessary to point out how ignorant this criticism is. The Scheduled Castes are really a religious minority. The Hindu religion by its dogma of untouchability has separated the Scheduled Castes from the main body of the Hindus in a manner which makes the separation far more real and far wider than the separation which exists either between Hindus and Muslims or Hindus and Sikhs or Hindus and Christians.

It is difficult to concede of a more effective method of separation and

segregation than the principle of untouchability and it is only those who are actuated by malicious spirit of finding excuses to deny the Scheduled Castes their claim to political rights would indulge in this kind of jugglery. Those who regard the statement of Lord Wavell as a new departure have completely forgotten what attitude His Majesty's Government has taken in the matter of the Scheduled Castes from the very beginning when the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands was thought of. Ever since 1917 when the Montagu-Chelmsford Report advocated responsible Government, the British Government have taken a definite stand that they would, under no circumstances, transfer power to Indian hands until they were satisfied that the position of the Scheduled Castes was safeguarded by adequate Constitutional provisions.

MALICIOUS PROPOGANDA

A few of many declarations made by Secretaries of State and Viceroy of India from 1917 to 1941 are collected together in the following pages. It will be found that the recognition that the Scheduled Castes are a separate and important element in the national life of the country and that their consent is necessary are in no way new proposals. Both the statements have been made by responsible representatives of His Majesty's Government, viz., the Secretary of State and the Viceroy long before the Cripps's proposals came into being. Particular attention is drawn to Mr. Amery's statement on 14th August 1940 and Lord Linlithgow's statement on 10th January 1940. It is hoped that a perusal of these

declarations will enable those who are trying to negate the claim of the Scheduled Castes for political rights to realise that their propaganda is both foolish and malicious.

(1) Extract from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reform - 1917.

155..... We have shown that the political education of the royt cannot be a very rapid, and may be a very difficult process. Till it is complete, he must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interests, we must retain power to protect him. So with the depressed classes. We intend to make the best arrangements that we can for their representation, in order that they too may ultimately learn the lesson of self-protection. But if it is found that their interests suffer and that they do not share in the general progress, we must retain the means in our own hands of helping them.

(2) Extract from the fifth Despatch of the Government of India dated 23rd April 1919 on the Report of the Southborough Committee on Franchise.

13. We have analysed in the statement (printed at the top of the next page) the interests which in the committee's opinion should be represented by non-official nomination.

PANCHAMAS NOT HINDUS

We accept these proposals generally. But there is one community whose case appears to us to require more consideration

than the committee gave it.

The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms clearly recognizes the problem of the depressed classes and gave a pledge respecting them. "We intend to make the best arrangements that we can for their representation". The castes described as "Hindus-others" in the committee's report, though they are defined in varying terms, are broadly speaking all the same kind of people. **Except for differences in the rigidity of their exclusion they are all more or less in the position of the Madras Panchamas, definitely outside that part of the Hindu community which is allowed access to their temples.** They amount to about one-fifth of the total population and have not been represented at all in the Morley-Minto Councils. The committee's report mentions the depressed classes twice, but only to explain that in the absence of satisfactory electorates they have been provided by nomination. It does not discuss the position of these people or their capacity for looking after themselves. Nor does it explain the amount of nomination which it suggests for them. Para 24 of the report justifies the restriction of the nominated seats on grounds which do not suggest that the committee were referring to the depressed classes. The measures of representation which they propose for this community is as follows:-

should be allotted seven seats out of practically eight hundred. It is true that in all the councils there will be roughly a one-sixth proportion of officials who may be expected to bear in mind the interests of the depressed; but that arrangement is not in our opinion. what the Report on reforms aims at. **The authors stated that the depressed classes also should learn the lesson of self-protection.** It is surely fanciful to hope that this result can be expected from including a single member of the community in an assembly where there are sixty or seventy caste Hindus.

MADRAS EXAMPLE

To make good the principles of paras 151, 152, 154 and 155 of the Report we must treat the out-castes more generously. We think there should be in each council enough representatives of the depressed classes to save them from being entirely submerged, and at the same time to stimulate some capacity for collective action.

In the case of Madras, we suggest that they should be given six seats; in Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, we would give them four; in the Central Provinces and Bombay two and elsewhere one. In these respects we think that the committee's report clearly requires modification.

(3) Extract from Lord Birkenhead's speech as

	Total Population	Population of Depressed Classes	Total Seats	Seats for Depressed Classes
	(millions)	(millions)		
Madras	39.8	6.3	120	2
Bombay	19.5	.6	113	1
Bengal	45.0	9.9	127	1
United Provinces	47.0	10.1	120	1
Punjab	19.5	1.7	85	-
Bihar and Orissa	32.4	9.3	100	1
Central Provinces	12.2	3.7	72	1
Assam	6.0	0.3	54	-
Total	221.4	41.9	719	7

These figures speak for themselves. It is suggested that one-fifth of the entire population of British India

Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords on the 30th March 1927 on the appointment of Statutory Commission.

..... Let me take the case of the depressed classes. *There is in India a vast population even in relation to the numbers with which we are dealing, a population of sixty millions of the depressed classes.* Their condition is not quite as terrible, quite as poignant as it has been in the past, but it is still terrible and poignant.

APARTHEID IN INDIA

They are repelled from all social intercourse. If they come between the gracious light of the sun and one who despised them the sun is disfigured for that man. They cannot drink at the public water-supply. They must make diversions of miles in order to satisfy thirst and they are tragically known and they have been known for generations as the "untouchables." There are sixty millions of them in India. Am I to have a representative of them upon this Commission? Never, would I form a Commission nor would anyone in a democratic country, nor would my friends opposite recommend it, from which you have excluded a member of this class which more than any other requires representation if you are indeed to put the matter to a mixed jury of the kind I am indicating.

(4) Extract from the Report of the Simon Commission, Vol. II

78. In no other province has it been possible to get an estimate of the number of the depressed classes who are qualified to vote. It is clear that even with a considerable lowering of the franchise - which would no doubt increase the proportion of the depressed class voters - there would be no hope of the depressed classes getting their own representatives elected in general constituencies without special provision being made to secure it. In the long run the progress of the depressed classes, so far as it can be secured by the exercise by them of political influence, will depend on their getting a position of sufficient importance for other elements to seek their support and to consider

their needs.

RESERVED SEATS

80. It will be seen, therefore, that we do not recommend allocating seats to the depressed classes on the basis of their full population ratio. The scale of reserved representation suggested will secure a substantial increase in the number of the M.L.C's drawn from the depressed classes. The poverty and want of education which so widely prevail amongst them make it extremely doubtful whether a large number of adequately equipped members could be at once provided, and it is far better that they should be represented by qualified spokesmen rather than by a larger number of ineffectives who are only too likely to be subservient to higher castes. The re-distribution of seats which is now being attempted among different kinds of representatives cannot be permanent, and provision must be made for its revision. But we think that our proposal is adequate for the present, especially as the representation of opinion by reservation of seats does not exclude the possibility of the capture of other seats not so reserved.

(5) Extract from the Government of India's Despatch on Proposals for Constitutional Reform (as set out by the Simon Commission)

35. The Representation of the Depressed Classes - The suggestions made by the Commission for the representation of the depressed classes have been much criticized by the provincial Governments. The difficulty of framing for each province a definition of the "depressed classes" is probably inherent in any scheme for the special representation of this class other than by nomination; but the Commission's proposals place a peculiarly embarrassing duty on the Governor to certify candidates authorised to stand for the depressed classes; and the proportion of representation which the Commission suggest, namely, in the ratio of three quarters of the

proportion of the depressed classes population to the total population of the electoral area of the provinces seems likely to be unduly high.

MAJORITY DENIED VOICE

The Government of the United Provinces have calculated that in that province the Commission's proposal would result in the return to the provincial legislature of no less than forty members in place of the single nominated member who at present represents the community. The whole problem of the representation of the depressed classes will require careful investigation by the Franchise Committee; and at this stage we only wish to make plain that *in our view their adequate representation should be secured by the best means that may be found practicable*. Though there are some differences of opinion within the community, recent meeting of depressed classes association have re-affirmed their belief in separate electorates.

(6) Extract from the Terms of Reference to the Lothian Committee (on Franchise) 1932.

3. You are aware that the present electorate in Indian provinces amounts to less than 3 per cent. of the population of the areas returning members to provincial Councils, and it is obvious that under this limited franchise, the majority of the people and many large and important sections of the community can enjoy no effective representation in the Legislatures.

The principle of a responsible Federal Government, subject to certain reservations and safeguards, has been accepted by His Majesty's Government while it has been decided that the Governors' provinces are to become responsibly governed units, enjoying the greatest possible measure of freedom from outside interference and dictation in carrying out their own policies in their own sphere. In these circumstances, it is clearly

necessary so to widen the electorate that the legislatures to which responsibility is to be entrusted should be representative of the general mass of the population and that *no important section of the community may lack the means of expressing its needs and its opinions*.

SEPARATE ELECTORATE

6. It is evident from the discussions which have occurred in various connections in the Conference that the new Constitution must make adequate provision for the representation of the Depressed Classes and that the method of representation by nomination is no longer regarded as appropriate. As you are aware, there is difference of opinion whether the system of separate electorates should be instituted for the Depressed Classes and your Committee's investigations should contribute towards the decision of this question by indicating the extent to which the Depressed Classes would be likely, through general extension of the franchise as you may recommend, to secure the right to vote in ordinary electorate.

On the other hand, should it be decided eventually to constitute separate electorates for the Depressed Classes, either generally or in those provinces which in they from a *distinct and separate element in the population*, your committee's inquiry into general problem of extending the franchise should place you in possession of facts which would facilitate the devising of a method of separate representation for the Depressed Classes.

(7) Extract from the Statement issued by H.E. Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, dated 17th October 1939.

"Be that as it may, His Majesty's Government recognise that when time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the

Assurance given in Parliament by the late Secretary of state, to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate.

And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to inter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable".

CONGRESS PARTY SNUBBED

(8) Extract from a Statement made on 7th November 1939 by Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Lords.

"The Congress have further consistently taken the line, which they still maintain, that the fact that **there are racial and religious minorities in India** is of no relevance in that connexion, and that it has always been the intention of the Congress to secure through the Constitution to be framed by Indians themselves such protection for their rights as may prove acceptable to the minorities.

His Majesty's Government find it impossible to accept this position. The long-standing British connexion with India has left His Majesty's Government with obligations towards her which it is impossible for them to shed by disinteresting themselves wholly in the shaping of her future form of Government.

Moreover, one outstanding result of the recent discussions in which the Governor-General has been engaged with representatives of all parties and interests in India has been to establish beyond doubt the fact that a declaration in the sense proposed, with the summary abandonment by His Majesty's Government of their position in

India, would be far from acceptable to large sections of the Indian population".

BRITISH PLEDGE TO PROTECT SC & MUSLIMS

(9) Extract from the Speech made by H.E. Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy and Governor-General, at the Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940.

"Nor must we forget the essential necessity, in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any Constitutional scheme.

There are the insistent claims of the minorities.

I need refer only to two of them – the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes – there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past; the fact that their position must be safeguarded, and that those guarantees must be honoured.

(10) Extract from a Speech made by the Right Hon'ble Mr. L.S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons on August 14, 1940.

"Congress leaders... have built up a remarkable organization, the most efficient political machine in India.... if only they had succeeded, if the Congress could, in fact speak, as it professes to speak, for all the main elements in India's national life, then however advanced their demands, our problem would have been in many respects far easier than it is to-day. It is true that they are numerically the largest single party in British India, but their claim in virtue of that fact to speak for India is utterly denied by very important elements in India's complex national life. Those others assert their right to be regarded not as mere numerical minorities but as separate constituent factors in any future Indian policy.

THE GREAT MUSLIM COMMUNITY

The foremost among these elements stands the great Muslim

community. They will have nothing to do with a constitution framed by a constituent assembly elected by a majority vote in geographical constituencies. They claim the right in any constitutional discussions to be regarded as an entity against the operations of a mere numerical majority.

The same applies to the great body what are known as the Scheduled Castes who feel that in spite of Mr. Gandhi's earnest endeavours on their behalf, that **as a community, they stand outside the main body of the Hindu community** which is represented by the Congress.

(11) Extract from the Speech of the Right Hon'ble Mr. L.S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons on 23rd April 1941.

"India's future Constitution should be devised by Indians for themselves and not by the British Government. India's future Constitution should be essentially an Indian Constitution, framed in accordance with the Indian conception of Indian conditions and Indian needs. *The only essential condition is that the Constitution itself and the body which is to frame it must be the outcome of agreement between principal elements in India's national life.*"

(12) Extract from a Statement by H.E. Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, on 8th August 1940.

"These are two main points which have emerged. On these two points, His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear. The first is as to the position of the minorities in relation to any future Constitutional scheme.... It goes without saying that they (H.M. Government) could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government".

Brahmin-Shudra fight within Nazi parties

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Brahmin hatred of the shudras (slaves) and vice-versa is breaking the nazi party itself. Reports indicate that the Brahmin-led RSS and its many tails have decided to part company with the shudra-led Shiv Sena in Bombay.

The SS shudra chief, Bal Thackarey's nephew, Raj Thackrey, heading the SS student wing, Bharatiya Vidyarti Sena, had a bloody clash in Bombay with the Brahmin-led RSS tail, ABVP, the student wing of the nazi party, in August. This clash was so serious that the Brahmin nazis wanted this to serve as a warning to the shudra nazi chief. Both the nazis are now preparing to annihilate each other. But the meat-eating shudra nazis say that idli-sambar grass-eating Brahmins can never face them.

The fretting and fuming SS chief invited the arch Brahmin-baiter and Jat leader, Devi Lal, and made

him abuse the Brahmin Nazis in the foulest language. ("Hindu Nazis admit Hindu unity is not possible" DV Nov. 1 p 19).

Both the Nazi Brahmins and Nazi shudras are the oppressors of the Untouchables. Both are Hindus. We should, therefore, sharpen this clash, siding with one contradiction against the other and see that both the principal contradiction and the second-most dangerous contradiction clash and kill each other and in the process both get annihilated.

Meanwhile, the entire brahminical forces are annoyed with the shudra SS chief for getting the Bombay test match with Pakistan postponed and thus depriving them yet another opportunity in their life of eternal entertainment. The Brahmin press is cursing the shudra SS chief.

Dedicated IFS Sikh heads SGPC

Amritsar: From diplomacy to human rights to politics, it is a long and tough journey and Harinder Singh Khalsa, the new secretary of the powerful Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee known as the Sikh "parliament", has covered this journey at a rather young age of 44.

Khalsa had first hit the headlines in June 1984 when, he tendered his resignation as the Indian Charged Affaires in Norway in protest against what he terms as "Army's invasion in the Golden Temple". He had joined the Indian Embassy in Norway in 1981 after having first served the Indian missions in Thailand and Indonesia. He had joined the elite Indian Foreign Service in 1974.

Teaching experience: Before joining the IFS, Khalsa, who looks more like a dedicated university scholar, taught English literature in the Khalsa College in Ludhiana for more than four years. He did his post-graduation in English literature from the Government College, Ludhiana.

Khalsa comes from a political background. His father, Gopla Singh, was a committed Akali leader. He remained the leader of the Opposition for five years from 1952 to 1957. Earlier, he had also been the chief parliamentary secretary to Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the then Chief Minister of the United Punjab before the partition.

Running dhaba: Life has not been a bed of roses for Khalsa ever since he left the IFS in June 1984. Immediately after resigning from the foreign service, Khalsa had to start a small dhaba in Norway to make his living. He says with a philosophical smile: "For six years, my wife and I ran this small dhaba in

Norway. We used to cook dishes together, wash utensils and clean the floors. It was a question of survival."

As PHRO Chelf: Khalsa, accompanied by his wife and two minor children returned to India in 1990. He decided to settle down at Ludhiana, his hometown. He joined the Punjab human rights organization and started preparing reports on the police excesses in Punjab. Soon he was elevated as chairman of the organization.

Khalsa looks happy to take on his new assignment as the SGPC secretary. He has replaced Manjit Singh Calcutta, a controversial close confidant of the former SGPC president, Gurcharan Singh Tohra. Unlike his predecessor, Khalsa carries no security guards with him. (*Statesman* Oct. 18).

Sikh salvation through Ambedkarism

G.P. CHAUDHARY, CHAKIA, VARANASI, UP

Sikhs must start a powerful press to support the Ambedkarite movement and the Sikh struggle for human rights. Only through Ambedkarism they can destroy the brahminical social order and win their human rights.

I congratulate Yogesh Varhade, President, Dr. Ambedkar Centre for Justice and Peace Inc. of Canada, for taking the case of India's world's single largest indigenous population before the United Nations.

World Council of Church book on presecution of Palestines

Kathy Bergen, David Neuhaus and Ghassan Rubelz

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Kathy Bergen is a Canadian who has lived among Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. David Neuhaus, an Israeli of South African and German background, is a political science student at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Ghassan Rubeiz is a Lebanese social scientist and secretary for the Middle East in the WCC's Commission on later-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service (CICARWS).

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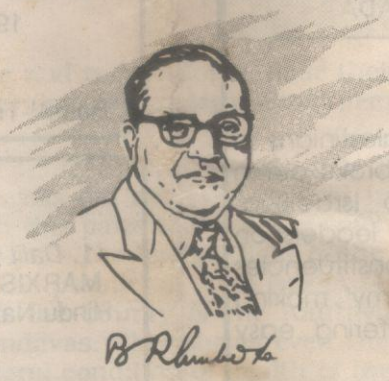
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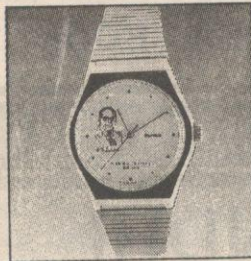
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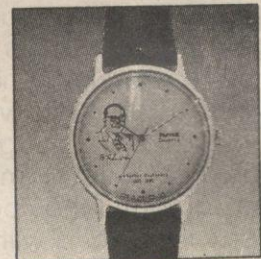
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