

# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

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*Jai Bhim*

DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR CENTENARY  
CELEBRATIONS : APRIL 14, 1992

FOCUS ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Separate settlement alone can save SCs from Hindu tyranny & assure them security

### Resolution No. IV Separate Settlements

"It is the considered opinion of this conference,

(a) that so long as the Scheduled Castes continue to live on the outskirts of the Hindu village, with no source of livelihood and in small number as compared to Hindus, they will continue to remain Untouchables and subject to the tyranny and oppression of the Hindus and will not be able to enjoy free and full life,

(b) that for the better protection of the Scheduled Castes from the tyranny and oppression of the Caste Hindus, which may take a worse form under Swaraj which cannot but be a Hindu Raj, and

(c) to enable the Scheduled Castes to develop to their fullest manhood, to give them economical and social security as also to pave the way for the removal of untouchability."

This Conference has after long and mature deliberation come to the conclusion that a **radical change must be made in the village system now prevalent in India and which is the parent of all the ills from which the Scheduled Castes are suffering for so many centuries at the hands of the Hindus.** Realising the necessity of these changes this Conference holds that along with the Constitutional changes in the system of Government there must be a change in the village system now prevalent, made along the following lines:

(1) The constitution should provide for the transfer of the Scheduled Castes from their present habitation and form **separate Scheduled Caste villages away from and independent of Hindu villages.**

2) For the settlement of the Scheduled Castes in new villages a provision shall be made by the constitution for the establishment of a Settlement Commission.

(3) All Government land which is cultivable and which is not occupied shall be handed over to the Commission to be held in trust for the purpose of making new settlements of the Scheduled Castes.

(4) The Commission shall be empowered to purchase new land under the Land Acquisition Act from private owners to complete the scheme of settlement of Scheduled Castes.

(5) The constitution shall provide that the Central Government shall grant to the Settlement Commission a minimum sum of Rupees five crores per annum to enable the commission to carry out their duty in this behalf.

*(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume IX, 1991, Govt., of Maharashtra, Bombay).  
The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji  
Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.*

# Aryan rulers suppressing truth about existence of indigenous peoples in India: UN warned

We have just received a copy of the *For The Record*, which is the Human Rights Internet's "official report of the two UN Working Groups of the Human Rights Sub-Commission – Aug. 1991". The 47-page document of HRI (Human Rights Centre, University of Ottawa, 57-Louis Pasteur, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5 Canada) summarises the four issues of a newsletter, *On The Record*, published in Geneva during the recent sessions of UN Working Groups on Indigenous Peoples and Contemporary Forms of Slavery (July–Aug. 1991). HRI editors say the document is inspired by Iain Guest, a British journalist specialised in human rights issues in UN. India's vast indigenous peoples, over 30% of its 1,000 million population, and particularly the Untouchables – called Scheduled Castes in India's Constitution – are grateful to Mrs. Laurie Wiseberg of the HRI for this document and including in it human rights violations in India about which the Amnesty International has just brought out a fantastic book. (See p.6).

However, we are sorry that the Document makes no mention of the existence of indigenous peoples in India not to speak of their plight and persecution by the tiny alien Aryan rulers comprising less than 15% India's population.

**Varhade evidence:** Ever since a representative of the Indian Untouchables, Yogesh Varhade, President, Dr. Ambedkar Centre for Justice and Peace, Toronto, Canada, gave evidence before the UN Sub-Commission in Geneva (DV Oct. 1 '91, p.8 "India's SC/STs are world's single largest indigenous population"), we have been publishing a series of documents and reports to prove that India's Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/STs) are indigenous peoples.

*Dalit Voice* is the organ of India's persecuted indigenous peoples who are denied their human rights by the Aryan rulers. Wiseberg gets a copy of DV and so also Mrs. Erica Daes, who heads the UN Working Group on Indigenous Peoples at Geneva. Journalist Iain Guest, editor of the document under review, may be new to us.

But in spite of all these, the document makes no mention of Varhade's forceful presentation at Geneva. *Not only that. The document doesn't even say that India has its indigenous peoples.*

**Grave lapse:** We can understand the Govt. of India under its Aryan rulers maintaining that India has no indigenous peoples. It doesn't serve the ruling class

interests to admit this historical truth and sociological fact.

This is a grave lapse on the part of the editors of the *Record* and the HRI. And Yogesh Varhade is in Canada (PO Box 846 stn. P. Toronto, Ontario, Canada, Phone 416 531-3000).

If this is the grave omission, the document also suffers from a grave commission when it comes to India whose brahminical rulers are the world's original racists. These racists in disguise resort to all sorts of tricks to deceive the innocent original inhabitants of India. And even the sincere but innocent human rights western leaders.

**UN deceived:** Instead of straightaway calling them indigenous peoples, the oppressors call them by all other names except as indigenous people. And the rulers have their "national" press to publicise these misleading names and deceive the United Nations as well.

One of the names popularised by the Aryan rulers to hide the true identity of the indigenous peoples is "bonded labour". All the bonded labour of India are SC/STs – the indigenous peoples. Then why not call them by their real name? No. They won't. *Because if the Aryans identify them by their real name, the rulers will be admitting that SC/STs are indigenous peoples. Such an admission cuts at the very root of the Aryan argument that India has no indigenous peoples and that the Aryans are also indigenous.*

**Heinous trick:** No ruling class in the world has resorted to such a heinous trick to deceive the world opinion. The Aryan rulers have employed many Aryans to mislead the world opinion and one such person is Swami Agnivesh, an Aryan/Brahmin from Andhra Pradesh who became an Arya Samajist, a truly Aryan religious organisation that is the original and principal cause of the current war and violence on Sikhs in Punjab. This Agnivesh's latest *vesha* is that of a saviour of Untouchables. And reports from different parts of India say that aided and abetted by the wide publicity he gets in India's Aryan (brahminical) "national" toilet papers, he goes round the country in his *vesha* as the greatest champion of the Untouchables. Operating from Delhi with the added *vesha* of the Janata Dal, he hogs the limelight. SC/ST leaders inside the Janata Dal tell us that this *vesha*'s main job is leading and misleading the SC/STs.

**Playing havoc at Geneva:** For the past several years, this *vesha* is doing an excellent job for the

Aryan rulers at Geneva by cunningly sidetracking the issue with his simple *vesha* which deceives everybody in Geneva. Hidden behind this *vesha* is the Aryan nazi Hitler. Though not surpassing the gandhian garb with the god's name on the tongue, this *vesha* has played havoc at the international level.

If the Aryan marxist *veshas* are misleading the simple SC/STs fighting for their human rights by renaming them as *naxalas* and *faxals*, this *vesha* has renamed our people as 'bonded labour'. By this, hiding the fire (Agni) this *vesha* has attained international name and fame, secured foreign funds, and successfully duped the indigenous peoples and saw to it that the two genuinely concerned women with golden hearts like Mrs. Erica Daes of Greece and Mrs. Wiseberg are deceived.

This *vesha* must be mercilessly exposed at all levels. Such people are a real danger to our cause. Because, like that mahatma, the Enemy No.1 of the Untouchables as Dr. Ambedkar said, these *veshas* can also smile and smile and yet be villains.

**Well-protected frauds:** The document under review (p.7) refers to this *vesha* making "a deep impression.. with his exposure on bonded labour in 1983". Look at these people driven out of Andhra Pradesh for being frauds, making deep impression!!! And to see that these frauds are well-protected their Aryan cousins in the govt say that the "Govt. of India is furious" with the *vesha* and hence it wants to "suppress" his Anti-Slavery Working Group.

Did this *vesha* succeed in seeing that the "bonded labour" is banned in India? No. If the "bonded labour" are banished these *veshas* will lose their bread and butter.

**Narmada tribals duped:** The document (p.15) mentions another equally big Aryan fraud, who successfully duped the Gujarat tribals who are becoming destitutes because of the Narmada Dam, and thereby has become a big hero, got international awards and rewards, millions of dollars and made several trips to US in the name of *Narmada Bachao*.

We are sorry that Christian activists like Rajen Singh are not able to see through the game of these Patkars, although he admits that the "Narmada Dam is already half complete".

**Black-hearts:** Narmada Dam benefits the Aryan rulers of Gujarat, MP and Maharashtra and that is why to confuse the people, particularly the innocent tribals who will be displaced by the Narmada Dam, the rulers have groomed another Aryan to lead the fake opposition to the Narmada Dam. How do you like this? Can Iain Guest, Wiseberg or Dias ever imagine such black-hearts? We have them in plenty in India.

If these Aryan Patkars are sincerely opposed to the Narmada Dam and to the protection of tribals they should have committed self-immolation like their

Aryan hero, Rajiv Goswami, who attempted self-immolation to save his Aryan compatriots from the Mandal Commission that benefits the indigenous Backward Castes. These Matkars and Amtes don't do that. But these Matkars, Amtes and Tamtes, all agents of the Narmada Dam protagonists, put up a fake fight during the day and as evening comes both eat together and then sleep together. Black-hearts.

Such people get all the publicity even in a human rights journal like *For The Record*.

We are sorry that these frauds have duped even such sincere souls.

**Slef-Immolation:** Iain Guest says the World Bank-aided Narmada Dam will displace 60,000 tribals and subsequent phases may affect a million tribals. He is right. If these Matkars and Amtes want to prove their honesty, the only thing they can do is to commit self-immolation to stop the Narmada Dam.

Then only we can say they are sincere. Nothing short of it will satisfy us.

Alan McGregor in his article (p.20) says Bangladesh is committing "genocide" against the Chittagong Hill Tracts people. Why these Agni *veshas* and the Patkars do not use the same words "genocide" against the rulers of India? This is because these *veshas* are all part and parcel of the rulers. They have come to deceive us.

**Bombay prostitutes:** Alan McGregor (p.40) quotes another Aryan fraud saying India has 2 million prostitutes. "Bombay city has thousands of brothels where 20% of the prostitutes are under the age of 18.

But nowhere this Aryan fraud identifies these prostitutes. Because if he identifies these women the Aryan fraud will be immediately uncovered. This was done by Sister Rita, a Catholic nun attached to the Good Shepherd Convent, Bangalore. Her findings are that most of the Bombay prostitutes are Untouchables, the country's original inhabitants (Arthur Bonner : *Averting the Apocalypse*, 1990, Duke University Press, USA). Sister Rita is not an Aryan and that is why she is honest. She has identified the victims but the bonded labour liberation front headed by the Aryan *vesha* will not do it.

This is how the Aryan rulers are trying to damage our cause by misleading even sincerely concerned leaders at the UN Sub-Commission.

This must stop.

**Anger & pain:** And we hope Sisters Wiseberg and Dias will see through the Aryan game and separate the grains of truth from the mountains of Aryan propaganda shit.

For being blunt some people may call us polemical and too harsh and hard hitting. Yes. But this is truth and when truth is suppressed, we the victims have no other alternative but to cry and shout in anger and pain. ■

# Andre Beteille dupes SC/STs: says they are not indigenous peoples

YOGESH VARHADE, DR. AMBEDKAR CENTRE FOR JUSTICE & PEACE INC.,  
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The Govt. of India delegate, Prabhu Dayal, made a statement on July 31, 1991 before the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, Geneva, saying that India's Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are not indigenous population and to defend his claim he produced the evidence of Prof. Andre Beteille, an "eminent sociologist" of Delhi University. (DV Dec. 16 1991, p.11: "India's corrupt intellectuals get awards and rewards".)

In DV, you have been repeatedly publishing documents after documents including those from India's tallest authority, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, to prove that SC/STs are indigenous population. But Prabhu Dayal's argument was against all historical facts and sociological claims to this effect.

**Prof. Kisku argument:** Dayal points out the difference between the "indigenous peoples" and "minorities of various other types", and hence the question of "minorities" should not be confounded with that of "indigenous populations", he says. The term 'indigenous peoples' cannot be equated with the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. "The specific categories of SC/ST have been created in our Constitution to promote the development and upliftment of certain sections of our populations in favour of whom a system of positive discrimination is followed by the Government in order to secure for them special privileges and ensure their accelerated progress", he said.

Replying to Prof. Kisku's argument, that the STs constitute the indigenous peoples of India, he quoted Prof. Andre Beteille "in an important study on the definitional aspect of this question published in 1960" in which the "eminent sociologist" says:

"In the beginning, nobody bothered to give a precise meaning to the term tribe. This did not create very much confusion so long as the groups which were dealt with could be easily located and differentiated from groups of other types. By and large, this was the case in Australia, Melanasia and in North America.

"In India, and also to a certain extent in Africa the situation is conspicuously different. In this country, groups which correspond closely to the anthropologists' conception of tribes have lived in long association with communities of an entirely different type. Except in a few areas, it is very difficult to come across communities which retain all their pristine tribal character. In fact, most such tribal groups show in varying degrees elements of continuity with the larger society of India".

**Tribals Hinduised?:** Prof. Andre Beteille continued stating that "in India hardly any of the tribes exists as a separate society and that they have all been absorbed, in varying degrees, into the wider society

of India. The on-going process of absorption is not recent but dates back to the most ancient times".

**The learned professor has taken the ruling class line of argument "that ethnically speaking, most of the tribes in present-day India share their origins with the neighbouring non-tribal population. India has been a melting pot of races and ethnic groups, and historians and anthropologists find it difficult to arrange the various distinct cultural, ethnic and linguistic groups in the chronological sequence of their appearance to the sub-continent."**

**Linguistic Confusion:** It is said the basic substratum of India's racial structure is Negrito, supplanted later by proto-Australoids. The analysis of India's tribal population shows that Negritos are negligible and proto-Australoids pre-dominate, exactly as reflected in the rest of the population. If the linguistic criteria is applied, there is even greater confusion; the Bhils, a tribe numbering over 5 million, which lives in Central India, speak a language which has 80% of its words in Sanskrit, an Indo-Aryan language.

**So the term "indigenous people" cannot be equated with the SC/STs, Dayal said.**

Distinctiveness on grounds of religious, cultural, ethnic, linguistic or other predominant characteristics could apply to several other categories of people in India, not only to tribals.

**Human rights not violated:** "In case the various criteria of indigenous populations were to be selectively applied to the Indian context, at least 300 - 400 million people could come within its ambit. I would therefore reiterate my Government's view that *tribals in India do not constitute what is understood here by the term indigenous populations.*"

Dayal even criticised some Indians for "making baseless allegations that the Govt. of India is violating the human rights of the SC/STs. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The Govt. of India is, in fact, extremely aware that the SC/ST and other weaker sections of society are vulnerable to human rights violations and it devotes special attention to their problems and their welfare. The administrative machinery as well as the judicial system takes remedial action in all cases of human rights violations".

**SC/ST Com. verdict:** Poor Dayal, a govt. servant, has not read the numerous SC/ST Commission's own report submitted to the Govt. The Commission is a constitutional authority.

Therefore, we must appoint an anthropologist-historian to reply to these charges and publish it in *Dalit Voice* by June 1992. ■

## India turns into world's most violent country

IAN MARTIN, SECRETARY-GENERAL, AMENSTY INTERNATIONAL, 1 EASTON STREET, LONDON WC1 X 8DJ, UK.

As Secretary-General of Amnesty International I am writing to you and to other people in Indian public life because of a pattern of persistent abuse in the administration of justice in India: the torture, including rape, and deaths of prisoners in custody. We have raised this with successive governments in India and I want you to know why we have decided now to take a worldwide initiative to urge that such abuses are prevented in future.

Numerous people in India, including judges, lawyers, writers and civil libertarians, as well as many police and other officials have forthrightly expressed their concern about these practices. Many have made great efforts to halt them, to demand accountability or to provide redress. They have had success in individual cases but the overall picture has changed little.

Time and again Indian government officials have refused to acknowledge that the problem exists. No administration has shown the political will to bring about change.

### INDIA: TORTURE, RAPE AND DEATH IN CUSTODY.

Published on March 25 is our report that may be misrepresented in both the foreign and the Indian news media. It may be described as anti-Indian. It is not. It criticizes practices that are unconstitutional in India itself. Nevertheless some may dismiss the report out of hand or suggest that Amnesty International's motives are hostile to India. The facts in the report, and its detailed recommendations, may then be lost sight of. All the more reason for my urging you to give it your serious attention, to this report — pages 200.

Some people may say that Amnesty International is interfering in the internal affairs of India. The fact is that human rights are as much a global as a national concern. India recognized this in 1979 when it became a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In doing so, India undertook legal obligations to the international community to observe and protect human rights. Not only did India make a Unilateral Declaration against Torture saying that it would

comply with the UN Declaration against Torture, it even initiated the 1977 resolution of the UN General Assembly that introduced the Declaration.

**Our investigation has shown that there is a clear pattern of people being tortured to death throughout India -- victims are picked up by police, illegally detained and then tortured for confessions until they die.**

*Officials give the green light to torture and police officers systematically cover up torture killings and bribe or threaten witnesses. The police officers and others who torture people to death are rarely brought to justice.*

In Assam women were raped so frequently in detention that the high court ordered that women must not be taken to army camps for interrogation.

The six-chapter report includes violence on Dalits and Tribals, in Kashmir, Northeast, Muslims. And a list of the dead.

### SELF-STYLED SOCIOLOGISTS EXPOSED

## Researches on SC/ST/BCs help rulers to better enslave them

MANVENDRA SINGH YADAV, FARIDABAD

Thomas Pereira, (DV Feb. 16-29) has highlighted the very crucial issue of the utter hollowness and duplicity of India's self-proclaimed "sociologists". It is hardly surprising that India's top nazi political outfit has suggested that the Mandal Commission Report should be re-examined by a team of India's "top" sociologists. It is obvious that this pompous caucus of "sociologists" would reject the Mandal Commission since it goes against their and their patrons' *jati* interests. No wonder, then, that the staunchly anti-mandalite nazi party has resorted to these self-styled sociologists to dump the Mandal Report unceremoniously and surreptitiously. (Andre Beteille:

DV March 1 '92 p.16).

**Pigmies:** It is not well understood that these so-called "sociologists" headed by its "most eminent" M.N. Srinivas, a Brahmin, by and large are the staunchest defenders of brahminical raj. Most of them of course are Aryans. Therefore, they hate Mandal.

During the anti-Mandal Aryan war, little known pygmies like Veena Das, Andre Beteille and a host of others suddenly shot into prominence in the "national" toilet papers with their pontifications and lofty pronouncements of caste being dead, etc. etc. Now if at all anything is dead, it is these bunch of

"social anthropologists" who are "dead" to the vile, inhuman exploitation of India's masses. *Wining and dining in five star-hotels and lucrative lecture-tours abroad have corrupted them to such a degree that they have little or no inclination to speak out the truth about the brahminical oppression in this country.*

**Bogus Bunch:** What is particularly tragic about this bunch of "sociologists" is that whatever they utter is held to be the Ultimate Truth about any matter whatsoever. Only those with a personal involvement with sociologists as teachers and acquaintances can know what a completely farcical and bogus bunch they are. If they are so very concerned about the well being of India (as they say they are) then how is it that as compared to the spate of articles that they wrote during the Mandal agitation, their response during the poisonous Rama Yatra was absolutely subdued? Does this not show their true colours and does it not reveal why the Nazi party would like to give them the honour of "re-examining" (rejecting?) the Mandal Commission Report?

**Poverty studies:** India's "sociologists" have very craftily directed most of their "research" on so-called "problem areas" i.e. areas and issues that are posing

a problem to India's brahminical elite.

*Thus, the SC/ST/BCs have become a hot favourite for these "researchers" to "study". And they attract a lot of financial aid for this purpose. By "studying" the "poverty" of these groups, whose interests clash with those of the researchers, the sociologists' became rich and their "research" helped the elite to become more rich and tighten its hegemony.*

For by getting to know more about these "problem areas" the upper castes are now able to manipulate these "problem groups" in a far more effective way to strengthen its own domination. Not surprisingly, therefore, most such sociological "research" is published in English – the language of the elite – and hardly any "sociological research" has been published in the various languages of the Indian masses.

*The SC/ST/BCs and Muslims can no longer rely on such brahminical "sociologists" to speak out for them. They need to form their own research institutes to objectively analyse their own social problems. Will DV take the lead in making concrete suggestions in this regard?*

## Japanese team meets Editor

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore :** A 13-member Japanese delegation of Burakumin came on a three-day tour of South India and spent two days with the leaders of the Samata Sainik Dal, Karnataka, here on March 19 and 20. They also met the Editor of *Dalit Voice* and members of the Dalit Sahitya Akademy.

The delegation was led by Shigekiyo Matsunaga, chairman, Fukuoka-India Educational and Cultural Exchange Organisation, and Takashira Haraguchi its Secretary-General.

They said they were shocked to see the living conditions of Dalits in Madras and Bangalore. The leader and members were all having copies of the Japanese edition of the *Dalit Voice* which was being brought out by Usui from Nagano, Japan.

Some members had visited India earlier and some had met the Editor in Japan.

They explained that the contacts between the Burakumin and Indian Dalits had slowed down in recent years because of their pre-occupation with establishing international contacts with other oppressed groups. They were planning an international conference of the oppressed in May. They said since the *Dalit Voice* was the "Gateway for India", they were very much interested in strengthening the journal. Bhagwandas, Advocate, Delhi, accompanied the team.

## Christian nuns molested in nazi-ruled UP

**Allahabad:** About half-a-dozen nuns were physically assaulted and a few others also received injuries when a gang of anti-socials, posing as dacoits, ransacked St. Mary's Convent at Ghoorpur, near here, on March 8 night.

It is the second such incident in Uttar Pradesh where antisocials, backed by vested interests, entered the precincts of an educational institution manned by Christian minority and "raped" nuns besides injuring others.

It was half past midnight when the anti-socials entered the premises of the St. Mary's Convent breaking open the main iron gates. They then entered the residential quarters of the nuns and let loose a reign of terror there. The nuns started running helter skelter but could not escape the clutches of the anti-socials.

The anti-socials, after molesting the nuns decamped with cash and other valuables worth thousands of rupees.

The police till now could not nab a single criminal while the authorities of the Ghoorpur Convent closed the institution indefinitely till the culprits are arrested and punished.

Meanwhile, all Catholic institutions of Allahabad remained closed as a mark of protest against the civil and police administrations' failure to protect the women teachers, particularly the nuns, from criminals. (National Herald, March 10.)

## Indigenous Dravidas built Indus Valley - Not Aryans

*Aryans have started claiming that they too are natives of India. They have already started fabricating history books to say that the great glorious Indus Valley Civilisation was built by the alien Aryans. (Prof. H.M. Kemparaju: "Aryan Bluff Bomb: Say they too are original Indian's, DV, Aug. 16, 91 p.19). They are resorting to such heinous crimes because of the fear that the original inhabitants may retaliate and recover their lost land from the alien Aryans. We have started publishing such documents to help Brother Yogesh Varhade in Canada who is making his second valiant attempt at the UN Sub-Commission at Geneva (DV, Oct 1, 91 p.8) to establish that SC/ST/BCs are pre-Aryan indigenous peoples of India. Here is one from S. Natarajan, Reader in History, Osmania University, Hyderabad. The passage (p.1 to 8) is from the very first chapter of his book, Main Currents in Indian History (1960), Institute of Indo-Middle East Cultural Studies, 470, Agapura, Hyderabad:*

PROF. S. NATARAJAN

### Early Non-Aryan Strains

**Indus Valley Culture:** The cultural heritage of India is a fine product of synthesis of many strains spread over nearly five thousand years; and of these strains the Indus Valley Culture is the earliest and one of the most significant. Archaeological discoveries at Mohenjodaro in Sind and Harappa in the Punjab and various other sites in Baluchistan, Kathiawar and the Gangetic basin have brought to light the remains of a highly advanced civilisation, thus ranking India along with the cradles of civilisation where the civilising process of humanity was first inaugurated and developed.

This civilisation belonged to what is known as the *Chalcolithic* Age and was contemporaneous with a phase of a widely distributed chain of civilisations, focussed primarily in the river valleys of the Nile in Egypt, the Euphrates and the Tigris in Mesopotamia, the Karun and the Karesh in Western Persia and the Helmut in Seistan. Sir John Marshall has suggested 3250-2750 B.C. as the most probable date while Dr. Mackay believes that it must have developed a little later about 2750 or 2550 B.C.

It is still difficult to fix with certainty the identity of the builders of this civilisation. The striking contrast between this civilisation and the one developed by the early Aryan

settlers in India clearly proves that **it was not Aryan**. The Rig Veda refers to the opponents of the Aryans as Dasas or Dasyus who are described as dark-skinned people of hostile speech who worshipped phallus and did not observe rites. They are also said to have constructed edifices some of which had hundred pillars. Archaeological discoveries show that some of these epithets applied to the Dasyus may be applied to the Indus people. Further the Rig Veda may be assigned to the fifteenth Century B.C. in which case **the Indus Valley Civilisation must have been developed before the Rig Vedic Civilisation** and must have been in a flourishing condition when the Aryans entered India. Hence it seems quite probable that **the Dasyus of the Rig Veda were the builders of the Indus Valley Civilisation**.

**Dasyus are Dravidas:** These Dasyus may be identified with a later generation of the Dravidians who seem to have been once dominant throughout India and had developed their own distinctive civilisation. Like the Indus people the Dravidians worshipped Siva and Sakti in iconic and symbolic forms of linga and yoni. On the basis of the unmistakable Dravidian influence over the Pali language, and because of the close similarity between the Dravidian languages and the languages of the regions from the Punjab to Orissa as regards gender, case ending, adjectives, construction of

sentences, figures of speech, etc., some scholars are of the opinion that the *Dravidian language was widely spoken throughout India in the remote past*. It is also pointed out that the language of the Indus people, like the Dravidian language in the early stages of its development, contained mostly monosyllabic words. *Thus archaeological, linguistic and religious proofs suggest that the builders of the Indus Valley Civilisation were the Dravidians*. This hypothesis can at best be regarded as only highly probable in the absence of conclusive evidence establishing the Dravidian origin of the Indus Valley Culture.

Archaeological discoveries in the various sites give a comprehensive picture of the life led by the people. The cities were big and well-planned with broad, straight and regular streets. There were a number of commodious and well-built houses of different sizes on either side of the roads. Many of the houses had more than one storey. A striking feature of these houses is the presence of one or more bath rooms whose floors were carefully laid and were connected with the main street by means of drains. The most important of all the remains unearthed at Mohenjodaro is *the Great Bath which is a marvel of engineering skill*. Sir John Marshall believes that "a more effective method of construction with the materials then available could hardly have been possible". The solidity of

construction is proved by the fact that in spite of the ravages of nature during nearly four thousand years it is still amazingly well preserved.

**Watch & Ward:** An interesting feature of this civilisation was that the ordinary citizen enjoyed the comforts and amenities of civilised life. Mr. K.N. Dikshit believes that the *municipal administration was efficient and well-planned* and probably contained the germs of the Board System of the Mauryan epoch or the City Councils of the Gupta period. He further suggests that the existence of a watch and ward system for different quarters, public storehouses, sanitation and drainage of private houses and public roads indicate a *civic organisation quite modern in character*. The main occupations of the people were spinning, agriculture, commerce and small scale industries. There were regular systems of weights and the fine polish and uniformity of size found in these weights must have been due to the strict control exercised by market officers. These people were not averse to the amusements of life and they practised the allied arts of music and dancing with success. It is inferred from the archaeological discoveries that stringed musical instruments and drums were not unknown to them. Different kinds of toys were made for the amusement of children, the most interesting among them being those of carts, whistles, animals, birds and human beings with detachable limbs.

**Enterprising races:** The Indus people were a vigorous and enterprising race who had commercial and cultural contacts with the Egyptians, the Cretans and peoples of Western and Central Asia. The discovery of a masted boat scratched on a pot-shred indicates that the *people of the Indus Valley were not unfamiliar with maritime activities* and Dr. Mackay suggests that the *Indus merchants reached Sumer and Elam by sea route also*. They had contacts with the people of other

parts of India. They got the stag's horn from the Nilgiri hills, gold from South India, a beautiful green stone of which a cup was discovered and the lapis lazuli from Afghanistan. It is also suggested that the conch shells and pearls, popular among the Indus people, were supplied by the Tamils.

**Indus script:** A fascinating feature of the Indus Valley Civilisation is the Indus script having "neat monumental forms" and remarkable alike for ingenuity, unity and variety of characters. They belong to the same group as the other quasi-pictographic scripts of this period such as the early Sumerian, Minoan and Egyptian scripts. More than five hundred seals have been discovered with short inscriptions on them. All attempts to decipher the writing have been inconclusive since the real key to their reading of the script has not so far been discovered. Prof. Langden believes that the Brahmi script was derived from the Indus style.

**Worship of Shiva:** The Mohenjodaro art is equally peculiar, stamped with an individuality of its own. The numerous engravings and models of animals and human beings that have been unearthed are undoubtedly works of skilled artists, and these, in the opinion of Sir John Marshall, exhibits a remarkable degree of anatomical accuracy, truthfulness to nature and a fine feeling for plastic form.

Though the relics of religion are unfortunately scanty, the few seals, figures, images, etc. that have been discovered reveal the organic connection between the ancient religion of the Indus people and modern Hinduism. **An important feature of the religion was the worship of Siva** both in iconic and symbolic forms. Three important seals bearing a representation of this deity have been discovered. He is sitting in a typical *padmasana* posture and this is a representation of Siva as *Mahayogi* or the Great Ascetic. In two of the figures he has three faces, three eyes, and three horns. These represent Siva as

*Trimukha* (three faced) and *Trinetra* or *Trinayana* (three-eyed). All these representations of Siva have horns, out of which, probably the trident or the *Trisula* was evolved. We also find a sprig of flowers or leaves rising from the head between the horns. This indicates that Siva was regarded as a personification of the reproductive powers of Nature and was worshipped as God of Fertility or Vegetation. He is surrounded by an elephant and a tiger on the right and a rhinoceros and a buffalo on the left. A deer is also standing near the throne. This again is a representation of Siva as *Pasupathi* or Lord of Living Beings. A figure of a horned archer dressed in leaves, which has been discovered, is probably a representation of Siva as Divine Hunter. There is another figure of a male dancer standing on his right leg which is a representation of Siva as Nataraja. Some deities have four arms and these are anticipations of the four-armed deities of later times. These indicate that the male deity of the Indus people is the prototype of Siva of later Hinduism and that *Saivism ranks as the most ancient living faith with its history going back to the Chalcolithic Age*.

**Mother worship:** Some figures are depicted in *Kayotsarga Yoga*, a standing posture peculiar to the Jain Yogis, with a bull in the foreground. Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee suggests that it might be taken as the forerunner of Rishaba. "If so, Jainism also, along with Saivism, must take its place as one of the oldest religions of Chalcolithic origins, thus helping over the hiatus between the Indus and subsequent Indian civilisation as phases in a common cultural evolution".

Worship of Divine Mother was very popular as is evidenced by the discovery of a larger number of Yoni rings and some female figures of terra cotta, faience, etc. depicting a female figure, almost nude except for a short skirt and decorated with a fan-shaped head-dress and ornaments. The continued popularity of this cult is proved by

the association of every village with a female patron deity or *Gramadevata*. Representations in a seal from Harappa clearly indicate that human and animal sacrifices formed an aspect of worship, thus establishing the fact that sacrifices of animals are significant survivals from this period. Worship of trees, animals and probably rivers also was common. The *Swastika* and the wheel found in the seals are said to be symbolic representations of the Sun.

Thus the religion of the Indus people may be regarded as "the lineal progenitor of Hinduism" which even to-day retains some of the features like the worship of Siva and Sakti, of animals, of trees, etc. The difference between the religion of the Rig Veda, the earliest of Aryan religious literature and the religion of the later Yajur Veda and the Atharva Veda, which believe in spirits and the survivals of Indus religion inter-mixed with the practices and beliefs of the Aryans continue to be popular among the lower classes of Hindu society even to-day.

**South India:** An account of the *Non-Aryan civilisation* will not be complete without a reference to that phase which manifested itself in South India where traces of cultural development from the Paleolithic Age have been discovered. It is generally believed that in the Paleolithic Age man lived in caves, particularly in those regions where a special kind of stone called quartzite was available. This stone was used for making implements, specimens of which have been discovered in several sites in South India. Bruce Foot, who has done much commendable work in this field, has recognised ten distinct forms of tools like axes of different types, spears, implements for digging and other purposes, choppers, knives, scrapers, hammer stones, etc. The Paleolithic man led a nomadic life gathering food where he found it. He also ate the flesh of the animals he killed by hunting and used their hide to

clothe himself. A few paintings discovered in some caves give a glimpse of the art expressions of the Paleolithic man. These portray a hunting scene, a group of figures which are not intelligible and some animals. A scene with some human figures in dancing pose, some with legs crossed and some with hands lifted up, has also been discovered and this is said to represent some religious ceremony.

**Luxury goods:** From the Paleolithic stage there was a gradual transition to the Neolithic Culture characterised by the use of polished implements, made not of quartzite as in the earlier stage, but of trap rock found among gneiss and granite formations. Among the tools of this variety the most interesting are adzes, anvils, axe-hammers, celts, chisels, corn-crushes, mealing-stones, troughs, mortars, pestles etc. Articles of luxury like beads, buttons, toys, pendants, bangles and vessels and also human and animal figures have been found. The chief occupations of the people were hunting, fishing and cattle rearing. During this stage people probably cultivated the habit of living together in order to protect themselves and their cattle from wild animals. Toward the close of this epoch the art of pottery was developed and in several Neolithic settlements pottery of different varieties was found. Most of them were plain but some were decorated with patterns of natural objects like flowers, leaves, fruits, etc. In some of the graves burial urns, vases, bowls, cups, dishes, etc. were unearthed.

**Linga worship:** The most important discovery among the rock bruising discovered in the Kapgallu hill in the Bellary district is that of a *lingam* and a bull in crouching posture. On the basis of the discoveries in the Indus Valley it was supposed that Siva and Phallus worship existed from the Chalcolithic Age. But the Kapgallu discovery pushes back the antiquity of this cult to even the Neolithic period. It also proves that the association of the sacred bull

(*Nandi*) usually represented in crouching posture is a legacy of the Neolithic Age.

**Matriarchal society :** Some archaeologists believe that in South India there was no Bronze Age or Copper Age and that the Iron Age emerged straight from the Neolithic Age. An important feature of this period was the beginning of agricultural life and cultivation of food crops. Continuous living in particular regions and common occupations probably led to the growth of some primitive social organisation and common habits of life, which fostered a sense of kinship. *Sex relationship must have been still promiscuous and hence the tendency was towards the growth of matriarchal society.*

**Tamil society:** Tamil literature like the Sangam works, and the great Sanskrit epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, give a fascinating picture of the society and culture of the Tamilians, their philosophical concepts and their religious outlook. It is clear from these works that **even from very remote times the Tamils lived in big cities enjoying many of the refinements and luxuries of civilised and highly cultured life.**

The *Tolkappiam*, the oldest Tamil work extant, refers to five natural divisions of earth's surface and the development of different types of civilisation in these different regions. In *Palai* (sandy desert) lived the Marayar, a wandering tribe of adventurous warriors who lived by plunder. They sacrificed animals and even men to their dreaded Gods and Goddesses. In the second region, *Kurunji* (mountain region) lived a semi-nomad tribesmen of hunters called Kuravar. In the third region *Mullai* (forest region) lived the Idaiyar who led the merry life of shepherds. Their God was Mayon or Kannan. The fourth region, the *Marudam* (river valley), was inhabited by farmers and their God was Siva. The Paradavars, who occupied the fifth region *Neydal* (coastal region), lived by fishing and salt making. They sailed

to far off countries where they exchanged cotton cloth and timber of South India for scented gums and other foreign products.

**Vanniyars:** Besides the above regional classification there was another based on the status of the people in society. At the head of the society was the king and below him were the noblemen (*Vallal*), owners of land (*Vellalar*), and merchants (*Vanigar*), who were called *Melor*. Below these were the *Vinaiyalar* and *Adiyars* who were working class people and personal servants. The Dravidian society was organised on a matriarchal basis and in this respect the Dravidians differed fundamentally from the Aryans.

Agriculture was their main occupation and, in the opinion of Sir John Marshall, the Dravidians were the earliest to systematise agriculture. They were the first to build dams across rivers for purposes of irrigation. They also followed a number of other occupations of which those of the potter, weaver, carpenter, masons and smith were most important. The Dravidians were skilled in casting iron and goldsmiths prepared beautiful ornaments of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones. A poem in the famous Sangam work, *Agananuru*, refers to a community in South India which was engaged

in cutting conch shells and dressing pearls. *The Dravidians carried on extensive trade both inland and foreign.*

**Dravida languages:** The languages of the Dravidians in the South are now represented by the modern languages of South India like Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. Their ancient alphabet was *Vatteluttu* which was probably derived from a Semetic script. Dr. Maclean believes that the Tamils had a highly developed practical astronomy before they were touched by Brahminical influences, and their system holds its ground in many respects even now. Their calendar is also said to aim at a high degree of astronomical accuracy and consistency.

Gradually Aryan influence began to spread in South India. The advent of sage Agastya is said to mark the earliest stage of this cultural infiltration and the *Ramayana* is regarded as an allegorical representation of the cultural conquest of South India. In course of time the impact of Aryan cultural concepts on the indigenous cultures such as have been described above started a new process of cultural integration which culminated in the evolution of what is known as Hindu civilisation.

## Muslims start feeling pinch of nazi attacks

**Patna:** A serious debate has been initiated in the Indian Muslim society over the "cultural onslaught" of the Hindus and the growing political base of the Bharatiya Janata Party — both posing a serious challenge to Islamic values and growth of Muslims in India. An all-India campaign has been launched by the All-India Muslim Personal Law Board which is conducting *Isahe-ae-Muashara* (social reforms conference) throughout the country to educate the Muslim masses on the shortcomings of the Muslim social norms and also to remind them to rise and become the ruling class of the world. (*Statesman* March 22).

## Racism even in Police dept.

**New Delhi :** BJP member, S.P. Gautam, said in Parliament that untouchability was being practised in Bihar police and there were separate barracks on caste lines, with separate kitchen and mess, a fact conceded by the State Inspector-General of Police. While Janata Dal member Obaidullah Khan Azmi supported him, Dr. Heptulla wondered how casteism could be allowed to go on for so many years after independence. (*Hindu* March 13).

## Urdu-speakers in India

**New Delhi :** The Central govt. appointed a committee of experts headed by Ali Sardar Jafri in 1990 to examine the implementation of the Gujral Committee recommendations (1975). Findings of the Jafri Committee submitted in Oct. 1991, are reproduced here:

	Urdu speaking population (in lacs)	No. of state-run Urdu medium primary schools
Andhra Pradesh	42.00	1135
Bihar	69.55	5500
Delhi	30.63	95
Gujarat	6.00	161
Haryana	2.27	0
Himachal Pradesh	0.13	0
Karnataka	35.00	2853
Maharashtra	43.19	2108
Rajasthan	7.25	73
Uttar Pradesh	108.00	0
West Bengal	12.00	220
Other states	N.A.	N.A.

## Aparthied in India

**Bangalore:** Legislative Council Chairman D. Manjunath on March 24 asked the Government to give a detailed report regarding the humiliation of an educated Scheduled Caste woman while she was having food at the Nandakeshwara Temple at Panambur in Dakshina Kannada District. The woman was forcibly removed from the premises because of her caste. (*Deccan Herald*, March 25)

## Letters to Editor

**Raju Thomas, Madras:** It is interesting to note that a DV article forced a Muslim to reread the Quran (DV Dec. 16, 1991 p.16). We visited a Muslim theological college, Jamalia, on hearing that it has a large number of poor Muslim students while discussing with the students their teacher, Usthat, himself was not aware of the references to the *Musthafa* in the Quran and we showed them many *Ayahs* (chapters) and some of the Jamaat-E-Islami activists also were present. The most important among them were chapters vii: 157, 28, 5&6. However, ch. 4:75 needs to be well studied as you have been quoting it now and then. The Quran also refers to those who fight against the Muslims :Ch. II: 190, 191, 193, 214 & 216. Of course, Islam may be a powerful ideology but has the Muslim leadership understood it? Those elite Muslims and the upper caste Christians are thinking alike. They want to compromise with the Aryan/upper caste/Hindu nazis because they all belong to one blood. It seems that the whole world is going to be polarised into racial contradictions: the white Aryans/Blacks. Will the Indian Muslim and Christian leadership join with Dalits or our oppressors? We suspect the bonafides of the elite Muslim and Christian leadership.

**S.P. Singh, Takiapur, Danapur, Patna - 800 012 :** I have reasons to believe that the *Dalit Voice* stands for the liberation of Dalits. They must be told who and what has made them Untouchables. I belong to a Backward Caste but my studies of caste system and Hindu *shastras* have convinced me that BCs have been responsible for uplifting the Brahmins and down grading and Dalits. Any move to unite SC/ST/BC and minorities shall end up in a failure if any "superior status" is given to any particular *jati* among the BCs. The SC/STs have atleast some self-respect, their own deities, saints. BCs can join hands with Dalits only after giving up their superiority complex. Babri Masjid issue is a calculated onslaught on their religious identity. SC/ST/BCs will support the Muslims only when they pick up courage and take up arms. I doubt if DV has the support of any genuine BC leader or thinker. We practically know nothing of Indian history and Hindu *shastras*. *Dalit Voice* therefore must become the main propaganda organ of a new political party to be formed immediately. No one is interested in mere social reforms. We all want some political power, firstly for ourselves and next to our *jati*. Your 85% slogan may not work unless we study our past and find our ethnic identity. A meeting of organisations like the DK, BAMCEF and the newly-formed SC/ST/BC and Minority Sangham under Konda Lakshman Bapujee,

may be convened by you at Bangalore for that purpose. I believe in real business, not in mere sloganeering.

**Moulana Mohammad Sirajul Hasan Ameer, Jamate-Islami, New Delhi :** Great changes are taking place in the world and obviously India is no exception to this. Whatever is within our power and means, we are doing our best to give a right direction to the situation and to make it useful for our objective.

**O.P. Mehta, 85-A, DDA Flats (MIG), Rajouri Garden, New Delhi - 27 :** I read your "Letter to the Editor" in *The Hindustan Times* (March 3) in which you have very rightly suggested a confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh though the words "Akhand Bharat" may scare away some persons. In Bangladesh a movement called the sub-continent Resurrection Movement (SRM) has been floated. They believe that Bangladesh, India and Pakistan should go back to August 13, 1947 and restore "undivided India". The report by Jognal Abedin from Dhaka appeared in the *Hindustan Times* (Jan 1.92). It is time we contact like-minded people to pursue the noble cause.

**Vinaya Kumar Samuel, Madras :** As a Dalit Christian, I have noted your strong support to Christians and the "good work" done by the Christian church in India. A number of church leaders and Jesuit priests in particular are pro-Marxist. Why no church leader has no far criticised the Pope for his role in the break-up of Soviet Russia? Gorbachev and many others have revealed the role played by the Pope who in secret alliance with President Bush helped destroy Soviet Russia. Can we say that the silence of the Indian church leaders particularly the Syrian Christians has something to do with their brahminical background? Can we say these Syrians/Goans and Mangalorean Christian leaders have used marxism to preserve their *jati* hold in the church like their Brahmin counterparts like EMS Namboodiripad, S.A. Dange etc? I am reminded of your famous editorial "marxism to the rescue of Brahminsim". These marxist church leaders and their love for marxism is fake.

**A Rashid, Editor, "Jadid Urdu Reporter" (Daily), 97, Morland Road, Bombay-400 008:** From each issue of your heroic fortnightly famed for its research and theoretical analysis, I borrow two, three or more articles, translate them into Hindi and Urdu and publish it in the *Maharashtra Madhya Kaal*, Hindi weekly and our Urdu weekly - *Jadid Urdu Reporter*. Please write what I can do it keep your precious, prestigious and courageous magazine flourishing. Thank you for awakening the minorities and Dalits of this land and the world.

**Hemachand Rai, New Delhi:** The new National Commission for SC/STs announced on March 13 is a disappointment. The unimpressive and unhelpful chairman, Ram Dhan, is a *chela* of the ex-PM, Chandrashekar, who is an agent of Hindu nazis. Both are anti-Dalits. Ram Dhan's running battle with Ram Vilas Paswan shows that he is anti-Dalit. How did

Sarojini Mahishi, a Karnataka Brahmin, find a place in the SC/ST Commission? Is it because of her close relationship with Chandrashekar? The Prime Minister has cheated the SC/STs to protect his (brahminical) interests. DV must lodge a strong protest.

**S.U. Rangari**, Vikhroli (E), Bombay-400 083: I am happy to know that your Nagpur visit was a glorious success. Nagpur is the land of Nagas – the Buddhist. The great *Dhamma Chakra* (righteous wheel) was second time moved by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in 1956. It was my bad luck that I could not attend that historical occasion. I was 16 then and at Achalpur city in Amravati dt. (in matric). I was not much aware at that time. Moreover, there was some family disturbance in 1956. But later on I have done my BA from Hislop College, Nagpur. During that period I got good number friends and became alert since then. Nagpur is an *Adda* of brahminism (RSS) and Buddhism which is anti-brahminism. We are expecting to have an inaugural function of the "Dr. Ambedkar Political Research Institute" in April. We hope you will be with us for that function.

**V.B. Rawat**, Lokayata, Houz Khas, New Delhi : The crusade for human rights of the deprived nationalities under you will certainly succeed. The people of India must thank you for the purpose you have chosen for their service. *Dalit Voice* is a movement and as a subscriber I want to undo the damage done to my fellow beings for the last 2,000 years. I would like you to lead such a freedom movement. For this, a newspaper on behalf of Dalits should be launched and that too in Hindi as most of our people do not know English, particularly in North India and the people from South should be informed in their own language. The language problem is serious. When I met a Dalit brother he viewed me with an upper caste bias but when I told him that I reject the Manu Code and I am myself crusading against such evils of our society, he was so happy.

**Mrs. P.S. Ambedkar**, Mata Rajpati Home Library, Bahorwa, Deoria-274 701: Thanks to DV, I got the reply (which I sought in DV Feb.1) from Ross Mallick, 430, Gloucester St, Apt. 2110, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. He says: "I saw your request for the names of Scheduled Caste ICS officers in *Dalit Voice*, Feb.1. I have been told that there were only two Dalit ICS officers. They are my father's older and younger brothers. Sukumar Mullick joined the ICS as a law student at Cambridge University I believe in 1941. As there were no exams in England because of the war he had an interview instead. His younger brother, Subodh, joined in the last batch of the ICS in 1943. Their addresses are: Sukumar Mullick, ICS retired, 6 Valmeek Street, Calcutta 26. I am interested in finding out who and when the first Untouchable graduated from university. My grandfather, Kumud Behari Mallick, who was the first Untouchable in the Bengal Civil Service, was said to be the first graduate but this is quite likely not to be correct. Neither of my uncles were nominated to the ICS though I believe

there was a job reservation system then as there is now for IAS officers. Any Bengali Untouchable should be able to provide you with further details on this. *Dr. Ambedkar's Writings and Speeches Vol.2* refers to M.B. Mullick (their uncle) which can be located through the index.

**Prof. K.S. Faiyaz Pasha**, Krishnagiri, TN: The book review on who was responsible for the partition of India by V.A. Beeran, former Minister of Kerala, Kottakkal (DV July 16, 1989) is enlightening. Particularly H.M. Seervai's thought-provoking book, *Partition of India — Legend and Reality*, is a revelation to me. Until now I was under the impression that the partition was caused because of one man, M.A. Jinnah. This is how I have been taught in schools and colleges. I never knew that M.K. Gandhi had conspired with Nehru and Patel to divide India. It is simply shocking when I read the statements of Gandhi — that "partition can be made only over my body" and "vivisect me before vivisect India" — addressed to Jinnah as if the latter was solely responsible for the division of India. How hypocritical was the utterance of Gandhi to Jinnah who stood for parity and not for partition. Seervai's book and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's latest autobiography present new facts which will raise storm in the country but truth must be upheld. They shift the blame from the Muslim League to the Congress Party for the partition of India. Now you have sounded a note of warning in your Jan. 16, 1991 editorial, "Hindu unity aims at destroying Indian unity". Your words may be prophetic. You are really great.

**Adv. K.N.A. Khader**, secretary, Malappuram dt. Mulsim League, Kerala - 676 519: We are holding a district conference in the 1st week of May. Our dt. party is having a membership of 4 lakhs with 9 MLAs, 63 panchayat presidents, 2 MPs and the administration of district council also. The venue of the conference is at Kuttippuram on the bank of Bharathapuzha. There are various conferences dealing with different subjects. The theme of the conference is "Popular unity against Fascism". Prominent intellectuals are expected to participate. We are very much anxious to hear you.

**Manohar Netam**, Editor, "Baster Ki Awaj," Kanker, MP-494 334 : I thank of your support to our Gond freedom movement. I will write on the Gond tribal struggle. On March 25, we celebrated the 27th anniversary of late Maharaja Pravin Chandra Bhanj Deo, the ruler of Baster, and about 3,000 tribals who were murdered on March 25 1966 at the Jagdalpur Palace while fighting for the freedom of Baster.

**Wasubhai Gajbiye**, Sanghmitra Prakashan, Nagpur-16: We thank you for your fruitful visit to Nagpur from Feb.29 to March 3, 1992. Your speech at the Vasantrao Deshpande Hall, Nagpur, under the auspices of Quality Circle, Nagpur, was tremendous and thoughtful. But one thing was pinching. There was no translator. So people were disappointed. They missed your important message. ■

March 1, 1982

## Editorial : "A Constitutional fraud on Dalits"

A report of a Dalit Christian organisation from Bangalore says constitutional reservation has been given to "Hindu SCs" but denied to the SCs who got converted to Christianity. To be a SC and entitled to reservation one has to be a Hindu or Sikh. This is an unconstitutional condition. This is nothing but the State itself discriminating in favour of a religion. So the Presidential Order of 1950 is unconstitutional. The right to change religion being a fundamental right, the PO violates this, it says.

Hindu leaders of the Gujarat Caste War of 1981 and the Hindus who challenged reservation in promotions in the Railways and many others want "poverty" as the yardstick for reservations and not "caste". Many Brahmin conferences also passed resolutions demanding "economic criterion" for reservations. The Hindu press chorus is also on the same lines. All over India, the upper castes want "poverty yardstick" to measure backwardness.

But the same Hindu rulers who demand "economic criterion" do not apply this yardstick in all cases. They have different yardsticks for different people. They apply this criterion to some but deny it to others.

They oppose individual or mass conversion on the ground that it will not improve the economic status of the converts. Conversion will not wipe out poverty, they say while opposing the conversions.

By implication it means that the converted Christians will continue to remain "poor". If the converts are poor and poverty should be the yardstick then why the Hindus are opposing reservation to Dalit Christians who are also "poor"? Communal Hindus who are unanimous about "economic criterion" suddenly change over to "caste criterion" when it come to reservation to the posts of *archakas* (temple priests).

That means they will change their slogans according to their convenience. Therefore, can we say that reservations are being used by Hindus to safeguard their religion? Are they not punishing non-Hindus by using the reservations?

**A Black American's Recipe for Revolution in India:** M. Mazharuddin, Illinois, USA. One of the reasons for India's backwardness and poverty is Hinduism.

**Maratha lobby behind Pune communal riots :** The two-month long Hindu unity conference of RSS has finally resulted in a series of communal riots in Pune, Sholapur, Baramati, Pandharpur, Sangli etc. from Feb.14. One report said Pune was experiencing its first anti-Muslim riots since 1973.

"Letter to Editor" include those of Mrs. Yumi Tsuji, Tokyo, Dr. F. Vivekananda, Stockholm, Miss. Vibhuti Patel, George Menezes, both Bombay, Dr. M. Vasu,

Trivandrum Medical College.

**Women's Liberation and class-caste Struggle:** Flavia D'Mellow, Vibhuti Patel, Amar Jesani, and Sonal Shukla, Bombay.

Dalits observe R. Day as Black Day in Bangalore.

**Why I became a Muslim:** M. Kumaran, Nagpur, writes on Vittal Rao Wankhede (52) a top officer of the Maharashtra State, PWD, working as Suptd. Engineer, embracing Islam at Nagpur on Jan. 9, 1982.

## Nehru was enemy of BCs?

J.P. CHATURVEDI

Jawaharlal Nehru did not like even the word 'Backward Classes'. Replying in Parliament to the criticism of Shyam Nandan Sahay and Prof K.T. Shah who thought the amendment was uncalled for and 'economically' should also precede the term 'Backward Classes', Nehru said on May 18, 1951:

I am only giving effect to the real intention of the framers of the Constitution, unless of course it is interpreted very narrowly. Looking at the narrow issue that came up in Madras, I shall say this amendment is not intended to be a communal amendment. We must distinguish behind a communal approach and the approach of helping weaker and more backward bodies and souls. And although it is my amendment I do not particularly like the word 'backward classes of citizens' and hope the social scientists will find some better word. What I mean is this: It is the backward individual citizen that we should help. Why should we brand groups as backward and forward? (*Mainstream* Feb. 15).

## Africa heading towards Islam?

**Mecca:** By the year 2,000 Africa will be a Muslim continent, according to the famous South African Muslim preacher, Shaikh Ahmad Deedat.

In an interview with IINA, Shaikh Deedat said we were all born Muslims and African people are coming back to Islam.

The Shaikh is leading the Islamic Propagation Centre International (IPCI) based in Durban, South Africa, created in 1957. (*Muslim World League* March 16).

## SEMINAR ON "JUSTICE IN ISLAM"

**New Delhi :** The IOS is planning a seminar on "Justice in Islam". The seminar will focus on concepts and various aspects of justice in Islam. Interested scholars may contact: M. Muqimuddin, Coordinator, Aligarh Chapter of IOS, Post Box No. 61, New Sir Syed Nagar, Aligarh-202 002.

## Bangalore papatti nicely cleaning Dravidian stinking pond

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Madras :** We are happy to report that within seven months of general election, the *Bangalore papatti* has become unpopular — not only with the Dravidian masses but also her own *papan* tribe though your prediction that the "Aryan battle will be decided on the Tamil soil : Dravidians facing do or die battle" (DV edit Oct. 1 '91) may not come true.

Even *papan* leaders privately say she is haughty, arrogant and ruthless. Only the *papan* toilet papers headed by the "Mount Road Mahavishnu" is protecting her.

As soon as she came to power she announced that election to local bodies will be held immediately. She promised it in the Assembly itself but soon she became nervous and announced its cancellation because of the fear of losing the election.

Besides this, every-day police-firings in which Dalits invariably are the victims have made her a hated person.

On the god-sent opportunity of Rajiv Gandhi murder, she got elected but she lost her image within seven months. If she had conducted the local elections, she would have lost the power by now.

**Tamil Tigers:** But that doesn't mean the Cut-Throat is becoming popular. His corruption and cowardice have made him sink deeper and deeper.

Her claim that she has rooted out the Tamil militants has proved false. Tamil Tigers are not at all bothered about her. If her claims are correct by this time she would have been finished. For a band of young boys and girls led by Velupillai Prabhakaran who defeated the mighty Indian Army (IPKF) the *Bangalore papatti* is nothing. The planted story that the Tigers have come to kill her is therefore false, say political observers.

As this is written banning of LTTE is talked about loudly. But banning it has no meaning in TN where LTTE has no office. But the *papatti* is barking by seeing Tiger's shadow. LTTE has branches all over the world but nothing in TN. So banning LTTE means killing a shadow.

**DV prediction wrong:** Your prediction that the Dravidians will destroy the Aryans on the Tamil soil may not come true because the battle is not fought between the equals. The *papatti* has no opposition now except the PMK party led by Dr. Ramadoss.

Not only the Cut-Throat is finished but even the powerful Dravidia Kazhagam is put on the defensive.

They have all become so weak that their very survival has become difficult.

**Cut-throats' properties:** The Cut-Throat has tons and tons of money and vast property. And to save this he has surrendered to *papatti*.

His own son from one of his many wives, Muthu, was purchased for Rs. 5 lakhs.

Rani, widow of the late Annadorai, was purchased for Rs.5 lakhs. People say even the DK leader, Veeramani, was "purchased" for Rs. 5 lakhs but we can't believe it.

**Bid to purchase Dr. Ramadoss:** An attempt was made to purchase Dr. Ramadoss of the PMK but the *papatti* did not succeed.

The *papatti* is suspecting even her shadow. She is becoming very harsh on the press opposing her. She is becoming very mean, very vindictive.

*Inspire of all her shortcomings, we want the papatti to continue and go stronger and stronger so that she can clean up the Tamil Nadu stinking pond. Here the DV Editor has proved right.*

**Maragatham as scapegoat :** Poor Mrs. Maragatham Chandrashekar, a longstanding friend of the Rajiv Gandhi family, is being made a scapegoat just because she is a Dalit. She is being implicated in the Rajiv Gandhi murder. Dr. Subramanian Swamy, a Tanjore Iyer whose sole job is to promote and protect brahminism through his close connections with zionists, had prior information about the plot and that is why he is spearheading the "Ban Tigers movement" say Dravidian circles.. Vazhapadi Ramamurthy, a Vanniyar and PCC chief of TN, was absent for half an hour after the blast and murder of Rajiv Gandhi. Why?

Maragatham does not belong to both the TNCC factions — either Moopanar (Thevars) or Ramamurthy (Vanniyar) — because both are BCs who are antagonistic to Dalits, apart from the fact that they are much junior to her.

She belongs to the first generation of the Congress and family friend of the Nehrus and a member of the Parliamentary Board. That is why the Congress in TN wants to implicate her in the murder. Her daughter is now an MLA — Lata Priyakumar, elected from Arkonam.

**Secretariat packed with *papans*:** Never before the Tamil *papans* are so happy. The State secretariat has been packed with *papans* from top to bottom. Dalit IAS and IPS officers have been victimised. The State cabinet is reshuffled every week and Ministers are publicly humiliated. Of course, they deserve it.

Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer's younger brother, V.R.

Laxmi Narayan, a former DGP of TN and a retired IPS officer, is one of the close advisers of the *papatti*. President Venkataraman, also a Tamil Iyer, is another consultant. His close relations hold key posts in TN govt.

**Hate-Mongers:** The financial side is controlled by Natarajan, a Backward Caste Thevar govt. official. He is a loyal slave.

Since she suspects her own shadow, she does not bring anybody close to her. No Black Cats or white dogs can save her because she has created so much of hatred. Hate produces more hate and all hate-mongers finally will fall victim to hate. Finally, Papatti will end up in a pool of hate. And then begins the "Aryan battle on Tamil soil" which you predicted.

## DEBATE ON TAMIL NADU

# Papans crushed Periyarists because they turned corrupt

P.S. SRIDHARA MURTHY, ADVOCATE,  
BANGALORE

This is with reference to the debate that is going in DV on Tamil Nadu. (DV edit Oct.1 '91: "Aryan fate will be decided on Tamil Soil").

The elitist elements among the Sudras (the non-*Dwijia* or non-cross-threaded Hindus) of Tamil Nadu took to Periyarism for the sake of convenience. The TN Brahmins had been more arrogant than their counterparts in other parts of India. Periyarism offered them a platform to save themselves from humiliation. Periyar's greatness was that he never cared for political power. He stood for certain ideas and for a mental revolution among the Shudras. It is his followers who have failed.

**Brahmin-baiting:** They had neither the mind nor the strategy to take Untouchables into their fold. While they were preoccupied with atheism and Brahmin-baiting, the Brahmins lured the Untouchables by supporting the Congress and Gandhi who were verbally opposed to untouchability and staged temple-entry stunts. *It never occurred to Periyarists that uniting all Shudras (Nadars, Mudaliars, Pillais, Naidus etc.) was more important than atheism.* Some of them even had a vested interest in untouchability since it was the Untouchables who toiled in their lands as landless labourers. They believed in single-digit inequality while the Brahmins believed in double-digit inequality.

**Muslims alienated:** While Gandhi and the Congress brandished secularism and attracted Muslims, Periyarists not only never took Muslims into account but even alienated them because of their atheism. *The simple truth that the best way to liquidate brahminism is to forge the unity of shudras, Muslims and Untouchables never dawned on them.* Periyar questioned the existence of god in the context of perverse brahminical concepts of god. Periyar had endorsed the Islamic concept of God which ensured absolute spiritual and social equality of all humans.

The Periyarist arm-chair atheism and atheistic dialectics got diluted and turned less and less fascinating over the years. Their atheism was not action-oriented. *They never made any temple a target for demolition in which case there would have been an electrifying effect on untouchables as all of whom had suffered humiliation in temples.* They did not devise a counter-strategy to expose the temple-entry stunts of Brahmins and the Congress. They gave no programme for the Untouchables.

**Periyar praise for Islam:** When some persons wrote to Periyar questioning his speech at Trichy on March 18 1947, he wrote an article in the Tamil weekly, *Kudi Arasu*, wherein he advised (*Salvation to Shudra Slavery*- DSA 1986) BC/ST/SCs to embrace Islam. Periyarists did not apply their mind

to those refreshing ideas of Periyar. These so-called Periyarists maintained silence when "Hindu India was deeply disturbed" by a dozen Dalit families who embraced Islam at Meenakshipuram. The nazi agent, Subramanianswamy, rushed to Meenakshipuram but what did our Periyarists do?

They did nothing to spread the ideas of Periyar to other parts of India, though his views were valid to all BC/ST/SCs and to all non-Hindu people of India.

While documentaries have been made on each and every petty leader of Hindi states, and displayed on the TV by the govt. media, no documentary on Periyar, the tallest revolutionary of South India, is made and shown in the network programme.

If the Periyarists had done a good job, even the Central govt. would have honoured him in a fitting manner as it did in the case of Dr. Ambedkar. They have not taken to task the several CMs who rode to power on the waves of the popularity of Periyar's ideas.

**Periyar biography:** Not even a good English biography of Periyar was published by the Periyarists. Periyar's work has a message and a lesson for the whole country. Tamil Nadu has been free from Hindu-Muslim clashes. Why? In Tamil Nadu it is not the Muslims, but the Brahmins that form the worst attacked community. Hindu-Muslim clashes have been

occurring mostly in areas where Brahmins and brahminism command respect. All those who are never tired of talking about the communal harmony should take note of this. ■

## STATE TERRORISM IN TAMIL NADU

P.R. KUPPUSWAMY, ADVOCATE,  
KARUR, & VICE-PRESIDENT, PERIYAR  
LEGAL AID CENTRE, MADRAS

Tamil Nadu has been witnessing a sort of state terrorism. It arrested a former Home Secretary, R. Nagarajan, IAS, under TADA after its failure to convince the people about his involvement in a case in which a Madras weekly office was attacked by goondas resulting in loss of two lives. In fact, it had come to light that such attack was organised by a minister "to teach a lesson" to the paper for having criticised the Chief Minister.

About a dozen newspapers and periodicals like *Kedayam*, *Puthia Jenanayakam*, *Rajarishi*, *Puthia Kalacharam*, *Kazhugu*, *Nakkeeran* etc. are taken to task. Electricity supply is being cut. Printers are threatened. Govt. orders for printing textbooks are withdrawn, distributors are intimidated. Even legal news agents are threatened by police.

**Lawyers threatened:** All stree-plays, street meetings and hall meetings to espouse the cause of Eelam Tamils and criticise price rise, govt. economic policies, unemployment etc. are banned. At Cuddalore, those who pasted wall

posters criticising price hike were arrested.

Even lawyers and relatives of those detained under TADA are threatened by the police and two lawyers were arrested under TADA.

This fear atmosphere has affected the judiciary also. TADA detainees and other/accused in the Rajiv Gandhi murder case are tortured. An aged person, Gnana Sebastian, was pulped. Anantharaj was tortured while in judicial custody. The police use foul language and filthy words. They even abused Periyar EV Ramaswamy while assailing those from the Dravidar Khazhagam and Rationalist movement. A noted Periyarist, Arivu Perarivalan, is reported to be dying in the police custody.

**False cases:** Even an ex-Minister (both in MGR and Karunanidhi cabinet), Mrs. Subbulakshmi Jagadeesan, (along with her husband Jagadeesan) were not spared. The police planted false cases that explosives were recovered from her house at the time of her arrest.

**Tamil spirit crushed:** One Dalit leader, Cheppan, was arrested for allegedly criticising a Shankarachari. The pity is all bail applications filed by the TADA detainees have been summarily dismissed by the Court.

Refugee camps for Lankan Tamils have become open jails. A special police outfit, anti-Tamil Chauvinist wing, called Tansit, has been set up to destroy Tamil national spirit.

Under Jayalalitha, hell is let loose. ■

operation as soon as we believed that we are Jews. We hate saying we are *Harijans*. We say we are Jews. i.e. the lost sheep of house of Israel.

I read Vijaya Raju's article with your note (DV March 1, p.6). It is my duty to answer your questions as a Rabbi. Hindu system of *varna* (sanctified racism) consists of four *varnas* (castes) (1) Brahmana, (2) Kshatriya, (3) Vyshya and (4) Shudra. All the Indians are not part of this *varna* system. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has said that Scheduled Tribes and Castes are not Hindus. *Dalits*, therefore, do not come under the brahminical social order (BSO) because these people are outcastes meaning outside the caste system or *panchamas*. The Untouchables do not step into the Hindu temples. Brahmin priests are not invited to perform the social or religious ceremonies of Dalits.

**Bundle of confusion :-** Hindu religion is a bundle of confusion to the Hindus themselves. For instance, their own god, Krishna, belonged to the Yadava tribe which comes under the Backward Castes. They worship this BC god but they don't take or give their daughters to Yadavas. The Pancha-Pandavas had then married the sister of Krishna, but now they don't. The SC/STs (Dalits) are the scattered Jews under Diaspora for which reason they are provided with some reservations in the Indian Constitution.

These people are outside the BSO because they refused to be merged or assimilated with the *Chaturvarna* system.

Hence, all non-Hindus of India must know that they are all "Diaspora Hebrews", fulfilling the scripture of the Hebrew god who created the entire universe for the salvation of the non-Jews.

The theory of Rev. Dr. MSS Raju of Vijayawada needs all support. ■

### DEBATE ON JEWS

#### Indian Jewish Priest says Hinduism is racism

REV. DR. S. CHRISTOPHER, BEN-EPHRAIM RABB, 3-4-105,  
SUDHANAGAR, HANAMKONDA, WARRANGA, L AP-506001:

Congratulations from our members of the Synagogues in Andhra Pradesh. We are happy to see the article of Vijaya Raju (DV March 1, p.6).

Our leader, Dr. Rev. MSS Raju, and all of us believe that we Dalits are the lost sheep of the house of Israel. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob revealed the fact to Rev. Raju who was worried about the burden of their liberation. We are about 100 in our synagogue, undergone the circumcision

# DV must aim at rescuing BCs from slavery under BSO

V.T. HIREKER, DR. AMBEDKAR INTERNATIONAL MISSION, LONDON

*Dalit Voice* has enlightened the masses of India saying that less than 15% of its upper castes are Hindus. The rest (85%) comprising 20% Dalits (Untouchables), 10% STs, 35% BCs, 15% Muslims and 5% others are not Hindus and never Hindus.

This sounds very logical and, I believe, no one has given such a correct picture of the Indian society except the DV. Leader Kanshi Ram also supports this view, though the brahminical media falsely lumps the whole population of India except Muslims as Hindus. The media is deceiving the people.

"Hindu" is not a religion. "Hindu" is a Persian word meaning 'infidel' or unfaithful people (see pp.15-16 of Prof. L.M. Joshi's book, *Brahminism, Buddhism and Hinduism*). Let the 15% upper castes call themselves Hindu (infidels) but they should not take the liberty to include Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains and others among infidels and misguide the people.

DV has created such a great awakening among the non-Hindus (85%) that every member of them knows his/her position in Indian society.

*However, a majority of the BCs are totally ignorant of what they are. Many times they knowingly hide their identity. It is a great problem how to educate them.*

P.K. Rajan, Dy. AG. Madras, rightly says (DV Feb. 1 '92, p.15) that BCs are still enjoying the slavery under the BSO. They have no leader, no ideology and no philosophy.

**Maharashtra leader:** In Maharashtra, Dr. Panjabrao Wankhade of Amaraoti was their guide but he died long ago. Prior to that the great Periyar of TN and Mahatma Phule of Poona awakened the sudras and the BCs but they have forgotten them. BCs do not take interest in Dr. Ambedkar philosophy though he

fought for their human rights and the Ambedkarites now raise BCs reservations. Regrettably, BCs have remained backward.

*BCs are being used for the spread of Hinduism (though in fact they are treated as slaves in it) and for the Ramjanam Bhoomi at Ayodhya. BC farmers and Kunbis are used for the commission of atrocities on Dalits in villages. Shudras do not know that they are treated as slaves under BSO.*

**BCs in England:** M.K. Gandhi, though not a Brahmin, tried to revive slavery against these BCs and shudras. Still, due to their sheer stupidity and ignorance, they regard Gandhi as a great leader. The Mandal Commission Report will benefit the BCs but the BCs are totally ignorant of its provisions. Ambedkarites are fighting for the BC cause but how long? What sort of people are these BCs?

*Here in England, there are many BCs hailing from different parts of India. There are a few families from Vidarbha, mostly Telis (oil-pressers) and Kunbis whom I know (Banares, Bijwe, Bhusate, Chaudhari, Jirapure and others). some are followers of the late Panjabrao. The Mandal Commission Report is meant for them - not Untouchables.*

**"Haldi kum-kum":** But BCs do not take interest in it. They are ignorant of Periyar, Phule and they take the least interest in Babasaheb. They even do not attend Babasaheb's *Jayanti* but, they are more interested in Maharashtra Mandal controlled by the Brahmins who conduct women's programmes of *Haldi-Kumkum* or an annual Marathi drama. For the Babasaheb's birth centenary celebration in May 1991, I invited the President and secretary of this Mandal but none turned up.

**BCs think they are Hindus:** These BCs like the BCs in India consider themselves Hindus and invite Brahmin priests for their household

ceremonies. One BC Teli here is a member of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad. *I feel sorry for the BCs leading the life of slaves. Here they celebrate Ganapati festival.*

**Murderer Rama worshiped:** Both the BCs and the shudras worship Rama who murdered an innocent shudra, the sage Shambhuka. How could a murderer of innocent people be praised? DV should make special efforts to educate these ignorant BCs who are the slaves under BSO. BCs and Dalits should abandon the practice of taking Rama before and after their names (Ram Nivas, Ram Vilas, Jaggu Ram, Mangu Ram, Ramchandran etc).

**Kadgadhari Buddha:** I interpret *Khadgadhari Buddha* means use of force when necessary. Babasaheb said, "Kill when necessary to kill". Don't the Buddhist countries use force to defend their country? ■

No Dalit paper has done so much to fight for the BCs and their Bible, Mandal Commission report, as DV. The Editor himself was a victim of the anti-Mandal war and violence that rocked Delhi in mid-1990 forcing us to retreat from Delhi. We have addressed scores of BC meetings and courted arrest many times. We also attended BC meetings arranged by the Dravida Khazagam, SNDP Yogam, Kerala, and many other BC meetings. In Tamil Nadu, we helped form a BC-Dalit political party itself called PMK with our Dalit colleague, Elumalai, as its general secretary. We will not miss any opportunity to educate the BCs.

In DV, we have devoted considerable space for BC liberation and Mandal Commission. We are in the executive committee of two "national" federations of Backward Castes. But despite all our efforts, we are sorry to say that BCs are a thoroughly brainwashed stuff - forcing us to say that BCs are not only the country's most serious problem - but they are more so a problem unto themselves. How to rescue the BCs has been worrying us. We invite a debate on this. If the BC problem is solved even to the extent of 25%, we will be able to score a 75% victory in our battle against brahminism - EDITOR. ■

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# In defence of DV stand on BCs

P.P LAKSHMAN, II FIRST GEORGE HILL, APT 9G, NEW YORK, NY 10040, USA

Views have been expressed in the columns of DV in recent weeks by Moreshwar Sao, K.P.S. Shankarappa, S.R. Talukdar, Madhukar Kamble and others on the use of words like Dalit, Black Untouchables and on the Mandal Commission recommendations. They have stirred up thoughts in me, perhaps in all your readers.

The word *Harijan* promoted by M.K. Gandhi prevailed for over four decades and got challenged thereafter in a newly awakened awareness. 'Dalit' is now gaining currency as a truly expressive term for oppressed peoples, not only among the non-Hindu untouchables, but among Muslims, Christians – and as Sikhs well. It would perhaps be wise to let 'Dalits' stay, to denote peoples (called "Broken Men", "Bahishkrit" by Dr. Ambedkar) outside the privileged classes till a time when it too like the *Harijan* may be replaced by 'Buddhist' or some other word. For the benefit of those interested, I may mention here that (1) *The Poor Pariah* by Col. Alcott, and (2) *Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa* by Babu Nagendranath Basu, both discuss persuasively the theory that the Untouchables were Buddhists who had refused to join the renaissance in Hinduism.

**Aryan obsession with varna:** As regards 'Black Untouchables', its use is rooted in history. When the fair-skinned Aryans from Central Asia penetrated Northern India, they had to confront the more advanced dark-skinned people of Harappan culture. According to historian Romila Thapar, the Aryan victors treated the dark-skins contemptuously and relegated them to the status of slaves and called them Dasas. It may be noted that the Sanskrit word for caste, *varna*, means colour. The colour element of caste was emphasised ever since the Aryan conquest. It became deep-rooted in the North Indian Aryan culture.

**Africans & Dalits:** Eventually, the Aryan division of the *dvija* (twice-born) castes (the first being physical and the second the initiation into caste status) evolved, consisting of the Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), and the Vaishyas (cultivators). The fourth caste, the shudras, were the Dasas and those of mixed Aryan-Dasa origin. Mixtures of different races and colours have taken place throughout the ages and continue even today. Recent examples would include the Anglo-Indians in India, Mulattoes (offspring of Negroes and whites) in America, and various mixed races of Malays and Chinese in the Far East. Those interested in prehistoric evolutions of races can get enlightened by studies of continental drifts which separated Africa, Asia and the Americas, and the common roots before the drifts.

**Brahmin hold:** The Backward Castes in Indian

population are far more numerous (35%) than the Untouchables (20%). It would seem that Madhukar Kamble, quoting Dr. Ambedkar, would want to encourage competition on the basis of "merit", and restrict reservation to SC/STs only. He is magnanimous to give the BCs only 50% reservation but not 70%, saying Dr. Ambedkar also would have supported it. I would venture to say that Dr. Ambedkar, the greatest champion of social justice in recent history, would have been alarmed at the current stranglehold on Indian society by the Brahmins and other upper castes.

*Today, India's President, Vice President and Prime Minister are all Brahmins. Journalist Kushwant Singh said in a magazine article that during the British rule, Brahmins held only 3% of high-ranking government jobs. Now they held 70%.*

Nine of the 16 Supreme Court judges are Brahmins. Of the 330 high court judges, 166 are Brahmins, 50 out of 98 vice-chancellors of universities are Brahmins. In politics too, Brahmins are strongly placed. Of the 744 members of the Parliament in both the Houses in New Delhi, 279 are Brahmins. Singh said: "How this has come about, I do not know. But I can scarcely believe that it is entirely due to the Brahmins' higher IQ."

There will be no need for 70% or even 50% reservation, once the social order, scarily skewed as at present, is reformed in the interest of social justice, stability and security in India. The Mandal Commission was seized of the problem, as also the Backward Classes Commissions in the various states appointed by the popularly elected governments. The democrat in Dr. Ambedkar would have respected the views of these commissions. He was no rigid, dogmatic leader. His biographer, Dhananjay Keer, who knew him closely, had this to say of him:

"He liked new ideas, new approaches. He said that one could not lay down an ideal by a stroke of the pen. Society should always be in an experimental stage. According to him, Marx's philosophy was the satisfying philosophy to the lower order. It was a direction, not a dogma. Once he described the Russian Communism as a fraud".

**Dr. Ambedkar & "Dalit Voice":** If society is a stage as Dr. Ambedkar saw it, then today's DV is a green room for that stage for all its readers. Its columns are its crucibles for experimenting with new ideas.

In retrospect, Dr. Ambedkar proved right when he said five decades ago that Russian Communism was a fraud. DV has proved right on so many current issues. Its readers are greatly indebted to its dauntless editor, V.T. Rajshekar, probing in the guiding light of Dr Ambedkar.

## Ignoring Dalits means overlooking oppressed Muslims

MOHAMMED YUSUF, NEW DELHI

*Dalit Voice* has done its readers the great service of initiating a debate on the ideology and politics of the Jamate-Islami. This debate ought to be carried forward and not abruptly halted as some readers have sought to suggest. The Jamat itself appears to have taken cognizance of this debate as reflected in the several "Letters to the Editor" that have appeared in its official organ, *Radiance*. Heartening to note two of these letters have been written by a Muslim woman, Ms. Shabana, from Kanpur who, however, seems quite opposed to the views of the Editor of DV and in particular to M.A. Yusufzai's article, "Jamat blind to brahminism : Toeing RSS line ?" (DV Dec. 1-15, 1991).

However, Shabana has chosen to continue this debate. DV and the *Radiance* have, for far too long, been dominated by a male, patriarchal discourse, and one hopes that more women would emulate Shabana's example and freely express their views. Shabana must also be appreciated for having stated that she welcomes a further debate on the issue of Muslim-Dalit/BC relations. Therefore, one can only hope that DV continues with this dialogue and does not abruptly end it for fear of antagonizing one or the otherside.

The DV debate on the Jamate-Islami has, with the exception of the Editor, been carried on only by Muslims. No non-Muslim has, as yet, entered into this debate. This seems strange because the politics and ideology of Muslim groups, especially an influential one like the Jamate-Islami does have a vital bearing on non-Muslims in general, and on Dalits, BCs, tribals and women in particular. This is because, *brahminism derives much of its*

*propaganda ammunition from the activities, politics and ideological postures of several non-Muslim groups.* Murad Ali Yusufzai says that one such group is the Jamat. Brahminism paradisising in the guise of 'Hindu nationalism' is a means to further suppress the SC/ST/BCs and women. *By boosting brahminism (as Yusufzai contends) the Jamat poses a threat to the interests of the Bahujan Samaj.* This being the case, the silence of non-Muslim intellectuals of the Bahujan Samaj on the DV debate on the Jamat is indeed unfortunate.

**DV concern for Muslims:** I know that DV is genuinely concerned about the vital interests of the Muslim masses. Hence, appeals to mobilise them on crucial issues ought to be addressed to the genuine leaders of the Muslim masses. The Editor of DV says that he has had a long-standing and close relationship with the Jamat leadership. *The Koran that the Editor quotes from was presented to him by Moulana Mohd Yusuf, the late Amir of the Jamate Islami, who was also DV subscriber and great admirer like the present Amir, Moulana S. Hasan.*

If this relationship was indeed so intimate, there would have been no real need to initiate this debate on the Jamat after so many years. The very fact that after all these years of a presumed close relationship DV felt the urge to assess the Jamat itself reveals that **the Jamat and its leaders had not been taking DV seriously all along. This also suggests that the Jamat cannot be held to be the true messiah of the Muslim masses**, for had it indeed been so, it would, from the beginning itself, have upheld the basic principles that DV now urges it to do.

**Shabana argument:** Shabana (*Radiance*, Jan. 12 1992) suggests

that she and others of her school of thought are not against Muslims befriending Dalits but adds that, "Islam is the only hope for the problems of SC/ST/BCs and women". Now, it is true that Islam in India has carried forth a torch of hope for those sunk in darkness and has, to some extent, solved some of the crucial problems of social identity for oppressed groups who sought refuge from the horrors of brahminism. No one can deny this. However, by asserting that the Jamat or the Muslims can cooperate with the Dalits only if they convert to Islam, Shabana rules out a non-religious approach to the question of the relations between the Muslim masses and the Dalits.

**Jamat wants conversion? :** Being an atheist myself, I have no objection if anybody desires to convert to Islam or Christianity, or Buddhism or to any other religion for that matter. But what Shabana wishes to say is that if the Dalits do not convert to Islam, there is no way that the Jamat can conceive of entering into a dialogue with them. Now, there appears to be no sign that the Dalits would move in the direction of mass conversion to Islam. So, the rigid stance of Shabana rules out every possibility of a dialogue with non-Muslim Dalits.

**Out of touch:** The Jamat and other Islamic groups are not quite aware of social reality and of the very remote chances of mass conversions to Islam. This is because, as Yusufzai rightly says, these outfits in quite an un-Islamic fashion, have cut themselves off from social reality and do not have even a rudimentary understanding of contemporary social processes operating among the Dalits and the Muslim masses.

**Ibne Khaldun's role:** The Jamat needs to be reminded that it is Ibne

Khalidun, a noted medieval Muslim thinker, who is considered by many to have been the founding father of sociology. *Those who proclaim themselves to be the messiahs of the masses ought to cultivate a keen and critical sociological insight.* They ought not merely to build lofty castles in the air and feed their followers on delusions.

**Bahujan is not BSP:** Shabana has clearly misunderstood Yusufzai's appeal that Muslims ought to unite with the "Bahujan Samaj". She says that he appeals for Muslim support to the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP). Apparently, she is in the dark about the fact that the Bahujan Samaj and the BSP are two quite different entities.

She then adds that by making an appeal for the unity of the Bahujan Samaj (including the Muslim masses), Yusufzai has "suggested that the Muslims should befriend the Dalits even at the cost of their (i.e. Muslim's) separate identity" (*Radiance*, Feb.23-29). Here again, Shabana has misconstrued Yusufzai's views.

**DV Editor's stand:** The Editor of DV has repeatedly stated that he would always oppose any move to subvert the separate religious identity of the Muslims. *DV and the Dalit movement are certainly not against the separate religious identity of the Muslims.* They do not seek to "absorb" the Muslims into the non-Muslim fold through the backdoor (as Shabana thinks they do).

Shabana (and the Jamat) needs to be informed that every person has several different identities and the religious identity is but one of them. The other crucial identities of every person include the ethnic, linguistic and the economic.

Insofar as the Muslim masses have an ethnic, linguistic and economic identity in common with other oppressed sections, among the SC/ST/BCs, they ought, according to DV, to cooperate with them. But insofar as their religious identities differ, there is no need for the Muslim masses to enter into any compromise with any other group. They may unite with other similarly placed groups for their secular (i.e.

non-religious) concerns.

**Un-Islamic approach:** However, Shabana apparently believes that there can be no possibility of the Muslim masses uniting with non-Muslims on purely non-religious (i.e. secular) issues. This is primarily a reflection of the Jamat's hostility to the ideology of "secularism" which is so intense that it adopts an extremely antagonistic posture towards all the non-religious interests of the Muslim masses. This, some believe, is a rather un-Islamic position, for in Islam the interests of this world are said to have been given as much stress as those of the after life.

**Ambedkarite ideology:** Shabana can only think of Muslim-Dalit unity on the religious plane, for she says, "To my understanding, the shudras may get rid of their problem if they accept Islam, which makes no distinction among human beings" (*Radiance*, Feb.23-29). Now, conversion to Islam may or may not be a solution that many Dalits would consider, but it is up to them to decide. Many Dalits are today seeking to develop their own radical Ambedkarite identity based on Buddhism. This may or may not be a proper solution but that is another matter altogether. It is a fact and a crucial fact that needs to be taken cognizance of.

**Public opinion:** Now, if these Dalits choose Ambedkarism or Buddhism or Christianity and not Islam, Shabana would rule out the possibility of a dialogue between them and the Muslims. Apparently, Shabana confuses the Jamat for the Muslims for while the Jamat may not be ready for a dialogue with non-Muslim Dalits, *many Muslims have adopted a more enlightened stand and are actively involved in cooperating with oppressed groups among the non-Muslims. Thankfully, the likes of Shabana do not represent Muslim public opinion, even though they may claim to do so.*

It is tragic, yet true, that the Jamat and Shabana choose to think in terms of two categories alone – Muslims and non-Muslims. They do not allow for any other categories and social variables to influence

their world-view. In their world-view, all those who are not Muslims are arbitrarily clubbed together and labelled as a single category – "non-Muslims". No effort is made to further categorize and differentiate between various antagonistic groups within the non-Muslim category.

**Distorted view:** Hence this world-view cannot conceive of the non-Muslim category as consisting of such mutually opposed categories as rich vs. poor, high vs. low, Dalit vs. non-Dalit, oppressed vs. oppressor. All of them, in this world-view, are taken as one and the same.

Similarly, in this distorted world-view, all those who claim to be Muslims are taken as one category and no effort is made to further categorise them into groups such as Muslim classes vs. Muslim masses, Muslim rich vs. Muslim poor and so on and so forth.

This world-view cannot think of "Muslim masses" entering into a dialogue with "non-Muslim Dalits" because it cannot think in terms of "Muslim masses" and non-Muslim "Dalits". It can only operate employing the categories "Muslim" and "non-Muslim" as do the brahminical chauvinists who can only think in terms of "Hindu" and "non-Hindu".

**Continue debate:** I would earnestly request the Editor of DV to continue this debate, especially since Shabana has been so kind as to herself request him to do so. It would be heartening if any more would join in and express their views. I must state here that I too am sincerely concerned about the interests of the Muslim masses and that my views have no ulterior purposes to serve whatsoever. It is possible that I may be wrong and that future events may prove me to be mistaken. But, then it is only history that can prove one to have been right or wrong. Humans must, however, strive to make their own history, for there can be no such thing as pre-ordained fate and nor can there be room for a passive prostration before the all-powerful deity of history.

# Dalits will be forced to take to arms if Hindus defy law

NEERAV PATEL, AHMEDABAD

Pseudo-Ambedkarites with their affiliations ranging from Janata Dal (G) to Congress (I) to BJP to what not are now busy enjoying Dalit *mushairas* and *tamashas* organised by the over-extended Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Celebration Committee formed by the Patidar Patel leader, Chiman Patel, Chief Minister of Gujarat. But for the Dalits there is no respite from atrocities.

A Dalit police constable, Umedbhai Chaturbhai Purabia (20), lost his life during one such *tamasha*. He was on a *bandobust* duty at the Sardar Patel Stadium here where a govt-sponsored filmstars cricket match was organised. On the ominous wintry-day of Dec. 15 last, he wanted to close the window of the police van in which he was heading towards the stadium together with other constables. The accused, Udesingh Bhimsingh Parmar (Kshatriya), did not like this "mischief" coming as it was from a lesser being – an Untouchable recruit. And he started beating the Dalit boy on his vital parts till he vomited blood and finally died before reaching the hospital.

A case is registered, thanks to the *savarna* police fraternity, in such a manner that it can later on be proved as an unintentional homicide. And the accused can go scot-free. Already he is granted bail.

**No promotion in Hinduism:** Umedbhai belonged to the Bhangi *jati*, the "lowest" among all the Scheduled Castes. What a demoralising effect this incident would have on this meek and poor community? Who would venture to educate their children and offer for human sacrifices? They would be contented to remain in their hereditary occupation of sweeping and scavenging. Under Hinduism no occupational mobility, no status elevation. Born as the "wretched of the earth" and to die as the dirt of the earth.

Who cares for human dignity in this semi-feudal caste-ridden society? Who bothers for social justice in this Social Justice Year? None.

*Valjibhai Patel, a crusader for social justice, wants to prove just that — that nobody is serious in Hindu India for the emancipation of Dalits. Neither the legislature, nor the judiciary, nor the executive, nor the press.*

A brief look at the post-independence history of Dalit legislation will expose the apathy of Parliament. By Article 17, the Constitution of India "abolished untouchability" in 1950. But it took five years to make it an offence punishable under law called Untouchability (Offences) Act, in 1955.

**Elaya Perumal report:** To provide it with some real teeth and plug some real loop-holes, Elaya Perumal

Committee was appointed in 1965, after another 10 years. Although the Committee submitted its report the same year, the amendment Bill took another seven years to be introduced in 1972. And finally with much fanfare, Indira Gandhi made it into law to be rechristened as "The Protection of Civil Rights Act" in 1976. And again after 13 years, another law called "The Scheduled Castes and The Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act" came in 1989. Who knows how many years will be taken for the introduction of the term "casteless society" in the guiding principles of the Indian Constitution.

*But again how this snail-speed legislation remains merely on paper is well exposed by Valjibhai Patel, Secretary, Council for Social Justice, Gujarat.*

**Legal battle:** After the first phase of militant agitations and the second phase of Dalit literary movement, the Dalit Panther leader Patel has mounted a legal battle.

He has filed several cases throughout Gujarat against leading dailies/periodicals and publishing houses which through their articles and books encourage and justify "untouchability", in violation of the PCR Act provisions which prescribe punishment for the offences arising out of "untouchability", in violation of the PCR Act provisions which prescribe punishment for the offences arising out of "untouchability". To quote:

(i) "If he directly or indirectly preaches" untouchability or its practice in any form; or (ii) if he justifies, whether on historical, philosophical or religious grounds or on the ground of any tradition of the caste system or on any other ground, the practice of "untouchability in any form".

No.	Dailies/periodicals/ publishing houses	Case filed in year12.
1.	<i>Jaihind – Parmarth</i>	1985
2.	<i>Sastu Sahitya Mudranalaya</i> (Trustee: H.M. Patel, Ex- Union Minister, Finance)	1988
3.	<i>Gujarar Sahitya Bhavan</i>	1989
4.	<i>Jansatta</i>	1990
5.	<i>Gujarat Samachar</i>	1991
6.	<i>Sandesh</i>	1991
7.	<i>Abhiyan</i>	1991

**Police fault:** Despite his painful drive nothing came out of the cases. Patel has now moved the High Court of Gujarat with the plea that the *police officers are never taking any action and the cases drag on for years.* Quoting another provision for "Abetment of

offences" Patel maintains that "a public servant who wilfully neglects the investigation of any offence punishable under this Act shall be deemed to have abetted an offence" and "whoever abets any offence under this Act shall be punishable with the punishment provided for the offence.

**Offenders protected:** But Patel faces the biggest hurdle from one of such provision which states "no court shall take cognizance of such offence of abetment except with the previous sanction of the Central/State Government". And no Government obliges Patel to prosecute its *savarna* officers.

And the climax of the case is to knock the doors of Supreme Court. No case under the PCR Act has

reached the highest court of the country and this heroic battle of Patel's is going to become a historical struggle.

Valjibhai Patel succinctly puts his ideology into 3K's. First 'K' for *Karuna* preached by Buddha failed to melt the hardened hearts of Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar came with the second 'K' for *Kanoon* (law). We are experiencing how the second 'K' is made to remain in law books. And the only alternative left to the oppressed and exploited and persecuted is the last 'K' that stands for *Katl* (Killings). Let us hope the Dalit masses are not driven to the wall and compelled to take to arms to kill and establish a new era of equity, peace, progress, fraternity and liberty. ■

## COMMUNICATION

# Tahir Mahmood helping nazis to destroy Muslims

ISA HAQUE, MADHUPUR, HOERAH, HOOGHLY DT., W.B- 712147

This is with reference to your DV edit, Feb. 16, 92: "Muslim scholars used to destroy Islam".

Muslims in India are now sought to be fed with such rubbish theories as the one advanced by Dr. Tahir Mahmood who says that "Islam in its original form was a seventh century version of the world's oldest religion which is today called Hinduism". In our heart of hearts, we know that Islam is neither "a seventh century version of Hinduism" nor its modified and improved form. Islam has only one single form and that is original which is maintained in tact even today.

That Islam had one form at the time of its inception and another during the subsequent period was never been the case as Tahir Mahmood seeks to make us swallow. The basic doctrine of Islam is *Tawhid*, that is oneness of god. The whole structure of Islamic faith is based upon this doctrine which is absent in any polytheistic faith. In sharp contrast, Hinduism is a polytheistic religion with many beliefs and cults, tantras and mantras and a whole world of pantheons, gods and demi-gods. In the midst of this heterogeneous godheads, the "one-god" of Islam is completely lost. So, Hinduism cannot be and actually did not become the basis of a new "version" out of which Islam is supposed to have arisen.

**Idol-worship in Kaba:** Moreover, the religion introduced by Prophet Ibrahim, a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon, who flourished around 1750 BC, was of one-god.

Unfortunately, the Arabs deviated from this faith in subsequent ages and the history tells us that the objects of their worship were akin to those of the Greeks. They further degenerated from their faith as time went by and thereafter idol-worship was

introduced in the shrine of Kaba before the advent of Islam. Unlike Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam—these three semitic religions – are more or less unitarian and if Islam had to be modelled on any religion, it was either Judaism or Christianity – and not Hinduism.

**Adam & Eve story:** Dr. Tahir Mahmood has identified Siva and Parvati with Adam and Eve, Noah with Manu and Moses with Krishna. This view is also erroneous and without any basis in so far as there is no material evidence with which his claim can be substantiated. The creation of Adam and Eve tells a very different story. Adam was created out of clay while Eve from the left rib of Adam. Both the Bible and the Koran are very categorical on this point. Siva is Swayambhu, that is, "born of himself", while Parvati is the daughter of the Himalayas.

So, there is no similarity between the genesis of Adam and Eve and the genesis of Siva and Parvati. Likewise, there is no similarity between Noah and Manu excepting for the fact that the names of both are associated with the Deluge. As for Krishna whom Dr. Tahir Mahmood has identified as Moses, the dissimilarity is so glaring that the least we speak on this point the better.

Now, the legitimate question may arise as to what Dr. Tahir Mahmood had in his mind when he put forward this absurd thesis. Is it to bring grist to the Hindu nazi mill or to promote the cause of the Muslims? His erroneous views will, no doubt, undermine the causes of the Muslims in their struggle for survival against the Hindu nazi onslaught who are hell-bent to drive away the Muslims from the Indian soil. ■

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**ATTENTION : NATIONAL SEMINAR ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF INDIA**

The Indian Council of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples will hold a three-day national seminar on the existence of indigenous peoples in India from April 20 at the Constitutional Club, New Delhi. The Foreign Minister will inaugurate it. V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, is invited to talk on "indigenous peoples in ancient India". That the Scheduled Castes (20%) and Scheduled Tribes (10%) are pre-Aryan and hence its indigenous peoples is a well-established sociological fact and historical truth. But India's Aryan rulers have been consistently denying this fearing UN intervention. A representatives of the World Council of Churches, which takes special interest in protecting the indigenous peoples, will attend along with experts from all over India.

Contact Prof. A.K. Kisku,  
Secretary of the Council,  
No.14-Jangpura-B., Mathura  
Road, New Delhi-110 014.

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