

# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

Vol. 10

August 1 - 15, 1991

No. 18



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Circulation: A. PATRICK

Printer: A. PRABHAKARAN

Sales &  
Distribution: HEMLATA

Dalit Voice is also published  
in Tamil, Urdu, Telugu,  
Malayalam and Hindi

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Muslim claim for nation is right:  
Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Muslim claim for separate nation had full justification

It is no use saying that this claim of the Musalmans being a nation is an after-thought of their leaders. As an accusation, it is true. The Muslims were hitherto quite content to call themselves a community. It is only recently that they have begun to style themselves a nation. But an accusation, attacking the motives of a person, does not amount to a refutation of his thesis. To say that because the Muslims once called themselves a community, they are, therefore, now debarred from calling themselves a nation is to misunderstand the mysterious working of the psychology of national feeling. Such an argument presupposes that wherever there exist a people, who possess the elements that go to the making up of a nation, there *must* be manifested that sentiment of nationality which is their natural consequence and that if they fail to manifest it for sometime, then that failure is to be used as evidence showing the unreality of the claim of being a nation, if made afterwards. There is historical support for such a contention. As Prof. Toynbee points out:- "It is impossible to argue a priori from the presence of one or even several of these factors to the existence of a nationality; they may have been there for ages and kindled no response and it is impossible to argue from one case to another; precisely the same group of factors may produce nationality here, and there have no effect. (p.37 & 38).

This is probably due to the fact, as pointed out by Prof. Barker, that it is possible for nations to exist and even for centuries, in unreflective silence, although there exists that spiritual essence of a national life of which many of its members are not aware. Some such thing has no doubt happened in the case of the Musalmans. They were not aware of the fact that there existed for them the spiritual essence of a national life. This explains why their claim to separate nationality was made by them so late. But, it does not mean that the spiritual essence of a national life had no existence at all. It is no use contending that there are cases where a sense of nationality exists but there is no desire for a separate national existence. Cases of the French in Canada and of the English in South Africa, may be cited as cases in point. It must be admitted that there do exist cases, where people are aware of their nationality, but this awareness does not produce in them that passion which is called nationalism. In other words, there may be nations conscious of themselves without being charged with nationalism. On the basis of this reasoning, it may be argued that the Musalmans may hold that they are a nation but they need not on that account demand a separate national existence; why can they not be content with the position which the French occupy in Canada and the English occupy in South Africa? Such a position is quite a sound position. It must, however, be remembered that such a position can only be taken by way of pleading with the Muslims not to insist on partition. It is no argument against their claim for partition, if they insist upon it (p.38)

Lest pleading should be mistaken for refutation, it is necessary to draw attention to two things. First, there is a difference between nationality and nationalism. They are two different psychological states of the human mind. Nationality means "consciousness of kind, awareness of the existence of that tie of kinship". Nationalism means "the desire for a separate national existence for those who are bound by this tie of kinship." Secondly, it is true that there cannot be nationalism without the feeling of nationality being in existence. But, it is importance to bear in mind that the converse is not always true (p.39).

*(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume VIII, Pakistan or Partition of India, 1990, Rs.40, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay).*

*The book may be had from the Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Neelaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.*

## DALIT VOICE

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# Secret of upper caste admiration for New World order

When freedom-loving peoples all over the world are protesting, if not fighting, against the New World Order (NWO) of US President Bush, the Indian "intellectuals" are silent. Does silence indicate their consent? Why this silence? Is it because the NWO is a dream-come-true to India's ruling class of which our "intellectuals" are a part? This ruling class is the exclusive preserve of India's Aryan upper castes. Only those born in it can get into it. These so-called intellectuals will not speak out against anything which is favourable to its class/caste interests.

NWO is a global conspiracy of white racism and zionism – both close to the hearts of India's Aryans – to force their dictatorship over the whole world. In DV, we have given the name of "Hindu nazis" to the communal and racist sections in this ruling class. While the brown or dark-skinned members of the Indian ruling class are hated in US, UK and Europe, these Aryans who have migrated to the west have adjusted themselves as the willing slaves of the whites. Lakhs of them are serving the White America and Europe. In India, these very Aryans, (15% of India's population) practice racism against the country's original inhabitants and treat them as Untouchables but when these very same "pure and holy" Aryans go to America they are also treated as untouchables. ("Indian racists face racism in US", DV July 16 p.16). The Brahmins, Baniyas, Patidar, Patels and other upper caste shudras living in America know full well that they are treated as Untouchables in the est and yet they put up with all the humiliation and insults because a Hindu loves his property more than his self-respect. The upper caste body may be in India but the heart is in America.

**Fake socialism:** That is why no Indian "national" paper or journal has so far published an article or written an editorial analysing and criticising the NWO. Because criticising NWO amounts to criticising their very heart-throb. They have no courage to openly welcome NWO because that will immediately expose their fake love for socialism – sold to Indians by a fake socialist, Jawaharlal Nehru, a Kashmiri Brahmin, who was India's first Prime Minister. It is this Nehru who made India's upper castes love the capitalist west even while pretending to be socialists. No other set of people have the best of both worlds of capitalism and communism as India's upper castes.

Why the upper caste rulers are eager to embrace NWO despite the fact that the American rulers give

no value to India's upper castes. They treat India as a beggar country and its rulers as a stupid, untrustworthy, ungrateful people. In fact, the American rulers never bothered to consult Indian rulers about NWO because they know the Indian Aryan weakness for white skin. They also know that the Indian rulers are a set of cowards who are prepared to crawl even when asked to merely bend.

Why India's brahminical social order (BSO) silently admires NWO? Because despite getting freedom from British rule, BSO has failed to rule India. Unwillingly it imported the western "democracy" which is in direct conflict with BSO's *varnashram dharma* (caste system) of ascending order of reverence and descending degree of contempt. Adult franchise and little education opened the eyes of its persecuted millions who have started to clamour for their human rights in which the BSO has no faith.

**Woman for sex and service:** BSO does not believe in either democracy, socialism, secularism, or in liberty, equality and fraternity. All these are alien concepts to the "Hindu mind" which is essentially fascist. To this BSO, the woman is meant for sex and service. Those belonging to the BSO do not believe in working for a living. Its members have devised an ingenious social system by which 85% of the country's population is made to work, so that they can simply sit, eat, drink, sleep and enjoy the life. Endless pursuit of pleasure. And this criminal exploitation (in other words blood-sucking) - of the 85% of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Castes (SC/ST/BCs) and its religious minorities – Muslims, Christians and Sikhs – is done in the name of *dharma* ("Roots of corruption in dharma," DV edit Nov.1, 1989).

But the rising aspirations of SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christian/Sikhs have come into direct conflict with this *dharma*, thereby turning the entire country into a bloody battlefield. So much so, India has become the world's most violent country – falsifying the ruling class claim for non-violence - *ahimsa*. Within 40 years of "independence" the ruling class has run out of all ideas and the only way they can continue their blood-sucking game and save their *dharma* is by surrendering to the New World Order. Only NWO can save the BSO. That is why India's corrupt and communal "intellectual class" is silent on NWO.

**Muslims & Blacks:** The conflict in India today is between the 15% BSO's Hindu *dharma* and 85%

non-Hindu's human rights. And in this battle the 15% BSO has failed and accepted defeat. The only hope for BSO is the NWO which it is now hugging like a drowning man.

Because NWO fulfils all its needs, all its dreams. The Zionist-inspired NWO is against Muslims and Blacks. NWO will crush the human rights of all struggling minorities. It will put an end to the rising nationality upsurge in India. It will bid goodbye to socialism and restore capitalism. It will revive white Aryan racism which is so dear to brahminical heart. That is why the Aryans of India are so happy over the NWO. And the killing of Rajiv Gandhi has intimate connection with this ("Thoughts on Rajiv Gandhi murder," DV edit, June 16 1991).

The NWO may be to the advantage of the Aryan BSO which does not love this land being foreigners to India, but what about its original inhabitants (65%) and the religious minorities (20%) who together form 85% of India's population? This 85% of the non-Hindu population is the victims of the brahminical social order which having failed to ride roughshod

over the non-Hindus is now trying to seek refuge in NWO.

**Warning to Iran & Saudi Arabia:** The West Asian Muslim countries, particularly Iran and Saudi Arabia, must note that India has the largest Muslim population in the world and NWO has declared Muslims as its Enemy No.1. That is why the NWO having suffered its first defeat at the hands of Saddam Hussain ("Welcome Gulf War", DV edit Feb.16, 1991) has now shifted its attention to India. The murder of Rajiv Gandhi appears to be NWO's second experiment — first on the Indian soil with the support of BSO.

That is why we call upon the Muslims and Africans (Blacks) of the world to support our fight against NWO which with the added venom of its Hindu Nazis is out to castrate the Muslims.

In the coming days, we in India have to give the highest attention to fight this new menace of NWO to which the BSO has surrendered. The new fiscal policy, devaluation and many more pro-American steps will prove our prophecy.

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## Warning to Muslims & Blacks of the world

### OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Major changes are taking place forcing re-writing of world history. Perhaps the greatest change is the total surrender of the Soviet "communist giant" at the feet of the western white capitalist countries at the London G-7 summit on July 17. With this the western white capitalist imperialism has none to challenge in the world today. We hinted at such a Soviet surrender over an year back ("Ethnic pull & Russian racism breaks up the communist giant," DV edit March 16 1990). We had also warned about the "Global gangup of whites & Zionists against Blacks & Muslims," DV Nov. 16 1990). We proved right.

On July 17, the white Russian bear prostrated before "world's richest democracies" and licked their shoes. Communism is dead. Marx, Engels, Lenin forgotten. *Das Capital* consigned to flames. The USSR is broken up in the mad white Russian race for racism. The Russian blood proved thicker than the communist water. When such earth-shaking changes are taking place in the world the victims of this global gangup are not taking our warning seriously. Rather, some of the victims are selling themselves as stooges and slaves.

Today nothing is more important for these racists of the world than to save their race from the imaginary danger it perceives from the Blacks and Muslims of the world.

This is the secret behind Gorbachev goodbye to communism and rushing to embrace his racist partners. And soon we will find bloody turmoil in USSR — though we have to congratulate Gorbachev for facilitating the breakup of the USSR following the full flowering of the nationality of the suppressed ethnic minorities. Yugoslavia is also breaking up. The entire white world will soon emerge as one single country, renamed Euro-America with one single army and economic order under the leadership of the big boss, USA.

Meanwhile, the resurgent racism has pocketed the peevish, ever-obedient Indian upper caste rulers. Both have a common imaginary enemy — the Muslims, Blacks and Black Untouchables. Rajiv's murder, installation of a PVN minority govt., the 220 M dollar IMF loan and Indian toadies surrender to American dictates to dump Nehru's fake socialism paving the way for an all-out free enterprise are all indications that the western bosses have given a free hand to the Indian Aryan rulers to further tighten

their Hindu Nazi rule. That means the Indian Muslims will be the first to be castrated and crushed. And the once Aryan rulers, complete this, India will be appointed as the policeman of South Asia. This is the condition of the IMF loan.

Is this not frightening? But alas the victims of the racist-Zionist-Nazi gangup are busy fighting among themselves. They have not even a press of their own to cry out. We are particularly worried about the behaviour of the west Asian Muslim countries. Iran must rise up. The behaviour of the Indian Muslim leadership is still worse. During the last elections, it got the Muslim votes divided and helped the Congress to come to power. Most strange is the behaviour of the Jamat-e-Islami. Slaves enjoying their slavery?

We hope all persecuted nationalities of the world: Western and African blacks, west Asian Muslim countries, Pakistan etc. would take note of this warning: the devil is at your doorstep. India has the largest Muslim population in the world and hence this warning is specially addressed to the Muslim leadership. Our hope on China is fading away. Japan is going with the whites. So the Blacks, Muslims and the Black Untouchables can no more behave like those slaves enjoying their slavery. It is time to wake up.

# Split in SC/BC/Muslim votes caused Janata Dal defeat in UP

FEATURE AND NEWS ALLIANCE, NEW DELHI

How Uttar Pradesh slipped out of the Janata Dal requires some probing. Why the Mandal did no miracle in UP like in neighbouring Bihar? Much more than that, the defeat of the Mandal architect, Sharad Yadav, has surprised one and all.

The Janata Dal (JD) was certainly expected to perform better than it did with BC's, Muslims and the Dalits firmly under its sway.

That the BJP lost MP, Rajasthan and HP – three states – because of its misrule will be to oversimplify things as barring Madhya Pradesh, the BJP rule in other two states is generally rated as better than that of the previous regimes there. Evidently the BJP's main "mandir card" did not enthuse voters here as one cannot sustain a bogey in the absence of the opponent, Muslims in this case. The voters need the villain before their eyes to pour their ire. Thus the "mandir card" became counterproductive. It set the anti-thesis in motion.

In UP, the BJP played on the "vandalism of history" to earn Hindu support. The state populace having been witness to the firing on *kar sevaks* and mass arrests, gave credence to the BJP campaign. The victory in UP fulfilled the four-decade-old dream of the party and it more than compensated for the defeats in the neighbouring three states. But the question still remains so to what happened to the JD vote banks.

**Thakurs & Jats vote BJP:** Ironically, the JD had no machinery to convince the people of Mandal benefits. Unlike Bihar where reservations had been in force since 1979, UP had none. In Bihar the reservation for BC in central services created immediate stir and people en masse cast their lot with the JD. By the time Mandal percolated down to mass consciousness, the *rath yatra* began churning sentiments and the mandir issue swayed the electorate. The only group that was influenced by Mandal were the Yadaves who could not decide as to who was their benefactor, the JD or the Mulyam Singh Yadav's BJP, and their votes were divided. The Jatav (Dalit) votes of the western UP were also divided between the Congress, JD and the Bahujan Samaj Party, due to local reasons.

The Jats of western Uttar Pradesh, a powerful and politically aware caste group, adopted a bizarre attitude. They voted for only Jat candidates of the JD and the BJP. In places where both parties had fielded Jats, they preferred the BJP. They were sore with the JD for their exclusion from reservation under Mandal Commission.

**Muslims prefer JD:** The JD which was hoping to get almost all the Thakur votes in UP failed to get their support. They too favoured the BJP. Only the Muslims by and large voted for the JD. This also led to polarisation of Hindu votes on the BJP side. That is why the BJP won from Kanpur, Varanasi, Sambhal, Amroha having sizeable Muslim population.

The communal tension and rioting at a few places on the poll-eve scared the Muslim women from casting their votes. This must have cost the JD a loss of at least 10% of Muslim votes. It was a crucial loss as JD candidates were defeated by very thin margins in several constituencies.

**How Sharad Yadav lost:** The wafer thin victory margins of the BJP candidate are the only consolation for the JD. Sharad Yadav missed the Badaun seat by just over 14,000 votes. Mulayam Singh Yadav had accorded top priority to his defeat and visited the constituency more than half a dozen times. K.C. Tayagi of the JD lost the Ghaziabad seat by 9,000 votes to Prof. Tomar of BJP. Ajay Singh lost in Agra by just 5,000 votes simply because the Jatavs voted against him following the Jat-Jatav clashes last year.

## India goes bankrupt?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** After 44 years of Aryan/upper caste rule, India has become a bankrupt country. The rulers were more busy looting the coffers than building the country. Yet another proof to support our argument is now available from the massive sale of gold by the Govt. And this is not our charge. A section of the rulers themselves admitted this when the *Times of India*, (June 7) the country's largest English daily, in a front page story headlined the looting as "Gold sale reveals bankruptcy".

The Aryan rulers not only looted the country, ruined our ecology, plundered the villages, and converted all the cities into slums but more than that destroyed our moral values by falsifying history and damaged the very mental make-up of the youth.

The report says: In the nearly 44-year old history of independent India this is the first time that a government has favoured gold as security to tide over a financial crisis. The Centre confirmed the sale of 20 tonnes of confiscated gold in the international market to raise \$ 200 million in foreign exchange to help meet repayments due on its foreign debt. Interestingly, RBI has already been getting gold internally to jewellery exporters and industrial users.

# Amnesty protests state terrorism in Punjab

W.E. WILCOX, GILLINGHAM, KENT ME7 3AL, UK

I am a member of Amnesty International and through it I have got reliable information about torture and illtreatment by the State security forces in Punjab.

I am aware of the lawless activities of the armed Sikh groups who have murdered 500 police officers and thousands of other people, taken hostages and employed torture. Amnesty International condemns all acts of torture but retaliation by security forces in the same manner can only lead to escalation of violence. It is not only prohibited by India's law but contravenes the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by India in 1879. Amnesty investigations have revealed many instances in which the security forces have employed illegal methods including torture when dealing with detainees.

The *Hindustan Times* of September 22, 1990 reported that the Border Security Force had arrested 160 young men. Fifteen said they had been taken to the BSF headquarters at Barath where they were given up to fifty lashes each day for three days. Seven men from Dhariwal were given electric shocks, had logs rolled on their legs and were hung upside down. Two of these men suffered brain haemorrhages. Another, Hardev Singh, when released on September 20, 1990, had blood in his urine and a fractured arm. Iqbal Singh from Muktsar in Faridkot district was first

arrested in 1984 and tortured during the fifteen days of his detention followed by a further ten days torture in Ladha Kothi. Iqbal was again arrested in 1988 by men in plain clothes but the police denied knowledge of his arrest although it later became clear that he was held at the CIA centre at Faridkot. His release was obtained by lawyers and he subsequently said that during interrogation about alleged links with Sikh militants he was suspended by his right leg from the ceiling, hung upside down and beaten, had his thighs rolled by a heavy iron pipe and his legs pulled apart until they ripped from the pelvis. Chilli powder was inserted into his anus and petrol was poured into it.

The abuses referred to occurred under the previous governments. Now that there is a new government there is a special opportunity to effect improvements in human rights in Punjab by establishing an independent body to investigate allegations of torture with the power to visit detention centres by compensating victims of torture; by stipulating that detainees receive prompt medical examination with the option of an independent examination also by abolishing the practice of detention in iron fetters; by demonstrating commitment to the protection of human rights; by invariably bringing those responsible for torture to justice. ■

## A NEW MUSLIM JOURNAL

New Delhi: The Indian Publication Limited which brought out the weekly tabloid, *One Nation Chronicle*; has now floated a new fortnightly, *Nation and the World*. The whole project was originally conceived for launching of a daily newspaper meant to set right the media distortion about minorities and other weaker sections. Earlier it experimented with a weekly tabloid which ran for nearly four months. It then turned itself into a glossy magazine, just for a single issue.

The latest pre-inaugural issue of the *Nation and the World* is dated June 16. Saiyid Hamid is the editor while M. Zeyaul Haque is the editorial consultant. Yunus Dehlvi from the family of Publishers of Urdu film monthly *Shama*, the publisher. He has no experience in serious English or Urdu journalism and will best be a manager.

A few prominent Muslims from North India and Muslim businessmen from the South had set up the Indian Publication Limited some three years ago. Maulana Ali Mian is the Patron of the Project while his close confidante, Dr. Ishtiyah Qureishi of Lucknow, and Saiyid Hamid were entrusted with the responsibility to bring out the magazine.

The new journal has not made any mention of the aborted *Chronicle* which folded itself up in controversial circumstances. *Islamic Voice* July, 1991. ■

## Racism in Bombay University

Bombay: Noted Marathi litterateur and poet, Prof. Keshav T. Meshram, has accused the University of Bombay of practising casteism in selection of candidates to the post of Reader in the prestigious department of Marathi.

Meshram said that upper castes in the University manipulated to keep the Reader's post, which was reserved for a scheduled caste candidate, vacant despite the fact that he was a qualified backward caste candidate for it.

His candidature was rejected on grounds that he did not have a doctorate degree and that his published works, comprising several novels, short stories and collection of poems, could not be considered as equivalent to one.

Interestingly, the post of Reader was earlier held for eight years by Prof. Gangadhar Patil who was not a person from a backward community who retired in 1989. He did not have a doctorate. ■

# It is the Congress that created poll violence in Bihar

SOROOR AHMED, PATNA

Though much controversy had been created both by the Election Commission and the Congress over the conduct of polls in Bihar, factual assessment reveals a different pattern of violence. Most of those constituencies which remained in news for rigging or poll-day violence were those where the Congress candidates were pitted against those of the "left" parties. Secondly the level of violence in Bihar came down drastically this time. Unlike the 1989 Lok Sabha elections which had claimed 200 lives in the state, the total toll on May 20 and June 12 did not cross two dozen. And much against the hallaboo, the violence was minimum in constituencies where Janata Dal was fighting the Congress.

This must be sufficient to belie the widespread accusation against Laloo Prasad Yadav who is conveniently bracketed with the Yadav criminal gangs. The constituencies that witnessed the maximum number of killings or reported incident of booth capturing are Jahanabad and Nalanda, where the CPI and the IPF, both "left" parties, were taking on the Congress; Nawada where the CPM candidate was facing the Congress (1); Munger and Madhubani where CPI nominees were locked in contest with Congress(I) stalwarts D.P. Yadav and Dr. Jagannath Mishra respectively. The case of Arrah was different: here the clashes that marred the elections were consequent to resistance by the IPF against booth capturing. In Purnea where also the elections were countermanded, the villain was independent candidate, Rajiv Ranjan. Complaint had been made against him by both, Uday Singh (Cong) and National Front-backed candidate, Ajit Sarkar. The only constituency where the Congress and JD fought was Darbhanga where several people were killed. However, in Jehanabad and Madhubani the death toll was maximum, most of them CPI supporters. In short, it can be said that the violence was mainly a Congress vs "left" affair. The "Yadav criminal gangs" were merely a bogey or red-herrings. In fact it was former Congress minister and candidate from Munger, D.P. Yadav, who reportedly sought the help of notorious Kailu Yadav gangs.

**Election commission favoured Congress:** Not merely the Janata Dal, even Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) of militant triabls, the BJP and other small regional organisations ran smooth campaign and demonstrated discipline on the election eve. Even in 1984 and 1989, the eruption of violence had shown similar pattern.

This time the only Janata Dal candidate who became controversial was Inder Kumar Gujral from Patna where the polling was countermanded on May 21. But Gujral seems to be the unlikeliest of candidates

to approve things like booth capturing or rigging. Nor does he command criminal gangs, simply because of the fact that he is a rank outsider. The allegation that Laloo Prasad Yadav was roaming about different booths of Patna has been refuted by the Election Commission itself.

Similarly, the "Independent Initiative", a watchdog body, has questioned the countermanding of poll in Patna. Its own observers have found no truth in charges of rigging and violence there.

But then one may ask as why the Election Commission held up announcement of the results in a few places where mostly Janata Dal candidates were facing the Congress such as Sasaram, Bikramganj, Aurangabad and Chapra. In fact, it abruptly ordered the transfer of returning officers of the last two constituencies. The reasons for the move are best known to the Commission. But the fact that the results of all the three constituencies went in favour of the Janata Dal, have lifted the veil from the murky and hazy goings-on in the Election Commission. (FANA).

## Dalit revolt in HP Nazi Party

**Shimla:** Cracks in the Himachal Pradesh BJP have begun to show, party members are getting increasingly discontented with their leaders. Sadhu Ram, who was elected a year ago from the Gafret (SC) constituency of Una, and a minister in the Shanta Kumar ministry, was the first to expose the unrest. He has since been replaced by Dile Ram, who represents the Nacham (SC) segment of Mandi district. The resignation of Balak Ram from the post of the vice-president of the BJP charging Shanta Kumar with making "certain remarks to humiliate members of my community" has further complicated matters.

The members were against the party since last year when BJP leaders supported the anti-Mandal agitators. (Times of India, July 3).

## Anti-Muslim operation begins

**Meerut:** A three-member delegation of the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) led by its president, Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait, said that the BJP government of UP was denying compensation to those killed or injured in police firing during the communal riots of May 20 and June 12 in the city. "If compensation can be given to those killed and injured in the stabbings and clashes, why not to those killed in police firing?" he asked. Addressing a press conference here at the IUML office on July 14, Sait said this information was given by the former district magistrate of Meerut, G.C. Chaturvedi, to the local office-bearers and leaders of the IUML when they met him a week ago. (Times of India July 15).

# Sweden discovers Dalit painter prodigy from Orissa

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Who says that "merit" belongs only to the brahminical social order? Even an Untouchable can rise to international heights and surpass a born Brahmin if opportunities are available. Here is a real-life story to disprove the "merit theory".

An Indian Dalit artist, P.K. Mahanandia from Athmalik, the tribal jungles of Orissa, is making waves in Sweden.

He is a wonderfully friendly and open person - a single great smiling brown face with teeth like white exclamation marks of joy and eyes with the gleam of mild tans. His deep interest in people is also a great asset for him as an artist - he draws and paints portraits with a painstakingly realistic technique, always with the rare ability to capture something unique in the face he has before him. He has already had creditable successes at exhibitions in Boras and Goteborg, Sweden.

PK (which is an abbreviation of Pradyumna Kumar, names which PK believes Swedes have difficulties in pronouncing) is Mahanandia's pseudonym as an artist. It can be said that he is a born artist, otherwise he would not be in northern Europe, far from the deep jungle in southeastern India where he grew up and where he was destined to remain had he not possessed his gift.

**Talents from mother:** PK has inherited his talents from his mother. At an annual ceremony it is common to draw patterns and mystical images on the mud walls of the huts in his jungle villages, and his mother was one of those who administrated this artistic tradition. Already as a child PK often drew in the sand and painted on stone slabs. While the tradition of the village only prescribed white when painting, the little boy's eyes longed for colour, and he made use of soft stones at various colors or of pulverized stones for his paintings. In school, the teachers discovered his ability to make drawings and portraits better and more quickly than any other. So he was the first from his village to be given the opportunity for continued studies. In 1971, at 20, he was sent to Delhi University on a stipendium to study art and art history. In 1976, he completed his degree and since then has supported himself as an artist.

Mahanandia does his sketches in 10 to 12 minutes. One of this new celebrity most well-known models was the female cosmonaut Valentia Tereschkova. Naturally PK has also drawn portraits of famous men, for example the Indian President F.A. Ahmed, but it is portraits of women which predominate in his works.

**Love with Lotta:** But when one day PK set the

lines of Swedish girl on paper all other celebrities faded out. It was love at first sight and at first stroke of the pen. PK proposed after a 3-week long acquaintance, married a Swedish bride before the village chief, and then had to work for several months in order to save up for a ticket to travel around half the globe in order to be reunited with his beloved. It is a truly gripping love-story. This gifted Indian is now with his Lotta in Sweden, where he has made history.

Mahanandia, came to Delhi with an excursion group and became a student of Delhi College of Art. PK even remembers days when he had to go without food for a day or two. Inspired by his mother, PK was longing to become an artist, and is now very happy as he earns quite a good amount through his portraits. PK's art has an amazing combination of creativity and longevity to attract a crowd who look long and intently at his paintings.

**UN Honour:** Painter, Administrator and Head of Department of Recreation, Pradyumna Kumar Mahanandia was born in Athmalik, India, on Dec.25 1951. He married Ann-Charlotte von Schedvin in 1979 and they have one daughter, Emelie. He studied the Swedish language with the Swedish National Board of Education in 1978 and went on to take a special course in Swedish History and Society in 1979. Between 1980 and 1982 PK was employed as a Trainee Administrator and Leader of Department of Recreation by the Government of Sweden at the People's College, Mullsjo, Sweden. This post included work at the UN Offices, Stockholm, and the Swedish International Development Authority. Since 1983 he has taught painting in different colleges and institutions in Sweden.

One of his drawings was honoured by the United Nations Association of Sweden, Boras, by being used as a greeting card. PK lists his hobbies and interests as painting, writing, yoga, travelling, helping poor people, cultural exchange, international understanding, working for peace, organising exhibitions on Indian Art in Europe and awarding scholarships every year to needy students of Art and Music in India.

PK is a distinguished member of the growing family of *Dalit Voice* worldwide.

Hindi publication on Dr. Ambedkar  
Khanan Bharati — Dr. Ambedkar Special Issue  
Feb. 1991 of the bimonthly journal.  
Editor Rajendra Patoria  
Western Coalfields Ltd., Coal Estate  
Civil Lines, Nagpur, MS 440 001

# Cause of India's illiteracy is not poverty but Hindu values

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** India is claimed by its ruling class as the world's only land of non-violence, love and compassion. If so, how does it also house the world's largest number of persecuted peoples – hidden beneath its *Dharma*? While Indian "scholars" are silent on this, foreign scholars do not fail to notice that India in fact is the world's most violent country. A book review in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (June 6) shows the ugly side of India.

The name of the book is *Child and the State in India: Child Labour and Education Policy in Perspective* by Myron Weiner – Princeton University Press, Princeton, US\$45 (cloth), US\$ 14.95 (paper).

Why child labour in India cannot be prevented even when there are so many legislations banning it? This is because the reigning Hindu value system wants child labour. The ruling upper castes do not allow the children of the "lower castes" to get education. Because the moment they get education, they either migrate to cities or refuse to do manual work for the upper caste feudal lords. In the name of *dharma*, education to the non-Aryan original inhabitants are prohibited. And that is how India has the world's largest number of illiterates.

**DV proves right:** Our upper caste "research scholars" have spread the falsehood that the "free, compulsory and universal primary education", for which there is

a constitutional provision, has failed because of the "poverty" of the people. They say it is "poverty" that is forcing the people not to send their children to the schools and avail the govt. facilities. Weiner has blasted this "poverty theory" and exposed India's dishonest scholars – nay intellectual prostitutes.

DV has been repeatedly telling that poverty is not the cause of our misery – and Weiner endorses our stand. The review says:

The nature and motivations of these groups varied enormously. For instance, European and American Protestants pushed literacy because of a belief that everyone ought to be able to read the Bible while Tokugawa officials believed that universal education would make the Japanese masses more moral and obedient.

By contrast, "Indians of virtually all political persuasions oppose the notion that education should be imposed". Weiner spoke to scores of education officials at all levels, yet did not find a single one who advocated compulsory education.

India's political culture – not its poverty – is at the root of the problem, according to Weiner. India's educators and officials do not regard education as "an instrument for developing shared attitudes and social characteristics, but rather as a way of differentiating one class from another." Elite Indians are united in their belief that "excessive and inappropriate" education for the poor would disrupt existing social arrangements".

## Why BSP faced defeat?

BABU RAGHU, NEW DELHI

I am a humble worker of the BSP here. Kanshi Ram's election campaign in East Delhi was very effective. He had hundreds of disciplined workers, yet he got defeated because as you have rightly said BSP created some confusion in the minds of SC/BCs and Muslims.

We could not make the BCs forget that during the anti-Mandal agitation he did not defend the BCs and denounced the anti-Mandalists. And the SCs said that he was against SC/ST reservations in services. During the Nazi chief Advani *rath yatra*, he did not condemn the Nazi stunts that resulted in hundreds of Muslim deaths. He did not openly support the Muslim stand on Babri Masjid like VP Singh. So, for all these reasons, we were helpless to defend the BSP when SC/BC Muslims voters criticised the BSP.

Some SCs said they were annoyed that he did not embrace Buddhism and so they thought he was not a 100% Ambedkarite. That is why the SCs in East

Delhi voted for the Janata Dal. Kanshi Ram lost his security deposit.

Kanshi Ram's open flirtations with anti-Mandals like Chandra Shekar, Subramnian Swamy, Malhotra etc. upset the party workers. We were prepared to lay down our lives for the BSP because it is our only hope and we hope Kanshi Ram will correct the mistakes. So, this remark of mine should not be misunderstood. Some SCs got the impression that BSP has some links with RSS because some RSS cadres here supported BSP.

Because of all these the SC/BC/Muslim votes got split and the Congress and BJP gained. During the anti-Mandal agitation Kanshi Ram was critical of both VP Singh and Ram Vilas Paswan. This put all the workers in lot of confusion.

The loss of deposit in East Delhi remains a mortal blow. In the 1989 elections he polled 89,000 but in 1991, he secured a mere 10,000 from the same constituency. Mayawati, also lost getting less vote than the Janata Dal. BSP must correct itself. This defeat must teach us lessons.

# African races to bring glory to India

## OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Among the many African races in India (N.K. Sharma, DV July 1 p.8), the Siddis found in the Karnataka coastal district of Karnataka and Gujarat are the most prominent. The Aryan races having been put to shame after being defeated in international athletic field are turning to poor Siddis. Both in Olympics and Asiad, the Aryan races could not win any gold to India. Their only hope – P.T. Usha, a Dalit girl from Kerala – has bowed out and got recently married. The over-fed Aryan rulers with their pot bellies could not come up to international athletic standards. The only field in which they shine somewhat is cricket which is neither a sports nor a game. Like that eunuch - neither man nor woman - cricket is avoided by all modern countries. But India dominated by the lazy lots of Aryan races can play only cricket which as George Bernard Shaw said is something played by 11 fools and watched by eleven thousand fools.

But to shine in reflected glory they are grooming the simple Siddis from the jungles and mountains of Kanara and training them in

Bangalore in running race, fast-walking etc.

Here is a report in the *Indian Express*, Bangalore, (June 30) about the Aryan exploitation of Siddies:-

**Yellapur:** The Siddis inhabiting the forests of Ankola, Yellapur, Haliyal and Mundagod taluks in Uttara Kannada District are really Negroes who came over from Africa in the days of yore. Numbering just about 6,000, they have made themselves at home in India.

Do not make the mistake of writing them off as people of the forest. These hardy people are born athletes. Their talents in this direction have come to be recognised now, and the Siddis are fast carving a niche for themselves in the world of sports.

Their girls have made it to the national scene. Among them are athletes like Kamala Siddi and Mala Siddi, training under the Sports Authority of India.

Considering the fact that Negroes are potentially the best athletes in the world, it must logically follow that the Siddis of Karnataka are capable of turning out to be the

best athletes in India – provided they are properly trained.

But the talents of the Siddis are not confined to the sports arena alone. They excel in folk arts too, especially dance. At the All-India Tribes Mela held at Thekkadi in Kerala recently, under the auspices of the Kerala Government, the Siddis did so well in the folk dance competition that they jiggled away with the prize. The number which clinched their victory was their 'Pugadi' dance.

This dance team has also participated twice in the festivals of the Central Sangeet Natak Akademi in Delhi.

The Siddis of Yellapur are famous for the 'Damami' folk dance, too. And for their 'Sangya Balya' drama. The play, *Kappujana*, *Kempu Neralu*, directed by Ninasam (Heggodu), has become well known in the State and outside.

A little encouragement, a little grooming, and these beautiful people, who have made India their home, will bring the country fame in multiple discipline.

## Rottee-Bettee formula to unite Indian races

N.R. SONKAVDAY, BOMBAY

Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus. Those who don't know this, please read Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's books. We are the original Indians. Aryans used bluff bombs to dupe us and called us Mahars, Chamars, Dhor, Mang, Paraiyah, Bhangi etc. These name badges are distributed by the Aryans for their selfish reasons. They not only gave these names but said one section is "higher" than the other. (Mahar is superior to Dhor etc.) And we innocent people follow these Aryan ranks and start hating each other. The Aryans graded us and injected the hate poison and made brothers quarrel with brothers.

I have a solution to unite these innocents. We will come together on the *Rottee-Bettee* unity platform. If we get tied up to each other on the basis of matrimonial relationship, the alleged "casteism" among us will automatically vanish. Hate that Hindu culture and try to understand each other. So I am requesting every SC/ST man and woman to start implementing the *Rottee-Bettee* unity formula right away.

Latest Tamil Book

Yuddham Thodarum: Dalit Viduthala Kavithagal

K. Subblah

1991 pp.50 Rs.6

Contact the author at  
Q/13 PHP, T.M. Nagar  
Pondicherry - 605 004.

## Rulers using Army to suppress human rights in India

DR. ASHOK MITRA, NOTED ECONOMIST & EX-FINANCE MINISTER OF W. BENGAL

The central issue is, however, not that the Americans are running us down, but that we have provided them with the opportunity to lecture to us. The US Congress has largely based itself on the findings of the Amnesty International about conditions prevailing in Punjab and Kashmir. Our Government has questioned the credentials of this voluntary international agency. Such a stance washes less and less with each passing day. The Amnesty International has over the years established a certain reputation for objectivity, it is not given to making glib, irresponsible statements. The organisation has its own sources, it is known to check and re-check the information flowing to it before it allows itself to reach conclusions.

**CIA agent:** Our Government has consistently refused its emissaries permission to enter Punjab and Kashmir to enable them to investigate in detail allegations of torture and extra-judicial executions. Legality may still be on our side, but in sensitive matters of this nature, the airing of legal rights is a poor substitute for credibility.

It is no longer possible to hurl crude abuses in the direction of the Amnesty International either, such that it is an outfit promoted, financed and manned by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Besides, any number of voices have been raised within the country itself on the manner our army has gone and is going about its business in Punjab and Kashmir. The Armed Services (Special Powers) Act and the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act have provided the cover for some grave excesses, verging on savagery, committed by army and para-military forces let loose in the two States.

The assertion that insurgents operating over there are not exactly guileless, guiltless specimens and there is no alternative to answering their bestial conduct by identical behaviour on the part of our army and para-military contingents only detracts from our moral position. It also renders that much more uncertain the prospects of our being able to achieve what we have set out to achieve, State-organised torture and mayhem can only further alienate precisely those elements — young ideologues, housewives, etc, — who need to be won back to the Union of India.

**Army Atrocities in North-East:** And it is not a matter of happenings in the country's northern territories alone. What the army and paramilitary personnel are doing in the North-east is equally disturbing, and was the subject of a detailed report by the Amnesty International and of a recent petition before the United Nations Human Rights Committee by a number of civil liberty groups.

The depredations in Nagaland the army was

responsible for in the Fifties and the Sixties are now a part of recorded history. That segment of history has apparently not quite come to a surcease. Ghastly reports continue to flow from Manipur on the rape and pillage army units have indiscriminately indulged in the name of suppressing terrorism; in Assam, Operation Bajrang has left behind a similar trail of bitter accusations of inhuman conduct on the part of the army.

No light has yet been thrown on the systematically organised killings and arson in Tripura on election eve in 1988, which stopped the moment the counting of votes under the direct supervision of the army ensured a narrow Congress(I) victory.

**Six states under Army:** It is, therefore, not on account of what the US Congress has said that it is important to review the role of military and para-military operations in the disturbed parts of the country. At least half-a-dozen States constituting the Union of India are now as good as army enclaves; the rest of the nation are told scanty little about occurrences in these States.

Patriotic froth is the easiest of sentiments to cultivate, and many unpardonable sins can be committed under the alibi of defending the country's territorial integrity. Those currently under de facto army rule in such States as Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Manipur are, however, as much a part of the nation as residents elsewhere, their claim to civil liberties is as precious as ours, it would be altogether dangerous to presume that, since the army has taken over, things were going to be all right in these States from now on.

**Marxists also to be blamed:** Despatching the army is not a solution. It is an acknowledgement of the failure of the system to respond adequately to the aspirations of important sections of the people. Whether we choose to bay against the Amnesty International and the US Congress or not, the underlying problem will not go away. The chances of its getting aggravated are greater the longer the army stays in the so-called disturbed areas.

The left and democratic forces can hardly disown their responsibilities in the matter; by both tradition and instinct, the fight for civil liberties has been their badge of pride and honour.

Mouthing the standard patriotic cliches and leaving things to the military will not restore peace in Kashmir and Punjab and the North-east. To look the other way even when there is substantive evidence of gross excesses committed by army and para-military personnel will be an equally severe mistake, it will also diminish the moral stature of the left. (*Deccan Herald* July 10).

## Letters to Editor

**R. Elumalai**, general secretary, Pattali Makkal Katchi, 63-Nattu Mutthu Nayakan St., Vanniya Teynampet, Madras-18: Our young but revolutionary party (PMK) of the Dalits, BCs and Muslims of Tamil Nadu is emerging as the only alternative to the upper caste-dominated ADMK. When the political situation virtually became dormant since the mini-general elections, Dr. Ramadoss stormed TN and brought a fresh air through his six-day hunger strike (July 4-9) demanding an apology from the Chief Minister for her indifference as our party MLA was attacked right on the floor of the State Assembly on July 4. Jayalalita simply sat unperturbed. To protest against such a criminal action, our founder-leader, Dr. Ramadoss, who is the only hope for the entire SC/ST/BCs and minorities of the State, went on a hunger strike. When health started sinking the police got him arrested, and now he is in the hospital where hundreds of people are visiting him daily. Meanwhile, we have started a week-long protest meetings all over the state.

**R. Arul**, Dr. Ambedkar Study Circle, Chidambaram, TN: Our PMK leader, Panruti Ramachandran, MLA, was attacked by the Bangalore *papatti's* henchman MLA. And this sent shock waves all over the state forcing Dr. Ramadoss to go a protest fast. The agitated Dalits, BCs and Muslims all over the state blocked traffic and for six days there was a virtual standstill in the State forcing Dr. Ramadoss to go on protest fast. Over 250 govt. buses, 100 private buses, six taxis were attacked. At least 35 buses and ten lorries and one train was burnt down by the angry crowd. It was a spontaneous burst of anger. This proved that despite the electoral defeat of our party (due to Rajiv Gandhi murder), the persecuted people are with PMK which is the only hope of the State. For the first time after the Periyar EVR movement, the State is having a Brahmin Chief Minister and the entire brahminical forces of the State are celebrating the triumph of brahminism in TN.

*We are happy that TN, the country's purest Dravidian State, is having a Brahmin Chief Minister after the Hindu Nazis defeated Periyar's Dravidian movement which met with decay and death under the corrupt regimes of M.G. Ramachandran and Karunanidhi. The intoxicated Bangalore papatti will soon commit blunders after blunders allowing the brahminical forces to run riot in TN. The largescale persecution of Tamils in connection with Rajiv Gandhi murder will add fuel to the Tamil fire to which the papatti will fall a victim. So from all points of view the papatti rule is better than that of the cut-throat because it is easier to finish the papatti. Dravida Kazhagam chief Veeramani, now back from his heart surgery in US, must review his stand fully and align with the PMK. The entire disillusioned DMK grass-*

*root workers will soon jump into PMK and Dr. Ramadoss and his young revolutionary party, based on the triple philosophies of Babasaheb Ambedkar, Periyar and Marxism, can simply sweep the next elections, and as promised install an Untouchable as its first chief minister*  
- EDITOR.

**V.L. Sebastian**, Telugu "Dalit Voice" office, Vijayawada: Please note that Kondapally Seetharamayya, chief of the People's War Group, is not a Khamma but a Reddy. And Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao is a "Neogi Brahmin".

**Harmesh Manav**, Dr. Ambedkar Mission Society, Jalandhar, Punjab: Your speech to the heads of Catholic high schools in Bangalore ("Churches Three Crimes Against Christ", DV June 16 p.7) is very much appreciated by the people here. The church-run educational institutions are unfortunately educating mostly the children of the ruling class. You are right in saying that Christians are pouring milk to the very brahminical serpent that is biting them.

**P. Gopalakrishna**, ret'd. dt. munsiff, Rajahmundry, AP: Telugu film actor-director-producer, Dasari Narayana Rao, is launching a new political party for his Kapu community. In AP, only the Reddis, Khammas and Kapus hold political power. Dalits never had any voice.

**Subran, N.P.**, Bheem Bhavan, Nechiparambil, Chemrakkattur, Areacode, Kerala - 673 639: I have been a regular reader of DV from 1989 though not a subscriber. I read DV at the Dalit Panthers Office here. But my interest in DV has increased to such an extent that I want to have my own copy for reference but I can't afford to pay the subscription being a poor Dalit of Mallapuram. Can you send me a complimentary copy?

*We are sure some generous soul in Kerala will pay your subscription and come to your rescue* - EDITOR.

**Ram Prasad Meghwar**, Bikaner, Rajasthan: A friend from Udaipur recently gave me a copy of *Dalit Voice* which I found very enlightening. One point. The recent massacre of 14 Dalits and BCs by the "upper caste" landlords in Bhojpur, Bihar, has not been condemned by the self-proclaimed messiahs of Hinduism: RSS, BJP, VHP, BD etc. Indeed, they consistently (as a matter of policy) ignore such heinous crimes of the upper castes because these Nazi party leaders are also upper castes. But when few of their *jatwals* died in the Mandal agitation and few of the *kar sevaks* were shot at Ayodya, they made such a hue and cry. But when scores of our people are killed by the *savarnas* (Hindus), they silently enjoy it. All these days I was perplexed by this attitude of the Hindus. But after reading DV I am now convinced that this Hindu pleasure over our killings is because SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus.

**Pathiripally George John**, Dalit Liberation Front, Trivandrum: On July 2, the State Institute of Languages, released two Malayalam translations of

Babasaheb Ambedkar's "selected works": *Who Were the Shudras and the Untouchables*. Chief Minister Karunakaran released the books. The price is too high, Rs.60 each, while the much bigger Maharashtra Govt. publications of Babasaheb books are just Rs.40. The State Inst. of Languages, the publisher, is a State Govt. creature and Dalits here are wondering why it is keeping such a high price. The Kerala Govt. can sell these books at half the price to Dalits.

**B. Doley**, Sibsagar, Assam: Influenced by the DV, I have started discarding the Hindu names. My first baby-boy is named Botta which in our Mising language means great. My grandfather and mother used to have Mising names but since my father's days Hinduism started corrupting us and we started losing our roots and identity. I have also completed the book, "The Misings, the children of Nature". It can be serialised in DV.

**Yogesh Sarkar**, Calcutta: "Christian Churches' Three Crimes against Christ" (DV June 16) is 100% correct. Christian missionaries have been rendering great service in the field of education but it is proving destructive and digging its own grave. Your warning to the church must be taken seriously.

**John Massey**, Chandigarh: Your lecture to the Christian headmasters of Bangalore is a waste. The church gets enormous foreign funds which the brahminical forces allow only on the condition that the church serves brahminism. The upper caste Christians have close relationship with these brahminical forces. And jointly they are using the foreign funds and the church property to keep us enslaved.

**J.S. Maben**, Pune: I belong to the Basel Mission church for which you paid high tributes in DV. No non-Christian has taken so much of pains to highlight the problems of the church as you have done. The World Council of Churches itself has taken note of your services. But not the Indian church leaders. After the exit of the foreign missionaries, the Indian church is dominated by what you once described as "Syrian Christian Theology".

**Fr. William Toppo**, SJ, St. Xavier's Residence, Pathalgaon, MP-496 118: Quite a number of Jesuits have started taking interest in your books and *Dalit Voice*. Our society is very much interested in listening to you. We can arrange a meeting in May or June next. Priests and nuns are very eager to meet you.

*After our talks to heads of Bangalore Catholic high schools and earlier the Jesuits manning the St. Joseph's educational institutions here, the Jesuits of Karnataka have invited us for a talk on July 21 here. The publication of our speech, "The Churches' Three Crimes against the Christ," (DV June 16), had a good response. We are aware that the upper caste Christians in league with the brahminical forces outside are using the foreign funds and church property and also cheating the Dalit Christians who form 80% of the Christian population in India. We are also aware that Christian countries in the*

*west which through their numerous funding organisations like the Oxfam etc. are also supporting brahminical forces in India. Heads of many western funding organisations are Brahmins and other upper castes who can never, ever understand the plight and persecution of Dalits in India. Christian Dalits are suffocated. Things will soon reach a boiling point - EDITOR.*

**Ho Ba. Ravan Bodisatva**, Chamarajagar, Mysore Dt.: The Janata Dal lost in Karnataka because the Mandal Commission was not properly explained to the people. In my village, SCs voted for JD but the Mandal beneficiaries (Backward Caste Kurubas) voted for the Cong. and BJP. Lingayats went whole-sale to BJP. When Ram Vilas Paswan visited this place at 11.30 in the night only the SCs and Muslims welcomed him. Even the taluk JD chief, a Lingayat, supported the BJP.

*R.K. Hegde, to fight the Congress, which is a party of SC/ST/BC/Muslim lambs in Karnataka, converted the JD into a party of Brahmins Lingayats and Vokkaliga wolves. These three ruling communities of the State went wholesale with BJP because they hate the State Congress for being a party of the lambs. They also did not want the JD to capture Parliament fearing the Mandal. JD in Karnataka will have no future as long as it is guided by the notorious anti-Mandal Hegde - EDITOR.*

**Ms. Sangat**, Madras: With ref. to the birth of the Samata Sainik Dal in Karnataka (DV June 16 p.4), it is good that the oppressed Dalits are getting more militant to meet the excesses of the 15% ruling class. But these tiny Aryan oppressors are able to crush the movements of the oppressed because of their control of administration, police and press. They bribe some stooges among SC/ST/BCs and minorities and make them fight their own brothers. The non-Aryan Vibishana, brother of Ravana, joined the Aryan Rama and killed brother Ravana, and the Aryan Rama won. By distorting historical and religious documents, the Aryans create confusion among non-Aryans. Example: Babri Masjid. We must remember that every third Indian was once a Buddhist. Buddhists and Jains were the rulers of this great land but both of them have been almost eliminated from this land. After completing this job, they have now turned on the Sikhs, Dravida Kazaghams etc. Aryans are not scared by the DK's Black Shirt and SSD's red shirt and black plant nor the swords of the Sikhs. They can defeat any force by making one section fight the other through its media.

**Abdullah Adiyar**, Islamic Dawah Mission, C-11/42 Bhoopati Nagar, Kodambakkam, Madras - 24: I have completed writing a book "Islam Calls You". I am sending you its proof so that you may go through it and send your comments which I very much value.

**Firdous Islam Choudhury**, Dhubri, Assam: Only recently I came to know of DV and I found it different from all other journals. Students like me will gain a lot because my entire thinking got reshaped by DV.

**P.K. Kalim**, Islamic Youth Centre, Calicut: The

## Mass conversion of Dalits

**Bangalore:** Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Minister B. Basavalingappa said that the movement among the Scheduled Castes to embrace Buddhism enmass was gaining momentum as was evidenced in Bijapur. The Minister, who returned July 13 after attending a function for conversion to Buddhism of a large number of Scheduled Castes in Bijapur said that had it not for heavy downpour for hours a much larger number of persons would have embraced Buddhism on July 8. He said that there was a gathering of about 35,000 to 40,000 people and because of the rain they could not gather in one place. Only about 5,000 were able to meet in a hall where Buddhist monks from Calcutta and Bangalore Initiated them to Buddhism. The response from people belonging to Scheduled Caste who had come from different districts was spontaneous, he added. (*Hindu July 15*).

struggle for social justice is often long drawn-out and at times extremely disappointing. Muslims have been a shell-shocked people after independence and it will take some time for them to wake up to the realities and fight back the oppression. There are many welcome signs of such a change. The Muslim masses understood Dalit struggle correctly and have no hesitation to support them.

**Sultan Akhtar Patel, Khanpur-Deh, Gujarat-392 150:** This is a moneyless, 60-year-old undergraduate, non-party man writing. The reason for writing this is hate-mongers are disturbing the society's peace. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad is spreading hate through its Gujarati monthly, *Vishwa Hindu Samachar*, Madhava Sadan, near Jagannath Mandir, Karnavati-380 022 (which is their own name for Ahmedabad). Even during the bloody partition riots, my district of Bharuch was free. But this journal has sowed seeds of communal poison giving a call to its readers to "finish off non-Hindus". Every line in this journal violates the Constitution of India. Will some peace-loving lawyers think of bringing this hate teacher to book? ■

## UK Babasaheb Ambedkar Centenary

SOUVENIR PUBLICATION - VOLUME IV

The Committee proposes to bring out Volume IV as soon as we manage to get a response from you on the following subjects:

1. Articles are requested from eminent scholars and also relevant materials published in newspapers for Centenary Year on Dr. Ambedkar will be included.
2. We had great demand from research students on Dr. Ambedkar/Ambedkarism: we will compile a selected bibliography of works in the following order: i. Books by Dr. Ambedkar ii. Books on Dr. Ambedkar & the Dalit movement iii. Human rights movements in India and oppressed minorities worldwide.
3. Different state language section: we welcome the contribution of eminent literary scholars in their own languages.
4. Ambedkarite Directory Who's Who 1991:

The Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Celebration Committee UK (ACCC) would like to bring out a section entitled Ambedkarite Directory of Who's Who in Volume IV of their Souvenir publication. It will try to record distinguished Ambedkarites considerable success in their professions. We believe that Babasaheb Ambedkar inspired and strengthened these people in their successful life. In deep appreciation of Dr Ambedkar's service to humanity and his struggle for human rights, we would like to publish this to mark the great occasion of his Birth Centenary.

The aim of the Directory will be twofold: first, to highlight Dr Ambedkar's struggle for the downtrodden people in India, and, second, to highlight the success of such downtrodden people in their profession. We believe that their stories of success would inspire the many throughout the world who are still suppressed, oppressed and forever in agony.

We should naturally be grateful if you could help us by sending a typed, brief biographical sketch of yourself of not more than 100 words, together with a recent professional portrait, passport-size black and white photo.

We look forward to hearing from you by mid August 1991. In view of the high postal charges, no reminder will be sent, so please attempt to meet this deadline.

**Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Celebration Committee UK, Milan House,  
8 Kingsland Road, Shoreditch, London E2 8DA Tel: (071) 729 6341 734 5764  
Fax: 071729 6341 Telex: 8951182 Gecoms G.**

# Americans start getting a taste of hidden India

P.P. LAKSHMAN, NEW YORK

The Asia Society in New York held a symposium on June 25 to examine the challenges facing India following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and the 1991 elections.

Indian Ambassador Abid Hussain, former US Ambassadors to India Robert F. Goheen and Harry G. Barnes, Jr, and officials from the US State Dept. and the Asia Society, and several university professors participated.

Dr. Hussain traced the history of Indo-U.S. relations based on each country's changing domestic situations and foreign policies over the last five decades. He was loudly cheered when he said that if Muslims were communal, Hindus would also be communal but both would eventually realise that Indian nationalism would have to prevail. He added that religion was not a horse on which politics should ride.

**India trying to divide Pakistan:** Dr. Selig Harrison of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, dealt about India being a regional bully among neighbours like Nepal and Bangladesh. He pointed out the danger posed by China in selling missiles to contending parties in South Asia. India instigated secessionist feelings in Sind province in Pakistan. About Kashmir, he doubted if India could make any effective peace move because of her other pressing internal problems.

Prof. Atul Kohli of Princeton University said that the Indian crisis was growing because of demands from groups based on ethnicity, religion and castes. Tensions seemed to be growing also because of the conflict between traditional democratic commitment to socialism and modern economic liberalism.

**Hindu landlord:** Prof. Susanne Rudolph of the University of Chicago said that the 1991 elections had produced a political triangle of Congress, BJP and the National Front. The Congress Party had been left to confront choice of one of two models, one led by Narasimha Rao which was the "coterie politics" of Rajiv Gandhi, and the other led by Sharad Pawar emerging from a 20-year freeze of the Congress Party. According to her, the severely hierarchical Indian society was now renegotiating for a just order through violent and non-violent mutinies depicted in V.S. Naipaul's book. The Hindu landlord could no longer run away with farmer's wife and daughter, she said.

Prof T.N. Srinivasan of Yale University was critical of bureaucracy and state regulation in India which ended

up in nothing but "curative health care under preventive industrialization". He cited many instances of inefficiency of the public sector in industry and transport. He referred to the mafia control of the coal miners in Bihar. He spoke about the fascist methods of Shiv Sena, an ally of BJP, citing its declared aim to replace all the statues of M.K. Gandhi in Maharashtra with statues of his Brahmin assassin, Nathuram Godse.

Prof. Francine R. Frankel, University of Pennsylvania, thought that India's non-alignment was now irrelevant. The initial attachment between India and the US led to disillusionment when India after independence continued as part of the colonial west and evolved a pro-Soviet anti-US attitude. Non-alignment was more an emotion than a policy.

**India making bombs:** Prof. Stephen P. Cohen, University of Illinois, felt that it was the nature of the time that the multinational states were being threatened throughout the world. He was concerned about regional security in South Asia, because both India and Pakistan had come close to making nuclear weapons.

Marshal M. Bouton, Vice President of the Asia Society (formerly of the U.S. Embassy at Delhi), said that with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and the end of a dynasty, normal democracy might prevail in India.

**Goodbye to socialism:** Phillips Talbot, President of the Asia Society and formerly of the US Embassy in Delhi, said that India and the US had come a long way after the confrontation between John Foster Dulles and Krishna Menon. The recent statements of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao were encouraging.

Ms Teresita C. Schaffer, Deputy Assistant Secretary in the US State Department, said that a more favourable climate seemed to be emerging for private investment, with the Indian "intellectuals" moving away from the old belief that it was immoral to make profit.

Peter Howell of City Bank said that there were now 6 branches of City Bank (India) with 1,800 employees in major Indian cities.

The feed-back from the very large audience crowding the Lila Acheson Wallace Auditorium was swift and varied. Iqbal Khan, Consul-General of Pakistan, stood up from a back row, to bring attention to his country's proposals in respect of Kashmir and nuclear non-proliferation treaty, which he said were lying with India. Gobind Singh said that if non-alignment was

irrelevant to India, so it was NATO and SEATO to the US and the other countries concerned.

Dr Thomas Abraham said that the trend in Indian politics seemed to be regionalisation rather than nationalisation. He cited the cases of parties like the Telugu Desam Party and the Asom Gana Parishad, and pointed out that the BJP in spite of its best efforts was not able to make much headway beyond the North Indian hindi belt.

**Pak Refugees creating problems in India:** P.P. Lakshman said that the Hindu refugees like L.K. Advani, who fled Pakistan and settled in places like Delhi with their children and grandchildren, were now spearheading the pro-Hindu, anti-Muslim movement in India. The present situation in India was somewhat analogous to the context of Weimar Republic in Germany which led to the emergence of Adolph Hitler.

Prof B.N. Verma of City College, New York, said that India's rural poor who constituted about 70% of the population seemed to get no attention. Deepak Patil complained that a misleading image was being created by correspondents like Ms Barbara Crossette of the *New York Times* who wrote that India produced illiterates and morons.

## Aug. 7 as Mandal Diwas

President National union of Backward Castes, New Delhi, Ch. Brahm Perkash.

On Aug. 7 last year, the then Prime Minister V.P. Singh announced the implementation of the Mandal Commission. This marked the beginning of a new era in the life of downtrodden, tribals, backward and minorities. However, the uppercastes were not prepared to share the power and wealth of the country. Violence and unrest was created by them. The question of its implementation is still pending in the Supreme court. Other recommendations of the Mandal Report are yet to be implemented. It is our duty to create awareness and greater unity to get the Mandal report implemented. the NUBC has, therefore, decided to observe Aug. 7 as the 'Mandal Diwas'. On this day all our units should organise meetings, seminars, processions at State capitals, district and other towns to create awakening and unity among SC/ST/BCs and minorities. ■

### HUMAN RIGHTS DIRECTORY

The PUCL is planning to compile a directory of organisations active in the field of civil liberties and human rights. If you know of any such organisation, please send us their complete postal address with the name and address of some contact person in that organisation. The information may be sent to the following address:

CLHR Directory  
PUCL, 81 Sahayoga Apartments  
Mayur Vihar - I, Delhi - 110 091.

**Indian hate Blacks:** The eight-hour symposium helped focus attention to the present situation in India from different angles.

There was also another important symposium on June 16 on "Beyond Black and White; Intercultural Relations of Asians" by the Asian American Center, New York University. Among the speaker were scholars and authors of Indian origin from Guyana, Trinidad and other Caribbean Islands, like Basdev Mangru, Dr Mahin Gosin. According to Ramadar, Caribbean Indians were generally pro-white and have less contact with Blacks, Jews and Hispanics, and even with Indians from India. He said that Indians from India thought they were superior. Caribbean Indians were mostly descendents of "low-caste" indentured labour imported by the British rulers from Bihar, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu to work in sugarcane fields. There is a large population of them here in New York, perhaps as large or larger than the Hindu population from India who are mostly "upper castes". Noted Caribbean Indians include besides the cricket players, the novelist V.S. Naipaul, and the educationist, Dr Sridhat Rampal, Vice Chancellor of the University of West India. ■

Latest book on the Sikh problem

### THE SWORD OF THE KHALSA

Describes the Sikh legend, reveals how kirpan is more than a symbol to the Khalsa, explores the meaning of kirpan and the khalsa, compiles the texts from puranas and Dasam Granth regarding size of kirpan, unearths the legislative history of wearing and carrying of kirpans by the Sikhs, carries verdict and recommendations of committees and Ssb-committees constituted on the issue at stake, narrates important judicial judgments, exhibits a large line of Motifications exempling Kirpan from the Indian Army Act, embraces views of jurist Ram Jethmalani and Akali Dal President, S. Simranjit Singh Mann.

The book can be regarded as a compendium of Sikh concepts, beliefs, practices and historical truths.

Author : Santokh Singh

1991 pp.100 Rs.60

Gujral Printers

Sanjay Gandhi Nagar, Gangyal, Jammu, J&K - 180 010

### VICTIMS OF INDIAN SECULARISM

(The Indian Muslims)

Ever since "Independence" (1947), Muslims forming 15% of India's 850 million population, comprising the largest Muslim population in the world, are constantly and regularly attacked, murdered, burnt, looted, discriminated and suppressed by the upper castes. All their agonies and even protests of non-Muslims have been ignored. Now their very existence is at stake, says Shah Masood in his introduction. Hence this book to bring to the world notice the gross violations of human rights in India. The ten chapters deal with M.K. Gandhi, injecting Hindu communalism, who partitioned India, how Urdu was banished, Hindu Nazi training centres, discrimination of Muslims in services, how the police plan anti-Muslim riots, press reports on anti-Muslim violence etc.

pp 100 Rs. 40

Copies may be had from *Dalit Voice Office:*  
*Indian Muslim Relief Committee P.O. Box - 415 London.*

## GANDHI, A SEX MANIAC?

Bhikku Parekh, a distinguished professor and also an upper caste/Hindu belonging to M.K. Gandhi's own State of Gujarat, analysed the sex exploits of the "Father of the nation". Extracts from his book were published by the *Times of India* and *Telegraph*. Bhikku Parekh, 54, professor of political theory at Hull University was attacked as "the second Rushdie" for this book. Parekh, deputy chairman of UK's Commission for Racial Equality, dealt with Gandhi's experiments with celibacy and his practice of sleeping naked with young women. His critics, however accused him of seeking to promote either his book, *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform*, or his own fame by needlessly denigrating Gandhi 40 years after his death. He has been abused at a public meeting in London, where he was also physically attacked. Parekh has been vice-chancellor of Baroda University in India and a visiting professor in the United States and Canada, and has written several learned books on philosophy. In 1944, Gandhi began his most unusual celibacy experiments. He started openly sleeping naked with women. They included his grand nieces Abha and Manu (who was only 19); his doctor, Sushila Nayar; and Prabhavati Narayan, the wife of the prominent politician, Jaya Prakash Narayan.

Gandhi took a decision to practise sexual abstinence in 1901, apparently without consulting his wife. For the first few years he was only "more or less successful". As was his wont, he decided to stiffen his resolve by taking an unbreakable vow to observe complete *brahmacharya* in 1906 when he was 37 years of age and about to launch his first satyagraha in South Africa. He did not find his task easy. As he later admitted to Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, the "sexual passion is the hardest to overcome in my case. It has been an incessant struggle. It is for me a miracle how I have survived it". He made his vow even more difficult by continuing to sleep next to his wife and refusing to follow the "cowardly" practice of avoiding contact with other women.

Gandhi experimented with his diet, habits and lifestyles to ascertain what stimulated the sexual impulse and how it could be weakened and eventually mastered. He "discovered" that the senses fed off each other and that none of them could be mastered without conquering the others as well. He found that there was a particularly close connection between food and sexuality and that a rich, heavy and

spicy diet as well as milk had a strong tendency to stimulate it. He "discovered" too, that the "idle" mind was particularly vulnerable to the solicitations of the sexual desire, and kept himself busy all his waking hours. He thought that a cold shower, chanting the name of Rama and frequent prayers facilitated self-control.

At a different level, he 'discovered' that the sexual impulse derived much of its intensity from a mistaken approach to the human body. So long as one perceived the body as an instrument of pleasure, one expected every organ to yield its distinct mode of gratification and could not avoid feeling that not to seek sexual pleasure was to "waste" an important organ. Gandhi contended that the battle against sexuality became easier when one altered one's approach to the body. As he put it: "If one is convinced that the genital organs are not intended, for sex gratification, wouldn't one's attitude change completely?"

On the basis of these and other "experimental" findings, Gandhi evolved a rigorous code of discipline, and his "thinking process" began to undergo a "process of cleansing". Evidently, his conquest

of sexuality was not yet complete and he needed to remain watchful. As he said in 1926, though his physical celibacy was fairly safe, he had not yet acquired a complete mastery over the mind and was vulnerable to "insidious invasions" of "undesirable thoughts".

Since Gandhi felt fully confident about his physical self-control, he continued to maintain close physical contacts with his female associates. Many Indians disapproved of this, especially his practice of putting his hands on their shoulders, and some even raised the matter with him both publicly and in private. He responded by taking a vow in September 1935 to stop the practice "for the sake of public good", but broke it in Sevagaon a couple of years later saying that it was not intended to include his wife, Sushila Nayar, Manu and the other girls were "like daughters" to him. When accused of casuistry, he rejoined that the spirit of the vow was far more important than the later and that he alone knew its spirit.

The year 1936 proved particularly trying for Gandhi. Throughout the preceding year he had worked extremely hard and slept no more than four or five hours a day. He fell ill in December 1935 but continued his punishing routine until he finally collapsed in the first week of January in 1936. While he was convalescing in Bombay, he felt an intense sexual desire.

Gandhi had little doubt about why the desire had "invaded" him after all these years. He wrote to a colleague:

It had its origin in my pampering the body with food while doing no work. I understood the cause and from that time stopped taking rest as prescribed by the doctors.

Gandhi summed up his feelings in a fascinating and brutally frank article in *Harijan*. When he recovered from his illness, he resumed his earlier heavy routine

and regained his self-confidence. Two years later, he had another crisis. On April 14, 1938, he had a "bad dream" involving a "desire to see a woman" and an ejaculation. Evidently, he was completely shattered. As he wrote to Madeleine Slade: "The degrading, dirty, torturing experience of 14th April shook me to bits." He was in a "well of despair," "obsessed by a feeling of self-guilt" and did not know what had gone wrong. He lost all self-confidence, became moody and his political work began to suffer. He had to see Jinnah for long and difficult negotiations, and he did not feel up to it. Although he met him and worked out important proposals, he felt unsure of himself and looked to Nehru to provide the lead.

Gandhi discussed the "April incident" with his close colleagues and, despite their advice to the contrary, wrote an article about it in *Harijan*. He thought that since he was a public figure and his experiments had important lessons for others, he had a duty to share his experience with them. They came to us with all kinds of advice. Both Miraben and Amrit Kaur advised him to avoid *all* contact with women, not merely touch but also "proximity, speech, look, letter", and not just with some *but all* women, including his wife and doctor. Miraben told him that the April incident was not an isolated one, for she had once seen him put his arm around a female colleague's neck in sleep.

Gandhi decided on June 2, 1938, that he "would not touch any woman ever so lightly and even out of sheer fun", the only exception being his doctor, Sushila Nayar. The April incident had "awakened" him to the fact that although he might not consciously feel sexual desire, it could "unknown to him" lurk around in the dark recesses of his mind. More than ever before, he became alert to its unconscious operations and felt the need to devise new strategies to track down and subdue it. A few months later, he felt sufficiently confident and

resumed the old practice of maintaining close physical contact with his female co-workers. Sometimes they slept next to him and Sushila Nayar even "slept with" him to keep him warm. She also gave him "massage and medicated baths" lasting over an hour and a half, during which he often dozed off or transacted business with such male colleagues as his secretary Mahadev Desai and Sushila Nayar's brother, Pyarelal.

Gandhi's lifestyle gave rise to considerable gossip both in India and abroad. The gossip became vicious when Prema Kantak, to whom he had written some brutally frank letters about his sexual struggles, published their correspondence with his approval. The first public reference to Gandhi's lifestyle appeared in October, 1939 in *Bombay Chronicle* whose Allahabad correspondent reported "startling revelations" about his private life. A provincial Hindu

### **Sushila Nayar slept with him**

fundamentalist paper carried more lurid stories, named Sushila Nayar and accused him of "gross sensuality" and *adharma*. Some of the American journals, which had hinted at his "improper" relations with Madeleine Slade during their visit to London in 1931, indulged in even wilder speculations.

Gandhi was not in the least ruffled by all this. He published in *Harijan* both the *Bombay Chronicle* report and the charges levelled by the Indian and American papers. He repudiated the charges, asked his critics to produce evidence and offered a detailed explanation of his conduct. He contended that the "campaign of vilification" was inspired by the orthodox Hindus angered by his vigorous national movement against untouchability. That was why it had begun in Maharashtra, been spearheaded by the Brahmins and given greatest publicity in the Marathi papers run

by them.

Undeterred by the campaign, Gandhi not only continued his close associations with women but also embarked upon a most unusual practice. For the past few years he had slept with them in the same room at a respectable distance, and of late he had begun to "sleep together" with some of them. He now decided to take the next step of sleeping naked with female colleagues as part of a new experiment. He seems to have started doing this after his wife's death on Feb. 22, 1944. His reference to "Women or girls who have been naked with me" in his letter to Birla in April 1945 indicates that several women were involved. It would appear that in addition to Sushila Nayar, Prabhavati Narayan, Abha Gandhi and Manu Gandhi also formed part of the experiment. Lilavati, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Antussalaam and several others also seem to have been involved, although it is not clear whether they simply "slept together" with him or did so as part of the experiment.

When some of Gandhi's close friends and colleagues came to know about it, they expressed strong disapproval. While acknowledging that his experiment was "innocent" and inspired by the highest of motives, they were worried that it would set a bad example alienate public opinion and bring him into disrepute. Gandhi remained unconvinced. He said that all his life he had insisted on doing what he thought was right "in utter disregard of social customs". He had cultivated Muslim and Harijan friends and incurred the wrath of his family; he had insisted on crossing the seas and suffered the penalty of excommunication; he had attacked untouchability and admitted an untouchable woman into his *ashram* and patiently borne the excretion of orthodox Hindus. He was not, therefore, going to bow to social pressure on an issue of such vital importance as his sexual experiment. However, since his close colleagues held strong views, he was prepared temporarily to

discontinue the experiment and think again. As he wrote to Munnalal Shah in March 1945:-

Thus I am what I am. There is no point in talking about the welfare of society... I cannot give up thinking. As far as possible I have postponed the practice of sleeping together. But it cannot be given up altogether... If I completely give up sleeping together my *brahmacharya* will be put to shame... Such restrictions should not be imposed on me.

Over a year later, Gandhi decided to resume the experiment. Manu Gandhi had for sometime expressed a strong desire to work with him, and he decided to send for her in the October of 1946. She was his grandniece and had served his wife with great devotion during her final illness. Just before her death, his wife had entrusted her to Gandhi who agreed to become her "mother". In a letter inviting her to join him, he wrote, "I am not sending for you to make you unhappy. Are you afraid of me? I will never force you to do anything against your wish." The last cryptic remark seems to refer to Manu's participation in an earlier experiment and perhaps to her joining Gandhi but expressed worry about the "impure" atmosphere in his *ashram*. He seems to have in mind Pyarelal, whom N.K. Bose later accused of "shadowing" women in Gandhi's *ashram*. Gandhi assured him that Pyarelal's eyes were "clean" and that he was "not likely to force himself on anybody".

Gandhi's experiment of sharing his bed naked with the 19 year-old Manu began on Dec. 20, 1946. He did not mention it to her father himself, but asked her to do so. Gandhi asked her to keep a diary and daily secure his signature of approval.

Though Gandhi first referred to the experiment in a letter to Krishnadas Jaju on Jan. 8, 1947, just under three weeks after it had begun, it is unlikely that others did not know about it or that he himself had not mentioned it to them earlier. Gandhi's small hut had no privacy

and accessible to the public almost all hours of the day and night. And since this was not the first time he had embarked upon such an experiment, his close colleagues, especially the women in his entourage, must have known about it. Not even his worst enemies, and he had many, and not even the vigilant British officers, ever thought that he was engaged in anything other than an innocent experiment.

Contrary to his general practice, Gandhi made no prior public announcement of his experiment, nor did he take his followers into confidence about his real reasons for undertaking it. Perhaps that would have defeated its purpose, or perhaps he was worried that he might not be allowed to launch it. Anyway, word got around leading initially to a wave of what he called "small talks, whispers and innuendoes" and eventually to an extremely strong public reaction.

## Nehru & Patel get upset

Fully aware of the way Vishvamitra, Vyasa and other great *rishis* had been defeated by the sexual impulse even after hundreds of years of penance and self-mastery, many of his colleagues and friends began to suspect the worst. Some of his followers, mostly Gujarati, broke off relations with him; two editors of *Harijan* resigned in protest; some started "non-cooperation" with him; Sardar Patel was "very angry" and refused to speak to him; Vinoba Bhave wrote to him a letter of disapproval; his son, Devdas, wrote a highly emotional and critical letter; his devoted stenographer, Parsuram, left his service; Kishorelal Mashruwala and others, who had remonstrated against a similar practice earlier, were implacably and noisily hostile; Pandit Nehru was disturbed; and several friends demanded to see him for a satisfactory explanation.

Criticisms of Gandhi's conduct were broadly along the following lines. First, it set a bad example to others. Second, it threatened to weaken the foundations of social morality, outrage public opinion and represented *adharma*. Third, he had begun the experiment in secret. Fourth, he had a duty to submit his "advanced" ideas to public discussion before acting on them. Fifth, his experiment had no sanction in the Hindu religious tradition. Sixth, it was wholly pointless as it did not seem to have beneficial effects either on his immediate surroundings or on the nation as a whole. And finally, it involved an emotional and spiritual exploitation of innocent and gullible women and implied that women were inferior. This last point was stressed by Professor N.K. Bose, Gandhi's interpretate-secretary, in his resignation letter.

In his view, Gandhi had taken no account either of its deleterious effects on Manu or of the jealousy and "hysteria" it aroused in the other women around him who all felt possessive about him and feared rejection. He also reminded Gandhi of Freud's view that men were often motivated by deep unconscious desires at variance with their conscious intentions and which even the most searching introspection often failed to uncover.

Gandhi was unrepentant. He acknowledged that his actions had cost him his dearest societies, but insisted that the "whole world may forsake me but I dare not leave what I hold is the truth for me." He could be making a mistake but "must realise it myself". His action might disillusion his followers who might now think badly of him and wonder if he was really a Mahatma. "I must confess the prospect of being so debunked greatly pleases me", Gandhi re-joined.

Although Gandhi himself did not put the point this way, his thought during this intensely agonising period reveals a tendency latent in his earlier years but not fully manifest until now. He was determined to control the violence

raging all around him. He was convinced that, as a national leader, he was responsible for its occurrence. He was also convinced that all violence ceased in the presence of non-violence. He therefore concluded that if only he could eliminate all traces of violence and aggression within himself, he would be able to exert a quiet and "contagious" force and sent out vibrations that would conquer the violence of his countrymen. Accordingly, he turned his attention inward and probed his psyche. He seems to have concluded that though he had eliminated all traces of violence within himself, one still remained. As we saw earlier, he associated sexuality with violence and aggression. So long as he was conscious of himself as a male, elements of aggression and violence were bound to remain, even if he was not conscious of them. The only way, out was to

cease to be a male, to become a woman.

His final sexual experiment with Manu was an attempt to become, and to test that he had succeeded in becoming a woman. This was why he said that he wanted to become a "mother" to Manu. This was also why, unlike his earlier experiments, he now asked her to keep a diary and show it to him every day. He was convinced that if he had really become a woman, she could not feel sexually stimulated in his presence, and wanted to be sure that was how she felt.

Gandhi's experiment also linked up with another powerful stand in the Hindu especially the Vaishnavite tradition. He had striven all his life to become a beautiful soul worthy of divine *anugraha*. He had eliminated all "impurities" and become as perfect as it was within

his power to become. He had even surrendered his male identity and the last residual source of violence. He could go no further and had to await divine grace. If God thought him a fit vehicle, he would do His work through him. Otherwise, he stood helpless. That might perhaps explain why, having himself earlier described his experiments as *prayog*, he now called them *yojna*. Unlike a *prayog*, a *yojna* signified total self-surrender, a plaintive prayer and desperate cry for help.

It could seem that most of Gandhi's critics were persuaded by his arguments. They restored their relations with him and said, both privately and in public, that they had done him a grave injustice.

(*Azad Academy Journal*, Oct. 1—31 1989, which acknowledged it to the *The Times of India*).

## COMMUNICATION

### Muslims protect Kerala Dalits from Hindu Nazi attacks

SAJI K. JOSEPH, DALIT PANTHERS OF INDIA, BHEEM BHAVAN, KARIPUZHA, MAVELIKARA, KERALA - 690 109.

We have created some sort of a history in Kerala. Dalit Panthers of India, Kerala unit, conducted a 14-day Babasaheb Ambedkar birth centenary sandesh yatra. The yatra, started on April 1 from Kasargod, the northern-most district of Kerala, was inaugurated by K. Ambujashkan, our State convenor, and was led by Pandalam Rajendran.

About 50 volunteers had joined the yatra that touched the nook and corner especially the main Dalit centres of Kerala. We met our innocent brothers and sisters who had never heard of Dr. Ambedkar and his liberation ideology. There was a rush for the Dalit literature and thousands of copies of our literature were sold out.

We faced several problems too. Dalit Panthers created a nightmare to the Nazis who constantly interrupted our meetings and even attacked our people. *They were very much upset over our argument that "85% of India's population are not Hindus and never Hindus." When we quoted Dr. Ambedkar saying that Gandhi was a fraud and was the Enemy No.1 of the Untouchables, they called us mad.* The Nazis followed us and tried to disrupt our street corner meetings and literary campaigns. But the growing Dalit-Muslim unity sacred away the

Hindus. Our Muslim brothers supported us all through and gave us protection from the Nazis. In few places, the Nazis even surrounded us but we could tackle the situation very well because of the Muslim support.

**Nazis wooing Dr. Ambedkar:** While travelling through Kerala we were shocked to find the Nazis celebrating the birth centenary of Dr. Ambedkar. We immediately warned our people not to be fooled by the Nazi praise for Dr. Ambedkar. We convinced our people against Nazi bid to hinduise Dr. Ambedkar.

The Kerala Govt. is playing a mischief. It started a "programme" in the name of Dr. Ambedkar called "Ambedkar gramam" (villages) — one each in a taluk. We know what our Saviour had said that the existing village system must be broken up. But the Nazis in the Govt. have started strengthening the stinking village system.

We collected records of the heart-breaking situation of these villages. We travelled in two vans with a cutout of Babasaheb Ambedkar holding the Indian Constitution. Our slogan was "*The 21st century belongs to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar*". We could find a number of our brothers and sisters bowing before our Saviour, a few shedding tears.

The 14-day tour gave us a new insight and inspiration, a new commitment to die for our community. So far we had only read about the plight of our brothers but now we could see with our own eyes the denial of human rights to our brothers and sisters.

On April 14, we reached Thiruvananthapuram, the State capital. We took an oath before the statue of Ayyankali, the greatest Dalit leader from Kerala. The evening public meeting, one of the best Dalit gatherings, was inaugurated by T.K. Narayanan, a

noted elderly Dalit scholar from Kerala.

We could now see clear signs of political polarisation taking place in the nook and corner of Kerala. Yes, the future belongs to Babasaheb and "the 21st century belongs to Babasaheb". Your predictions are coming true.

We extend our full support to *Dalit Voice*. The brilliant job done by you in uniting the world Blacks against the racists/zionists/nazis is unparalleled in the world.

## Nazi bid to destroy Dr. Ambedkar movement in JNU

D.K. RAM, NEW DELHI

In a classic case of the devil misquoting the scriptures, the JNU unit of the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) – the student wing of the RSS – extensively misquoted Dr. Ambedkar in its posters put up to mark Dr. Ambedkar's birth centenary. Posters misquoting Dr. Ambedkar as having said, "Don't call them Dalits, call them Protestant Hindus or non-communist Hindus", were put up all over the Jawaharlal Nehru University, here by the ABVP. These sinister posters to mislead the Dalit students, have deliberately misquoted Babasaheb. In fact, Dr. Ambedkar's actual statement was as follows – "We think that they should be called Non-caste Hindus, Protestant Hindus or non-conformist Hindus or some such designation, instead of Depressed Classes" (p. 672, Vol 2 *Writings and Speeches of Dr. Ambedkar*, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay 1982). It is important to note that this statement was made in a memorandum presented by Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan to the minorities sub-committee of the 2nd Round Table Conference in 1931. And since then Dr. Ambedkar revised his opinion and said Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus.

In this statement of 1931, Dr. Ambedkar had actually asserted that the SCs should not be referred to by the degrading term "Depressed Classes". But the ABVP, very cunningly, has substituted the word DALIT for "DEPRESSED CLASSES" and its posters proclaim that Dr. Ambedkar was against the word Dalit. But this is far from truth. In fact, Dr. Ambedkar usually referred to the SCs as Untouchables (the English equivalent of the Hindi word Dalit) so that the SCs may always remember that they were and still are being oppressed by the Hindus. But the label Dalit (meaning oppressed) so that the SCs can now forget that they are actually oppressed (Dalit). The ABVP wants the SC students to forget that they are actually Dalits (oppressed) precisely because of the oppression by the savarnas, whose interests the ABVP upholds.

**Communism alien to Hinduism:** Secondly, if the

ABVP was actually such an ardent champion of Dr. Ambedkar, surely its posters should have at least been able to spell his name correctly. But a large number of the ABVP posters had even mis-spelt Babasaheb's name whose cause they now claim to champion.

Further, the ABVP posters proclaim that Dr. Ambedkar preferred the term "non-communist" Hindus for the SCs. Now this is utterly preposterous, Dr. Ambedkar, in his 1931 memorandum actually suggested the label "non-conformist" and certainly not "non-communist." But, the ABVP has again, very cunningly, changed "non-conformist" to "non-communist", in a bid to wean away Dalit students from radical ideologies.

And to follow the curious logic of the ABVP, if the SCs are "non-communist Hindus" it would imply that the non-SCs were, therefore, "communist Hindus"!!! The truth is, however, that, broadly speaking, the non-SC Hindu society is as alien to and as different from a communist society as is chalk from cheese.

**Untouchables, a separate entity:** It is interesting to note that the ABVP posters have selectively quoted (and mis-quoted) only from the statements of Dr. Ambedkar made during the early part of his political career, when he still had some slight hope of the Dalits being given their due respect under Hinduism. In 1935, however, Dr. Ambedkar was led to believe that this was not possible and it was then that he publicly declared that he was born a Hindu but would not die a Hindu. From then on, his endeavour was to give a separate religious identity to the Dalits, and is culminated in his conversion in 1956, in a mass renunciation of Hinduism. But the ABVP conveniently chose to ignore, in their posters, the statements that Dr. Ambedkar made regarding the separate religious, social, ethnic and political identity of the Dalits after 1935. This is part of the Hindu communalists' strategy to hinduise even Dr. Ambedkar and destroy the radical potentialities of the Dalit students.

**Times Editor at Nazi function:** In addition, the JNU unit of the ABVP held a "social equality conference" to mark Dr. Ambedkar's birth centenary. Swapan Dasgupta, Asst. Editor of the *Times of India*, noted for his pro-Nazi writings, was invited to be the chief guest.

The ABVP tried its best to woo the students of the JNU during the recently held students' union elections. The king-pins of the BJP were invited to address the students – K.R. Malkani, Arif Baig, Sushma Swaraj, Sikander Bakht and a host of others descended upon JNU to spread their communal poison.

The ABVP, not surprisingly, has played a role of supporting and strengthening the forces of the status-quo. They, along with the Congress Party's NSUI, were in the forefront of the opposition to the Mandal Commission. They screened Jain's film on the killings of the "Kar Sevaks" in Ayodhya in a bid to communalise the students. But at the same time they have maintained a studied silence on the killings of innocent Muslims all over the country. Nor are they concerned about the heinous killings of Dalits.

## **Kerala Model for non-Hindus**

**DR. P.K. SUKUMARAN, TRICHUR, KERALA**

The liberation struggle of the oppressed is taking an interesting turn. In this, Kerala has taken some lead. The Pro-Reservation Front Samvarana (Samudaya Munnani SSM) is Kerala's fittest reply to the tyranny of Hindu Nazism. All the non-Hindus are joining hands to fight for their human rights barring the Muslim League leadership which deserted the Front for short-term gains. They will soon repent for going back to the Congress, the most venomous political party in the country responsible for all our ills. As far back as 1931, M.K. Gandhi played his treacherous game offering to support the Muslim demand before the Simon Commission. But the League leadership then wisely spurned this offer and rightly joined hands with the Untouchables then led by Babasaheb Ambedkar. The League decision shocked the Hindus and hastened its decision to partition India. History is now repeating. The unprecedented unity of Untouchables of India has so much upset the upper caste rulers (savarnas) and that is why they again started wooing the Muslims, even after stabbing them in the back on the Babri-Masjid issue. Recently, a Sankarachari paid a visit to the former Nawab of Arcot at Madras to dramatise the Hindu love for Muslims. But the Muslims will not be deceived by such fake love. Lambs will never trust the wolf. They cannot forget the heinous role played by the Congress. In fact, the Congress is the Enemy No.1 and even the BJP comes only second. It is time that the entire non-Hindu population in India (SC/ST/BCs and religious minorities) should isolate the Congress in all spheres of life in business, profession, social

life etc. Untouchables should not go to Hindu temples, should not consult savarna professionals – be it doctor, advocate or engineer. Instead they should find their own person and if not available they should prefer a Muslim, Christian or a Sikh.

This piece was written before the elections and yet his prophecy came true. The Nazi party in Kerala supported the Congress and ensured the victory of Congress and defeat of Pro-Mandal forces-*EDITOR*.

## **Nazi attack on Dalit IAS officer at Jammu**

**OUR CORRESPONDENT**

**Jammu:** Jammu and Kashmir is without any effective organisation of Dalit employees. The State bureaucracy is packed with brahminical imperialists and racists violating the human rights of the oppressed employees. There are many trade unions but Dalits employees do not get any justice from these upper caste unions. In fact, office-bearers of these unions join their racist bosses in persecuting our employees. Hence the urgent need for an effective Ambedkarite union of Dalits employees with the State Govt.

Such a need was badly felt because of a brahminical attack on an upright, efficient, bold, competent and impartial Dalit IAS officer, Ashok Angurana, Director, School Education, Jammu. The attack took place on May 15.

**Wanted a Maiku Ram:** A retired teacher identified as Mukund Lal Sharma was said to be the person who attacked the Director for refusing to illegally appoint his relative.

The police have registered a case against Sharma. Many Dalit and non-Dalit organisations have condemned the attack on Angurana.

A Dalit eyewitness said Sharma abused the Director using his caste name. Dalits are worried that even in this democratic setup, these anti-national forces want Dalit IAS officers to behave like their slaves. Dalits have no leaders to whom they can look up for support. Hence they are looking for officers like Maiku Ram, IPS, off who as the President of Bihar State Dalit employees Assn. has effectively protected the interests of Dalit employees.

## Shocking report on Orissa SC/ST deprivation

**New Delhi:** Almost 79 percent of Scheduled Tribes and 63 percent of Scheduled Castes population of Orissa lives below the poverty line, says a study conducted by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER).

Higher than average level of incidence of poverty prevails among SC/ST, are engaged in agricultural occupation, possess land up to 2.5 acres, and are of size four to eight members. Each of these groups individually account for more than half of total poverty in the State.

But there is substantial overlapping among these groups. The households which possess all the four characteristics have been identified as the 'core target group' requiring priority in poverty ameliorating programmes. The probability of a household with these characteristics falling below the poverty line is as high as 85 per cent.

The NCAER study reveals substantial intra-State variations in rural poverty in Orissa. The coastal region has appreciably lower percentage of poor (41 per cent) than the southern or northern regions (68 and 65 per cent respectively). One of the factors responsible for this variation is the fact that the southern and the northern regions have a higher proportion of the ST population in the State. (*Hindustan Times*, July 6).

Prafulla Kr. Sensowa, PhD., Scholar, West Milan Nagar, Dibrugarh-786 003, Assam.

Special Component Plan of the SCs from 1985 to 1990-91 - 7th Plan.

I am doing research on the SCP of the rural Assam as a registered scholar and with the permission of the Govt. of Assam wef 11-4-91.

The study - the first of its kind in Assam - includes a comparative analysis of the SCPs of other States with the SCP of Assam for which a separate chapter is earmarked in the thesis.

The purpose of the research is to find out a correct plan approach for the economic development of the SCs in Assam and other States. Although I have applied to the Govt. of India, Ministry of Welfare, New Delhi, they have not responded to my letters.

So, my SC brothers and sisters in other States are requested to supply the data on SCP of their States (during 7th plan only).

### NEW BOOKS

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Dr. B.K. Das & Dr. L.K. Mahapatra

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**Directory of SC/ST Agricultural Scientists of India**

Despite all the brahminical opposition to the recruitment and promotions of SC/STs in the scientific field, some have managed to get into these coveted posts due to hard work and sheer merit. This is the picture of the ICAR and its research institutes given in the latest (1991) directory as on July 31, 1988. Of the total no. of 6,422 posts of "Scientists", SCs are just 227 (5.22%) and STs 24 (0.55%). In technical posts totalling 8,054, SCs are 993 (16.12%) and STs 252 (4.09%). As of today, the total no of scientists are 292 SC and 32 ST. Out of this the Editors, Dr. Banwari Lal Suman and two others, were able to get the biodata of only 27 scientists.

1991 pp. 35 Rs.100

Dr. N.M.R. Ningade is the president of the IARI SC/ST Welfare Assn., New Delhi: address 151 MIG, Prasad Nagar, New Delhi-5. Dr. Jawahar Lal is heading the Crop Improvement Division, Inst. of Sugarcane, Dilkush, Lucknow-22, Dr. M.H. Wasnik is at ICAR Research Complex, Ela, Old Goa-403 402.

For copies write to: Dr. Banwari Lal Suman, Scientist (agronomy), Indian Grasslands & Fodder Inst., Jhansi, UP-284 003.

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109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,  
Bangalore - 560 003 - India

**Annual Subscription: Rs.90****Payable in MO or DD to: "Dalit Voice".****Foreign Airmail: US 40\$ dollars**

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