

# DALIT VOICE

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Denied Human Rights

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Merit & efficiency leads to Hindu rule :  
Thus spake Ambedkar

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Merit & efficiency will lead to Hindu communal administration

The Untouchables demand that a certain proportion of posts in the public services of the country shall be reserved for them, subject to the rule of minimum qualification. The Hindus object to this demand as they do to the other demands of the Untouchables. The stand they take is that the interests of the State require that capacity, efficiency and character should be the only consideration and that caste and creed should have no place in making appointment to public offices. There is no dispute regarding character as a necessary qualification. Nor is there any dispute regarding capacity and efficiency. The only point of dispute, and it is a very important point, is whether caste and creed should form a consideration which must be taken into account in the recruitment for public services. Relying upon the educational qualification as the only test of efficiency, the Hindus insist that public offices should be filled on the basis of competitive examinations open to persons of all Castes and Creeds. They argue that such a system serves both purposes. It serves the purpose of efficiency. Secondly it does not prohibit the entry of the Untouchables in the Public Services of the country. The Hindus seek to give to their opposition to the demand of the Untouchable an appearance of fairness by relying upon efficiency and competitive examination. Here again the argument is quite beside the point. The question is not whether the competitive system of Examination is or is not the proper method of getting efficient persons in public services. The question is whether the competitive system simply because it is open to all castes and creeds will enable the Untouchables to get a footing in the Public Service. That depends upon the educational system of the State. Is it sufficiently democratic? Are the facilities for education sufficiently democratic? Are the facilities for education sufficiently widespread and sufficiently used to permit persons from all classes to come forth to compete? Otherwise, even with the system of open competition large classes are sure to be left out in the cold. This basic condition is conspicuous by its absence in India. Higher education in India is the monopoly of Hindus and particularly of high Caste Hindus. By reason of Untouchability the Untouchables are denied the opportunity for Education. By reason of their poverty higher education necessary for higher posts in the service and higher posts in the public service are the only things that matter because they have a strategic value- is not within their reach. The State will not take the financial responsibility of giving them higher education-they are demanding it by their resolution-and the Hindus will not extend the benefit of their charities to the Untouchables-*Hindu Charity being shamefully communal*-so that to ask the Untouchables to rely upon the results of competitive examination for entry into the public services is to practice a fraud upon them. The position taken up by the Untouchables is in no sense unreasonable. They admit the necessity for maintaining efficiency. That is why in their resolution they themselves say that their demand shall be subject to the rule of minimum qualification. *In other words what the Untouchables demand is that a minimum qualification should be prescribed for every post in the public service and if two persons apply for such a post and the Untouchable has the minimum qualification he should be preferred to a Hindu even though the Hindu may have a qualification higher than the minimum qualification.* It, of course, does mean that the basis for appointment should be minimum qualification and not the highest qualification. This may sound queer to those who do not mind if their test of efficiency gives certain communities a monopoly of public service. But did not Campbell-Bannerman say that *self-government was better than good government?* What else are the Untouchables demanding? They are prepared to recognise the need of having an efficient Government. That is why they are ready to accept the requirement of minimum qualifications for entry in the public services of the country. *What the Untouchables are not prepared to do is to forego self-government for good government. Good Government based on highest qualification will be a communal government, for the Hindus alone can claim qualifications higher than minimum qualifications. This is what they do not want. What they say is that minimum qualifications are enough for efficient government and since it makes self-government possible, minimum qualification should be the rule for entry in the Public Service. It ensures self-government as well as efficient government.* (p.417 - 418).

(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume IX, Rs.50 1991, Govt., of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

# Katju judgment against reservations will help sharpen human rights battle

The job of the judiciary is to protect and interpret the Constitution but it has no powers to correct it. Judges are creatures of the Constitution and not its makers. But we are lately seeing a dangerous trend in which the upper caste rulers of the land, having been defeated in undermining the Constitution through their cousins in the bureaucracy, are more and more resorting to judicial subversion of the Constitution. This became evident when the Govt. Order implementing the Mandal Commission report, awaiting implementation for 10 long years, was sabotaged through Hindu nazi inspired fake self-immolations that culminated in toppling the V.P. Singh Govt. Later the same nazis leading the aggrieved upper castes/*savarnas*/Aryans/Hindus challenged the Order in the Supreme Court which has been hearing the petitions for the past two years because the subject is of "national" importance and no hasty conclusion can be arrived at.

But even as the apex court of the land is seized of the "controversial" issue of reservations, which we have

described as the human rights of the deprived *avarnas*/Dravidians/non-Hindus comprising over 85% of the country's population, a Brahmin judge of the Allahabad High Court has come out with a devastating judgment questioning the vital Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution.

We have repeatedly said that on questions pertaining to social issues which tend to become political, it is the society as a whole that is the final judge. Not the judges who are no better than govt. servants - meaning servants of the govt. Judges are just individuals. They are not representatives of the people.

**Legislature is supreme not court :** With all the defects in the existing parliamentary democracy prescribed in our Constitution, we have to abide by what the legislature says and not the courts on social, political issues.

No legislature either in the different States or the Centre (Parliament) has so far questioned the Articles 15(4) and 16(4) but Justice Markandey Katju shocked even upper castes by his June 22 judgment (*Statesman* June 24) setting aside reservations for the deprived

sections. Katju did not shock us. It is the country's "socialist brahmins" who are shocked. India's chief brahminical daily, the *Hindu* of Madras (July 3), had editorially condemned Katju and said the consequences of the judgment will be disastrous. The *Times of India* (June 30) editorial is much more specific. Describing Katju tantrums as "plainly injudicious", the editorial rightly predicts that it may provoke 'collective anger'. Yes. Why not? When human rights are deprived, the deprived have every right to rise in rebellion.

Fortunately the unlettered masses, who are the only people having the interest of the country at heart and hence will never allow the Katjus to break the unity and integrity of India, have no access to know the racist ravings of casteist madmen. The *Times* demands that the Katju judgment ought to be struck down. We don't say that. We would rather like a showdown instead of postponing the D.Day.

**Fury of the *avarnas* :** We know that except a nazi-minded mad fringe of the upper castes aided and abetted by their "national" toilet papers, the *savarna* society as a whole is not ready to face the

## CASTE - BASED RESERVATIONS SET ASIDE : ALLAHABAD HIGH COURT JUDGMENT.

fury of the *avarna*/non-Hindu masses on the reservation issue. That is why both the *Hindu* and the *Times* are editorially warning the Katjus not to disturb the status quo - meaning this peace of the graveyard.

But we on the other hand love people like the Katjus who do not mind even using the judiciary to destroy our human rights (reservations) because they are honest "sacred brahmins" who even now believe that the *bhoodevatas* are born to rule. Since reservations are coming in the way of their lazy life of endless leisure and eternal pleasure, Mandal must be struck down.

We congratulate Justice Katju for honestly declaring a war against us. We want more Katjus. Because Katju tantrums have provoked our brother Talukdar from Delhi to come out with a suggestion to divide India on *avarna* and *savarna* lines (see page 8) Katju has sharpened the contradictions. This is what we want. We want fire-makers not fire-fighters. Katju is a fire-maker. We want more of them. Because only such Katjus will wake up the sleeping tigers. The human rights (reservations) battle can no longer be postponed.

# CASTE - BASED RESERVATIONS SET ASIDE

**Lucknow:** In a historic judgment, the Allahabad High Court has held the reservation of jobs on caste basis in science and technology as ultra vires of the Constitution. Delivering the judgment on June 22, Justice Markanday Katju of the Allahabad High Court said that a line had to be drawn somewhere to the policy of caste based reservation "and I draw the line at science."

Justice Katju said that "science has no caste or religion and in my opinion, therefore, there can be no valid reservations in the field of science and technology".

The judgment assumes significance in view of the judicial review of the Mandal Commission report on reservation of jobs for socially and educationally backward caste by the Supreme Court which is examining the executive order of the V.P. Singh govt. on the subject.

The Allahabad High Court judgment came following a writ petition filed by Naresh Chand against the District Inspector of Schools, Ghaziabad, and others challenging the order of the Inspector cancelling the appointment of lecturer in chemistry because the post was reserved for a Scheduled Caste whereas the petitioner belonged to Backward Caste.

While quashing the order of the Inspector of Schools, Justice Katju observed that "all caste - based reservations in the scientific field are arbitrary and violative of Article 14 of the Constitution of India".

**Merit theory:** The case in brief was that on retirement of a lecturer in chemistry in Sarswat College, Hapur, Ghaziabad, the managing committee appointed the petitioner as lecturer in the same department against the vacancy. However, the petitioner's appointment

was cancelled by the Inspector of Schools on the ground that the vacant post was reserved for Scheduled Caste candidate. The High Court has quashed the order of the Inspector of Schools.

Justice Katju in his judgment has made some *interesting and important observations*. The judge said that, "the policy of reservations as contemplated by Article 16(4) and Article 15(4) of the Constitution of India is basically a compromise between the need for excellence on the one hand and the need for making special provision for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes or Scheduled Castes/Tribes on the other hand."

**Worst patches:** "However, in my opinion the time has now come when it must be boldly and clearly said that there can be no compromise in the field of science and technology", the judge said. The judge held that, "even the admissions in educational institutions including medical and engineering colleges or appointments in the scientific fields are arbitrary and violative of Article 14 of the Constitution of India".

Justice Katju observed: "Today our country is passing through *one of its worst patches in our six thousand year old known history*. Unless we now adopt the scientific path outlook foreign nations will totally dominate us and rein us. Science, therefore, is the only means of solving country's problems.

"When our country was on the scientific path it prospered. With the aid of science we had built mighty civilizations thousands of years ago when most people in Europe except Greece and Rome were living in forests". We had made outstanding scientific discoveries, the decimal system in mathematics, plastic surgery in medicine etc. (*Statesman June 24*).

## Award for DV sellers

S.R. TALUKDAR, NEW DELHI

This refers to the letter from Brother Bavidoddy Tukaram and your note thereunder (DV July 1, p.15). I am overjoyed to note that for the past 13 months Tukaram is selling 100 copies of DV every fortnight. As per my rating his contribution to DV is just next to its Editor. I think it is the responsibility of all well to do Dalits to honour such young heroes. I promise that from April 1992 to March 31, 1993 whoever becomes the largest seller of DV will get a cash prize of Rs. 1,000 from me. But this "largest" sale should not be less than 100 copies of DV per fortnight on an average or 2,400 copies during the year. In April 1993, on hearing the name and address of the award-winner from the Editor, I will send the award money through DD. I will start with one prize only. If I get encouraging results, I may give more such prizes. ■

## Sikhs, Kashmiris rot in jails

**New Delhi:** At least 25,000 political prisoners, including some prisoners of conscience, were held without charge or trail under special or preventive detention laws in India, according to Amnesty International's annual report of 1992 for the period Jan. to Dec. 1991. It said that although the Indian Govt. seldom issued relevant statistics on the number of people detained or imprisoned for political reasons, official sources suggested in May that *11,000 Sikhs were being held for political reasons in Punjab alone*. It said: "Thousands of detainees were held in Jammu and Kashmir; the state governor said in October that 5,000 "militants" and 2,500 "accomplices" were being held but civil liberties groups suggested that the actual total could be 15,000. (*Times of India July 11*). ■

# Namasudras: Hindu Persecution of Bengali

## Dalits Leads to conversion

B.K. GHATAK, G-1320, C.R. PARK, NEW DELHI-19

Bengal's Namasudra community has been a very strong and united tribe the original Anaryan oppressed class. They had their own priests, own barbers and other necessary helpers. They never practiced the evil *Sati* system of Hindu society nor they had any dowry problem. (*Religious revolution of a Bengali community*, DV May 1, 1991 p.20).

Namasudras never believed in polygamy as practiced in Bengal by the upper castes/Hindus. Marriages were simple and inexpensive.

But unfortunately after the partition of India, the Hindu evil culture penetrated the Namasudras.

I request the educated younger generation to stop inviting Brahmin priests as well as accepting their advice in any matter of their daily life.

**Life in Bangladesh:** A large section of this community is still living in Bangladesh. Most of them are well-educated. Some after getting highest degrees are working as farmers. Some students are studying in the Jagannath Hall of Dacca University.

*Namasudras are unfortunately called Hindus in Bangladesh.* All these students are influenced by the brahminical culture though they hate the Brahmins. Namasudra students are there in the four other universities of Bangladesh. It is a great satisfaction that a large number of women students are also studying in these universities. In some places like Sasigarh in the district of Faridpur, Barisal, Khulna, and Jessore only 2 to 3% students are from other non-Namasudra communities.

But the community is not politically conscious. Most of the community leaders are promoting brahminism and working for Brahmin-dominated parties like the Awami League which is nothing but the twice-born of Congress Party in India.

When the Congress changed its economic policy in India, the Awami League followed it. Only one man in the ministry of former President Zeaur Rahman was from a minority community and he was Sunil Gupta, a Baidya by caste, a most cunning *jati* in Bengal.

**Muslims love Dalits:** When compared to the Hindu University of Varnasi and other university hostels in India, the Namasudra students of Dacca University enjoy greater freedom and loved by the Muslim students. If a Namasudra student is willing to stay in any other hall among the 14 halls, except ladies hostel, in the university campus they are free to do it. Regarding food, all students are wellcomed with

honour to all halls. *There is no racial discrimination against them as we find in West Bengal of firebrand "marxist" Jyoti Basu.*

In East Bengal, Hindus keep their distance. In West Bengal, also interding is a taboo. Hindus are caste and race-concious.

**Buddhism in Bengal:** The brahminic revolution by Pushyamitra took place in 185 BC. Manusmriti was promulgated by Pushyamitra to destroy the Buddhist state of the Mauryas. He set a price of 100 gold pieces on the head of every Buddhist monk.

Prof. Surendra Nath Sen said that "Buddhists of Sindh suffered all sorts of indignities and humiliations under their Brahman rulers."

*Prof. Sen's research reveals that the Bengali Buddhists preferred to convert to Islam in a large scale. Before the Muslim invasion of Bengal there was a fight between Buddhists and Brahmins. Some Buddhists took shelter in remote areas in East Bengal.*

Namasudras in Bengal were a strong Buddhist community. They had the strength to fight brahminism as well as the Muslims. But due to the betrayal by the Brahmins some of Namasudras got converted to Islam. Some tried to compromise with the Brahmins.

**Change of name from Chandal:** Brahmins used the Muslims against the Namasudras. Namasudras were originally called Chandals by the Hindus up to 1901, says the census report in Bengal. In the 1911 census in Bengal, the name of "Chandal" was replaced by "Namasudra" with the help of Dr. C.S. Mead (Austrian missionary) in 1908 and all the credit for this should go to Gurucharan Thakur and C.S. Mead. All the Aryan upper castes were against the change of this name by the then Census Commissioner, Gait.

In 1910, and some time later lots of Namasudras got converted to Christianity influenced by the Christian missionaries. Even some prominent personalities like Rev. Krishna Mohan Bondopadhyaya, Michael Madhusudan Datta, W.C. Bonnerjee and others also embraced Christianity after disowning Hinduism.

The Namasudra community leaders like Gurucharan Thakur, although despised and segregated by the Hindus, tolerated the injustices heaped upon them by Brahmins. But many embraced Islam and Christianity.

Harichand Thakur united them under the banner of Matua religion. Due to the partition of India, the Namasudra community got divided and weakened. Today, this community is despised by both Hindus and Muslims. ■

# Harshad Mehta helped understand upper caste thinking on corruption

K.P. RAJKUMAR, BANGALORE

This is with ref. to your report, "Harshad Mehta is Darling of the Ruling Class" (DV July 1, 1992 p.18). Initially I sought to dismiss it as an exaggerated account but I must confess that now I am totally convinced of the validity of this report. The *Times of India* (June 27), India's most widely circulated "national" toilet paper, has confirmed the DV report on this greatest financial scandal of all times. The *Times* carries front-page report boldly and shamelessly titled, "Harshad Mehta - Still admired by many investors". It is a report of an "opinion poll" by a market research agency commissioned by the *Times* to assert the views of 257 investors and 113 elite "experts" on the Harshad Mehta affair. Obviously, most if not all of these people interviewed belong to the Brahmin-Bania duo.

The *Times* report says that while nearly all these people believe that Mehta used bank (public) money to get rich quick and 88% of them believe that Mehta merely took advantage of the "loopholes" in the law to make a fast buck, 50% say that he is not a cheat and 49% assert that he ought not to be jailed.

**Merit, My foot :** And wonder of wonders 68% of the respondents said that Harshad Mehta, India's greatest *savarna* crook, has "made his money by his own merit". Merit, my foot. We must thank the *Times* for letting the cat out of the bag and revealing to us the meaning of the merit mantra which the Aryan *savarnas* employ to deny the masses of their human rights. Merit for this corrupt clique is merely merry-making and money-spinning through hoodwinking the masses.

To add insult to injury, a majority of the respondents idolise Harshad Mehta as the "Amitabh Bachchan of

the stock market" which leads the report to declare that "there is no denying the fact that there is a distinct admiration for Harshad Mehta".

**DV underestimates scandal :** The DV report underestimates the magnitude of the scandal by putting it at Rs. 6,000 crores. According to the *Times*, S.R. Bommai, JD President, is of the confirmed opinion that the scam crosses the Rs. 20,000-crore mark.

How is it that the Arun Shouries, the Veena Dases, the Andre Beteilles, the M.N. Srinivases and the Girilal Jains of this country, whose ink never seemed to dry writing fiery articles denouncing Mandal, now curiously choose to remain silent on this greatest scandal that has rocked India? V.P. Singh was overthrown for seeking to implement the Mandal report, while the Aryan *savarna* support to Narasimha Rao has risen by leaps and bounds following the Harshad Mehta Rs. 20,000-crore scandal! Such a thing could only happen in Hindu India. ■

We had said the same thing a month before the *Times* report (June 27) without making any market survey. What we did was we asked the owner of a newspaper stall, the biggest in Bangalore, to put a simple question to

all those who come to buy the financial dailies specialising in stock market. The question put to the buyers, mostly North Indian *savarnas*, before CBI probe started, was "Whether Harshad Mehta will go to jail?" The reply was unanimous: "Why should he? What mistake he has done?" See the thinking in the ruling class. Corruption is never a part of the ruling *savarna* (Aryan/upper caste/Hindu) vocabulary. (DV edit Nov.1, 1989: "Roots of corruption in Dharma"). - EDITOR ■

## THE STINK AT THE TOP

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The case of Harshad Mehta, "Darling of the ruling class" (DV July 1, p.18), is taking an interesting turn. It is interesting because almost everybody involved in the multi-billion rupee scandal of the century, is an upper caste/Aryan and all "highly merited" with MBA, DDT, ABCD, XYZ degrees from foreign universities.

Look at the following list of dismissals from Standard Chartered Bank: R.K. Iyer, Director, Local Currency Group, M. Rane, Statutory Liquidity Ratio Dealer, V. Srinivas Units/PSUs/CPs/CDs/Dealer, V.R. Srinivasan, Manager, Corporate Cash Deployment Services, and S.S. Mulgaonkar, Investment Officer.

Every culprit belongs to one of the four chatur varnas of the Hindu/brahminical social order and almost none from those outside the BSO. How could the monopoly-holders of "merit and efficiency" behave like this? Meanwhile, Chidambaram, a Union Minister and a Chettiar from Tamil Nadu, has resigned. Political circles think PVN used Chidambaram to get rid of Dr. Manmohan Singh. And also Sharad Pawar? Days of RBI chief, a Brahmin from TN, are counted. Many more heads will fall and we are watching with great interest.

# Columbia University celebrates Dr. Ambedkar centenary

P.P. LAKSHMAN, NEW YORK

The 101st birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar was observed at a well-attended function here in Columbia University on May 3.

Dr. Subhash G. Gedam, President of VISION, welcomed the audience. VISION stood for Volunteers in Service to India's Oppressed and Neglected. Ven. Suhita Dharma from California, Vice-President of the American Buddhist Congress, inaugurated the meeting. He said he was an American citizen with the blood of American Indian, African, American and French, and was a Catholic monk for some time. He was awakened and enlightened by the sufferings he saw in his extensive tours of India, Lanka and other countries. He decided to embrace Buddhism.

**Hindu gods:** Har Dayal, member of VISION, said it originated in New Jersey in 1976 as a non-political, non-religious, human rights organization. He referred to the representations that VISION had made to Prime Ministers Morarji Desai and Indira Gandhi about the Dalits in India.

Miss Lizeanne Germain, a VISION member from Rhode Island, read portions from Babasaheb's book, *Buddha and His Dhamma*, to show how democracy as practised by the people of Vaisali in Bihar in Buddha's time was able to withstand attempts by despotic rulers to destroy it.

Ram Gautam spoke against the divisive forces that separated peoples. V.K. Chowdhary, former president of VISION, said that Hindu gods like Ram and Krishna were not role models, and asked why Dalits should continue to show their slave mentality by patronising stage shows of Ramayan and Mahabharat. He said that Ram, who forsake his devoted wife on suspicion of fidelity, was no hero worth emulating. *Krishna with his large entourage of women, defended by Hindu theologians as his wives from previous births, was also not inspiring.* The fiction in Ramayan and Mahabharat was not appealing to thinking men. As an engineer by profession, he appreciated the environment in the US which promoted science, logic and rationality. M.K. Gandhi supported the caste system and helped its perpetuation. In South Africa, he could not equate himself with the Blacks there. Dr. Ambedkar had the foresight to oppose Gandhi's drive for temple entry, as he did not want Dalits to be Aryanised.

**Double - standards of Indian press:** Prof Marvin

Koenrisberg of Brooklyn College, New York, referred to his recent visit to Bombay, Delhi, Agra, and other places and said that the plight of the "poor" people that he saw was appalling.

Dr. Suresh Bhamre, Commissioner for Human Rights in Suffolk County, New York, said he had just returned from a trip to the UK and India during the birth centenary of Babasaheb. He deplored the double-standards of the upper caste press in India which condemned the apartheid in South Africa but ignored the atrocities committed on the Untouchables in India.

Dr. Sudhir Diwan, MD, a surgeon at St. Luke's Hospital, New York, who hailed from Gujarat, admitted that he grew up in Saurashtra, innocent of his social status and the sufferings that a great leader like Babasaheb had to endure in his childhood and adolescence. He was aware of the power of the Dalit Panthers but was unaware of the moral force behind it till later in life. He wanted to help, and looked forward to doing whatever he could in Dalit cause. He felt disturbed by the racial blow-out in Los Angeles which seemed to be an echo of what was happening in the land of his birth.

**Bigoted upper castes:** Kulwinder Mahay made an emotional speech outraged by the bigotted behaviour of upper castes who wanted to perpetuate in India a vertical hierarchy, and could never think of a horizontal social order based on equality and freedom. Do they still want to cut our tongues and pour molten lead in our ears, he asked. Mahay laid great emphasis on Babasaheb's message: "Educate, agitate, organise".

Prof Owen Lynch, New York University, said that if Dr. Ambedkar were alive today, he would indeed be impressed by the number of Ph. Ds, doctors, engineers and scientists that the Dalit communities had produced over the years after him. Dr. Ambedkar was no doubt a social revolutionary, but it should not be forgotten that he was also a patriot. He had the foresight to sign the historic Poona Pact in 1932 in the long-term interest of a united India.

**Varhade Suggestion:** Yogesh Varhade's (Toronto, Canada) speech was brief and to the point. He emphasized the urgent need for setting up an Ambedkar Center in the US for dissemination of information and promoting international awareness of the plight of Dalits in India.

Naresh Duraiswamy, a Ph.D. student in Columbia

University as Dr. Ambedkar was early this century, expressed concern at the repression of some 200 million Untouchables in Bihar, UP, and other States. Why is that the gifted, enlightened Indian immigrants in this country not addressing the problems of Untouchables in India, he asked.

Dr Subhash G. Gedam, VISION, said he was born at Nagpur in the Untouchable Mahar community to parents who 3 years later embraced Buddhism along with Dr. Ambedkar in 1956. He lived amid Hindus and was educated in Catholic schools. He grew up as a cosmopolitan, respecting all religions. A local leader whom every community respected was Tejuddin Baba, a Muslim saint. On completion of his studies in the US, he became an electronics engineer in Rhode Island. Kewal Singh Dhanda, vice-president VISION, spoke with great anguish about the atrocities perpetrated on the Untouchables in India by bigotted Hindus.

**Thiyyas of Kerala :** P.P. Lakshman said that it was emotionally very satisfying to meet at least once a year at Columbia University to pay homage to one of its greatest alumni. V.T Rajshekar from far-off Bangalore in India kept reminding us all about Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts twice every month. Lakshman urged more and more people to read Rajshekar's fortnightly, *Dalit Voice*, the only one of its kind.

Lakshman said that he hailed from the large community

of 8 million Thiyyas in Kerala which had a Buddhist past.

**British blunder:** Many Hindu temples were now thriving where Buddhist viharas preached, including Sabarimala. At Sabarimala, the deity *sastayis* actually Budha, and the *saranam* submission there also is Buddhist. The British rulers created a serious blunder in classifying, for easy census counting, populations other than Muslims, Christians and Parsis, as all Hindus. Sikhs protested, and got out of the Hindu fold. *If the other communities like the Thiyyas (Ezhavas) in Kerala, Vanniyars in Tamil Nadu, and hundreds of other communities throughout India got out like the Sikhs, the Hindus would get confined to their Aryan chaturvarna order, a minority of about 150 million in India with a total population of 844 million.*

The Indian immigrants in the US were estimated at 850,000, about 70% of whom might be reckoned as Hindus. The Hindu immigrants were mostly upper castes. The Dalits were too disadvantaged to make it to the American shores, except a very small number represented at the present gathering. There were no indications that the upper castes on reaching the American shores would show great concern for the Dalits back home. Dr Kevin O Neil, President of the Buddhist Association of New York, said Buddhism aimed at creating a better being. ■

## DIVISION OF INDIA ON AVARNA, SAVARNA LINES SUGGESTED

S.R. TALUKDAR, NEW DELHI

Science and technology are considered a common property of the whole humankind. It is like a common bank account. Who has deposited how much money in this account - that is not very important. Everybody has got equal right to draw money from this account as per his needs. If we consider this as a storehouse of knowledge, India's contribution to it is very little. Over 90% contribution has come from the west. But west has not denied this knowledge to India.

It is the British who first introduced scientific and technical education in India. The Aryans/*savarnas*/Hindus realising the importance of the scientific and technical education grabbed the opportunity. But they did not produce scientists or technologists. They used this education to earn money for selfish ends. What right they have to deny the same education to the *avarnas*?

**VIPs going to US:** The verdict of a *savarna* judge on this matter has betrayed the aspirations of the over 85% of non-Hindus of India. (Read Editorial P.3)

If Hindu doctors are the best why Indian VIPs go to America for treatment? Because they have no faith in their own "merited" *savarna* doctors. Why do the *savarna*/Hindu technologists go in for technical collaboration with the west? Because they cannot produce even a good quality lollipop on their own without technical collaboration with the west.

When such is the poverty of their technological skill how can they deny technical education to over 85% the *anaryan* Bahujan Samaj? West has not refused to train the sub-standard Indian *savarna* doctors and engineers. So, how can they refuse the same education to the *avarnas* in the State-run schools, colleges and universities?

**Solution:** I have a solution. To get rid of this problem of merit, reservation etc. separate educational institutions, separate hospitals for *savarnas* and the *avarnas* should be made. **The existing institutions be divided in proportion to the population of each: 15% and 85% between Hindus and non-Hindus.**

*Savarna*/Hindu institutions will be run by the *savarnas* and the *avarna* institutions will be manned by the *avarnas*. *Savarna* students will join *savarna* institutions and *avarna* students will join the *avarna* institutions. *Savarna* patients will be treated by the *savarna* doctors in the *savarna* hospitals and the *avarna* patients will be treated by the *avarna* doctors in the *avarna* hospitals. No quarrel, no ill-feeling.

This is called peaceful co-existence.

(Read DV Edit on Three Separations. re-print. 1992, Re.1)

# WHO CAUSED SIKH TERRORISM?

LT. - COL. GULCHARAN SINGH (RETD), 196-R, MODEL TOWN, JALANDHAR CITY, PUNJAB - 144 003

How the Punjab came to be infested with terrorism is worth examining. The first shooting incident of Apr. 13, 1978 at Amritsar took place when the neo-Nirankaris, a movement launched against the Sikhs and supported by the Bharat Sarkar, shot dead a number of Sant Bhindranwale's followers on a peace mission. They were on their way to request the neo-Nirankaris not to denigrate the Sikhs, their gurus and the Guru Granth Sahib. But before they could plead so, the neo-Nirankaris fell upon them and killed a number of them. (That the neo-Nirankaris are supported by the Bharat Sarkar is quite clear from the fact that whenever the head of the neo-Nirankaris visited a foreign country he was given treatment of an Indian Ambassador). A case was registered against these offenders. However, on the bidding of the Bharat Sarkar, the case was transferred to a court in Karnal (Haryana) where it could be proceeded with according to the desires of Delhi and Congress Sarkar.

**Henpecked judiciary:** As suspected the case was dismissed and the murderers let off scot free. This caused a great resentment among the Sikhs,

particularly members of the Damdami Taksal. This also speaks for the independence of the judiciary in India. Expecting no justice from the Congress Sarkar, Sant Bhindranwale planned to avenge the murder of his followers. Neo-Nirankaris became the target. Even their head, Baba Gurbachan Singh, was not spared. Strange, even on this no arrests of Damdami Taksal members were made. The govt. perhaps wanted the two sections to finish themselves off through fighting.

**Jagat Narain murder:** Then came the murder of Lala Jagat Narain, proprietor of the Hind Samachar Group of papers, who often wrote against Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sant Bhindranwale. The murderer was not apprehended but one already in police custody was declared caught while hiding near the place of the crime. Would any murderer act in this silly manner? Actually there were no eye witnesses to the scene. But Sant Bhindranwale was suspected, he was arrested at the place and time decided by the Sant himself i.e. at Chowk Mehta (Amritsar dt.) where a huge religious congregation had been arranged. Nothing incriminating

## SIKH LEADERSHIP REFUSING TO UNDERSTAND THE MODE OF FIGHTING BRAHMINISM

All that is said now by Brother Gulcharan, we had said long back: DV edit June 16, 1984: "Hindu War against Sikhs", "DV edit July 16 1984: 'Black Lies in White Paper on Punjab', DV edit, Nov. 16, 1984, "A Dalit Kills Indira taking Sikhs closer to khalistan". Then came the famous editorial of Dec. 16, 1984: "Why Beant Singh killed Indira Gandhi?" which caused our arrest under the Terrorist Act. This was followed by DV edit, Jan. 1, 1985: "Rajiv Gandhi Making Khalistan Easier", and many more. All these editorials on the Sikh struggle for self-determination were brought out as a reprint. "Birth Pangs of Khalistan" and this was sold out like hot cakes.

We want to assure the Sikhs that we are sincerely with them in their war against brahminism. We too are fighting the same enemy. Over 85%

of the country's original inhabitants plus even a section of the 15% Hindus are victims of the same forces. But we have to say with great sorrow that the brave Sikhs in spite of their 10-years-old war-with all their sincerity and determination - have not reached anywhere nearer their goal.

This is because the Sikh leadership is refusing to understand that brahminism cannot be fought with guns. The Aryan/brahminical rulers of India are making brothers fight brothers while they are sitting pretty at a distance, and enjoying the fun. Their only trump card is the media on which they have the sole monopoly. Using this deadly weapon of media, they have successfully brainwashed the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians-the other victims of brahminism-that Sikhs are terrorists and deserve no sympathy.

After convincing the over 85% of the Indian population, who are also victims of brahminism, they are making one victim to kill another victim. They are not bothered that such indiscriminate killings will destroy the country's unity and integrity. They are not bothered about it because they don't belong to our country and hence do not love this country as the Aryans are foreigners.

Already they have created Pakistan and they are out to create Khalistan and many more such vivisections. We are sincerely concerned with the Sikh sufferings but alas the Sikh leadership is not interested in trying to understand our point that brahminical forces can't be fought by guns but media and media alone which the Sikhs don't have. — EDITOR.

was, however, found against the Sant and he was freed after a few days.

**Indira throne shaking:** In this game, the Congress leaders, especially from Punjab, played an unhealthy part, their aim being firstly to let down each other, and secondly, to bring a bad name to the Akali Dal and Sikhs in fact. It was only the Akalis and no other political party that had started an agitation against the Emergency imposed in 1975 when Mrs. Gandhi's "throne" had started shaking following the adverse Allahabad High Court judgment. Secondly, the Akalis had supported the Janata Party in the 1977-78 elections against the Congress.

**Major killings:** A number of killings followed the murder of the Lala. The major victims were: Ramesh Chander (the Lala's son), Sardar A.S. Atwal, DIG, Harbans Singh Manchanda and a number of others. But the murderers have not been caught so far. This speaks a lot for the govt.'s intentions.

**Anandpur Saheb resolution :** Then the question of Punjab river waters were raised. To deprive Punjab of its water, a Satluj-Yamuna link (SYL) Canal was proposed to carry the river water to Haryana. The Akalis opposed this and started an agitation. They also demanded implementation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution of seeking more powers for the States. However, the Akalis are not the only political party in the country to put up this demand.

All this suited the machination of Indira Gandhi who started propagating that the murderers of the various persons were taking refuge in the Golden Temple. The Bharat Sarkar even gave a list of 46 such men to the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee (SGPC). The latter fell into her trap and pointed out that some of these had died and some gone abroad, leaving only 26 behind in the country. So much so, Sant Bhindranwale, Akalis and SGPC played into the brahminical hands of Mrs. Gandhi.

**Blue Star Operation :** The obliging brahminical press propagated this inside the country and also abroad. The situation was so created as to enable Mrs. Gandhi to take a stronger step. She deployed ten divisions of the Indian Army throughout the tiny State of Punjab. Some of these troops had previously received training on sand models of the Golden Temple as to how to assault and capture it. Curfew was imposed throughout the State. No movement was permitted. No vehicle of any type, not even a bicycle or a bullock cart was allowed to move about.

It appeared that the Bharat Sarkar had been thoroughly briefed by its masters. Golden Temple plus other important gurdwaras and the villages were all besieged as if the area belonged to some foreign country.

*Soon the Indian Army struck ruthlessly. No consideration was given to whether it was a male or a female, young or old, so long as they were Sikhs. The gurdwaras were destroyed, copies of Granth Sahib burnt, Sikhs killed in thousands, their property looted and then destroyed and Sikh women raped.*

Sikh children were called as progeny of serpents and killed. Akal Takht was destroyed by gun fire, there was not a single place or building in the Golden Temple complex that had not received a bullet or a shell.

**Unparalleled violence :** The surviving Sikh youth was put into jail. The Sikh reference library, a rare collection, was burnt to ashes thus depriving the coming Sikh generations of their valuable literature. The situation in the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur was the worst.

**The Army acted as if it was operating on a foreign soil against foreigners. Brutalities at the hands of the country's own soldiers committed against a part of the country's own population has no example in the world history.**

This was followed by "Operation Rosewood" with similar atrocities committed against the Sikhs but more thoroughly.

These actions of Indira Gandhi gave rise to what she and her govt. started calling "terrorism".

The blood of the Sikh youth boiled and they were all up to avenge the disrespect shown to their religion, their religious places and religious book (Guru Granth Sahib) and their womenfolk. ■

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## Sikh "cheats" getting gurdwara cover?

**Bangalore:** Ramachandre Gowda, MLC, has demanded a CBI inquiry into the shady affairs of Man-Jog group of companies in the State and punish the guilty. Addressing a press conference organised by the Man-Jog Investors' Welfare Association here on July 11, he charged that thousands of gullible public had been cheated to the tune of several crores by the company. Over 5,000 people had become victims by investing to a tune of Rs. 350-400 crore in the company. The High Court ordered that 'all the companies run under different names by two persons, Paramjit Singh and Manjit Singh, come under Man-Jog group of companies and there is a case for liquidation proceedings under the Companies Act'. (Deccan Herald July 13). ■

What is surprising is how such notorious Sikh cheats were allowed to capture the local Gurdwara and act as religious heads of the Sikh community. Does it mean that the city Sikhs, mostly traders, are using the Gurdwara for their business purposes? —

EDITOR. ■

JUNE 1, 1982

spent 90 minutes with Bhaba Atomic Research Centre, Bombay, meeting nuclear scientists who sought his blessings.

## Editorial: "Mandal Commission Report: Are the OBCs Ready to Die for it?"

Twelve percent of Hindu upper castes are enjoying 88% of the benefits of India's progress and 88% of the "low castes" are grudgingly given only 18% of the share, says the Govt. of India's Mandal Commission Report beautifully summing up the country's fast deteriorating socio-economic situation. The report of the Backward Classes Commission, headed by B.P. Mandal, who died recently, was placed before Parliament on April 30, 1982 and after 16 months of delaying tactics by the govt. which had received the report on Dec. 31, 1980. The Janata Party Govt. appointed the Commission but the report was received by the Congress Govt. of Indra Gandhi who had given ample indication that the report would not be accepted. Mandal himself in a talk with us had predicted that his report would face the fate of the Kaka Kalekar Commission (1953) unless the OBCs were ready for a street battle. In this very column we had twice (DV Sept. 1981 and DV Dec. 16, 1981) expressed the same fear and we are proving right.

While the OBCs are sleeping, the upper castes and their press have been loudly criticising the report. They don't want to give up what they have. And to deny any share they have invented the "merit theory". Those who have read Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer's sparring judgment on reservations will get ample hint of the upper caste divide and rule game. We know that every govt. office and factory will turn into a battlefield if the govt. decides to implement the Mandal Report. Whether we like it or not, war is bound to come on the Mandal issue. The rulers can only delay the war but cannot avoid it. The Indian road to socialism will be bloodier than the Chinese Revolution. That doesn't mean the Backward Class leaders should sit quiet. They should join hands with Dalits. Together with Muslims, they can shake the country. But we have every reason to doubt if the BC leaders will do this knowing their love for Hinduism. That is why we say the BCs will have to wade through rivers of blood before they get Mandal.

**Not class but caste struggle will liberate Dalits**, says D. David, Vellore, TN, quoting from Dr. Ambedkar and Lohia.

**Crucifixion of a journalist:** The Industrial Tribunal of Karnataka has held the dismissal of V.T. Rajshekar, as Deputy, Chief Report of the Indian Express as invalid in a judgment delivered here on Jan. 25, 1982. He was dismissed on April 26, 1979 for writing articles in papers other than the Indian Express.

**Christianity under attack in Hindu media:** Over 50,000 Christians in Bombay on May 6 took out a march to protest denial of entry of Christian Ministers into Arunachal Pradesh, govt. failure to protect Christian life and property in Kanyakumari etc.

**Satya Saibaba blesses scientists:** Sai Baba on May 14

## Brahmin writer admits Aryans are Invaders

H. R. Ursekar is a Brahmin scholar who has many books to his credit on Hindu religion and philosophy. In his book, *Essays on indology*, he has admitted that the Aryans are foreigners. The book was written in 1981. But the Aryans are now trying desperately to prove that they have not migrated to this country. Here is the proof from this Brahmin scholar about the Aryan original abode :

He says : "As regards the location of the home of the Aryans there are diametrically opposite views.

According to Tilak the original cradle of the Aryans was in the polar regions. (Arctic Home in the Vedas). For this hypothesis he inter alia relies upon the Vedic imagery of prolonged nights and dawns.

**Russia was Aryan home :** Penka also independently comes to the same conclusion. B. K. Ghosh contends on the strength of comparative philology that having regard to the geographical distribution of the idioms of the Indo-European speech family, the original Aryan home was in Europe. He refers specially to the Lithuanian (*Lithuania was a state in the former USSR, now an independent nation-Ed.*) in this behalf., (*Vedic Age* p.202).

**Piggott :** On the other hand Piggott says that the most reasonable hypothesis satisfying the demands of philology and archaeology is the view that the Indo-European languages evolved among the earliest agriculturists of the South Russian Steppes and the land eastwards to the Caspian seas. (*Pre-historic india*, Piggott, p.248) The view is shared by J.L. Myres, Peake and Childe, Schrader and Jhering.

**How the Aryans distributed geographically? :** From Southern Russia one branch of the Aryans migrated towards north-western Europe which later on emerged as the Greeks, Italians, Germans and Celts. The other branch swerved towards south - east into Persia and India. it is known as the Indo-Iranian period.

**Rig Veda compiled outside India :** One branch of the Aryans came down into India. According to Piggott, the Rig Veda seems to represent the entrance phase of the Aryans in India.

He says that in the Rig Veda the Aryans are depicted as "conquering heroes" and scant tribute is paid to their contemptible opponents, more skilled in the arts of peace than in those of warfares. (*Bahujan Sangharsh*, Nagpur May 1, 92).

## Letters to Editor

**Walter Liffers**, Park Street - 122, 4150 Krefeld 11, BRD :- I am writing this letter since I am concerned about recent reports of human rights violations in India occurring under the responsibility of police and security forces. The government should make a public statement that custodial violence is forbidden under any circumstances and that it will not be tolerated. All reports of torture, rape and death in custody should be investigated by an impartial and independent judicial body. If necessary, special structures to act on such report should be established.

**Arthur Bonner**, 130 East 17 St., New York NY-10003: I sent the note from P.K. Kalim of Kerala to Duke University with a recommendation they try to grant him permission to reprint my book. I recently did a computer check and found my book, *Averting the Apocalypse*, is in 434 universities and public libraries in 46 of the 50 American states, plus one each in American Samoa, British Columbia and Ontario. The disease of racism is well published in the US. Dozens of books and hundreds of articles appear every year. The book you mentioned by Andrew Hacker is only one example. It is widely circulated and has received many favourable review. We admit we are a racist country and are trying to do something about it. I believe you would agree this is not true with concerning anti-Dalit racism in India. Your premise, that Dalits must find a separate existence is well proven. Since they are so intertwined with the elite minority they cannot succeed. They must build an autonomous culture and as far as possible, an autonomous economy. This is what Dr. Ambedkar advocated. The question is why Buddhism failed as a valid autonomous identity? This is one of the subjects I would like to explore. I also want to explore nationality. I believe India will inevitably dissolve. That is happening everywhere else in the world. The brahminic hegemony has kept India together since "independence", but now the upper castes are losing political strength and emigrating. We are seeing increasing economic strength by the non-twice-born castes. Will Dalit grassroots political activism increase the centrifical pressures of local ethnic groups? Disintegration into smaller ethnic and linguistic units will give Dalits greater leverage and will, in turn, speed the separatism process. All this is an area few Indian scholars would care to explore. Hence I think there is a reason for me to take up the subject.

**Dr. Laxmi N. Berwa**, 7700 Old Branch Avenue, Suite C-101, Clinton, Maryland, 20735, USA: I am concerned about events in Dangs where there has been a spate of attacks on Adivasis living in the Dangs forest area, especially around Kosimda village by Forest officials. This culminated last November in the murder of a woman, Taraben Julpi, and a brutal assault on her relatives by Forest men. Although the family of the deceased has received compensation since, to date the culprits have not been arrested or brought to trial.

**Rokuro Sumi**, Fukuoka, Japan: It was the first time I joined the 12-day Education and Culture Exchange Tour between Japan and India. My visit to a Dalit village in Madras gave me lot of shocks. I was told 2,500 people were living in 500 huts. Our meeting with the Dalit representatives of the Samata Sainik Dal in Bangalore was memorable. They said about 25% of total population in India were Dalits. They said in the past few years the Burakumin visits to India had almost come to a stop and this made them conclude that the Burakumin people had almost forgotten about their Dalit counterparts. We visited a Dalit primary school where no desk or chair were provided to the children. Later, we visited a government orphanage for 73 girls.

**Dr. Muddassir Mubeen**, PO Box 30439, Jeddah-21477, Saudi Arabia: I had a chance to view the latest issue of the *Dalit Voice* and I was very much impressed by the high quality of journalism and scholarly approach.

**Dr. D.S. Ramchandra**, World Congress of Anesthesiologists, The Hague: I have distributed some *Dalit Voice* copies to foreign delegates here. The conference went off very well and I found no discrimination against me though an Untouchable from India.

**N.K. Sonare**, Phule-Ambedkar Vichar Prabodhan Manch, 19th Road, Khar (w), Bombay-52: We have filed four petitions against the shabby, unhistoric and illogical serial on Dr. Ambedkar in the Bombay High Court. The serial was purposely telecasted to belittle the image of Dr. Ambedkar keeping in dark the philosophy and work of Babasaheb from the oppressed people of India. Since the government has distorted the image and philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar, it is imperative and binding on them to bring a new serial on Dr. Ambedkar by awarding the production of such a serial to a noted producer and director.

**Jatin Bagchi**, Calcutta: My book 'Jatiya Sanghatir Sankat', is getting ready. The manuscript (360 pages) has been handed over to the Ratna Publication, noted publishers of "controversial books".

**Saji Joseph**, Dalit Panthers, Mavelikara, Kerala: Hindu

nazis and "marxist" nazis are ganging up against us. Yet we are making inroads into the hearts of our people. Our public functions are in great demand. Our people gather in hundreds.

**P.K.Rajan**, Madras-90: R.Elumalai wrote (DV May 16, 1992): "Dead body of a Dalit near Kumbakonam was not allowed to pass through the Vanniar street. From the report, you will see the Chief Minister herself had pleaded inability in the Assembly to break the impasse. Finally, that body had to be buried at the back of his house. Shocking indeed". I add another reported incident. During Babasaheb's birthday celebrations, this April near Kalpakam, the intolerant Vanniars torched about 80 Dalit houses. No action was taken. These are no isolated cases in Tamil Nadu. Elumalai also says PMK is the new hope of Tamil Nadu Vanniars and Dalits (DV July 1, 1992). People would hardly believe that as general secretary of the PMK he could do nothing to stop the Dalit repressions by the Vanniars.

**Sajeevan A.V.**, Bangalore: I read an article, "Caste Away", in the *Illustrated Weekly* (June 26, 1992) about the problem of Dalit Christians. The author has quoted you.

The Calcutta correspondent of the "*Illustrated Weekly*", Payal Singh, the author of the article, has also written us to draw our attention to her article. Just as the battle between the indigenous Dravidians and the invading Aryans is intensifying, the same thing is reflected inside the church. The Aryan Christians controlling the Indian church are not even 15% of the total Christian population. They should be driven out and wherever not possible the Dalit Christians must come out and set up their own church. ("Three Separations from Hindus", DV edit January 16, 1992) applies to Dalit Christians also. —**Editor**.

**Editor: Jamalpur Times**, Hindi weekly, Sakaldev Pushp, Pushp Sadan, Badi Keshapur, Jamalpur, Bihar-811 214: We are interested in starting a Bihar unit of the Dalit Sahitya Akademi.

**M.L.Rao**, Agra: A Dalit Hindi journalist, Prem Pradeep Shilankar, president of Nagarik Mukti Morcha, says the mass murder of Dalits in Kumher town, Rajasthan, has proved that the Hindu rulers will never accede our human rights. So to recover our lost rights, the Dalit youths must acquire arms for self-defence. Dalits should also fight for separate electorate and separate settlement.

**N.B.Krishnan**, Jeypore(K), Orissa: A multi-million rupee project for the construction of a temple (Puri Jagannatha temple model) is about to be completed. Funds have been collected from cinema houses by imposing a "religious tax" of 10 paise per ticket. Who

has paid the tax? It is only the tribal people who cannot afford costly entertainment. Upper caste/Aryans do not go to cinema nowadays. They enjoy video in their homes. The temple after construction will be closed to tribals. An "educational tax" is being collected for a law collage where the tribals are not admitted. The Bonda tribes do not wear clothes even today. They have been told by upper castes that while Sita (the victim of Ramayana) was bathing naked, the Bonda people laughed at her. She cursed them saying that their tribe will perish if they wear clothes or grow hair over their heads. This blind belief caused their nakedness to be enjoyed by the upper castes. DV has correctly said: "Our problem is not poverty". In the name of Bonda development the Aryan/upper castes are making money. However, the Christian missionaries are doing a good work, but they are branded as anti-national.

**Samata Forum**, B-4 Rajendra Niwas, Dombivli (East), Ranade Road, District Thane, MS-421201: We are a group of Ambedkarite youths. With great interest we read *Dalit Voice* regularly. We endorse your views and admire the zeal and courage with which you fight the anti-national brahminical social order. The continuous use of the derogatory word *Harijan* in the newspapers has hurt us. The forum has written several letters in protest. One such letter was published in the *Times of India*, Bombay (Jan 18, 1992). The *India Today* did not publish our protest.

**Bhimrao Ganvir**, LIC, Gadchiroli, MS-442 605: This is a very backward district with 90% SC/ST people. This place needs a bookshop to sell Ambedkariite and Buddhist literature.

**Dr.D.V.Rao**, Academic Associate, School of Biotechnology, JNT University, Mahaveer Marg, Hyderabad-23: I am a keen reader of DV and belong to a BC community. With great difficulty, I could finish my Ph.D in Immunology and joined this university. Though I am fully committed to my research and keen to become a scientist, the brahminical social order come in the way. However, the American Chemical Society showed interest in my research work and invited me to the 9th International Biotechnology Symposium at Crystal city, VA, USA, on Aug. 16-21, 1992. I have approached different funding agencies like DST, CISIR, COSTED and DBT for support. As all of them are headed by the Aryans/Brahmins, they ignored me. In fact, I have published 10 research papers of which five have appeared in international journals. So, I finally sold my farmland for Rs.50,000 which can meet only my travel and other expenses. Boarding and lodging etc., will be extra. Finally, I thought of writing to you for support. Please recommend

my cases to some Dalit friends around Washington DC for my stay for 10 days.

**Katti Padma Rao**, Ponnur, AP-522 124: The Tsundur killing of the Dalits took place on Aug. 6, 1991. The massacre of 22 Dalits shows the continued Hindu atrocities on them even after 45 years of "independence". The Prime Minister had promised a CBI inquiry, one acre of land to each Dalit family in Tsundur, all educated about 10th class to be provided govt. jobs and special court to Tsundur. These promises gave some hopes to the 10,000 Tsundur Dalits who had come all the way from AP to Delhi to express their protest. But, as usual the PM and his government deceived us. The Chimakurthi killing is yet another instance of Hindu barbarity. On May 2, 1992, three dalit women lost their lives due to the animal instinct of an upper caste quarry-owner in the Prakasam dt. They were Yesamma, Ramulamma and Anjamma. There are eye witnesses for the murder of these Dalit women. But the police, especially the SP of Prakasam dt., fabricated the evidence to say they died due to drowning.

**Sukumar Pal**, Bihar Dalit Vikas Samiti, C/o ISI, 10-Institutional Area, Lodi Road, New Delhi-3: We have resolved to make 50,000 Dalit families in Bihar literate by Feb. end. Dr. Jose Kananaikil is our director.

**P.K. Abdurrabb**, Darunoor, Mulappieangad, Kerala-670 662: Arthur Bonner has written (DV July 1 92) that he is planning to write a book on Dalit liberation. He has selected some topics also from your true and tremendous writings. But he has missed a very important theme i.e. the role of Islam in liberation of the oppressed (*Mustadafaen*) and the ignorance of the Muslim scholars and leaders about it. The above subject you were stressing through DV and your speeches for the past few years. I don't know why Arthur Bonner has not noticed the subject. Hope you will bring this to his kind notice. Another thing is the false statement of the Malappuram dt. League Secretary, KMA Khader, that the population of Hindus is 60 crores (DV July 1, p.20). Khader is a regular reader of DV and his "Letters" used to be published in DV. He only invited you to attend the Dist. Conference of the Muslim League at Kuttipuram and more over as an advocate if he commits such a himalayan blunder then what we can expect from ordinary unthinking Muslim masses who have fallen into the trap of the Muslim League?

**Arshad Kalliath**, Trivandrum: Your observations (DV July 1 Edit: "Brahminism is the Enemy no.1 of the World"), on the German obsession with Sanskrit as

also with anything nazi is further substantiated by the fact that 'Deutsche Welle', the official German external broadcasting service, is the only international radio station to have regular programming in Sanskrit, although it is a paltry ten minutes a month. This is heard in India over the shortwave.

**N.V. Rao**, Vizianagaram, AP: Let not brahminism have freedom to hypnotise and enslave the human mind for its self-benefit creating continuous anarchy since ages and sucking the blood of fellow beings. As you have rightly said in your July 1 edit, brahminism has become a world menace. Will you please analyse and elaborate to the world and save it from brahminism?

**M.D. Johnson**, Narendrapuram, via Palivela, EG dt. AP - 533 229: Some Dalit Christian organisations must file a case in the Supreme Court to secure reservation to Dalit Christians. I will send an article on the Seventh Day Adventist Church and what they have done for the Dalits. They have done a lot for us. It is our prayer that you will continue to serve us and we are praying for you and your family and all others who are working with you. Kindly take care of your health and also train some more dedicated youth to carry on the caravan on its onward march until we achieve our goal of ruling this country.

**M. Domenicvssavio**, secretary, FOCUS, 35A/3, Kamaraj Nagar, TN-627 907: We are doing social service in this taluk of Chidambaram. Schedule Castes like Pariah, Pulaya, Kattu Naykar and Kudumbar form 32% of the taluk population. They are very backward in every respect. Recently, very fortunately, we chanced to read the book, *The Untouchables of India*, published by the Dalit Sahitya Akademy. Such books will help awaken our people. We want to read your literature.

**Dr. T.Y. Shekar**, 11-160/219, Sheshapahad, North Lalguda, Secunderabad - 17: Political parties are fighting over the next President but what we need is socio-economic and cultural change or a revolution to help organise the whole people as a single force. If we cannot provide social justice to all irrespective of caste, creed and religion, we have to wait only to see the destruction and disintegration of this land and its people. Time is not far away.

**K.M. Naheed Anjum**, Himalayan Action Research Centre, 654, Indiranagar, Phase-II, PO New Forest, Dehra Dun-248 006: Ours is an NGO involved in the Garhwal region of the middle Himalayas. Through technical intervention we help improve the social and economic condition of the people. We want to exchange information. Your journal, *Dalit Voice*, does commendable work in the direction of information

dissemination. We would like to exchange our journal *Boond*, with DV.

**Ashok Kumar Khadwal**, B-98, New Usmanpur, Gali No.8, Delhi - 110 053: I have read your article in the *Hindustan Times* (April 29, 92): "Dalits and Democracy", which has impressed me very much. You have touched upon the facts of the brahminical social order. You have rightly pointed out that since the Constitution has assured the identity of SC/ST through reservation, they are saved. But the worst suffered are the BCs and the sickness suffered by the BCs has affected the health of the whole country. I want to subscribe to *Dalit Voice* to learn more of your thoughts.

**P. Ranjan Babu**, Dalit Open University, Deenapur, AP-522 529: A three-day national seminar on Babasaheb Ambedkar is being organised from Aug. 12 to 14, 1992 in the Speaker's Hall, Constitution Club, VP House, Rafi Marg, New Delhi by us. Since you are one of the activist Dalit intellectuals and a leader of the Dalit communities, we want you to participate in the seminar and also present a paper.

**S.K. Nasir Ahmed**, c/o Roshni Tailors, Mahespur Market, Birshibpur, Dt. Howrah, W. Bengal: I have written an article throwing new light on the invasion of Aryans. It is intended both for Muslims and Dalits in particular. It may change the attitude of Muslims in favour of Dalits. Dalit intellectuals in Bengal have appreciated my views. A book entitled *Arya Rahasya* (Aryan mystery) has been written by me in Bengali. I have projected to write a book in English, 'Conflict of Indian Society in the light of Islam', to draw the attention of the Muslim world.

**K.M. Hassan Uzzaman**, Ex-Minister of West Bengal, 2 - Rippon Square, Calcutta-16: Anti-Muslim riots have broken out in village Dongaria, P.S. Nodakhali in South 24-Parganas on June 12. A section of Hindu nazi elements attacked the houses of Muslims, looted and ransacked even a *Madrassa* house which was set on fire in front of the police.

**Raju Solanki**: Vivek Bhuvan, Patani Sheri, b/h Prakash Cinema, Ahmedabad-1: *Dalit Voice* (Oct. 1-15, 91) published Yogesh Varhade's text presented before the Working Group on 'Indigenous Peoples', UN Human Rights Sub-Commission, Geneva, Switzerland, on July 30, 1991. We wholeheartedly support Varhade's historic attempt at UN. In Gujarat, Hindu nazis are furious with the Mors Commission Report on Narmada Dam. Mors, a former Secretary of the World Bank, has pointed out that the rehabilitation of tribals is not possible as they belong to a distinct social system geographically separated from the rest of the world. Mors, who is rightly equating

tribals of India with the other aborigines of the world, has warned that the displacement of tribals will lead to complete destruction of their social life. It is one more proof for our case before the UN. Varhade can use this evidence as well. Please study the Mors report. ■

## DALIT WRITERS MEET

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore**: The second All-India Dalit writers Conference will be held here from Dec. 25 to 27, 1992. The first one was held at Hyderabad in 1987 and it was inaugurated by Runoko Rashidi, American representative of DV and a noted Black historian.

Bojja Tarakam, President of the Andhra Dalit Mahasabha and convener of the Hyderabad conference, and Deekayya of the Samata Sainik Dal (SSD) will be the general secretaries of the Bangalore conference which will be hosted jointly by the SSD and Dr. Ambedkar Memorial Trust, Hyderabad.

A directory of Dalit writers with over 1,000 addresses will be released on the occasion. Foreign Dalit leaders like Gautam (London), Laxmi Berwa (New York), Yogesh Varhade (Canada) will be invited. Dalit writers interested in attending the conference may write to M. Venkatswamy, convener, SSD at No.4, Block-I, KHB Qrts. Lalbagh-Siddapur Road, Near Lalbagh East Gate, Jayanagar, I Block, Bangalore - 560 011. ■

## DV Proves right on Bangarappa

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore**: We have once again proved right. This time it is the much-maligned Karnataka Chief Minister Bangarappa.

In an interview to the *Sunday* (July 12) the Backward Caste (Idiga) CM says the current newspaper campaign against him is "part of the caste campaign by the Brahmin lobby in the press". We had said the same thing in our story. "Bangarappa baiting by three exploiting *jaties*" (DV June 1, 92, p.15) and Upper Castes Gunning for Bangarappa (DV Mar.1, 92 p.4)

Upper caste rulers having failed in all other fronts are today depending solely on the "national" toilet papers to malign SC/BC/minority leaders. Bangarappa is the best example of this. The wily Neogi Brahmin is under pressure to remove Bangarappa. As he is himself in deep trouble, he is postponing the gatepass to Bangarappa. ■

# Dalits are blood brothers of Muslims : together they must fight Aryans

ISA HAQUE, MADHUPUR, HOERAH, WB-712 147

Upper caste nazis say that the Muslims in India owe their origin to "foreign" stocks which had once been converted to Islam. They are, therefore, aliens in this country. This view in itself is not only fallacious but also contrary to historical and anthropometrical facts.

*Indian Muslims did neither originate from any foreign stocks nor are they aliens. They are indigenous and as much a part of this country as any other aboriginals such as the Dravidians, the Kols or the Mundas whose history dates back to the pre-Harappan period much earlier to the history of the invading foreign race known as Aryans.*

From the point of racial affinity, a greater part of the Muslims like that of Bengal bear a close likeness to the "lower castes" of the brahminical social order (BSO). If these peoples are recognised as indigenous and aboriginals there can be no reason why Muslims must be called otherwise.

**Nasal index:** Since the cephalic and nasal indices of a sizeable section of the Muslims accord with those of the so-called "low-born" in the BSO, there is no justification for the Hindu argument branding Muslims as foreigners.

Then, why are the nazis doing this? They are doing this obviously out of a fear-psychosis. *They are well aware of this and the havoc their ancestors had caused by spreading hatred against the non-Aryan children of the soil. Their own sacred scriptures are full of vivid and horrifying accounts.*

**Aryans & Dasas:** The Aryans of today are also fully conscious of

their war and violence on the Dravidians. It is this guilty conscience that is prompting them to blame their neighbours, namely the Muslims, in a desperate bid to escape the wrath of the now awakening oppressed communities (SC/ST/BCs) whom their forfathers had once bulldozed. They are vainly trying to hide their real face - the face of an enemy of the Dasas, Dasyus

## DEFEAT FOR ELITE MUSLIMS

**Bombay:** The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan has decided to shift its proposed professional courses classes from the Anjuman-i-Islam. The Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) had launched a protest against it. G. M. Banatwalla, general secretary of the IUML, who led the protest, said the Bhavan stood for the promotion of brahminism and should not be allowed to work from the premises of the Anjuman-i-Islam, a Muslim minority educational institution. The Bhavan, India's premier brah-minical institution, decision to quit Anjuman is a big victory for Muslim masses and a defeat for elite Muslims.

and Asuras who were but one people.

Not only did the Aryans destroy a flourishing civilisation and culture but also did obliterate the glorious Dravidian identity as a separate race, separate nation before which the alleged brutality and ruthlessness of the subsequent Muslim conquerors pales into insignificance.

**The greatest crime :** The Aryans

with a very unique and novel device, that is by introducing the *varna* (racism) system, held an entire race in perpetual thralldom denying them even the basic human rights. Such a crime has no parallel in history. This is a downright crime, a crime to look upon a human being as beast.

*Those people who broke away from the BSO under the compulsion of history and initiated a new life under the fold of Islam are not aliens, never aliens in any sense in which the Aryans of yore and their progenies of today are taken to be.*

The dramatis personae are the same as before, only the setting of the stage and the roles of the characters have changed both in dimension and quality. They are just playing the role the history has assigned to them. *In this context the Muslims need, therefore, have no fear for these unfounded, baseless, and malicious allegations and imputations which are but mere propoganda, which are but downright lies.*

**Aryan atrocities:** On the contrary, the Muslims have every right to raise their fingers at Aryans and cry in one voice saying:

*"It is you, the Aryan racists. You had kept us fettered in thralldom for century after century and subjected us to unspeakable indignities and inhumanities robbing us of our all, playing with our lives, our limbs and even our souls. Now the time has come when you have to pay for all your misdeeds you had done in the past and are still doing at present. Islam came to us as a boon, not as a curse. For, it is this religion which has emancipated us from your bloody clutch and*

stranglehold. But for Islam we would have been compelled to share the same fate as our brethren in the lower stratum of your social order are still doing.

"It is an irony of history that you could not swallow Islam as you did in the case of other Dravidian communities as the Sakas, the Huns, the Gujars and so on and so forth, only because of the fact that yours is based upon a doctrine of hatred, upon the supremacy of a single caste over the other castes, that of the Brahmin. While the other is based upon the universal brotherhood and love, upon justice and equality for all".

**Harappa civilisation:** The Muslims, therefore, did the right thing in casting off the hated brahminical cloak. It is because of their daring and defying act they are being branded as alien and anti-indian. This of course is not without motive. It is a pretext to persecute them again, to prepare the ground for their exit from India. What a deliberate, sinister design. The children of the soil to be driven away from their own soil by those who are themselves

alien, who are themselves invaders and destroyers of magnificent civilisation like the civilisation of Harappa.

**Hindus not a majority:** The Muslims are committing a great mistake by considering Hindus as a "majority community" forming 85% of its population. *Muslims are committing a crime against their own community if they include their own blood brothers and sisters - SC/ST/BCs - as part of Hindus.* The Hindus are only a minority as against the vast population of the country. But when the other non-Hindu communities, who are not Hindus and never Hindus, are taken together they constitute a majority that outnumbers the Hindus. *So, if the Muslims join with the Dalits to put up a joint fight against the BSO, their unity will work for the defence of both.*

**Reply to Shabana:** The religion of Islam in this case should not stand in the way. The elite Muslims hold the view as Mrs. Shabana has done in her article (DV June 1) that before talking of unity with the Dalits or for that matter, with other communities,

Dalits should be converted to Islam first.

Her argument is silly. To fight against a common enemy, one is not required to be recognised by his religion. He is required to be identified whether he is an oppressed and persecuted man or not.

***The Dalits and the Muslims are persecuted communities and both are persecuted by the same Aryans. One is still held in subjugation while the other, though free, is under constant threat of eviction.***

So, why should they not make a common cause against a common enemy? Does not Islam enjoin upon its adherents to observe *lakum dinukum, waley yeadin* (unto you your religion and unto me my religion)? It is out of this liberal, if not secular, attitude that Prophet Muhammad held some Jewish communities in alliance in his fight against his enemies. This principle, we can fairly apply in Indian context too. The only thing we need to do is to come out of our philistine, parochial shell of ego. ■

## THREE DEMONS EATING INDIAN MUSLIMS

MRS. SHABANA, 88/162, CHAMANGANJ, KANPUR, UP

This is with reference to Chand Peer's article, "Failure of Muslim leadership: Masses want Dalit-Muslim Unity, DV June 16, p.18).

Like any conscientious person, Peer also moans to see the plight of Muslims: They don't say prayer, practice un-Islamic rituals. They don't know the purpose of being a Muslim. They don't know the object of Islam. They are sticking to Islam in the same manner as other communities to their respective religions. Religion (Islam) has become an article of faith and quite personal to them. They don't know their duty of establishing the sovereignty of Allah and imposing

Islamic laws in the society.

**Maudoodi advice:** Long back the founder of Jamate-Islami, Moulana Maudoodi, also observed the defects among the Muslims and with all pains he cautioned the Muslims against the dangers facing the Muslim society. He said:

'The time has come when we shall have to decide between the two - whether we want to remain Muslim or lose Islam for ever. If we decide in affirmation, we should struggle for establishing an Islamic State even at the cost of our lives; otherwise we shall miss Islam. The foundations of future India would be on western nationalism, democracy and

irreligiosity in the name of secularism. These three demons would eat the vitals of Islamic society if we still remain static".

**Invocation to Deoras:** Unfortunately, the Muslims did not pay much heed to his words. However, he founded the Jamat and it is still working with its limited resources.

It is true that after the Emergency the Jamat invited Deoras but with purpose. It wanted to give the message of Islam to him and through him to his party. Did not the Prophet give the message of Islam to Abu-Jahal and Abu-Lahab? The duty of a Muslim is to give the message of

Islam and the change of heart is up to Allah.

Teer's thesis of elite Muslims controlling the Muslim leadership is not correct. Islam does not recognise upper or lower caste. It recognises the identity of Kabilas (clans) for identification purpose and not for pride. Among the Muslims one may find leaders from every Kabilas i.e. Syed Ahmed, Moulana Ahmed Raza Khan, Maulana Ashraf Ali, Hali, Sheikh Mohd. Iqbal, Jinnah, Moulana Mohd. Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Ansari, Mohd. Ismail, Ebrahim Suleman Sait etc. ■

## Nazi bid against Muslims in Bihar

**New Delhi:** The so-called 'Bhatia' Muslims of Bihar are coming under pressure from fanatic Hindu groups. The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), has spearheaded a movement against the 'Bhatias', labelling them 'Bangladeshi Muslims'. These Muslims, who live in lowlands next to rivers, are found in 11 districts of Bihar, and originally belonged to the districts of Malda, Purulia, Murshidabad and Nadia in West Bengal.

Since WB is poor and its Muslims are being pressurized to leave Muslim-dominated areas, 'Bhatia' Muslims have moved eastwards over many decades. They call themselves 'Shershahabadi Muslims', and number around 1.4 million in Bihar. The BJP and its supporters call them 'Bangladeshi infiltrators' and would like to push them out of the state, preferably into Bangladesh.

(Crescent International June 16).

## Sufis proved more effective in liberating Dalits than Jamat

QURBAN ALI ZAMEENZAD, HAMDARD NAGAR, NEW DELHI-25

Ms. Shabana of Kanpur and Md. Yusuf and S.R. Talukdar of Delhi are, it appears, placed at the two extremes of the debate raging in the columns of DV on the Jamate-Islami. While Sister Shabana advocates nothing short of an "Islamic" solution to the problems of the Dalits and Dalit-Muslim relations, Yusuf and Talukdar argue for a secular approach. This article reflects a middle-of-the-way stance which also, in some ways, is a resolution of the mutually opposed positions of the two parties to this debate.

Dr. Ambedkar was of the view that one of the necessary prerequisites to liberate the Dalits was religious conversion. This being the case, both Yusuf and Talukdar appear to negate this crucial aspect of the Ambedkarite strategy. On the other hand, while some leading Dalit ideologues have advanced the thesis that conversion to Islam alone can liberate the Dalits, this does not necessarily mean that the Jamate's interpretation of Islam is suitable to the Dalits.

**Superman theory:** To begin with, as Murad Ali Yusufzai (DV Dec. 1992, p.17) had pointed out, the Jamat's approach to Islam is a highly elitist one. It stresses that while the masses are "ignorant", it is the duty of a select elite, the *ulema* or clergy, to act as a beacon-light of the entire society and to rule society in the name of administering the *Shariat*. The inherently elitist stand - intellectual and cognitive arrogance - of the Jamat negates the legitimacy of the knowledge systems of the toiling Muslim masses. The Jamat's stand in this regard is akin to Nietzsche's Superman (who alone knows all things) or to the brahminical clique known as the RSS, which proclaims to have a divinely

appointed mission to rule India.

**Forcing Arabic:** The Jamat seeks to inculcate what it calls the true Islamic culture among the Muslims. Islam is a universal creed and it is the duty of every Muslim to spread it. *However, in the name of spreading Islamic culture, one finds the Jamat seeking to impose an elitist, Arabized culture on the masses, even though Arab culture as a whole is not an integral component of Islam.* Thus, for instance, in the Pakistani Punjab, the Jamate-Islami of Pakistan had been in the forefront of the demand to make Arabic a compulsory language in schools. As a result, Muslim Punjabi students are taught Arabic but do not have the right to learn their mother tongue, Punjabi. Recently the chief of the Pakistan Jamat, himself a Punjabi, created a storm when he declared that the Punjabi language was fit only for expressing abuses. By thus negating the culture and ethnic identity of local Muslim groups in favour of an artificially conjured Arabized culture (in the name of Islam), the Jamat denies the legitimacy of the cultural heritage of the Muslim masses.

**Hostility to Sufis:** As a result of this, common Muslims are sought in the name of Islam to be made ignorant of their own glorious traditions which embody their very identity. *Thus, for instance, the extreme hostility of the Jamat towards the Sufis is wellknown. It is an equally wellknown fact that the Sufi saints were the first to help spawn a truly creative popular culture among the Muslim masses in India.* The medieval *ulema* (the precursors of today's Jamat) were an integral component of the ruling establishment, while the Sufis lived and worked among the poor masses, Dalits and shudras.

Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti earned

the title "Garib Nawaz" because of his total identification with the oppressed. While the *ulemas* spoke and wrote only in the court languages of Persian and Arabic, the Sufis employed the language of the masses. It is because of this that the Sufis were able to reflect the aspirations and tribulations of the masses in their poetry and voluminous writings. They were, in fact, true liberation theologians.

**Punjabi culture:** For example in Sind, Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, a famous Sufi, is still deeply revered as the founder of Sindhi popular literature while in Punjab, Baba Farid, Bhulleh Shah Waris Shah and a host of other Sufis laid the basis of Punjabi mass culture and literature. While peasants in North India, both Muslim and non-Muslim, still sing the soul-stirring verses of the Sufis, it is doubtful if they can name even one medieval Muslim orthodox Maulvi whom the Jamat upholds as the model for Muslims to follow.

*This is also why while millions of poor Muslims flock to the innumerable Sufi dargahs all over the country, the Jamat remains a strictly middle class phenomenon with few supporters among the Muslim masses.* The Muslim masses seem more attracted by the mystical and highly emotionally charged ambience of Sufi dargahs rather than by the cold, drab arguments of an "Islamic Revolution" as propounded by the Jamat.

*It was only through the Sufi movement that Islam was able to spread in India.* The orthodox *ulemas*, by their rigid isolationism from the masses (similar to today's Jamat) only acted as a barrier to the spread of Islam. Therefore, if Sister Shabana believes that Jamat (with its own interpretation of Islam) alone can emancipate the Dalits, I am afraid she is greatly mistaken.

**Jamat's rigidity:** The Jamat's rigidity, inflexibility and hostility to local culture of Muslims can only

prevent the expansion of Islam in India. **What is really required is to revive the Sufi approach, spirit and methods that were so successfully employed in the medieval ages to liberate the Dalits and shudras from the oppression of brahminism.**

As Md. Yusuf has correctly pointed out, the Jamat can think only in strictly dualistic terms, in terms of Muslim versus non-Muslims. On the other hand, the Sufis, in true Islamic fashion, do not think in such a way. Their notion of "Wahadat-al-Wujud" (unity of Being) recognizes that there is an element of divine truth in every person irrespective of caste or creed.

**Dalits not attracted :** This is why the Sufis can seriously seek to build up cooperation with oppressed non-Muslim groups without requiring them to convert to Islam as a precondition. The sort of alliance that the Jamat might prefer with the Dalits would only be for short-term gain and expediency and, therefore, would not be very sincere in its intention. This explains why while to this day millions of non-Muslims (mainly Dalits and shudras) still flock to Sufi dargahs, *mazaars* and *Khanqahs*, hardly any non-Muslims are attracted by the Jamat and its allied outfits.

That Sufism in medieval India genuinely responded to and articulated the needs and aspirations of the oppressed castes is also evident from the fact that the *Sufis generated mass conversion movements to Islam among these sections.* The Sufis also had the sociological insight to understand that to succeed in spreading Islam, they needed to employ the idiom, thought categories, culture and language of the masses. That is why they were so effective.

**Arabized culture:** On the other hand, the Jamat requires from prospective converts that they should, almost overnight, replace

their centuries-old culture by a highly Arabized one. While this rigid demand might be acceptable only to a few isolated converts, it certainly cannot result in mass conversion movements because whole social groups do not readily agree to negate their culture all of a sudden.

*As Md. Yusuf had pointed out, this hostility of the Jamat towards local ethnic cultures is merely a reflection of its being totally bereft of a critical sociological imagination, because it is so very cut-off from the toiling masses.*

**Zakat tax:** The inherently status-quoist nature of the Jamat and its interpretation of Islam is also evident from its almost total silence on the myriad economic tribulations of the Muslim masses. At most, the Jamat can only harp on the *Zakaat* charity tax and abolition of usury (*riba*) as Islamic welfare measures. While one certainly welcomes these suggestions, it is obvious that they would not be adequate in the absence of a total structural transformation of property relations if the emancipation of the masses is to be achieved. The Jamat, however, conveniently chooses to remain silent on this issue. *Reports from Pakistan suggest that the Pakistan Jamat is fast becoming the bulwark of the capitalists and feudals to suppress the toiling Muslim masses of Pakistan.* No wonder that the Jamat support base there is mainly confined to the dominant Punjabi middle-class and trading communities.

In seeking to present Sufism as a means for a constructive dialogue between the oppressed sections of the Muslims and Dalits/BCs, we are not oblivious of the fact that immense corruption, falsehood and blind superstitions have drained the Sufi *dargahs* of all sanctity. It is precisely here that mass movements need to be launched to liberate these centers of popular culture from the nexus of brahminised "Maulvis" "Sajjada-nashins". ■

# How To Exterminate Muslims In India ?

Muslims ruled over Spain from 712 AD to 1492 AD for 780 years, yet today there are no Muslims in Spain though every aspect of Spanish life has a touch of Islam.

Spanish language has many Arabic words, its music has an Arabic tone, its culture has more Arabic influence than the European, and proper nouns in Spanish often have the Arabic prefix *al*. From 1492, when the last bastion of Muslim political strength Granada fell, the Muslims of Spain were on the decline and its

*India's Hindu nazis in the 30s and 40s of this century. They studied this aspect to be copied in India and to counter this possibility, the Muslim leaders also studied this to prevent a repetition of the Spanish history in India.*

Since then, the Hindu nazis in and outside the government seats are systematically following the Spanish methods because Muslims (forming 11.35% of the population as per the 1981 census) as India's single largest minorities have become the

Rest of the original Arabs who opted to live in Spain itself were subsequently branded "foreigners" (as in India) and destroyers of Spain. The other category of Muslims viz. the descendants of Muslim fathers and Christian mothers and the converts from Christianity opted to live in Spain believing in the declaration of King Ferdinand that complete religious freedom would be guaranteed. (In India also, we are told that Muslims enjoy full religious freedom and minority

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The following seven-year-old editorial from the *Dalit Voice* (May 16 1985), which had created quite a sensation among our readers then, is reproduced on demands from our new readers who have only heard of it. The June 15, 92 *Time Magazine* cover story, "Islam: Should the World be Afraid?" is exactly on the lines of our editorial of March 16, 92: "Why the Whole World Hates Muslims and Islam?" reinforcing our argument that Muslims have become the object of world-wide hatred. The west and India's Hindu nazis wanted an enemy to blame for their failure and they manufactured one and called it Islam though even its worst enemies agree that it is the world's most egalitarian religion. Representatives of revolutionary Muslim masses are worried that unless adequate self-defence measures are taken up, India would go the Spanish way. They are calling upon us to advice them on such self-defence measures as sanctioned in the Koran. Hence this editorial - EDITOR.

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culmination took place after 120 years when the last batch of Muslim diehards left Spain in 1612.

From that year, Islam vanished from the Spanish horizons. A particular noteworthy point is that during this period of Islamic decline from Spain, the entire civilized world was ruled by Muslims. The Ottoman Turks had conquered Constantinople in 1553, and were ruling the entire Balkan Peninsula, Egypt was ruled by the powerful Mamulkes, Persia was at its political pinnacle under the Abbasi rulers, and India was ruled by the Moghals.

Still Islam vanished from Spain and none of these great Muslim armies did anything to protect the Muslims of Spain.

*How Islam was ejected from Spain had been a subject of keen study by*

biggest headache to the upper caste Hindus. But the present-day Muslims are totally ignorant of the history of Islamic decline in Spain and hence of the designs surrounding it.

Through this we intend to shed a little light on this subject so that the thinking section of the Muslims and their sympathisers may do some more research on this subject.

As in India, Spanish Muslims had three categories: (i) the descendants of the original Arabs, (ii) descendants of Arab fathers and Spanish mothers and (iii) Christian converts to Islam. Immediately after the fall of Granada, many of the original Arabs to save their lives (not property, as they were not permitted to carry their wealth) left Spain to Tunisia and Morocco; many died on their journey by the attacking Christian hordes.

rights). The attacks by Christians on their lives and property during the earlier years was pardoned as a temporary phenomenon.

Compare it with the development that took place in India after the partition (1947). But these attacks on Muslim life and property in Spain did not abate but continued for about 50 years with lesser intensity in a sporadic manner, just as it is happening in India today. In the earlier years, the Indian Muslims resisted and fought back. There were minibattles in the streets, but gradually there were one-sided attacks and every time Muslims were the losers. Of late, the Hindu police itself is let lose to kill the Muslims in India.

While the organised Christian groups

were committing such massacres, Ferdinand's Govt. in Spain adopted the policy of eliminating Muslims from the services and adopting the following measures:-

(i) Arabic was removed from administration, (ii) schools attached to mosques were debarred from teaching academic and secular subjects like science, history, mathematics and philosophy. Only religious teaching could be imparted, (iii) lessons in history were faked by which the Muslim rule was dubbed as barbaric. Contribution of Muslims to the development of Spain was avoided, (iv) Muslim houses were made objects of constant searching by police on allegations of arms hoarding and secret meetings. (v) Original Arab Muslims were projected as enemies of Christians and destroyers of Spain. (vi) *Christian converts were persuaded to reconvert to Christianity on the ground that their ancestors were forced to become Muslims and as there is no more coercion, they should revert to Christianity.* (vii) Muslims who were from Muslim-Christian parentage were branded as bastards and ridiculed and persuaded to revert to Christianity. (viii) Marriages performed in the Islamic manner were directed to be registered with the judicial officers. (ix) Islamic law was declared illegal.

Every method followed in Spain is being experimented here with better precision and timing.

Thus Muslims in Spain were made objects of ridicule, condemnation & continuous attack. Burning of Muslim houses and shops was encouraged to destroy their economy. Mock ceremonies of reconversion of Muslims to Christianity were held and publicised. In India, Hindu nazis of all hues - Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission, Vishwa Hindu Parishad etc. - are doing the same. The first two generations of Spanish Muslims adopted passive methods

to save their religion by teaching Arabic to their children at home and mosques, and telling them orally about the realities but gradually they lost the zeal. When marriages were ordered to be celebrated only through govt. agencies, Muslims in early stages performed dual marriages one with the govt. authorities and again privately in their homes in the Islamic manner. Gradually the second ceremony was given up as even such a private ceremony was banned.

During this period, Muslim masses gradually fell out of the grips of the Muslim leadership and the Muslim elites started flocking to Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt where they were received with sympathy. Poor Muslim masses were left uncared for.

**This is exactly what is happening in India. The richer, English-educated Muslims are getting brahminised. They have become imitators of upper caste Hindus as they live not in Muslim localities but in Hindu areas.** The poor Muslims (they form 95% of the Muslim population) live in ghettos and being better followers of Islam, they are left high and dry. Hence they are getting killed in all anti-Muslims riots.

The seeds sown in the first half of the century in Spain started yielding results in the second half. There was no political leadership, no organisation to protect Muslims and enlightened personalities to save the situation. Religious leaders knowing nothing but Islamic theology tried their best to save the situation, but against heavy propaganda by the govt. agencies, lures and offers to reconverts, ignorance of Islamic values by the masses and sense of inferiority nurtured in the minds of Muslim masses were too big a force to be undone by the theologians. This needed a political leadership and an organisation with arms to

counter, but there was none. Those who spoke of invoking the help of Muslim powers of Turkey & Egypt were feared and exposed before the authorities (by the Muslims themselves) to be condemned.

Without willing fighters, other Muslim powers could not help. Those who had settled in Turkey and Egypt advised the authorities there to desist from such a thought as otherwise atrocities on Muslims in Spain would increase. An Ahmed Shah Abdali was needed but there was none. And the Muslim masses joined the "mainstream" of Spanish life and the Mullahs finding no job for their preaching gradually left Spain. And the last batch to leave Spain consisted of the diehard mullahs in 1612.

*In India also the political leadership of the Muslims became a tail of the Hindu parties led by the upper castes. Only the theological leadership like that of Moulana Hasan Ali Nadvi has tried to maintain the cultural identity of Indian Muslims.*

This "Spanish experiment" is being tried with greater energy and efficiency in India. Urdu, which is as Islamic in India as Arabic was in Spain, is being eased out. Muslims are voluntarily holding on to *madradas*. **English-educated richer Muslims are away from the Muslim masses.** We saw this at the Tablighe Jamat International conference held in Bangalore (DV, March 16, 1985). They are not going to Muslim countries, but are taking refuge in their psychological and physical seclusion. Any move to organise them to protect the Muslim life and property is branded as communal. *Any Muslim flirting, if not supporting the upper castes, is called a "nationalist Muslim". The gulf between the Muslim masses and the educated rich Muslims is widening every day.*

Mass killing of Muslims is considered something natural by the Muslim

leadership itself. Whenever it is raised at international Islamic platforms such actions are called interference in the internal affairs of India.

Muslim history is deleted from the syllabus. Names of Muslims who died for India are avoided. A great martyr who died for India like Tipu Sultan is unknown to youngsters, whereas the name of Tantia Tope, who fought not for India but for his pension, and Jhansi Laxmi Bai, who fought for her adopted son's heirship to the throne, is brought on the lips of every Indian. No Muslim gets awards for his contribution to science, medicine, music, art or gallantry. Even those who fought from the ranks of the ruling Congress Party like Moulana Azad, Kidwai, Syed Mahmood, Humayun Kabir etc. do not have a road or extension named after them. But there are half-a-dozen in the names of each upper caste leaders in our towns and cities.

History is being re-written. ("Falsifying Indian History", DV editorial, April 16, 1985). Muslims are killed daily and their houses and shops burnt. The doors of the Army, police and administration are closed to them. And yet Muslim organisations to protect Islam are coming up like mushrooms. **Everybody wants to protect Islam and nobody wants to protect Muslims. We are really worried.**

A study of the ruling class policies reveals that it has great similarity with the one followed by Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain. The only difference is that the Hindu upper castes are more sharp and sophisticated because of the limitations imposed in the 20th century by the checks exercisable by the United Nations Human Rights Charter and international public opinion.

The systematic and daily anti-Muslim riots resulting in loss of life and property, and above all the sense of

fear in the hearts of very Muslim, elimination of the martial Muslims from the Defence, paramilitary, and police forces and brahminising of these forces, closing the doors of appointments in govt. services and public undertakings, brahminisation of education and the mass media like radio, TV and advertisement, elimination of Urdu as official language from those areas which form the present-day States of Punjab, Hariyana, UP, Bihar, parts of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka overnight in 1947-48, gradual closing of Urdu schools are all examples of positive anti-Muslim policies.

On the brahminical psychological warfare side comes the cries of Personal Law amendment, now diluted as common civil code, greatness of the Indian (Hindu) culture, projection of notorious anti-Muslim personalities like "Mahatma" Gandhi, B.G. Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Veer Savarkar, Lala Lalpat Rai as heroes of India to belittle the contribution of Muslims for the development and progress of the country, re-writing of Indian history, describing Muslim professions like beef-selling as a sin and glorifying cow protection policies, introduction of mechanical slaughter of animals to throw out of job butchers, declaration of import and export business carried on by Muslims as smuggling - are all policies through which vulnerable Indian masses are misguided, resulting in a psychological anti-Muslim bias. Muslim electoral constituencies are divided horizontally and vertically so that they don't have an effective voting power anywhere and thrusting upon them ultra-secular Muslim leaders who have started worshipping Hindu idols and such scenes being systematically televised. Unfortunately Muslim leaders, who are dejected with the Govt., repose much confidence in Hindu masses

and hope to secure their help ignoring the fact that the poor Hindu (Dalit) masses are as much victims of such a propaganda. And as on this day only seeds are being sown. The harvest is yet to come. When the harvest season comes, what will be harvested in India is a **repetition of Spain**, unless the Muslims resort to counter measures soon.

It is high time the Muslim intelligentsia rises to the occasion to undo the repetition of the history of Spain in India. *Islam has always been protected by the Muslim masses and not by the classes. Rich Muslims, who are not even 5% of the Muslim population (with minor exceptions) are joining the upper caste exploiters. They may talk of Islam but they have forgotten the fellow Muslims.*

Please note: religion does not protect its followers, but followers protect the religion. **Remember. If Islam has to be saved in India, Muslims have to be saved.**

*(Muslim journals in India and abroad may freely reproduce or translate this piece with due acknowledgement in view of its vital importance to their readers - Editor)*

### **Kafir ex-communicated**

**Patna:** The Kafir controversy involving Dr A.R. Bedar, director of Khuda Bukhsh library, has taken a serious turn with the Edearae Shariya excom - communicating him from Islam and the Imarat Shariah of Bihar and Orissa describing him as "Kafir" (infidel), "mulhid" (atheist) and "Zindia" (religious hypocrite). The two religious bodies have issued separate *fatwas* (decrees) in the light of the utterances of Dr Bedar and his views expressed in his book, *Seema ki Talash*. (Telegraph, June 26)

## Tribals refuse to be fooled by Hindu nazi conversion stunts

A TIRKEY, JASHPUR, MP

'Ghar Wapasi' (Home Coming) programme of tribal Christians of Raigarh dt. in Madhya Pradesh has received a big coverage in our toilet papers. Some newspapers said over 3,000 Christians were converted to "Hinduism." The *Sunday* (Apr.12,1992) put the number at 1,400. *The India Today* (May 15, 1992) put the figure at a mere 200. The organisers of the ceremony, however, had boasted of "converting" 4,000 Christians.

An eye-witness said of about 200 who underwent *suddhikaran*, 20% had already attended similar ceremonies before just for material benefits promised to them on those occasions. Over 60% "reconverted" Hindus had never been Christians at all (*Dalit Voice*, June 1, 1992, p.19). In the above incident, Dilip Singh Judeo, the BJP State vice - president, had been projected as the main actor in the drama. Incidentally, he is a graduate from St. Xavier's College, Ranchi, of 1970 batch. He is a resident of Jashpurnagar, Raigarh dt., and hails from a feudal family.

**Kick out Christians:** On the whole, it was a cry in the wilderness. On March 24, 1992, a procession was taken out at 12-30 PM from Bandhanpur to reach Kumbhichuan at 2.20 p.m. Both these villages are in the far interior of the backward Raigarh dt. Dilip Singh was the VIP on the occasion. Some Korwa tribals with their bows and arrows walked with him accompanied by four elephants. Children were made to carry banners saying *Go hatya band karo* (stop cow slaughter).

Dilip spoke criticising the church and the Christian missionaries for 'maligning the sanctity of the Hindu religion and culture'. "They were disintegrating the country and therefore should be kicked out of India by force" (*ibid*). But none takes him seriously. There are hardly any missionaries left in the district. The local church is run by the indigenous people.

To dramatise the ceremony, Dilip washed the feet of those undergoing *suddhikaran* in real tribal tradition. About 200 hired illiterates and poor people underwent *suddhikaran*. 'Dhotis, sarees and banians' were distributed to them after the ceremony. They were also given 'liquor and food' (*ibid*).

**Service to tribals:** This writer who belongs to this area watched the whole episode. Gone are the days when the tribals are pushed around by the zamindar-ancestors of Dilip Singh. Today, the same tribals are educated and conscious of their rights and duties and they are asserting their rights. They have their own leaders.

The church with its efficient network of numerous educational institutions, has rendered a marvelous service to the tribals for their all-round development

particularly after independence. The above role of the church is hurting Dilip. He is getting increasingly isolated from the masses and rightly so.

He cannot contest any election in his home constituency because it is a ST reserved seat. He has contested once from Kharsia LS seat and lost to Arjun Singh. The *suddhikaran*, however stupid, is one of the strategies employed to achieve his cherished selfish goal.

*The missionaries have given their best for the liberation of the tribals in the district at the cost of their sheer hard work, burning zeal, commitment and sacrifice. The tribal community owes to them immensely and will remain ever grateful to them for their lives of charity and self-sacrifice down the years to come.*

**Beef and liquor:** *Suddhikaran* in Raigarh dt. means nothing to the tribals who enjoy occasionally good supply of beef, pork, mutton, chicken, fish and a refreshing drink of *hanria* (rice-beer) with or without *suddhikaran*. These are very good for their health and they love to drink and eat beef.

*The damn caste of Hindus has never succeeded and will never succeed in enslaving the robust tribal ethos in the area. Let this be loud and clear to everyone.*

Dilip has been exploiting and enslaving the Korwa tribals of Jashpur by taking undue advantage of their poverty, illiteracy, ignorance and simplicity. There is a Department of Korwa development at Jashpurnagar which in the name of Korwa development is wasting the funds.

The BJP Govt. of MP and even the Central Govt. are giving undue importance and protection to Dilip in spite of his rabid anti-social and anti-national utterances and activities. A few of his gravely objectionable statements are as follows:

- (i) The Christians used to sacrifice a calf on Christmas. We declared that anyone who eats a cow will be in turn eaten up by us. (ii) We told the missionaries that for every 'choti' clipped, we shall clip two throats. (iii) I believe in tit for tat. We have prepared a hit-list of missionaries. (*India Today*, May 15, 1992, p.96).

The Christian Association has accused the BJP and RSS of violating the Madhya Pradesh Freedom of Religion Act, 1968 which bars conversion by force, allurements or by fraudulent means. It demanded their prosecution. At the Kumbhichuan village, Dilip had hired the *suddhikaran* wallahs, and distributed dhotis, sarees, banians, food and liquor among the latter as mentioned above. If these violate the Freedom of Religion Act, why does the police do not book him? That means it is a party to Dilip and his activities. ■

**Books of interest to Muslims**

**1. THE CHARACTER THAT ISLAM BUILDS**

1990 pp.168. Rs. 75 (INDIA)

Approved/purchased for distribution by Rabita A'lami Islami-Muslim World League Makka Al Mukarramah, Saudi Arabia.

**2. MUHAMMAD (S.A.W): HIS MARRIAGES & DIVINE MISSION.**

1992 pp.224. Rs. 80 (India).

Abdurrashid Khan

**Publisher : Najmus Saquib Islamic Publications**

100/8, Modikhana, Solapur-413001.

A research-oriented book on the facet of SEERAT in respect of the many marriages of the Prophet, which were ALL in the course of and for the express purpose of conveying the Trust of Religion and discharging his Ministry of Apostleship. Philanthropy, political exigency and behest of Allah were the ONLY guiding principles in every one of his marriages. The book treats the subject truthfully from Muslim stand-point from within its traditions, in the light of the Glorious Quran in the then prevailing socio-religio-historical perspective.

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Gujarati translation of the historic Dalit Voice editorial of Jan.16, 1991

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Must for every Gujarati Dalit, Muslim and Backward Caste interested in the country's unity and integrity which are in danger because of Aryan nazi atrocities in India.

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Gunther Dietz Sontheimer

Translated from German by Anne Feldhans Oxford University Press

1989 pp 300 Rs. 817

The noted German indologist studies the major deities of Western Maharashtra, mainly of the Backward Caste Dhangars, Kolis, Gollas during a field work in Maharashtra and Karnataka 1967-72.

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Two explosive reports on the rape of Kashmiri women by India's armed forces - at Kunan Poshpora settlement in Kupwara dt. and the other Bandipore Tahsil in Baramulla dt. Both incidents took place in 1991. The reports prove that "the Indian state itself is becoming a big deadly monster, worse than Hitler", says Sukhdev Singh, President of the Punjab Human Rights Organisation. The book also exposes the Press Council's misconduct in Kashmir.

1992 pp.275 Rs.10

**International Human Rights Organisation**

27-D, Sarabha Nagar Ludhiana - 141 001.

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2. BABASAHEB

Dr. Arun Chandra Sethi

Both the books were recently released by Orissa Governor Yagyadatta Sharma.

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1992 Rs. 8 & Rs.4 respectively

Smt. Tilottama Sethi At/PO Keshpur, via Gojidarla dt. Balasore, Orissa

A must book for every Muslim / Dalit Thinker

**Nation & Nation Worship**

Dr. Jalal Haq

Reader, Dept. of Philosophy.

AMU, Aligarh, UP

India is the world's only country where its upper caste rulers have converted its land more important than its people living in it. The Bharat Mata, ("Mother - Nation") worship is raised to such dizzy heights to see that the people of the country as a whole are bulldozed to remain under upper caste leadership. Once the "nation" is raised to such a high pedestal, automatically "nationalism" gets with brahminism, the regional religion of India, which alone represents the "nation".

The author warns us about the dangers of this Aryan theory.

1992 pp. 400 Rs. 225

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