

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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Constitution fails to save Muslims from "Hindu tyranny": Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Constitutional safeguards fail to save Muslims from "Hindu tyranny"

The feeling of nationality may be present and yet the feeling of nationalism may be quite absent. That is to say, nationality does not in all cases produce nationalism. For nationality to flame into nationalism two conditions must exist. First, there must arise the "will to live as a nation". Nationalism is the dynamic expression of that desire. Secondly, there must be a territory which nationalism could occupy and make it a state, as well as a cultural home of the nation. Without such a territory, nationalism, to use Lord Acton's phrase, would be a "soul as it were wandering in search of a body in which to begin life over again and dies out finding none." The Muslims have developed a "will to live as a nation". For them nature has found a territory which they can occupy and make it a state as well as a cultural home for the new-born Muslim nation. Given these favourable conditions, there should be no wonder, if the Muslims say that they are not content to occupy the position which the French choose to occupy in Canada or the English choose to occupy in South Africa, and that they shall have a national home which they can call their own (p.38 & 39).

"What justification have the Musalmans of India for demanding the partition of India and the establishment of separate Muslim States? Why this insurrection? What grievances have they?" — ask the Hindus in a spirit of righteous indignation.

Anyone, who knows history, will not fail to realize that it has now been a well established principle that nationalism is a sufficient justification for the creation of a national state. (p.41)

Thus history shows that the theory of nationality is imbedded in the democratic theory of the sovereignty of the will of a people. This means that the demand by a nationality for a national state does not require to be supported by any list of grievances. The will of the people is enough to justify it.

But, if grievances must be cited in support their claim, the Muslims say that they have them in plenty. They may be summed up in one sentence, that constitutional safeguards have failed to save them from the tyranny of the Hindu majority. (p.42).

(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume VIII, "Pakistan or Partition of India", 1990, Rs.40, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

When will Jamate-Islami learn? India's topmost Muslim body falling prey to Nazi tricks

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MUSLIM LAWS PROTECTION COMMITTEE, BANGALORE.

Jamate-Islami (Hind) is the most disciplined and the only all-India cadre-based organisation of Muslims with its branches in all big cities and towns. Its field of activity covers educated Muslims who are liable to the evil influences from the modern western education and more so through the falsifying trash spread through Hindu Nazi-controlled gutter journalism. All these evil influences would have completely ruined the Muslim intelligentsia infusing in them utter inferiority complex. They would have been misguided and frustrated had not Jamate-Islami played its educative role through regular lectures, seminars, journals, books and, more than all these, through its person-to-person contacts after 1947.

Future writers of Muslim history cannot forget the great contribution of the Jamat in post-independent India.

Its importance and contribution to the Muslim cause can best be gauged from the fact that Nazis of all hues carried on a vituperative campaign against the

Jamat, calling it a Muslim communal organisation and bracketing it with the RSS, to such an extent that the names of both Jamate Islami and RSS were mentioned together. During the Emergency, the Jamat leaders were also detained under security laws along with RSS functionaries, even though the Jamat's entire activity consisted of only open lectures and books and journals, unlike the RSS which apart from these has para-military cadres, open and clandestine armoury, regular parades. Its notoriety was exposed in many anti-Muslim, anti-Christian and anti-Dalit riots.

Jamat not anti-Hindu: We have gone through Moulana Moududi's writings and that of Jamate Islami but nowhere we had found anti-Hindu statements. So it can't be said that the Jamat is anti-Hindu though every Nazi party is thirsting for Muslim blood.

The only similarity between the RSS and Jamate-Islami is both are urban-based organisations and both are under the mistaken notion that "Hindus are a

DV DID PROVE RIGHT ON GULF WAR

Bangalore: We are very happy to inform our readers worldwide that the *Dalit Voice* claim that it proved right on the Gulf War and Saddam Hussain has been now endorsed. ("Welcome Gulf War, DV edit, Feb. 16 1991", "DV proves right on Gulf", March 1 1991 and "Salute to Saddam", DV March 16 1991). Every word was correct.

The western press and its copycats in India put out false reports saying US won the war, Iraq destroyed, Saddam finished. Lies. Lies. Nothing of it happened. The whole thing was false. Who says this?

The *Time Magazine* (Aug. 5 1991), the world famous US weekly in a cover story, eats its own words and discloses after

OUR CORRESPONDENT

full seven months that the US failed to tame Saddam let alone destroying Iraq.

A reader from cochin, P.T. Abdullah, writes: "US is again threatening to invade Iraq. Does it not prove that in its first attack on Iraq it failed to defeat Iraq?"

He is right. The western press published downright falsehood that Iraq was crushed and US won the war. Not only the *Time* magazine – all other papers today admit that Saddam is growing stronger. The second invasion threat of Bush only goes to prove the US claim of victory was false. *DV*, therefore, proved right.

The *Time* says Iraq now has plenty of money, plenty of food,

huge gold stocks. Defence in tact. The alleged US purpose to invade Iraq was to "free" Kuwait but even here US failed. Saddam left after destroying Kuwait. So, what did the US aggression on Iraq achieve? Nothing. That is why Bush is hesitating to carry out his threat of a second invasion. The West Asian Muslim countries today are exhibiting better unity.

We have to Salute Saddam once again because it was he in the whole world who had the courage to stand up and challenge the world's mightiest super power and scuttle its very first attempt to meddle with the Muslim world through the New World Order. Having failed in the West Asia, the white racists and zionists have now shifted to India with the help of their Hindu Nazi dogs.

majority" and "Muslims are a minority". Far removed from the realities of life, both have failed to understand India and Indians and, therefore, both survive by appeasing and opposing each other. After the Emergency, RSS people praised the Jamat which invited the RSS leaders for dinner. Both praised each other and embraced each other. Together they hold on steadfastly to the big lie that "Muslims are a minority". Once this big lie is exposed and the Muslim masses come to know the truth that Muslims form the single biggest segment of India, both these organisations will fall like a house of cards. But as both cannot exist without this big lie as it is gradually getting exposed — they are now vying with each other to hold on to this false doctrine.

EGALITARIAN ISLAM

RSS and its many chicks: We are not bothered about the RSS because by now it has laid many eggs and hatched them into many chicks which are growing day by day — VHP, Virat Hindu Samaj, Shiv Sena, BJP, ABVP and a host of others. Some day the growing chicks may kill the mother hen and eat it. But as the Jamat has not laid any egg, it cannot blame anybody for its decline and death.

Our study of the Jamat after the death of its founder, Moulana Moududi, convinces us that as the Jamat is not able to unlearn the past and plan for the future, it is facing a crisis of confidence. Its leadership has developed a glut complex — refusing to study the big changes that are taking place in the fast-moving, fast-changing society inside India and outside.

Islamic but not Muslim body: Our assessment is based upon the following facts:

1. The Jamat has started considering and projecting itself as a Muslim organisation without a deep knowledge of the cross-sections of the Muslims and their needs, forgetting that it is only an Islamic religious organisation and not cut out for socio-cultural and political tasks. Its books and journals deal only with religious matters. We have not seen a Jamat book on social science, politics or even on history.
2. Its leaders and journals talk only of the Islamic morals, law and theology but never talk of Muslim cultural, educational, economic and social problems.
3. The pity is the Jamat sees more defects in the Muslims themselves than in their oppressors. It thinks, that all Muslim problems are a result of the Muslims own fault and "if the Muslims become good Muslims," their problems will be solved. They are proud of Islam but ashamed of Muslims. What a strange logic.
4. They teach the Muslims to establish contacts with their Hindu brothers and "win their hearts". By "Hindu" brethren, they mean Aryan/upper castes, who form just 15% of the Indian population. But Dalits (20%) and Backward Castes (35%) who form the

majority of the so-called Hindus are of no significance to the Jamat. They do not know that a vast majority of the oppressed Muslim masses comprising agricultural labourers, petty traders, cobblers, carpenters, weavers, butchers, hawkers, artisans, coolies etc. daily mingle with more men of their own professions from SC/ST/BCs who are "Hindus" according to both the RSS and the Jamat. These Muslim masses leave a good impression of their superior and powerful egalitarian religion and of their high morals and good conduct on the SC/ST/BC masses. Not only that. Such Muslim masses are not only not hated but actually loved and respected by the SC/ST/BC masses "called" Hindus. These three sections total 65% of the Indian population. And they are not Hindus and never Hindus. But alas the Jamat knows not this simple truth.

Dalits & Muslims live together: Jamat despite being an organisation of serious-minded people noted for their deep study and scholarship has not taken note of the most important fact that all over India and in all city slums the oppressed Muslims masses live side by side with the SC/ST/BC masses. Not only the two work together, live together, share all their miseries together but have a common socio-economic-political thinking. *The failure to understand this most vital aspect shows the poverty of thinking of the Jamat leadership and that is why it is totally cut off from the realities of life.*

5. The Jamat has failed to understand this vital aspect and still harps upon the "lack of character" on the part of Muslims ignoring this stark truth that good or bad qualities can be ascertained only by comparison. The morals of the Muslim masses have to be considered in comparison with those members of other communities. The Jamat has never come forward with any facts and figures and hence all its accusations are baseless.

At least in this respect the Jamat should have made a comparative study if not in other aspects like education, economic conditions, representation in services, talents in sports and cultural fields and so on.

Anti-Muslim riot: The only field where the Jamat renders some community service is by collecting donations after a major anti-Muslim riot and sending healing squads after the event and rendering some assistance.

It has no social, economic, political, educational or organisational contributions. Jamat cannot also be called a cultural organisation. With its disciplined cadres and resources it could have started night classes to teach at least Urdu to Muslims so that the only language of the Muslims could have been pulled out of its sure deathbed to which it is being pushed by the Hindu Nazis. By this the Jamat could have saved the burden of writing books in various languages to provide fundamental knowledge of Islam

to Muslims. Besides, this is the easiest field to defeat the Nazis, who, like the over-secular Mustafa Kamal Pasha of Turkey, are attempting to close the doors of Islamic knowledge by destroying the Urdu script which is the key to the great palace of Islamic knowledge.

GANDHI Vs DR. AMBEDKAR

While a much smaller community (2.5% population) like the Christians have set up dozens of organisations to study, document and support SC/ST/BC problems and persecutions, Jamat has none at least to our knowledge – despite being the biggest Muslim organisation.

Poverty of thinking: The Jamat sympathisers with their blocked brains, weep at young Muslim children dropping out of schools and go out to earn bread and at the same time learn a trade at motor garages, workshops and other artisan institutions. The Jamat leaders merely weep and dream of seeing these ill-clad, ill-fed young boys joining schools but curse their parents. Can they not start night schools and teach a little to these young children? No. The Jamat thinks that

"education" means only what is imparted through govt. syllabus in "recognised" schools. With such poverty of thinking how can Jamat think of challenging the Hindu Nazi oppressors? The Jamat leadership failed and refused to understand that the so-called Hindus –

Untouchables (20%), Backward Castes (35%) – are never Hindus. As

such they (65%) have nothing against the Muslims. The failure of Advani's *rath yatra*, the stiffest opposition to it by the UP Chief Minister, Mulayam Singh Yadav, the Nazi failure to rouse anti-Muslim feelings in the name of Rama among these non-Hindu Dalits, tribals and BCs standing in opposition to BJP, the failure of the BJP to capture Parliament in the latest elections (1991) inspite of all its best efforts, should have opened the eyes of the Jamat leadership. *But it does not know that Mulayam Singh and Lallu Prasad belong to the Yadava race which is a backward community which considers the upper castes (Hindus) as their main oppressors.* The architect of the Mandal Commission, B.P. Mandal, was a Yadava. And it is this Mandal which included a substantial section of the "Hindus" in the Backward

Castes and united the 65% non-Hindus with Muslims and other religious minorities (20%). These non-Hindus consider Muslims closer to their heart than the Hindus.

Ignorance of Dr. Ambedkar: The Jamat leadership ignorance is so much that it considers M.K. Gandhi's words as gospel truth and calls him a mahatma. But they are totally ignorant of the works, contribution and thoughts of Babasaheb Ambedkar who is more respected than M.K. Gandhi in present-day India. Dr. Ambedkar called Gandhi the Enemy No.1 of Untouchables. They do not know the contributions to secularism made by Muslim sufi saints and other non-Brahmins like Periyar EVR, Mahatma Phule, Dr. Lohia, Sri Narayana Guru.

INVITATION TO WOLVES

Wisdom of dog: The Jamat does not know or even bothers to know, how and from where the anti-Muslim feelings arise, how these feelings are converted into action programmes, what methods are adopted for action, how prior arrangements are made with upper caste police personnel and how non-Hindu (Dalits and BCs) are fooled, purchased and instigated to go on anti-Muslim rampage. It fails to see how the behind the curtain-Hindu manages and manipulates the non-Hindu SC/ST/BCs to attack Muslims. It repeats the Hindu Nazi mantra that it is the BCs and Dalits who attack the Muslims. The dog hit by a stone is wiser that it does not bark and run after the stone but only after the

stone-pelter, but the Jamat does not possess even the wisdom of a dog.

UP domination: Dominated by the UP Muslim elites, the Jamat considers the problems of UP Muslims as the problems of the Muslims of every State. They do not know of the frustrations, hopes and aspirations even of the UP Muslim masses, let alone of the Malayalee, Tamil, Assamese, Bengali and Kashmiri - speaking Muslims. They have no programme or message for them. *Jamat is thus an Islamic religious organisation pure and simple. On this point we have no grievance. They are free to act for Islam and while doing so they should not act for Muslims.* Those who want to serve Muslims are also free to do it.

Bangalore seminar: Our complaint is that without a proper background, training, education and

READERS ARE WARNED

The ruling class messed up the country's economy and to avert the disaster the Sardarji Finance Minister imposed heavy taxes which the rulers want to pass on to the ruled. DV has become a victim of their game of passing the buck. From the last issue (Aug. 1 1991), our production cost has jumped 20% and now the rulers are threatening us with a 80% rise in newsprint price. That means all small papers will die. And this is what the rulers want. How can DV survive in this crisis? We are deeply worried. And this is just to share our worry with readers – our family members.

Editor and Publisher.

knowledge, the Jamat leadership jumps into the socio-economic field – like the seminar it held in Bangalore recently (July 7 1991). Without knowing who is who and what is what, the Jamat invited notoriously anti-Muslim wolves like Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer in the secular sheep garb, who instead of being convinced of the Jamat ideology used the Jamat platform to proclaim their hate-Muslim slogans like Common Civil Code. We are very much perturbed by this development. We suspect that this seminar is not so simple but a prelude to some drastic changes in the Jamat's policy.

After successive defeats in the *rath yatra* programme, and acquisition of power in the 1991 elections, the Nazis have understood the power of the non-Hindus – Dalit, BC and Muslim vote – and the dangers to their theory that "Hindus are a majority" and "Muslims a minority". With the failure of this theory the Nazis are doomed, and they are now in search of new pastures and alliance with like-minded organisations that subscribe to this doctrine. Since the Jamate-Islami fully subscribes to this pernicious doctrine, we are afraid the seminar is not a simple exercise but a prelude to something very serious. We have not forgotten of the coming together of the RSS and Jamat elites in the jails during the emergency and

the Jamat's subsequent dilution of its actions and programmes.

Will the history repeat?

PVN Govt. in danger

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The "Neogi Brahmin" who managed to become the PM and the "Pahadi Brahmin" who could not because of his defeat in UP are fighting it out and the pawn on their chess board is the poor Italian Catholic widow of the ex-PM. P.V. Narasimha Rao's minority govt. is sure to falter and fall the moment Sonia Gandhi is elected from Amethi. And this is what the boss of the UP Congress, N.D. Tiwari, wants. Interesting things are ahead. The fall of PVN is certain even otherwise. The overfed upper caste rulers will resist the American-imposed economic "reforms" and they are sure to hit back. And their cousins heading the labour unions will whip up violence. It will be chaos. To please his *jati* people PVN may first sack his Sardarji Finance Minister. But there is the lurking danger from the Maratha, Sharad Pawar. Whichever way we look, PVN end is certain. That means another mid-term election. That means the ruling class is collapsing, and we must get ready.

COMMUNICATION

Tamil Nadu has lost the claim that it was the foremost state that had kept Brahmin domination under severe check for over 35 years from 1954.

It is a shame upon the Dravidian Movement as a whole though it remains in different hues. According to me C.N. Annadurai's emergence after 1945-1947 as the General Secretary of the DK and the way in which he diluted the policies of the DMK after 1954 has led to the present shameful condition in TN.

All other leaders of the Dravidian parties have contributed to this downfall in varying degrees and in different ways. It requires a lot of discussion between us. I have criticised CNA's activities in electoral politics in a very constructive manner through my Tamil weekly in 1957.

My charges against him levelled in 1957 stand unrebutted by any of his colleagues even after 33 years. I foresaw this downfall then itself

Dravidian downfall began with Annadurai — "the first fake"

U. ANAIMUTHU, MARXIST-PERİYARIST COMMUNIST PARTY, MADRAS

clearly. CNA was the first fake the Dravidian Movement met with.

Fountain head of corruption: During the long period of 17 years rule of the Non-Brahmin Party in Madras between 1920-37, there were eight Chief Ministers out of whom 2 were corrupt men and the rest six were unblemished. CNA as CM was not corrupt but it was he who corrupted the very process of thinking of the writers and speakers and educated men and women for over 20 years from 1945 to 1965.

Karunanidhi as CM became the fountain head of corruption and power-mongering and MGR surpassed him in all these respects.

As a man of celluloid world it waseasy for him to glitter as gold in the eyes of the masses. All that glitters is not gold. But this simple proverb has been thrown to winds

by the mindless and misled Tamil masses particularly young men and women – both literate and illiterate.

DK also bungled: That the DMK (in 1971 and 1980) and the ADMK (in 1977, 1980, 1984, 1989 and 1991) served as lackey of the Facist Cong (I) to suit their convenience and save their skin has led to the downfall of these political scoundrels.

Even the DK had bungled between 1979 and 1988 in extending official support to DMK and ADMK. It smacks virtual insincerity to its professed principles. And now very many men of ADMK have gone to prostrate at the feet of the *papatti* and hail her as the saviour of the Tamils. DMK's self-centred strategy also must be held responsible for the downfall that came like a thunder.

Jamat blow to Dalit-Muslim unity movement

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: On July 6 1991, the Karnataka unit of the Jamate-Islami organised a "consultation" here on the "communal problem". A noted economist, Dr. F.R. Faridi, a member of the central committee of the Jamat, was the main speaker. About 30 selected invitees representing different organisations were present including the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, V.T. Rajshekar, and the sub-editor of the Urdu *Dalit Voice*, Major (Prof.) Khaleelur Rahman.

Dr. Faridi's reply to some of the observations made by the Editor of DV and Gopinath, general secretary of the newly - formed State Samata Sainik Dal, a militant cadre-based Ambedkarite organisation of the State, on the speech delivered by Dr. Faridi is discussed here:

Both Gopinath and the Editor took strong objection to Dr. Faridi dividing the Indian society into "majority" and "minority" community. Gopinath pointed out the historical fact and sociological truth that Hindus in India are not a "majority" but a minority. None other than those belonging to the *chatur varna* are Hindus. Untouchables (20%), Tribals (10%) and Backward Castes (35%) are not Hindus and never Hindus. He quoted Dr. Ambedkar and other authorities to prove his point.

Muslims are majority:

If the SCs and BCs are Hindus, why the upper caste launched a violent caste war against them (1990) on the Mandal Commission Report? Hindus are only just 15% and even the shudras who form over 75% of the Hindu community hate the upper castes. *That leaves Muslims (15%) as the single biggest community of India and hence they are not a minority.*

The Editor of DV said Dr. Faridi's speech was disappointing because he failed to identify the forces

of communalism. What is the point in speaking on "dangers of communalism" without identifying the criminals who indulged in communalism? Is it possible to cure the disease without diagnosing it? Dr. Faridi did not identify the culprits because as a non-Hindu he was innocent and hence could not correctly understand the complex and cunning "Hindu mind".

DOCTOR & THE DACOIT

10 years work goes waste: The reply of Dr. Faridi to the different points raised by the above two merit serious study. Because Dr. Faridi was deputed to Bangalore by the Jamat's central office and his views necessarily reflected its stand. If this is so, it is really a tragedy. *Because ten years of our work educating the Muslim leadership has become a waste.*

Dr. Faridi said just because he did not define communalism he could not be called an innocent. "A patient may be a dacoit, still the doctor does not treat him as a dacoit but as a patient", he said. Here, the learned doctor's analogy is wrong. We never asked the doctor not to treat the patient. We only wanted him tell us whether the patient was a dacoit or not. A dacoit also falls ill and the doctor shall extend him the same treatment. But that does not mean the doctor should hide the fact that his patient is a dacoit.

Brahminic hegemony:

The Jamate-Islami must have spent lot of money, time and energy to plan this July 6 consultation. And whatever the Jamat does it does it well. A month before this consultation the Jamat organised a function to release a Kannada version of the Koranic commentary. It was a very well organised function. But the July 6 one was not only a waste but counter-productive. As sincere

A Jew as Nazi MP

A CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi: There are indications that the Aryans of India having failed to impose their nazi dictatorship over the unwilling non-Hindus because of the obstructions they faced from the country's "democratic" structure, they may do it with the help of the zionists and racists outside. For this they have selected a retired Army General, a Malayalee (Kerala) Jew who has already joined the Nazi party. Lt. Gen. Jacob may be fielded as the Hindu nazi party candidate from New Delhi in the place L.K. Advani. The byelection will be held in November. Lt. General (retd.) Jack Frederick Ralph Jacob, "hero of the Bangladesh war who had made the final assault on Dacca and bombed the Governor's House and also brought about the public surrender of General Niazi of the Pakistani Army", is today the darling of the nazis. Already a large number of ex-servicemen live in the Defence Colony which is part of the New Delhi constituency, and so far over 50 retired generals of the Indian Army have joined the party.

friends of the Jamat we are sure our comments will be well taken.

Dr. Faridi, when pressed, later defined communalism as "brahminic hegemony". But his work would have been easier and good lot of time would have been saved had he identified the dacoit at the very beginning.

Muslim-Dalit Alliance: It is the Jamat leadership attempt to hide the identity of the dacoit that is causing all the problem. The dacoit is going about freely looting and killing. Even then the victims of this dacoit are not only reluctant to retaliate in self-defence, but they are shy even to identify the dacoit. Thousands and thousands of Muslims have been killed by this dacoit but the country's chief Muslim religious organisation is indifferent to the plight and persecution of its religious followers. How can such

a Muslim organisation shielding the dacoit be called a friend of the Muslim masses? When this Jamat is not interested in the self-defence of its own people can we expect it to come to the help of the Dalits? About ten years back the Editor of *Dalit Voice* along with ten other Dalit leaders from South India were the guests at a massive international gathering of the Jamat at Hyderabad. Muslim-Dalit Alliance which is also ten years old has done considerable work in cementing this friendship. *All over India SC/ST/BCs and Muslims have been coming together but we are sorry that the Jamat leadership is not taking note of this big changes.*

From one mistake Dr. Faridi jumped to the second. Referring to the points made by the above two speakers, he said "Dalits are justified in having bitter feelings". Here he is partly right. The victims of war and violence have every right to be "bitter". Those who are beaten up naturally cry to express their pain. But crying in pain is not bitterness. Fortunately he justified this bitterness.

But he went a step forward and committed the most serious blunder which cannot be excused if it is also the opinion of the Jamat. He said he did not approve of our approach of "meeting hostility with hostility". The next sentence is more damaging: "If this is your approach, you will never meet with success". Dr.

MOST SERIOUS BLUNDER

Faridi's speech and in fact the entire proceedings were taped and hence all these are verifiable.

Dr. Faridi may be an economist but being from UP and an elderly person we expect him to have some knowledge of history also. We want to ask him: give us one case where Dalits of India were "hostile" to the Hindus.

Rama killing Shambuka: Is there any instance in history of the Dalits killing the Hindus? Even the mythology speaks of the Hindu god Rama killing the Shudra Shambuka and the tribal leader Wali. All over India it is the Dalits who are kicked, killed, burnt, raped and their little property burnt. In Karnataka, it is the upper castes who forced the Dalits to eat human

shit. Dr. Faridi's own State of UP has witnessed many Hindu "caste wars" against Dalits. Everywhere they alone are the victims. Nowhere the Hindus are victims. Then, on what basis he said: "We should not meet hostility with hostility". How can Jamat be a friend of the Dalits if such people are sent as its spokesmen?

The yearly report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Tribes, a Govt. of India functionary, lists Hindu hostility against the Dalits. Nowhere it lists Dalit hostility although most Commissioners were Brahmins. And such a hostility is not only not ending but increasing year after

Islam breaks up USSR

Goarbachev's appeal to the west to bail out the Soviet Union is the cry of a desperate man. The west's eagerness to help may appear strange to some but those familiar with the western system are not surprised. Both laissez faire capitalism and communism are rooted in Judeo-Christian traditions. The rivalry between the two was largely contrived. The fiction was maintained in order to keep their military-industrial complexes functioning and to ensure the continued hegemony of the two superpowers over their respective clients. The 'cold war' was another name for this game in cynicism. The collapse of the Soviet Union can be attributed, in part, to the global revival of Islam. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 was triggered by the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The Soviets' 10-year occupation of Afghanistan was brutal in the extreme. Their defeat reversed the trend that had been set in motion by the Ivan the Terrible when his hordes erupted from the Dutchy of Muscovy in 1552. (*Crescent International* editorial July, 1 1991). ■

year. But Dr. Faridi says Dalits should not be hostile to Hindus.

It is because of having such people at the top without having any proper knowledge of Indian society or history the Jamat is losing touch with reality.

Producers of wealth: SC/ST/BCs are the producers of all the wealth of the country. They are also peace-lovers. They peacefully work without a break, without a holiday and do their work as a duty without expecting anything in return.

Dr. Faridi should open his eyes and see around. That is all. Do the upper caste/Hindus work? They sit, eat, enjoy and yet perpetrate all the war and violence. They are not only the consumers of all that

the Dalits produce but more than that destroy the ecology and deny the human rights of every section of the society.

It is because of such spokesmen the Jamat is getting isolated and moving closer to our oppressors.

Dr. Ambedkar questioned: Now we go to the more dangerous judgement of Dr. Faridi that "our approach will not meet with success if this is our approach". By this Dr. Faridi is questioning Babasaheb Ambedkar and the Ambedkarite movement itself.

Dr. Ambedkar is the rising star of India and the history has already pronounced its verdict on Babasaheb. We don't want to repeat it here. *If there is any movement that is alive and kicking in the country today it is the Dalit movement which derives its inspiration from Dr. Ambedkar. All other movements are dead.* And the Jamat spokesman not only questions the very credentials of this most militant, most successful revolutionary movement of the day, but, alas, he also predicts that it is doomed to failure.

Koran flouted: The Jamat is considered the country's principal Muslim religious organisation which bases its thought and action on the Holy Koran. What does the Koran say? Does it agree with Dr. Faridi?

MUSTADAFEEN

The Koran has any number of references to the oppressed called *Mustadafeen*. In our different writings on the Muslim problem, we had profusely quoted from the Koranic injunctions ("The Gulf between the Muslim elites and Muslim masses", DV edit Jan.16, 1988, "Thoughts on Muslim leadership" DV edit Sept. 16, 1988). Our recent speech to the Muslim Education Society at Cochin was mainly dealing with the duty of the Muslims towards the *Mustadafeen*.

If the Jamat admits the Dalits as the worst oppressed lot in India then the Koran fixes a responsibility on the Muslims "to fight in the cause of god and of those who being weak are ill-treated and oppressed". (Abdulla Yusuf Ali: *Glorious Koran* Sec. 10-75).

But Dr. Faridi not only does not speak of the Jamat fighting the cause of Dalits, but on the other hand he warns us that "if this is your approach you will not meet with success". That means he does not want the oppressed to fight back but surrender to the nazis. And if they fight, they will be defeated, he says.

Jamat toeing nazi line? His words of warning are exactly on the lines of the Hindu nazis. So what difference is there between the two?

Not only the Jamat (if this is its official line) is toeing the Nazi line but clearly violating the Koranic injunctions and hence it cannot claim to be even an Islamic organisation. We know a number of Jamat leaders but they don't share such reactionary views. Jamat therefore must come out with a statement to

clarify its stand.

Educating the "educated": The problem we face is our "educated" people. Educating the "educated" is our biggest problem. If "highly educated" people like Dr. Faridi, who are supposed to be educated at least in Islamic affairs, behave like this what can be said of the Hindu nazis?

WHO KILLED GANDHI?

Dr. Faridi wants us "to minimise the friction". But did we create the friction? If we had created the friction, he could ask us to minimise it? Did the Dalits go to demolish the Babri Masjid? Did the Dalits demand scrapping of the Muslim Personal Law? Did the Dalits start the two Gujarat caste wars? Did Dalits kill M.K. Gandhi? Did Dalits cause partition of India? Did Dalits wage the "Blue Star" battle on the Golden Temple? Did the Dalits demand scrapping of the special status of Kashmir? Did the Dalits start the anti-Mandal war?

Who started the friction: If the answer is no then why Dr. Faridi is asking us to "minimise the friction"? We neither created any friction nor even any hostility. Our people are busy producing the wealth of India – quietly. We have no time for anything. We are the producers of wealth. Our oppressors are the consumers and destroyers of wealth. It is the Hindu nazis who are the cause of all war and violence on SC/ST/BCs on one side and Muslim/Christian/Sikhs.

But Dr. Faridi is not only not finding anything wrong with the real perpetrators of this violence, he is not even prepared to identify them.

HINDUS A MINORITY

Dr. Faridi is going against the very thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar. Referring to our argument that Hindus are not a majority but a minority, he said: "Do the masses agree with you that Hindus are just 10% and a minority?"

A fact is a fact whether one agrees with it or not. A truth cannot become false even if a minority supports the truth.

Dr. Ambedkar has given any amount of historical sociological arguments to declare that SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus and never Hindus. Babasaheb's intellectual stature is such that today nobody can question his authority.

Gandhian humbug: That means Dr. Faridi has either not made a study of Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts or after studying it he has found it inconvenient. The "Hindus are a majority" and "Muslims are minority" is a gandhian humbug.

Dr. Ambedkar called Gandhi the Enemy No.1 of the Untouchables. The Muslims of India suffered at the hands of Gandhi and his Aryan hordes. Pakistan was master-minded by these Aryans to impose

brahminical imperialism in India after "getting rid of the Muslims" following the partition. But Faridi perhaps has not read history.

We agree with Dr. Faridi that the Dalit masses do not know what Dr. Ambedkar said about Hindus being a minority and non-Hindus a majority. Just because they have not heard it (or do not agree with it), a fact does not cease to be a fact.

There is a lot of difference between saying that the "masses have not heard Babasaheb" and that the "masses may not agree with Babasaheb".

HINDU UNITY DESTROYS INDIAN UNITY

The status of Babasaheb Ambedkar, the greatest Indian after the Buddha, has risen sky-high that hardly any SC/ST/BC has the courage to question Babasaheb. His words are a gospel to the Dalits. Even Hindus hesitate to question Babasaheb. So there is no question of anybody disagreeing with him today.

Every SC/ST/BC knows that he is not a Hindu. He is only called Hindu because only then the Hindus can say they are 85% and a majority. This majority enables them to rule. SC/ST/BCs have been called Hindu not because the Hindu/Aryans/upper castes love the SC/ST/BCs but by including this 65% to their 15% among Hindus they want to tell the outside world that they are a majority and the others are a minority. (Read "Hindu unity", DV edit reprint 1991 Re.1)

But the Jamat does not know even this simple sociological fact and historical truth. We have repeated this truth hundreds of times in our speeches and writings but no Hindu social scientist has contradicted us so far. But Dr. Faridi is finding fault with us and thereby he is questioning Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's authority itself.

Dalits used to attack Muslims: Does Dr. Faridi know the implications of questioning Babasaheb? *Babasaheb was a great friend of the Muslims. Nowhere in India there is any contradiction or conflict between the Dalits and Muslims. If the Dalits are used in some places to attack Muslims (and this is a fact) it is because the Hindu nazis instigated them. Their ignorance and helplessness was exploited by the Nazis to attack Muslims.*

That means the ignorance of the fact that (a) Dalits are not Hindus, (b) they are not a minority but non-Hindus are a majority and that (c) Hindus are a minority was exploited by the Nazis to inflict war and violence on the Muslims.

Crime against Koran: This tragic situation was created because of the failure of the Muslim leadership and the Jamat in particular to make this fact known to the Dalits. The Koran has given the Muslims specific directions to support the

Mustadafeen and fight his battle. But we are sorry to say that the Muslim leadership has failed. The Jamat claiming to be the country's principal Islamic religious organisation has committed a crime against Koran by not identifying the *Mustadafeen* and not highlighting these verses in the Koran.

The Muslim leadership having failed to carry out this most important directive in the Koran, we in the Dalit Voice have decided to do this job.

We had met the late Moulana Mohammed Yusuf (a subscriber of *Dalit Voice* until his death and only last year wrote a bulky 120-page full-sheet handwritten letter to this writer) who was a great friend of the Dalits and discussed these revolutionary verses in the Koran. In fact, it was he who presented this writer a copy of Abdullah Yusuf Ali's English translation of Koran after marking these verses referring to the *Mustadafeen*. The present chief of the Jamat is also our old friend and also a great friend of the Dalits.

DUTY OF THE JAMAT

But the domination of the North Indian Muslim leadership and particularly the UP Muslims might be coming in the way of converting the Jamat into a revolutionary organisation.

We agree that the masses of Dalits are not aware of the truth. But the moment they know this truth, the truth itself will liberate them. Is it not the duty of the Jamat to make the truth known to the masses? If this is not the duty what else is its duty?

Lack of media: We agree that the masses do not know this truth. It is only the conscious lot among Dalits who know the truth that they are not Hindus. Members of the newly-formed SSD know (and also say) they are not Hindus.

But because of the lack of a media for Dalits & Muslims we cannot reach this truth to the Dalits. This is where we want the Jamat to play its role. We don't want the Jamat to spread falsehood. That role is reserved for the nazis. We want the Jamat to be revolutionary, fully in conformity with Koranic injunctions.

But the jamat is hesitating to play its assigned role. The Jamat could bring out cheap pamphlets in Hindi and other Indian languages to make this truth known to the Dalits and its own people. By this it will be not only serving the Dalits but serving the Muslims as well. *Because the moment the Dalits come to know that they are not Hindus, not only they will get liberated but they will no longer attack the Muslims. So the benefit is two-fold.* The Jamat, if it is a truly Muslim organisation, it must help establish the truth which in turn will establish peace, justice and harmony among the 85% of the non-Hindu population and even the 15% Hindus. It must work to rebuild India on the foundations of justice and truth.

We demand a reply from the Jamate-Islami. ■

Congress bid to trap Muslims on the Babri Masjid

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

The Hindu intolerance exhibiting itself as naked nazism is resorting to all sorts of deception. And we are afraid that having succeeded in fooling and dividing the Muslims, it may further induce its leadership to surrender on the Babri Masjid.

In the last election, the Hindu nazis succeeded in dividing the Muslim votes. Dr. Zafarul-Islam Khan, a noted thinker and scholar of Delhi who has a better perception of the Indian society than many other Muslim intellectuals, has pointed out this in an article, ("Muslims pay for their disunity," *Radiance* July 21-27, 91). The Muslim strength in Parliament, which should be at least 110 has fallen to mere 27. In UP, Kerala, MP and many other parts of India Muslim votes got divided and this helped the Congress, the mother of all nazi parties, to regain power. We had predicted this before the election and our fears came true.

Now, we are scenting a new danger. We are afraid that the "socialist brahmins" may succeed in tricking a section of Muslim leadership to support the so-called "moderates" in the nazi party. A Punjabi Hindu (Khatri) journalist, Kuldip Nayar, has come out with a dangerous suggestion: "Why not cooperate with BJP?" (*Statesman* July 24). His arguments are on the expected lines. Despite being a senior journalist and writer, and considered a friend of the Muslims and Sikhs, his suggestion to compromise with the BJP is really dangerous. His arguments go like this: The nazi party is divided into two rival sections — the hardliners headed by the Sindhi, L.K. Advani, and moderates headed by the UP Brahmin, A.B. Vajpayee. The hotheads want to demolish the Babri Masjid but the cool cucumbers want to build a temple for their Aryan god Rama — not by demolishing the Masjid but next to it where it staged the violent *shilanyas* ceremony during the Rajiv Gandhi regime. Kuldip Nayar wants the Muslims to back the coolheads.

Stage-managed quarrel: Such a division of the nazis into moderates and hardlines is wrong. nazis are nazis. The nazi top brains at Nagpur lay down the strategy and tactics. The nazi headquarters tells the BJP leadership to get themselves divided into two camps and stage-manage a quarrel. When the two quarrel in open, through their own Brahmin-Bania press, they will manipulate the "public opinion" (if there is any) and manage to array this 'public opinion' in favour of the "moderates". This is the typical nazi game.

We have said many times that the nazis are not at all interested in demolishing the Babri Masjid even if the Muslims hand over it on a golden plate. They are

not capable of demolishing it. Already they have failed four times. And even after establishing their own nazi govt. now in UP, where the Masjid is located, they will not have the courage to touch it. Not only they have no courage to touch it, the fact is they are simply not interested in Babri Masjid. They are using the Babri Masjid, Muslim personal law and such other sensitive issues touching the Muslim sentiments to rouse anti-Muslim hatred in the country.

IMAGINARY ENEMY

Their only interest is to subdue the rebellious non-Hindu SC/ST/BCs by pointing out to these innocent people an imaginary enemy, that is the Muslim. We have elaborated this point in our editorial of Jan.1, 1991 ("Hindu unity destroys Indian unity", DV edit reprint 1991). *By diverting the attention of the SC/ST/BCs away from the principal enemy (that is the Aryan exploiters) towards an imaginary enemy they want to confuse the society and rule the country.* Journalists like Kuldip Nayar are playing into nazi hands and thereby inflicting a great damage on the social fabric of the country.

His argument is wonderful. If we don't cooperate and accommodate the views of "moderates" like Vajpayee, the firebrands will take over. Now that the nazis have captured the UP govt itself, they will be under terrible pressure from the firebrands like VHP, Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena etc. And there is every chance of the extremists taking over the nazi party if we don't "be friend" the moderates, he says.

Non-Hindu majority: Such a frightening picture will naturally unnerve the already demoralised Muslims. The already corrupted Muslim leadership will be forced (and induced) to surrender the Muslim interests by yielding to the "moderates".

We are afraid that the elite Muslims may fall a prey to this nazi propaganda which in the coming days will become more and more strident. If the Muslim leadership succumbs to such heinous tricks, the Muslim interests itself will suffer. And if the Muslim interests suffer it will in turn weaken the interests of those SC/ST/BC non-Hindu majority.

Poverty of thinking: We are sorry to note a tremendous poverty of thinking in the Muslim leadership. Not only it has not made any proper study of the Indian socio-cultural structure, it has not even proper insights into the needs of the Muslim masses itself. This has been brought out in two other articles published elsewhere in the issue. We are sure the Muslim leadership will take serious note of the

warnings given therein.

We want to warn the Muslim leadership that dividing the Hindu Nazis into hot and cool heads is wrong. Serpent is a serpent. There is nothing like a good serpent and a bad serpent. Even if a good serpent bites, death is certain.

Congress, the root cause: The 15% upper caste (Aryans) Hindus who have monopolised all the posts, privileges and properties have been ruling the country through the Congress Party, the mother of all nazi parties. This Congress of M.K. Gandhi is the root cause of all our ills. Right from the partition of India, Babri Masjid, Blue Star, Kashmir crisis, Lankan Tamil problem, its current economic crisis, moral delay etc. are all its creations.

ROLE OF SHOCK ABSORBER

In the recent elections, these upper castes got themselves divided into two – the Congress and its child, BJP. The names only are different but the flesh and blood are the same. The BJP engineered a noisy expensive election campaign to frighten the Muslims and they succeeded.

"Socialist brahmins" like Kuldip Nayar are great friends of the Muslims. They advised them that to avert the danger of the Hindu nazis coming to power, they should vote for the Congress which alone could save the Muslims. The Muslims and some other non-Hindu sections really got frightened and voted for the Congress. And the Congress elected a Niyogi Brahmin as Prime Minister.

Painless operation: The Hindu nazis are like that shock absorbers in a car. The car driver will not get the jolt if the car has a jump. The shock absorbers take the shock. The nazis are the shock absorbers and the driver of the car is the Congress. The Congress being a party of "socialist brahmins" can enslave the SC/ST/BCs and religious minorities in a painless way. There will be no bleeding and no outward sign of the surgical operation.

We are sorry that writers like Kuldip Nayar, who pose as friends of the oppressed, are not able to understand this Hindu game of dividing themselves into "socialist brahmins" and "sacred brahmins" to be fool the masses.

Communists: BJP is the child of the Congress. To say that BJP is bad and Congress is good is perversion of facts. The Aryans/upper castes deliberately devised several political parties to befool the oppressed. Even the communist parties are chip of the same Aryan block.

Hindu communalism or Hindu nazism was originally founded by the Congress. M.K. Gandhi, said Babasaheb Ambedkar, was essentially a Hindu

leader. Babasaheb called him the Enemy No.1 of the Untouchables. Gandhi deceived the Untouchables and ditched the Muslims and Sikhs. Every section of the society was cheated so that the British imperialism was replaced by the brahminical imperialism. The sole architect of this smooth operation was Gandhi.

Anti-Mandal agitation: But the Indian Constitution created by Babasaheb Ambedkar, that introduced modern democratic principles, opened the eyes of the country's oppressed sections. And they started asserting their human rights. But the Aryans swearing by the Constitution of Manu were trying to curb their human rights struggle — but every time Aryans were losing. The Aryans have been losing at every stage. And the only way they can score some temporary gains is through the "Hindu unity" mantra by inventing an imaginary enemy to SC/ST/BCs so that the real enemy is shielded and forgotten. But the anti-Mandal agitation placed the oppressor right before the eyes of SC/ST/BC and minorities and brought about a tremendous unity of all oppressed.

Ageing mother: The nazis first appeared in India as Hindu communal parties. Later they changed their role as Hindu religious parties. And today they pose themselves as the sole "nationalist" parties. Indian nationalism means Hindu nationalism and to save Hindu nationalism Muslims, Christians, Sikhs must be made second-grade citizens. Only then the Indian nation can be saved. This is Golwalkar's nazi philosophy.

It is this slogan which attracted many Hindu ex-defence officers, judges, vice-chancellors, govt. servants, professionals into the nazi fold. And we have no doubt that the nazi party will shortly take over from the ageing mother – the Congress.

DALIT-MUSLIM ALLIANCE

Honest intellectuals among Muslims should give a serious thought to this nazi game. We want to warn them that all over India the Muslim masses are coming closer to Dalits. Instead of cementing the growing unity of the sufferers (SC/ST/BCs) and co-sufferers (Muslims, Christians and Sikhs) the Muslim leadership is preparing for a second honeymoon with the oppressors.

Nazis have a place in India: To the oppressed, the Congress Party is more dangerous than the nazis. The nazi party representing the 15% Aryans has a place in India. We wish them well. The Aryans though aliens are now part of India. We want them to remain here but of course without their war and violence on the weaker sections. Nazis lurking and hiding in communist, naxalite and all other parties must go back to their real party of Golwalkar.

Letters to Editor

John Trimble, Organiser, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, Atlanta, USA: I read an article in the London *Economist* (June 8) saying that "the *jati* has taken over from the *varna* as the key to the caste system". (p.22) Is this true? What is the relationship between *jati* and *varna*? It says Rajputs, Marathas and Jats are upper caste. Several members of our party are confused over understanding the caste system beyond the basic four: Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. I am also confused. Many articles in the *Dalit Voice* assume a deeper knowledge of the caste system than most non-Indians have. Is there a document that will help us?

Hsu Pei-tzu, Coordinator, Initiative for an Asia-Pacific Human Rights Database, 8th fl. 102 Kwangfu S. Rd., Taipei, Taiwan: A seminar held here on human rights organisations on Oct. 2-4, 1990 with participants from 15 countries recommended creation of a regional or sub-regional human rights groupings. It was decided to set up a human rights databank.

Ghulam Nabi, Diamond Bar, 1538 S. Sunbluff Dr. CA 91765, USA: This is with ref. to July 5 reports on the Israeli "tourists" in Kashmir. When even journalists are not permitted inside Kashmir, how did the govt. permit entry of "tourists" from Israel? They are not tourists but terrorists out to persecute the Kashmiri freedom-fighters. The Indian army is daily killing many innocent Kashmiris.

Dr. Velu Annamalai, The International Dalit Support Group (IDSG) Houston, USA: Our postal code number is 77284-2066 and not as published in the DV. The P.O. Box No. is 842066.

Dennis Walker, 35 Rosemond St., Balaclava, Melbourne, 3183 Australia: I am urgently in need of the text of the communication that Abdul Wali Mohammad, brother of Louise Farrakhan, the great Black Muslim leader of US, and Editor of the *Final Call* weekly published from Chicago, had published in the *Dalit Voice* around April or May 1989. I need this for my book on the Black Muslims in which I want to analyse the Black Muslim relationship with India's Black Untouchables which developed as a result of your meeting the two above leaders during your last visit to Libya.

Rudy Gozaes, New York: I congratulate you for proving right on the Gulf War and Saddam Hussain. When you wrote your famous editorial, "Welcome War" (DV Feb. 16, 1991) and "Salute Saddam" (DV March 16, 1991) I never believed you. I sent you a firing letter which you did not publish. Now I realise why you did not publish it. President Bush is planning a second attack on Iraq which means he could not

"finish" Saddam in the first attack as claimed by the western press. I salute DV.

(The western press put out false reports on the Gulf War and brainwashed the world to believe that US won and Saddam finished. Nothing of it happened. It was the other way. Had not Bush quickly decided to withdraw from Iraq, US forces would have met with their second defeat after the Viet Nam war. See our report elsewhere in DV - EDITOR).

Ramesh Chandra Parmar, Dalit Panthers, No.8, Manhar Nagar, Rajpur, Gomtipur, Ahmedabad-380 021: I have translated all your books into Gujarati. Gujaratis who do not know English and Dalits in particular must read your books. I am ready to give my script without any condition if anybody is prepared to print them.

Ram Pujan, Delhi: Untouchables calling themselves Valmiki in North India have committed a great blunder. They are worshiping the book, *Shrimad Valmiki Ramayana*, in three volumes. This book is published in 1981 from Bangalore, Vigneshwara Publishing House, No.19, 12th main, Malleswaram West, Bangalore-3. The author is a Brahmin, N. Raghunathan. These Valmiki think that Valmiki, an Untouchable (hunter community), is the author of this mythology called *Ramayana* which was manufactured by the Brahmins after they destroyed Buddhism to fool Untouchables like these Valmiki. Dalit intellectuals must save these Valmiki from this brahminised *Ramayana* and bring them under Dr. Ambedkar.

Pathiripaly George John, Trivandrum: The debate in DV on the "Three Commandments" of Babasaheb has brought home to us the golden words of our Saviour. We thank you for clearing all the doubts by your famous editorial of Feb. 16, 1989. We must also thank the great authority on Babasaheb, Vasant Moon of Bombay.

D.C. Ahir, New Delhi: Harikrishna Prasad of Vizag, AP, is wrong (DV "letters" July 16 p.13) when he said Babasaheb Ambedkar never opposed communism. Please read Babasaheb speech at the WFB conference in Nepal in Nov. 1956 published in my book, *Dr. Ambedkar on Buddhism*, Peoples Education Society, Siddhart College, Bombay, 1982. Also Babasaheb's Essay, *Buddha or Karl Marx and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches* Vol.3, Maharashtra Govt. 1987. The better way to understand Babasaheb is through Buddhism and not atheism.

Hemlata Shetty, Bangalore: During my recent visit to London, I had the opportunity of staying amidst overseas students, especially those from Commonwealth countries. I was shocked that I did not find any SC/ST students. I think they are not aware of the many scholarship facilities available under various schemes like Colombo Plan, British Council schemes and many others. Lack of

knowledge has deprived them of these facilities to study abroad in such prestigious institutions of UK. I also did not see Black students when I visited Oxford University.

Rebati Ranjan Roy, Calcutta: I want to bring to your notice the "Discipline & Appeal Rules, 1968 of the Rly. servants (D&A) Rules, 1968". This rule has given discretionary powers to officials under the Govt. of India. They need not give any reason or cause to suspend any staff member. Upper caste officials who suffer from caste prejudice conveniently use this rule to torment SC/ST staff. We came to know about this from the Supreme Court verdict (*Times of India* April 23 91) which recognised this fact. As such the Govt. must amend this rule saying that it cannot take recourse to this rule in the case of SC/ST.

R.L. Kain, Gen. Secretary, Dr. Ambedkar Vihar Manch, New Delhi; Glad to read about the film *Balak Ambedkar* by Swatantra Rao, IAS, Industries Secretary, Karnataka Govt., Bangalore. This can be televised if we persuade the Doordarshan. The Centenary Committee here has disappointed us and I have no hope of any big programme during this concluding year of Babasaheb centenary. HMT is going to shortly release four models of wrist watches containing pictures, signatures of Babasaheb. I have a 11-minute taped speech by Babasaheb made on 17.12.1946 which you just published in DV (July 16 p.17).

Ram Sharan, President, Punjab Civil Secretariat SC Emp. Welfare Assn., Chandigarh: It gives me limitless pleasure to read a report on the persecution of our members in DV July 16.

S.N. Mandal, Padmapukar, Thakurpukar, Calcutta-700 063: I have been much impressed by DV. The Editorials and articles and reports in it are very important and hence it must be translated to Bengali. Also your books. I need your permission for this.

G. D. Biswas, Turadihi, Orissa: Sometimes you praise Swami Vivekananda: It is true he wrote: "Kick out the priest." But it is also true that he did not utter a word against the caste system. On the contrary, his guru, Ramakrishna, asked his Brahmin disciples not to take rice in the house of a kayasth (shudra). It is found in *Bhakta Malika* - Part-I, Ramakrishna Mission, Calcutta-3.

R. Anbarasu, gen. sec., Dr. Ambedkar Youth Front, 28-Deen Complex, Tiruverumbur, Tiruchy, TN-620 013: We had received an oral permission to install Babsaheb statue at the public office compound, Pudukottai. On the day of unveiling (12-5-91) about 8,000 people had gathered but they got enraged when the permission was denied. We kept the statute on the ground covering the face with a gunnybag beside the 10-ft. high pedestal.

Kirit Mahida, Legal Education & Awareness Programme, Ashadeep, Human Devp. Centre, Nana Bazar, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat-388 120: I am

Gujarati Dalit Christian working for the past ten years along with Fr. Charles Aruldas, a Jesuit priest and also a Dalit, for the liberation of the oppressed in this area. We have 41 mahila mandals in Kheda dt. I have translated your booklet, *Church and Dalit Liberation*, into Gujarati. I need your permission to publish it. We study DV carefully and derive lot of inspiration from it.

Prakash Chandra Rai, New Delhi: DV was the only journal which clearly said about the foreign hand in Rajiv Gandhi murder. CIA and Mossad were hinted. at. I never believed you then. But now Union Home Minister Chavan has pinned the blame on a foreign super power.

(You are right. The CBI and the SIT went about saying that Lankan Tamil Tigers were the culprits and this theory suited the Tamil papans. When we wrote about the CIA-Mossad theory, we received some letters criticising us. Because our brahminical press has brainwashed everybody. But now India's highest authority has admitted the hand of USA. There was no chance of the Congress Party winning the election. The Hindu nazis launched their most expensive and noisy election campaign only to see that the Congress, the mother of the nazi parties, captured power. But as the first round of the polling was over, the Aryans were nervous that the election was going against them and in favour of the Mandals. The only way to reverse the trend was to sacrifice Rajiv by which there was a ten per cent shift of vote in favour of the Congress. It is now over two months since Rajiv was killed but our super sleuths of the CBI are not able to catch anybody except coming out with one short story a day. On the other hand, they have messed up the whole thing. The Bangalore papatti is using this pretext to crush the Dravidians, recklessly arresting Tamil youths. Soon the Dravidian anger will overflow in which she will be washed out. Dr. Ramadoss must sharpen these contradictions, clean up the Dravidian movement and re-establish Periyarism - EDITOR)

P.R. Kuppaswamy, Advocate, Karur : The papans are secretly trying to eat away the vitals of Periyar's self-respect movement. They are doing everything to re-establish brahminism in TN. The united action on the part of all Dravidians is the urgent need of the hour. I have met Dr. Ramadoss and Veeramani in Madras in this connection.

Prof. N.V. Narasimiah, Bangalore: The Backward Castes in Karnataka are very badly divided. Some of the BC leaders are selfish, coming in the way of this unity. We are very much worried about this.

Mahesh Shinde, Bombay: The Nazi official journal, *Organiser*, recently said the BJP govt. in Himachal Pradesh had sanctioned a huge amount for the construction of a temple for their Aryan Law-giver, Manu, at Manali (HP). Why DV did not highlight this? The Manu and Ram temples are part of the Aryan design to continue the Aryan hegemony. DV must come out with a strong protest.

Raja Yusuf, Islamic Relief Com., Anantanag,

Kashmir: I saw an issue of DV in the Weekly *Kashmiriyat* here and found it very inspiring.

A.K.M. Hakim, Bombay: The quality and extent of DV coverage are heart-warming and raise hopes for the future of the oppressed millions of India. I am a ret'd. Dy Director of Employment, Maharashtra Govt.

S. Ahmed, Secretary, Nayab Urdu Library, Quazi Mohalla, Sherghatti, Gaya, Bihar: We are running a library for SC/BC/Muslims but we are so poor that we can't afford the subscription. But DV has become a must reading because of its simple sincerity.

Syed Md. Ibrahim Madani, Tiruchi: After a lapse of six months, I renewed my subscription to DV and found it very much improved in form and content. I was in utter confusion when I was not getting DV for the past six months. But now all that confusion will disappear once I start reading it.

Prof. Tahir Hussain Jafri, Durg, MP: I fully agree with the analysis of your election results. You have rightly said that despite the fact that we are 85%, we are weaker than the 15% Aryans. You are also fully right in asking us to vote for Janata Dal. The Muslim press has failed. The *Radiance* added to the confusion. And Muslim votes got divided helping the Congress which is the sugarcoated variety of the nazi party.

Francis Baptista, New Delhi: I read an interesting report in the *Patriot* (July 24) under the headline "Nationalisation of temples urged". The Panaji story said: "The Goan Lok Dal has urged nationalisation of temples in the state as they are not allowing puja to be performed by other than the Saraswat Brahmins." Dalits build the temples which are used by the Brahmins. This should be widely publicised so that the nazi parties will not get away with our votes to build Rama temples for the use of Brahmins.

V.S. Rajapatha, Trivandrum: You are pleading for the unity of the non-Hindu 85%, but the Congress Party in Kerala divided the very non-Hindus and won the election. So to educate our people we need the Malayalam DV which died due to want of funds. Through this letter I am appealing to our Malayali comrades to help revive the Malayalam DV.

Rev. Phillips S. Masih, Pastor, Sadar Methodist Church, No.22-Cantt., Bareilly, UP-243 004: Recently I read your article "Christians and Dalit Movement". It is thought-provoking and educative. I agree with your views on the church, share your fears and also express my sorrow over the plight of the Dalits.

M.D. John Sastry, Narendrapuram, E.G. dt., AP: I feel the "educated" Dalits are a greater problem. They are serving the upper castes.

**The Rape of Sikh women in Punjab
1991 - PHRO pp. 88
27/D Sarabha Nagar, Ludhiana,
Punjab - 141 001**

SSD Launches Reservation Movement

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: To fight against the "brahminic hegemony" in recruitment and promotions under reservation in all Central and State govt. jobs, the Karnataka Samata Sainika Dal (SSD) has decided to launch a "United Reservation Movement". This was decided at its central committee meeting here on July 21. M. Venkataswamy (SSD president) is its president and Prof. H.M. Kemparaju is general secretary.

URM will have its office at No.122, 19th Cross, 6th Block, Jayanagar, Bangalore - 560 082. Agitations against persecution of Dalit employees in KSC, Apex Bank, Bangalore Dairy, Indian Institute of Science, Geological Survey of India and Town Planning Department are planned.

Those interested in joining URM may contact: Venkataswamy, State Bank of India, No. 100 R.V. Road, Bangalore - 560 004.

Democracy for Saudi?

Riyadh: Over 50 religious scholars, judges, university professors have presented a memorandum to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. The document contained the official support of two known religious scholars, Shaikh Abdulaziz Bin Baz and Shaikh Mohamed Bin Saleh Bin Othaimen. The memorandum reflects once again the dire need for political, social, economic and administrative reforms in the country. The document emphasized the importance of granting individuals their fundamental human rights that are sanctioned by international human rights conventions. (*The Universal Message July 91, Karachi*).

CANADA'S MUSLIM LAW

The Canadian Government has declared its official approval for the Islamic personal law and asked them to supply the government with the Islamic Shariah code in respect of Muslim personal law. The president of the Canadian Islamic Society, Mumtaz Ali, a lawyer, presented a 110-page note on the subject and demanded establishment of government Islamic schools in Ontario. (*Muslim World News, Makkah July 14, 1991*).

A CORRECTION

With reference to the advertisement of London souvenir, Shivalingaiah, ret'd. Chief Engineer, says that Rs.100 is the cost of the souvenir. Postage and packing will cost Rs.23. Those interested in the souvenir have to send a total of Rs.123 to get the Vol. No.3 as registered packet.

Dalit Christians Threat To Walk Out of "Hindu" Church

FR. SHOURI, OFM, SHALOM FRIARY, RAM NAGAR, HYDERABAD - 48

Dalit is a name that a particular community gave unto themselves. It signifies the self-assertion of the oppressed peoples of India. M. K. Gandhi called them *Harijans*. The British called them Depressed Classes. The Indian Govt. called them Scheduled Castes. The Brahmins named them *Panchamas*.

Why should someone give them names? So, they gave themselves a name — Dalits.

Dalit is Dignified, Dalit is Daring. Dalit is Divine.

Dalit's life is that of destitution and dehumanisation. Once rulers of this land, Dalits today have become the most degraded, downtrodden, exploited and the least educated in India. They have been socially, culturally, economically and politically subjugated and marginalised through centuries and remain so even after a half-century of protective discrimination (as SC) under the Govt. of India.

They are not part of the caste system hence they are outcastes. That is about Dalits in general. Who are the Dalit Christians in particular ?

Uppercaste domination: Over 70% of the Christians are Untouchables, yet bishops, priests, sisters, institutions, colleges, high posts, are all in the hands of 8 million upper caste (Hindu) converts to Christianity.

Rival Church: Should Dalit Christians form a rival church in India? No Dalit is appointed for the important and powerful posts of vicar-general, procurator, Director of social works and pastoral centres, and rectors of minor and major seminaries. ("Catholic Church's Three Crimes Against Chrsit," DV June 16, 1991, p.7)

The Christian Dalits suffer from a five-fold alienation and oppression:

1. The non-converted Dalits look upon them with suspicion when the Christian Dalits seek govt. assistance as they are considered already uplifted by missionary patronage.
2. Upper caste Christians treat Christian Dalits contemptuously.
3. Discrimination by the Christian hierarchy.
4. Upper caste/Hindus show discrimination to Dalit Christians.
5. The State is against reservation to Dalit Christians.

CBCI opinion: The question is not how to speak of God in a world come of age, but rather how to proclaim Him as Father in a world that is not human and what the implications might be of telling the Dalits

that they are children of God.

Dalit is the poorest, lowest and the least in our country. Do we really believe the Jesus saying "Whatsoever you do to the least of my brothers and sisters, that you do unto me".

Archbishop M. Arokiaswamy of Madurai and Chairman, CBCI Commission for SC and ST, has declared Aug. 18 as "Justice Sunday" to express the church's concern for and solidarity with the Dalit converts to Christianity. Dalit Christians must fight for their rights: Never allow any type of oppression and exploitation in the church functioning and fight for equality. The Presidential Order 1950 which stipulated that "no person who professes a religion different from Hinduism, shall be deemed to be member of a Scheduled Caste," has become a thorn in the flesh of Dalit converts to Christianity. So fight for its amendment.

Some suggestions for the celebration of "Justice Sunday":

A meeting of school and college principals, parish priests, lawyers and journalists, religious superiors, protestant pastors, lay leaders and social action groups could be convened to chalk out action programme. Only one single mass in district headquarters and public meeting. Press conference. Relay fast from Aug. 1 to 18 for effective publicity. Ensure the support of all denominations and social action groups for the celebration of "Justice Sunday".

Dalits lose a good friend at WCC

N. BIRNEY PITAYANA, GENEVA

Dr. Jean Sindab left the service of the World Council of Churches on March 31, 1991. She had spent 4 years and 9 months as Executive Secretary within the Porgamme to Combat Racism. It has been the measure of her growing commitment to PCR, the World Council of Churches and the racially oppressed, especially women under racism, that she was able to stay in Geneva longer than her original contracted time.

I remember Jean on her first day, on the staff of PCR. Before she had even come to Geneva she had flown straight from Washington in July 1986 to help staff the PCR Consultation on Youth and Apartheid in Harare, Zimbabwe. No one would have said that she was new to the job. She mixed among these angry young people with ease. Their suffering and anger mirrored her own passion about injustice in

general and apartheid in particular.

Though she was a black American activist, passionately committed to the struggle against racism there, as can be seen from her involvement in the Presidential election campaign of Revd. Jesse Jackson, she never promoted her home issue over and above everything else. On the issue of Women under Racism, however, she demanded a place and a priority. (*Link*, WCC/PCR Newsletter).

(Jean was a great friend of India's Untouchables. She toured India and had an intimate knowledge of its sanctified racism. She was responsible for Dr. Y.N. Kly's book on Dalit & International Law published by the WCC. Dalits lost a good friend - EDITOR). ■

The two faces of Japan

HENRY THIAGARAJ, MADRAS

Japan, with an external image of an industrially developed country has an interior reality - the Asian psyche. A human encounter with ordinary Japanese people reveals similarity of social situations in other Asian countries. In terms of human rights, Japan seems to be backward - by its denial of basic rights to the Koreans and other Asian labourers. The Asian labourers, most of whom are facing acute housing problem - wind up in the streets.

In India, Brahmins being vegetarians consider meat-eating people as polluted. In Japan almost all religious people including Buddhists eat meat-beef, pork, lamb, etc. Yet the Japanese society discriminates the Buraku people because of their profession - butchering or serving in the meat industry. In marriage and jobs, social discrimination is subtle and painful. Separate cemetery for Burakus and discriminated areas for housing are visible forms of discriminations. On May 23, in Tokyo, I saw thousands of people mostly human rights activists holding a protest rally against such a discrimination. (*DV* July 16, p.14).

The world headquarters of International Movement against All Forms of Discrimination and Racism is in Tokyo. It provides a vital link with us, the Dalits of India. The National Council of Churches in Japan and some of its member churches have clear ideas of struggle for justice and peace and supporting human rights. Everywhere I went, I saw a group of dedicated men and women, taking great interest to promote ties among Asian action groups, which easily creates the base for an Asian network. When I returned to Madras, I have letters from Japanese Christians wanting to spend a few days in Indian villages. ■

Nazi upsurge in UP

K.D. KANYAL, GOPESHWAR, UP

Kalyan Singh, the Nazi Chief Minister of UP (before taking oath) said that he and his Hindu Nazi govt. would contact Muslims and Hindus on the Babri Masjid and Ramjanmabhoomi dispute but on the very next day took his entire cabinet colleagues to Ayodhya and took the oath of constructing the Ram temple there.

But can the head of a state having taken oath to honour the Indian Constitution of a secular-federal-socialist republic violate the very Constitution on the very next day? Does it not prove that India's Hindu Nazis have no respect for the Constitution?

Babasaheb Ambedkar laid the foundation of our secular democratic State which made our Constitution a unique symbol of unity and integrity. But Kalyan Singh despite being a backward caste man is behaving like an orthodox communal bigot to please his Hindu masters.

If the CM violates the Constitution, insults and questions its legality, then can the Governor, who is the legal head of the State, keep silent? Does it not amount to the Governor also violating the Constitution?

We the people of UP have a right to raise these questions.

Dalit Magistrate under attack: Communal fanaticism and caste orthodoxy generated by the Hindu Nazis in UP resulted in a SC officer being assaulted in this Indo-Tibetan border district of Chamoli.

Khajan Singh, PCS Sub-divisional Magistrate, was inspecting some gram sabha development works, where he detected many frauds and gram pradhans were found guilty. But the upper caste gram pradhans could not tolerate the instructions coming from an Untouchable officer.

The guilty gram pradhans belonged to the Marxist and Congress parties. All the corrupt gram pradhans ganged up and demanded the transfer of this Dalit SDM but the District Magistrate, Chamoli, refused to meet the upper caste demand. The DM on the other hand appreciated the SDM, Khajan Singh. Having failed to get him transferred, they started an agitation against the SDM. ■

Congress cheats Muslims

A.K.M. HASSAN UZZAMAN, PRESIDENT, WEST BENGAL MUSLIM LEAGUE, CALCUTTA

Before the last elections, there was an agreement between Rajiv Gandhi and the IUML President, Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, General Secretary Banatwala and A.K.A. Abdul Samad, then MP, on two points and he promised to restore the status of all religious places in the country and maintain status quo with the cut-off date as on the Aug.15, 1947 and that provision would be made for reservation of Central govt. services for the Muslims. The promise has not been kept up. ■

Aryan Bluff Bomb: Say they too are original Indians

PROF. H.M. KEMPARAJU, BANGALORE

The three-day seminar on "The Aryan Problem" organised by the Mythic Society, Bangalore, and Bharatiya Itihasa Sankalana Samiti, Pune, from July 21 here sends danger signals to the existing history of India. It is a cunning attempt to re-write if not reverse the widely accepted existing historical evidences and facts.

Western scholars like Max Muller, Vincent Smith and others were the butt of attack for their interpretation of the history of India. Western scholars, particularly the British, gave a racial colour to the history of India with an intention to divide and rule. Hence, the Aryans said, the history of India should be rewritten in the light of the views expressed in the Seminar.

The views of the speakers at the seminar are like this :

- a) 'Aryan' is not a race,
- b) Aryans did not invade India,
- c) Aryan invasion was not the cause for the destruction of Indus Valley civilization
- d) Aryan elements were present in the very early Indus period and hence, Aryans were pre-Vedic people. In other words, Aryans were the natives of India.
- e) All Non-Aryas are ex-Aryas.

New books planned: These contentions are only an effort to purify the path the Aryans traversed over the ages and in turn to establish Aryan dominance, claiming as natives over the Dravidians, the original inhabitants of India. Further, a decision was also taken in the seminar to operationalise the aryanised views of Indian culture by compelling the State and the Central

Governments as well as other academic bodies to introduce the aryanised version of Indian history in schools and colleges. In this connection it was also decided to appeal to all BJP MPs to prevail upon the government to introduce an aryanised version of the history at all levels of learning.

It is clear that the objective of the seminar was neither an open-minded, objective rethinking nor an honest attempt to reveal the other side of history, as the speakers claimed. Instead, it was a lopsided effort to give an Aryan colour to Indian history. This is made clear when they preferred to appeal to only BJP MPs to consider and promote their aryanised version of Indian History.

Fear complex: The move to aryanise the Indian culture is the outcome of the apprehension in the minds of the so-called custodians of Hinduism (which is nothing but brahminism) about its future in India. As such the seminar is an attempt to revitalise the nazi ideas, which history has revealed to the world to be disastrous. Besides, the traditional

dogmas practised in the name of brahminism have failed to persist against the onslaught of the radical changes that are taking place after independence.

The purpose of aryanisation of Indian history and culture is, thus, with the sole motive to dilute the distinction between the Aryan invaders and the Dravidians, (the original inhabitants of India). With the result, eventually to dismantle the growing non-Aryan movements in India, particularly the movements of Dalits, BCs and minorities which are gaining momentum over the years.

Under these circumstances, all right-thinking, objective-minded historians should guard the valuable historical evidences and facts against the move to distort history from an Aryan point of view. The Government should seriously view any such biased effort to tamper with the historical records and desist from introducing such proposed concocted version of history as it would lead to confusion in young minds about the authenticity of Indian history.

MINORITY PANEL REPORTS NOT PUBLISHED

New Delhi: The Minorities Commission has presented to the Government its 12th report on the status of the minorities in the country, although the Government is yet to make public and present before Parliament the Commission's three previous reports.

The Commission in its periodical reports conducts critical evaluation of the Constitutional safeguards for the minorities' welfare and gives details of the violations done, along with the needed remedial measures.

The fifth, sixth, seventh and the eighth reports of the Commission were presented to Parliament by the National Front Government. The 11th report was received by the Welfare Ministry during the tenure of the Front Government itself on Jan. 31, 1990, whereas the 12th report was handed over to the new Welfare Minister Sitaram Kesri on July 11.

The delay in the unravelling of the Commission reports also delays exposing the culprits behind the violation of the Constitutional safeguards and other laws made by Central and State Governments. The culprits could be individuals or Governmental agencies. Their timely exposure could lead to effective and timely remedial measures. (*Hindustan Times, July 14*)

Women in the Early Untouchable Liberation Movement

MEENAKSHI MOON & URMILA PAWAR

Editorial notes by Dr. Barbara R. Joshi: Beginning in the early 1900s, individuals in a number of India's hereditary Untouchable castes began to challenge the humiliation and exploitation of the traditional caste system and the religiously legitimized practice of untouchability. Their struggle, now known as the Dalit ("Oppressed") movement, is far from over, but it has already had a profound impact on the reshaping of Indian society and polity. Recently two Dalit women, Meenakshi Moon and Urmila Pawar, set out to record the role of women in the early days of this momentous change. Their research took them into the homes of a cross-section of Dalit women from the state of Maharashtra, where the late Untouchable leader, Dr. Ambedkar, developed one of the most influential movements of resistance and reform. Their study, written in Marathi, was published in Pune in 1989 under the title, "We Made History Too." In many ways the authors themselves are continuing to make history. Both are self-taught historians and writers who have encouraged other Dalit women to write and to take an active role in the continuing struggles against oppression of Untouchables and of women. We must hope that news of their work will encourage Dalit women in other regions of India to research and record the rapidly fading history of women in the early days of other distinctive Untouchable movements. The following synopsis was prepared by Mrs. Moon and Mrs. Pawar to describe their findings and their experiences during their research.

GIRLS TO GOD

The story of women's participation in the Untouchable Movement is an interesting one. To trace the early activism of Untouchable women one has to go back to the beginning of the 20th century. In the following decades women's activities developed from mere participation as beneficiaries or as audience, to the shouldering of significant responsibility in various fields of activity in the Ambedkar movement. In the first decade of the 20th century we find Shivram Janaba Kamble taking up the mission of moving the stigma of prostitution from the face of the Untouchables. In 1908, through his magazine *Somvanshi Mitra*, he wrote articles asking his community to accept in marriage the hands of women who had been thrown into the degrading profession of prostitution through the practice of giving girls to Hindu temples as devadasis (slaves of the

God).

Besides writing articles Kamble conducted various meetings to awaken and enlighten people and appealed to them to abandon the practice of offering girls to the god and goddess of Jejuri known as Khandoba and Yellamma.

Kamble's efforts yielded positive results. One devadasi named Shivubai responded to the call and wrote a very long letter explaining the miserable life of the wretched women and offering herself in marriage to any willing person. In response to her call, published by Kamble in his magazine, one of his associates, Ganapatrao Hunmantrao Gaikwad, agreed to marry Shivubai. Accordingly the marriage was solemnized and was given wide publicity. Not only did Kamble encourage such marriages but he also saw to it that these women got respect and dignity in society. His propaganda against the

devadasi system was so effective that in the year 1909 not a single girl was offered to Khandoba as a devadasi. It was also found that other slave girls of the God (prostitutes) were accepted by the young boys of the Untouchables community as their wives.

The early movement of Untouchables in Maharashtra also led to increasing participation by women in conferences. A Nagpur woman, a nurse, described her experiences of untouchability to the all-India women's conference of 1920. Other women were brought before audiences either to welcome the guest speakers in the conferences or to sing the welcome songs in the meetings.

NASIK SATYAGRAHA

The movement begun by Dr. Ambedkar generated even more enthusiastic participation. Dr. Ambedkar organized several conferences of the Untouchables. He saw to it that women's conferences were held simultaneously with those for men. By 1930 women had become so conscious that they started conducting their own meetings and conferences independently.

In Mahad in 1927, during the historic satyagraha movement to claim the right of Untouchables to take water from the public tank, Dalit women not only participated in the procession with Dr. Ambedkar but also participated in the deliberations of the subject committee meetings in passing resolutions about the claim for equal human rights.

In the Nasik satyagraha, started by Dr. Ambedkar in 1930 for the right of Untouchables to enter Hindu temples, several hundred women conducted sit-in agitations in front of the temple and courted arrest. Every batch of volunteers consisted

of some women. Some of the women still alive have been interviewed during this research. This satyagraha was carried on until 1935, when on the 13th of October Dr. Ambedkar declared at Yeola (near Nasik) that he had been born a Hindu but would not die a Hindu. In the Yeola conference Dr. Ambedkar announced this satyagraha was terminated, as the heart of the Hindus was not likely to change. He also said that his objective was to organize and to awaken the Untouchables themselves.

SEPARATE ELECTORATE

During this period, women conducted meetings to support separate electorates for the Untouchables, and passed resolutions accordingly. In May 1936 the women held an independent conference along with one for men in Bombay to support Dr. Ambedkar's declaration of intent to convert to a non-Hindu religion. The speeches of women, reported exhaustively in *Janata Weekly*, show that women were very frank in stating that they wanted a religion that would recognize their freedom, dignity, and equal status with man.

The resolutions passed by women in various conferences demanded:

- (1) Free and compulsory education for girls,
- (2) Women's representation in state legislative assemblies, local bodies etc.
- (3) Training for self-protection of Untouchable women, such as wielding of sticks or karate,
- (4) Starting a women's wing in the Samata Sainik Dal (Equality Volunteer Corps),
- (5) Prohibiting child marriages.

Efforts also were made to rescue women from prostitution areas. This was done in Nagpur in 1936.

NAGPUR GIRLS SCHOOL

Efforts were made by all Ambedkarite workers to encourage women's education. The research revealed that the first girl's schools in the Untouchable community was

started by Kalicharan Nandagavali, who later became the first Untouchable representative from Gondia to the Central Provinces Legislative Council during the 1920s. Similar schools were started in the Konkan region and at a few other places. In 1924 in Nagpur the first woman to start a girl's school was Jaibai Chaudhari, who herself secured an education against heavy odds and against the wishes of her husband. She was encouraged and helped in her work by a Christian nun. Other women social workers started independent hostels exclusively for girls during the 1930s.

The political movement begun by Dr. Ambedkar brought forth the political ambition of Untouchable women. The women conducted conferences and passed resolutions to support the Independent Labour Party and later the Scheduled Castes Federation programs. In describing the 1942 conference of women at Nagpur, held at the same time as the meeting of the Scheduled Castes Federation, Dr. Ambedkar said, "The presence of women in the conference in their thousands was a sight for the gods to witness. Their dress, their cleanliness and the confidence with which they behaved in the conference brought delight to my heart." Similar conferences of women of great magnitude were organized at Kanpur (1944), Bombay (1945), and Calcutta (1946).

MARRIAGE REFORMS

In all these conferences women leaders, viz. Minambal Shivraj from Madras, Sulochana Dongre of Amravati, Shantabai Dani and several other women addressed the meetings. Radhabai Kamble, a worker in a cotton mill, had come up as a labour leader in the Ambedkarite movement in the 1920s. She gave evidence before the Royal Commission of Labour in 1929. The Untouchable women also joined the political agitations and courted arrest and underwent jail during the Scheduled Caste Federation's 1946 satyagraha in the

State Assemblies. From all this it will be clear that women had made great strides in achieving political consciousness.

The research shows that women also were interested in reforming the marriage system. Untouchable society already permitted divorce, remarriage, and widow marriage, but the women in the movement brought several further reforms in the marriage system. They opposed child marriage, and actively encouraged remarriage and widow marriage. They tried to eliminate unnecessary rituals in the marriage ceremony, and tried to reduce expenses in the marriage. They even adopted marriages through advertisement, which was not acceptable then even among higher classes. Even marriages among different Untouchable sub-castes were welcomed. Such reforms were often ahead of the higher castes.

GOODBYE TO HINDUISM

The research has also documented the change that has occurred among women since the great conversion to Buddhism in 1956. Normally it is believed that women are mostly conservative in cultural matters and not amenable to change, but Dalit women accepted the progressive religion of Buddha voluntarily and adopted the new religion. They have given up old customs, rites and rituals, visits to Hindu pilgrimage sites, fasting on various Hindu festivals, etc. The women have also adopted the Buddhist form of worship and way of life which is based on morality, wisdom and compassion. The conversion has changed their outlook about caste so much that the new generation of Buddhists hardly knows its sub-caste, and many inter-caste marriages have been welcomed in the Buddhist faith. Formerly girls were given contemptuous names which indicated their low position and caste. Now the Buddhist women name their daughters after great women from Buddhist history. (p.70) (Reproduced from *South Asia Bulletin*, USA, Vol. 9 No.2, 1989). ■

Violation of human rights in Punjab

D.S. GILL, CHAIRMAN, PHRO, LUDHIANA, PUNJAB.

Punjab Human Rights Organisation is concerned about the Government of India's reaction to the recent calls by US Congress for protection of human rights in Punjab and against proliferation of atomic weapon in south east Asia.

New Delhi sharply reacted to the amendment passed by the US House of Representatives recommending President Bush to ensure that International Military Education and Training Programme covered an enhanced appreciation of human rights by India's security forces, but it kept silent on human rights aspect of the US debate.

Instead of responding to the American Secretary of State, James Baker's request to check human rights abuses, New Delhi arrogantly tried to rebuff the purpose of the US amendment saying that "Indian armed forces need no lessons from others in compassion, morality and application of human rights and humanitarian standards."

UN Report : Similarly, New Delhi took no notice of the US State Department 1990 report which had indicted Indian security forces for significant human rights abuses in Punjab and Kashmir. There is no let-up in state repression, rather it has been stepped up in the recent past.

PHRO is also concerned that New Delhi did not pay any heed to the UN recommendations to review its anti-terrorists laws which violated international covenant on civil and political rights. These special laws, according to the UN Human Rights Committee, gave security forces the right to shoot at sight, conduct summary trials and detain persons without a warrant.

PHRO understands that Japan, a political power backed by its newly-acquired economic clout, put up politico-military conditionalities including the one of respecting human rights before it gave aid to India only because of India's poor record in the field of human rights especially in case of Punjab and Kashmir.

Significantly, India did not ensure even one conviction for the violations of human rights in hundreds of cases involving killings of innocent persons and other excesses against civilians despite the continued international pressure during the past few years. Most often the registration of cases was designed as a means to neutralise outside pressure rather than to punish the wrong-doer. Often such wrong-doers were publicly honoured.

Stage-managed encounter: During April-May 1991, the security forces killed 436 active Sikhs in Punjab alone, according to the PHRO record. Most of them were killed in stage-managed encounters. Some were

eliminated allegedly in inter-group rivalry and a number of them were killed either by police "cats" or state-sponsored vigilante groups.

Besides this, the Indian army killed six Sikh devotees in May at Sangha village in Tarn Tarn police district of Amritsar. Gangrape and molestation of women followed the army action. The entire village was ransacked. *The army and paramilitary forces were motivated by the urge to teach a lesson to the villagers in the border district of Amritsar for sustaining militancy and generally to execute the threat given by Army Brigadier R.P. Sinha to "decimate the Sikhs and to breed a new race".*

This 48-page booklet (PHRO watch for April-May, 1991, pp. 41-88) is a compilation of various PHRO investigation reports and a narration of national and international events concerning human rights. It contains reports on the killings by police "cats", cases of rape both by police and individuals in militants' garb, the policemen as kidnapers and extortionists etc., besides the systematic liquidation of Sikhs youths by the security forces.

PHRO, during June 1991, produced a 40-page booklet, 'Chander Shekhar's multi-pronged offensive against Punjab' which covered the first quarter of 1991.

THE WRITTEN ASSURANCES TO SIKHS

Sher Singh

Culled out from top-secret and secret documents published in the *Transfer of Power*, total XII volumes (price: Rs.18,000) with permission of HMG, London. Congress Party resolutions are also given in full plus critical appraisal in the light of United Nations resolution on the right of self-determination.

A must for every intellectual to have an objective view of Punjab background. No Punjabi translation without the author's consent.

pp. 70 Rs.15 1991

B.B. Prakashan, Manudi House,
22 Panchantala Road, Calcutta - 700 041.

Marxist-Periyarist Communist Party

ALL-INDIA SEMINAR ON MANDAL COMMISSION AND FEDERALISM

(Oct. 18 - 20 1991, New Delhi)

The convention aims to provide an opportunity of intermingling of the activists and revolutionary workers of all parties and organisations in different States of India and to chalk out meaningful programmes for future course of united action.

Write for details : V. Anaimuthu, Organiser, No.5, Lal Begum Street, Trjpicane, Madras - 600 005 (Phone : 843162)

Indian Leftist leadership is racist

N.K. SHARMA, NEW DELHI

India's communist, marxist, leftist and not to speak of the naxalites (IPF & PWG) leadership is Aryan and hence they are racists and colonialists. Their movements are aimed at alienation, degradation and debasement of Indian races. Naturally, they consider Dr. Ambedkar, the Father of India, as their arch-ideological enemy. How could we expect such racists and colonialists to adopt Ambedkarism? We do not want them to take the name of Dr. Ambedkar.

Right from the beginning, Dr. Ambedkar has been exposing the racist and colonial mentality of the communists, leftists and socialists in India. When the zamindari system was abolished in India, Dr. Ambedkar advocated the nationalisation of surplus lands on zamindari abolition. But the Aryan racists and colonialists, parading as communists, marxists, leftists, socialists opposed the proposal and instead advocated land to the tiller. Why? Under this false and folsome policy of "Land to the tiller" even the Aryan dogs were made new landlords by falsifying land records. Of course, some Backward Caste people also got lands in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This way the communists opposed land nationalisation and became landlords.

Eminent Ambedkarites like Lokhande and Prakash Ambedkar hate the very idea of mixing marxism with Ambedkarism. They did not attend a seminar, "Marx & Dr. Ambedkar", held in Delhi. Marxism is the pig philosophy of bread. But Ambedkarism stands for state control of all means of production and for higher goals of human dignities. Human dignities are not to be sacrificed at the alter of bread. You need not search for evidence to say that the Indian communists and marxists are racists and colonialists. They are busy converting the proud Indian races as scavenger castes and cobbler castes. ■

Judges are also corrupt in India ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Who says judges in India are not corrupt? This is what Justice P.B. Sawant of the Supreme Court, says in his book "*Judicial Independence: Myth & Reality*", Pune University.

He has listed a whole lot of subtle and not-so-subtle forms of corruption in the judiciary. "Bribery, gifts, hospitalities of various kinds, including dinners and entertainments, provisions for transport, and birth and wedding anniversary presents for the judge or the members of his family, are the known forms the corruption takes."

Some of the forms of corruption practised inside the courts are "favouring lawyers and litigants for past, present or future services, accommodating some lawyers and cases over others in the queue, passing discretionary orders in favour of certain sections or passing them on more favourable conditions.. (and) not recording evidence faithfully, distorting and manipulating the record of the case.

"But corruption also works in more insidious ways. Favouring the firm of lawyers which sends briefs to the judge's relatives, if they are practising in the same or other courts, favouring the juniors or other associates of the judge's kith and kin, trying to be popular with the dominant section of the bar to earn their praise, trying to favour lawyers and law firms with a view to earning briefs or arbitration or opinion work after retirement, are equally damaging modes of corruption.

"Expectations of promotions or that of political or other offices or even of lucrative practice after retirement may induce even an otherwise upright judge to resort to practices and give orders and decisions which are questionable. It has to be remembered in this connection that a clever judge can find out reasons for deciding a case either way. Many times the decision is predetermined and the judge is only in search of reasons to support it. Facts can be twisted and law bent to suit the requirements." (*Statesman*) ■

Hinduism & non violence

Palghat: Five Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh activists were sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment for murdering a CPI-M worker in February, 1986 due to political rivalry. The sentence was passed by Additional Sessions Judge P.S. Divakaran on July 23. The conviction followed a retrial of the accused on a direction from the Kerala High Court. (*Hindustan Times*, July 25).

Does Hinduism believe in non-violence? ■

INDIA'S SRI LANKA FIASCO

(Peace-keepers at war)

Rajesh Kadian

In the 1987-90 war, 1155 Indian soldiers were killed. The book deals with the inept handling of the whole IPKF operations. The Indian ruling class arrogance in taking for granted the Tamil Tigers was crushed.

1990

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The Aryan way to win election

N.K. SHARMA, NEW DELHI

V.P. Singh filed his nomination in Fatehpur but did not care to visit it again for election campaign – he was so certain of his victory. He won it by 1,44,000 votes.

But the defector PM, Chandra Shekar, bribed the Ballia Lok Sabha constituency with a special development plan of Rs.1.5 crore. Despite all this bribing, he could win with a majority of mere 60,000 and that too through booth-capturing.

On the police wireless, the police complained that the PM's secretary, H.N. Sharma was running amuck by capturing booths. The Election Commission looked aside. When the complaint was repeated again, the Commissioner merely said, "Stop him". Another complaint said the UP Minister for Irrigation was capturing booths accompanied by a police brigade. This complaint was also brushed aside.

Then another wireless complaint came to the Commissioner – PM's brother, Kripa Singh, is going around Ballia in a Contessa car capturing booths, accompanied by the Superintendent of Police. Again nothing happened.

On the excuse of Rajiv Gandhi's murder, first the polls were rigged on the streets – people were terrorised to speak in favour of the Congress. Those opposed to the Congress were murdered or manhandled. With the help of the police, polls were then rigged by capturing booths, as the polling officers and poll-agents were the alien Aryan colonials. This way, they cheated the victory of the Mandals. Depending on the local strength of each Aryan party – Congress, BJP, Shiv Sena – rigged the polls in their respective areas. Thus the Aryans won. ■

Tribal party wins all seats in Jharkhand

Ranchi: The Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) has once again asserted its supremacy not only among the various Jharkhandi factions but also among the different political parties by winning all the six seats it had contested in the south Bihar districts.

Apart from retaining the seats of Jamshedpur, Dumka and Rajmahal it had won in 1989, the JMM emerged as the single largest party in south Bihar by also winning in Godda, Singhbhum West and Giridih taking its total to six against the five seats won by the BJP.

Though the JMM fought the elections as an ally of the National Front, the party's spectacular victory from the Singhbhum West seat where following a disagreement, the Janata Dal and the JMM decided to fight each other in a "friendly contest," proved that the party could win elections of its own.. (*Hindustan Times* July 2). ■

BJP behind Pilibhit Killings of Sikhs

Chandigarh: The Punjab Human Rights Organisation (PHRO) has alleged that 10 Sikh youths were killed by the Pilibhit police in Uttar Pradesh on July 12. The organisation accused the BJP Government for the crime.

While releasing a report to the press, its chairman D.S. Gill said that the Pilibhit incident should not be seen as an isolated act but it was a culmination of what the law enforcing agencies were doing in Punjab. It started with the Sikh carnage of 1984 when the present Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, was the Home Minister.

Then came the Bidar and Jammu anti-Sikh violence, instigated and encouraged by the State agencies, and now it is Pilibhit, the mass murder of Sikh youths. These incidents, he said, proved many people's belief that 'The Sikhs are not safe in any part of this country'.

The PHRO team comprising Mohinder Singh Grewal and Harchand Singh Gill, advocate, and assisted by Vijay Kumar Saxena and Mohan Singh, both advocates from Pilibhit, visited the spots, met dozens of persons, including relatives of the victims and pilgrims, who were eyewitnesses to the abduction of 11 Sikh youths by the police.

According to the PHRO report, the police version that the Sikh youths were killed in armed clashes, was totally false and fabricated because they were unarmed and were already in police custody.

The police have not provided the copies of the FIRs to the court so far, remarked the Additional District Magistrate, Pilibhit, on the PHRO petition filed on July 22, Gill alleged. (*Hindustan Times*, July 27). ■

Only 25 SC pilots

New Delhi: Minister Scindia told Ram Vilas Paswan in Lok Sabha on July 16 there are 348 pilots in Air India of which nine belong to the Scheduled Caste. In Indian Airlines, there are 516 pilots of which 16 belong to the Scheduled Caste and three to Scheduled Tribes. ■

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

(A review of the literature)

Dr. Ghanashyam Shah

of the Centre for Social Studies, Surat.

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THE TIGERS OF MYSORE

(A biography of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan)
Praxy Fernandes

The two great Muslim rulers of Mysore were the greatest opponents of the British rulers at a time many other Hindu native rulers were courting the British. So Tipu and Hyder can be hailed as the greatest nationalist heroes of India. But unfortunately, the Hindu nazis with the power they have over the media distorted history called them traitors just because they happened to be Muslims. Upper caste historians brought their prejudice into their writings and called them Muslim fanatics. The author, a Mangalorean Christian (Catholic), is a distinguished civil servant, retired as IAS officer in Karnataka and later Govt. of India. His extensive research proves that all the Nazi allegations against these noble Muslim rulers were false.

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