

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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Dr. Ambedkar's warning

**Muslims don't like to be a subject race
in India : Thus Spake Ambedkar**

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Muslims not prepared to accept the position of a subject race

At the Round Table Conference, the Muslims presented their list of safeguards, which were formulated in the well-known fourteen points. The Hindu representatives at the Round Table Conference would not consent to them. There was an impasse. The British Government intervened and gave what is known as "the Communal decision". By that decision, the Muslims got all their fourteen points. There was much bitterness amongst the Hindus against the Communal Award (p.42).

But, two years and three months of the Congress Government in the Hindu Provinces have completely disillusioned them and have made them the bitterest enemies of the Congress. The Deliverance Day celebration held on the 22nd December 1939 shows the depth of their resentment. What is worse, their bitterness is not confined to the Congress. The Musalmans, who at the Round Table Conference joined in the demand for Swaraj, are today the most ruthless opponents of Swaraj.

What has the Congress done to annoy the Muslims so much? The Muslim League has asserted that under the Congress regime the Muslims were actually tyrannized and oppressed. Two committees appointed by the League are said to have investigated and reported on the matter. But apart from these matters which require to be examined by an impartial tribunal, there are undoubtedly two things which have produced the clash : (1) the refusal by the Congress to recognize the Muslim League as the only representative body of the Muslims, (2) the refusal by the Congress to form Coalition Ministries in the Congress Provinces. (p.43).

The Congress High Command seems to have misunderstood what the main contention of the Muslims and the minorities has been. Their quarrel is not on the issue whether the Congress has or has not done any good to the Muslims and the minorities. Their quarrel is on an issue which is totally different. Are the Hindus to be a ruling race and the Muslims and other minorities to be subject races under swaraj? That is the issue involved in the demand for coalition ministries. On that, the Muslims and other minorities have taken a definite stand. They are not prepared to accept the position of subject races (p.46).

(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.

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

Chundur proves non-Hindu Dalits can't live with Hindus: Separate electorate & settlement as solution

The Aug.6 1991, Chundur massacre of over 25 Untouchables in the east coast Guntur dt. by the ruling Reddys is perhaps one of the most brutal in the history of murders itself, and the biggest in the history of Andhra Pradesh. Hundreds of Hindus in a well-laid-out conspiracy chased the unarmed Untouchable men through paddyfields, caught them, hacked them to pieces, dumped into gunny bags, and footballed them into the canal at different places so that the flooded canal carried the bags into the nearby Bay of Bengal. And in this conspiracy the Hindu police collaborated.

CHUNDUR, in capital letters, will thus go into the Hindu history of non-violence and tolerance.

Chundur has received enough publicity in the competition between the Hindus in the govt. and the jealous Hindu opposition parties, both trying to make capital out of the misery of the dead Dalits. But Chundur has finally convinced us that it is no longer possible for the Untouchables to live with Hindus.

Then at Karamchedu, three years ago, the killers were the Khammas – relatives of the then Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao. And today, the Reddy

relatives of Chief Minister Janardhana Reddy did the job. As this is written, the entire upper caste/Hindu world of AP is boiling with anger against Untouchables and skirmishes have occurred at different places. They want more blood. And Untouchables too under the able leadership of Andhra Dalit Mahasabha are preparing for self-defence. That means bigger and better Chundurs are underway.

Racial hatred: Chundur proves that it is not merely the caste divide that generates so much of animosity but it is racial hatred. Andhra Pradesh has become a boiling cauldron of clashing races and we can expect some more explosions.

When the society itself gets divided neatly on racial lines what can the police or military do? In Chundur, the Hindu police conspired with the Reddy rowdies. So when the society as a whole gets divided on racial lines, the police and military will also get divided. This is what is happening in Yugoslavia today and this is what will happen in India tomorrow.

So, Dalit leaders all over India should sit up and seriously think whether we can afford such periodical convulsions and explosions – though we are not

NEW WORLD ORDER SUFFERS ITS SECOND DEFEAT

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Whether Gorbachev was ousted or not, the racist and zionist-inspired New World Order (NWO) has suffered its second defeat. Earlier, Saddam gave a bloody nose in the Gulf War to President Bush with whom Gorby had collaborated.

NWO (DV edit Aug. 1 1991) wants to crush the world's peace-loving producers of wealth and make them slaves of the racist-zionist masters. Long back we had warned about the "Global gangup of whites and zionists against Blacks and Muslims" (DV Nov. 16 1990). To Gorby his white skin became more important than marxism. ("Ethnic pull and Russian racism breaks up the communist giant, USSR", DV edit March 16, 1990).

It is too early to say if the pro-communist forces, who have overthrown Gorby, will succeed. The new leaders are also white Russians and very much hostile to the non-Russian nationalities. But they seem to be having the army, the party and the state

behind to enforce their new rule.

Not only Yeltsin, the boss of the white Russian Federation - the largest component in USSR - and the darling baby of Bush, is against this coup but more than that the entire western white capitalist countries are furious. India's rulers are worried.

But whether the pro-communist coup succeeds or America has its way, Gorby, who tried to defy the 75-year old communist experiment and struck the last nail on the communist coffin, is finished.

Gorby's fall came much earlier than expected. He dug his own grave and jumped into it. However, while dismantling the communist structure, he enabled the different ethnic units in USSR to gain freedom. He has to be congratulated for this. But the Russian coup leaders want to undo this.

Things are confusing though we are happy that the NWO got a second setback.

engineering such a violence. It is true that Karamchedu discovered two able Dalit leaders – Bojja Tarakam and Katti Padma Rao – and gave birth to Andhra Pradesh Dalit Mahasabha itself. It is true that the Dalit movement in AP took a big bold leap because of Chundur and Katti Padma Rao, a close friend of the *Dalit Voice*, emerged as the hero of Chundur. We are happy about these developments.

We are also happy that Katti Padma Rao rightly refused to accept govt. doles. Accepting any relief from the govt. at this juncture amounts to compromise with the oppressors. The AP govt. is headed by a Reddy and the Delhi govt. is headed by an Andhra Brahmin. As long as the principal Reddy culprits—sheltered by the local upper caste MLA, Deputy Speaker Dharma Rao – are not arrested and their properties confiscated, the Hindu relief offered by the govt. should not be accepted.

It is also true that such explosions sharpen the contradictions, refine the Dalit movement, give birth to committed leadership and ultimately give a push to Dalit movement. We agree that these should be welcomed and the contradictions appropriately used.

Victims of hatred: It is also true that Dalits are not the cause of such explosions. It is the Hindu racial hatred of the untouchables and their self-assertion that leads Hindus to such violent outbursts and mass murders. In Chundur, our people did not kill anybody. They were only the victims of Hindu hatred. Dalits merely demanded self-respect that is all. But the Hindus, who boast about their great "tolerance and non-violence", were the offenders. No doubt, such violent actions make our people more militant and more assertive.

All this is true. But can we depend upon only Hindu actions for our reactions? If the Hindus do not get angry and take to violence, Dalit movement will get no push. That means we are depending upon the Hindu engine to drive the Dalit caravan.

Democracy in danger: As long as the Dalits are docile, obedient, work as slaves of Hindus they are tolerated. The moment they express even slight resentment, let alone protest, they are kicked, killed, raped and burnt. This is what happened at Chundur.

But what does democracy mean? It means equal participation. But the Hindu ethos does not allow it. Hence this violence when the Dalits demand participation and equal sharing. This proves Dalits, the non-Hindus, cannot live with Hindus.

Blood thirsty wolves: The Hindus after committing such a serious crime, that hit "national" headlines continuously for over 15 days, are now coming forward with offers of "peace and unity". Will the lambs ever trust the wolves? It is the wolves that eat up the innocent, peace-loving lambs. After a gala feast, they only come to the surviving lambs for "unity and peace". How can the lambs ever trust such blood-thirsty wolves? From 1947, the day of

"independence", the country has witnessed enough of such bloody carnages perpetrated by the less than 15% Aryans/Hindus/savarnas. And SC/ST/BCs and Muslims have lost complete trust. And for their self-defence, and secure their human rights they have to look up elsewhere.

Welfare Minister Sitaram Kesari, who replied to the Lok Sabha debate on Chundur on Aug. 13, suggested a legislation to check such atrocities on Dalits. Nonsense. Kesari is an elderly Bihari Khurmi, a backward caste, and an ardent advocate of Mandal Commission despite being in the Congress. Still he is not able to understand that a law can punish only an individual offender. At the most a small group. But when a whole mass of humanity goes mad what can the law do? *Law cannot cure a disease caused by a social, cultural, religious rupture. Nay. A mental twist.* (DV edit Jan 1 1989: "The Twist in the Hindu mind threatening India's unity & integrity"). Not even the military can check this sanctified racism as witnessed at Chundur.

In AP today, the entire lot of upper castes are thirsting for Dalit blood. Which Army can stop, control such crazy people? Kesari suggested setting up of a "Central control room" at the Lok Nayak Bhavan in New Delhi. But what is the use of this "control room" as long as it is controlled by the Hindus who are the very oppressors?

Rulers breaking rule of law: The existing system has no remedy when the rulers themselves break the rule of law. Chundur has proved it. Chundur should, therefore, make SC/ST/BCs and Muslims to seriously think the multi-dimensional aspects of the Chundur explosion.

Chundur has also once for all proved that India is not a nation but a group of several nations deeply divided on racial lines. Each jati is a nation by itself. Andhra Pradesh is a good example. It has been a witness to the Dalit-Khamma, Khamma-Kapu, Reddy-Backward caste clashes in the past. Anti-Muslim riots are a daily occurrence in the country.

With so much of racial and religious divide, is it possible to maintain the unity and integrity of the country?

Dr. Ambedkar solutions: That is why Chundur should make us remember the Father of India, Babasaheb Ambedkar, who after seriously pondering over the country's racial divide offered the solution of a separate electorate, separate settlement, proportional representation - leading to self-determination for each nation.

The principles behind these schemes are discussed in the following pages.

All these are time-tested democratic principles tried in India and elsewhere and found essential for peacefully resolving a complicated problem. Since India is the most complicated and complex country in the whole world, it can survive only under these

conditions.

Unity & Integrity of India: Babasaheb's balm is the only solution to maintain the country's unity and integrity with which we are seriously concerned as its original inhabitants. Because we love this country and its unity, we are putting forward these good old time-tested democratic solutions for a wide-ranging discussion. Or else the country will break into pieces. And this is what the Aryan aliens want.

It has now become more or less clear specially after the anti-Mandal war and violence (1990) launched by the upper castes that it is only the Untouchables who can provide the leadership to all the country's revolutionary forces seeking social change. Though the anti-Mandal agitation was aimed at denying reservations to BCs, the upper caste anger was directed more at Dalits. Naturally, they took over the leadership of defending the Mandal and their BC comrades. The violence at Chundur is another proof of the racial divide between Hindus and Dalits. That means Hindus will be on one side and Untouchables on the opposite side. Behind the Untouchables, will stand the BCs and STs and the Muslims/Christians/Sikhs. Untouchables alone can provide leadership to India's second independence struggle under the banner of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who has shown us the path to rebuild India on the basis of (1) separate electorate, (2) separate settlement, (3) proportional representation leading to (4) self-determination for each nation within a united Akhand Bharat.

Chundur helped us to "Educate, Agitate, Organise" on these lines.

Hindu police helped Chundur Hindus

Chundur: The Hindu police had a hand in the Aug.6 massacre of Dalits. What the police did was unimaginable. A police party warned Dalits of an impending raid by the Central Reserve Police (CRP) and they began to run. Why should the police warn someone about a raid by the CRP? Some cops defended it saying that they had warned Dalits of impending mob attack. Shouldn't they have tried to prevent the attack instead?

When they were fleeing the police reported this to the Hindu residents. Neighbouring villages like Mothukuru and Munnangivaripalem were contacted over the telephone and asked to pass the word around that Dalits were rushing their way after killing four Reddys in Chundur. The feeling Dalits were caught between the Reddy mob chasing them and the Reddy rowdies waiting for them.

In India, the murderer, police, prosecutor, judge, jailor and hangman are all one - Hindu - said one Dalit here.

ROLE OF CHURCH AT CHUNDUR

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: *Dalit Voice* wants to record the services rendered by the Christian church in the Chundur mass murder of Untouchables. We are happy that several nuns and pastors immediately took over the relief operations. Salvation Army gave the shelter at Tenali. No Hindu organisation was found anywhere in the vicinity.

Why no Hindu organisation went to Chundur? Are not the Untouchables Hindus? The answer is simple. The Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus. That is why the Hindus did not come. Chundur further helped the AP Dalits to understand this vital point.

It is true that a large number of the Chundur victims were Untouchables convert to Christianity just like the Karamchedu victims. These conversions, if not helpful in any other way, made the Untouchables more assertive, more militant and more self-respecting.

But there the difference ends. The converts (despite being Christians) continued to be Untouchables in the eyes of the Reddys/Hindus. *The Chundur Reddys killed them not because they were Christians but because they were Untouchables. That means the church failed in its mission.* "Catholic Churches Three Crimes against Christ" (DV June 16, p.7).

The Chundur Untouchables despite being Christians accepted the leadership of Katti Padma Rao, who is not a Christian, and other Ambedkarities. This shows that Dalit Christian salvation lies in Ambedkarism and not Christianity. They will continue to be denied reservation as long as they fight under the banner of their church. The church leadership in the hands of Hindu converts is not interested in Dalit Christians.

Lessons of Chundur

D.V. CHINNAIAH, PRESIDENT, REPUBLICAN PARTY, AP, HYDERABAD

The AP Dalits have not learnt any lesson from their past experiences. They seek shelter under the Congress if the Khammas killed them or go over to Telugu Desam if Reddis killed them - little realising that the Congress or Telugu Desam are just two sides of the same coin. They conveniently forget Dr. Ambedkar at the time of elections but shout his name only at the time of atrocities. They are only paying in blood and tears for not heeding to Babasaheb's advice that the atrocities on them would continue until they "Educate, Agitate, Organise" themselves into an independent religion and political force. If the Hindus continue their violence, Dalits would have no other option but to resort to armed struggle. If that happens the Hindus would have to thank themselves for the disastrous consequences that would follow. These words, in fact, are not ours. You see them in the concluding speech of Babasaheb Ambedkar while presenting the Constitution.

Get Ready for the Italian Rule

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: India has no enemies. All its enemies are inside India only. We are our own enemies. To be precise, India's ruling class itself is its own enemy. All the foreign invasions - Moghal, Greek, Mongol, British etc. etc - took place at the invitation of one or other upper caste Indian ruler.

The brahminical social order - which is its own enemy - having failed to rule India is today busy inviting a foreigner to rule India. This is clear from the mad, mad "Draft Sonia" frenzy that has gripped the rulers.

From the warning given by India's chief nazi daily, *Indian Express*, (Aug. 8 first edit) it is clear that the country's overwhelming brahminical forces are opposed to Sonia. Almost every Brahmin-Bania "national" napkin paper has threatened Sonia. This section had never hidden its hatred of Sonia. During the latter period of Rajiv as PM, India's "national" toilet papers used all sorts of lies and abusive words against this very dignified woman.

Indian Express threat: The *Express* has gone to the extent of warning her that "in the name of decent values in the public life" she should not enter politics. As if these Aryan hordes have any decency. When their own Aryan gods are noted for indecency what can we expect from their devotees? And such indecent Aryans are advising perhaps one of India's most decent women. If Rajiv did something as PM, it was done at her behest. She was the brain behind him. Her special love for Scheduled Tribes, her keen interest in minorities made Rajiv take several steps for their protection. The credit for all this must go to her and in DV we had then published several reports to this effect.

The nazi paper does not stop at mere warning her. It even

threatens her. "She should not be surprised if she loses much of the sympathy she has evoked and is entitled to in the tragedy that has befallen her". When did the brahminical social order have any sympathy for her?

Quit India threat: Poor Sonia. We really pity her. During the life time of her husband, she was ridiculed like anything. After his death she is being threatened. The threat has gone to such an extent that she was even advised to get out of India once for all. With her two children, bag and baggage.

What does all this mean? It means the brahminical social order is shivering at her "coming". She is coming. She is coming. And a section of the brahminical forces are conniving at it. N.D. Tiwari who lost the PM post is behind the game apart from the Kashmiri Brahmin, Fotedar. And many others.

Why the brahminical forces are shivering? Why are they afraid of her? Because they have come to know (and they have enough proofs) that her "coming" is not in their interest.

If the laws of contradictions say we must love what the enemy hates and hate what the enemy loves, what should be our attitude to Sonia "coming"?

PVN proves weak: Her "coming" through Amethi is becoming more and more certain because the "Neogi Brahmin" has proved an utter failure so soon. His Katri Finance Minister has almost given up his World Bank (read American) - sponsored financial "reforms". The Khatri is cut up that he was made a fool. PVN is not able to push the capitalist roadroller. The party is divided. Nobody obeys him. He has proved too weak. And in DV, we have already predicted his fall "(PVN Govt. in danger," Aug. 16, p.6).

The American bosses are convinced that only the Italian woman has the capacity to run the capitalist bulldozer to discipline the chaotic Indian economy. Not only that. Sonia "coming" means as good as clamping the New World Order on South Asia. It will be a painless surgery. Besides, she will also provide an effective leadership to Indians. Because, within 45 years of "giving them freedom", the quarrelsome Indian ruling class has proved unfit to rule. India was ruled by all sorts of foreigners but not Italians. So why not give a chance to Italy? Will it not be better than the brahminical rule?

Self-defence force for AP Dalits

Vijayawada: "Samata Volunteer Force" will be constituted from the Independence Day to defend Dalits, veteran Dalit leader and founder of the Marxist-Leninist Study Centre, K.G. Satyamurthy announced here on Aug. 12.

Satyamurthy, a revolutionary poet ousted by the Hindus as second lieutenant in the People's War Group, told newsmen here that the recruitment in the force would begin from Aug. 15 which would be observed as "national protest day" against the system which allowed the perpetration of atrocities on weaker sections by Hindus.

REVOLUTIONARY BLACK LITERATURE FROM AMERICA

We have just received 26 valuable books from our American representative, Runoko Rashidi, a noted Black historian, dealing with different revolutionary aspects of Black history, politics, sociology, literature etc. for which there is a great demand in India. They will be listed in the next issue of DV and those interested may order xerox copies of the books kept in our library - EDITOR.

SEPARATE ELECTORATE AND SETTLEMENT PLUS PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

Speech delivered at the Samata Sainik Dal seminar conducted at the conclusion of the Bheem March, in Bangalore on May 12, 1991.

The subject given to me is not only topical in view of the coming mini-general election (May-end 1991) but it is a subject to which even intellectuals among Untouchables and Tribals have not given enough thought.

Perhaps, they think that either separate electorate is impractical or there is no point in discussing it since the Hindus may not concede it.

The first reaction comes out of our immaturity if not innocence and the second one shows that Dalits are losing their identity and getting absorbed into the brahminical social order.

Samata Sainik Dal (SSD), being the most militant Dalit organisation in the State, should condemn both these attitudes.

Break up of USSR: I congratulate the SSD for not only discussing this subject of separate electorate but making "Self-determination for Dalits" as the very theme of this day-long seminar. If self-determination is our aim, then separate electorate becomes redundant. ("Self-determination for each Nation", DV edit Oct 16, 1986). When Soviet Russia itself is breaking up on the issue of self-determination we will not be surprised if a multi-national country like India also gets rocked on this issue.

That the SSD is seized of this question proves that it is maturing into a real, genuine Ambedkarite organisation. This is a matter of great satisfaction to me because this is the first time I am called upon to speak on such an important subject anywhere in India by any Dalit organisation.

The subject, therefore, is of utmost importance.

I do not know how I can do justice within the given time. However, I will try my best to put at least the essential points avoiding details such as the history of the separate electorate.

Bigger than Europe: The Untouchables of India together with Tribals (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes), if they are taken as a whole, may form over 30% of India's 850 million population. This exceeds the combined population of entire Europe.

Such a big population can make and unmake history. It can topple any govt. The two - SC and ST - together have 120 seats in the Lok Sabha, the Lower House of Parliament. If this 120 MPs join hands, they can topple any govt.

But somebody said we have 120 donkeys in Parliament (laughter).

But what is the actual position? When Babasaheb Ambedkar's famous book, *Riddles in Hinduism*, was burnt by Hindu Nazis in Bombay and banned by the Maharashtra govt., not one Dalit MP had the courage to stand up and protest in Parliament.

DALIT MP BEATEN UP INSIDE PARLIAMENT

Hiralal Parmar, a Congress MP from Gujarat, was beaten up right inside the Lok Sabha (1981) by his own party MPs and that too right in the presence of the then Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. He was beaten up for complaining that during the first Gujarat upper caste war against Dalits, his house was set on fire. For stating the fact, he was "punished" by the upper castes. No action was taken against

the MPs.

Why this helplessness? If the SC/STs are 20% of our population, why nobody bothers about them? Why the ruling upper castes do not bother about such a big population? Why our votes are taken for granted? Why Hindus say they can simply purchase our votes? Why our votes have no value?

Muslims and Sikhs: This is because unlike the Sikhs (2%) and Muslims (15%), two other religious minorities in India who are taken seriously by the Hindus, our population is not concentrated in a particular area. They are scattered, dispersed all over India.

Sikhs live mostly inside Punjab and Muslims are heavily concentrated in Kashmir, UP, Bihar, Kerala and Assam etc. These "Muslim-dominated States" decide the voting pattern.

But there are no Dalit-dominated States.

As the pre-Aryan original inhabitants of India and its original rulers, the whole country belonged to Dalits. That was during the days of the great Indus Valley civilisation and later the Golden Age of India's history under the Buddhist rule.

Cause of conversion: But the Aryan hordes who drifted into India destroyed our glorious civilization and resorted to such barbaric oppression that thousands and thousands of our people became

Muslims, Christians and Sikhs. And because of this our population came down. The whole of Bangladesh was once a Dalitland. The entire population embraced Islam and got themselves liberated.

The Aryan oppression on one side reduced the SC population (though we consider the Muslims, Sikhs and Christian converts as our own people), and on the other side the SCs were pushed outside village

limits.

THE TWO INDIAS

So much so, India's every village has part of its population outside its limits and that is the portion occupied by the SCs.

Babasaheb said we have not one India but two Indias.

The population of the outcastes or Untouchables (SCs) in each village is small. Not only they are small in number but they are the weakest in everything - socially, economically and even physically. And always at the mercy of the Hindus. In my village of Ambalpadi of South Kanara dt. there are only five houses of Untouchables. Their population may be 20 to 30.

Some villages may have little more SC population *That is how Hindus can simply starve the Dalits to death through social boycott of SCs if the Dalits try to challenge them.*

Reserved Constituency: And because of this in a given State Assembly constituency the total population of SCs is negligible. Even in a "reserved constituency" the SCs do not form a majority. In the whole country, there may be only a few reserved constituencies where the SCs may be in a majority. In all other reserved constituencies it is the Hindus who are in a majority. That is why the SCs cannot get elected from a non-reserved constituency.

Basavalingappa's case: Take the case of Basavalingappa's constituency (Yelahanka). I am taking this example because Basavalingappa is Karnataka's most famous Dalit leader and his constituency is just outside the Bangalore city limits and I know this constituency intimately.

Here also the Hindus are in a majority. Do you know once he was defeated because the Hindus did not vote for him? Not even the Backward Castes.

A SC MLA who gets elected from a reserved constituency has to be always under the obligation of the Vokkaligas, Lingayats and

Brahmins - meaning Hindu. Because he can't get elected merely with SC votes.

Plight of Dalit MP, MLAs: If a Dalit after getting elected for the first time, tries to support his community, Hindu leaders of the constituency will warn him saying that he is not the MLA for SCs alone but he is the MLA for the whole constituency. As the Hindus constitute the majority, they want him to help them.

As the Dalit MLA can help Hindus only at the cost of his people, to get renomination and then re-elected he will have to please the Hindu and forget his people.

Traitors become popular: That is how the SC/ST organisations like the SSD are angry with their own Dalit MLAs, MPs and ministers. This is natural. Such proven traitors are liked by the Hindus. And India is full of such Dalit leaders. And the most famous of them was the late Babu Jagjivan Ram.

In Karnataka barring Basavalingappa, we can hardly get another Dalit MP or MLA who fights for the Dalits even incurring the displeasure of Hindus.

So, if we get only such useless dumb, deaf, blind Dalit "leaders" the fault lies not so much with these "leaders" but in the existing electoral system with a reserved constituency.

That is how when Babasaheb's book was burnt by the Hindu Nazis, no Dalit MP had the courage to get up and protest. Because if he protests, he will not get the party ticket and even if he gets the ticket, the Hindus will see that he is defeated.

Electoral system is the curse: So the present "reserved constituency" is a curse. We are fed up with this electoral system. It must be changed. And that is why most Dalit organisations, while demanding continuation of reservation in admission to educational institutions as well as recruitment to govt. services, have angrily demanded scrapping of the political reservations or the "reserved

constituency".

What then is the way-out?

HOW TO LIVE WITH HINDUS?

Babasaheb Ambedkar had foreseen this as early as 1930 and that is why he had proposed separate electorate. *Our experience in the last 45 years has convinced us that we cannot live with Hindus. We have nothing against them. The two are not merely two separate nations, but one warring with the other.* "Untouchables and Tribals a separate nation - Growing demand for Dalitastan", DV edit, Oct 16, 1985)

India a vast zoo?: Somebody said India is like a vast zoo. The comparison is good. Like the zoo, India too has varieties of two-legged animals. Very interesting and very entertaining. Here the comparison ends. In a zoo, each animal, bird or creature is caged separately. If a deer is allowed to live with a tiger, the latter will eat it. That is why all animals are separated and caged.

Not only that. Even in a forest - their natural habitat - each particular animal or birds move within its groups. Elephants live together and move together. But in this human zoo of India, all the two-legged animals are allowed to freely roam around. And this has made the life of weaker sections vulnerable to the more strong and more aggressive, more cunning (upper castes) animals.

So, while agreeing that India is a vast zoo, Babasaheb said like a real zoo, the different animals should be separated through a barricade. And to begin with the weakest animals should be protected first. And this he called as separate electorate.

Mara-Mari in zoo: Only if such barricades are put India that is a vast zoo will look interesting. Otherwise, there will be a pell-mell, *mara-mari* and the zoo may go up in flames and finally closed down. In the interest of maintaining the "unity and integrity" of the zoo, such barricades (separate electorate) are a must.

Reservations are human rights: There is a hardly any difference between animals and humans. Just as stronger animals eat the weaker, human beings also harrass the weaker. The man dominates the woman because she is physically weak. So just like the separate enclosures for animals in a zoo, humans also need separate electorate to assure the weaker sections protection from the proclivities of the strong, mighty, wicked, cunning and the rich. This is a universally accepted principle in all civilised societies. That is what self-determination means.

Otherwise, the human rights of the weak will be trampled upon by the strong. These human rights are called reservations.

Essence of democracy: Separate electorate means the right to elect their own representatives. This is the essence of democracy.

Under the existing reserved constituencies SC/STs don't elect their own representatives. They are forced to elect stooges of the Hindus. I need not give you names. But you see them all around.

Untouchables not Hindus: The principle behind the separate electorate is that SCs and also STs have to be treated separately because they are not Hindus. They are a separate, distinct entity. In other words, *Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus.*

In a democracy everybody is equal but this principle of equality will become effective only when we are recognised as a separate entity. In other words, equal but separate.

Separate electorate is not new to India. Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, Sikhs had separate electorate once and it worked well.

Obedient donkeys: Under the existing electoral system our people are deprived of their right to send their rightful representatives. Only good-for-nothing useless *Harijans* get elected because these *Harijan* MLAs and MPs do not represent SCs but the Hindus. And the Hindu

want only obedient donkeys to carry their load.

What is separate electorate? For details refer to page 27 of the booklet, *Emancipation of Untouchables*, by Dr. Ambedkar.

Under this system a Hindu will have only one vote but an Untouchable will have two votes but in two different constituencies. The first constituency is a population-wise constituency consisting of only SCs. The constituency is not restricted to an area but restricted to the population of SCs.

RIGHT FOR TWO VOTES

Right now Karnataka is allotted a particular number of SC seats in the State Assembly and Lok Sabha and these seats are fixed in proportion to the population of SCs. Certain areas are carved out and it is called a "reserved constituency". Each Assembly constituency has about 1 lakh population.

Under the separate electorate an exclusive SC population totalling 1 lakh population will become a constituency by itself. And in this population-wise constituency spread over several taluks, the SCs alone are the voters. It is not a territorial constituency as it is now but a constituency comprising exclusively SCs.

SCs also get a second vote in the territorial constituency.

That means a Dalit will have two votes. One vote because he is a Dalit and the second as a citizen. By exercising his first vote he will elect the best and the most effective Dalit representative among his community within that population-wise constituency. As only a SC is allowed to contest in this exclusive SC constituency, only the best person will be selected as the voters are also exclusively SCs.

All the Dalit MLAs selected on this basis will be like Basavalingappa - not *Harijans*.

By the second vote, Hindus will be made to go to the doors of Untouchables and beg for their votes. And if he, the Hindu

candidate, is anti-Dalit he will not get the vote.

This is the meaning of separate electorate. And this system would have ensured the best and the most effective representation to SC/STs in the legislature.

Poona Pact: Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi went on fast against this in 1932 and Babasaheb Ambedkar was threatened, bullied and forced to sign what has come to be known as the notorious "Poona Pact".

The Hindu and the gandhian objection is that "separate electorate would divide the Hindus" and the country. But there is no separate electorate now. Is not the society divided?

It is because of this Poona Pact SC/STs were given reservations as a compromise. And this reservations connived at making the Untouchables part of the Hindu caste system - although they are not Hindus and never Hindus. Untouchables are outcastes - meaning outside the caste system.

India not yet a nation: Since India is not yet a nation but a group of nations, striving to become a nation, we have to recognise this fact. Earlier the better. Or else we will have endless war and violence on Khalistan, Jharkhand, Kashmir, ULFA, Tamil Nation etc.

BABASAHEB AS INDIA'S FIRST PRIME MINISTER

Suppression of the separate identity of Dalits, Sikhs or Kashmiris will not promote Indian nationhood. ("Nationality Question & The Sikh Problem", Guna, DV, Nov.1 1985).

Cycle chain: I have no time to elaborate this point although I can speak to you on this (nationality question) for a full day. Every segment of this country is like a link in a cycle chain. Every link in a chain is important. You can't say this link is important and the other is less important. If one link breaks, the cycle will not move.

The Hindu objection to separate electorate is that "it will divide the nation". But this is not the real

objection. Do you know what is the real Hindu fear? Their fear is if separate electorate had been granted then Babasaheb Ambedkar would have been the country's first PM. The Muslims would have joined the Dalits and torpedoed that brahminical bid to impose their imperialism with the exit of the British imperialism.

But suffice it to say that the "Poona Pact" has killed us. It has killed our militancy and forcibly made us an unwilling part of the Hindu religion although the Hindus are not prepared to accept us as their kith and kin nor are we interested in joining them.

We have seen the working of the reserved constituencies and how it has made SC/STs slaves of Hindus. We should get rid of this and fight for separate electorate.

Separate electorate or chaos: If only Gandhi and the Hindu leaders had then (1932) accepted Babasaheb's proposal, India would have by now become a healthy, powerful country. The bottled up energies of the SC/ST - the country's most virile section - would have been released and added to the country's prestige. There would have been communal peace all over the county. But today neither SC/STs are happy nor the Hindus.

So in the interest of the unity and integrity of this country of which the SC/STs are the original inhabitants, the Hindus must peacefully concede our legitimate demand.

Or else they should be ready to face our fight for a separate electorate.

Separate settlement: Not only separate electorate. Along with that, we must also fight for "separate settlement" and "proportional representation". ("Proportional Representation alone can end social imbalance", DV edft, Sept 16, 1989).

Right now the Untouchables are dispersed all over the country. There is no village where they have a concentrated population. This has led to several problems.

Because of their isolation, they are

exposed to Hindu violence. As they are in a minority in a given village they can't organise a proper self-defence. The police, judiciary and the press are hostile to them.

Dalit movement itself has become almost impossible because of this.

TRANSFER OF POPULATION

So, the Untouchable population will have to be moved into separate settlements where their population will become sizeable and hence safe. This is called the transfer of population. World history has any number of incidents of such a successful transfer of population. Israel is the best and the most recent example.

This will help the govt. also to concentrate all their welfare measures at one place. It will also help the Dalits to organise themselves as effective citizens to claim their human rights.

Homeland: Our experience of the last 45 years has convinced that SCs can no longer live with Hindus. So they have to break the existing village system and carve out their own separate homeland.

Proportional representation to Brahmins: Today, the Untouchables are only socially separated from Hindus. They must push this further and make themselves territorially separate and religiously separate.

They must also insist upon proportional representation to all castes, sub-castes, communities and religions, including Brahmins.

Proportional representation means representation in proportion to the population of each jati and religious unit.

In a village there may be one barber and one potter family or there may not be any. What can that one barber and potter jati family people do? Such minor jatis therefore get totally neglected.

I do not think the barber community in Karnataka has any one in IAS. So also potters, weavers, etc. This is because numerically larger communities even among SC/ST/

BCs have monopolised everything. Just because a particular jati (jati means tribal unit) is small that jati cannot be neglected. Every jati, even the smallest one, must get reservations (human rights) in proportion to its population.

Hence proportional representation. These three demands - separate electorate, separate settlement and proportional representation - are very important and urgent. We have to bring out small pamphlets in Karnataka to explain it to our people and prepare them for the coming struggle.

Human rights not given but taken: The Hindus will not easily concede our demands and give our human rights on a golden platter.

Human rights are not given. They are taken. We have to fight and take. The SSD must get ready (cheers).

Only thing is that there is not much time left.

"Gandhian era is coming to end with the end of the 20th century.

The 21st century is the "Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Era" (cheers). This Era is only about eight years away.

Under the "Dr. Ambedkar Era" not only we have to get ourselves liberated but also all other oppressed peoples like the Muslims, Backward Castes, Sikhs and Christians. Even the Hindus (cheers).

Brahmin women burnt alive: Brahmins say they are miserable. Brahmin women are oppressed by their own Brahmin men.

Many Brahmin women are burnt alive daily by their men. So we have to liberate not only ourselves but all others including the Brahmins and particularly their women. (cheers).

We must get ready. There is hardly eight years left. We must get ready. Will you? (loud cheers).

When I say get ready, I mean we must be ready fully armed to meet all the eventualities (cheers).

Tamil Nadu Turns into another Punjab

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Tamil Nadu is fast turning into another Punjab where every Sikh has become a suspect, militant, dreaded terrorist and anti-national. TN may soon excel Punjab. The *papans* are bent upon crushing the country's purest Dravidian State to re-establish their supremacy. Using the Rajiv murder, which came as a blessing in disguise to the *papans*, they installed the Bangalore *papatti* as Chief Minister. The intoxicated *papans* now want to break the back of the Dravidians using the police and military. All sorts of cock and bull stories are daily manufactured about Tamil Tigers and using their *papan* press to spread these lies, the *papans* are striking terror in TN. The state terror has even spread to neighbouring Bangalore which has a sizeable Tamil population. They want to root out the Dravidian movement once for all.

As a senior Dravidian leader Anaimuthu said (DV Aug. 16, p.6) every Dravidian political leader proved

a fraud and agent of the *papans*. Their sins are visiting on today's Dravidians who are made monkeys by the filmi stunts. The biggest culprit is the cut-throat.

Role of Dr. Ramadoss: Such an oppression of the Dravidians will only help chasten them. Only then they will wake up and identify the principal enemy.

At this crucial juncture, Dr. Ramadoss and his party (PMK) must play a crucial role by sharpening this contradiction and using the tide in their favour.

As of today, the Bangalore *papatti* backed by the Mount Road Mahavishnu and the Kanchi overlord, has no opposition in TN with assured support from the Delhi rulers. That means TN too will join the long list of terrorist-infested States. Within 45 years, the upper caste rulers have converted the whole India into a living hell.

Haryana Christians presecuted

New Delhi: The Baptist Union of North India has complained that the local police have been harassing Christians of Bhiwani (Haryana). In a press statement they alleged that police constables along with some "goondas" entered the house of Christians every now and then with the intention of terrorizing the inmates. The Christians are not even allowed to meet anyone. Ram Singh, principal of a senior-secondary school in Bhiwani, is the master-mind behind these. He has been doing all this to sell a Christian trust property in Bhiwani, which is worth crores of rupees, for just a few lakhs. (*Statesman* Aug.7)

False SC/ST Certificates

New Delhi: Delhi University Executive Council member Vijay Goel alleged here on Aug. 2 that 16 cases of students seeking admission on the basis of false SC/ST certificates had come to light but the university authorities had not taken any action against these students despite having complete details about them. (*Hindustan Times*, Aug. 3)

Dr. Ambedkar centenary at Trivandrum on Sept. 24

M.V. GOPIDASAN, CANARA BANK SC/ST EMP. ASSN.,
MUVATTUPUZHA, ERNAKULAM DT., KERALA 686 661

We are celebrating the birth centenary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar on Sept. 24 at Trivandrum. Dalit organisations, SC/ST associations and individuals who wish to attend the function may write to us. We are also planning a blood donation camp on that day at Trivandrum.

Reddys strip BC woman

Chilakurti (Nalgonda Dt): Three Reddis disrobed a 25-year-old woman, forced a quarter litre of arrack down her throat and paraded her naked on the streets, her hands tied-behind with her blouse. Not satisfied with his gruesome atrocity, they kept her for public view for an hour at "santha" (weekly market) at Chilakurti, 15 km from Nagarjunasagar, on Aug. 14. The woman, Varapidatha Muthamma, who belongs to the backward "Golla" caste (shepherds), is a servant in the house and farm of one of the assailants. She is the mother of a 15-year old boy. Her husband was away at his workplace - a mill in Miryalaguda - when her modesty was outraged. Even as she was paraded naked, a "Golla" man, Bichamaiah, forced his way to cover her body with a towel but he was thrashed by the Reddy who accompanied her all along, one of them gripping the woman by her hair, the second thrashing her with a stout cane and the last with an axe in hand, as the village's sweeper, Chand, walked behind in guard. While the villagers stayed behind the doors, the folks in the market led the scene. (*Hindu* Aug. 17).

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Letters to Editor

Ms. Ruth Weisner Bonner, 3004, Timberline Drive, Fort Worth, Texas 76119, USA: I am a 76-year-old African-American educator who has spent the last 12 years researching the history of people of African descent. I have found references to the Dravidians, but very little information about them. I am still looking for authentic information. V. T. Rajshekar's essay, "The Black Untouchables of India: Reclaiming our Cultural Heritage", in *The African Presence In Early Asia*, Editors: Ivan Van Sertima and Runoko Rashidi, Transition Books, New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA and Oxford UK, (1988) has given me much information. Rajshekar gives a list of Dalit Sahitya Akademy books in English at the end of his essay. I want to read them to know more about my fellow people in India.

Janetha Simpson, 537, Clinton Avenue, Apt. 2D, Brooklyn, New York 11238, USA: The book, *DALIT - The Black Untouchables of India*, by V.T. Rajshekar was such an eye opening for me of the situation in India that after reading it, I became more interested in learning about the history of the Dalit. I personally believe, that in recognising the Dalit's oppression along with the Afro-American's oppression, that being oppressed and mentally dead as most of the oppressed masses are, one can no longer live a life as such. Therefore, the more people acknowledge the history as well as the struggle, the closer one will begin to rid their oppression. Keep hope alive.

U.E. Akpan, 15, Carrow Road, South Lambeth, London, SW 8 IJS, UK: I just read the book, *African Presence in Early Asia*, and found it very interesting on the problems of India especially about the African minority. Then I come across Dalit Sahitya Akademy publications which I want to study, to know more on the situation in India. I also want to read *Dalit Voice*, "the Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities denied human rights." I am an African residing in UK and I am interested in the life of the Indian continent. The mass media in UK always tell us on how "India is free". If this is true, how could such wrong doings takes place, like the books, I am reading? The bourgeoisie must be telling lies about India. Without me reading the books, I have, there is no way possible that I would really get to know what is going on there. I am pleased that positive steps have been taken by the minority oppressed to solve the problems. We minorities in UK face the same problems as you. We are now organising a revolutionary style to overthrow the slave system.

Dr. E. Dada, National Executive Director and E. Ngubane, Asst. to Director, Islamic Da'wah Movement

of South Africa, PO Box 48009, Qualbert 4078, Durban, South Africa: Ours is one of the largest *Da'wah* organisations in South Africa. We are involved primarily in giving the message of Islam to all the people of South Africa, especially the Black. We want to maintain this process of islamisation and increase its tempo throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. A network of about 30 islamic centres with resident *du'aat* (Islamic worker) are established countrywide. We want to read *Dalit Voice*. We have many students, especially revert Muslims from the Blacks who will benefit from your publication.

John Trimble, Organiser, All-African People's Revolutionary Party, Atlanta, USA: I very much appreciate the booklet, *Ready Reference to revolutionaries*. I will continue to share this information with others in my Party. I found the sections on Religion, God and Religion and Religious conversion particularly enlightening. The matriarchal organisation of traditional society in India (pre-Aryan) is another feature shared by traditional society in Africa. Brahminism is truly an evil and oppressive pseudo religion. It not only preaches that Dalits are inferior to the upper castes, but says their only salvation after death lies in submitting to the oppression of brahminism. Because religions deal with the most basic philosophic questions: How we came to be? And why we exist? Religious oppression is much more insidious than racism or apartheid. A people's religion has been historically an important part of their culture. This makes hinduism cultural oppression of Dalits. Religious conversion as advocated by the great leader and scholar, Babasaheb Ambedkar, is necessary to combat the cultural oppression of brahminism. Mass conversion from hinduism will lead to the spiritual and material uplifting of the Dalits and the destruction of hinduism. Justice-loving people of all religions, and beliefs must work together to expose hinduism/brahminism for the fault religion that it is. I want to read *African Origins of Indian Tribes: The Siddis of North Kanara*, by Dr. T.C. Palakshappa. *Dalit Voice* is playing an integral part, not only in the Dalit struggle but also in the world struggle for justice and humanity.

Mehmood Ahmed, 1597, E. Adams, Orange, CA 92667, USA: The politics of both India and Pakistan is dominated by small men who are playing small games. The money the two countries have spent on buying arms and armaments to kill each other could have been spent on those who have grown up without hope: unemployed, uneducated and given to violent criminality. Sometimes, I wonder whether the disputes between India and Pakistan are there because of leaders or whether leaders are there because of disputes. The European nations have come together forgetting the bitterness of wars they fought against themselves for hundreds of years. There is no doubt that some day the same feeling would come about in South Asia.

Ali Quli Qarai, Qum, Iran: I don't agree with your praise for Saddam Hussain. He gave the pretext to the west to establish a permanent military post in the Gulf. He has destroyed his country, humiliated Iraq, the Muslim world and the Third World. He has ruined the sacred shrines of Kerbala, Najaf and burnt invaluable libraries. Every one who fights the imperialists is not a friend of the oppressed. We don't have to take sides when a tyrant fights another tyrant.

Qarai's country had fought a eight year-old war with Iraq and hence we can appreciate his anger against Saddam. But he must know that during this war we were with Iran which we consider as the most revolutionary Islamic country in the world. Contradictions facing Iran today are different from what the persecuted nationalities in India are facing. Here, our oppressors are brahminical forces which went all-out to support the US in its efforts to crush Iraq. India's tiny Muslim elites being obliged to Saudi Arabia also joined our oppressors. So, the oppressed Muslims and all other persecuted peoples of India had no other go at that juncture but to support Saddam. So Qarai's view of Iraq will be essentially different from ours. However, we would like to make it clear that we have the greatest admiration for Revolutionary Iran which is the only hope in the Muslim world today. India has the largest Muslim population in the world and as such Iran has a duty towards India's oppressed Muslims, who constitute over 95% of its Muslim population. In India, the entire media is controlled by the brahminical forces and the few Muslim press is pro-Saudi. As such India's oppressed Muslims and much more its entire persecuted nationalities are not getting the truth. When Saudi Arabia is pouring so much of money to get media support, is it not the duty of Iran to do something to spread the truth so that the truth itself shall liberate the oppressed? Iran can't escape this responsibility - EDITOR.

Ripon Choudhury, C/o. N.I. Choudhury, Advocate, D.K. Road, Dhubri, Assam-783 301: I am a student and a regular reader of *Dalit Voice*. I have also read a number of your books. Your mode of writing, thinking, free mind have attracted me and made me your fan.

Mrs. T.R. Azad, Jammu: Very sorry to inform that Khazan Chand Rana, a dedicated Dalit KAS officer, was suspended by the racist rulers of the State following the Nazi attack on him. The entire Dalit community has revolted against this racist action of the Governor.

P. Chandragesan, president, Dalit Sena, TN, No.6, 97th St., 15th sector, K.K. Nagar, Madras-78: We want to award prizes to deserving SC/ST students at our annual conference in October when our chief, Ram Vilas Paswan, will be present.

Pramod Meshram, Buddhist Society of India, 24 Kamala Nehru Rd., Wani Bhavan, Ujjain, MP-456 001: On the Vijaya Dashami day (Oct. 17) we want to publish a souvenir. We need articles on Buddhism, Ambedkarism, translated articles from *Dalit Voice* in Hindi.

Binod Biplabi, Baragarh, Orissa: The Higher Secondary Council, Orissa, has prescribed *Kabyashri*, an Oriya poetry, for plus-two students. Ten out of 52 poems in it are collected from Aryan mythology but no poem has been selected from any other religions. The ten poems will damage the young minds as they preach anti-democratic ideals and destroy scientific spirit and inquiry. The only poem, *Purahitya*, against the havoc of the priestcraft is not included in the syllabus. Such dangerous books violate the Constitution of India and hence can be challenged in court of law.

Ram Kumar Srivas, Banda, UP: Congratulations for publishing "Gandhi, the Sex Maniac," (DV Aug.1). We have come to know the truth.

B. Susheel Kumar, Tiruchy, TN: You often call M. Karunanidhi as cut-throat. I am unable to answer my friends to whom I sell DV. MK belongs to a most backward community and he named a district after Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Our criticism of MK did not start after his exit as chief minister of TN. Even when he was in power, we had published two articles by a close associate of MK and also a leading figure in the Dravidian movement. "Karunanidhi betrays Periyar & Stabs Tamil Elum liberation forces in the back", Ekalavya, Feb.1, 1991 p.5). The same author had written "The secret of Karunanidhi again becoming CM," (DV Feb.16 1989). These articles will answer all your doubts as to why we call him cut-throat. Despite being from a temple-piper jati (virtually Untouchable), he with all his close papan advisers not only did his best to destroy the Dravidian movement but deceived even K. Veeramani, the DK chief, who continued to support MK despite his hostility. His double-standards on the Lankan Tigers made the latter distrust him most. If there is one single person responsible for the rise of papan rule again in TN it is this cut-throat. V.P. Singh very much wanted him to have an electoral alliance with PMK of Dr. Ramadoss but he came in the way. He ditched the Dravidians, Lankan Tigers, buttered the Kanchi fellow, resorted to all sorts of corruption and today he is paying the price for his limitless treachery - EDITOR.

HO. Ba Ravan Bodisathva, Kannegala, Chamarajnagar taluk, Karnataka: I am so much infused with the burning thoughts of Babasaheb that the brahminical education system is refusing to enter my head. So much so, I failed in BE second year because I was more busy reading Babasaheb's and your books. My parents are furious. They say I failed because of my pre-occupation with Dalit movement. My mind is caught in this war between Ambedkarism and brahminism. Will somebody help me out?

Maiku Ram, IPS, Inspector-General of Police, Railways, Main Secretariat, Patna-800 015: The State SC/ST Emp. Welfare assn. of which I am the president had a day-long seminar here on Aug. 11. We are disappointed that you did not accept our invitation. The subject was "Sudras were never Hindus." We here still remember your speech at the

Sri Krishna Memorial Hall during Ambedkar Jayanti last.

Prof. Mihir Sethi, Govt. College, Sundergarh, Orissa: We congratulate P.K. Mahanandia, a great Dalit artist of international repute for taking interest in Dalit literature and *Dalit Voice* (DV Aug. 1 p.9: "Sweden discovers Dalit painter prodigy from Orissa".) All the Dalits who hide their caste after getting all the facilities due to the efforts of Babasaheb and do not work for Dalits, should learn from PKM. I had heard a lot about PKM from his cousin while studying at JNU, Delhi. I have also read his article in a Oriya daily, *The samaj*. PKM has done well in giving scholarships to artistes but he must see that only Dalits get it. Had he remained in India our Aryan merit-mongers would never have recognised his merit discovered by Sweden. PKM can do a lot for DV in Sweden.

B.K. Nag, Rourkela: P.K. Mahanandia, so far unknown to our own Dalits in India, will now become famous in India - thanks to the publicity he got in DV. Our Dalit comrades in Orissa must be proud of PKM. I am personally happy that PKM has become a member of our DV family. I know his entire family. His elder brother died in Jan. The Nazi press did not mention a word about the untimely death of this dedicated Dalit officer. His other brother in the forest service supported us in our Ambedkar Jyoti procession.

Surendran C, Mullianmadakkal House, Urangattiri, Kerala-673 639: I am a regular reader of DV and its great admirer but due to poverty I am not able to subscribe to it and you were good enough to send me a complimentary copy. I have to pay Rs. 85 as donation for having got admission in the Farooq College, Calicut, BA class. I have no money for books, clothes. I would like to stay in the hostel so that I may avail the Rs.180 scholarship a month. My parents are too poor to help me.

Will some kind soul in Kerala or elsewhere extend support to this brilliant-boy ? EDITOR.

D. S. Pagare, Ullhasnagar, MS: Though the Parliament has passed the law and the Govt. of India ordered that Buddhists should be treated as SCs for purposes of reservations, the Rly. Recruitment Board, Bombay, does not recognise this order. Will Rly. Minister Jaffer Sheriff look into this violation of the Constitution by Hindu officials of his Dept. ?

Dr. S. Madhava Rao, RMO, MNJ Cancer Hospital, Red Hills, Hyderabad-4: "Struggle & sacrifice will only liberate us", said Babasaheb in his message to *Jai Bheem* of Madras dt. April 13, 1947. This message was published in DV of March 16 last at my request. DV readers from all over India have flooded me with requests for a copy of this magazine. We are happy to inform that the magazine is under reprint.

Prof. Shiva Jatan Thakur, Member, Bihar, Public Service Commission, Patna-800 001: The brahminical press is carrying on a campaign against our

Commission which under our dynamic Chief Minister, Laloo Prasad Yadav, has started implementing his pro-weaker section recruitment policy. Ever since you last visited Patna to participate in the Dr. Ambedkar Jayanti, when I translated your speech into Hindi, I am reading DV with great interest. I want to see you in Bangalore for a detailed discussion.

O. Mehaboob Subhan, Hospet, Karnataka: Gulf War coverage is full of exaggerations. Saddam might be a CIA agent acting at the behest of US allowing Iraq to become a testing ground for high-tech war. The wisest man of the Arab world, Gaddafi, was reluctant to support Saddam.

S.M. Pasha, convener, Minorities Welfare Assn., Madras: The Hindu Nazis in TN encouraged by the new political developments have stepped up their campaign against Muslims and Christians. A Kanchi godman-sponsored conference of "Hindu educational institutions" passed a resolution on Aug. 4 demanding scrapping of the Art.29 and 30 (1) of the Constitution safeguarding the educational rights of minorities.

Mushtaq Malik, convener, S. India Muslim Shabban Conference, Nabi Khana Akber, Patel Market, Hyderabad, AP: In this conference scheduled for Oct. 11-13 here, we will discuss the problems of Dalits, Muslims, Sikhs etc. We are very particular about your presence to inspire all of us.

Fr. Stephen Fuchs, Institute of Indian Culture, Andheri, Bombay: I like your fighting spirit as shown in your journal. And you are right to say that in their majority the Untouchables are neither shudras nor Hindus. They are only CALLED Hindus. Some of them may be apéing the Hindus. They must be "educated" that they are racially different from Hindus. I wrote a book, *Untouchables*, which was published in 1981 by Munshilal Manoharlal, New Delhi. It is a survey of the Untouchables in the country.

Mounting SC/ST vacancies

New Delhi: The backlog of reservations for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Central Government services as reported by various Central Government Ministers and departments in the last three years was 111,079, the Lok Sabha was informed on Aug.7. To clear the backlog of SC/ST vacancies, executive instructions were issued in April, 1989 banning dereservation in direct recruitment. These instructions are considered adequate, Minister of State for Personnel Margaret Alva said in a written reply. (*Hindustan Times* Aug. 8).

Latest Hindi Book

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SELF-DETERMINATION FOR EACH NATION

"Dalit Voice" is totally committed, without compromise, to the struggle for self-determination of all nationalities in India including the Untouchables and Tribals. Everybody has the right to live in peace in their own house within India. We realise our forefathers and mothers had suffered all, dared all for the struggle for self-determination. They died without their dreams being fulfilled. Now, it is our time to continue this struggle.

DV seeks to destroy all injustice and oppression, irrespective of the perpetrator's race, creed or nationality. We do not tolerate oppression — whether it is an individual who imposes himself on others, or a class/caste that exploits others or nations that exploit other nations. That is why we have extended our full support to the struggle of every persecuted nationalities — Sikhs, Gorkhas, Mizos, Nagas, Assamese, Tamils, Goan Christians, Jharkhand tribals, Uttarkhand Dalits, Kashmiris, Telugus, etc., and to different religious and language groups.

We support them because as Untouchables, India's single biggest persecuted group, we know what persecution means. We are sufferers and they are our co-sufferers. That is why we swear by self-determination.

The handful of Aryan rulers deny with repression the right of self-determination of the oppressed nations. Self-determination is a human right of any nation or people to struggle against foreign subjugation, domination, exploitation and oppression; and it is their right to become independent to choose their own political status (course of action), without compulsion or interference. Aryans are foreigners.

Self-determination means that we as the Black Untouchables, original inhabitants of India, maintain the distance (through resistance) that separates us from our oppressors.

We resist integration. We are equals but separate. Aryan imperialism is trying to perpetuate the system that oppresses us. We must have the right to direct and control our lives, our history and our future, rather than to have our destinies determined by the Aryan invaders.

Our only solution: Human rights means the right for self-determination that is : self-defence, self-reliance, self-respect and national self-confidence. It also means to know ourselves, our history and culture, define ourselves, speak for ourselves, create for ourselves, and to control our own course of action and destiny. Others, specially our oppressors, can't define our culture, our language, our history. We know who we are and what we are. That is the meaning of self-determination.

Self-determination means continuous struggle against national oppression. We must always rely on our own efforts first and foremost, reliance on outside support opens the door wide to undue pressure, interference and paves the way to further dependence. That is why we should reject the Aryan charity show. This nonsense of "Harijan Welfare". The "reservations" in admission to educational institutions, recruitment to jobs and seats in legislature, these concessional loans and all that humbug is an Aryan effort to break our self-reliance. The more we accept these Aryan alms, we will become better beggars before their closed houses.

Homeland: The history of the Black Untouchables must be understood in the context of self-determination. Being determined (controlled) rises from the historical fact that the racist exploitative system of Aryans determines to keep Dalits in a position of dependency, poverty and degradation.

Self-determination rises from the fact that oppression (being determined) causes resistance from Dalits to control their own course of action and destiny.

The highest aspect of self-determination is our own land to live as a nation within India. We must understand that India's Aryan rulers deny the existence of several nations within India's frontiers, Dalits, Muslims, Sikhs, Nagas, Gorkhas, Kashmiris, Mizos, Goan Christians, Tamils etc. They deny with repression the right of self-determination of the oppressed nations that exist within their confines. *By denying the existence of these nations, the oppressors are denying them the right to live.*

Thus the definition of "nationhood" has become the exclusive right of the Aryan rulers and anyone else's definition is regarded as interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

The Black Untouchables and other persecuted nationalities must understand that no emancipation, reconstruction, resettlement or revolution of an oppressed people has ever been successful without the redistribution and just allotment of land or the complete change of the productive relations.

Aryan Ploy: The Dalits still suffer from the worst social discrimination and consequent poverty, poorest health care, massive unemployment. After 40 years we are still trying to "integrate" into the Aryan system, begging the rulers for reservations. But the Aryan racism negates integration because caste and untouchability are part of Hindu theology. The false notion that ordered abolition of untouchability, integration and reservation will give us freedom as people is an Aryan ploy, a total deception.

The Indian caste system will always let a few Black Untouchables like Jagjivan Ram to the top to keep the rest of us pacified and complacent. But these Dalits who worm up are concerned only with their own individual interests and not the collective interests of the

Dalits. *The Hindu "sacred" scriptures permit only individual salvation but collective salvation is not tolerated.* You may amass wealth by fair or foul means. No Hindu leader will find fault with you. But if you strive for a collective salvation of your nation, you are charged with sedition. You are arrested. Dalits must understand the meaning of democracy in India. There is not even a majority rule. A super-rich minority of upper castes control the majority of Hindus and non-Hindu people.

Dalits and other persecuted nationalities must realize that racial equality and political democracy (there can be no equality between the "haves" and "havenots") is only an idea but not a fact. As a matter of fact it is hypocrisy. The most important function of Dalits is to work and grow food for the rulers

and serve them as slaves.

But these functions are not democratically decided through voting, they are controlled by Aryan power based on monopoly and income. What difference do Dalit votes mean, when we don't control the life-sustaining needs in our communities?

Control your destiny: Self-determination, therefore, is the only realistic political philosophy that Dalits and other nationalities should adhere to - either we can let things happen to us or make things happen to us. A dependent people cannot be a free people. We must be on our own. We must control our destiny. That is self-determination. Then only India will be strong.

A century ago Churchill had said India is just a geographical

expression. Indian "nation" is a creation of the British, keeping under the carpet its innumerable contradictions of languages and dialects, religions, castes and tribes. There is no parallel to this dense and diverse strata of mankind forced to live as a "nation" even as hundreds of contradictions fly at our face everyday telling us that India is not a nation, but a group of nations living within a country.

So the self-determination of each "nation" within the Indian sub-continent will receive the highest priority in the coming years. All future struggles will be the struggles of different nationalities for self-determination. Caste contradictions will be resolved only after the nationality question is solved. Not before that. (DV Editorial, Oct 16 1986)

Dalit Christian reservation

New Delhi: The Government is examining a proposal to bring forward legislation to include converted Christians in the Scheduled Caste list, Welfare Minister, Sitaram Kesri told the Lok Sabha on Aug. 12. The Government has received memorandum from converted Christians to this effect, the Minister told Suresh Kodikunnil. (Hindu Aug 13).

SC/ST Commission member

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: P.S. Krishnan, IAS, just retired as Secretary, Welfare Ministry, Govt. of India, New Delhi, has become a member of the National Commission for SC/STs. A friend of the Dalits, and *Dalit Voice* in particular, Krishnan has been taking keen interest in SC/ST liberation activities. His wife, a teacher at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, recently addressed members of the newly-formed Samata Sainik Dal here. He is at the Commission office: V floor, Lok Nayak Bhavan, New Delhi- 110 003 Office phone: 4626061.

ANTI-SIKH GOVERNOR

Amritsar: The Akali Dal (Mann) opposed the move by the Centre to appoint Surendra Nath as the new governor of Punjab. The party press secretary, Jagjit Singh, said that Nath, during his tenure as advisor to the Punjab governor soon after 'Operation Blue Star', had been responsible for torturing hundreds of Sikh youth. "A man with an anti-Sikh and anti-Punjab vision could under no circumstances be accepted as the governor. (Statesman Aug. 5).

Mahatma Phule book creates a record

Bombay: A record in the Marathi book world was created when 10,000 copies of the collected works of Mahatma Jotiba Phule were sold out within two days.

The 840-page hard-bound publication by the state government's Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya Ani Sanskriti Mandal, was priced only at Rs 10. This was certainly a big incentive. But the brisk sale also shows the great interest in the work of the reformer in the non-Aryan movement who founded a school for girls in 1851 and for untouchables in 1852 in Pune, then dominated by Brahmins.

As soon as chief minister Sudhakar Naik released the book at the MLAs hostel, there was a big scramble to buy it. The queue stretched past several buildings in the neighbourhood.

This is the fourth edition of Mahatma Phule's collected works. The first came out in 1969. Subsequent editions carried additional material as growing research by Indians and westerners on Phule revealed substantial new information. The latest edition has 300 pages of new material, including reports of the schools through which Phule pioneered women's education in the country.

The new edition also carries fresh material on the Satya Shodhak Samaj, founded by Phule, and obituaries written by newspapers on the reformer in 1990, Phule's writing has also been published in chronological order and errors in the earliest editions have been corrected.

A century after his death, Phule's relevance is being increasingly recognised because of his passionate attacks against social inequality, the caste system and brahminism and his championing the cause of women and untouchables.

The target of severe criticism from brahminism during his life-time and later, Phule became the subject of renewed controversy in Maharashtra three years ago when Bal Gangal, attacked him in vile terms in the weekly *Sobat*.

INDIA IS NOT YET A NATION

On Nov. 4, 1948 – Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar delivered this historic speech in the Constituent Assembly while introducing the Draft Constitution as entitled by the Drafting Committee. It provided Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. He discarded the village and adopted the individual as its unit and provided certain safeguards for minorities and had forewarned the "majority" either to give up fanaticism or else the "minority" which had suffered a lot will blow up the whole fabric of the State. Had he been not in the Drafting Committee the Fundamental Rights as provided therein would not have been in such form and degree as enforceable in the highest court of law.

Sir, looking back on the work of the Constituent Assembly it will now be two years, eleven months and seventeen days since it first met on the 9th of December 1946. During this period the Constituent Assembly has altogether held eleven sessions. Out of these eleven sessions the first six were spent in passing the Objectives Resolution and the consideration of the Reports of Committees on Fundamental Rights, on Union Constitution, on Union Powers, on Provincial Constitution, on Minorities and on the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes. The seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth and the eleventh sessions were devoted to the consideration of the Draft Constitution. These eleven sessions of the Constituent Assembly have consumed 165 days. Out of these, the Assembly spent 114 days for the consideration of the Draft Constitution.

Coming to the Drafting Committee, it was elected by the Constituent Assembly on 29th August 1947. It held its first meeting on 30th August. Since August 30th it sat for 141 days during which it was engaged in the preparation of the Draft Constitution. The Draft Constitution, as prepared by the Constitutional Adviser as a text for the Drafting Committee to work upon, consisted of 243 articles and 13 Schedules. The first Draft Constitution as presented by the Drafting Committee to the Constituent Assembly contained

315 articles and 8 Schedules. At the end of the consideration stage, the number of articles in the Draft Constitution increased to 386. In its final form, the Draft Constitution contains 395 articles and 8 Schedules. The total number of amendments to the Draft Constitution tabled was approximately 7,635. Of them, the total number of amendments actually moved in the House were 2,473.

Longest Constitution in shortest time. : I mention these facts because at one stage it was being said that the Assembly had taken too long a time to finish its work, that it was going on leisurely and wasting public money. It was said to be a case of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. Is there any justification for this complaint? Let us note the time consumed by Constituent Assemblies in other countries appointed for framing their Constitutions. To take a few illustrations, the American Convention met on May 25th, 1787 and completed its work on September 17, 1787 i.e., within four months. The Constitutional Convention of Canada met on the 10th October 1864 and the Constitution was passed into law in March 1867 involving a period of two years and five months. The Australian Constitutional Convention assembled in March 1891 and the Constitution became law on the 9th July 1900, consuming a period of nine years.

The South African Convention met in October 1908 and the Constitution became law on the 20th September 1909 involving one year's labour. It is true that we have taken more time than what the American or South African Conventions did. But we have not taken more time than the Canadian Convention and much less than the Australian Convention. In making comparisons on the basis of time consumed, two things must be remembered. One is that the Constitutions of America, Canada, South Africa and Australia are much smaller than ours. Our Constitution as I said contains 395 articles while the American has just seven articles, the first four of which are divided into sections which total up to 21, the Canadian has 147, Australian 128 and South African 153 sections. The second thing to be remembered is that the makers of the Constitutions of America, Canada, Australia and South Africa did not have to face the problem of amendments. They were passed as moved. On the other hand, this Constituent Assembly had to deal with as many as 2,473 amendments. Having regard to these facts the charge of dilatoriness seems to me quite unfounded and this Assembly may well congratulate itself for having accomplished so formidable a task in so short a time.

Muslim members' criticism rebutted: Turning to the quality of the work done by the Drafting Committee, Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed felt it his duty to condemn it outright. In his opinion, the work done by the Drafting Committee is not only not worthy of commendation, but is positively below par. Everybody has a right to have his opinion about the work done by the Drafting Committee and Mr. Naziruddin is welcome to have his own. Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed thinks he is a

man of greater talents than any member of the Drafting Committee. The Drafting Committee does not wish to challenge his claim. On the other hand, the Drafting Committee would have welcomed him in their midst if the Assembly had thought him worthy of being appointed to it. If he had no place in the making of the Constitution it is certainly not the fault of the Drafting Committee.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed has coined a new name for the Drafting Committee evidently to show his contempt for it. He calls it a Drifting Committee. Mr. Naziruddin must no doubt be pleased with his hit. But he evidently does not know that there is a difference between drift without mastery and drift with mastery. If the Drafting Committee was drifting, it was never without mastery over the situation. It was not merely angling with the off chance of catching a fish. It was searching in known waters to find the fish it was after. To be in search of something better is not the same as drifting. Although Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed did not mean it as a complaint to the Drafting Committee, I take it as a compliment to the Drafting Committee. The Drafting Committee would have been guilty of gross dereliction of duty and of a false sense of dignity if it had not shown the honesty and the courage to withdraw the amendments which it thought faulty and substitute what it thought was better. If it is a mistake, I am glad the Drafting Committee did not fight shy of admitting such mistakes and coming forward to correct them.

INTEREST OF SCHEDULED CASTES

I am glad to find that with the exception of a solitary member, there is a general consensus of appreciation from the members of the Constituent Assembly of the work done by the Drafting Committee. I am sure the Drafting Committee feels happy to find this spontaneous recognition of its labours expressed in such generous terms. As to the compliments that have been showered upon me both

by the members of the Assembly as well as by my colleagues of the Drafting Committee I feel so overwhelmed that I cannot find adequate words to express fully my gratitude to them. I came into the Constituent Assembly with no greater aspiration than to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes. I had not the remotest idea that I would be called upon to undertake more responsible functions. I was therefore greatly surprised when the Assembly elected me to the Drafting Committee. I was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected me to be its Chairman. There were in the Drafting Committee men bigger, better and more competent than myself such as my friend Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar. I am grateful to the Constituent Assembly and the Drafting Committee for reposing in me so much trust and confidence and to have chosen me as their instrument and given me this opportunity of serving the country (*Cheers.*)

Kudos to B.N. Rau: The credit that is given to me does not really belong to me. It belongs partly to Sir B.N. Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly, who prepared a rough draft of the Constitution for the consideration of the Drafting Committee. A part of the credit must go to the members of the Drafting Committee who, as I have said, have sat for 141 days and without whose ingenuity to devise new formulae and capacity to tolerate and to accommodate different

points of view, the task of framing the Constitution could not have come to so successful a conclusion. Much greater share of the credit must go to Mr. S.N. Mukherjee, the Chief Draftsman of the Constitution. His ability to put the most intricate proposals in the simplest and clearest legal form can rarely be equalled, nor his capacity for hard work. He has been an acquisition to the Assembly. Without his help,

this Assembly would have taken many more years to finalise the Constitution. I must not omit to mention the members of the staff working under Mr. Mukherjee. For, I know how hard they have worked and how long they have toiled sometimes even beyond midnight. I want to thank them all for their effort and their co-operation. (*Cheers.*)

The task of the Drafting Committee would have been a very difficult one if this Constituent Assembly has been merely a motley crowd, a tasseleted pavement without cement, a black stone here and a white stone there in which each member or each group was a law unto itself. There would have been nothing but chaos. This possibility of chaos was reduced to nil by the existence of the Congress Party inside the Assembly which brought into its proceedings a sense of order and discipline. It is because of the discipline of the Congress Party that the Drafting Committee was able to pilot the Constitution in the Assembly with the sure knowledge as to the fate of each article and each amendment. The Congress Party is, therefore, entitled to all the credit for the smooth sailing of the Draft Constitution in the Assembly.

Ideological differences: The proceedings of this Constituent Assembly would have been very dull if all members had yielded to the rule of party discipline. Party discipline, in all its rigidity, would have converted this Assembly into a gathering of 'yes' men. Fortunately, there were rebels. They were Mr. Kamath, Dr. P.S. Deshmukh, Mr. Sidhva, Prof. Sexena and Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. Along with them I must mention Prof. K.T. Shah and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. The points they raised were mostly ideological. That I was not prepared to accept their suggestions, does not diminish the value of their suggestions nor lessen the service they have rendered to the Assembly in enlivening its proceedings. I am grateful to them. But for them, I

would not have had the opportunity which I got for expounding the principles underlying the Constitution which was more important than the mere mechanical work of passing the Constitution.

Finally, I must thank you Mr. President for the way in which you have conducted the proceedings of this Assembly. The courtesy and the consideration which you have shown to the Members of the Assembly can never be forgotten by those who have taken part in the proceedings of this Assembly. There were occasions when the amendments of the Drafting Committee were sought to be barred on grounds purely technical in their nature. Those were very anxious moments for me. I am, therefore, specially grateful to you for not permitting legalism to defeat the work of Constitution-making.

Why communists condemned the Constitution?: As much defence as could be offered to the constitution has been offered by my friends Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari, I shall not therefore enter into the merits of the Constitution. Because I feel, **however good a Constitution may be, it is sure to turn out bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. However bad a Constitution may be, it may turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot.** The working of a Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. The Constitution can provide only the organs of State such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of those organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they will set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics. Who can say how the people of India and their parties will behave? Will they uphold constitutional methods of achieving their purposes or will they prefer revolutionary methods of achieving them? If they adopt the revolutionary methods, however

good the Constitution may be, it requires no prophet to say that it will fail. It is, therefore, futile to pass any judgment upon the Constitution without reference to the part which the people and their parties are likely to play.

The condemnation of the Constitution largely comes from two quarters, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Why do they condemn the Constitution? Is it because it is really a bad Constitution? I venture to say 'no'. The Communist Party wants a Constitution based upon the principle of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. They condemn the Constitution because it is based upon parliamentary democracy. The Socialists want two things. The first thing they want is that if they come in power, the Constitution must give them the freedom to nationalize or socialize all private property without payment of compensation. The second thing that the Socialists want is that the Fundamental Rights mentioned in the Constitution must be absolute and without any limitations so that if their Party fails to come into power, they would have the unfettered freedom not merely to criticize, but also to overthrow the State.

These are the main grounds on which the Constitution is being condemned. I do not say that the principle of parliamentary democracy is the only ideal form of political democracy. I do not say that the principle of no acquisition of private property without compensation is so sacrosanct that there can be no departure from it. I do not say that Fundamental Rights can never be absolute and the limitations set upon them can never be lifted. What I do say is that **the principles embodied in the Constitution are the views of the present generation or if you think this to be an over-statement, I say they are the views of the members of the Constituent Assembly. why blame the Drafting Committee for embodying them in the Constitution? I say why blame**

even the Members of the Constituent Assembly? Jefferson, the great American statesman who played so great a part in the making of the American Constitution, has expressed some very weighty views which makers of Constitution, can never afford to ignore. In one place, he has said:—

We may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right, by the will of the majority, to bind themselves, but none to bind the succeeding generation, more than the inhabitants of another country."

In another place, he has said:

The idea that institutions established for the use of the nation cannot be touched or modified, even to make them answer their end, because of rights gratuitously supposed in those employed to manage them in the trust for the public, may perhaps be a salutary provision against the abuses of a monarch, but is most absurd against the nation itself. Yet our lawyers and priests generally inculcate this doctrine, and suppose that preceding generations held the earth more freely than we do; had a right to impose laws on us, unalterable by ourselves, and that we, in the like manner, can make laws and impose burdens on future generations, which they will have no right to alter; in fine, that the earth belongs to the dead and not the living."

TOO MUCH POWER TO CENTER

I admit that what Jefferson has said is not merely true, but is absolutely true. There can be no question about it. Had the Constituent Assembly departed from this principle laid down by Jefferson it would certainly be liable to blame, even to condemnation. But I ask, has it? Quite the contrary. One has only to examine the provision relating to the amendment of the Constitution. The Assembly has not only refrained from putting a seal of finality and infallibility upon this Constitution by denying to the people the right to amend the Constitution as in Canada or by making the amendment of the Constitution subject to the fulfilment of extraordinary terms and conditions as in America or

Australia, but has provided a most facile procedure for amending the Constitution. I challenge any of the critics of the Constitution to prove that any Constituent Assembly anywhere in the world has, in the circumstances in which this country finds itself, provided such a facile procedure for the amendment of the Constitution. If those who are dissatisfied with the Constitution have only to obtain a 2/3 majority and if they cannot obtain even a two-thirds majority in the parliament elected on adult franchise in their favour, their dissatisfaction with the Constitution cannot be deemed to be shared by the general public.

There is only one point of constitutional import to which I propose to make a reference. A serious complaint is made on the ground that there is too much of centralization and that the States have been reduced to Municipalities. It is clear that this view is not only an exaggeration, but is also founded on a misunderstanding of what exactly the Constitution contrives to do. As to the relation between the Centre and the States, it is necessary to bear in mind the fundamental principle on which it rests. The basic principle of Federalism is that the Legislative and Executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States not by any law to be made by the Centre but by the Constitution itself. This is what the Constitution does. The States under our Constitution are in no way dependent upon the Centre for their legislative or executive authority. The Centre and the States are co-equal in this matter. It is difficult to see how such a Constitution can be called centralism. It may be that the Constitution assigns to the Centre too large a field for the operation of its legislative and executive authority than is to be found in any other federal Constitution. It may be that the residuary powers are given to the Centre and not to the States. But these features do not form the essence of federalism. The chief

mark of federalism as I said lies in the partition of the legislative and executive authority between the Centre and the Units by the Constitution. This is the principle embodied in our Constitution. There can be no mistake about it. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the States have been placed under the Centre. Centre cannot by its own will alter the boundary of that partition. Nor can the Judiciary. For as has been well said:

"Courts may modify, they cannot replace. They can revise earlier interpretations as new arguments, new points of view are presented, they can shift the dividing line in marginal cases, but there are barriers they cannot pass, definite assignments of power they cannot reallocate. They can give a

HINDUS INVITED MUSLIM INVADERS

broadening construction of existing powers, but they cannot assign to one authority powers explicitly granted to another."

The first charge of centralisation defeating federalism must therefore fall.

Overriding powers to centre: The second charge is that the Centre has been given the power to override the States. This charge must be admitted. But before condemning the Constitution for containing such overriding powers, certain considerations must be borne in mind. The first is that **these overriding powers do not form the normal feature of the Constitution. Their use and operation are expressly confined to emergencies only.** The second consideration is: Could we avoid giving overriding powers to the Centre when an emergency has arisen? Those who do not admit the justification for such overriding powers to the Centre even in an emergency, do not seem to have a clear idea of the problem which lies at the root of the matter. The problem is so clearly set out by a writer in that wellknown magazine, *The Round Table*, in its issue of December 1935 that I offer no apology for quoting the following

extract from it. Says the writer :

Political systems are a complex of lights and duties resting ultimately on the question, to whom, or to what authority, does the citizen owe allegiance. In normal affairs the question is not present, for the law, works smoothly, and a man, goes about his business obeying one authority in this set of matters and another authority in that. But in a moment of crisis, a conflict of claims may arise, and it is then apparent that ultimate allegiance cannot be divided. The issue of allegiance cannot be determined in the last resort by a juristic interpretation of statutes. The law must conform to the facts or so much the worse for the law. When all formalism is stripped away, the bare question is, what authority commands the residual loyalty of the citizen. Is it the Centre or the Constituent State?"

The solution of this problem depends upon one's answer to this question which is the crux of the problem. There can be no doubt that in the opinion of the vast majority of the people, the residual loyalty of the citizen in an emergency must be to the Centre and not to the Constituent States. For it is only the Centre which can work for a common end and for the general interests of the country as a whole. Herein lies the justification for giving to the Centre certain overriding powers to be used in an emergency. And after all what is the obligation imposed upon the Constituent States by these emergency powers? No more than this – that in an emergency, they should take into consideration alongside their own local interests, the opinions and interests of the nation as a whole. Only those who have not understood the problem, can complain against it

Here I could have ended. But My mind is so full of the future of our country that I feel I ought to take this occasion to give expression to some of my reflections thereon. On 26th January 1950, India will be an independent country (*Cheers*). What would happen to her independence? Will she maintain

her independence or will she lose it again? This is the first thought that comes to my mind. It is not that India was never an independent country. The point is that she once lost the independence she had. Will she lose it a second time? It is this thought which makes me most anxious for the future. What perturbs me greatly is the fact that **not only India has once before lost her independence, but she lost it by the infidelity and treachery of some of her own people.** In the invasion of Sind by Mahommed-Bin-Kasim, the military commanders of King Dahar accepted bribes from the agents of Mahommed-Bin-Kasim and refused to fight on the side of their King. It was Jaichand who invited Mahmood Gohri to invade India and fight against Prithvi Raj and promised him the help of himself and the Solanki kings. When Shivaji was fighting for the liberation of Hindus, the other Maratha noblemen and the Rajput Kings were fighting the battle on the side of Moghul Emperors. When the British were trying to destroy the Sikh Rulers, Gulab Singh, their principal commander sat silent and did not help to save the Sikh kingdom. In 1857, when a large part of India had declared a war of independence against the British, the Sikhs stood and watched the event as silent spectators.

Caste, the enemy of India: Will history repeat itself? It is this thought which fills me with anxiety. This anxiety is deepened by the realization of the fact that in addition to our old enemies in the form of castes and creeds we are going to have many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds. Will Indians place the country above their creed or will they place creed above country? I do not know. But this much is certain that **if the parties place creed above country, our independence will be put in jeopardy a second time and probably be lost for ever.** This eventuality we must all resolutely guard against. We must be

determined to defend our independence with the last drop of our blood (*Cheers*).

On the 26th of January 1950, India would be a democratic country in the sense that India from that day would have a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The same thought comes to my mind. What would happen to her democratic Constitution? Will she be able to maintain it or will she lose it again. This is the second thought that comes to my mind and makes me as anxious as the first.

Buddhist Sanghas: It is not that India did not know what is Democracy. There was a time when India was studied with republics, and even where there were monarchies, they were either elected or limited. They were never absolute. It is not that India did not know Parliaments or Parliamentary Procedure. A study of the Buddhist Bhikshu Sanghas discloses that not only there were Parliaments — for the Sanghas were nothing but Parliaments — but the Sanghas knew and observed all the rules of Parliamentary Procedure known to modern times. They had rules regarding seating arrangements, rules regarding Motions, Resolutions, Quorum, Whip, Counting of Votes, Voting by Ballot, Censure Motion, Regularization, Res Judicata etc. Although these rules of Parliamentary Procedure were applied by the Buddha to the meetings of the Sanghas, he must have borrowed them from the rules of the Political Assemblies functioning in the country in his time.

This democratic system India lost. Will she lose it a second time? I do not know. But it is quite possible in a country like India — where democracy from its long disuse must be regarded as something quite new — **there is danger of democracy giving place to dictatorship.** It is quite possible for this new-born democracy to retain its form but give place to dictatorship in fact. If there is a landslide, the danger of the second possibility becoming actuality is

much greater.

Gandhian methods condemned: If we wish to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, what must we do? The first thing in my judgement we must do is to hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and satyagraha. When there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, there was a great deal of justification for unconstitutional methods. But where constitutional methods are open, there can be no justification for these unconstitutional methods. These methods are nothing but the Grammar of Anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned, the better for us.

Hero worship ruins India: The second thing we must do is to observe the caution which John Stuart Mill has given to all who are interested in the maintenance of democracy, namely, not "to lay their liberties at the feet of even a great man, or to trust him with powers which enable him to subvert their institutions". There is nothing wrong in being grateful to great men who have rendered life-long services to the country. But there are limits to gratefulness. As has been well said by the Irish Patriot Daniel O'Connell, **no man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty.** This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country. For in India, Bhakti or what may be called the path of devotion or hero-worship, plays a part in its politics unequalled in magnitude by the part it plays in the politics of any other country in the world. **Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul. But in politics, Bhakti or hero-worship is a sure road to degradation and**

to eventual dictatorship.

The third thing we must do is not to be content with mere political democracy. We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless there lies at the base of it social democracy. What does social democracy mean? It means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Liberty cannot be divorced from equality, equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things. It would require a constable to enforce them. **We must begin by acknowledging the fact that there is complete absence of two things in Indian Society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principle of graded inequality which means elevation for some and degradation for others. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty.**

On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. In politics we will be recognizing the principle of one man one vote and one vote one value. In our social and economic life, we shall, by reason of our social and economic structure, continue to deny the principle of one man one value. How long shall we continue to live this life of contradictions? How long shall we continue to deny

equality in our social and economic life? **If we continue to deny it for long, we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up.**

INDIA NOT A NATION?

The second thing we are wanting in is recognition of the principle of fraternity. What does fraternity mean? Fraternity means a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians — if Indians being one people. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life. It is a difficult thing to achieve. How difficult it is, can be realized from the story related by James Bryce in his volume on American Commonwealth about the United States of America.

The story is — I propose to recount it in the words of Bryce himself — that —

Some years ago the American Protestant Episcopal Church was occupied at its triennial Convention in revising its liturgy. It was thought desirable to introduce among the short sentence prayers a prayer for the whole people, and an eminent New England divine proposed the words 'O Lord, bless our nation'. Accepted one afternoon, on the spur of the moment, the sentence was brought up next day for reconsideration, when so many objections were raised by the laity to the word 'nation'. As importing too definite a recognition of national unity, that it was dropped, and instead there were adopted the words 'O Lord, bless these United States'.

There was so little solidarity in the U.S.A. at the time when this incident occurred that the people of America did not think that they were a nation. **If the people of the United States could not feel that they were a nation, how difficult it is for Indians to think that they are a nation.**

I remember the days when

politically-minded Indians resented the expression "the people of India". They preferred the expression "the Indian nation." I am of opinion that in believing that we are a nation, we are cherishing a great delusion. How can people divided into several thousands of castes be a nation? The sooner we realize that we are not as yet a nation in the social and psychological sense of the world, the better for us. For then only we shall realize the necessity of becoming a nation and seriously think of ways and means of realizing the goal. The realization of this goal is going to be very difficult — far more difficult than it has been in the United States.

Castes are anti-national: The United States has no caste problem. In India there are castes. **The castes are anti-nation.** In the first place because they bring about separation in social life. They are anti-national also because they generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a nation in reality. For fraternity can be a fact only when there is a nation. Without fraternity equality and liberty will be no deeper than coats of paint.

These are my reflections about the tasks that lie ahead of us. They may not be very pleasant to some. But there can be no gainsaying that political power in this country has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are not only beasts of burden, but also beasts of prey. This monopoly has not merely deprived them of their change of betterment, it has sapped them of what may be called the significance of life. **These down-trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to govern themselves.** This urge for self-realization in the down-trodden classes must not be allowed to devolve into a class struggle or class war. It would lead to a division of the House. That would indeed be a day of disaster. For, as has been well said by Abraham Lincoln, a House divided against itself

cannot stand very long. Therefore the sooner room is made for the realization of their aspiration, the better for the few, the better for the country, the better for the maintenance for its independence and the better for the continuance of its democratic structure. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life. That is why I have laid so much stress on them.

India can no more blame British: I do not wish to weary the House any further. Independence is no doubt a matter of joy. But let us not forget that this independence has thrown on us great responsibilities. By independence, we have lost the excuse of blaming the British for anything going wrong. If hereafter things go wrong, we will have

nobody to blame except ourselves. There is great danger of things going wrong. Times are fast changing. People including our own are being moved by new ideologies. They are getting tired of Government by the people. They are prepared to have Government for the people and are indifferent whether it is Government of the people and by the people. If we wish to preserve the Constitution in which we have sought to enshrine the principle of Government of the people, for the people and by the people, let us resolve not to be tardy in the recognition of the evils that lie across our path and which induce people to prefer Government for the people to Government by the people, nor to be weak in our initiative to remove them. That is

the only way to serve the country. I know of no better.

Mr. President: The House will adjourn till Ten of the clock tomorrow morning when we shall take up the voting on the motion which was moved by Dr. Ambedkar.

The Assembly then adjourned till Ten of the Clock on Saturday, the 26th November 1949. (*Constituent Assembly of India debates dated Nov.25, 1949*).

Reproduced from the Constituent Assembly Debates Dated Dec. 17, 1946 with permission of the Hon'ble Speaker". By courtesy of R.L. Kain, General Secretary, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Vichar Manch, 1-66-B, Dilshad Garden, Delhi - 110 095.

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REGULARISATION OF UNAUTHORISED CULTIVATION OF LANDS: In this heart warming scheme government lands encroached upon by S.C's and S.T's and economically weaker sections will be regularised.

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Sri. S. Bangarappa
Chief Minister

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