

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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Congress rule made Muslims slaves :
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Fall of Muslim began with British but Congress rule made them slaves

Similarly, it is no use saying that the Congress does not recognize the distinction between the ruler and the ruled. If this is so, the Congress must prove its bonafides by showing its readiness to recognize the other communities as free and equal partners. What is the test of such recognition? It seems to me that there can be only one - namely, agreeing to share power with the effective representatives of the minority communities. Is the Congress prepared for it? Everyone knows the answer. The Congress is not prepared to share power with a member of a community who does not owe allegiance to the Congress. Allegiance to the Congress is a condition precedent to sharing power. It seems to be a rule with the Congress that if allegiance to the Congress is not forthcoming from a community, that community must be excluded from political power (p.48).

Exclusion from political power is the essence of the distinction between a ruling race and a subject race; and in as much as the Congress maintained this principle, it must be said that this distinction was enforced by the Congress while it was in the saddle. The Musalmans may well complain that they have already suffered enough and that this reduction to the position of a subject race is like the proverbial last straw. Their decline and fall in India began ever since the British occupation of the country. Every change, executive, administrative, or legal, introduced by the British, has inflicted a series of blows upon the Muslim Community. The Muslim rulers of India had allowed the Hindus to retain their law in civil matters. But, they abrogated the Hindu Criminal Law and made the Muslim Criminal Law the law of the State, applicable to all Hindus as well as Muslims. The first thing the British did was to displace gradually the Muslim Criminal Law by another of their making, until the process was finally completed by the enactment of Macaulay's Penal Code. This was the first blow to the prestige and position of the Muslim community in India. This was followed by the abridgement of the field of application of the Shariat or the Muslim Civil Law. Its application was restricted to matters concerning personal relations, such as marriage and inheritance, and then only to the extent permitted by the British. Side by side came the abolition, in 1837, of Persian as the official language of the Court and of general administration and the substitution of English and the vernaculars in place of Persian. Then came the abolition of the Qazis, who during the Muslim rule, administered the Shariat. In their places, were appointed law officers and judges, who might be of any religion but who got the right of interpreting Muslim Law and whose decisions became binding on Muslims. These were severe blows to the Muslims. As a result, the Muslims found their prestige gone, their laws replaced, their language shelved and their education shorn of its monetary value. Along with these came more palpable blows in the shape of annexation of Sind and Oudh and the Mutiny. The last, particularly, affected the higher classes of Muslims, who suffered enormously by the extensive confiscation of property inflicted upon them by the British, as a punishment for their suspected complicity in the Mutiny. By the end of the mutiny, the Musalmans, high and low, were brought down by these series of events to the lowest depths of broken pride, black despair and general penury. Without prestige, without education and without resources, the Muslims were left to face the Hindus. The British pledged the neutrality, were indifferent to the result of the struggle between the two communities. The result was that the Musalmans were completely worsened in the struggle. The British conquest of India brought about a complete political revolution in the relative position of the two communities. For six hundred years, the Musalmans had been the masters of the Hindus. The British occupation brought them down to the level of the Hindus. From masters to fellow subjects was degradation enough, but a change from the status of fellow subjects to that of subjects of the Hindus is really humiliation. Is it unnatural, ask the Muslims, if they seek an escape from so intolerable a position by the creation of separate national States, in which the Muslims can find a peaceful home and in which the conflicts between a ruling race and a subject race can find no place to plague their lives? (p.48).

(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.

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

Aryan fate will be decided on Tamil soil: Dravidians facing do or die battle

We are supremely happy to announce that our verdict on Tamil Nadu has come true – every word. What all we had so far predicted in the past ten years on this Southern State – having the country's ethnically purest and the most inveterate foes of the alien Aryans – has proved correct. As far back as Aug. 1 1981 (over 10 years ago when DV was coming out as an unregistered journal) we had spotted the "Fascist clouds over Tamil Nadu" following the Aryan frenzy over the mass conversion of Untouchables to Islam in Meenakshipuram. Much earlier, this writer had written in the *Caravan*, New Delhi, about the "Rise, fall and slow death of the Shudra movement." This was in 1978-79 or so. And since then we have been sounding this warning in our writings and speeches that we almost got tired of repeating it.

As Anaimuthu said (DV-Aug. 16 '91) the Dravidian downfall began with Annadurai, "the first fake". In our editorial on the death of the Tamil film stunt master, M.G. Ramachandran, the Malayali Nair-turned-grand Dravidian imposter, (DV Feb. 16 1988: "The real face of MGR"), we wept over the utter decay of Dravidian spirit. Then came the cunning Cut-Throat and we wrote "Karunanidhi deserves *papan* kick" (DV April 16 1989). Our TN Newsletter by R. Elumalai ("Utter confusion in TN: People looking for Third Front" (DV Aug. 16 1990) further elaborated this point. Finally we had two reports: "TN turns into another Punjab" (DV Sept. 1 1991) and "State terrorism in TN?" (DV Sept. 16 1991, p.7).

We commissioned a noted Dravidian scholar close to the leaders and he wrote two articles but by then iron had already entered into the souls of these leaders. And today, the Tamil Nation is facing the darkest days of its history.

For over ten years we have been shouting, warning and predicting that TN would be taken over by the Aryan forces which would break the back of the Dravidian movement that hit its heyday during the great Periyar EV Ramaswamy. Our prediction that

periyarism would be killed, crushed and buried on the long Marina Beach proved right.

The Rise of Jayalalita: Since TN has proved us right, we thought of celebrating this occasion by drinking to the health of one single person who was thrown up by forces of history to accomplish this. And she rose to the occasion like a Sphinx and so ably cut the Cut-Throat to size and heralded this darkest period of the Dravidian rule. Good riddance to bad rubbish. This is a task which only Miss Jayalalita could do. This actress-turned-politician of all the Aryans had the courage to complete this long-awaited burial of the corrupt Dravidian rule. And so we have to congratulate her and thank her. And to

Lankan Tamil editor arrested

Colombo: Two Sri Lankan editors, one in London and the other in Colombo, have appealed to the Indian government to release S. Sivanayagam, the editor of the *Tamil Nation* published from Madras, arrested by the Tamil Nadu police in the crackdown on Lanka Tamils in the state after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi.

He was editor of the *Saturday Review*, published from Jaffna until it was banned by the Lanka government in 1983, more for the reason that it fearlessly exposed the atrocities committed against the Tamils by the security forces. He fled to Tamil Nadu in the middle of 1983, and ever since he has lived there. □

the Kanchi Lord and the Mount Road Mahavishnu for so ably sharpening the contradictions and thereby enabling her to complete a historic task.

We wish she would rule the State for some time so that the entire Dravidian land is scorched, washed, cleaned and dried and the Tamil soil fertilised for fresh flowers to bloom. We are sure the iron lady will do a neat job. We have no doubt about her ability about which she has already given enough evidence. We have all the confidence in her zeal to run the Aryan bulldozer over the Dravidian soil. Because she is playing a role assigned to her by history.

Jayalalita did not kill either the Dravidian spirit or the Periyar movement. It killed itself. Annadurai struck the first blow. MGR poisoned it. The Cut-Throat

completed the job of killing it. So, the Bangalore *papatti* cannot be blamed for the fall, decay and death of periyarism. Periyar's own followers did the job. She must be thanked that she at least gave a decent burial to periyarism appropriately using the Rajiv assassination in TN.

Periyarism a flop?: How could such terrible things happen on the Tamil soil noted for its many firsts? We will leave this question to scholars to be answered

after making a sociological study of TN. But this much can be said with confidence that Periyar EV Ramaswamy and his periyarism, which was pure and simple anti-Brahmin movement, proved a flop.

The Aryans proved this in TN – that brahminism as an ideology is superb. When it can swallow such a powerful Buddhism, which had swept the whole of Asia, then finished marxism, sikhism and every other ism – periyarism proved a peanut to "papans."

Boot-lickers of papans: Today, all those who parade as periyarists, EVR's left and right-hand, are licking the shoes of Jayalalita. How could this poor woman be held responsible if these boot-lickers are competing with one another to do the licking? Look at Food Minister Rajaram under Jayalalita. He used to boast that he was the personal secretary of EVR for the longest period and was the confidant of Periyar – as both hailed from Erode. What is his position today? Shame. Shame. He visits Sabarimalai and prostrates before the Kanchi lord. And he calls himself a periyarist. Another "great periyarist", Nedunchezian, an upper caste Shaiva Mudaliar, has been a Minister under Anna, MK, MGR and now Jayalalita. To be a Minister for such a long time under every CM, he must be an expert in swallowing any insults. The great Periyar stood for self-respect. But his followers brought disrespect. If we give a list of these Dravidian boot-lickers, it will be an insult to Periyar. The poor patriarch must be silently weeping in his Periyar Thidal grave.

Corrupt a man and then finish him: How did this great fall come about? Who managed it? How did

they manage it. Here lies the greatness of brahminical strategy and tactics. All these are found in the Aryan texts – Chanakya's *Arthashastra* and *Manusmriti*.

The brahminical social order (BSO) uses different strategies and tactics to finish the different types of adversaries. *Sama, dana, bedha, danda*. Only the great Periyar passed all these tests in TN. But the "periyarists" fell flat in the very first, if not the second test itself.

How the BSO finishes its adversaries?

Since the TN lesson should warn those fighting the BSO all over India, this point needs little elaboration. And, as we have passed all the tests and still survived, we claim some expertise on this subject.

BSO will first come to you for negotiation, persuasion, moderation and all sorts of give and take compromises. Since the BSO is owning the press, it can easily manipulate the minds of adversaries and force them to come to the negotiating table. Once you agree to negotiate with the BSO, it will bargain for the best terms and you will be made to yield and yield until you are left with nothing. It will put you on the defensive and you will be made a monkey and finally made to melt before the BSO.

This is called *sama*.

Human rights leader arrested

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Madras: P.V. Bakthavatchalam, advocate and noted human rights leader, President, Organisation for Civil and Democratic Rights (OCDR), on 13 Sept. was arrested at the Madras High Court campus.

Bakthavatchalam had announced that he would address a press conference to explain his organisation's support for the cause of Tamil Eelam and this was dubbed anti-national.

On coming to know that he would be arrested, Bakthavatchalam sent word to Justice P.S. Mishra, officiating Chief Justice. The latter called the advocate and the police officers to his chamber and sought from the police the reasons for Bakthavatchalam's arrest. The police informed the Judge that the advocate was planning to hold a press conference, which had been banned. When the Judge advised Bakthavatchalam not to hold the press conference in his chamber, he said he had cancelled it. The police were unconvinced. Meanwhile, many arrests are being made in different parts of the state for alleged support to Tamil homeland (Elam). □

In case, you refuse to go to the negotiating table and engage in a dialogue, and even after going you refuse to yield – then the BSO will resort to the second more deadly – *danda*.

Deadliest weapon : And unless he is a person with a sterling character, uncompromising determination, armed with great erudition and scholarship like Babasaheb Ambedkar and Periyar EVR, lesser humans will fall flat to Aryan sex-bombs, bluff bombs and such other corrupting techniques.

BSO's deadliest weapon is its corrupting technique. With the press in its hand, it can create all sorts of mad, mad desires. Political desires, property desires, publicity desires and what not. And the fickle-minded human with his burning desires will be made to run amuck to get his desires fulfilled. And the BSO is ready to meet all these desires. Once it meets your desires, it will put all sorts of

conditions even as it fans more and more desires in you. It goes on meeting all your temptations and you are trapped.

Property – cause of all misery: You will be allowed to make any amount of money. Have any number of wives and concubines. You can eat from the front and back. You can drink from the top and bottom. You can commit any fraud, murder anybody. You will have your way. You will be upheld. No judicial

commission will indict you. No court will convict you. No brahminical press will pillory you. You will be called a "god-fearing man", "philanthropist", *puratchi Thalaivar*. You will get Bharata Ratna even if you are a vagabond. You will get awards and rewards, daily headlines. Your picture will be permanently on the front pages of all newspapers. You will be made a cover story. You will get any position. You ask, you get it.

Provided you obey the BSO. That is the condition. Such asses are in plenty and you see their names and pictures daily in the brahminical press. BSO wants more such asses.

The Chos & the Chors: All the periyarists fell flat when the BSO used its very first weapon, and with the second they surrendered. The Cut-Throat is the best example in the whole of India to prove how the BSO can finish a person with mere *sama* and *dana*. In Punjab, Kashmir and with Tamil Tigers, BSO failed with *sama* and *dana* and also *bedha*. Even with *danda* BSO is not able to destroy them. But these MGRs, Cut-Throats were easily felled by the Chos and the Chors.

The BSO allows you to make property, any amount of property. It will encourage you to amass more and more wealth, establish more and more institutions and indulge in more and more corruption. More the merrier. And if you are an obedient servant of the BSO, you will be allowed to eat more. If after making some property, you suddenly remember your periyarism or Ambedkarism, you are caught and that is the end of the person. That is why propertied people fall ill because of tensions. Property brings heart attack. They will be encouraged to go to US for heart surgery and that means you are wholesale inside the BSO stomach.

Warning to property mongers: All these "periyarists", who cannot be compared even to a hair of Periyar, were allowed to make any amount of property by the *papans*. And once you love your property there is no ideology. Because you love your property more than your ideology. *All problems start with property. Those who love property cannot think of an ideology, periyarism much less Ambedkarism. Therefore, this is a warning to those interested in fighting the BSO. If you want to win, forget property. One who is interested in property cannot fight the BSO. Nay, he becomes part of BSO.*

So, Jayalalita has now come and is making the corrupt periyarists vomit all that they have swallowed. And we wish her all success. The more they support her better they will be bulldozed.

Ambedkarism and Periyarism: Why the BSO could fight and finish periyarism but not Ambedkarism – although BSO has been much more harsh towards the latter? This question was answered by Dr. Ambedkar himself. ("Dr. Ambedkar: Why TN anti-Brahmin movement failed?" DV June 1 1991, p.16).

The sum total of Periyar's philosophy was just anti-Brahmin. Hate Brahmin and you will get heaven. That is all. It did not seek to destroy its foundations: *Chaturvarna*, aryanism, brahminism, *sanatana dharma*, arya dharma, caste system or the BSO. Periyarism was only against Brahmins. And the periyarists succeeded in this. There was a time when the TN Assembly had not even a single *papan* MLA and not a single *papan* officer in the whole of Madras secretariat. But what is the position today? It is just the opposite. And the party in power is Anna DMK – a Dravidian party. Never before the *papans* had such a field day. What happened to the anti-Brahmin ideology?

This was the greatest ideological mistake of the Periyar movement. Brahmins alone do not comprise the BSO. All the four varnas comprising the Aryan four-fold order make the BSO.

NBs worse than Brahmins: Brahmins may be the brain of the BSO but Mudaliars, Reddies, Marathas, Kayasths, Baniyas, Thakurs are its brawn – and also part of the caste system and hence enemies of SC/ST/BCs. But what happened was that since the Brahmins were at the apex of all institutions in TN, the other (NBs) non-Brahmins (the fourth grade shudra order) felt jealous and wanted to occupy their places. But these Annadurai's, Bhaktavatsalams, Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliars etc. were only jealous of Brahmins. They hated the Brahmins and ridiculed them, but the same people did not love the other less-fortunate Tamils – SC/ST/BCs and Muslims and Christians of TN.

They used periyarism, started the Justice Party, pushed out the papans and after displacing them the NBs occupied the very places vacated by the papans. And once as lords of the land, the NBs behaved worse than the papans. This is the point. Papans at least could be threatened and subdued but not so these NBs.

The non-Brahmin (NB) party became a job-hunters party. The job-hunters turned into Brahmin head-hunters. And once they got the job they wanted, they became more blood-thirsty than the *papans*. Dr. Ambedkar had given this warning against forming a mere NB party as early as 1944.

Non-Brahmins means No-Brains: That is why the same *papans* today make fun of these NBs as No-Brains. Have the *papans* got the same courage to say this about Dr. Ambedkar? Because, Ambedkarism is based on a more solid and sound foundation of ideology.

In DV, we have time and again stressed this point that our struggle cannot be waged against only Brahmins and that Brahmins alone are not our oppressors. The latest Chundur carnage of over 25 Untouchables, was the crime of Reddies. Not Brahmins. The Reddies may get their ideological inspiration from Brahmins. That is different. Reddies

are part of the BSO. So the BSO as a whole, comprising about 15% of India's population, is our oppressor. Not these Brahmins alone. Jayalalita has helped us to clear our stand again.

The periyarists not only excelled the *papans* in persecution but they were the first to show their power on the Tamil Untouchables and Muslims. The *papans* during the days of Periyar were ridiculing the Periyar party as a "paraiyah party" because to that extent the Untouchables had flocked into Periyar's fold having been inspired by his speeches and writings. But no Untouchable was allowed to go into Periyar's inner circle by these NBs. In Dravida Kazhagam no Untouchable was given any worthy post.

Babasaheb spoke at Hotel Connemara, Madras, in the presence of Periyar and had forecast the fall of the NB Party. Periyarism, therefore, helped to replace one set of exploiters with another set of more blood thirsty exploiters.

We congratulate Jayalalita: The clock has turned a full circle. Today, the *papans* are back with a bang and are determined to break the back of this fake, ideologically bankrupt No-Brains. No tears be shed over the death of the NB movement in TN because it was not a movement. NBs wanted to become another Brahmins – rather super Brahmins. *We are against brahminism and not against individual Brahmins.*

That is why we congratulate Jayalalita for completing this task and launching on a scorched earth policy in TN.

That is how the law of contradictions operates. And that is how it must. Nobody can change the course of history. So what has happened in TN is inevitable and unavoidable.

Anti-Thiruvalluvar campaign: Periyarism is dead because the periyarists allowed themselves to be corrupted, meaning brahminised. Once they become corrupt, it became easy for the BSO to finish them. Today, the *papan* road-roller is running over not only the NBs but all Tamils including its innocent Untouchables.

These NBs became so corrupt that the No-Brains had no courage to protest even when the country's greatest poet-philosopher, Thiruvalluvar, an Untouchable, was being denounced in Karnataka. NBs are happy because Thiruvalluvar was a Dalit. To that extent these NBs have become slaves of *papans*. They had no courage to protest when they were being beaten black and blue right inside the Assembly during the session. The Home Secretary was arrested. NBs had no courage. To that extent the BSO has corrupted these fellows.

Untouchables worst hit: The biggest losers in this battle between the *papans* and the NBs is the State's 25% SC/STs. They have lost confidence in all parties. Because of Dr. S. Ramadoss and R. Elumalai some

have gone over to the PMK Party. Some disgusted cadres are also going over to PMK. But PMK to inspire the confidence of the Tamils must follow our suggestions given time to time without aligning itself with any of the corrupt parties including the Congress. Self-determination for Tamils should be the aim of PMK. And we can assure PMK that out of the existing chaos and confusion it will emerge as the only hope.

The *papans* are using the Rajiv assassination as a pretext to run the Aryan bulldozer over the Dravidians. Never before the Tamil Aryans have been so happy. And that is why they are fully backed by the Aryans in Delhi. And we are sure this State terrorism will be intensified. And this is a must. *Because only out of the churning of the ocean, "Amrit" (nectar) will be produced.*

Tamil was all-India language: In DV, we have proved right in all our predictions on TN. We have also said that the Tamils are the most pure and uncontaminated non-Aryans of India. Tamil was once upon a time the language of the whole country, said Babasaheb. Tamil was the only language that never allowed any Sanskrit infiltration or pollution. Tamils – ethnically a distinct people – had fought the Aryans all through history.

The Tamil film stunt masters corrupted by the BSO temporarily blunted this Tamil Elam weapon. And the Bangalore *papatti* is called upon by history to play her stellar role to sharpen and polish this double-edged sword. And she is doing this with all sincerity and dexterity. We are sure she will need some time to complete this job smoothly. And after polishing and sharpening the weapon, she will handover the sword to the waiting Lions, Panthers and Tigers, the younger generation, who will take up the sword and sweep Tamil Nadu clean.

Who will swim, who will sink? So we pray that until the soil is made fertile and the sword is sharpened the Bangalore *papatti* must last. Because only she is capable of sharpening the contradictions, boiling the ice-cold Tamil waters and cleaning the NB stink.

Aryans are today waging a war in Punjab, Kashmir, Jharkhand, Assam, Nagaland – all over India. But nowhere they are waging a wholesale battle on the entire population of a whole State as in Tamil Nadu. So, TN becomes the testing laboratory. This is an entirely new development – a historic development in India. Aryan terrorism has come to Dravidian land and TN provides the testing ground.

TN will finally prove whether the alien Aryans will survive or sink in India or whether the Dravidians will do or die. The Aryan fate will be decided on Tamil soil. We have a beautiful test case.

Will the Tamils – the country's blackest, darkest Dravidians – the original inhabitants – will learn to die so that they may live with honour ?

Black is beautiful: Mix any colour with black, it will become black. Such is its strength. Such is its virility. Tamils are the purest among the country's indigenous people. *If they are destroyed in the current battle that is the end of Dravidian civilisation. And if they regroup, recover and re-establish that is the end of the Aryan rule in India.*

DEBATE

BSP failure to seek poll pact harmed Bahujan Unity

MRS. SURINDER KAUR, CALCUTTA

Dalit Voice has been repeatedly arguing for the past 10 years that SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs constitute over 85% of the Indian population and all these six sections (Bahujans) are persecuted by only one single common enemy i.e. Aryans. Hence all the six sections must unite to fight the common oppressor Fine.

But where is this unity? In Punjab, 50% of those killed are Dalits. At Ayodhya (UP), a Dalit laid the foundation of the Ram Janambhumi Mandir on the disputed land to replace the Babri Masjid. Backward Castes preferred to forgo their reservation (human rights) rather than seek the support of SC/STs feeling "superior" to SC/STs.

The net result is that the leader of these Bahujans, Kanshi Ram, who advised Muslims almost to hand over the Babri Masjid to Hindus, lost his security deposit in election. Nothing can be more humiliating than this. DV should talk of the political realities rather than the "unity of Bahujans". ("Why BSP faced defeat? Babu Raghu, New Delhi, DV Aug. 1 91 p.9)

It is time for Dalit intellectuals to think and indulge in self-criticism. If we do not do it now, Dalit movement will be made redundant and wiped out from the Indian scene. Kanshi Ram has already given us a shock. In the 1991 UP Assembly election, he promised to capture it on his own strength winning a majority (213) seats in a house of 425 seats. But he got 13 seats.

Dalits must go for electoral pact: In the 1991 Parliament election, while he promised to have sufficient MPs to force the govt. to be at his mercy, now we find the BSP itself at the mercy of the Congress and the BJP.

He promised to "finish" the Congress in UP. Yes, he did it, but with no benefit to BSP. Now, the BJP is ruling UP because of his blunders. Who put the BJP in power in the most crucial State of India? BSP contributed to the division of Janata Dal votes and that caused the BJP victory in UP. BJP raised its strength of MPs from 2 to 88 in 1989 Parliamentary election, due to its alliance with its arch enemy – the Marxists and Janata Dal. Now they have consolidated it further to 117. I will not be surprised if next time they touch 150-170 figure and become a partner in the Central Govt. If Kanshi Ram had learnt this art of electoral adjustment, he could have easily produced 35 MPs this time. But he refused to have any seat adjustment with anybody.

Here is a test. It is a do or die battle. Tamils must learn the art of dying so that they may live with honour. They will prove it, and Periyar will then rise from his grave and rule the Tamils again. We are confident the Tamils will prove their mettle.

Until then we remain silent – watching the Aryan fury and the fire badly needed to fry these No-Brains. □

Dalits must go for seat adjustment with any party (including the Congress) offering it 64 MP seats in Hindi heartland (UP/MP/HP/Bihar/Haryana, Delhi, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Punjab) with a total of 254 seats.

Dalits will have to show that they are serious contenders for political power, and are not there only to split the votes, as the BSP did this time.

Pact with Muslims: Reverting to the elusive unity of minorities, I think we will have to take our self-styled leaders to task and set fire to their ego. Staying in Delhi, Kanshi Ram can easily meet Syed Shahabuddin and vice-versa.

BSP must prepare a manifesto. Ram cannot keep on nominating or changing his party leaders.

We should have started by having an alliance of all minorities at the block level, then at the district and state level. At the national level also, a collective leadership of all national leaders of minorities should have been established. Only after meeting the pulls and pressures of various groups for bigger share of tickets, we could think of having unity among minorities.

Problem with Sikhs: This unity has to be political and not communal. But efforts to have this unity is hampered by the mental disease suffered by all leaders. Sher Singh met Simranjeet Singh Mann on Feb. 14-20 1990 to write a report for *Dalit Voice*. Mann told Singh: "You know before this (1989) election, an understanding regarding seat adjustment between Kanshi Ram and Rajiv Gandhi was almost reached. Do you know what I did? I rang up Nelson Mandela, and told him to telephone Kanshi Ram not to have any seat adjustment with Rajiv Gandhi". This sort of statements are not in good taste. On the crucial date both Mann and Mandela were confined to solitary cells. Kanshi Ram's residence is only 15 miles from Mann's residence. This speaks volumes about the egomania these so-called leaders suffer from. SS Mann has been reduced to zero from hero in one year. So also Kanshi Ram. Brahminical strategy proved superior. Success or failure of any movement depends to a very large extent on its sound theoretical basis. Muslims, Sikhs, and Christians will use Dalits and then forget. Let the BCs chalk out their own strategy if they feel they are superior to SC/STs.

India's SC/STs are world's single largest indigenous population

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The following is the text of my testimony before the Working Group on "Indigenous Peoples", United Nations Human Rights sub-Commission, Geneva, Switzerland, on July 30 1991.

Distinguished Madam Chairperson, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen,

I am Yogesh Varhade, one of India's 200 million indigenous peoples who are referred to by my country's Constitution as "people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes" (SC/ST).

By choice, we have come to call ourselves by the appellation, "Dalits", a poetic term which means the oppressed or the downtrodden".

Today, I stand here before you, my distinguished colleagues, representing my people, the Dalits of India, who are both literally oppressed and downtrodden. To impress upon you the urgent need to recognize the 200 million Dalits (Untouchables and Tribal Peoples) of India as "Indigenous Peoples" within the meaning and designation given to the term by the UN Human Rights Sub-Commission.

Historical evidence points to the fact that Dalits were the original inhabitants of the land which is known as India, today.

They were a distinct people or a nation, possessing distinct cultures, laws and customs – very much similar to the indigenous peoples of North America. Like them, the Dalits too were overrun by foreign invaders – in this case the Aryans from the west.

Imposed religion: These Aryan invaders imposed upon our people not only their political rule, but also

a certain religio-social hierarchical system which is part and parcel of the hindu civilization of India – which is also known as casteism. Our homesteads were plundered and confiscated by these invaders and we were relegated to the outskirts of our towns and villages – where for thousands of years we have lived huddled up, as outcastes and in abject poverty, bonded for life to our alien masters. Today, we are still a conquered nation with distinct cultures, which India calls Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

In this prenicious and degrading system which persists to this

Yogesh Varhade, our esteemed "Dalit Voice" life-member from Canada, has done a big job by taking our problem before the UN Human Rights Commission. But the Govt. of India has been taking the country's ruling class stand that India has nothing like an indigenous population. Hence the need for a well-prepared historical document to establish our case before the world body — EDITOR.

moment, our nations are considered inherently inferior, sub human, polluting... unworthy of body or even eye contact.... (hence the term, "Untouchables").

It is this same hierarchial casteism which is responsible for the total neglect of the basic human rights of our nations. This Hindu system hides our separate national identity by forcibly assimilating us into the Hindu identity, where the conquering Aryan nations are considered the upper castes, and

we the lower castes. This permits them to speak of the Hindu as one nation made up of many castes.

Human rights violations: The continuing enslavement of the Dalits by the Aryans, now called upper caste Hindus, and the apathy and indifference of the state and federal ruling classes to gross human rights violations against them have only served to strengthen the resolve of the awakened Dalit populations to organize themselves and fight for their rights until casteism is eradicated from the face of the earth.

India's infamous institutions such as "bonded labour", "child labour", and "the devadasi ('handmaiden of God') service" or prostitution draw their victims from among the Untouchables – Dalits – who are forced into such inhuman conditions by reason of their birth and poverty.

By far, the worst aspect of the plight of our peoples is the common and everyday violence they are subject to at the hands of the Aryan nations now called "upper caste Hindus."

Atrocities against them involve burning of homes, rape of their women, murder, torture and beating of men. For example, in the year 1983 – that's not very long ago – 14,834 incidents of violence had been documented by the Indian law enforcement authorities, while the numbers dramatically rose to 22,672 in 1988. The same year also saw 852 Dalits or Untouchables murdered in cold blood.

Role of Dr. Ambedkar: Here I might add that to every single incident reported, nine go unreported. One can thus imagine how widespread the violence against the Dalits is, despite the

existence of constitutional guarantees abolishing untouchability. Though the 1950 Constitution of newly independent India framed by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the foremost champion of human rights, officially abolished untouchability, in reality the situation remains much the same for 80% of India.

The Castes and Tribes are scheduled in the Indian Constitution as eligible for affirmative action programs, yet in practice they remain the last segregated population in the world today.

As a population of over 200 million or 3% of humanity, it is by far the largest aboriginal group in the world. As referred to earlier, their oppression finds a religious justification, religious cover making their upliftment by internal awareness or outside invention doubly difficult.

India's secret Apartheid: It is imperative that the international community with the UN and the world body of aboriginal people monitor progress regarding the desegregation, collective and individual human rights and socio-

economic improvement of these aboriginal peoples as they are among the poorest people in the world. Their general destitution has prevented the mobilization of resources for drawing world attention to their plight. This Committee can assist in this process on behalf of people who lack the means of overcoming their oppression. As they are by far the largest aboriginal population in the world, it is incumbent on the UN to include them on the list of indigenous peoples.

Their plight is not widely known outside India due to their lack of media influence. The ruling class of the "nation" who publicizes all the so-called "justice causes" (i.e. Apartheid in South Africa) denies the basic human rights and bare survival conditions for such a vast mass of aboriginal people and attempts to control media coverage within the "nation" and internationally.

This makes it all the more necessary for the UN to include them under its mandate for aboriginal peoples.

Supreme Court backs Nazi expulsion of Christians

New Delhi: A foreigner does not become entitled to Indian citizenship merely because he has been living here before the constitution was adopted. It is necessary that he have explicit intentions of living here for good. An intention to reside forever in a country where one has taken up residence is an essential constituent element for the existence of domicile in that country, the supreme court has said while dismissing petitions by three foreigners who had sought the court's indulgence to secure Indian citizenship as they had been living here for decades. One of the petitioners, Louis De Raedt, possessing a Belgian passport with a British visa, came to India in 1937 in pursuit of "missionary work". (DV Sept. 16 p.6). Two others - B.E. Getter and his wife, S.J. Getter - arrived in 1948 for the same purpose. The couple has American passports. All the three have been ordered to be deported because the government has refused an extension of their stay. (*Times of India Sept. 2*).

PETITION TO UN

India has the largest tribal population in the world

Ranchi: Two tribal leaders who had recently been to Geneva to contest the claim made by the government of India that there are no indigenous people in this country have petitioned the United Nations to end the systematic violation of international human rights laws in the tribal belts of the country.

The petition was made before the 9th session of the UN Working Group on Indigenous People which met at Geneva from July 22 to August 2.

The leaders, Dr. Ram Dayal Munda, former vice-chancellor of Ranchi University, and currently the head of the department of the regional and

tribal languages, and Prof. Amulya Kumar Kisku said the government had been deliberately misinterpreting the Indian Constitution at international for a refusing to concede that there is any indigenous population in the country.

Sardar Sarovar: Dr. Munda and Prof. Kisku said India has the largest tribal population in the world and it was also among the first few countries to ratify the 1957 ILO convention of indigenous population and tribal population in 1958.

The government was following double standard as it asserted that there were no tribal people

in India while crushing the basic rights of tribal people in the name of development.

Development projects were rendering countless people homeless. Citing the tribal people's struggle against the Sardar Sarovar dam, the demand for autonomy in Jharkhand and Bodoland and the plight of the 6 million tribals who had migrated into the Assam tea gardens some 200 years back and are still awaiting their being scheduled as tribes, Dr. Munda and Prof. Kisku said the government had resorted to oppression instead of trying to understand the tribals' problems.

They said the only way to ensure development of the tribals was to grant them autonomy within the framework of the Indian Constitution, temporary suspension of the Sardar Sarovar Project and an immediate dialogue with the affected people (*Telegraph Sept. 10*).

This is with reference to the review, "Congress Party crimes to destroy Sikh identity" (DV April 16, 1991, p.11) of the book by Ram Narayan Kumar and Goerg Seiberer, an Austrian scholar (Chanakya Publications, Delhi).

No doubt, the Congress is dominated by mostly "socialist brahmins" who are just like a snake in the grass which is more dangerous than the cobra. But sikhism's decline started with the demise of Sher-e-Punjab where also brahminical forces played an important role by brahminising some Sikhs.

The day is not far off when the Sikhs may be called *Boddu*, *Murakh*, *Bhaddhe*. These words were used by Aryans against Buddhists out of hatred against

them. Buddhists were the rulers of this country and every third Indian was a Buddhist. Now, most of the Buddhists and Sikhs have been brahminised. As long as the cats continue to fight among themselves, the cunning rats will enjoy.

Anandpur Sahib resolutions: Trampling under feet their own pledge of 1929, the Congress leaders adopted a Constitution for "free India" which was not acceptable to Sikhs and as a result two Akali representatives, S. Hukam Singh and S. Bhupinder Singh, refused to sign the document – rejecting it totally. How again the same Constitution was considered anti-Sikh and/or anti-human rights in 1978 by the very same Sikh leadership? *What did the Sikh leaders, specially the intelligentsia,*

do to have a press to counter the brahminical bombardment against Sikhs? Sikhs have no media. The only one media they have is "Dalit Voice". The Sikh leadership is using it but not supporting it.

How can the Sikhs secure their human rights through Anandpur Sahib resolution by resorting to only agitation, almost ignoring the other two vital fronts – media and organisation? Time, place and situation plays an important role for the achievement of any goal. *The Sikh leadership failed to play its role in establishing a media like the "Dalit Voice."*

Aryan rule: The ruling class can't be blamed because it is doing its duty faithfully as far as denial of Sikh basic human rights are concerned. Such a denial is

"Dalit Voice "offer to Sikhs

No non-Sikh paper in India has done so much and suffered so much for the Sikhs as the *Dalit Voice*. We have supported the Sikh struggle for self-determination as a matter of principle because as Ambedkarites, waging a similar battle, we are duty bound to support all democratic struggles for human rights.

But we regret to note that the Sikh leadership hardly evinced any interest in us. Our editorial, "Wanted a press for SC/ST/BCs and minorities" (DV(Aug. 16 1990), was reproduced in the *World Sikh News* published from US. There was no response even to this. Sikh leadership has failed to study, understand and appreciate the superiority of the brahminical strategies and tactics.

Every section of the population persecuted by the Aryan rulers is merely screaming and shouting but doing nothing to counter it. They are not able to

do it because the press is completely owned and run by the Aryans and this "national" toilet papers can silence anybody – finish anybody.

As days pass this press is becoming stronger than the govt. and even the state itself. This brahminical press brought down Rajiv govt. and later the VP Singh govt. It is playing havoc spreading falsehood and poisoning the whole atmosphere.

CHANDIGARH JAIL YATRA

Sikhs are so angry with this brahminical press that the Punjab Human Rights Organisation in its latest booklet calls it a fifth column (*The Fourth Estate As Fifth Column*, 1991, p. 128, 27/D Sarabha Nagar, Ludhiana – 141 001). The Sikhs can only bring out a shabby booklet like this as they have no press.

In fact, it is this brahminical press that has become the greater

enemy of Sikhs and all other non-Aryan forces than anybody else. This press is not only the enemy of non-Aryans but the enemy of the Constitution and the country itself.

But what have the Sikhs done to start a press of their own despite having enough money? They could have supported DV at least. Even that they have not done. Nor have they evinced any interest in Dalit struggle.

When we were in the Chandigarh jail, arrested under the Terrorist Act for supporting the Sikh human rights struggle, some Sikh political leaders met us and said at the next elections the Akali Dal would sponsor our candidature for a Lok Sabha seat from Punjab. We politely declined this offer. We are not interested in petty political offices.

The need of the hour is a media for Sikhs and all other persecuted people. But the Sikhs are more busy fighting between themselves than fighting the enemy – EDITOR. □

supported by their holy scriptures – Gita, Manusmriti etc. To them "Aryan means India and India means Aryans", because they are holding 99.9% media, over 92% resources of income. Over and above, they have made most of the public institutions puppet, including the Armed forces.

The Aryan rulers have launched their *dharam yuddh*. The 15% nazis want to keep the over 85% non-Hindus as slaves. The non-Hindus are SC/ST/BCs plus minorities like Sikhs etc. The DV Editor is right –

the Hindu word is imposed on most of the 70% of Indians only 100 years ago.

In the light of the above observations, I suggest the following strategy: i) Give the topmost priority to have a media for the non-Hindu majority on the line of *Dalit Voice*. (ii) Organisation is to be improved and modified. (iii) The Khalsa must stand for the protection of the downtrodden Dalits and persecuted nationalities (*Mustadafeen*) just as stated in the Koran. □

Dalits killed by Sikh militants in Punjab?

A CORRESPONDENT, CALCUTTA

About 50% of those killed in Punjab by the so-called militants are Dalits. Shocking, but true. DV keeps on talking of forging Dalit-Sikh unity. Facts speak for themselves -

1. *Daily Ajit*: Aug. 3, 1991: Makhan Singh Majhabhi (Dalit) of village Rataul in Khadoor Sahib area killed. 2. *Ajit*: Aug. 3, 91: Gurpreet Singh, son of Malkiat Singh, BSP candidate for Rai Kot Assembly seat, killed. 3. *Ajit*: Aug. 8, 91: Malkiat Singh BSP candidate of Rai Kot, missing. 4. *Ajit*: Aug. 12, 91: Bhajan Singh Majhbi, Dalit, killed by throttling. 5. The house of Malkiat Singh BSP candidate of Rai Kot, fired upon third time, says *Ajit* Aug. 18, 91). 6. Jangir Singh and Puran Singh of village Maharaj shot dead in Bathinda district, say (*Ajit* Aug. 22, 91).

Most of the persons killed, calling them police-informers, are Dalits because they are refusing to change their religion to Sikhism. Almost all women killed, by describing them as those with loose character, are Dalits. Most of the S.P.Os. killed are Dalits. All labourers working in liquor shops and killed are Dalits. Half of the CRP/BSF persons killed are Dalits as these persons do not have any other source of livelihood. *Dalit Voice* has been consistently supporting the Sikh struggle for human rights. Why then the Sikh militants kill Dalits? The Editor of DV must warn the militants and if they fail, the DV must revise its stand. □

MASSIVE HYDERABAD DALIT RALLY ON CHUNDUR

Hyderabad: Thirty-two Dalits organisations from all over the country converged here on Sept. 16 and took out a procession to show their solidarity with Dalits at Tsundur and protested against the inaction of the Andhra Pradesh Government in not arresting the "real" culprits responsible for killings in the same village. Gaddhar, revolutionary folklore singer, Ramvilas Paswan, MP and former Union Minister, and a number of Dalit leaders from

Tamil Nadu and Karnataka participated. Gaddhar led the procession along with Bojja Tharakam.

The crowds were less than expected because the police detained several lorries and vehicles on the city outskirts. Among those who spoke were Messers M. Venkataswamy, Karnataka President of the Samatha Sainik Dal, Elumalai, Dalit leader from Tamil Nadu, Roshan Lal, MP from Uttar Pradesh, Prof. Jogendra

Another AP Dalit murdered

Bangalore: A Dalit youth was murdered by Hindus at Gokarajupalli village in Krishna district. The body of Srinivasa Rao was found in a roadside pond on Aug. 3 last. This created an uproar and 25 dalit families from the village fled to neighbouring Kanchikacherla. Following this, the police exhumed Srinivasa Rao's body and reconducted the post-mortem. A close relative of Srinivasa Rao was found dead under suspicious circumstances in Jan. 1989. Meanwhile, former Director-General of Police and Andhra Pradesh Minorities and Weaker Sections Liberation Front president M.V. Thomas demanded immediate rehabilitation of the dalit families which fled to Kanchikacherla. Thomas, who visited the trouble-torn village, told newsmen here that the dalit families were so terror-stricken that they refused to stay in the village. Another youth had received threats to his life from hindus. □

Police kill one more Dalit at Chundur

Vijayawada: One Dalit was killed in a police firing at Tsundur village in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh on Sept. 10 when a police party went to the village to remove two Dalit members, who were on hunger strike for the last four days, to a hospital following deterioration of their health. The villagers, reported to be Dalits, pelted the police with stones, resulting in injuries to five police personnel. Police resorted to firing when lathi-charge proved ineffective. – (*Indian Express* Sept. 11) □

Kawade from Nagpur, Syed Sajjad, MLA, MIM, M. Narsimhulu, MLA (Ind), N.V. Krishnaiah, CPI-ML MLA, Konda Lakshman Bapuji, P. Sundaraiah, Bahujan Samaj Party State president, J.B. Raju, General Secretary A.P. Scheduled Caste Welfare Association and others. (*Hindu* Sept. 17) □

Letters to Editor

Sherman Caillier, No.102302, Camp J. Shark 3L7, LA State Prison, Angola, LA 70712, USA: I got your address from the *African Presence in Early Asia* by Ivan Van Sertima & Runoko Rashidi (1988, Transaction Books) in which there is a chapter by you on the "Untouchables of India". This is the first time I heard about such a people and my heart melted. As I read more about them not only to understand their persecution but I am an African-American Untouchable now in jail where harassment is the course of the day in the realms of oppression. In Amerikka, there is also a caste system (racism) and I too am at the very bottom of the pile. Any way, I didn't intend on drawing any attention to my plight. However, I am writing to request of you all information you can forward me on the Buddhist religion because I am very much interested in it and wish to become a Buddhist. Africans and Untouchables have a common origin and you have beautifully argued this and won our hearts. So, all the Blacks must make headway throughout the world and learn the TRUTH and the history of our ancestors.

This is the first time we are getting a letter from a Black brother in an American jail. That he is able to get the letter typed and post it from the jail itself proves that American prisoners enjoy at least this much of freedom denied in India. We don't know what for our brother is lobbed in the jail but our Indian Dalit Support Group, headed by Dr. Velu Annamalai, PO Box - 842066, Houston, TX 77284-2066, USA, can probe and mobilise support - EDITOR.

Raymond Johnson, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, BP 1159, Conakry, Rep. of Guinea: Your article, "Catholic Churches' Three Crimes against Christ" (DV June 16, 91 p.7), was a thoughtful piece of work. However, your eleventh paragraph, leaves much to be desired. The very Christians you praise when they first set foot on our sacred African soil, they used your very unfortunate phrase, "African jungle countries." You owe the African and Dalit people, who have a common origin, an apology.

We appreciate that even in such far off Conakry, DV is seriously read and studied. The ruling class coins words, phrases and we unconsciously copy them. Our brother from Africa has pointed out one such glaring, grave error. While we withdraw this offensive remark with an apology, we request all our family members not to borrow from Aryan white racist words and images but to develop our own vocabulary - EDITOR.

Dr. Boyd H. Wilson, Associate Professor of Religion, Hope College, Holland, Michigan, US: I thank you for your assistance to me and my assistant, Jonathan, when we met you in Bangalore on June 26. We

learnt a great deal on this short trip and your interview, and our experience will be presented at a conference on Asian Affairs at the University of Iowa on Sept. 13-15. One thing that we learnt was that the Dalit question is complex. But our meeting with you made us far more knowledgeable than the vast majority of scholars and lay people in the US. My goal is to inform the west about the struggle of Dalits in India. I like *Dalit Voice* which is a fine journal.

Even professors of religion like Dr. Wilson are making a mistake that Hindus are a "majority religion" in India. When we pointed out the facts with figures that over 85% of the Indians are non-Hindus and that only less than 15% are those claiming to belong to this religion, Dr. Wilson was convinced. Untouchables, (20%), Tribals (10%) and even the Backward Castes (35%) are pre-Aryan indigenous peoples. And representatives of these sections have already gone to the UN Human Rights Commission to establish this fact. Their testimony at Geneva appears elsewhere on these pages. A big job is there before us to spread the truth. Professors like Dr. Wilson should support us to know the truth so that truth shall liberate us. - EDITOR.

Harold C. Barnes, 2732 Bainbridge Ave., Apt.5J, Bronx, New York 10458 USA: I have developed a great liking for the Black literature you produce in Dalit Sahitya Academy and your powerful voice - *DALIT VOICE*. I have just completed reading *DALIT - The Black Untouchables of India* which tells me that India's Dalits are the single largest Black group outside Africa and that Blacks as a whole have a common origin. These two things opened my eyes and now I have decided to study India's Dalits who are also victims of Aryan racism.

U.I. Akpan, Gen. Sec., Workers Party of Nigeria, UK, 15 Carroun Road, London SW8 ILJ, UK: I have got the books you sent and read them with great interest and found them very good and informative. It opened my eyes to really know and understand the problems which face India today. And this problem is much more serious than we thought, when I began reading your books. It gave clear ideas about the seriousness of the situation, especially racism preached and practiced by Hinduism. What surprised me (but of course, I am not surprised), the way the British mass media promoted India. It gave the impression that everything in India is rosy. It covered up the chaos for its own benefit. We think the Europeans especially the British are involved in creating this ugly situation in India today. British ruled India for 300 years and we could imagine the confusion and damage they caused in that country. The oppressed Indians and others must join hands and put an end to all the racists. That is the only way to save India. I was so surprised to read about the people of African origin in India. Most people in British do not know or realise that Black Untouchables and Africans had a common origin. Nowhere they can get this information. We have the same problem as India and all over Africa which is ruled by a wicked

minority supported by the two evil powers Britain and America. The slave system must go. Since 1960 Nigeria has had eight govts., each lasting about three years. If asked which of Nigeria's many govts has been the best, I would answer, None, because all have been bad, authoritarian, dictatorial or military – all having failed to improve most Nigerians living conditions. Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and has the unique potential to ally with neighbouring West African peoples.

Sajan Kumar, Riyadh: I am working in a German firm here and belong to a Hindu (Ezhava) family. I read a book, *O Hindu, You Awake*. It contains full of truth and quotes profusely from your writings. This made me to know more about the truth from you.

The truth is that the Ezhavas are also Untouchables, meaning India's original inhabitants or non-Aryan indigenous people. Sri Narayana Guru was physically attacked and the temples built by him were demolished all over Kerala by the Aryans only because of the fact Ezhavas are non-Aryans. It was only when the Ezhavas as a whole threatened mass conversion to Christianity, the Aryans were silenced. Even our cross-thread Aryan marxists of Kerala hate Ezhavas and that is why after getting elected on Ezhava votes because of Mrs. K.R. Gowri, they refused to make her the Chief Minister of Kerala. A top Ezhava leader of Kerala, M.K. Raghavan, heading the Srinarayana Trust, has declared that he is not a Hindu. The Aryans opposed reservations to Ezhavas, launched their war and violence in 1990 and toppled the VP Singh govt. because the BCs like Ezhavas are neither shudras nor Hindus – EDITOR.

Dr. E. Dada, Islamic Dawah Movement, Durban, S.Africa: *Dalit Voice* and your book, *Dalit – The Black Untouchables of India*, are found very useful to our Black Muslims. There is a great demand for Dalit literature from India.

Angela Dietrich, Gen. Sec., Sikh Human Rights Internet, 34 Fulmead Rd., Reading, RG3, 1JX, UK: A delegation of five Sikhs discussed the violation of human rights in Punjab with Louis Joinet, president, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination & Protection of Minorities, at its 43rd session at Geneva. It was led by our president, S.Iqbal Singh of UK, S. Prithipal Singh and Darshan Singh from Switzerland. A big demonstration before the UN office was held. They met other officials of the UN and Swiss Govt.

M.S. Kumbhar, Rourkela, Orissa: When I joined the "Dr. Ambedkar Amar Jyoti" in Aug., I got many of your books and also DV. After a deep study and consideration, I am now convinced that I am not a Hindu. Now, I am teaching my family, relatives and friends that Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus.

Pramod Meshram, Ujjain, MP: On behalf of the DV Readers Forum here we have congratulated the MP govt., though run by the nazis, for having banned the hated gandhian humbug word, *Harijan*, from usage in all govt. departments. *Harijan* means bastard and

this is how the mahatma showed his love for the his beloved "children of god."

Mrs. Sadhana Rangari, Nagpur: I thank the MP govt. for banning the term *Harijan*. The entire Scheduled Castes of India had opposed this name but M.K. Gandhi never cared for our sentiments. Only one not knowing his father is called so. This word is popular in Gujarat where several Hindu temples practiced the Devadasi system, a religious prostitution sanctioned by the Aryan religion. Those born to the Devadasis are called *harijans*. This name was first used by a Gujarati Brahmin writer, Narsi Mehta, and Gandhi copied it from him. Our Saviour, Babasaheb Ambedkar, protested this and asked our people to reject it. "If we are children of god what about Hindus? Are they children of devils? he asked. The MP Govt. deserves all praise.

That is why we say "sacred brahmins" are better than "socialist brahmins". Open enemy is any day better than a closed one. The Congress, the original brahminical party of India of Gandhi, cheated the Untouchables. The Aryan nazis, who hate Gandhi and killed Gandhi, rightly rejected everything that is gandhian. The UP Nazi Govt. has also followed the MP model – EDITOR.

J.R. Antwal, chairman, Federation of All-India SC/ST P&T Employees, New Delhi: Your edit on Chundur was impressive (DV Sept. 1,91: "Chundur proves non-Hindu Dalits can't live with Hindus: Separate electorate and settlement as solution"). You are fully right in reverting to Babasaheb's good old demand for separate electorate. I have alerted all my branches to take up this demand.

R.L. Yadav, Allahabad: There was a report that some pro-Bihar CM supporters held a dharna under Babasaheb Ambedkar statue at Patna and those opposed to the CM brought Ganga river water to clean the statue "polluted" by the touch of CM's Dalit supporters. Such an action clearly comes under the Civil Rights Protection Act and all those who committed this offence of untouchability are liable for non-bailable arrest and imprisonment.

Anand Mitra Mahathera, Sanghanayak, All-India Bikshu Sangha, Buddhapalli, Ichapur, WB-733 144: After reading your books and the *Dalit Voice* I was so happy. I am 84 and have no money to help you though I commend your services to all lovers of humanity.

D.B. Bendle, Hinganghat, MS: I read a review of your book, *Ready Reference to Revolutionaries*, in the *Lokanukampa*, a noted Marathi Dalit literary journal published by Dr. Yogendra Meshram from Nagpur. This review inspired me so much I have decided to order all your books and also *Dalit voice*.

Ashok Manav, State Bank of Patiala, Longowal, Punjab: The debate on the "Three Commandments" of Babasaheb: "Educate, Agitate, Organise," going in the DV has created so much of interest, I have decided to reprint the same. It is only your research

that has brought out the truth and established it. I will bring out this as a pamphlet and distribute it to my Punjabi people.

N. Ramnath, "Sitai", Sant Sena Rd., Belgaum-590 001 Karnataka: I am a regular reader of *Dalit Voice* and its thought-provoking articles inspire me. As an active RSS worker, I am sending you a *Rakhee* to remind us that we are all one and together we can build the *rashtra*.

We often get letters from RSS and other nazi party members mostly threatening and rarely praising us. Those great heroes who threaten to kill us, burn our house and what not never give their addresses, not even their names. Such is their bravery. But those who write us seeking clarifications and sometimes praising us, give their names and addresses. Following the anti-Mandal war and violence launched by the nazis, quite a number of nazi party members belonging to the SC/ST/BC groups have started understanding that they have been duped by the Aryan aliens. This Aryan leadership of nazi parties says that "we are all Hindus" but when it comes to the question of conferring our human rights (reservations) as recommended by the Mandal Com. these Aryans do no think that SC/ST/BCs are Hindus - EDITOR.

Md. Zainul Abedin, Salem, TN: DV has given me a new vision. You have taken a very bold step. A religion that doesn't treat all sections of its population as equals is no religion at all. These people oppose killing of rats and dogs but do not hesitate to kill Dalits in dozens. How can such a people be called humans? Prophet Mohammed treated a slave, Zayed, as his own son and elevated a Negro slave, Bilal, above the well-known Quraishi community. You are doing a great service to humanity.

Mushtaq Mallik, Convener, South India Muslim Shabban Conference, Nabi Khan Akber, Patel Chowk, Hyderabad: We are having our conference here on Oct. 11-13. We want you to be our chief guest as we want to discuss the latest Chundur massacre of Dalits by Hindus, persecution of Muslims, Sikhs, BCs and tribals. You say the persecuted peoples of India are over 85% and all of them are victims of the same Aryan oppression. You also say that this 85% is persecuted because they are non-Aryan, meaning non-Hindu. We all have been very much impressed with this theory and that is why only you are competent to be the chief guest.

Thomas Mathew, Dy. Secretary, Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Office, 25-Ashoka Rd., New Delhi: I have written a book, *Dr. Ambedkar: Reform or Revolution*, 1991, Segment Book, E-256 Greater Kailash-1, New Delhi-66, pp. 145. A copy of the book is posted separately.

The book was announced in our Aug. 16 issue p.24. The chapter on Babasaheb's Three Commandments: "Educate, Agitate, Organise" may be published as part of our debate on the same subject. We are flooded with books from all over India and outside but we are not finding competent persons to do the book review. - EDITOR. □

UP GOES MP WAY

Lucknow: The Uttar Pradesh Government has decided to do away with the use of the hated *Harijan* to denote the people belonging to Scheduled Castes. The State Cabinet here on Sept. 10 decided to drop the word from the Government's vocabulary, as well as its documents and records. The Bahujan Samaj Party workers had been agitating for some time to remove the word from the Government's lexicon on the ground that it was derogatory to Scheduled Caste people. □

MP Govt. bans hated *harijan* name

Bhopal: *Harijan* — the hated term coined by M.K. Gandhi for the Untouchables — has been deleted from the official lexicon by the Madhya Pradesh government. It has ordered that the word *harijan* be replaced by *anusuchit jati* (scheduled caste) in all government work. It has also been decided to introduce the same term in the nomenclature of the *Harijan* welfare department. The state government has directed the heads of departments to ensure strict compliance of the order. Pramod Mahajan (BJP) clarified that the MP Govt. had taken the action in deference to the wishes of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who preferred the term "Dalits" instead of *Harijan*. □

We congratulate the MP Govt. for the step and call upon the Govt. of India and all other State Govts. to follow this lead — EDITOR.

Patels indicted for 1985 Gujarat Caste War

Gandhinagar: The VS Dave Inquiry Commission has indicted the "upper caste" Patels in Congress. Akahil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Paraishad (ABVP), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Janata Party (JP) for the anti-reservation agitation in 1985 which later took an anti-Muslim turn when disturbances broke out in Ahmedabad city. Justice Dave of the Rajasthan High Court has, in a report presented to the State Assembly on Sept. 11, said some "upper caste" Congressmen were against Madhavsinh Solanki, and ABVP and BJP leaders had feared the consolidation of Solanki's rule in the State after an uninterrupted five-year rule. Solanki returned the Congress to power with the support of Kshatriya, *Harijan*, Adivasi and Muslim (kham) votes. The Commission also indicted the brahminical press for fomenting communal trouble through its "distorted reporting." It criticised the role of police. It also blamed some "upper caste" police officers, who on being denied promotion due to implementation of roster system of promotion, played a role in the atrocities on backward classes. The agitation throughout the State by the Hindu Nazis had turned against Muslims when the Congress(I) secured a two-third majority in the 1985 general election. The Patel community has also been named for abetting the anti-reservation agitation. □

Jamate - Islami failure to follow dictates of Koran

O. MAHABOOB SUBAN, JOURNALIST, HOSPET, KARNATAKA-583 201

This is with reference to your Aug. 16 editorial and other articles on Jamat-e-Islami.

Many Hindus entertain the false notion that Jamate-Islami is a militant outfit like the Nazi parties. But, in fact, it is the most non-violent and passive organisation of Muslims. It is wrongly dubbed by the brahminical media and equated with the nazis. That is the reason it went behind the bars during the Emergency.

Ever since its birth, the Jamat had not given any arms training to its members, unlike the Nazi parties which openly give training in lathi, swords, chaku etc., deliver inflammatory speeches against Muslims, Sikhs and Dalits. Even the Hindu media admitted that in many anti-Muslim riots Nazis played a major role. In spite of that the Govt. didn't ban it. The reason is simple.

The Muslims are kept enslaved under the Congress Party and prevented from going into any other party. The Congress used the nazi parties, a goonda organisation, to threaten the Muslims. When the nazis attack Muslims the Congress sheds crocodile tears. But Muslims praise the congress. By using the nazis the Congress becomes secular. In brief, nazis are a goonda organisation engineered by the Congress to watch Muslims, Christians, SC/STs and other backward classes.

Why Jamat invites nazi leaders? : The Jamate-

Islam also knows this pretty well but it has failed to give any arms training to its cadres. It has imparted only partial Islamic teachings out of fear of the nazis and thereby submitted itself to the nazis. That's why to all their conventions nazi leaders are being invited – but not the Dalits or BCs. A plain submission to nazis.

The Jamate Islami leaders know full well that in every anti-Muslim riots backward castes are used by the Aryans to attack the Muslims. What has it done to stop this trend? Nothing.

What Korans says: The Koran says that "And one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you" (2:194 Chapter 2 'Cow' verse 194).

The Jamate-Islami despite being a cadre-based organisation of Muslims had failed to follow this truth in the Koran. So less, a said the better about the *Mustadafeen*. instead of educating the Dalits and BCs, it has followed the policy of nazis. This is the reason that revolutionary masses are not attracted to this organisation.

The nazis have injected as much anti-Muslim venom as possible into the Dalits and BCs. The pity is the Jamaat has to bear the bad name mainly due to its cowardly approach. The Jamaat leaders must remember that there is no surrender in Islam. "Either you win or you die".

COMMUNICATION

D. Litt. for Dalit Scholar

DR. M.N. JAVARAIAH, READER IN KANNADA, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, MYSORE - 570 006

Happy to inform that after my Ph.D., the degree of D.Litt. has been awarded to me by Mysore University on my research work, "The Heritage of Dalit rebels in Kannada literature – A complete study". I have submitted another research thesis called "Dr. Ambedkar : A complete study" for the degree of D.Sc. and I have taken 18 long years to complete this work. I have made a detailed study of your writings on Babasaheb, especially two chapters in your book on conversion.

We are very particular about the practicality of conversion and hence I had to dig out some of the hidden truths especially with regard to the numerical strength and material progress of the Dalits after their conversion. Likewise, the latest amendment to the Constitution of India with

regard to Buddhists has been appropriately dealt with in the light of Babasaheb's philosophy, where we have evidently understood that the Dalits are not Hindus but a separate element in the Indian population.

Dr. Javaraiah is one of India's most distinguished Dalit intellectuals and we are very proud that he is fast following the footsteps of Babasaheb. The entire family of DV readers and our staff join in congratulating Dr. Javaraiah. We want more such intellectuals. However, one regret, Dr. Javaraiah must not confine himself to Kannada and thereby deny the world the benefit of his wisdom and experience. This is possible only if he writes also in English. For one who has mastered one language, mastering another is nothing. Dr. Javaraiah has a glorious future. Recently, we had an occasion to recommend his name for the post of a Pro-Vice chancellor in a Kerala University on the request of the Kerala Education Minister – EDITOR.

Black Jews Complain of racism in Israel

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Very interesting developments are taking place dividing the very people pushing the New World Order. Zionists, pushing the demon of racism, are themselves falling victims of racism. This proves that religion does not bind its followers to become a nation. Ethnic identities are proving more powerful than religion. Of all the political isms of history, nationalism is proving stronger than another ism.

The Jews illegally took over the lands of Palestinians and forcibly established Israel after the II World War. And to expand their territory and to forestall the Arab claim on their homeland, Israel brought in Jews from different countries. Though the Jews were also white, western christian countries were too willing to bundle them out. In Russia, the Jews were a hated lot – though both were whites.

Now that the ethnic Russians have turned aggressive under Yeltsin, more Jews will be kicked out to Israel. Here is a case of whites hating the whites.

Meanwhile, as the Israeli Jewish rulers are recklessly expanding their territory out of hatred against Muslims by inviting Jewish immigrants from all over the world, they are faced with a racist problem which may divide the Jews. Planeloads of Ethiopian Black Jews, called Falashas, were brought in and they have already started

complaining that they are being segregated away from their white co-religionists, and that they are being humiliated having been assigned lowly jobs as household servants of whites.

Added to this came the protest from the Russian white Jews that they would not like to be housed along with the Black Jews. The two came to blows. The very fact that the Black Jews are given a different name (Falashas) unlike the white-skinned Jews proves that religion does not bind its followers into a nation. The boast that Jews are a nation therefore proves false. Even India's brown-skinned Jews who migrated to Israel are facing racism there.

Perhaps, more than imperialism, feudalism, capitalism, marxism, nazism, fascism, it is racism that is going to shape the society in future.

But the breakup of Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and earlier developments in Eastern Europe are not bothering our Indian Aryan rulers. These Aryan racists are themselves divided. The Ambanis and Goenkas, the two big business houses are hacking each other to pieces. Ambanis are Gujarati Baniyas and Goenkas are Marwadis. Both are Vaishyas but they are cutting each others neck.

When such earth-shaking events are taking place India's divided rulers continue to say India is a nation. □

Wanted a probe into zionist hatred of Blacks & Muslims

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The ban on the Communist Party in Soviet Union and the arrest of its top communist leaders are all expected. Marxism died in Russia because it offered no solution to racism. And to white Russians their white skin became dearer than marxism (DV edit

March 16, 1990)

They did not mind losing their super power status heading the anti-capitalist part of the world and then becoming a slave of America.

So, racism is not only changing the world geography but also its

sociology.

But we are keenly watching how the white Russians will tackle their own hated Russian Jews who are also whites. Will they be all wholesale exported to Israel? Because in the western white world, the racists and zionists have joined hands to ride on the shoulders of non-whites of the world in the name of New World Order.

Meanwhile, an India Abroad News Service report (*Indian Express* Aug. 31) is trying to blame the American Blacks for the "increasing" racist clashes in US. It says:

Racial animosity between Black and Jewish people has been getting worse in US. The problem has been exacerbated by certain Black community leaders and academics in America periodically issuing statements making various anti-Semitic assertions. A common inflammatory remark is that there is a plot by capitalistic Jewish bosses to subjugate Black people.

The report proves our charge that the Indian Aryan/upper castes are joining hands with racists and zionists.

New York Clash: The *Time* magazine (Aug.26) made much of an anti-zionist statement made by a famous Black intellectual, Leonard Jeffries, Chairman of the African-American Studies at New York City College. Jeffries, like all Black intellectuals, is angry about the distortion of history by whites. And such healthy criticisms are not motivated.

All these Black-baiters forget that it was the white (German) Hitler who tried to exterminate the Jews who were also whites. The Jews never had any clash with Blacks or Muslims in history. There is no record of any hatred between the two. It is the Jews who are illegally occupying the Muslim territory.

How come the white racists and zionists have now ganged up against the Blacks and Muslims who did not harm to them?

This needs some probe. □

"Dalit Voice" hailed as the best journal of India's oppressed

YOGINDER SIKAND & MANOJ YADAV, NEW DELHI

The press, in a modern society, plays a crucial role in articulating the opinion and demands of social groups it represents. It moulds public opinion in a direction seen as favourable to these groups. The Indian press, both English and language, is to this day controlled by the brahminical social order. This is so because the caste system ensured it a virtual monopoly over learning, leaving the "lower" castes bereft of education. As a result of this, the "backward communities" were without a press of their own.

With the spread of literacy, the increasing politicization of the masses and the growth of social awareness, things are now beginning to change. A number of periodicals have now appeared to fight for the Dalits and the Backward Castes. The growing backward caste press has come of age.

Periyar's Writings in Tamil: The seeds of Dalit journalism were sown by the greatest revolutionary of Maharashtra, Mahatma Phule. Dr. Ambedkar (through his *Bahishkrit Bharat*, *Mook Nayak* and *Janata*) at the turn of this century improved upon it. They wrote extensively in Marathi, and the latter also in English. Periyar EV Ramaswamy with his profuse and profound writings in Tamil laid the ideological foundations of the "Self-Respect Movement" among the Dravidians. Since such revolutionary movements have been particularly strong in Maharashtra and TN, it is not surprising that today a disproportionately large number of Dalit-BC periodicals are brought out from these two states.

The BCs have a low literacy rate and a standard of living lower than the national average. As a result, English – the language of the Indian elite – is not much known even among its intellegentia. However, there has been a considerable growth in Dalit-BC English periodicals which serve to link the various SC/BC and religious

minority movements in different parts of India.

Of the better known Dalit English periodicals is the fortnightly *Dalit Voice* from Bangalore. It was started in 1981 by the Dalit Sahitya Akademy with the noted English writer, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand as Adviser. His novel, *The Untouchable* did much to create racist discriminations against Untouchables.

Brahminism not Brahmin is the enemy: *Dalit Voice* articulates the demands of what it describes as the 'Bahujan Samaj' – the 85% of the Indian population comprising SC (20%), ST (10%), BC (35%) and religious minorities (20%) as well as those upper castes interested in human rights. *It does not attack individual Brahmins and other upper castes as such but the brahminical ideology of high and low, which it concedes, has to a great extent also been internalised by the backward castes themselves.* It seeks to dispel the inferiority complex injected into the minds of the deprived SC/ST/BCs by challenging the legitimacy of caste itself. In its place, it exhorts the SCs and BCs to take pride in their identity just like the US Blacks who having acquired pride in being Black are today challenging the western white racism in a big way.

Dalit Voice, now completing ten eventful years, comes out in several Indian languages too – Urdu, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam and has a circulation all over the world. There is even a Japanese edition, edited by a Japanese from Nagoya. As a press of the persecuted DV has made history, say its readers.

The monthly *Voice of the Weak* in Hindi and English is brought out by the All-India Federation of SC/ST/BC Minorities Employees Welfare Association, New Delhi. It advocates the caste-cum-class approach to mobilise the toiling masses for their socio-economic emancipation. It does not, however,

appear to be too popular outside the limited circle of the federation membership.

BSP journals: The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) propagates its message among the BCs through several periodicals – *Bahujan Voice* (English), *Bahujan Chetna* (Marathi), *Bahujan Jagriti* (Punjabi) and *Bahujan Sangharsh* (Hindi). They give greater stress to the party's political fortunes.

BAMCEF, originally a part of the BSP, experimented with an English paper. The *Oppressed Indian*, which has now stopped. Its place has now being taken by the *Bahujan Sangatan*, a Hindi weekly published from New Delhi.

Another English periodical which now appears to have closed down is the *Shivalik Bani* from Jammu which focussed on the problems of the SC/ST/BCs and minorities in North India.

Christian press: The Jesuits for centuries have been engaged in the social uplift of the downtrodden. The Jesuit-run Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, publishes the Hindi monthly, *Hum Dalit*, which besides focussing on Ambedkarism, provides its largely rural-based readers with information on law, their fundamental rights, health etc., with short-stories – each with a social message. As a result of the growth in the popularity of Ambedkarism, many Christian theological schools have now opened departments of Dalit Theology, which bring out literature on the plight of Dalits within the uppercaste-controlled Christian church. Prominent among these are the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore, the Dalit Education Liberation Trust, Madras, and the "Dalit Open University", Phirangipuram (Andhra Pradesh), which also conducts free correspondence courses on Dalit history and Ambedkarite thought.

Dravidian press: The monthly *Modern Rationalist* is brought out

by the Dravidar Kazhagam, Madras, and seeks to promote the ideas of Periyar. It however, is virtually unknown outside South India. Sharad Patil's Satyashodak Communist Party brings out a Marathi monthly from Dhule seeking to promote the triple alliance of Marx, Phule and Dr. Ambedkar.

Besides such BC periodicals that cater almost exclusively to these communities, there exist several "radical marxist" periodicals representing various CPI (ML) formations that seek to present the issue of caste exploitation "in a more balanced manner" to the public at large.

Nazism main threat: Most of these BC and CPI (ML) periodicals project the rising Hindu fundamentalism as a fascist strategy of some sections of the upper castes/classes to divide the working classes. Many go so far as to assert that Hindu fundamentalism aims not so much at attacking the minorities as at suppressing the human rights struggles of SC/ST/BCs. In addition, all these periodicals take a pro-Mandal stand as the "national" dailies were anti-Mandal during the peak of the controversy surrounding job-reservation for the BCs.

With the upper caste/class-controlled press having taken up the cudgels on behalf of the anti-

reservationists, the BCs realise the urgent need for an independent press of their own. For, it was in the columns of the press that the battle over Mandal was won by the anti-reservationists, at least for the time being.

An independent backward caste press is also felt necessary so as to convince the upper castes of the just demands of the over 85% of the India's persecuted people. Since the "national press" is suppressing the truth, only a BC press can do the job of spreading truth.

The BC press has to grapple with several immense hurdles. For generations these castes had been kept bereft of education and a tradition of learning, and so the very number of potential subscribers is limited. Their culture has all along been transmitted orally through songs, plays and dances. Recognising this, some groups have sought to transmit the Mandal message through media other than the press. For instance the lecture-tours in Eastern UP and Gujarat conducted by some students of the JNU under the banner of the 'Dalit Shiksha Andolan' and through the Mandal audio-cassettes prepared by the Samajik Nyayay Morcha.

Lack of funds: Since these communities are rather poor, their periodicals lack adequate funds to

stay alive. Consequently, many periodicals are short-lived. They receive few, if any, advertisements, being without wealthy patrons.

Another serious lacuna in the BC movement is the relatively much smaller number of periodicals being brought out by the tribals and the BCs. Most backward caste periodicals are in fact brought out by the Scheduled Caste organisations.

Perhaps this is because of the fact that the social oppression that the SCs have to contend with is much more severe, and therefore, in greater need of being articulated through the press. This could also be seen as a product of the neglect under the Congress. In addition, the 'cow-belt' states of Northern India have a proportionately much smaller number of BC periodicals than the South, as the struggle against the caste ideology and caste-exploitation is still in its nascent stage in the North.

Despite the immense hurdles that Dalit journalism had to contend with, its future does not appear entirely bleak. The growing social awareness, coupled with the increasing politicisation of the masses, will help pave the way for the Dalit press to establish itself as the voice of India's toiling millions. □

How to counter Nazis?: A veteran BC leader's tips to non-Hindus

NAND KISHORE, OSIAN, BIGHAPUR, UNNAO DT., UP

A hindu Nazi party is ruling UP, the "heart" of India which makes and unmakes its politics. The Nazis understand it very well and their leaders have carefully chosen Kalyan Singh as its Chief Minister, a Backward Caste man. The Nazi leadership knows that without the BCs they cannot capture or retain the power.

During the Ram Mandir agitation, the unity of SC/ST/BCs and minorities was remarkable. They stood united to fight the upper caste nazism. But the division in Janata

Dal spoiled this unity of SC/ST/BCs and minorities. If the JD had not been divided, UP would have gone the Bihar way.

The Samajwadi Janata Party led by Mulayam Singh Yadav became a Yadav Party. Janata Dal led by VP Singh in UP became a Jat-Kurmi and Rajput party. Minorities were divided between SJP and JD. So also BSP. This sharp division on caste line, made the SC/ST/BCs and minorities powerless.

Muslims the target: Now the Nazi leaders want to win over the ignored

lot of BC and SC and that is why they have chosen Kalyan Singh, a Lodh, as CM.

The nazis are inciting the "religious feeling" like their German counterparts. Hitler got the Jews and India's Hindu nazis have their Muslims for persecution. Hitler came to power in Germany without the help of Jews. Hindu Nazis came to power in UP without the Muslim votes. This has given the nazis supreme confidence that they can come to power in Delhi also without depending upon Muslims.

Brahmins as a whole went over to the nazi party deserting the Congress. Thus the Hindu nazis would be a party of not only fundamentalist upper castes/Hindus

but also of all Aryans/upper castes including Thakurs who will soon go over fully into the nazi party as they feel that VP Singh has no chance of becoming PM again.

Riding a BC Horse: But we should not be disappointed as almost all sections of non-Brahmins, barring of course few upper castes, are totally opposed to brahminism. *All those who call themselves Hindus are not Hindus. Because heart of heart they are opposed to brahminism and that is the reason why the Brahmins of North have chosen a BC man as their horse and they want to sit on its back and ride this horse.*

BSP could be a force against upper caste fundamentalism. But it has become a source of political exploitation without a clearcut policy. BSP is used by some BCs to become MLAs or MPs. When they do not get ticket in any other "national" party. They seek BSP ticket and get elected. That is all their interest in BSP. If the BSP had taken the poorer sections of BCs and minorities plus SC/STs, it would have become the most important party of India. BSP leadership comprises mostly ex-govt. servants who are rather interested in serving their own interests.

The only way to fight the Hindu nazis is to create consciousness among SC/ST/BCs – also keeping in mind that the Muslim elites always go with Hindu Nazis.

A Muslim leader who is ready to fight Muslim elites can alone fight Hindu nazism. The ideology of Babasaheb taken together with Lohia philosophy can pave the way for a democratic India. Otherwise, I see no future. Nazi India is going to repeat the political catastrophe of Hitler's Germany. □

ULFA kills Dalit

K. Baskar Rao, Kakinada (AP)

B.S. Raju (30), a local Dalit ONGC Engineer was killed by ULFA militants on Sept. 7. This shows that Dalits are not safe anywhere in India (1) ULFA must apologise, (2) pay Rs.60 lakhs to his family, (3) ULFA must compensate and promise not to do this mistake again against Dalits. Otherwise ULFA will be destroyed by Assam Dalits. □

DEBATE

What caused confusion in "Three Commandments" ?

THOMAS MATHEW, DY. SECRETARY, DR. AMBEDKAR CENTENARY COMMITTEE, NEW DELHI-1

Dr. Ambedkar gave the central slogan of his life: "Educate, Agitate and Organise". This electrifying message truly captures the spirit of the Marxian concept of praxis, of "action, reflection, action". In the Indian context, education assumes a crucial role because the vast majority of untouchable masses are illiterate. Further, it is not just literacy that he calls for, but education; and not education alone, but agitation and organisation too.....

Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy of education, thus aims at creation of a liberating consciousness, which is not just formal education, but the conscientisation process of education, agitation and organisation, put together.

However, there is much confusion about the order of the slogan "Educate, Agitate and Organise". Apparently, the confusion has arisen due to the imperfection in translation. When agitation is translated as '*sangharsh*', the question arises as to how *sangharsh* is possible without 'organisation', and thus 'organise' is sought to be put before 'agitate'. But the word 'agitate' not only means *sangharsh*, but also the agitation of the mind. Education first creates agitation in the mind and then awareness, which should precede organisation. But 'organise' is also sometimes mistook for 'unite'. These words have different connotations. □

Organisation is based on a 'consciousness of kind', but unity is possible with a 'consciousness' of a different 'kind' for a limited objective. Further, when Babasaheb give a call to 'agitate', it should be seen in the light of his formulation of the 'pathetic contentment' of the Indian mind and the need to have a 'divine discontentment'. So there should not be any confusion. The central slogan, then, is very clear - "Educate, Agitate and Organise".

But one word of caution seems required. While literacy and formal education are important, the reactionary, status-quoist nature of education in the modern world should not be disregarded. The dangers of the 'deschooling society' should be recognised. While universal literacy and education are basic democratic aspirations of India's Dalit masses, democratisation of education is an imperative, world over. Education as an end in itself breeds elitisation and creation of a sort of brahminism. Little wonder, Babasaheb was so disgusted with the educated Dalits that he once said that he would never trust them. Yes, education should create 'consciousness', that is what Dr. Ambedkar stood for.

(Excerpted from his book, *Dr. Ambedkar: Reform or Revolution*, 1991 Segment Book, New Delhi, Chapter-8 p.66-69). □

Kodavas in Nazi net : enslaving a great martial race

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore:Kodagu (formerly Coorg) is a picturesque hill district in Karnataka, adjoining South Kanara. Called Kodavas, they are a beautiful, peace-loving people who produced two Army Chiefs - Gen. Cariappa and Gen. Thimmaiah. They are a hill tribe worshipping nature, particularly Mother (river) Cauvery on which the "nation of Karnataka" is at war with the "nation" of Tamil Nadu. A martial race, Kodavas drink, eat pork and meat, then dance, and then sleep. They have a right to keep a gun.

Unfortunately this martial race has fallen a prey to the machinations of the Hindu/Aryans who have succeeded in brain-washing this innocent people against the Muslims (Mophlas) from the neighbouring coastal Malabar district in Kerala.

The Mophlas are a very enterprising people and the hundreds of roadside vendors from Bori Bunder to Colaba in Bombay are mostly Mophlas. Some Brahmin settlers from neighbouring South Kanara exploited the nationality urges of the Kodavas and turned it against Muslims and unseated the powerful

three-term Congress MP, Janardhana Pujari, and elected a nazi in the recent election.

Separate nation: The Kodavas are a distinct cultural entity and possess all the qualifications to be called a "nation". They have their own language, dress, culture, food, weapon and a homeland. After merging with Karnataka (before which it was a part 'C' State), the Kodavas are feeling neglected. They have every reason to be aggrieved. A fairly rich people (quite a number of them are coffee planters), they soon fell into the Nazi net. And now they are demanding an independent State. We support their demand for statehood. But the nazis are supporting their demand not out of love for the Kodavas but they want to use them against Muslims by calling them Hindus. But the Kodavas are not Hindus. They are only CALLED Hindus. They were a great tribal warriors with their own cultural identity. The nazis want to destroy their identity in the process. Already the affluent Kodavas have forgotten their roots. It will not be long before others too start getting hinduised - meaning enslaved. □

COMMUNICATION

SC/ST DALIT OFFICERS PROMOTION

Syndicate Bank sabotaging Supreme Court order

A CANARA BANK DALIT OFFICER

Trivandrum: The Supreme Court in a historic verdict on 1.4.91 directed the Syndicate Bank to implement reservation in the officers cadre upto the scale of top management - scale VII within 3 months from 1978 onwards. This decision is a milestone in the history of reservation to SC/ST in the country. All other banks will be forced to implement this order soon, apart from all govt. undertakings, financial institutions and departments.

While bank employees were looking hopefully to see this decision being implemented, the bank's Gowd Sarawat management has again moved the court seeking some "clarifications" to delay its implementation. It is taking all steps to see that this decision is not implemented.

Toilet papers:They have approached the Govt. to quash the Supreme Court order to save the brahminical social order.

During the last two months "national dailies" (even your name "toilet paper" will be too much for these papers) are spreading the news that "banks will be denationalised". This is a deliberate conspiracy to sabotage the Supreme Court order. If the banks are denationalised the concept of "private management" will come in and the whole power will pass into the hands of Hindu nazis. Then they can stop all

reservation. They may even enact laws to throw out all SC/ST employees from the banking industry.

All SC/STs and BCs should react sharply to this new concept of "privatisation of banks". They should even offer their blood to stop this conspiracy against all SC/ST/BCs of this country, unite and demonstrate their power soon. If this is delayed, it will be too late for them. Their dream of becoming an executive in a bank will never come true.

DV should condemn this move. □

KASHMIR NOT PART OF INDIA: US

Islamabad: The US ambassador to Pakistan, Robert Oakley, has said the US rejects India's claim to its troubled state of Kashmir.

Speaking at a seminar on Pakistan-US relations he said, "We do not accept the Indian claim that this is part of India and I dare say if you could get an honest reading of the position of the governments of the Soviet Union and China, you will find out just about the same." A transcript of his speech was released by the US embassy today. (AP Telegraph Aug. 12). □

Upper caste Catholics fight & fight but unitedly keep out Dalits

DR. P.K. JOSEPH, HEAD, DEPT. OF BIO-CHEMISTRY, ST. JOHN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE, BANGALORE

The messages of Jesus Christ was brought to India by St. Thomas, one among the 12 disciples of Christ. He landed at Kodungalloor in AD 52. The royal family of Kodungalloor became christians. The son-in-law of the King was re-named Peter and annointed the first bishop in India by St. Thomas. After preaching the Gospel to many people in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, finally he reached Mylapore where he was assassinated in AD 72. Until the third century, the bishops of Kodungalloor ruled the christians in India. Subsequently, the bishops for Kerala were appointed by the Patriarch of Selucia Ctesiphon, till the Portuguese came to India. Indian christians generally followed the brahminical customs and for church services they used Syrian language. A Malayalee priest was always appointed as arch deacon and chief administrator over the christian church in Kerala and he was based at Kodungalloor.

The struggle for power in Kerala church started with the second visit of Vasco-Da Gama to Kerala in AD 1502. He landed at Kozhikode with a number of ships, traders, soldiers and missionaries. They took control of 16 centres on the west coast of India and started business. Initially St. Thomas Christians welcomed the fellow Portuguese Christians.

Portugueses rule: Portuguese missionaries converted many coastal fishermen. The missionary work of Francis Xavier was the most notable during this period. In 1497, Pope Alexander VI had given the patronage of the catholic church in their colonies to the Portuguese monarchy. The bishops for these colonies were appointed by the Portuguese king. Such a rule of the Portuguese over the catholic church in their colonies is called *Padroado Rule*. The first *Padroado* arch diocese was established in 1534 at

Goa. The Kochi diocese was formed in 1558. Only Portuguese bishops ruled these two diocese.

The Portuguese were more interested in wresting the control of the Syrian catholic church in Kerala which existed since the time of St. Thomas.

Arrest of Bishops: Between 1550 and 1570 they arrested and jailed Syrian bishops like Mar Ambrose, Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham. Bishop Mar Jacob and several priests were harassed by the Portuguese. Though Pope Plus VI in 1565 and Pope Gregorioso VIII in 1580 tried to intervene on behalf of the Syrian Bishops, the Portuguese did not listen. The Arch bishop of Goa spearheaded the Portuguese invasion of Kerala Syrian Church.

The *Padroado* hierarchy of Goa consolidated their authority over the Syrian church in 1599 through the Udayamperoor council. It was resolved in this council that the traditional Syrian system of service in the churches shall be replaced by the Latin system, which was followed in Portugal, after translating into the Syrian language. The powers of the Syrian arch deacon was also abolished and the complete control of the church in the west coast was brought under the arch diocese of Goa. Most of the Syrian christians did not like these changes. The priests who sent complaints to the Pope were excommunicated from the catholic church by the Portuguese bishops.

Revolt against Portuguese rule: The dissident Syrian Christians invited a coptic Bishop Ahatallah in 1652. The Portuguese authorities arrested him and threw him in the Lake Vempanad with a huge stone tied to his neck. St. Thomas Christians could not tolerate all these injustice from the Portuguese and the "Holy Inquisition of Goa".

They assembled in front of the Mattancherry church on Jan. 3 1653. They tied a rope to the cross and everybody holding the rope vowed that they will no more be ruled by the Portuguese. This incident is described in history as *Koonankurisu Sathyam*.

Rebel church: The rebel christians who left the catholic church through this incident later formed the Orthodox christian church and Marthomite church. The number of Christians who left the Catholic church because of the greed for power of the Portuguese missionaries far outnumbered the conversions they had achieved. Though the Dutch dislodged the Portuguese from Kochi in 1663, the *Padroado* rule effectively continued in Kerala catholic church. Thus, the Portuguese empire, which they could not win through the barrel of the gun, they achieved through the altar.

However, the Syrian christians who remained under the *Padroado* and Propaganda rules, continued to represent to the Pope for restoration of the Syrian rites in the church services and for the appointment of Malayalee Syrian bishops. Seven Syrian carmalite priests who organised the signature campaign for the representation to Pope were excommunicated from the church by Bishop Leonard of Varapuzha. These priests are glorified in the church history. Mongr. Leo Mevureen, the Papal representative at Bombay, called them "Seven sufferings" in memory of the sufferings of Holy Mary. Fr. Louis, the leader of these "seven sufferings", was later appointed secretary to the Changanacherry Bishop in 1891.

Malayalees succeed: As a result of all these agitations and representations Pope Leo XIII finally permitted the Syrian hierarchy in

1887 and appointed Malayalee bishops in 1896, thus totally ending the *Padroado* rule in Kerala.

Brahmin converts: During the 16th century, Portuguese soldiers captured many men and women from the west coast and made them slaves. Men were employed to row their ships while the women were sold to the Portuguese men. *Goa governor Albuquerque was worried over the deplorable moral life among the Portuguese.* He bought several such Indian women, baptized them and gave in marriage to the Portuguese soldiers and traders. As an incentive he paid 18000 Ria to each of those couples. Such people settled on the west coast of India mainly in Goa and Mangalore. Some local Brahmins were also converted and accepted into their community, while the fishermen Christians remained as a separate entity.

In 1650, Jesuit priests from Italy came to Mysore for propagation of christianity. In 1773, the Paris Mission Society took up the missionary work in and around Mysore. In 1886, the Mysore and Mangalore diocese were formed. The Bellary and Bangalore diocese were formed in 1949. The Bangalore diocese was elevated as

an Arch diocese in 1953. Chickmagalur became a diocese in 1963.

Catholics in Karnataka except those of Portuguese descent are converts from Untouchable castes. Many Tamil and some Malayalee catholics also migrated to Karnataka. *But Karnataka does not have a Kannadiga bishop and Kannada language does not get enough importance in the church services in Bangalore or Mysore cities.*

Kannada Catholics are Dalits: One prominent Catholic told the author that Kannada catholics are Untouchables and that is why none of them qualify to become bishops. However, all the bishops and clergy among non-catholic Christians in the Kannada-speaking areas are all Kannadigas. Why then among catholics the "superior tribe" only qualify for appointment to high church positions?

The Bangalore arch-diocese and the catholic education institutions are largely dominated by the descendants of the Portuguese. The *Padroado* priests in such institutions often use various tricks to prevent the non-*Padroado* Catholics from getting any important positions in these institutions. The

selection of students to these institutions are also in the *Padroado* way.

In St. Johns Medical College, 150 students are usually called for interview based on the academic "merit" they achieve in an entrance test. Final selection of 59 students are based on considerations other than academic which are often controversial.

Kannada Catholic priests and laity are agitating for some time for the primacy of Kannada language in church services and for the appointment of Kannadiga bishops. Such priests are effectively silenced. The agony of these priests reminds us the "seven sufferings" of the Syrian catholic church of 19th century. The agitation of the Kannada catholics also reminds us the famous *Koonan Kurisu Sathyam* of Mattancherry in 1653. Will the Kerala history repeat in Karnataka?

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□

VALMIKIS ARE NON-ARYAN, HAD NAGA ORIGIN

MOHAN GREWAL, PRESIDENT, CENTRAL BALMIK SABHA, HANDS WORTH, UK

The life and times of Balmik are shrouded in history which lacks authentic records to fix the period of prolonged Aryan-Dravidian struggle. History, if one can call it history, was recorded by the wily and wicked Aryans who naturally deprecated the Nagas and Dravidians. Most of the Aryan texts were never written. They were first memorised and after hundreds of years were written down with much distortion, mythical symbolism and sometimes downright lies. There is much chaff and little wheat in the Aryan/Hindu texts. Nevertheless, we can piece together the life and mission of Balmik (and his father Varnu Parchetta's relationship with

the Nagas) from fragmentary evidence of the ancient texts and modern archaeology.

According to Prof. Vogal's research Varna Naga was the King of the Nagas, a regent of the Western quarter and also the God of Sea. Varnu Parchetta and Balmik were the inheritors of the Harappa tradition.

Reign of Nagas: In Bhagawad Puran, Sakandh 6 chapter 18 and in the Ramayana Uttarakand, serg 19, Balmik's father was named Varnu Parchetta. The Balmiki Ramayana edited by Griffith RTH (in English) in his introduction says:

Glory to him whose fame is ever

bright

Glory to him, Parchetta's holy son
Whose pure lips quaff with ever
new delight

The nectar-sea of deeds by
Rama done

Hail, arch-ascetic, pious, good
and kind

Hail, saint Balmik's, lord of every
lore

Hail holy Hermit, calm and pure
mind

Hail first of Bards Balmiki, hail
once more.

*Balmik belonged to the Naga tribe,
who were the non-Aryan Dravidas,
according to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.*

What is the importance of Balmik to the 20th century Balmiks (Dalits)? Brahmins tried their best to destroy our literary and historical past. The caste system was thrust upon us as divinely originated. But there is clear evidence that Balmik challenged the class/caste system by telling his two disciples to stop Rama's Ashwamedh yajna horse. Noted scholars agree that the last *kand* of the Ramayana looks forged as it is different in style from the rest of the Ramayana. Brahmins also tried to vilify Balmik.

Dr. Ambedkar Verdict: Our religious and political leader, Babasaheb has proved that the Hindu/Aryans had made the Dalits shudra and ati-shudras. That means we the Ati-shudras-Balmikis - the followers of Balmik have had a glorious past with marvellous, brave and ideal traditions.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said in his historic speech as he embraced Buddhism at Nagpur that the Sudras and Ati-Sudras were Nagas. They were defeated by the Aryans and hence downgraded as Dasas or slaves. That is why Babasaheb chose Nagpur city to embrace Buddhism.

Sudras and Ati-Sudras were once the rulers of India. They had inhabited the Indus Valley before the Aryan hordes drifted into India.

Rig Veda VI 27, 5 speaks of a Dasa king named Varichiwant who ruled over Hariyuppa (modern Harappa). The Aryan hordes led by Abhayavartichayama deceitfully attacked and killed him.

It is also described in Rig Veda chapters 1, 100, 18 that Indra had grabbed our lands, divided and shared them among the Aryans for their benefit.

Nagas superior to Aryans: The Rig Veda proves that Sudras and Ati-Sudras were intellectually superior to Aryans. This evidences are supported by RC Majumdar who mentions about Dasas Indus Valley Civilization in his book (*The Vedic Age*).

Mohenjadaro and Harappa are examples of Naga civilisations in their great Indus

Valley civilisation.

Degradation of Nagas was planned under a wicked master plan. First through a campaign of annihilation. In the sixth *mandala* of the Rig Veda there is a description of Indra's campaign against the Asuras. He was called there Ausraghana i.e. the killer of Asuras or destroyer of Asuras. The second campaign to bring down the level of non-Aryan was their intellectual decay of sudras. This is supported by the Brihaspati Smriti and the Gautam sutra (ch. XI.12)

Sudra Shambuka murder: A Sudra Rishi, Shambhuk, mastered the vedas. For that he was killed by Rama himself as a punishment to the Sudra. Mahabharata has another sudra youth, Eklavya, who had surpassed even Arjun in the art of archery. For that fault, the wicked Brahmin, Dronacharya, chopped off both his thumbs and permanently crippled him.

I admit that Indra is also addressed as Asura in some Rig Veda hymns. He might have changed side and associated with the Aryans. That makes no difference to us. It has been proved that Indra defected to the enemy camp.

Our ancestors: So who were our

ancestors? Siva, Maya, Agni, Mitra and Varuna, Prachetta - all non-Aryan deities could be the ancestors of Nagas. Non-Aryan deities were described as animals. For instance Ganesh was shown with elephant head and Hanuman with a face of monkey. This conspiracy is exposed by two well known historians, Keith and Hopkins.

Serpent Worship: The name of the author of Ramayana signifies anthill, the favourite haunt of the cobra which indicates his Naga ancestry. They appear in the Rig Veda as enemies of Indra and are serpent worshippers.

Yadavas, the tribe to which Krishna belonged, were also serpent worshippers.

Nahavi of Deccan, the Kur of Chotta Nagpur and certain princely families of Mysore claimed descent from the Nagas. (Ref. Majumdar RC (Ed), *The Vedic Age*, London 1951.

So, the Balmiki followers of Bhagwan Balmik are descendents of Varnu Parchetta and Balmik who belonged to the Naga tribe.

Varna Prechetta was the chief of non-Aryans. The only existing temple dedicated to him is on the island of Bali. □

COMMUNICATION

Hindus vs Sindhus

JOJO PARAPILLY, PARAPILLIL, VARAPUZHA, KERALA - 683 517

I am a 30 year - old Dalit activist interested in stamping out brahminical hegemony and all kinds of exploitations. In 1989, I and my colleagues strongly advocated for the implementation of Mandal Report. To get a deeper insight into the perplexing caste system, I studied racial movement of pre-vedic age and studied the Indus Valley Civilization, vedas, upanishads, and learnt yoga from the Divine Life Society, Rishikesh, and also from Pondicherry and Trivandrum.

After a long study I have concluded that Aryans perpetuated this hold on non-Aryans through priesthood. In Kerala, Sri Narayana Guru found the right path and emancipated millions of Ezhavas. Since it is now proved that SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus, who are they? They are Sindhus, the natives of this land and its owners. So all the SC/ST/BC should come under one religion, Sindhu Religion, and then only they will be a majority. The very word Hindu is a misnomer.

Our religion : *Sindhu Religion*, Our country: *Sindhu Desh*, Our civilization: *Sindhu* (Indus Valley civilization).

The slavery came through Aryan religion and to oust it another religion is a must. That's why Dr. Ambedkar changed his religion to Buddhism.

Our deities are Kali, Siva, Hanuman, Krishna. □

Blacks founded the world

Washington: With the USA preparing to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the landing of Christopher Columbus in the New World, the dispute over "who discovered America?" is heating up.

The Norwegians, who claim that the Vikings did 500 years before Columbus, are sending a vessel modelled after the Vikings to prove their point.

The Red Indians were already here when the Norwegians and Spaniards under an Italian captain arrived but they do not have any records about the first Red Indian who landed.

Now the Black people of America say they sailed to the New World long before either Columbus or the Norwegians did. There is also a battle royal between white historians and black historians about American history and even world history.

The white historians dismissed the African demands as based on "Afrocentricism" but African educators, including Alice Morgan-Brown, an Assistant Superintendent of Education in Baltimore, says all students, not just blacks, will gain from more knowledge about Africa.

To the average American, Africa is the land which produced cannibals and slaves. Blacks point out that the slave-owners were Arabs and whites.

African-Americans demand acknowledgement from America's white historians that Egypt, then prominently inhabited by blacks, produced not only a great civilization but heavily influenced the evolution of Greek civilization, on which western claims of white supremacy are based.

Some anthropologists have already said the entire human race had descended from a black African eve. They have not identified the Adam but he is, naturally, presumed to be black. (PTI-Statesman Aug. 13).

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