

# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights



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**Brahmin-non-Brahmin division wrong :  
Thus Spake Ambedkar**

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Dividing people into Brahmins-non- Brahmins is wrong

"...If one agrees with the definition of slave as given by Plato, who defines him as one who accepts from another the purposes which control his conduct, the untouchables are really slaves. The untouchables are so socialized as never to complain of their low caste. Still less do they ever dream of trying to improve their lot, by forcing the other classes to treat them with that common respect which one man owes to another. The idea that they have been born to their lot is so ingrained in their mind that it never occurs to them to think that their fate is anything but irrevocable. Nothing will ever persuade them that men are all made of the same clay, or that they have the right to insist on better treatment than that meted out to them."

"...We have therefore two possible methods of meeting the situation : either to reserve seats in plural constituencies for those minorities that cannot otherwise secure personal representation, or grant communal electorates. Both have their usefulness. So far as the representation of the Mohammedans is concerned, it is highly desirable that they should participate in a general election with seats reserved for them in plural constituencies."

"...The new consciousness insists on dividing the touchables group into Brahmins and non-Brahmins each with its own separate interests. Separate electorate or reserved seats in mixed electorates are demanded for the three groups in which the Hindus are divided. Before dealing with the problem of the representation of the untouchables something will be said on the question of the Brahmins and non-Brahmins."

"...That the non-Brahmins are backward in educational matters cannot be said in any way to be their special interest. It is the general interest of all even of those Brahmins who are educationally backward. 'The intellectual and social domination of the Brahmins' is not a matter that affects the non-Brahmins alone. It affects all and it is therefore the interest of all. What remains then as a special interest for the non-Brahmins to require their protection ?

"The case of separate representation for non-Brahmins fails because they cannot prove to have a common non-Brahmins interest".

From: Dr. Ambedkar's Evidence before the Franchise Committee (Southborough, 1919)

(Dr. M.P. Mangudkar, (ed.) Ambedkar and Parliamentary Democracy, pp. 8, 9, 10 & 13).

### Evils of Hindu Religion

"(1) It (Hindu religion) tends to deprive moral life of freedom and spontaneity and to reduce it to a more or less anxious and servile conformity to externally imposed rules. (2) There is no loyalty to ideas, there is only conformity to commands. (3) The laws are inequitable in that they are not the same for one class as for another. The laws are prescribed to be the same for all generations. (4) The laws are not made by certain persons called prophets or law-givers. (5) This code has been invested with the character of finality and fixity."

He concluded that this religion must be destroyed and there was nothing irreligious in working for the destruction of such a religion.

## Another Aryan fraud on BCs: Economic criterion ruins reservations (human rights)

The ruling Congress, the original brahminical party of India and the mother of all Hindu nazi organisations, is famous for deceiving and duping the country's original inhabitants and its religious minorities. It is responsible for all the country's ills including its greatest tragedy of partitioning India to impose the Aryan rule. So, when such a party comes out with an announcement to implement the Mandal Commission report on reservations to Backward Castes, we know it is yet another Aryan conspiracy to hoodwink the BCs and run away with their votes.

That is why when those expected to benefit from the Sept. 25 1991 order of the Congress Govt. on Mandal Commission report are silent and sullen, the Aryan oppressors of these sections are overjoyed and over-enthusiastically competing with each other to

welcome the decision. Remember, at this time last year (Sept. - Oct. - Nov. 1990) our Mandal heroes and zeroes waged a violent war against VP Singh and brought down his Janata Dal Govt. after some well-fed students stage-managed fake self-immolations. But when the Congress govt., which had fanned and financed last year's Mandal mania, "accepted" the very same Mandal Commission report, the Aryans welcomed it with song and dance. Why? Because it is beneficial to them. From the "right extreme" nazi parties to the "left extreme" marxist and naxalite parties everybody is happy over it.

The biggest cheating is in announcing that the Congress govt. has "gone a step ahead of JD Govt." It "extended reservations to education also", said a screaming front-page banner headline in the *Hindu*

### ARYAN FEARS BEHIND TEARS FOR "POOR" BCs

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The Aryan synthetic tears - that the "poor" among the Backward Castes are denied opportunities by the "rich" BCs and hence they introduced a poverty yardstick below caste - are likely to deceive our people unless we understand the upper caste fears behind these tears.

Reservations are not poverty alleviation programmes. It is meant to benefit only the educated. That means the affluent ones. Only the educated can enter govt. service. And govt. servants constitute just one per cent of the country's population. Hence nobody can say that reservations are meant to remove the entire BC poverty.

If so, why the Aryans are opposing caste criterion for reservation and introduced a mischievous, impractical poverty yardstick within caste? Here lies the mischief of the "Hindu Mind". The mischief is to dilute the power-sharing process and destroy the very purpose of reservations.

Reservations solely based on "caste" for SC/STs have created a

big headache to the Aryans. Because, hundreds of SC/STs have become IAS/IPS officers and other officials. Having a share in govt. means having a share in power in governing the country. That means the Aryans are pitted directly against SC/STs in every office and hence they are causing daily nightmares to Aryans.

Who are these SC/ST officers in the "reserved sector"? They are the "cream" of the whole SC/STs. It is this "cream" which has launched the thousands of SC/ST Employees Welfare Associations, Dr. Ambedkar movements, Dalit movements, Dalit Panthers, SSD and all sorts of movements. To the Aryan this SC/ST "cream" has become a nightmare.

And to this SC/ST "cream", Mandal proposes to add the BC cream. SC/ST reservations come to 22.5% and to this is added another 27% (as recommended by Mandal) BC cream. And this BC cream will certainly merge with the SC/ST cream and also add some Muslims. That means the "reserved sector"

will suddenly expand to 50%. And together this "reserved sector" - meaning a share in power - will edge out the Aryans from their position of power.

They want to prevent formation of yet another "cream" among BCs. Hence this attempt to dilute the BC reservation through a poverty yardstick.

It is this fear that brought tears - the crocodile tears - in Aryan eyes.

SC/STs and minorities are fighting for their reservations - not because they are "poor" but because they are deprived. That means reservations are our human rights. "Poor" people are taken care of by the Constitution and the govt. through Planning Commission and hundreds of other poverty alleviation programmes.

Reservations are the human rights of all deprived people and it is on this issue SC/ST/BCs and minorities are coming together in a big way to fight the Aryan rule. No power on earth can crush the surging unity of the deprived 85%..

(Sept 25). The Aryan-owned newspapers started going gaga over the announcement in their editorials saying that the "PVN Govt. has stolen a big march over VP Govt." But when the govt. presented its "office memorandum dated Sept. 25" to the Supreme Court there was no mention of education. And this grave omission was not pointed out by any Aryan paper, leader or pleader.

**Oppose amending Constitution** : This one example of cheating is enough to prove that the whole announcement on Mandal is one big fraud meant to deceive and dupe the innocent BCs.

As we have written enough on the Mandal Commission Report, the VP Singh Govt. order on that and the anti-Mandal war and violence, we don't want to repeat our arguments ("Mandal Commission churns the stagnant, stinking social cesspool", DV edit Sept. 1 1990, "The Story of BCs again losing race for Mandal", DV edit Sept. 16 1990, "Pro-Mandal leadership goes to Dalits", DV Oct. 16, "BCs lose battle on Mandal", DV edit Nov. 1 1990). In all our writings

## Muslims harmed by Mandal order

**New Delhi:** Syed Shahabuddin, MP as Sept. 28 described the new job reservation formula of the Centre as "patently unfair" to the minorities and said the net effect of the scheme for backward classes and others would be that the Muslims in particular would be "pushed out" of the job opportunities and their share in Government sector would slip down to less than 1%, as against the present level of 2.5%

The Muslims constituted 11.21% in the country's population – and are thus the largest single minority – but the Mandal Commission report formula would give all religious minorities an 8.40% share if they were also treated as economically and educationally backward.

The Hindus among the backwards would get 43.70% share in the scheme. The scheme was thus unjust to the religious minorities. (*Hindustan Times* Sept. 29).

## Jail for violating quota in Bihar

**Patna :** Governor Shafi Quershi has promulgated an ordinance providing for penal action against those violating the reservation policy and extending the reservation policy to the judicial services applicable upto the additional district judge level. The appointing officer would enforce imprisonment of three months or a fine of Rs. 1,000 or both at the same time should one ignore the provisions of reservation while making the appointments. (*Times of India* Sept. 30)

on Backward Caste struggle for their human rights, we have been proved right. And we can only say that BCs have been again taken for a ride and fooled.

The Mandal Commission Report is the most scientifically prepared document, and discussed and over-discussed in Parliament and outside for over 10 years and hailed as the best and the most satisfactory report on the BC human rights. The govt. has on right to dilute or interfere with Mandal's basic recommendations. Nor has it any right to interfere with the Constitution by amending it to introduce the unworkable economic criterion. Aryans are warned against meddling with our human rights which are called reservations in the Constitution.

Since all that we wanted to say on this all-important subject has been exhaustively dealt with, we have nothing more to add except to watch the fun of the Congress fooling game in which the Aryans are experts.

## Churning of Tamil stinking pond gathers speed

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Madras:** Not only NB (No-Brain) slaves are praising the *papan* state terrorism in TN but there was a demand to ban the *Viduthalai*, Tamil fortnightly of the Dravida Kazhagam, which preaches only anti-Brahmin ideology or at least stop funds to public libraries for purchasing this periodical.

As the DV has rightly pleaded "Aryan fate to be decided on Tamil soil (DV edit Oct. 1 1991), we should give all helping hand to the Bangalore *pappathi* to clean the Tamil stinking pond.

Meanwhile countering the anti-Brahmin propoganda heaped on her by the DMK, the Tamil Nadu chief minister, Ms Jayalalitha, declared that the anti-Brahmin campaign against her would fail the same way the anti-Tamil charge against MGR had floundered.

She countered the DMK's propoaganda. "They called me *pappathi* (a crude reference to a Brahmin woman) but the people of Tamil Nadu voted overwhelmingly for my leadership. Similarly, they had dubbed MGR as a Malayalee but the DMK could never dislodge him from power till his death", she thundered.

## NAZIS & NATIONALITIES

**Thiruvananthapuram:** The LTTE plan in Tamil Nadu has entered the second phase and it has established links not only with the ULFA in Assam but also with the naxalites in Andhra Pradesh, according to the BJP. In the third phase, the BJP expects that the LTTE will attempt to create an "Assam or Punjab like situation" by fanning separatist movements. This problem affecting the four southern Sates was the focus of attention at the meeting of the BJP office-bearers here today before the two-day party national executive meeting on Sept. 29. (*Hindu* Sept. 29).

## PRO-US TILT IN FOREIGN POLICY?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The Indian upper caste/ Aryan rulers' heart has been in America – for a long, long time. Now the feet, freed from its fake socialism, also will be shifted to US. The children of our so-called elite, meaning the rulers, have been rushing to US for "higher studies" and then stay on there. Hundreds of Hindus have permanently settled down there. Gujarat's Patidar Patels have their own empires. Hindu swamis are doing a brisk business.

Every upper caste boy or girl's dream is to go to US and live in that "heaven". And with the upper castes corrupting and then coopting more and more of the "educated" SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs – the "elite" class is gradually expanding and today it is stretching even up to 20% of India's 850- million population.

And coinciding with this expansion in "elite class", the death of communism has brought great relief to the consumer culture of the upper caste exploiters. Quickey they bid goodbye to their grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru's fake socialism and said India should go all-out in favour of capitalism, market economy and fall at the feet of their new god, America. But these overfed upper castes/Hindu/ Aryans do not know that even capitalism needs basic honesty. How can a set of

people devoid of morality, ethics, basic honesty and the capacity for hard work embrace capitalism?

**Regional Policeman:** For 45 long years they made merry, singing and dancing in the name of Nehru's fake socialism. Now the same set of idlers want to continue their game of exploitation in the name of American brand of capitalism.

So, this 15% of the rulers have ordered the govt. to change its foreign policy and submit to the dictates of America. And their cousins in the govt. are too willing to crawl when they are asked to merely bend. So, we can soon see a dramatic but unannounced pro-American tilt in India's foreign policy and all other policies.

That means, India has become a satellite (or slave) of the US and part of the New World Order. That also means our predictions on NWO have come true. (DV edit Aug. 1 1991: "Secret upper caste admiration for New World Order"). And the US in turn will confer some "benefits" by appointing India as the regional policeman. That means the Hindu rulers can henceforth more ruthlessly suppress and crush its 85% of the ruled – SC/ST/BCs – the indigenous people – and the Muslims, Christians and Sikhs – the religious minorities. To begin with – Muslims. The people get the govt. they deserve. ■

## CONFEDERATION AS SOLUTION

**Dhupguri:** West Bengal Minister of State for Agriculture Kalimuddin Shams has said that India, Bangladesh and Pakistan were heading towards a confederation which "cannot be denied for long". Referring to Tin Bigha, the disputed strip of land between India and Bangladesh, the Forward Bloc leader said that "a Confederation of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan" only could yield a permanent solution to such problems. (*Indian Express* Sept. 21)

Read also "Confederation of Indian sub continent with full autonomy for each nationality", DV March 1, 1991 p.17, "Akhand Bharat" DV. Jan 16, p.23, "Akhand Bharat idea grows", DV. Dec-16, 90 p.5., "Nazis oppose Akhand Bharat," DV Dec. 1, 90 p 16.) ■

## Babasahebs' books in danger

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** As the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Birth Centenary draws to a close, India's temporary Aryan rulers have cunningly utilised the Father of India's name and fame to cement their rule without doing concrete to the Untouchables and other persecuted masses to whom Babasaheb came as the Saviour. Even the Volumes 9 and 10 of Maharashtra Govt's books – *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's Writings and Speeches*, printed and ready for sale in April last, are deliberately withheld at the instance of Hindu nazis.

Bucketfull of garbage speeches, columns of newspaper reports and articles were turned out by Aryans in the name of centenary celebrations but to this day the Father of India's books have not been brought out in any Indian language as cheap editions for the benefit of the Untouchables.

But despite the best Aryan efforts to black-out Babasaheb, the Father of India is growing, and growing and he has already dwarfed MK Gandhi, "the father of the (Hindu) nation" and many other Aryan heroes and zeroes. Not only these fellows are consigned to the dustbin of history but even their symbolic birthdays and death days are forgotten by their own *jatwalas*. The Aryans did their best to torment Babasaheb when alive and erase his memory after his death but the Indian history catapulted Babasaheb and called him the greatest Indian after Buddha and the Father of (Modern) India.

Three cheers to Aryan black-hearts. ■

# Black Books to guide untouchables

Our American Black sisters and brothers are today in the midst of their biggest-ever exercise to re-discover themselves and establish the supreme truth that it was the Blacks who founded the world civilisation and that a Black was the world's first woman ("Blacks founded the world", DV Oct. 1 91 p.24). The brain behind this great Black revivalism is the celebrated Black historian and a devoted friend of DV, Ivan Van Sertima, Editor of the prestigious *Journal of African Civilizations* which has gained international reputation. UNESCO has rightly honoured him by nominating him on its International Commission to Rewrite Cultural History of the World.

Sertima edited the famous book, *African Presence in Early Asia*, which has a chapter on the Untouchables of India by the DV Editor, V.T. Rajshekar, whose theory that the Blacks and India's Untouchables have a common origin has caught the imagination of the entire Black world. This discovery may soon bring hundreds of American Black scholars to India to see and cement this growing solidarity formally inaugurated by the visit of the famed Black historian, Runoko Rashidi.

Brother Sertima has become so

famous in US that the latest issue of the *American Newsweek* (Sept. 20) has a detailed writeup on his works. He is rightly hailed as the "most important Black cultural thinker in the US." We are proud to announce that DV has just received yet another gift of six books from Sertima. (The first set of books were advertised in DV, Sept. 16 p.12, 13 & 24).

These books reveal that the US Blacks like India's Untouchables are also victims of racism, but they have stolen a march of 300 years over us. Therefore, we have every reason to gain from their rich experience, their wonderful strategies and tactics. In US the Blacks are visible with their skin colour. But in India many untouchables are fairer than Hindus and yet they are subjected to racism. That means India's racism is not physical like in US but it is mental. With the Hindu nazis of India racism is a mental disease. And mental disease is much more serious than a physical ailment. Hence the need to make a deep study of the success stories of American Blacks so that we may also fight out the Indian brand of sanctified racism before the gandhian era (20th century) ends and the Dr. Ambedkar Era (21st century) begins - which is just eight years away. - **EDITOR.**

## EGYPT REVISED

Editor: Sertima

440 pages \$20.00 1989

Two distinguished historians (Davidson and Diop) present the evidence which establishes the African claim to a physical and cultural predominance in the classical Egyptian dynasties. A review of the major Black dynasties (Bruce Williams, Chandler, Runoko Rashidi, Brunson, Clegg, Hilliard, Goldman) and includes a working chronology of the dynasties. Obenga initiates a rewriting of the beginnings of philosophy. Karenga provides a fresh study of the world's oldest treatises on social order, Finch informs us of starting medical breakthroughs in his commentary on the Edwin Smith papyrus.

## AFRICAN PRESENCE IN EARLY EUROPE

Editor: Sertima

317 pages \$15.00 1986

Places into perspective the role of the African in world civilization, in particular his little known contributions to the advancement of Europe. A major essay on the evolution of the Caucasoid discusses recent scientific discoveries of the African fatherhood of man and the shift towards albinism (dropping of pigmentation) by the Grimaldi African during an ice age Europe. The debt owed to African and Arab Moors for certain inventions usually credited to the Renaissance is discussed, as well as the much earlier Afro-Egyptian influence on Greek science and philosophy.

## BLACKS IN SCIENCE:

Editor: Ivan Van Sertima

Ancient and modern,

300 pages \$ 15.00 1985

Draws on the latest researches to show that Africa had an impressive scientific tradition in certain centers and historical periods. Highlights steel-smelting machines in Tanzania dating back 1,500 years ago, using semi-conductor technology and achieving temperatures 200 degrees higher than the best in Europe; an observatory in Kenya 300 B.C.; 13th century discoveries by West African astronomers of an invisible star, their accurate plotting of its orbit around its parent star as well as an orbit on its own axis, a fact unknown even to modern science; cultivation of crops and domestication of cattle 6,000-7,000 years before Asia or Europe; African first discoveries of tetracycline, vaccines, aspirin, as well as advances in operations like eye-cataract surgery and caesarean sections; African invention of half a dozen scripts before European colonization. The book also deals with African-American inventions, especially in the fields of telecommunication, space, and nuclear science. (90 illus).

## AFRICAN PRESENCE IN EARLY ASIA

(Revised & Expanded Edition - 1988)  
256 pages \$15.00 1985

This volume, co-edited with Runoko Rashidi, is divided into five sections. The first discusses the peopling of Asia from Africa and identifies African people with Asia's first hominid as well as modern human populations. The second section demonstrates the African elements underlying major early civilizations in Asia, an overview that includes India, Iraq and Iran, Phoenicia, Palestine, the Arabian peninsula, China, Japan and Cambodia. The third section discusses the African origin of the great religions of Asia - Judaism, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. The fourth section focuses on the historical and anthropological relationship between African people and Asia's Indo-European, Mongoloid and Semitic populations. The final section deals with African bondage in Asia and provides a fascinating glimpse of the *DALIT the Black Untouchables of India*. by V.T. Rajshekar. Who are the Blacks of Asia? What have they done? What are they doing now? This volume seeks to answer these questions and to reunite a family too long separated.

## BLACK WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY

Editor: Serfima  
192 pages \$12.50 1984

Provides an overview of the black queens, madonnas and goddesses who dominated the history and imagination of ancient times. The authors have concentrated on Ethiopia and Egypt because the documents in the Nile Valley are voluminous compared to the sketchier record in other parts of Africa, but also because the imagination of the world, not just that of Africa, was haunted by these women. They are just as prominent a feature of European mythology as of African reality. The book is divided into three parts: Ethiopian and Egyptian Queens and Goddesses; Black Women in Ancient Art; Conquerors and Courtesans.

## PROPHET MOHAMMED, A BLACK OR WHITE ?

**Bangalore:** A Black historian, Wyne B. Chandler, has established that Arabia was a Black civilisation and Prophet Mohammed was aided by the Black Moors to carry the religion of Islam all over the world. Moors joined with Arabs and became a united powerful force.

"It was Prophet Mohamet who turned the Arab tribes into Moslem people. The two Black people who aided Mohamet were Bilal of Ethiopia and Zayd bid Harth. Bilal was the Prophet's closest friend. Zayd was the Moorish army chief.

Arabia itself had been first populated by Black people and was the oldest Ethiopian colony. The Black-Moor, Tarik-bin-Ziad, conquered Spain. Moorish dynasty, the Ummayad, ruled Spain from 715 to 750 BC. The Moorish Spain had a world famous civilisation. The houses in Cardova were air-conditioned in summer. Black Moor Zaryab was the architect of this.

The Jews conspired and killed the Black rule and helped the white Christians to destroy the Black civilisation and the Ummayad dynasty collapsed, says Wayne B Chandler in the chapter, "The Moor : The Light of Europe's Dark Age", in the *African presence in Early Europe*, page 144-175.

Transaction Publishers, USA.

## African Black woman is mother of humankind

### GREAT BLACK LEADERS

Ancient and modern  
488 pages \$20.00 1988

Any selection of leaders, whatever the criteria, is inherently subjective, and this collection does not pretend to be comprehensive. It does establish clear criteria for inclusion, focusing on outstanding individuals from America, Asia and the Caribbean, who are clearly of global and not solely national significance. Leaders from a number of historical epochs were selected and the editor has also included material on outstanding women leaders (Queens Tiye, Hatshepsut, Nzingha). Leaders who had captured the world's imagination (Shaka) or who had profoundly affected the modern period (Kwame Nkrumah) are also represented. With one exception (Nelson Mandela) the individuals described are no longer living, to ensure that time warrants a consensus about their significance. **(The omission of Buddha and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the two greatest leaders of India, is regrettable - Editor DV).**

**Washington:** Scientists this week offered new genetic evidence to support the claim that all living human beings today anywhere in the world are descended from a single African ancestor - a woman who lived about 200,000 years ago and whose descendants swept across the earth, replacing a more primitive human species as they went.

In the new data published in the journal *Science*, scientists compare a special form of genetic material taken from contemporary people from all areas of the world and suggest the family tree of modern humans has its roots firmly planted in a woman who lived in sub-Saharan Africa.

It has long been accepted that human evolution began in Africa about 2.5 million years ago with the appearance of *Homo habilis*. About a million years later, this species gave rise to *homo erectus* the first human ancestor to migrate out of Africa and to populate southern Eurasia. (PTI-Hindustan Times Sept. 29).

DR. SUDHAKAR B. GAIKWAD, AURANGABAD, MS

Miss Nootan Malvi (DV May 16 1991) article on Bali Chakravarti: "Reconvert Diwali as festival of Bali", says that "on the occasion of Dasara in Maharashtra non-Brahmin women make idols of King Bali by using flour just to ridicule the cruel dwarf Brahmin, Vaman, by saying that "the great pre-Aryan King Bali is coming to fight Vaman". This is not correct. It is the Brahmin woman who makes the idol of King Bali during the Dasara. To give the correct picture, I am producing the original text from Mahatma Phule's book, *Slavery*:-

A most remarkable and striking corroboration of these views is to be found in the religious rites observed on some of the grand festivals which have a reference to Bali Raja, the great king who appears to have reigned once in the hearts and affections of the Sudras and whom the Brahmin rulers displaced. On the day of Dushara, the wife and sisters of a Sudra, when he returns from his worship of the *shumi* tree and after the distribution of its leaves, which are regarded on that day as equivalent to gold, amongst his friends, relations and acquaintances, he is greeted, at home with a welcome *'ida pida jabo aani bakeeche rajya yew.* (let all troubles and misery go, and the kingdom of Bali come). Whereas the wife and sisters of a Brahmin place on that day in the foreground of the house an image of Bali, made generally of wheaten or other flour, and when the Brahmin returns from his worship of the *shumi* tree he takes the stalk of it, pokes with it the belly of the image and then passes into the house. This contrariety, in the religious customs and usages obtaining amongst the Sudras and the Brahmins and of which many more examples might be adduced, can be explained on no other supposition but that which I have tried to confirm and elucidate in these pages.

Mahatma Phule, says Bali, was the descendant of the Sudra king, Hiranyakashyapu, who was also his great grandfather. Hiranyakashyapu was deceitfully killed by an Aryan, Narasimha. After his death his son, Prahlad, ruled the nation. Prahlad's son, Virochan, was the father of King Bali. Prahlad and Virochan reigned peacefully. Bali's period was full of events. Under the leadership of Vaman, the Aryans attacked Bali who bravely fought back but died unfortunately in the battle on the day of *Ashwin shudhas* (as per the Marathi calendar). After hearing the news of the fall of Bali, his queen Vindhya wali, jumped into the flames of fire and died. It is said that since then the custom of *Sati* was established. Bali's son, Banasur, fought bravely with Vaman but lost ultimately and ran away from the battlefield. On the day of the *Ashwin shudha*, Vaman looted all the gold belonging to Bali. Since then the day is celebrated as Dasara.

Vaman defeated & died in Himalaya: Later,

Banasur mobilised all his troops and attacked Vaman and defeated him. Banasur recovered all the stolen wealth from Vaman who ran away to save his life. Banasur chased him to the Himalayas where many Aryans died of starvation. Ultimately Vaman also died there only. Banasur and his people became very happy after exterminating the oppressor Aryan Vaman.

**"Bhau Beej" significance:** He returned to his capital and celebrated the victory with great enthusiasm. He measured all his wealth and worshipped it on the day of *Ashwin Vadhya* 13. On *Vadhya* 14 and *Vadhya* 30, he feasted all his people. On the day of *Kartik Shudha*, he distributed prizes among the chiefs of various regions of his kingdom and ordered them to join their respective regions. Since then *Kartik Shudha* 1 is celebrated as *Bali Pratipada* and the day of *Kartik Shudha* 2 is celebrated as *Bhau-beej*. On this day of *Bhau-beej*, sudra women greet their brothers by saying *ida pida jabo aani bakeeche rajya yevo* to remind the people about the great King Bali. But such a custom of remembering Bali is not found among Brahmins.

**Brahma's attack:** After the death of Bali's son, Banasur, there was no responsible person to rule the country. Aryans took this opportunity and under the new leadership of Brahma, they attacked Banasur's kingdom. Banasur's people were defeated badly by Brahma. Brahma made many laws to help the Aryans but penalised the vanquished sudras. Brahma was also called Prajapati. After the death of Brahma, Aryans were called Brahmins. Only since then the word "Brahmin" came in usage.

**Cruel Parasuram:** After the death of Prajapati, Parasuram became the chief of Brahmins. Parasuram was personification of cruelty. A group of sudra fighters called *Maha-aris* waged 21 battles with Parasuram to save themselves from the slavery imposed upon them by the Brahmins. But Parasuram defeated the *Maha-aris* through deceit. To prevent further rise of these sudras, the Aryan Parasuram inflicted untouchability and other cruel customs, on the non-Aryan original inhabitants of India.

**India's name in "Balistan":** Thus, only from the days of Hiranyakashyapu till King Bali's son Banasur, the Brahmins were on the rampage. Following this the non-Aryans realised that the Brahmins were expert in magic and mantras. They got frightened and stopped resisting Brahmin aggressors.

Mahatma Phule in his book, *Sarvajanika Satya "Dharma Pustaka"*, says that, 'the aborigines of Balistan namely Astik, Pishach, Rakshahs, Ahir, Kikatus, Bhillas, Koli, Mang, Mahar etc. were brave

and peaceful people but the greedy Aryans from Iran invaded this golden land and converted the aborigines into Sudras.

Mahatma Phule had aptly used the word "Balistan" instead of Hindustan. The word Balistan reminds us of our great King Bali. Therefore, we should call ourselves Balistanis instead of Dalit.

If 85% of the the Balistanis get united and identify themselves as the owner of this nation, then it will be easy to launch a "Quit Balistan movement" against the Aryans.

## Why glorify mythology ?

PURUSHOTTAM LANDGE, NAGPUR

This is with reference to Sq. Ldr. P.S. Rai's article on Bali (DV, Jan 13, 1989, Aug.1-15, 90 and "Bali, Vamana, Avatar: Aryans spreading", DV May 16, 91 p.17). Rai said that "The Onam festival which the Keralites celebrate every year is also in honour of the great and good King Bali". But K. Mukundan (DV May 16, 91 p.18) said that "Onam is the festival of Aryans to remember their victory over Dalits". He adds "why should Dalits celebrate Onam to remember the death of their good emperor? The Dalits must shed tears on that day because after this incident Dalits became the slaves of Aryans".

What then is the reality? Two writers, however, agree that it is the festival not of Brahmins but of India's original inhabitants.

We find references to Bali in the *Ramayana*, *Bhagwat Purana* and other Aryan books of mythology. So Bali can't be a historic personality. Mahatma Jotiba Phule had praised the King Bali on his social equality. Bali and Ravan etc. were mere Brahmin-baiters.

Both were only mythological characters and that is why our history books do not mention their names, whereas Buddha, Phule, Kabir are historic figures. N.K. Sharma, therefore, was right in saying that "Bali is not a historical figure", (DV July 16 91 p.21).

**Non-Brahmin is also anti-Dalit:** In Maharashtra, the Marathas and some Backward Castes are in power. The Maharashtra Govt. is a govt. of non-Brahmins but they are as much anti-Dalit and anti-Muslim as the Brahmins.

Dr. K. Jamnadas of Chandrapur, Maharashtra, has proved that all famous Hindu places of pilgrimage were originally Buddhist. According to him there was a time when almost the whole of India was Buddhist, except a few scattered sanctuaries where Hinduism continued a precarious existence. Dr. Jamnadas claimed that Hindu temples like Jagannath at Puri, Vitthala at Pandharpur, Tirupati and many others were Buddhist. The Bhaje Karle caves and Chipulan caves in Maharashtra are changing from Buddha shrine to Hindu.

## In defence of Bali

SQ. LDR. P. SHIVAPRASAD RAI, BANGALORE

With reference to NK Sharma's reply (DV July 16 91 p.21) in reply to my article of Jan. 13, 1989 on Bali, I want to assert that Emperor Bali is as much a historic figure as Buddha, Christ or the Prophet Mohammad. None of them wrote their autobiographies. Buddha was the enlightened one who preached to the world the Path of Life against the exploitation by the Brahmins. He spoke of no god.

If someone had converted the ancient historical monument of King Bali into a Buddhist Temple, and the Iyengar priests later converted it into a temple for their god, Venkata Ramana, Bali does not cease to be a historic figure. Since Buddha never talked about god or called himself one, converting King Bali's monument into a Buddhist temple is a sacrilege.

**Bali Islands:** King Bali ruled India from Mt. Everest to Cape Comorin much before Buddha was born. He had a standing army and navy and his domain extended as far East as the Bali Islands. Mahabalipur, Baliapatna, Mahabaleswar, Port Bali in Bengal are named after him. Keralites throughout the world celebrate Bali festival irrespective of caste, creed or religion on the Onam day. Throughout North India on the first day of the moon, called *Bali-padya* in Tulu, everyone celebrates the festival of Bali known as *Deepa-Bali*. The aboriginal Tulu people in Kudala (*South Kanara dt.*) mourn for Bali on that day.

**Bali-Dan:** Bali collected neither *chouth* nor *jizyah* from his people nor did he collect direct or indirect income tax like our present governments. His coffers were always full with the voluntary offerings of his people who loved him. Hence any such sacrificial offering is known as *Bali-daan*. While the Tulu speakers continue to call him Bali, the strong one, the aborigines in the Deccan endearingly call him Balaji. The Aluwars of the Deccan converted to Vaishnavism call him Venkataraman. The aborigines called him Timma (Tim in English), the father of Tiru Mala (sacred mountain).

What more historical evidence does Sharma (head father) want about King Bali, the last Emperor of our *Parat Kanda* (ancient fertile land) now known as Baarat.?

## Venkataraman is anti-Dalit

K.D. KENYAL, GOPESHWAR CHAMOLI, UP

The Janata Dal, Chamoli, and its SC/ST wing (Dalit Sena) has criticised President Venkatarama for his anti-Dalit attitude and undemocratic behaviour. His hidden brahminism forced him not to meet the MPs belonging to the non-Aryan original inhabitants. Dalit Sena should kick out all Aryan parties like Congress, BJP, Shiv Sena and save our human rights.

## In defence of Jamate-Islami

K. SYED ASIF ALI, ASST. ENGINEER. MUNIRABAD-583 233

With reference to Iqbal Ahmed Sheriff's article, "When will Jamate-Islami learn? (DV Aug. 16, 91), I have to say as a regular reader of DV since three years that though your concern for the downtrodden and the minorities is appreciable, expressed in various issues of the DV, this article left me very much dejected and sad.

As an advocate and secretary of the Muslim Laws Protection Committee, Sheriff should be naturally a learned man. But his language makes me bow my head with shame. When he says that the Jamaat does not even possess the wisdom of a dog, one is bewildered to think if a person supposed to be an upholder of Law (being an advocate) can stoop to such a mean and convulsing levels? I feel pity for his moral bankruptcy.

**The Bluff:** His bluff of having read Moulana Moududi's and Jamate-Islami literatures is blown off when he writes that "... both survive by appeasing and opposing each other... We have not seen a Jamaat book on social science, politics or even on history... it has no social, economic, political, educational or organisational contributions..." I am afraid in spite of his cherished tall claim to know

Jamaat threadbare, he does not know the ABCD of Islam or Jamaat which is heading a movement for the reconstruction of society based on morality and justice. Similar movements are being run in many countries, though in different names.

The methodology of Jamaat is based on the Koran and the 'Sunnah' of Prophet Mohammed. Such a great organisation with its sister organisations throughout the world does not need the suggestions of Iqbal Sheriff's calibre. To whatever degree one may disagree with one's programme, one should not try to impose one's own views. One can only suggest and while doing so we should observe norms of decency.

### Jamat following Christian ideology not Islamic

ABDUL GHAFFAR SHAH, ZAINDER MOHALLA, SRINANGAR, KASHMIR

The article by Iqbal Ahmed Sheriff on Jamate-Islami is thought-provoking. And your comments on Dr. Faridi (DV Aug. 16 p.7) is correct. He follows Christian ideology. The Islamic ideology is tooth for tooth and eye for an eye.

### Promote Dalit-Muslim unity

DR. N. SIRAJUDDIN, BANGALORE

This is with reference to the article of Iqbal Ahmed Sheriff and others on Jamate-Islami.

The Jamate-Islami founded on 25.8.1941 is five decades old with a membership of just about 4,000. It is divided into 14 zones for administrative convenience connected with Dawah, social service and publications in different Indian languages. The late Moulana Moududi, the

greatest Islamic scholar of the present century, nurtured this organisation and wrote several books and removed misconceptions about Islam.

The Jamat undertook relief works after anti-Muslim riots at Jabalpur, Rourkela, Jamsheddpur, Ahmedabad, Assam etc. When the bread-winner is butchered, women raped and killed, what is the use of relief work? Prevention is, therefore,

better than trying to cure. This is my experience as a medical practitioner.

The Jamat should, instead of working on the intellectual, academic and statistical level, should descend to the grassroots and visit slums in cities like Bangalore, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay etc. where the Dalits live side by side with Muslims.

**Common oppressor:** The anti-Muslim hatred launched by the Hindu nazis has perturbed the Muslim masses whose distinct culture and identity are being threatened. SC/ST/BCs are also persecuted by these very same Hindu nazi forces. So the Jamat leaders should unite Muslims and SC/ST/BCs as both are persecuted by the same Hindu nazis.

Some rich Muslims have started engineering, dental medical and other technical colleges. But I am sorry to say that only about 20% of the seats are filled up by Muslims who are affluent. Poor Muslim students from rural areas cannot get admission to these colleges as they can't afford the capitation fees.

The Tablighi-Jamat opens only *madrasas* where only religious education (koranic) is imparted. These *madrasas* are run out of donations received from the public and this is not sufficient to cover the necessary expenses. And hundreds of those trained by these *Madrasas* are unemployed since new mosques are not coming up.

Jamate-Islami leaders and other religious leaders should sort out the difference in the best interest of the Muslim masses who look only to god and the Koran for their guidance. A majority of them are illiterate to know the injunctions of Koran. It is the duty of the educated to guide the uneducated.

# Dalit cultural identity alone can speed up our liberation

S.R. TALUKDAR, NEW DELHI

The history of Dalit movement is over 100 years old. It was started by Mahatma Jotirao Phule in Maharashtra, Shri Guruchand Thakur in Bengal, Namasudras: D.L. Biswas Thakur, DV May 1, 91 p.20), EVR Periyar in Madras and by other revolutionary Dalit leaders in other linguistic areas of India. But all these movements for liberation from the brahminical thralldom were confined to their respective States and it took the shape of an all-India movement only after the advent of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

But when we compare the Dalit movement with the movement of the Aryans/Hindus to oust the British from the seat of power, we find that the former has moved at a much slower pace than the latter. The Hindus formed their first political party – Congress – in 1885 and achieved their target by 1947 i.e. within a period of 62 years. But the Dalit movement though about 100 years old is still far away from its destination. So, it becomes the duty of all Untouchable intellectuals to analyse the reason and suggest remedial measures. This thought kept me absorbed for quite sometime and the answer that came to my mind are analysed below.

**How Hindus became rulers?** The Hindu struggle for political power did not bring them success in one generation. The first generation carried the movement to some distance and passed on the burden to the next generation which carried it forward with much more strength and vigour. There was no slackening of the spirit at any stage. The first generation while passing it over to the second created an impression in their children that the British were "foreign people" and they were the "enemies of our country". The second generation implicitly believed it and carried the torch forward. The success came in the third generation and the present generation of the Hindus are enjoying the results of the "sacrifices" of their past three generations. That is how the Hindus became the ruling class.

Now, let us look at our (Untouchables) movement. The movement started about 100 years ago. Some right-thinking Dalits started analysing the causes of our miserable conditions. They realised that unless the Dalits came out of the brahminical social order (BSO) they had no salvation. They started an agitation to liberate their people. But it was a difficult task as the body and soul, not only in this life but in the life after death also of these people, were mortgaged to the BSO for generations.

**Brahminical brainwashing:** So, these leaders did not get support from all the Dalits for whom they were fighting. Some accepted their philosophy but

many did not. But the movement kept on moving forward. The leaders felt the necessity of education for the children. They established schools and convinced the parents to send their children to the school. They persuaded the people to throw away the brahminical rituals and their old beliefs but with limited success.

Now comes the question of transfer of movement from first generation to the next. What is the mental condition of this new generation? They have been brought up in the brahminical environment. From early morning till the late night they are exposed to the brahminical ideas and ideals and follow them blindly.

At school, they study the textbooks prepared by the BSO, for the BSO and in praise of the BSO. They participate in religious festivals which are in praise of the BSO, the social festivals such as celebration of the birthday of this "great man" and that "greatman" must be somebody from the BSO. Even the stories in the novel or a drama, BSOs are depicted as the "saviours of the Dalits".

**How to increase our speed:** So, our social, religious and cultural fields are totally controlled by the BSO. In other words, the air the Dalits breathe are brahminical air. So, when the responsibility of carrying forward the movement falls upon the new generation of the Dalits, they are not really prepared for it. *That is how the strength and the ferocity of the movement got reduced.* But very soon the Dalits come to sense when in their daily life they face opposition at every stage from the BSO-controlled administration and society. The speed of the agitation again picks up.

*If we want our struggle to move forward with higher and higher speed, we have to start parallel cultural, social and religious movements.* We must have our own festivals. The 14th April, the birth anniversary of Babasaheb, the birth anniversary of Mahatma Jotirao Phule, Guruchand Thakur of Bengal and other Dalit greatmen must be celebrated as festivals. We must have our own literature, theatre halls, audio visuals to spread the Dalit culture. Even though we may not at the moment have a common religion, we must have a common identity – Dalit. We must have our own national newspaper and periodicals which will preach Dalit ideology and help Dalit movement very fast.

*In establishing our Dalit cultural identity we have to learn a lot from our Black sisters and brothers from America. They have stolen a big march of 200 years over us. We can usefully study from their rich Black literature, Black strategies and tactics, Black history about which in "Dalit Voice" Office we have enough books from America – EDITOR.*

## Letters to Editor

**Miss Nubia Kai, Washington:** When Runoko Rashidi and Velu Annamalai were here on June 7 last to speak on "Dalits - The Black Untouchables of India," I read a poem "Dalits" with the following introduction: Wherever African people are in the world there is spiritual and psychic and even an emotional connection between us. Winston Harding called this connection a "River" in his book, *There is a River*, River of Blood, River of consciousness, what have you?. But I am saying that now because for long time I was not aware and I am sure many of you are not aware of the details or of the depth of the persecution and oppression of the Untouchables of India. But yet from time to time the Untouchables would come to my mind; usually when I am taking long walks by myself. they would come to my mind and for some reason I would burst out crying and since my emotional reaction whenever I thought about them that there was something terrible happening to those people at that moment. To those feelings and the reasons were confirmed in 1988 when I first read the book, *DALIT - The Black Untouchables of India*, by V.T. Rajshekar which was published I think a year before 1987. And, of course, in this book he documents in detail the incredible cruelty and the persecution and oppression that Untouchables have been living through for 3,000 years. And I like to share it with you this evening and also like to share it an offering to Dr. Annamalai and to the Dalit people of India. This is called *Dalit*.

**Dr. A.M. Khajawall, Kashmir American Council, 1538 S. Sunbluff Drive, Diamond Bar, CA 91775, USA:** I am enclosing some printed extracts and quotes of some of the pledges and solemn promises on Kashmir as well as some world media headlines on the tragic and traumatic situation of Kashmiri people.. We will appreciate if your readers draw their own conclusions and help Kashmiris get free from the agonies of the Indian armed occupation, terror, torture and tyranny. Doing this will help India to keep up its own pledges and promises to Kashmiris, United Nations and world community. India then can proudly claim that it is upholding onto its cherished principles. Save the innocent Kashmiri civilians. Write for any clarification. Newspaper clippings include several stories published in *Dalit Voice* on Kashmir.

**Mehmood Ahmed 1597-E. Adams, Orange, Ca 92667, USA:** Some of the Hindu newspapers published from US are spreading false stories on the partition of India blaming Jinnah for it. The facts are otherwise. Abul Kalam Azad in his book, *India Wins Freedom*, admits that Jinnah agreed with his

proposals put before the visiting Cripps Mission. And these very proposals were agreed upon by Jawaharlal Nehru also. However, Nehru went back on his words at a Bombay press conference. This fatal shot drew blood and led to partition of India. Govindacharya of the RSS in an interview in *India Today* (Aug. 15, 91) also blames Nehru and says his "false ego cornered by petty minds around him, blocked the ways as it is said Prime Minister prevails."

**Nand Kishore, Osian, Bighapur, Dt. Unnao, UP:** The coming byelections in UP will witness some political drama by upper caste parties to pave the way for the nazi victory. To help the nazis, the upper castes in the congress party may force Delhi to dismiss the UP nazi govt. for "causing law and order trouble by building the Rama temple at Ayodhya." If this happens the nazis will appeal to the "Hindu population" and muster the support and pave the way to capture Delhi.

**S.N. Dharmapuri, C/o. S.S. Nabi, Dharampur, ward No.10, Samastipur, Bihar-848 101:** I have sent a copy of my Hindi book, *Dr. Ambedkar-Vichar avam Prabhav*, to promote Babasaheb in Bihar which is not yet familiar with his burning thoughts. To be honest, in writing this book, I took inspiration from your writings. I have read all your books and consider you as a *mujahed* of Dalit cause.

**R.M.S. Hetlow, president, NBCC SC/ST Emp. Assn, NBCC House, Lodhi Road, New Delhi - 3:** A friend gave some old issues of *Dalit Voice* and I was much impressed. I want to be a subscriber.

**M.L. Dohray, Agra: Lok Nath Bauddha, former vice-president of the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha, Jaunpur, UP,** was the victim of a serious Hindu police brutality. A nazi sub-inspector, B.K. Sing, is reported to have led the attack for saying that "I am a Buddhist and not a Chamar".

**Dr. U.K. Jadhav, Editor, "Babasaheb Said" weekly, Bombay:** I had an opportunity to read some issues of DV and found the writings factual. Hence it can revolutionise our people. For this, you have to cultivate yourself as a staunch Ambedkarite. To qualify as an Ambedkarite, you must be thorough with Babasaheb's writings. Unless you read them thrice, you will not be able to propogate them. Hence, every Ambedkarite has to be a scholar specialised in Babasaheb books.

**N. Laksmindradev, gen. sec., HMT SC/ST Emp. Assn., 18/3 Cunningham Road, Bangalore - 560 052:** We are conducting a speech contest in English and Kannada on Babasaheb's thoughts. The contest is open to all students (age 15-20) and those interested may register at the above address. Cash prizes will be given.

**Shymal Kr. Biswas, 367-South Masunda, New Barrackpore, N.24 Paraganas, WB-743 276:** I have been working on the subject of reservations for which

I need authentic information relating to the percentage of reservations maintained, implemented, fulfilled for SC/STs in education and services in all the 25 states and union territories. DV readers may directly write to me.

**M.V. Gopidasan**, circle secretary, Canara Bank SC/ST Assn., Canara Bank, Muvathupuzha, Kerala: Our "Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Celebrations scheduled for Sept. 24 at Trivandrum is postponed to Oct. 12.

**Binod Kumar**, junior engineer, Goraknathpur, UP: I am a reader of DV for the past three years. It has helped me clear many doubts. It brings me national and international news and correct interpretations and analysis. The most important clarification is about Babasaheb's "Three Commandments": Educate, Agitate, Organise.

**Dr. D.S. Ramachandra**, Asst. Prof., Dept. of Neuroanaesthesia, NIMHANS, Bangalore-29: Mrs. Hemalata Shetty (DV Aug. 16 p.13) not finding SC/ST students in London is no surprise to me. SC/STs working in all Govt. of India institutions are well aware of the Colombo Plan, British Council schemes and many other scholarships. But the applications by SC/STs will have to be forwarded by the heads of depts. who are mostly Hindu nazis or their *chamchas*, and they invariably play their mischief. I was a victim of this nazi mischief. That is why SC/STs can't go abroad for higher studies.

**C.G. Wanjari**, 287-Abhyankar Nagar, Nagpur: The constitutional reservations extended by the Janata Dal Govt. in 1990 to Buddhists treating them on par with SC/STs is not being implemented by the Railways. The Ry. Recruitment Board has issued a notification dated July 6, 91 to this effect.

**R. Arul**, Chidambaram, TN: Congratulations for putting out two reports in DV on TN, "TN turns into another Punjab" and "State Terrorism in TN" (DV Sept. 1 & Sept. 16). Chief Minister Jayalalita, an Aryan, is trying to divide the Tamils into Lankan Tamils, Bangalore Tamils etc. Tamils wherever they are in the world belong to the Tamil Elam (meaning Tamil nation). Since she is not a Tamil, being an Aryan alien race, she is resorting to these tricks to divide Tamils. DV must warn that state terrorism can never, ever suppress or divide the Tamils. She forgot that our Tamil brothers and sisters of Lanka defeated the mighty Indian Army (IPKF)

**P.V. Baktahvatchalam**, Advocate, No.15-1st Main, Lake Area, Nungambakkam, Madras-34: I was arrested on Sept. 13 for the "crime" of calling a press conference and I am on bail after five days with a condition that I should not meet the press and address public meetings. Arrests, atrocities and threats etc. are continuing. Sec. 124A, 125 IPC and NSA are falsely used. Over 15 human rights leaders have been arrested including P.V. Ramanujam, gen. sec.

OCDR. We have invited a fact-finding committee from Bombay, AP, Delhi and we want you to join this team.

**K.P. Ramakrishnan**, Coimbatore: The Aryan state terrorism is striking fear in the hearts of all Tamils. The *papan* press is fully supporting this terrorism. Dravida Kazhagam leaders are being purchased and those not obliging are arrested. The people are undergoing a sort of tension never before felt in the State.

*In our Oct. 1 editorial, we had congratulated the Bangalore papatti for clamping this state terrorism which is the natural culmination of a historical process. Such a churning of the contaminated Tamil waters was badly needed to cleanse its dirt and stink caused by the fake Dravidian rule. Out of this churning Amrit will be produced. If you want more, better and sweeter Amrit, you have to press the papatti to do harder, brisker and more merciless churning. In this churning process, the worms, insects, the scum, dirt and all the rotten elements, the corrupt cut-throats will be destroyed and the angry Tamil Lions, Tigers, Panthers will then take over, paving the way for Tamil Elam. That is why we want the papatti to continue for two more years, at least, so that her genuinely sincere attempt at churning the Tamil stinking pond takes its full course. Please get our Editorial, "Aryan fate will be decided on Tamil soil: Dravidians facing do or die battle," into Tamil and print it as a cheap pamphlet for mass circulation - EDITOR.*

**S.M. Pasha**, convener, Minorities Welfare Assn., 21 Baracks Rd., Periamet, Madras-3: The constitution of a fund by the TN chief minister for the exclusive benefit of a particular community violates the Constitution of India. Hence her "Temple Renovation and Maintenance Fund" may be changed to include all places of worship.

**Yoginder Sikand**, New Delhi: Ram Vilas Paswan's Hindi monthly, *Nyaya Chakra*, just released, has a fairly good standard. This needs our support.

**Sultan Akhtar Patel**, Khanpur-Deh, Gujarat: It was that great Imam Khomeini of Iran who was the first to warn the communist leaders of Soviet Russia about the collapse of communism as early as 1989 New Year Day. In his message to Gorbachev, the Imam had clearly warned to avoid "falling into the trap of the big Saitan America."

**Dr. N. Sirajuddin**, Bangalore: I am very happy to inform that the Dalit-Muslim unity, initiated by you over ten years ago took a big leap when we some Muslims of Viveknagar organised the Babasaheb Ambedkar centenary celebrations with a public meeting on Sept.12. Top leaders of the newly-formed militant Samata Sainik Dal were present. Jaya Ram, Bangalore dt. president of the SSD, presided, its state chief, M. Venkatswamy, inaugurated. The meeting was addressed by Major Khaleelur Rehman, secretary of the Muslims Laws Protection Committee, myself, managing trustee of the Islamic Trust, Syed Umar of

the Muslim Law Protection committee, M. Gopinath, gen. Sec. of the State SSD. Smt. C.V. Laxmi compered the whole show.

**Basheeruddin Qureshi**, Hakamki Galli, Mohalla Ghati, Dungarpur, Rajasthan - 314 001. I have been a subscriber of DV for the past four years. Your enterprise, courage, sincere love for the suffering masses of India are great. But I am growing old, now 87. Can't even read though I am interested in every word of DV. So, with regret, I request you to stop sending me DV.

*This is one of the serious problems facing DV. Many of our readers are above 50 or 60 because wisdom dawns on them only at that age. Until then they would be busy adjusting, compromising with or even joining our Aryan oppressors. As they reach the end of their official career, they would gradually get disappointed, bitter and feel that they had wasted their whole life. By the time they come to know of DV and start getting familiar with it and realise the purpose of life, they become too old. The alien Aryans have very superior strategy and tactics which varies from person to person, place to place and situation to situation to find and finish forces antagonistic to them. Every SC/ST/BC and religious minority person complains that he is a victim of Aryan terrorism but he is busy fighting another victim of the very same terrorism. By the time he discovers this fact, he is too old. The latest mania that has caught all our people mad is the craze for making property. The Aryans have told all our people that one who had no money had no value in society. So all our people are busy making money. And making money is the easiest thing. If you forget all scruples, ethics, decency, truth, justice you can make any amount of money. Even Muslims, whose religion specifically tells them not to accumulate property, have fallen victim to this brahminical brainwashing and started amassing wealth - forgetting the fact that the moment they make property that is the beginning of all their problems and worries. That is your end. Regarding Basheeruddin Saheb, we have great respect and he does not come in this category. We want him to select a person of his thinking in his place and make him a subscriber of DV so that he will be the DV's ambassador at Dungarpur - EDITOR.*

**Fr. L. De Raedt**, Campion School, P.B. No.2, Bhopal - 462 016: I read what you wrote about me in DV. Thank you for the gesture. I expect a final order from the Home Ministry within a week.

*It was a pleasant surprise to receive this letter from the 78-year old Belgian Catholic Jesuit priest. When we published two news items on him ("Nazis expel Jesuit Priest", DV Sept. 16 p.6 and "Supreme Court backs Nazi expulsion of Christians, Oct 1 p.9), we did not know that Fr. Raedt was also our very esteemed subscriber for the past several years. We have made several reports on such nazi actions on Christian priests who have devoted their whole life for the liberation of Untouchables and Tribals. Hindu nazis not only persecute SC/STs but also from frown upon such genuine foreign missionaries who work for us. When such missionaries are "kicked out" not only the Hindu nazis become happy but the upper caste Christians*

*controlling the church property and positions are overjoyed because that clears the way for a smoother looting - EDITOR.*

**Christopher Kerketta**, State Bank of India, Rourkela: I am a Tribal and found DV very useful. I am connected with many social and religious activities and through DV I want to bring to the notice of your readers how we are being crushed. Only DV has the courage to expose these culprits.

**P.L. Kongari**, Addl. Dt. Judge, Gaya, Bihar: Very sorry to inform that despite the Janata Dal coming to power in this state, reservation in promotion rules of 1971 has not been implemented in the judicial services. Our writ petition is yet to be disposed off and that means we judges are not getting justice from the judicial side of the High Court. The writ is facing the 5th bench constituted by the chief justice. We are disappointed that our CM, Laloo Prasad Yadav, is not allowed by the upper castes to get hold of our file.

## Patel violence on Gujarat Dalits

ATROCITY PREVENTION ACTION COMMITTEE,  
SISWA, KHEDA DT., GUJARAT

Village Siswa in Borsad taluk has a history of atrocities on SCs by the Patels. It reached its peak on July 7 last. The sarpanch, Shailesh Nagji Patel, falsely implicated a few Vankar youth and the police beat them while "investigating" the alleged theft. Fifty Patels armed with pistol, revolver, *tamancha*, *dhariyas* and stones attacked the Vankaras. They set on fire a Vankar house. They also assaulted six women and misbehaved with girls. This went on for an hour. All this were going on in the presence of the police who simply watched the violence. The behaviour of the police is shocking.

The Vankars in Siswa have always lived in fear. In March 1991, a Vankar was beaten by S.N. Patel and his men. A social boycott of Dalits was imposed. No Vankar is called for work, shop-keepers not allowed to sell any goods to the Vankars. Even barbers refused their services to the Vankars.

## SIKH DALIT WING

**Amritsar:** The AISSF (Manjit) on Sept. 15 accorded recognition to the Indian Minorities and Dalit Front as its Dalit wing under the federation's new policy of expanding its ambit.

A decision in this regard was taken after talks between the federation president, Bhai Manjit Singh, and the front chief, Balwant Singh Tohra.

The federation general secretary, Harminder Singh Gill, said the front had been supporting the federation's policies for a long time.

(Tribune Sept. 16).

# Rajiv murder prolonged Aryan rule & harmed SC/ST/BCs

N.K. SHARMA, NEW DELHI

The gang of Tamil Tigers, if it is proved that they murdered Rajiv Gandhi, indeed sabotaged and subverted the human rights of the Indian races called SC/ST/BC and oppressed Muslims. This is a case where international politics adversely affected the domestic politics of India. With the crisis and tensions created by the Congress goons on the excuse of Rajiv's murder, rigging of polls in favour of Congress and the Hindu nazi parties became easier in TN, AP, Maharashtra, Kerala, MP, UP, Gujarat, and Rajasthan. The Congress gangs killed DMK, Telugu Desam, CPM workers. Wherever the Congress Party was in power, the Congress goons played havoc with the lives and civil liberties of the people. These goons even ransacked and burned the official residence of Ram Vilas Paswan in New Delhi. The effortless ease with which these Congress goons and nazi gangs rigged the polls prove the Aryan colonial grip over administration.

Rajiv Gandhi murder thus aided the prolongation of the Aryan colonialism over India. The Congress thereby formed a minority govt. This means, elections are a certain possibility within an year. After that the Janata Dal victory is certain.

**MGR gift to Tigers:** Truth is harsh. Yet, it is better we know it. When Indira was shot dead in 1984, the Congress resorted to massive rigging and won the elections.

The *Indian Express* in a candid editorial on Nov. 1 forces 1984 said: "Indira died in the same communal flames she herself lit". What about Rajiv's death? He too was felled by the same forces he created, fed and nurtured. It was during Rajiv's regime, LTTE was trained, armed and financed. Rajiv took active interest to open armed-training centres for Tamil Tigers throughout Tamil Nadu and encouraged them to fight the Lankan Govt. The *papan* stooge, MG Ramachandran, gave crores of rupees in official cheque to the Tigers to buy arms. Why? Because a big bully Rajiv wanted to control and manipulate the Lanka govt., make it a puppet of the *papans*. RAW and Indian army trained the Tamil Tigers. Later on in 1988, Rajiv airdropped food-supplies in Lanka to help the Tamil Tigers, besieged by the Lankan army, thus brazenly violating the sovereignty of Lanka.

**Defeat of IPKF:** If the Lankan Govt. becomes the puppet of India, why not the Tamil Tigers? Hence Rajiv Gandhi despatched the Indian Army (IPKF) to fight and annihilate the "recalcitrant" Tigers on behalf of the Lankan Govt. and the Tamil *papans*. The Indian Army killed hundreds of Tamil Tigers. Tigers killed hundreds of Indian soldiers. And finally what is claimed as fifth biggest (Indian) army in the world

got defeated at the hands of a couple of hundred Tamil boys and girls.

For violating Lanka's sovereignty and for such insults to that country, a Lankan soldier (Sinhala) attacked Rajiv Gandhi with his bayonet in Sri Lanka in 1988. Now it is alleged a gang of the Tamil Tigers have killed Rajiv Gandhi – the very Tigers trained, armed, equipped and financed by Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister of India. If this is proved true then the force he raised felled him. The force he tried to annihilate killed him. This is an irony of history. This way, Rajiv Gandhi was consumed by the passions and flames he lit. In fact Indira Gandhi, his mother, inaugurated the training and equipment of the Tamil Tigers as a part of her geo-politics and domino theory.

Both Indira and Rajiv transformed the whole Indian society into a vast armed-camp, pauperising India and its poor. Consequently, they themselves moved within a fortress of armed-guards and ultimately consumed by the very stenguns and bombs they themselves supplied. The country and its people are paying very dearly for the deadly colonial and domino games inside or outside India.

India cannot afford the colonial-military-industrial-superstructure being built over the naked bodies and empty stomachs of its poor people. Similarly, this country can ill-afford the costs of 20 lakh paramilitary forces to match the 20 lakh army.

## Nazis divided in MP

**Bhopal:** Two senior party leaders of the BJP, Pyarelal Khandelwal and Narayan Prasad Gupta, have complained to the leadership about Kushabhau Thakre for riding roughshod over their feelings in defending chief minister Sunderlal Patwa.

"So long, we have been living like a family with Thakre as the elder brother. But there is a limit to tolerating the whims of someone," they said a blamed the Thakre-Patwa duo for bringing the party's tally down from 28 seats to 12 in the Lok Sabha elections. (*Times of India* Sept. 24).

### A SHORT HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Syed Iqbal Zaheer  
1990 Rs.80 pp. 103  
12 dollars

Iqra Welfare Trust  
Foreword by Moulana Hasan Ali Nadvi  
PO Box No. 3428  
Bangalore - 34.

## Democracy in danger: Babasaheb's 40-year-old warning proves true

DR. AMBEDKAR'S ADDRESS AT DISTRICT LAW LIBRARY, POONA BAR ON DEC.22 1952. SUBJECT: "CONDITIONS PRECEDENT FOR THE SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF DEMOCRACY"

What are the conditions precedent which must exist in order that the democratic form of Government may continue to work without any kind of hindrance. This is the subject on which I propose to make a few observations.

The first preliminary observation I propose to make is this that democracy is always changing its forms. We speak of democracy but democracy is not always the same. The Greek spoke of Athenian democracy. But as every one knows, the Athenian democracy was as different from our modern democracy as chalk is from cheese. The Athenian democracy consisted of people 50% of whom were slaves. Only 50% were free. The 50% who formed slaves had no place in the Government at all. Surely our democracy is quite different from the Athenian democracy.

The second is that even in the same country democracy is not always the same. You take the history of England's Revolution of 1688. Was it the same as the English democracy which came after the revolution of 1688? Nor can anyone say that the English democracy as it existed between 1688 and 1832, when the First Reform Bill was passed, is the same as the democracy that developed after the passing of the Act of 1832. Democracy keeps on changing its form.

**Changing purpose:** The third is that democracy not only undergoes in forms, democracy always

undergoes changes in purpose. You take the ancient English democracy. What was the purpose of that democracy? It was to curb the king, to prevent the king from exercising what we now in law call his prerogative rights. The king even went to the extent of saying that although parliament may be there, as an enactment making

This is the text of the speech delivered by Babasaheb Ambedkar. It is taken out from the Marathi book:

*Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar Charitra Khand Akrava* by Cha. Bha. Khairmode, 1990 pp.176 Rs.22

Maharashtra Sahitya Ani Sanskriti Mandal, Naveen Prakashan Bhavan Bombay 400 032

This book is out of print

In this speech Babasaheb warns that unless certain conditions are fulfilled, democracy will be in danger in India. Those who read this speech after 40 years will realise that every word that Babasaheb uttered has proved prophetic and that India's ruling class having failed to fulfil any of the conditions is virtually completing the destruction of democracy.—EDITOR.

body, "I as a king have got the prerogative to make the law and my law shall prevail." It was this kind of autocracy of the king which made democracy to come into being.

Today what is the purpose of the democracy? The purpose of modern democracy is not so much to put a curb on an autocratic king but to bring about welfare of the people. That is the distinct change in the purpose of democracy. You will therefore see that in the title which I have given to my subject, I have deliberately used the words

'Conditions precedent for the success of modern democracy.'

### DEMOCRACY DEFINED :

Again what do we mean by democracy? Democracy has been defined by various people, writers of political science and philosophers, sociologists and so on. I take only two for the purpose of illustrating my point. I do not know whether any of you is acquainted with that famous book by Walter Bagheot on the English Constitution, the modern attempt to give a clear picture of democracy. If you refer to that book of Walter Bagheot, his definition of democracy is 'government by discussion'. That is how he defines democracy. Take another illustration and that is of Abraham Lincoln. In his famous Gyatisburg speech which he made after the conquest of the Southern States, he defined democracy as a "Government of the people, by the people and for the people." Well many other

definitions could be added in order to give an idea what people mean by democracy.

*Personally for myself, I define democracy in a different way in a much more concrete way. I think my definition of democracy is, 'a form and method of Government whereby revolutionary changes in the economic and social life of the people are brought about without bloodshed'. That is my definition of democracy.*

If democracy can enable those who are running it to bring about

fundamental changes in the social and economic life of the people and the people accept those changes without resorting to bloodshed, thus I say that there is democracy. That is the real test. It is perhaps the severest test. But when you are judging the quality of a material, you must put it to the severest test. And this is how I propose to define democracy at any rate so far as today's address is concerned. Now, how can such a democracy be successful? This is the main subject-matter of my address.

#### CONDITION NO. I:

The first condition which I think is a condition precedent for the successful working of the democracy is that *there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. There must not be a class which has got all the privileges and a class which has got all burdens to carry.* Such a thing such a division, such an organisation of society has within itself the germs of a bloody revolution, and perhaps it would be impossible for the democracy to cure them, Lincoln once said, "If you of the Southern States and we of the Northern States are divided, we shall not be able to stand together when a foreign enemy comes." That was probably the meaning that he wanted to convey when he said that **the house divided cannot stand.** But think that phrase of his or sentence of his is pregnant with much deeper meaning and it means, as I understand it, that the **deep cleavages between class and class are going to be one of the greatest hindrances on the success of democracy.** Because in democracy what happens? In democracy everybody, even the oppressed, the suppressed, those who are deprived of their rights and those who carry the burden, they have the right to vote in the same way as those who have all privileges, and probably those who are privileged are fewer than those who are unprivileged and since we adopt a majority rule as the rule of decision it is quite possible that if

the privileged few will not willingly and voluntarily surrender their privileges, then the distance between them and lower orders will destroy democracy and bring into existence something quite different. There is, therefore, no doubt in my mind that if you examine the history of democracy in various parts of the world, you will find that **one of the causes for the breakdown of democracy is the existence of these social cleavages.**

#### CONDITION NO. II

The second thing which a successful working of democracy requires is the existence of opposition. Now, I have seen many people not only in this country but in England condemning the party system. I was just recently reading, just before I came, a little small book published by the Harvard Society on the party system in England and there is one whole chapter devoted to this question whether the party system is a good system and should be tolerated. There is a variety of views. Now it seems to me that all those who are against the party system and who must be taken also on that very amount to be against opposition, seem completely to misunderstand what democracy mean.

What does democracy mean? I am not defining it. I am asking a functional question. It seems to me that democracy means a vote of power. **Democracy is a contradiction of hereditary authority or autocratic authority.** Democracy means that at some stage somewhere there must be a veto on the authority of those who are ruling the country.

In autocracy there is no veto. The king once elected is there with his divine right to rule. He does not have to go before his subject at the end of every five years to ask them, "Do you think I am a good man? Do you think I have done well during the last five years? If so, will you re-elect me?" There is no veto on the part of anybody on the power of the king.

*But in democracy we have provided, that at every five years those who are in authority must go to the people and ask whether in the opinion of the people they are well qualified to be entrusted with power and authority to look after their interest to mould their destiny, to defend them. That is what I call veto.*

**State of press in India:** Now, a democracy is not satisfied with a quinquennial veto that the Government should go at the end of five years only to the people and in the meantime there should be nobody to question the authority of the Government. Democracy requires that not only that the Government should be subject to the veto, long term veto of five years, at the hands of the people, but there must be an immediate veto. There must be people in the parliament immediately ready there and then to challenge the Government. Now, if you understand what I am saying, *democracy means that nobody has any perpetual authority to rule, but that rule is subject to sanction by the people and can be challenged in the house itself.* You will see how important it is to have an opposition. Opposition means that the Government is always on the anvil. The Government must justify every act that it does to those of the people who do not belong to its party. **Unfortunately, in our country all our newspapers, for one reason or other, I believe, it is the revenue from advertisement, have given far more publicity to the Government than to the opposition, because you cannot get any revenue from the opposition.** They get revenue from the Government and you find columns after columns of speeches reeled out by members of the ruling party in the daily newspapers and the speeches made by the opposition are probably put some where on the last page in the last column.

I am not criticising what is the condition precedent for a democracy. The opposition is a

condition precedent for democracy. But do you know that in England not only is the opposition recognised, but the leader of the opposition is paid a salary by the Government in order to run the opposition. He gets a Secretary, he gets a small staff or stenographers and writers, he has a room in the house of Commons where he does his business. In the same way, you will find that in Canada the leader of the opposition gets a salary in the same way as a Prime Minister does, because in both these countries democracy feels that there must be some one to show whether the Government is going wrong. And this must be done incessantly and perpetually and that is why they do not mind spending money on the leader of the opposition.

### CONDITION NO. III

I think there is a third Condition which may also be called condition precedent for the success of democracy and that is equality in law and administration. One need not at this stage dilate too much on equality before the law, although there might be cases here and there where there is no equality before the law. But what is important is equality of treatment in administration. It is quite possible for good many of you to imagine or to recall cases where a party government is carrying on the administration for the benefit of the members of the party. At any rate I can recall a great many instances of this sort. Suppose there is a law which says that nobody shall deal in a particular commodity without a license. Nobody can quarrel with that law because it is universal. There is no discrimination in that particular piece of legislation. But let us go further and see what happens when a man goes to a particular officer or to the Minister with an application for license in trading in a particular commodity. I do not know, it is quite possible again that probably the Minister may first look at his hat. What sort of coloured hat he is wearing? If he

is wearing a hat which appeals to him and it assures him that he is a party man and another man goes with another sort of dress or belonging to another party and in making his decision the license is given to the first and refused to the second, although both of them on merits are equally qualified to have that license, then obviously this is a discrimination in administration and there is no equality. Of course the question of license i.e. granting of this privilege and that privilege is perhaps a small thing and effects only a very small class of people. But let us go further and see what would happen if this kind of discrimination enters administration. Supposing a member of a certain party is being prosecuted for a certain offence for which there is abundant evidence and suppose the head of the party in that particular area goes to the district magistrate and tells him that it is not right for him to prosecute this man because he belongs to his party, and says "well, if you don't do it, I shall refer the matter to the Minister and get you transferred from this place to some other place."

**American spoils system:** You can just imagine what chaos and injustice would result in administration. The sort of a thing which used to happen in United States which is called a spoils system, that is to say, when one party came in office, it removed all the employees that were employed by their predecessor including even the clerks and peons and they fill their vacancies by those gentlemen who helped the new party to go in power. The United States as a matter of fact, had no administration worth speaking of for a number of years. Subsequently they themselves realised that this was not helpful to any democracy. They abolished this spoils system.

In England, in order that administration should remain pure, impartial, away from politics and policy, they have made a distinction between what is called political offices and civil offices. The civil service is permanent. It serves all

the parties whichever is in office and carries out the administration without any kind of interference from the Minister. Such a thing at one time did exist in our country when the British were here.

### Secretary's reply to Babasaheb:

I recall very clearly an incident in my own career as a member of the Government of India. You perhaps will recollect that every Viceroy has got in Delhi, some street or Club named after him, the only Governor General who does not get his name attached to some street or institution is Lord Linlithgow. His Private Secretary was my friend. I was then in charge of P.W.D. and there were plenty of works I was in charge of. He came and quietly said to me "My dear Dr. could you do something for naming some institution or work after the name of Lord Linlithgow? He said it is looking very glaring that everybody's name is there but not his. I said, "I will consider." I was then discussing the construction of a barrage over Jamuna in order to provide water to the city of Delhi in summer, because it goes dry in summer. I told my Secretary who was a European by name Priar. And I said "Mr. Priar, look here. This is what the Secretary to the Governor General has said to me. Do you think we can do something?" What do you think was his reply? His reply was, "Sir, we must not do any such thing at all." Such a thing at any rate in this country to do would be quite impossible. For any officer to say something which is contrary to the wishes of the Minister is, to my mind, utterly impossible. But in those days it was quite possible, because we too in India like Great Britain had made that wise decision that administration must not be interfered with the Government and that the function of the Government was to lay down policy but not to interfere and not to make and discrimination. This is very fundamental and I am afraid we had already departed from that and may completely abrogate and abolish the thing we have had so far.

#### CONDITION NO. IV

The fourth condition precedent in my judgement for the successful working of democracy is the observance of constitutional morality many people seem to be very enthusiastic about the Constitution. Well, I am afraid, I am not. *I am quite prepared to join that body of people who want to abolish the Constitution, at any rate to redraft it.* But what we forget is that we have a Constitution which contains legal provisions, only a skeleton.

The flesh of that skeleton is to be found in what we call Constitutional morality. However in England it is called the convention of the constitution and people must be ready to observe the rules of the game.

**Washington's noble example:** Let me give you one or two illustrations which came to my mind of this movement. Yet remember when the 13 American colonies rebelled, their leader was Washington. It is really a very inadequate way of defining his position in American life of that day merely to say that he was leader. *To the American people Washington was God.* If you read his life and history, he was made the first president of the United States after the constitution was drafted. After his turn was over. What happened? He refused to stand for the second time. I have not the least doubt in my mind that if Washington had stood ten times one after the other for the presidentship, he would have been elected unanimously without a rival. But he stepped down the second time. When he was asked why, he said "My dear people, you have forgotten the purpose for which we made this Constitution because we did not want a hereditary monarchy and we did not want a hereditary ruler or a dictator. If after abandoning and swearing away from the alliance of the English King you come to this country and stick to worship me year after year and turn after turn what happens to your principles? Can you say that you

have rightly rebelled against the authority of the English King when you are substituting me in his place? He said, "Even if your loyalty and fidelity compels you to plead that I should stand a second time, I as one who enunciated that principle that we should not have hereditary authority must not fall a prey to your emotion." Ultimately they prevailed upon him to stand at least a second time. And he did. And the third time when they approached him, he spurned them away. Let me give you another illustration.

**Harold Laski advice:** You know Windsor Edward the VIII. Whose serial story has now been published in the *Times of India*. I had gone to the Round Rable Conference and there was a great controversy going on there as to whether the King should be allowed to marry the woman whom he wanted to marry, especially when he was prepared to marry her in morganistic marriage, so that she may not be a queen, or whether the British people should deny him even that personal right and force him to abdicate. Mr. Baldwin was of course against the king's marriage. He would not allow him, and said "If you do not listen to me, you will have to go". Our friend Mr. Churchill was the friend of Edward the VIII and was encouraging him. At that time Labour Party was in opposition. They had no majority and I remember very well the Labour Party people considered whether they could not make capital of this issue and defeat Mr. Baldwin, because there was large number of conservatives who in their loyalty wanted to support the king; and I remember the Late Prof. Laski, writing a series of articles in the *Herald* condemning any such move on the part of Labour Party. He said "By our convention we have always agreed that the king must accept the advice of the Prime Minister and if he does not accept the advice of the Prime Minister, the Prime Minister shall force his ejection. "That being our convention, it would be wrong on

our part to defeat Mr. Baldwin on an issue which would increase the authority of the king. And the Labour Party listened to his advice and did nothing of the kind. They said they must observe the rules of the game.

If you read English history, you will find many such illustrations where the party leaders have had before them many temptations to do wrong to their opponents in office or in opposition by clutching at an issue which gave them temporary powers, but which they refused to fall a prey to, because they knew that they would damage the Constitution and damage democracy.

#### TYRANNY OF MAJORITY

There is one thing which I think is very necessary in the working of democracy and it is this that *In the name of democracy there must be no tyranny of the majority over the minority. The minority must always feel safe that although the majority is carrying on the Government the majority is not being hurt, or the minority is not being hit below the belt.* This is a thing which is very greatly respected in the house of Commons.

Good many of you must be remembering the results of elections in England in 1931, when Mr. Ramasay MacDonald left the Labour Party, formed the National Government when the election came the Labour Party which I think numbered somewhere about 150 or 60, had only 50 members out of 650 which Mr. Baldwin as the Prime Minister. I was then there. But I have never heard of a single instance of this small minority of 50 members, belonging to the Labour party under the huge majority of the Conservatives ever complaining that they were denied their due rights of speech, or opposition or making motions of any kind as you probably know.

You take our own parliament, I am not justifying what the members of the opposition are doing by

constantly bringing in motions of censure or adjournment motions. It is not a very happy thing to work in parliament to be constantly during these adjournment motions. All the same you must have noticed that there is hardly any motion, whether of adjournment or censure which has been admitted for the debate. It surprises me considerably. In my reading of the English parliamentary debates I have very seldom come across a case where a demand for adjournment has been refused either by the Speaker, provided of course it is an order by the Government.

**Morarji mischief:** When I was a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, there were a few of our friends, Mr. Morarji, Mr. Munshi and Mr. Kher and others who were in office, they never allowed a single motion of adjournment to be discussed. Either our friend, Mr. Mavlankar, who was then Speaker, helped them by ruling it out or as he admitted, the Minister objected to it. You know what happens when a Minister objects? When a Minister objects, the man who proposes the adjournment motion has to produce 30 or 40 people, whatever the quota is. It may be that if Government were constantly to oppose adjournment motions of the small community which is represented in the house by a group of few members such as 4, 5 or 6, such small minorities can never get a chance to ventilate their grievances.

*What happens is that these minorities develop a contempt for parliamentary people and develop a revolutionary spirit something unconstitutional.*

It is therefore necessary that when democracy is working, the majority on which it is based, must not act in a tyrannical manner.

#### MORAL ORDER IN SOCIETY

The other point I will refer to and then close. I think that democracy does require the functioning of moral order in society. Somehow, our political scientists have never considered this aspect of

democracy. Ethics is something separate from politics. You may learn politics and you may know nothing about ethics as though politics can work without ethics. To my mind it is an astounding proposition. After all, in democracy what happens? Democracy is spoken of as a free Government? And what do we mean by free Government? Free Government means that in vast aspects of social life people are left free to carry on without interference of law, if law has to be made then the law maker, expects the society will have enough morality in it to make the law a success.

The only person who I think has referred to this aspect of democracy is Laski. In one of his books he has very categorically stated that the **moral order is always taken for granted in democracy. If there is no moral order democracy will go to pieces as it is going now probably in our own country.**

#### PUBLIC CONSCIENCE

To the last thing that I refer to is that democracy requires "public conscience", there is no doubt about it that although there is injustice in every country, the injustice is not equally spread. There are somewhere the impact of injustice is very small. There are some against whom the impact is very small. **There are some against whom the impact is very great. And there are some who are absolutely crushed under the burden of injustice,** one might very easily cite the case of Jews in England. They were the people who suffered certain injustice which the Christians never did. What happened was that the Jews alone had to struggle in order to get this injustice removed. But the English Christians never helped them. In fact they liked it, the only man who helped the Jews in England was the king. This may be extraordinary. But the reason also is extraordinary and the reason is this, under the old Christian law the children of the Jews could not inherit the property of the father for no other reason

except the property that he was a Jew and not a Christian, and the king being the residuary legate of the State received the property of a dead Jew. Now the king liked that sort of thing. He was very happy when the children of the dead Jews went to the king in application the king handed over to them a little bit of the property of their dead father and kept the rest for himself. But as I said, no English man ever helped the Jews, and the Jews continued the struggle for their liberation this is the result of what is called "public conscience".

*Public conscience means conscience which becomes agitated at very wrong, no matter who is the sufferer and it means that everybody whether he suffers that particular wrong or not is prepared to join him in order to get him relieved.*

You take South Africa, the most recent example. Well, the people who are suffering there are the Indians. Are they not? The white people are not suffering and yet you find this Reverend Scott, who is a white man doing his level best in order to get this injustice removed. Recently, I have been reading that a large number of young boys and girls belonging to the white race are also joining the struggle of the Indians in South Africa, that is called "Public Conscience".

**S. Africa exists in every Indian village:** I do not want to shock you, but sometimes I feel how forgetful we are. We are talking about South Africa. I have been wondering within myself whether we who are talking so on do not have South Africa in every village. There is, we have only to go and see. There is South Africa everywhere in the village and yet I have very seldom found every body not belonging to the Scheduled Class taking up the cause of the Scheduled Class and fighting, and why? Because there is no 'Public Conscience'. Myself and my India is the only word within which I am bound. If this sort of thing happens, the minority which is suffering from injustice gets no help from others for the purpose of

getting rid of this injustice. It again develops a revolutionary mentality which puts democracy in danger. Now, as I said, what I have said is not a series of dogmas which have been worked out by any political scientist, but the result of what is impressed upon me as a result of reading the political histories of various countries, and I (have) believe that these are the most essential conditions for the purpose of preserving democracy.

#### FINAL WARNING:

The Britishers have gone. We have got a constitution which provide for democracy. Well what more do we want? We can now rest as we say on ours oars and do nothing more! *Let me warn you against this kind of a smug feeling that with the making of the constitution our task is done. It has only begun.*

You must remember that democracy is not a plant which grows everywhere. It has grown in America. It has grown in England. To some extent it has grown in France. Yes, there are examples by which we can take a certain amount of courage to ourselves to see what has happened elsewhere. You must remember that as a result of the First European war and breakup of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, Wilson created on the basis of self-determination, small nationalities independent of Austria. They all began with democratic constitution, democratic government and they had also Fundamental Rights provided in their constitution. Which it was made obligatory for them to have by the Peace Treaty of Versailles. My friends! What has happened to that democracy? Do you see any trace of it there now? It has all gone. It has all vanished. They are probably under the dominance or surveillance of other countries. There is no democracy left.

Take some of the most recent examples. Syria had got a democratic government. After a few years there was a military rebellion and the Commander-in-Chief of

Syria became the ruler of Syria and democracy vanished in air. Take another example what happened in Egypt? There too there had been a democratic government beginning right from 1922 or 30 years. In one night the King had to leave and Najib became the dictator of Egypt and he abolished the Constitution.

With all these examples before us, I think we ought to be very cautious and very considerate regarding our own future. You ought to consider whether we ought not to take some very positive steps in order to

#### COMMUNICATION

### IN DEFENCE OF SEPARATE ELECTORATE

RAJU THOMAS, KOTTAYAM, KERALA

The BSP Central Office, New Delh,i is still using the noble Three Commandments of Babasaheb wrongly. It says "Educate, Organise, Agitate". This is the reason BSP suffered.

Your Speech at the SSD seminar on "Separate Electorate and Settlement plus Proportional Representation" (DV Sept. 1 1991 p.7) needs the widest publicity. We have to stop discussing all other issues and must stick to this one and the only issue of separate electorate, settlement and proportional representation.

Most of our SC/ST/BCs and even the intellectuals among them are unable to think of separate electorate. They think it is impractical. As for a genuine and stainless Ambedkarite nothing is impossible or impracticable or at least in his/her life. So, our SC/ST/BC and even the non-Hindu religious communities (in the true sense they are all separate and distinct nationalities) must first become Ambedkarites or at least they must get re-educated on the philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts. The problem with our people is that they do not read and study in the way they should. So, they feel helpless.

**Untouchables, not Hindus:** Secondly, they think we are losing

remove some of the stone and the boulders which are lying in our path in order to make our democracy safe. If as a result of these few observations I have made I have effected in you a consciousness that this is a problem on which we cannot afford to sleep. I think I would thank myself for the work I have done. Now ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you long and thank you for the kind attention with which you have listened to what I have said. ■

our identity and are getting absorbed into the brahminical social order (BSO). Nonsense. When did we get assimilated into the BSO ?. It will never happen in history. But those SC/ST/BCs who want to get into the BSO may do so but they should not forget that their desire is not going to be fulfilled as it is against brahminism. A non-Hindu or non-Aryan can never, ever become Hindu. A Hindu is born. SC/ST/BCs are not Hindu and so they are Untouchables, meaning untouched by Hindu contamination. And so we are separate from Hindus. Hence we want separate electorate. Babasaheb could demand separate electorate because he knew this supreme Truth. If SC/ST/BCs also know this Truth then they too will get the courage to demand separate electorate and die for it so that our children will have their human rights. Those SC/ST/BCs who are concerned about their future will certainly not think that separate electorate is impractical. For them Ambedkarism is the only ideology.

When I wrote on 'separate electorate' (DV Feb. 16 1985, p.5 and 10) some Dalit leaders in Kerala asked me if that was practicable. In my experience of over a decade in this Dravidastan - the land of great revolutionaries

like Thiruvalluvar, Nandanar, Periyar – it was only Brother R. Elumalai, the powerful Ambedkarite of Tamil Nadu, who had agreed with me on separate electorate. This is what I then wrote:

Dalits all over India must boycott elections and fight for separate electorate. We will die for separate electorate for which Dr. B.R. Ambedkar fought but was deceived by M.K. Gandhi. The Untouchables demand that their representation shall be only by separate electorate. We condemn and oppose reserved constituencies and joint electorate system. Our rights and needs will be protected only when we achieve separate electorate. Dalits must now think of this issue".

Ever since the Aryans drifted into our motherland our experience proves that we can no longer live with the Aryan/Hindu nazis. As we are separate, we want to be ruled by ourselves. If the Aryan/Hindus do not concede our legitimate human rights, we will be forced to resort to other means the consequences of which will be dangerous to Aryans. It is only because of these Aryans, our country got partitioned. This country rightly belongs to us – not to the traitors. We will not allow even an inch of land to get separated from India. The Kashmiris, the Sikhs, the Gorkhas, the Nagas – all must get united and give a "Quit India" notice if peaceful agitations fails.

Separate electorate is our only weapon by which we can dynamite the Aryan/Hindu hegemonical imperialism. ■

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## What is separate electorate, separate settlement & religious separation ?

The newly-formed Karnataka Samata Sainik Dal gives a concrete shape to Babasaheb dreams. A four-page pamphlet on the subject released at Hyderabad on Sept.16 by Ram Vilas Paswan, a former Union Welfare Minister, at the massive Dalit rally on Chundur is a direct outcome of the *Dalit Voice* editorial of Sept.1 1991 : "Chundur proves non-Hindu Dalits cannot live with Hindus. Separate electorate and settlement as solution". This was followed by an eye-witness report, "Nazis in Naxalite garb play havoc at Chundur", by M. Gopinath of the Samata Sainik Dal (DV Sept.16, 1991).

The pamphlet, which received wide support at the Hyderabad rally and became a talking point among Dalit, says :

We, the Dalits, can no longer believe the Hindu society; we must determine our own destiny. In the present electoral system, constituencies are reserved in proportion to our population. Dalit representatives are voted to power from the reserved constituencies by Dalits and non Dalits jointly. Though we are the majority population, we are scattered throughout the whole country, we are reduced to a minority in every village and every constituency.

Hence we are not able to elect the representatives of our choice. Dalit representatives, who are elected so far on different party tickets, are chosen by non-Dalit voters.

Since these representatives are not determined by Dalit voters, they will not have the loyalty and guts to fight and voice against the caste savagery, for which purpose they are elected. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the greatest genius of the country having understood the inefficacy and futility of joint

electorates and reserved constituencies, demanded separate electorate for Dalits.

Under separate electorates, Dalit representatives will be elected only by the Dalit voters. Under this system, Dalit legislators are bound to remain loyal to Dalits and committed to strive for our liberation.

The Hindu caste system is intertwined with the structure of Indian villages. Every village has two different dwelling places – one for the Hindus and the other for Dalits.

As long as the present village system continues, ghettos are bound to exist. To get rid of the ghettos, the present-day village system must be destroyed. As we cannot expect that the entire village structure to be reorganised by the rulers to give us physical strength, we ourselves can rearrange our population by 'separate settlements' or separate villages which are to be inhabited by Dalits alone. These exclusive Dalit villages will give us greatest bargaining strength, political power and create the possibilities to develop ourselves as a community of self-reliance and dignity.

People yearning to become politically strong, must have a culture of their own. They must have cultural unity. People who lose their culture and history will lose everything. Therefore, to regain our lost rights and powers, we will have to attain cultural unity. That is the reason Dr. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism along with his followers.

The pamphlet, which needs to be translated to all Indian languages, may be had from:

Karnataka Samata Sainik Dal,  
132, Pillareddy Nagar  
Banaswadi, Bangalore - 560 043

# DSA's latest book

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Fazlul Huq is a practising barrister in London. Born (1931) in British India's Bengal, he served the Pakistan Govt. till 1961. He was involved in the movement for colonial freedom headed by Lord Fenner Brockway and in anti-apartheid movement. In 1966, after returning from China he became the chairman of the National Awami Party of Pakistan in UK. In 1976, the anti-racist revolutionary, Rev. Michael Scott, and Huq jointly authored the book, Britain Bangladesh Traffic in Charity, which exposed mis-appropriation of Bangladesh funds and the widespread corruption in UK top circles.

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# APCLC document endorses DV findings

## THE CHUNDUR CARNAGE

Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee document on the mass murder of Untouchables in Chundur village, Guntur dt. of AP on Aug. 6, 1991.

The document clearly blames "the upper caste intolerance of Dalit self-assertion" for Chundur mass murder. It also holds the Reddies, the fourth grade shudra *jati* in the four-fold Hindu religion, responsible for the murder. The Chief Minister of AP is a Reddy. The Chundur Hindus hated the Dalits getting educated. They did not like many among the village Dalits becoming graduates. It is this hatred that sparked off the tragedy. Of the 2,400 acres of cultivable land the Reddys alone owned 50%. Dalits had just 90 acres. The mere 25 Brahmins in the village owned over 100 acres. Despite all their deprivation, Dalits were well educated and politically strong. The village Mandal chief was a Dalit and belonged to the ruling Congress Party. Both the killer Reddies and the Dalit victims voted for the Congress in the last election.

This proves that political parties in India cannot bring about social, cultural changes. Chundur also proves that political unity will not bring socio-cultural unity. Hence the need for the social, cultural, religious and political separation of Dalits from Hindus.

The Aug.6 carnage was the result of full Hindu police collaboration with the Hindu killers. This finding of M. Gopinath (DV Sept. 16) is fully supported by the APCLC document which says:

The upper castes could not carry out such a brutal attack on the Dalits without the active connivance of the police force. By chasing the Dalits away from the village, the police made them easy targets for the upper castes. Though the killing spree went on for nearly three to four hours, none of the policemen made any effort to prevent the

massacre. On the other hand, the Dalits alleged that some policemen accompanied the marauding upper caste men in the tractors.

Though the incident took place in broad day light, the police did their best to hush up the killings till the next day and made no effort to apprehend the culprits. The police also did not make any effort to search for the bodies. The Dalits themselves traced the bodies and handed them over to the police for conducting the inquest.

In all the incidents that took place during the month that preceded the killings, the police never tried to take action against the upper castes. Even when the Dalits were attacked by the upper castes, cases were registered against the dalits.

The document also details the previous 27 cases of Hindu war and violence on Untouchables in AP.

Aug. 1991 pp. 15 price not mentioned

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