

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

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- Western Whites stole knowledge from Black Africa.
- *Papans* step up state terrorism in Tamil Nadu
- Africans seek Dalit support for world Anti-Zionist Front
- India's corrupt "intellectuals"
- Dalits protest Kerala govt. honour to destroyer of Buddhism
- Debate on Jamate-Islami
- Lessons from blackout of Bohra chief birthday gala in Bombay
- Reservations aim at empowering groups, not individuals

Babasaheb Ambedkar architect
of Indian socialism

and
racism

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Babasaheb was architect of Indian socialism

Plan to end Constitutional Deadlock

Dr. Ambedkar outlined what he described as the Skeleton Act of the Government of India (Preliminary Provisions Act). The main promises of the Act were as follows:- (1) A poll of Muslims and non-Muslims be taken for or against separation. If the majority of Muslims were in favour of separation and a majority of non-Muslims were against separation, steps must be taken to delimit the areas wherever it was possible by redrawing provincial boundaries on ethnic and cultural lines by separating the Muslim-majority districts from the districts in which the majority consisted of non-Muslims. (2) A Boundary Commission should be set up, preferably an International Commission. (3) Partition of the country into Hindustan and Pakistan. He agreed for a separate referendum of non-Muslims, only to decide whether they preferred to go in Pakistan or come into Hindustan.

In his scheme a Council was provided. It could not be mistaken by a Federation. It was not even a Confederation. It could be used as a coupling between Hindustan and Pakistan. - *Pakistan or Partition of India pp. 384-390.*

India's Sovereignty and Paramountcy

Dr. Ambedkar upheld India's paramountcy and sovereignty with regard to princely states. He remarked, "When the whole of sovereignty is transferred the territory of that particular ruler becomes the territory of India, with complete sovereignty vested in the Indian Union". He said that he would ask the interim government at the Centre to take the following steps:- "(1) To notify his Majesty's Government that the British Parliament has no right to pass any law abrogating paramountcy and that any clause to that effect in the forthcoming legislation conferring Dominion Status on India would be treated by the people of India as repugnant to their sovereignty and therefore null and void. (2) To declare that the government of India will never recognise any Indian State as sovereign independent state. (3) To inform the U.N.O. that admitting an Indian State which declares itself as sovereign independent state to the membership of U.N.O. would meet with the strongest objection from the people of India as a violation of the sovereign rights of the Union of India."

Constitution is Socialistic

K.T. Shah tabled an amendment to the first Article of the Constitution. It said, "India shall be a secular, federal, socialist Union of States".

Dr. Ambedkar said that the amendment is superfluous. He remarked, "If these Directive Principles are not socialistic in their direction, and in their content, I fail to understand what more socialism can be. These socialistic principles are already embodied in our Constitution. - *C.A. Debates, Vol. VII, p. 709.*

Economy Democracy

Dr. Ambedkar observed that the proposed Constitution sought to establish political democracy and to lay down an ideal before those who would be forming the Government. That ideal was economic democracy. To Dr. Ambedkar, the Directive Principles have a great value, for they lay down that "our ideal is economic democracy" - *Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol. VII, p. 494.*

Agricultural Labour

Dr. Ambedkar had before him not only industrial labour but also agricultural labour. According to him, similar conditions of work, provident funds, employer's liability, workmen's compensation, health insurance including invalidity pensions would be open to all sorts of labour, whether it is industrial labour or agricultural labour. - *Constitutional Assembly Debates, Vol. IX p. 944-945.*

DALIT VOICEThe Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

Dalits Voice has become the darling of our Black sisters and brothers in America, Africa and elsewhere. And this became possible on their discovering that India's Black Untouchables and the American Blacks had a common origin and had many things in common. The fact that both are victims of racism is the single biggest magic factor that brought a flood of goodwill to us from the American Blacks.

The Blacks in US form 15% of the population and India's Untouchables comprise 20% of the population. If the Tribals (10%) and Backward Castes (35%), who are also Indias' original inhabitants and also victims of racism, are included we become 65% of India's 850 million population.

If the Blacks of the world unite they will become the single largest population block, and together they can liberate not only themselves but the entire oppressed of the world. Such a wonderful prospect gave a new thrust to this unity of the Black world.

The birth of the Indian Dalit Support Group headed by Dr. Velu Annamalai, a Tamil Dalit intellectual, and Runoko Rashidi, a noted American Black historian, and the gift of several books to *Dalit Voice*, besides the inclusion of our writings in American Black books are all because of these great developments.

A study of Black literature reveals that India's Black Untouchables have to learn a good lot of things from our American Blacks who are at least 100 years ahead of us. If we make a proper study of the Black literature and emulate their bold tactics and strategies, we too can profit and save struggling for

another 100 years.

Hidden truth: As we delved deep into this rich treasure-house of Black literature we struck gold. *We discovered the hidden truth that Blacks founded the world civilisation, a Black woman was the world's first mother and Blacks played a great role in shaping the world history. All this came as a shock to us.*

Currently, America is undergoing a big Black Revivalist Movement which has brought to the surface many hidden secrets. Some of the Black discoveries, when the whole world comes to know it, will shake the very foundations of science, philosophy, history – if not our very civilisation.

The most shocking revelation is that not only the white racists have stolen the treasures of the world's first and the greatest Black African civilisation but made a false claim as their own. *The chief villains of this white piracy are what the white historians have frightened us with big Greek names like Alexander the Great, Aristotle, Plato etc.* The stark truth, so carefully hidden all these years, is revealed for the first time. You shall know the truth and truth shall free you, says the Bible.

Aryan mischief in India: The Black historians and researches have at last helped us to understand how the Aryan racists in India, forefathers of the white racists, did play the same trick by destroying the Indus Valley, the most glorious civilisation of Dalits, and are now trying to call it an Aryan handiwork.

In India today, some Hindu nazi historians are trying to re-write Indian history saying that Harappa and Mohenjodaro, Lothal (Gujarat) are all founded by Aryans and that the script deciphered there was

Western whites stole knowledge from Africa : Greeks not the authors of "Greek Philosophy"

Sanskrit. They also are trying to establish that Aryans are not foreign invaders but are also an indigenous population (Prof. H.M. Kemparaju "Aryan Bluff Bomb" DV Aug. 16, 91 p.18). They have been repeating these lies. And lies repeated 99 times becomes truth at the 100th time.

That means the Black Africans and the Black Untouchables of India have a glorious golden past and once we know it, it will put pride into our broken hearts. Those who forget history cannot make history. You shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free, said the Bible. *Our history has been stolen by the Aryan thugs and pindaris and then these thieves made us forget our history. And once we were made to forget our history, we were stopped from making history.*

Prof. George G.M. James, the author of the book, *Stolen Legacy*, (1954) comes out with startling facts on the white racists and how they have stolen our civilisation and claimed it as theirs. It is only after reading this book we could understand the mischief of the alien Aryan rulers in India.

Plagiarism was a common practice among the Greek philosophers who borrowed from one another but chiefly from Pythagoras who obtained his ideas from Egyptians.

Hindu rulers in India say that Hinduism stands for non-violence because there is no need for violence in India as the slaves of India have been made to enjoy their slavery. Mental bondage is invisible violence.

Formal physical slavery has ended in the USA but mental slavery continues to this day. This slavery affects the minds of all people and, in one way, it is worse than physical

slavery. That means the person who is in mental bondage will be "self-contained". Not only will that person fail to challenge beliefs and patterns of thought which control him, he will defend and protect those beliefs and pattern of thought virtually with his last dying effort.

Slaves enjoying their slavery: If this is so in USA, it is much worse in India, where the Untouchables and even Tribals and Backward Castes plus the "minorities" are not only slaves of the Aryan/upper castes but enjoying their slavery, while at the same time one slave is killing another slave. The Aryans are just sitting and enjoying the fun.

The white Aryans have created the myth that the "western world" is the highest form of civilisation. As the "western world" had crooned to itself in narcissistic and ethnocentric abandon, one must remember Napoleon's dictum that "history is a fable agreed upon".

Book-Burning: Clearly, the Egyptian-African origin of much of Greek and other European "civilisation" cannot be denied, George G.M. James says.

He recalls the burning of the Egyptian-Ethiopian library at Alexandria, the Inquisition and many book-burnings in history.

The Aryan white invaders of India resorted to more heinous theft and book-burnings. Most of our famous Buddhist centres were ransacked and valuable records stolen. Then they started re-writing Indian history, stealing all our great discoveries and claiming it to themselves.

This book by George James, therefore, is important for the Indian Dalits because we should also write a similar book on the Aryan crimes of theft and treason, plunder and pillage. Some works have already come out but a more scholarly attempt is the urgent need of the hour.

George James says: After nearly 5,000 years of prohibition against the Greeks, they were permitted by the Africans to enter Egypt for the purpose of their education. Most

Greek students received instructions directly from the Egyptian priests but after the invasion by Alexander the Great, the Royal temples and libraries were plundered and pillaged, and Aristotle's school converted the library at Alexandria into a research centre. There is no wonder then, that the production of the unusually large number of books ascribed to Aristotle has proved a physical impossibility, for any single man within a life time.

Greeks were thieves : Another shocking news:- The so-called Greek philosophers were undesirable citizens, who throughout the period of their investigations were victims of relentless persecution at the hands of their own Athenian Govt. itself.

Anaxagoras was imprisoned and exiled; Socrates was executed; Plato was sold into slavery and Aristotle was indicted and exiled; while the earliest of them all, Pythagoras, was expelled from Croton in Italy.

Can we imagine the Greeks making such an about-turn, as to claim the very teachings which they had at first hated and openly rejected? Certainly, they knew they were stealing what they had never produced. And James gives mountains of evidence to conclude that the so-called Greek philosophers were not the authors of Greek philosophy, but the Egyptian priests and Hierophants (p.3) who were Africans and Blacks.

Shiva stolen from Dravidas: The book is very important from our point of view because India's Untouchables are also the victims of a stolen legacy. Shiva, a pre-Aryan god, was stolen by the Aryans. Krishna was a backward caste Yadava tribal leader whom the Aryans elevated into a godhood to deceive the cowbelt Yadavas who constituted the single largest group among BCs who revolted wholesale against the Aryan slaughter of cows and embraced Buddhism. Tirupati, Puri Jagannath, Sabarimalai were all Buddhist

temples stolen by Aryans.

First shock: Aristotle died in 322 BC – not many years after he had been aided by Alexander the Great to steal the largest quantity of scientific books from the Royal Libraries and Temples of Egypt. But the death of Aristotle also marked the death of philosophy among the Greeks. The two other Athenian philosophers are Socrates and Plato. Every school boy believes that when he hears or reads the command "Know thyself", he is hearing or reading words which were uttered by Socrates. But the truth is that the Egyptian temples carried inscriptions on the outside addressed to Neophytes and among them was the injunction "Know thyself". Socrates copied these words from the Egyptian temples, and was not its author. All mystery temples, inside and outside of Egypt, carried such inscriptions.

Second shock: Similarly, every school boy believes that when he hears or reads the names of the "Four cardinal virtues", he is hearing or reading names of virtues determined by Plato. Nothing has been more misleading, for the Egyptian Mystery System contained ten virtues and from this source Plato copied what have been called the "four cardinal virtues" – justice, wisdom, temperance and courage. It is indeed surprising how, for centuries, the Greeks have been praised by the "western world" for intellectual accomplishments robbed from Egyptians, the people of North Africa.

In India also, the Aryans did the same. They have stolen our goddesses, gods, our science, Ayurveda, Yoga, our dance, Bharatanatyam, our tribal art and literature, our temples. And today they are making the false claim that it is Hindu heritage. All bullshit. How can barbarians, who drifted to India and had no settled civilisation, have a heritage?

Most the Greek philosophers used the teachings of Pythagoras as their model. Greek philosophy is somewhat of a drama, whose chief

actors were Alexander the Great, Aristotle and his successors in the peripatetic school, and the Roman Emperor Justinian. Alexander invaded Egypt and captured the Royal Library at Alexandria and plundered and made a library of his own with plundered books, while his school occupied the building and used it as a research centre.

Common origin of Blacks:

George James book helps establish better race relations in the hate-filled world by revealing a fundamental truth concerning the contribution of the African continent to civilisation. Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free, says the Bible. Consequently, the book is an attempt to show that the true authors of Greek philosophy were not the Greeks; but the people of North Africa, commonly called the Egyptians. And the praise and honour falsely given to the Greeks for centuries, therefore, belong to the people of North Africa, and therefore to the African Continent – the Blacks and the Black Untouchables of India, both having a common origin.

This theft of the African legacy by the Greeks led to the erroneous world opinion that the African continent has made no contribution to world civilisation, and that its people are naturally backward. And Africa is full of jungle countries. This is the misrepresentation that has become the basis of race prejudice, which has effected all peoples of all colour.

World's Worst racists are Aryans:

Why the Blacks are hated in America? Why the Black Dalits are hated in India? The cause of the hate is *Varna* (colour) *Ashram Dharma* or racism. There is no such thing as right colour or wrong colour. So, on the basis of *varna* (colour), if hate or love starts that means there is something wrong with the person who hates or loves on the basis of *varna*. That means such a person doesn't believe in justice. *Racism or caste system – which is nothing but racism – is caused by those do not believe in*

justice. And for the information of American Blacks and white racists India's Aryan *varna* worshippers are the founders of racism. And hence India's *varna* racism is more serious and more dangerous than the South African Apartheid.

In India, the Aryan/upper caste/Hindu rulers ride over 85% of the Indian population, who are the indigenous peoples, using the very same argument. The indigenous SC/ST/BCs and "religious minorities" like Muslims, Christians, Sikhs are kept out of all decision-making places saying that these people are "meritless idiots", fit to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.

The US Blacks, who now call themselves Afro-Americans, today walk with pride and fighting back giving a sleepless night to the whites only after they discovered their glorious past. They came to know the truth and the truth freed them from slavery. So the same rule applies to India's SC/ST/BCs and minorities. They must also re-discover their glorious past and recover their stolen property from the Aryan thugs and pindaris.

Africa called Dark Continent: For centuries the world has been misled about the original source of the arts and sciences. For centuries Socrates, Plato and Aristotle have been falsely idolized as model of intellectual greatness. And for centuries the African continent has been called the Dark Continent because Europe coveted the honour of transmitting to the world the arts and sciences. In India, also the Aryans sold lots of lies like this in the shape of Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita and all their bullshit. Our greatest heroes and heroines were denigrated as Rakshasas, Vanaras, Pischachis, Daityas. Ravana was a great benevolent king whom the Aryan god Rama killed and even today Ravana is being burnt in the yearly Aryan festival called Ramlila which is made part of Dasara.

Third shock : According to the history, Pythagoras after receiving

his training in Egypt, returned to his native island, Samos, where he established his order for a short time, after which he migrated to Croton, (540 BC) in Southern Italy, where his order grew to enormous proportions, until his final expulsion from that country.

Death sentence to Socrates:

Consequently, history makes it clear that the surrounding neighbours of Egypt had all become familiar with the teachings of Egyptian mysteries many centuries before the Athenians, who in 399 BC sentenced Socrates to death and subsequently caused Plato and Aristotle to flee for their lives from Athens because philosophy was something foreign and unknown to them.

Egyptian influence in India :

According to Diodorus and Manetho, High priest in Egypt, two columns were found at Nysa Arabia; one of the Goddess Isis and the other of the God Osiris, on the letter of which the God declared that he had led an army into India, to the sources of the Danube, and as far as the ocean. This means, of course, that the Egyptian Empire, at a very early date, included not only the islands of the Aegean sea and Ionia, but also extended to the extremities of the East. (p.11)

Senusert I, during the 12th dynasty (i.e. about 1900 BC) conquered the whole sea coast of India, beyond the Ganges to the Eastern ocean. He is also said to have included the Cyclades and a great part of Europe in his conquests.

For centuries Egyptian power had been supreme in the ancient world. This was in the 18th Dynasty i.e., about 1500 B.C. All this clearly shows the Egyptian (African) influence on India.

Egypt was the centre of the body of ancient wisdom, and knowledge – religious, philosophical and scientific spread to other lands through student initiates. (p.12)

Aristotle's plan to usurp Egyptian philosophy was subsequently carried out by members of his

school; Theophrastus, Andronicus of Rhodes and Eudemus, who soon found themselves confronted with the problem of a chronology for a history of philosophy. (Introduction of Zeller's Hist. of Phil, p. 13). This situation has rightly aroused the suspicion of the world, as it questions the source of these scientific works.

Since Theophrastus and Eudemus were students under Aristotle at the same time, and since the conquest of Egypt by Alexander, he made the Egyptian Library at Alexandria available to the Greeks for research, then it must be expected that - Aristotle, Theophrastus and Eudemus not only did research at the Alexandria Library at the same time, but must also have helped themselves to books, which enabled them to follow each other so closely in the production of scientific works (*William Turner's Hist. of Phil. p. 158-159*), which were either a portion of the war booty taken from the Library or compilations from them. (p.17)

The period of Greek Philosophy (640-322 B.C.) was a period of internal and external wars, and was therefore unsuitable for producing philosophers. Greek philosophy was therefore the offspring of the Egyptian mystery systems.

The indictment and persecution of Greek philosophers is well known. Several philosophers, one after another, were indicted by the Athenian Govt. on the common charge of introducing strange divinities. Anaxagoras, Socrates and Aristotle were all indicted. Socrates offended the Athenian Govt. simply because he pursued the study of astronomy and probably that of geology; and the other philosophers were persecuted for the same reason.

Christian connection: The schools and libraries which they established became famous throughout the mediaeval world. Science and learning were cultivated and taught. The schools of Cordova, Toledo, Seville and Saragossa attained such celebrity that they, like their

parent Egypt, attracted students from all parts of the western world. And from them arose the most famous African professors that the world has ever known, in medicine, surgery, astronomy and mathematics.

All the great leaders of the great religions of antiquity were Initiates of the Egyptian Mystery System: from Moses who was an Egyptian Hierogrammat, down to Christ.

Arab & Berber source: It should also be of interest to know that European scientists like Roger Bacon, Johann Kepler, Copernicus and others obtained their science through Arab or Berber sources. It is also noteworthy that throughout the Middle Ages, European knowledge of medicine came from these same sources. (p.40)

Greek aspirants to wisdom visited Egypt for initiation, and that the priests of Sais used to refer to them as children in the Mysteries. It is said that Pythagoras, a native of Samos, travelled frequently to Egypt for the purpose of his education.

We are also further informed through Herodotus, Jablonsk and Pliny that after severe trials, including circumcision had been imposed upon him by the Egyptian Priests, he was finally initiated into all their secrets. He learnt the doctrine of metempsychosis of which there was no trace before in the Greek religion.

Alexandria's Importance: *It is therefore an erroneous belief that the Greeks, on Egyptian soil, and through their own native ability, set up a great university at Alexandria and turned out great scholars.*

That after the death of Alexander in (323 B.C) his vast empire was divided among his generals, and that Alexandria, the new Egyptian capital, fell to Ptolemy. That the city, barely ten years old, soon became the centre of the learned world, and that by 300 B.C. the museum (i.e., the seat of the Muses), was founded, and became a veritable university of Greek learning.

Plato was a coward: Socrates was

born in Athens in 469 B.C. He was the son of Sophroniscus, a sculptor, and Phaenarete, a midwife. He was put in jail and sentenced to death but he drank the hemlock and died.

There are two events in the life of Socrates which demand our attention. (a) He is said to have been completely unknown up to the age of 40 and (b) to have lived a life of poverty. He alone of the three Athenian philosophers deserves the appellation of a true Master Mason. *Plato was a great coward and Aristotle was greater still. At the execution of Socrates, Plato fled to Megara to the lodge of Euclid, and Aristotle when indicated fled in exile to Calchis. (p.90)*

In dealing with the refusal of Socrates to accept liberation, again we are dealing with a type of behaviour, which singles him out as an advanced Initiate of the Ancient Mysteries of Egypt. When Socrates died (i.e., 399 b.c.), Plato was just 28. His writings are disputed and doubted by modern scholarship. There are 36 dialogues and a number of letters which Plato is supposed to have written but which are disputed and doubted by modern scholarship.

Plato not author of "Republic": Under these circumstances it is clear that Plato wrote neither the *Republic* nor the *Timaeus*, whose subject matter identifies them with the purpose of the Mysteries of Egypt.

According to the textbooks on the history of Greek philosophy, Aristotle was born in 384 B.C. at Stagira, a town in Thrace. The Library of Alexandria was the true source of Aristotle's large number of books. This Library was immediately ransacked and looted by Alexander, Aristotle and others who did not only carry off large quantities of scientific books but also frequently returned to Alexandria for the purpose of research.

The question is how did Aristotle, a single individual, come to possess such a vast number of scientific

works, a body of knowledge which took the Ancient World 5,000 years or more to accumulate? It is evident that Aristotle's fame as a scholar has been grossly exaggerated.

Now that it has been shown that philosophy and the arts and sciences were bequeathed to civilization by the people of North Africa and not by the people of Greece, the pendulum of praise and honour is due to shift from the people of Greece to the people of the African continent who are the rightful heirs of such praise and honour (p.153)

Dr. Ambedkar's works: This is what will happen in India also. Untouchables, who were the creators of Indus Valley Civilisation and world famous Buddhist centres like Nalanda, Taxila, are being told by the tiny Aryan usurpers that they are brainless and useless. But once our people are told the truth, they are sure to explode. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the first person to do this job and a lot more follow-up work has to be done.

This is going to mean a tremendous change in world opinion and attitude for all peoples and races who accept the new philosophy of African redemption – *the truth that the Greeks were not the authors of Greek philosophy but the people of North Africa. When this truth is known it would change the world opinion from one of disrespect to one of respect for the Black people throughout the world.*

It is also going to mean a most important change in the mentality of the Black people; a change from an inferiority complex to the realization and consciousness of their equality with all the other great peoples of the world, who have built great civilizations. With this change in the mentality of the Black and White people, great changes are also expected in their respective attitudes towards each other, and in society as a whole.

Black-Dalit Unity: George James believes that a reformation of this kind is possible, if the best minds

of both racial groups co-operate in its accomplishment. Both groups have been the common victims of miseducation arising from a false tradition about the African Continent. This made them develop attitudes according to their common belief: *The Whites developed a superiority complex and the Black people, the corresponding inferiority complex.* And if we are to accomplish a reformation in race relations it is obvious that both racial groups must combine their efforts in the abandonment and destruction of that mentality which has plunged the Black people into their social plight.

This is also the case in India. The Hindu upper caste boys and girls are fed with all sorts of cock and bull stories and their brains have been fed with false things. So much so, they have become arrogant, aggressive, heartless, insipid. Without producing anything, they have been made to consume what others (SC/ST/BCs and minorities) produce and yet ride roughshod over others. A proper rewriting of Indian history is a must to establish peace in India and this book shall be a guide in that direction.

Stolen Legacy: George G.M. James, Julian Richardson Associates, 1712 Fillmore St., San Francisco, California, USA, 1954. Xerox Copies of the book may be had from the Dalit Voice Office.

Dalit plea against Bombay Judge

Bombay: The All-India SC/ST Employees Federation, Central Telegraph Office (CTO), Bombay, has made an impassioned plea to the Chief Justice of India claiming that the dismissal of three cases filed in a special court under the Prevention of Atrocities Against SC/ST Act, 1989, by an additional sessions judge here was not "based on legal grounds: It said the judgment by the Additional Sessions Judge, Greater Bombay, S.K. Shah, was "arbitrary". (*Indian Express* Nov. 16).

Origin of racism

Ecuvlew: Racism in Theological Doctrine (Quince Duncan)

This item first appeared in the Peru-based Latinameric Press of Oct. 10, 1991.

The development of racism as a doctrine first emerged within theological discourse. In 1529 Paracelus (a Swiss doctor, 1493-1541) denied that the Amerindians were descendants of Adam and Eve, thus initiating a debate that divided its participants into two distinct groups: those who adhered to the theory of mono-genesis (the single origin of all humanity) and those who believed in polygenesis (various origins).

The issue caused so much debate and confusion that Pope Paul III (1534-1549) was forced to emit *Sublimus Deus*, in which he formally recognized the humanity of the Amerindians and called on Christians to respect their liberty and property.

The conquerors, however, rejected the papal document in both theory and practice. Basing their argument on Aristotle's concept of nature, they claimed that the Indians were predestined by nature to servitude.

This discussion was formalized in the debate between Juan Gines de Sepulveda and Fray Bartolome de las Casas in Valladolid, Spain, between 1550 and 1551.

For Sepulveda, the indigenous person was by nature inferior, given to vice, irrational, and was as different from the Spaniard as monkeys are from humans. While de las Casas defended indigenous people, he was also the one who proposed the importing of Africans to America, arguing that they were stronger and better equipped for hard labour. (*Economical Press*---WCC, Geneva).

TN *papan* state terrorism set to swallow Madras Christian College

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : The state terrorism, which Tamil Nadu is currently witnessing under the Bangalore *papatti* rule, has taken such a reckless turn that even the country's chief brahminical daily, the *Hindu*, has started expressing shock over the developments. The *Hindu's* pictorial fortnightly, *Frontline* (Dec.6 1991), has a full-page story expressing concern over the Bangalore *papatti's* "intolerance".

That even the "Mount Road Mahavishnu" is getting perturbed over its jatwala's tyrannical rule proves to what extent the SC/ST/BCs and Christians of this purest Dravidian State are terrorised – using the Rajiv murder as a pretext. The *Statesman's* special representative in Madras, S. Rajappa, even compared the *papatti* rule to Emergency excesses.

On our part we are least surprised because we had predicted all this in our editorial itself. ("Aryan fate will be decided on Tamil soil", DV Oct. 1 '91). Subsequent events have only proved us right.

Gagon press: Only the weaker sections are being made targets of terrorism. The clamp-down on Vallampuri John, an ex-MP, took place because he is a Backward Caste fisherman. The very second issue of his new-born Tamil weekly, *Rajrishi*, was seized and destroyed. Even the *papan* press people, great admirers of the Bangalore *papatti*, were shocked by this gag on the press.

Under the nazi bulldozer that is running over TN today every spirited Dravidian will be powdered in the name of law and order.

A Backward Caste IAS officer, ex-Home Secretary Nagarajan, was once again arrested and humiliated. The charge is that he sheltered Tamil Tigers. But did not Rajiv Gandhi hosted, feted, sheltered the same Tiger chief, Velu Pillai Prabhakaran? Did not the *papatti* friend, MGR, present a Rs.4-crore cheque to the Tigers?

But the TN witch-hunting has nothing to do with the Tigers or Lions. It is to finish the Dravidian spirit once for all. So, the *papan* bulldozer is running roughshod over the Dravida Nadu. Instead of bravely facing it, the cowards and those purchased by the *papatti* are disowning their own men victimised by the *papatti*. Those arrested became heroes because they were arrested under the charge of working for Tamil self-determination. Dravidian sources say scores of Tamils have been shot dead by the police but the *papan* press described it as suicide. But the people know the truth, they said. That means TN is added to the growing list of terrorist-infected States like Punjab, Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland, Mizoram, Gorkhaland etc.

Madras Christian College: Meanwhile, a side show of the State terrorism is the *papan* threat to the prestigious 154-year-old Madras Christian College started by the Scottish Missionaries. Enquiries with the Christian sources reveal that the *papans* have caught hold of a couple of puppets from the teaching staff who are encouraged to defy the college authorities. The *Times of India* (Oct. 19) identifies these teachers as M.K. Vishwanathan, Jeevanathan, Oliver John, Suresh Dhas and Brindavan Moses, who include some Dalits.

Principal Francis Sunderraj has fully defended his action of suspending these erring teachers who took the dispute to the press. If they had any "dispute" with the college management, they had any number of democratic forums under the Protestant church, they said.

Instead of doing that they went to the *papan* press and tried to damage the reputation of this historic Christian institution, they said.

What pained the Christian leaders is that when the TN was shivering under the *papan* state terrorism, even a little indiscreet act would be sufficient to swallow the institution and brahminise it.

St. John's Medical College: Indeed, this threat was given by the TN Education Minister and we will not be surprised if the Christian College also falls a victim to the ongoing *papan* state terrorism. Already the police have been posted at the college.

About ten years back, some mischievous elements created a similar situation in Bangalore's prestigious St. John's Medical College and by a sheer miracle it saved itself from being swallowed by brahminical forces in the Karnataka govt.

Tips to Black Bishop: The Madras Bishop, Dr. Azariah, India's most famous Black theologian, should intervene and advice the few "rebel" teachers not to fall into the trap of *papans*, who will first swallow the college and then finish the Christian teachers including the "rebel" leaders. The Christian church must also stand solidly and protest any interference in this minority institution. The Constitution of the country has given full safeguard to minorities.

The "rebel" teachers must note that for the sake of some cheap popularity in the *papan* press and for some petty gains a great institution should not be lost. An irreparable damage will be caused to the Christian church itself if the Madras Christian College loses its existing character. Meanwhile, we wish the Bangalore *papatti* all success and want her to be more harsh on Dravidians to sharpen the contradictions. ■

Africans seek Dalit support for world-wide anti-zionist Front

JOHN TRIMBLE, ORGANIZER, ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, ATLANTA, USA

I am writing on behalf of my Party (AAPRP) to inform about the formation and work of the World-Wide African Anti-Zionist Front, and plans to form a World-Wide Anti-Zionist Front.

The *Dalit Voice* has consistently pointed out that zionism is racism. You have been at the forefront of pointing out the relationship between zionism and imperialism. Based on your commitment to struggle against zionist oppression and in light of the high regard you are held, not only in India, but among revolutionaries throughout the world, the *Dalit Voice* is the most capable choice to organize an Anti-Zionist Front in India.

We have followed the DV's consistent work in exposing zionism. Your exposure of zionism has informed your readers of its impact on a wide range of geopolitical areas. We have followed closely and appreciate the completeness of your journalism. Whether short reprints like 'Zionism & Racism' (Mar. 1-15, 1991), articles from your correspondent like 'Khomani unites Shias & Sunnis: Tribute to a great revolutionary' (July 16-31, 1989), or your Nov. 16-30, 1990 editorial 'What should be the role of Untouchables? A Global gang-up of whites & zionists against Blacks & Muslims', we find your analysis on zionism both refreshingly honest and packed with information.

Salute to "Dalit Voice": We salute the *Dalit Voice* for its diligent work in exposing the bankruptcy of the US complicity with the worldwide zionist movement.

While our enemies – imperialists and zionists – are organizing on a global scale, we are not idle. The founding of the World-Wide African Anti-Zionist Front (WWAAZF) serves notice to zionists wherever they may lie. Africans intend to stand at the forefront in opposition to their racist plots. Africans intend to stand at the forefront to smash zionism.

The establishment of the WWAAZF sets the groundwork for the building of the World-Wide Anti-Zionist Front that will include organizations of all nationalities. This will be done, and you can make a significant contribution toward this accomplishment.

Racist beast: Individual organizations were forced to build the WWAAZF to break out of responding individually to zionist attacks. We now will coordinate our work, not only in response to zionist attacks, but with a constantly expanding offensive designed to bury the racist beast known as zionism. We realize that the work of this front is also the practical working basis for building an African United Front and serves to identify revolutionary organizations and further the

interest and work of the Pan-African movement.

Libyan Support: My Party chairs the African Anti-Zionist Front in the US and also chairs the WWAAZF. *With your support, we can approach the Mathaba in Libya to sponsor the formation of an Anti-Zionist Front in India.* The Mathaba supported both the formation of the AAZF in the US and the formation of the WWAAZF.

Dalit-African link: The *Dalit Voice* has made a significant contribution to revolutionary journalism in reporting the linkage between the Dalit and Africa. *The DV's work on clarifying the cultural and historical ties that link Dalits to Africa makes a monumental contribution to the ideological development of nationalism and national interest. Clearly the Dalits are of African descent.*

As Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, first president of Ghana, founder of the AAPRP, and leading Pan-Africanist, most precisely wrote, "All people of African descent are African and belong to the African nation."

My party heading the WWAAZF would be pleased to work with the Dalit movement to aid in establishing a chapter of the WWAAZF in India.

Original Indians: *We recognize that the Dalits are the original people of India. Therefore, you are the true landlords of all of India, and the rightful owners of all of India's resources.* DV is at the forefront of struggle for the rights of all oppressed peoples in India. If you feel it is more appropriate to establish an India-wide anti-Zionist Front, you have our complete support.

We feel that the Dalit movement in general, and the *Dalit Voice* in particular has through your work proved to be the most qualified to lead in this work. DV and V.T. Rajshekar, as a revolutionary leader and veteran organizer of the Dalits, are the most qualified to lead the Dalit movement in making this revolutionary contribution to humanitarian in the continuing struggle against racism, imperialism, and zionism.

The AAPRP will aid you by providing information from the WWAAZF and approaching the Mathaba in Libya to sponsor you. However you will have complete authority and responsibility for identifying and contacting potential members of your chapter of the Anti-Zionist Front, for arranging meetings and other administrative tasks.

We want your ideas regarding this information and your response. ■

We are ready to shoulder any burden to fight and establish justice and truth through which alone racism and zionism can be destroyed – EDITOR. ■

Nov. 15 - 30 1981

The Editorial, "Brahminising the 'Harijans': A Dangerous Trend", is about a mischievous UNI (Oct. 24 81) report from Cochin on the "reception" given by Untouchables to a Kanchi Shankarachari at a temple in Trippunithara. Once in a way such stage-managed shows are organised to deceive the Untouchables and fool foreigners about "Hindu tolerance" that Hindu temples are open to all and that "*Harijans* are Hindus". But before staging such *nataks*, the brahminical forces screen the actors, and select the stooges who follow brahminical dictates. But such shows are for public consumption. Brahminical literature nowhere says that *Harijans* are Hindus. Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus. Nor are they interested in entering Hindu temples. They have their own great glorious religion, their own deities and their own distinct rich cultural identity. Hands off Untouchables, warns the editorial.

Caste wars: A signed article by the Editor, "Caste War: Social, Economic and Cultural Impact" (p.7), says that as the Untouchables, Backward Castes, tribals start asserting their human rights, the Hindus will step up the caste war. And hence the country will see more and more violence in years to come. The 1979 "Marathwada caste war" was launched by the Marathas against Untouchables for demanding implementation of the govt. decision to change the name of Marathwada University after Babasaheb Ambedkar. The "Marathwada caste war" affected 1200 villages, rendering 5,000 people homeless, 25,000 Dalits became destitutes and 4,000 of them fled. The Editor of DV was one among the 60,000 who courted arrest at Aurangabad in the historic "Long March". The "caste war" lasted 11 days and four Dalits were killed. Then came the three-month-long "Gujarat caste war" of 1981 in which over 30 were killed. The war was led by Patels and Brahmins against Dalits on the issue of reservations. The Editor visited Ahmedabad and other places and met Dalit Panther leaders and Muslim leaders.

Brahmins file case: K.J. Jacob in "Caste in Kerala Church: Plight of *Harijan* Christians" (p.11) says there were over 1 million *Harijan* Christians in Kerala and they were facing discrimination even inside the church controlled by Brahmin Christians.

Indian Muslims Relief Committee, London, (Bulletin of Sept. 1, 1981) reproduces the entire historic editorial of DV July 15 1981, "Earthquake at Meenakshipuram", where the Untouchables embraced Islam bringing sleepless nights to Aryans. For one full year Meenakshipuram was a front-page news in the country's "national press".

A Mathura report says Brahmins have filed criminal cases against Jagjivan Ram "for making defamatory speeches against Brahmins", on Oct. 6 and 18.

Sanskrit University stone laid amid Dalit protest

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Kochi: The Sringeri Shankarachari on Dec. 1 laid the foundation for the first Sanskrit University in the south at Kalady, Kerala, the birthplace of Adi Sankara. He spoke in Sanskrit and said the "language occupied the highest place among all world languages at one time". But not one person in the audience understood the speech as it was in Sanskrit which as per the latest census report is known by a grand total of 6,725 people in the whole of India.

Sankara who travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country spread "Sanatana Dharma", he said. The swami deliberately used the word "Sanatana Dharma: but not the word 'Hinduism'. That means what Sankara preached then was not Hinduism.

Kerala Chief Minister Karunakaran, who inaugurated the function, is today going whole hog to revive brahminism. Though his community of Nairs once fought the Brahmins, today the same Nairs are more brahminical than the Brahmins. That is why the entire Aryans are behind him in his fight against PCC chief A.K. Antony who is supported by SC/ST/BCs and Muslim legislators.

Meanwhile, the entire Dalit population of Kerala and even outside is very much agitated about this new university. What they say is that they are not against setting up of a university for Sanskrit. They are against setting up the university at Kaladi "to honour" Adi Sankara who was responsible for destroying the religion of Dalits, Buddhism, and converting many of the Buddhist temples into brahminical centres. The chief among them are Tirupati Temple, Kanchi Kamakoti temple, Puri Jagannath temple, Sabarimalai temple. Sankara not only destroyed Buddhist shrines and libraries but literally massacred Buddhists. Can such a person be honoured with state money? Will it not hurt the Dalit sentiments? These questions are asked.

Maharashtra fooling Dalits

Nagpur: The Maharashtra Govt. has decided to appoint 40 Additional Collectors in the State as part of the plan to curb atrocities on Dalits. There were already six Additional Collectors. Their number would now be 46 and would cover all the districts.

The Collector would now be solely responsible for prevention of atrocities on Dalits. He would be free to transfer 50% of his work to the Additional Collector to enable him to concentrate on the new responsibility.

Violence on Dalits cannot be prevented through such official, administrative or legislative steps. The ruling upper caste ethos itself being violent, the only way to stop such violence is to empower the Dalits so that they themselves would counter the violence. The MS gov. is fooling the Dalits - EDITOR.

India's corrupt "intellectuals" get awards & rewards

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : Enemies, of SC/ST/BCs and minorities have been disguising themselves as "intellectuals" under the brahminical social order. Some such enemies, even if they are Muslims, Christians, Sikhs or SC/ST/BCs, get all sorts of awards and rewards from the BSO.

One such "intellectual" in Delhi's "prestigious" JNU is Andre Betellie who gets all publicity in the "national" toilet papers because he opposes the SC/ST/BC human rights which the Constitution calls as "reservations".

We had criticised the "country's most famous social scientist", M.N. Srinivas/when he took a virulently anti-human stand during the 1990 anti-Mandal war and violence. Most of our so-called social scientists belong to this category. The Indian Council of Social Science Research, a ruling class outfit, promotes only such anti-human "Researchers".

This is what Betellie says in an edit page article in the *Times of India* (Oct. 12):-

"But such a view of the relationship between the private and the public sectors – or between enterprise and governance – would be shortsighted. No matter how much we welcome the opening up of the economy, we cannot do without a public sector in India. The public sector will continue to occupy a significant space in the Indian economy, and it is important to ensure that it does not become choked by an employment policy that is inherently defective. *A public sector in which employment is governed by caste quotas will sooner or later infect the whole economy with its own inefficiency and corruption.*

Nor is it a question of the public sector in only the narrow economic sense of the term, but of public institutions in the widest sense. *Caste quotas threaten the health of a whole array of administrative, educational, scientific, legal, financial and other institutions in India.* These institutions have a vital role to play in the modernisation of Indian society without which no programme of economic liberalisation can prosper".

Betellie must know the human rights of SC/ST/BCs and minorities are called "reservations" in the Constitution by its founding-fathers. So those who oppose the reservations naturally become enemies of SC/ST/BCs and minorities who form over 85% of our population.

"Intellectuals" like Mandal-baiter Betellie may get awards and rewards, publicity and glamour. But they should know that the alien Aryan brahminical social order is carrying them on its head only because for being the enemies of the owners of India.

Beware of such fake intellectuals.

Nasseef backs Kashmir self-determination

MUHAMMAD ABDUL QUADIR, MECCA

Dr. Abdullah Omar Nasseef, Secretary-General of the Muslim World League, has said in a message marking the 'Black Day,' organized by the World Kashmir Freedom Movement, that he hoped the occasion would highlight before the people of the world the atrocities being committed by the Indian army and paramilitary forces in Kashmir and create an awareness about the struggle of the Muslims of the occupied territory who are demanding their right to self-determination. Dr. Nasseef pointed out to the demand of the Kashmiris to implement the UN resolutions adopted in 1948 and 1949, that were accepted by the Government of India at the highest level. The Muslim World League condemned the atrocities and inhuman acts such as killing, rape and wholesale arrest of the innocent people resorted to by the Indian occupation forces, he said.

The Secretary-General stressed the right of the Kashmiris to choose their own destiny without interference from any quarter or linkage with the politics of the sub-continent. (*Muslim World*, Nov.4.)

MUSLIM TEAM BARRED FROM KASHMIR

Manama (Bahrain) : India has turned down a request by the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) to send a fact-finding mission to Jammu and Kashmir. New Delhi had refused to accept an OIC mission (*Hindu* Dec. 2).

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar birth centenary volume

EDITOR: HEMENDU B. CHOWDHURY

Articles by eminent persons on different aspects of the life and mission of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Articles by Arthur Burton-Stibbon (President, Buddhist Society of London), B. Basavalingappa (Minister of Karnataka), Justice R.R. Bhole (Chairman, People's Education Society, Bombay), D.C. Ahir (New Delhi), Om Prakash, Amarasiri Weeraratne (Sri Lanka), etc. and also articles in Bengali by Santosh Achintya Biswas (North Bengal University).

Also has many pictures, a list of books & writings of Dr. Ambedkar and on Dr. Ambedkar, glimpses of the centenary celebrations of Babasaheb around the world.

1991 pp.118 Rs.50

Buddha Dharmankur Sabha
1, Buddhist Temple Street, Calcutta - 700 012.

Letters to Editor

Christian Sorenson, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania: We were receiving *Dalit Voice* at our Denmark address. We are an Indo-Danish couple and my wife is Hardarshan Kaur Gill presently working here. This Dec. we are planning to come to India to meet you. DV keeps us in touch with India. In Denmark, we had established an association, "Third World Voice", to take up Third World problems. As we found the atmosphere in Europe increasingly getting introvert and indifferent to Third World problems and racism was on the rise, we decided to shift to Africa. Hardarshan started a magazine, *Soldue*, which brought her in touch with many European and Third World women's movements.

Dr. R Ash, 9/43 Moscow Rd., London W2 4AH, UK: Do you publish books in English translation on Dalit women and/or poetry and creative writing translated from Kannada or other Indian languages by Dalit writers? If so, can you please send me a booklist? I have found the little I have read in translation from the Marathi very good and would like to know more about Dalit literature. As one who lectures on women and their changing roles I would also like to get books by or on Dalits women.

Dalit poets may directly write to the above address and supply the necessary literature - EDITOR.

Vasant T. Sande, 3800 Brunswick Ave., LA, CA 90039, USA: I am a great admirer of *Dalit Voice*, and the news that it is facing financial trouble distressed me. As a member of the VISION, I am sending my life-membership. I deeply appreciate your work.

M. Hussain Khan, PO Box 15855-347, Tehran, Iran: I am a regular reader of DV and a great admirer of your work since four years. DV is doing a great work by uniting all Indians under one banner and creating a truly national spirit, especially among the poor and the oppressed. My advice is to convert DV from a fortnightly into a daily and also bring out its Indian language editions from all state capitals. DV must not be only on paper. It must be read out to the illiterate oppressed Indians.

At a time when DV is facing such acute financial crisis and closure threat, our brother from Iran is asking us to make it a daily. We don't know if he is serious. Like this, we get daily letters from all parts of India and even outside praising our work. But mere praise and prayers will not keep DV going. Those who have the commitment will have to pay for it, suffer for it. Will our brother spell out what actually he means by his proposal - EDITOR.

M.M. Sao, Chandrapur, MS: "Dalit Voice on deathbed" (DV Nov.1 91) is a shocking news. DV is now a worldwide institution. If it dies it will be the

greatest loss of the SC/ST/BCs, religious minorities, and Ambedkarites in particular. Readers write praising DV in superlative terms not for the sake of praising it but because they come into contact with only DV not the management working behind it. When readers find something valuable which they did not find anywhere else, naturally they get excited. This is natural. So you can't blame the readers for their spontaneous reactions. You have stressed two things: advt. and life membership. I will work for both and get as much as possible. But DV shall not close. Never. In fact, I am in a position to take over DV and run it with you as Editor. But I am committed to Buddhism but not Dalitism. ("Stop using the hated word, "Dalit", M.M. Sao, DV Dec. 1 91 p.9). I am a president of Veluvan Buddha Vihar Construction Committee, Chandrapur. We are constructing a gigantic Buddha Vihar costing Rs. 10 lakhs. So far works costing Rs.3 lakhs are completed. I have committed to complete the job and I must keep up my word. Babasaheb wanted to create a Buddhist force to root out brahminism. You cannot fight the brahminical social order by remaining a Hindu. This is where Periyar failed, as you rightly pointed out. Just because I am committed to complete this Buddhist Vihar, don't think I am forgetting the plight of DV which is the only light of the Ambedkarites.

We want to tell Brother Sao that we are much more worried about the total neglect of the Buddhist conversion drive. Untouchables being a distinct cultural entity, have to attain (1) total political separation (separate electorate), (2) territorial separation (separate settlement) and finally (3) religious separation (through conversion to Buddhism which is their original liberating religion). We have often stressed these tasks. Of the three, religious separation is the most difficult though also the most urgent one. For religious conversion we need not depend on the govt. or anybody. It is our own decision. Yet we are sorry to say that no organised work is being done in this direction. We are deeply worried over this and daily thinking about it - EDITOR.

D. Arjuna Rao, Dt. Secretary, AP Telecom SC/ST Emp. Assn., East Godavari dt., 47-1-6, Danavaipeta, Rajahmundry, AP-533 103: The news of the "DV on deathbed" shocked us. Besides, N. Sriramulu, a popular Ambedkarite of this area, had introduced me to DV like of which I have not so far read. To save DV we have made the following plan. We have enrolled 25 new members who would pay the annual subscription in nine instalments at Rs.10 a month. Impressed by DV, they may pay up the entire amount. I am happy and also proud that I am adding a drop to the ocean of your efforts and service.

We have received many letters from India and abroad in response to our "DV on death-bed" story. We are thankful to all of them. Instead of praying to god to save DV, we suggest all those good souls who pray for us to also follow the example of Brother Arjuna Rao. The persecuted peoples of India over the years have become so lifeless, lethargic, so indifferent even to promptly

renew their own subscription. In big cities like Bombay, Calcutta etc., where thousands of educated Untouchables live, it is possible to sell DV and our DSA literature. But hardly any work is being done. Compared to big cities, rural areas are much better. Our liberation is in our hands. The ruling class is doing its best to keep us enslaved. They are doing their duty. But, are we doing our duty? NO - EDITOR.

Prof. Jagmohan Sahu, Rourkela, Orissa: I am very much shocked over the crisis facing DV. I am immediately sending you ten annual subscriptions. This is the little support from our side.

Athi Srinivas, Madras: I would not like to see such a great think-tank like DV to die for want of mere funds that too in front of my eyes. Pricing of a journal need not reflect the price of the paper and printing but can include the value of the thought it carries. I am in favour of raising the DV price.

Krishna Don Sardar, Rameswarapuram, via Batanagar, W.Bengal-743 313: For a long time, I did not write to you as I was hurt by the criticism against me by Mrs. Surinder Kaur of Calcutta in DV Sept. 1, 1989. She was very harsh. But she must know that my Arya Samaj background had created some problems in me. But I am not against Babasaheb Ambedkar. Recently, a life history of Babasaheb was published by the Maharashtra Nibas Trust, no.15-Harja Rd., Calcutta-20. The author is an upper caste Bengali, Tapan Kumar Ghose, and the title of the book is *Neel Kanta Mookanayak*. The reference is to God Shiva swallowing poison to save the world - poison which came out as a result of the churning of the ocean. As a result Shiva's neck became blue and hence called Nilakant. Babasaheb is compared to Nilakant because he also swallowed the brahminical poison and saved the Dalits. I am a poor old Dalit and on my request you had been sending a free copy of DV of which I was a subscriber from its very birth. But from oct. 91 I have stopped getting DV. Please renew my complimentary copy seeing my plight.

Brother Sardar is an Arya Samajist though an Untouchable. And this blurred his vision and destroyed his consciousness. Millions of Untouchables like him have become victims to such super nazi poison pills like Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj. Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus. Sardar can get rid of such brahminical poison through a study of Babasaheb's burning thoughts - EDITOR.

S.R. Biswas, Calcutta: You had once praised Editor Sunanda K.Datta-Ray of the *Statesman*. I beg to differ with you. In a signed article in his paper (Sept. 29, "Politics of Quota"), he had opposed our human rights (reservations). How can you praise such anti-human journalists and their gutter journalism? Sunit Ghosh of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* is another of the same tribe. I have a proposal: You have to join politics without delay. With Kanshi Ram in the Lok Sabha

and a thinker like you in the Rajya Sabha, we can expect miracles.

Binod Biplabi, Rourkela, Orissa: A convention on Mandal Com. was held at Baragarh on Nov. 3. A "sacred thread marxist", Radhaballabh Mishra, advocate, Kishen Patnaik, a Lohiaite, a Dalit nazi party ex-MLA, Bimbadhar Kumar, spoke supporting Mandal. Meanwhile B.K. Nag, Prof. Jagmohan Sahu of Rourkela have been selected for the Babasaheb Ambedkar Award by the Bharatiya Dalit Sahitya Akademy, Delhi. Both are well known to the readers of DV and committed Ambedkarities. Nag's *Bhima Bharati* written in the *Ramayan* style has created a sensation among Oriya Dalits. They will go to Delhi to receive the wards on Dec. 6.

Arjun Shakhya, president, Viswa Shanti Shakhya Sangh, Chawkhadi Vihar, Indira Nagar, Gulbarga-585 102: We conducted a mass conversion to Buddhism on Oct. 18, Vijayadashami day. Buddhist monks, Sangha Rakshita of Hyderabad and Mahakashyap Thero of Bidar conducted the *diksha* ceremony. In all, eight families comprising 32 members renounced Hinduism and took rebirth by embracing their original religion. The names of the heads of these families are: Siddaramappa Ambalgi, Hanumanta Rao Khedakar, Mrs. Trisheela Bai, w/o. Laxman Rao Shakaya, Mrs. Parvatibai, w/o. Pandit Shakhaya, Mrs. Chitra Bai, w/o. Laxman Rao, Sanganna Mahandrakar, Pragna Kumar, s/o. Madhava Rao.

Subimal Bikash Chakma, convener, Committee for Citizenship Rights of Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh, Ashok Buddha Vihar, Old Power House Rd., Rajghat, N.Delhi-2: The Govt. of India has neglected the plight of 65,000 Chakmas of Arunachal Pradesh who are Buddhists and STs and migrated to India in 1964 and rehabilitated in AP. Despite repeated appeals we did not get citizenship rights by which our entry into govt. is banned. Our houses are being burnt and we are forcing lots of persecution. We need your support.

Debendra Biswas Thakur, President, Harchand Mission, A/35 Rabindra Palli, Post Baghajatin, Calcutta-86: The *Statesman*, Calcutta (Nov.7) published a report about elephants killing 45 in Jalpaiguri. All the 45 were Dalits. The elephants are fed and protected by the govt. as a valuable property. But all the honey-collectors of W.Bengal are Dalits of Sunderban in 24-Paraganas (South). These Dalits going in search of honey are killed by the Royal Bengal Tigers protected by the State Govt. The value of the Dalit life is Rs.300 to Rs.600 which is paid as compensation to the relatives of the man killed. That means the value of a living Dalit is less than a dead wild animal. Will you lodge a strong protest with the "marxist" govt. of Bengal?

Dr. A.R. Desai, Bombay: I read *Dalit Voice* with great

interest and also use it for my articles in newspapers and the journal which I edit in Gujarat.

Gurbhajan Singh Gill, Punjab Human Rights Organisation, Ludhiana: Our secretariat has decided to extend symbolic assistance to DV considering it our own sister institution ("Sikh heart with Dalits & DV", Nov. 16 p.16). The DV's services for the liberation of the oppressed and persecuted have been placed on record. Your advocacy for the human rights of the minority nationalities struggling for their survival under the colonial brahminical rule is highly commendable. We are praying that the venture you have taken may succeed. We are sending a cheque for Rs.1,000 to insert an advt. of our books which may be taken as our token support.

Syed Yusuf, Jamate-Islami Central Office, Delhi-6: Your plea for separate electorate (DV Oct. 16 p.21/22) has little relevance until and unless you succeed in delinking SC/ST/BCs from Hinduism through a constitutional amendment. As it is, even the Buddhists and Sikhs are bracketed with Hindus under the Constitution. How Raju Thomas or any other advocate of this formula proposes to divide the people for purposes of constituting the separate electoral colleges – whether on the basis of caste, class or religion. Without providing a working formula, there is no use crying over a dead issue.

Brother Yusuf should know that the Constitution of India may say so many things. The Constitution is for the people and not vice versa. The Constitution does say the Sikhs are Hindus but will the Sikhs except this? If the Sikhs are Hindus, why the Hindus launched a war ("Blue Star Operation") against them. If the SC/ST/BCs are Hindus, why they are kicking, killing, raping, and destroying their little property? If the Dalits are Hindus why they are opposing their human rights (reservations)? If the BCs are Hindus, why the Hindus launched a war and violence on the Mandal report? Babasaheb Ambedkar, the saviour of the Untouchables, had said that Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus. We are sorry that some leaders of the Jamate-Islami like Brother Yusuf are refusing to understand the realities and talking the very language of the Hindu nazis, who are oppressing SC/ST/BCs on one side and also Muslims on the other. Instead of supporting us and our human rights struggle, some Jamate leaders have started criticising us. This is very unfortunate. Separate electorate is not new. Even Muslims had separate electorate from 1909 and this was continuing for a long period during the British rule. The experiment had proved successful and ensured the human rights of the Muslims and others who had enjoyed the benefit of separate electorate. We request the Jamate-Islami leaders to first study history. Read "the Note on the History of Separate Muhammadan Representation" Simon Com. Report, I part, p.183 to 189-London, 1930, British Govt. Publication before advising us – EDITOR.

Dr. Jose P. Verghese, chairman, Organising Committee, National Convention on Human Rights, B-2/63 Safarjung Enclave, N. Delhi-29: We are

thankful to you for having announced about our Jan. 3-8, 1992 convention in Delhi. We are undertaking this job with great difficulty. We want you to take a prominent part and present a paper on the atrocities on Untouchables and I know no one else can do this job more competently than you.

Sister Geeta Carol, Ajmer, Rajasthan. DV must continue at any cost, fighting all odds. Because DV is the only journal for social activists like us who struggle with the Dalits and working for their liberation.

Raju Thomas, Madras: If the DV dies, it means it is the sure death of 85% of the non-Hindu original Indians. And if the DV dies the sole responsibility of killing this most eloquent voice of the Dalits will go to our Dalit govt. servants and our rich religious minorities like Muslims, Christians and Sikhs whose battle has been fought by DV so forcefully, a task which these three sections put together could never have done with all their wealth and wisdom.

R. Arul, Dr. Ambedkar Study Circle, Annamalai Nagar, Chidambaram, TN-608 002: During the pre-Aryan period, the Nagavana Valley (Krishna river in Andhra Pradesh) was inhabited by Nagas. They built a statue in 2nd and 3rd century AD at Nagarjuna Konda. I visited that place in Oct. last. All the statues are Buddhist. The present-day AP Lambadies (ST) have the same culture, same dress. That Andhra Pradesh is the land of Nagas is therefore correct. If this is so, TN's SC/ST/BCs are also Buddhists and children of the Tamil soil. But the Vanniyars say they are Kshatriyas. Tamil history also says Vanniyars are Kshatriyas, Lord Siva is their god. But you say Kshatriyas are not Dravidians. Are the Vanniyars are also Nagas? Or, are the Vanniyars Aryans? As a Vanniya youth and follower of Dr. Ambedkar, I know the Vanniyar are also a persecuted people. And they have already joined hands with Tamil Dalits. Our party, PMK, headed by Dr. Ramadoss (Vanniyar) has a Dalit as its gen. secretary – R. Elumalai.

Vanniyars were once rulers like the Paraiyahs of TN. They had a regal descent from the Pandya kings of Aginkula. That does not mean they were Kshatriyas. The Vanniyars are a non-Aryan element. Read: Gustav Oppert book, "The Dravidians", 1888, Asian Educational Services reprint, 1988, New Delhi) – EDITOR.

Collection of Reports on
National Seminar on
Marx, Dr. Ambedkar and Polarisation of the
Oppressed and Exploited Classes in India

Sanjivayya Institute of Socio-Economic
Studies

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Just because Dalits are oppressed, they can't say they are not Hindus

SYED WAHEEDUL HASAN HASHMI, OFFICE SECRETARY,
JAMATE-ISLAMI, AP. & ORISSA, HYDERABRAD

The *Dalit Voice* (Aug. 16-31 1991) has two articles of Iqbal Ahmed Sherif and by the DV correspondent, making certain scathing remarks on us and demanding a reply thereto.

As a matter of principle we welcome every constructive criticism. However we want to clear the misunderstandings.

Indian Muslims constitute a religious and cultural minority, which fact has been established by history and recognised by the Indian Constitution. *If the DV thinks otherwise and wants us to believe that all the SC/ST/BCs (65%) are NOT Hindus, these communities then ought to come forward and declare the true nature of their religion (or irreligion) and culture.*

They must get the Constitution amended suitably as the census reports put them under Hindus.

If the RSS or others categorise them as Hindus they only declare the inevitable.

Burmese terrorists: Merely because a large section of the Hindus is under a state of perpetual oppression and suppression it cannot be claimed that it does not more belong to the religion and culture of the oppressors. Extending the logic further, if a small section of, say Burmese terrorists oppresses a very large section of its

own population, it cannot be fair to say that those being oppressed are NOT Burmese, unless and until they all migrate to a new country forsaking their motherland and get themselves naturalised as citizens of any other neighbouring country!

If during and after the Emergency the Jamat men came closer to the

RSS, it was courtesy late Indira Gandhi who got them all put behind the bars for 19 long months. They not only became friends in distress but also got familiarised with each other. If the authors had faced similar bitter experience, they would never have developed this grudge.

Sheriff's approach: Iqbal Ahmed

Sherif has complimented the Jamaat as an Islamic organisation. Unwittingly though in the same breath, he tries to draw a wedge between Islam and Muslims. His line of demarcation between Islam and Muslims is quite incomprehensible. A Muslim is one who professes Islam. Sherif is himself one among such persons. Every conceivable effort in the cause of Islam is but in favour of Muslims.

The Jamat is aware of the limited resources at its command. It, therefore, concentrates its energies towards the propagation of Islam and making Muslims the true representatives of Islam. There is no denying the fact that the fair name of Islam gets distorted on account of the misdeeds of its protagonists. If we call upon our co-religionists to abide by the Islamic injunctions in every walk of life, it cannot be blamed that we are proud of Islam and ashamed of Muslims. The Jamat workers are very much Muslims and we deem every believing person a Muslim.

We differ in toto with

If Constitution says Dalits are Hindus, they don't become Hindus

MS. SANGAT, MADRAS

Syed Waheedul Hasan Hashmi, Hyderabad, (ref: "Radiance", Oct. 20 p.8) says that as per the Constitution, the Dalits are Hindus.

The Editor of DV says that the sun rises from the East and if some one does not agree with it, he/she can't be forced to do so. The Constitution of India also says that Sikhs are Hindus. But will the Sikhs agree to be called Hindus?

Note the following figures and facts:

- | | |
|--|--|
| i) Ruling class of India: | comprises mostly Aryans. |
| ii) Media control | : 99.9% Aryans |
| iii) Resources of income
(employment, land,
business, etc) | } more than 92% with Aryans
(Brahmins, Kshatriyas,
Baniyas, Sudras). |

Consequently, most of the Muslims specially their religious/political leaders, intelligentsia among them, have been brahminised.

Under these circumstances there is no doubt that Islam in India is likely to be swallowed like Buddhism. And Prophet Mohammed will be declared one of the incarnates/avatars of Vishnu in a due course, just as the Buddha.

It is pertinent to mention here that Buddhists, Jains, Davidians etc. are much closer to Islam than Arya Dharma/Brahman Dharma.

The Jamat must note that over 99% of Muslims of India are converts from SC/ST/BC non-Aryan, non-Hindu stock. Muslims/Sikhs/Dalits are blood relations.

There is absolutely no confusion and yet Syed Hashmi is confusing other Muslims.

Sherif's approach of considering the morals of one community with those of the other communities. This self complacency leads us to nowhere. Muslims have a set of their own values of life and they have to judge themselves in the light of these values, not in any manner, with a degenerating value system of life if they want to retain their true identity!

Urdu schools: Yes, we have not taken upon ourselves every task concerning the Muslim community. We do recognise and appreciate the fact that several Muslim organisations – religious, cultural social and political – are doing yeomen services and we do also admit that the multifaceted problems of the *Ummah* (Muslim community) require our collective and joint efforts.

For this simple reason, we do not like to identify ourselves with every socio-cultural and political task of the Muslims or in the least, to monopolise in these fields. If Sherif calls it our weakness, we do admit of it! *We never claim to be the sole representatives of Muslims.*

He is perhaps not aware of the Jamat's policy and programme. We would wish him and the like of him to go through it once. He appears to be also not aware of the services of the Jamat in the field of education and spread of literacy besides teaching Urdu. There are over 1,000 educational institutions including 100 exclusively for girls—spread over the length and breadth of the country. These are run with the active cooperation and support of the Jamat workers. There are 179 night schools for men and 26 for women. The Jamat is associated with several organisations working for the educational upliftment of Muslims, the U.P. Deeni Taleemi Council in particular.

Jamat loves all languages: The burden of writing books of Islam in various regional languages is not an unwholesome one in the Jamat perception. All the spoken languages of the country—even of the world are Allah's languages and

discarding a language to the exclusion of another is nothing but discrimination between God's languages. Yes, the Urdu language does contain a rich treasure of Islami knowledge and information. So does the Arabic and Persian. But we cannot make every human being learn any of these three languages and study Islam. Prophets were sent to various communities of the world with the divine guidance in the language of that particular community according to the Quran.

Hebrew is our language. So is Sanskrit, Hindi, Tamil, Malayalam etc. The Jamat feels it its bounden duty to carry the message of Islam to every citizen of the world in his own language and hence its efforts to begin with, to render the *Quran*,

HEAVEN AFTER DEATH

G. Gulam Mohamed, 108, Vellala Street, Purasawalkam, Madras - 600 084.

T.K. Narayanan said that the Muslim leadership will be our worse opponents than the Hindu nazis. Jamat-e-Islami leadership (not its members) is in no way different to us. They want a heaven after death but we want to make this Earth a Heaven.. by our efforts.

Hadith, Seerat and other Islamic literature into the major languages of India. This is meant not only for Muslims but for all the Indian citizens.

Lack of knowledge on Dalits: If the Jama't lacks any setup to study, document and support SC/ST/BC problems etc. it is not because that it underestimates its importance and significance. The only reason behind is its inability to diversify the limited resources at its disposal and the simultaneous availability of these facts and figures from other agencies – governmental and non-governmental.

Sherif stoops to the level of labelling the Jamat wisdom to worse than that of the dog's without realising that the dog is wise enough not to

bite the inhuman object viz. the stone or the stick but to attack the human beings. In his blind comparison, we regret to note, Sherif has depicted the Dalits, B.Cs, etc. as mere soul-less objects like stones! We apportion the blame between the instigators and the instigated, in varying degrees though, for the simple reason that both are endowed with the faculties of reason and discrimination.

Domination of UP Muslims: Jamat invites persons of all lines to express their views in open since it believes in mobilising public opinion through education and persuasion. We are not so short-sighted as to discard those who hold an opposing opinion on certain issues. Again in areas where opinions concur, we do not hesitate to enlist the cooperations of those opposed to our thinking in certain fields. Justice Krishna Iyer is one among such eminent personalities. We do not hesitate to invite even Vajpayee or even Balasaheb Deoras, if the situation so warrant. We are not apologetic in this regard nor do we fear of getting diluted in the process. Instead of making generalised wild charges, better if Sherif reduces himself own to the specifics.

Sherif's charge of the domination of the UP men over the affairs of the Jamat reflects upon his total ignorance of facts. And let it be known, even if they were to be all from one region, this was not a matter to be ashamed of since the base of the Jamat is solely piety and none else.

Mustadafeen & Muslims

ADIL AMIN KAK, ANANTANAG, KASHMIR

Your three articles criticising Muslim leadership shocked me (DV Aug. 16 p.3 to 13). Reading mere headlines, I thought you have also turned anti-Muslim. But I changed my opinion as I went on reading line by line. And at the end, I literally ran with the copy to the Jamate-Islami office here but unfortunately it was closed. I wanted to pick up a big quarrel with them had I met anybody. I will not leave it there. I will study the Koran again on the Muslim duty towards the *Mustadafeen*.

The lesson the Bohra chief should learn from his birthday blackout

P.S. SRIDHARA MURTHY, ADVOCATE, BANGALORE

I was one of the innumerable non-Muslim invitees to the grand, solemn and unique function organised on a massive scale on the sprawling Race Course grounds in Bombay on the evening of Nov.2 1991 by the tiny Dawoodi-Bohra Muslim community to felicitate its world religious chief, Dr. Syedna Mohammed Burhanuddin Saheb, on his 80th birthday. Representatives of Bohra community from different parts of the world and different States of India had gathered hours before the arrival of Dr. Syedna at the venue. Men in their customary white dress and women and children in their colourful attires maintained extraordinary discipline throughout the four-hour-long deliberations, followed by a fine dinner.

The Gujarati-speaking Dawoodi-Bohras are a small but rich community mostly confined to trade and business and concentrated in Bombay and bigger cities. Syedna's headquarter is Bombay.

Thousands of admirers drawn from different faculties, religions and countries, including a Hindu-nazi party Minister from Madhya Pradesh offered bouquets and presents to Dr. Syedna. Barring the presence of security men accompanying the VIPs who graced the occasion, the whole function with such massive attendance was so orderly and was a grand success without the aid of even a single police man.

Trust on Environment : The Bohra community announced the formation of a trust with the object of study, research and protection of environment in the country to commemorate the occasion. Dr Syedna donated Rs.80 lakhs to the trust and handed over the cheque to Arjun Singh, the Union Minister for Human Resources, who presided over the function and paid rich tributes to the leadership of Dr. Syedna and to the integrity of the talented Dawoodi-Bohra Muslims.

Buta Singh, former Union Home Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah of Kashmir, a Pakistani minister and ministers from several states spoke on the occasion. They hailed the different schemes of the Bohras under which crores of rupees are lent to small and medium entrepreneurs, without any interest in accordance with the Quranic injunction against usury. Success of these schemes is not only a challenge to the logic and norms of conventional economics of the materialists but a tribute to the practical idealism of the Islamic social order.

Biggest shock: But the biggest shock for us is that such an international event presided over by the senior-most Union Cabinet Minister was totally blacked out by the blackhearts in the Bombay press.

English dailies and their language editions owned and run by the Indian priestly and capitalist castes never said a word about this unique function despite all the public relations exercise of the organisers. At least the govt.-owned media, TV and radio, gave some coverage. Press tycoons and journalists have been crying for the autonomy of the electronic media perhaps with the idea of destroying whatever impartiality still exists in the govt. media.

We are convinced that these newspapers, nay toilet papers, are determined to stand like a thick black curtain between the readers and the truth.

One such toilet paper which proclaims every day on its front page as "India's only national newspaper with largest circulation" on Oct. 31 91 took pains to paint an ugly picture of the Dawoodi-Bohras by publishing a filthy edit-page article headlined "Clergy and the community". While Muslims depend on the Urdu press, the non-Muslim readers of this toilet papers get a dose of anti-Muslim poison.

Anti-Syedna propoganda: A handful but mischievous elements among the Bohras in Bombay are being encouraged by brahminical forces to carry on a tirade against the Syedna. *Earlier, these brahminical forces had created a phantom in the late Hamid Dalwai of Pune.*

This Dalwai was given all encouragement and cheap publicity in the brahminical toilet papers to run down the Muslims. Such mischievous brahminical agents are hailed in these toilet papers as "secular Muslims", "spokesmen for Muslims", "Islamic scholars" and their only job is to create confusion among the already persecuted Muslim community.

After the death of one bogus Hamid Dalwai, these brahminical forces discovered some more bogus elements among the Muslim community and gave them all encouragement.

Nazis using Muslim stooges: The only job of what are described in the brahminical press as "progressive Bohra reformist leaders" is to go on manufacturing all sorts of false stories which the toilet papers sell as gospel truth. The sole intention of these "reformists" is to condemn the Muslims and create

confusion. And the Oct. 31 edit-page article in the country's pro-nazi English daily is the handiwork of these stooges among Muslims – aided and abetted by the nazi forces.

How dangerous these "progressive Muslims" are can be gauged from the fact that they are trying to sell the idea that after all "one dilapidated Babri Masjid can be given up to buy peace from Hindus".

These elements are hoisted on the country as "Muslim leaders".

If one Babri Masjid is given today, the Nazis will claim and destroy all the masjids. The nazi fight is not for one dilapidated mosque. Through that they want to destroy the Muslim identity.

Beware of Modern Hamid Dalwais: And the nazis are using such "reformist Muslims" to destroy the Muslim identity. **We want to warn the Syedna and his followers and the Muslim community as a whole to beware of such modern Hamid Dalwais.**

And the only job of these "reformists" is to torment the Syedna and his peace-loving merchant community.

But the problem with the Syedna and his small but rich community is despite all their wealth they are not able to get even a centimetre of space in the country's toilet papers. Whereas their rootless tormentors hog miles and miles of space to spread their falsehood. The pity is even the country's brahminical human rightswalas are behind them. But the Syedna has no press to establish truth.

Tips to Syedna: This blackout of the birthday gala by the Bombay press in particular and those country's newspapers in general must have certainly shocked the Syedna and his followers. If they are really shocked then it is time for them to wake up and do something. And we are here to save the Syedna from these sinister forces and also support him in his larger cause towards Muslim human rights.

Not only we will fight his tormentors, who are a peanut, but more than that protect the persecuted Muslim community about which the Syedna expressed grave concern in his speech.

Money is no problem to the Syedna but the Nov.2 birthday blackout must have now convinced him that even with all his money and public relations exercise, he could get no sympathy in the brahminical press which is out to blackmail the Muslims and the entire non-Hindu majority of India.

The blackout also proves the hate in the Hindu heart. Hate creates more hate. The whole atmosphere is filled with hate. Can a society be built on hatred? The Syedna wants to spread love and through that build the society. If so, it is time he listens to us. We will show him the way to build the society through love.

Muslims and Dalits should therefore never believe

these newspapers whose priorities are anti-human to say the least.

Pollution of the mind: Dr. Syedna is not a priest or a guru but only the head of a community and is referred as such and as nothing else. Bohras are naturally very proud of him. He is also a source of inspiration and an example of how to combine worldly wisdom with religious piety; business accumen with social service and morality with mundane life.

The Syedna founded a trust for environment research. So far so good, although Muslims are not the people destroying India's environment. It is the country's ruling class. He must now think of a greater venture to remove the pollution from the people's mind, the brahminical pollution, and establish truth. ■

Crisis in Muslim leadership

DR. ZAFARUL-ISLAM KHAN, NEW DELHI

Indian Muslims are suffering from a severe leadership crisis. Although all their 'leaders' claim to work for similar goals, there is little cooperation or coordination among these leaders and their organizations, at best regional, if not wholly on paper. The more a 'leader' can shout and abuse the greater his claim to leadership.

The Muslim leadership in independent India has gone through many phases and changes. When the British withdrew from India in 1947, leaving behind two States, the pro-Pakistani elites went to Pakistan causing a leadership vacuum which the "nationalist" (pro-Congress) Muslim leaders failed to fill. For the next two decades, blamed for the partition, Muslims, spent most of their energies proving their love for the country and depended totally on the Congress Party for their well-being and safety. Then, as they started to think about their plight and how to improve their lot, early in the sixties, they were thrown into the never-ending trauma of the 'communal riots'. Instead of constructive thinking on how to improve their lives, their sole preoccupation became to safeguard their souls and properties.

Real problems: Riots continued unabated while totally unnecessary problems were created, such as Aligarh Muslim University's 'minority' (ie, Muslim) character (first abolished then restored by Indira Gandhi after great pressure), the threatened replacement of the Muslim personal law by a unified civil code, Shah Bano, Babri Masjid, et al. These are converted into questions of death and life by the media's hype. As a result the Muslims are diverted from their real problems of educational, social and economic backwardness. (*Crescent International*, Oct.1 1991). ■

Reservations meant to elevate, empower a group but not an individual

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

Introduction: Since volumes have been written on this "controversial subject" which brought down the V.P. Singh govt. itself and enough discussions have taken place, I don't want to go into what is already said but discuss the sociological essence and consequence of the Mandal report and the violent agitation that rocked the latter part of the year 1990.

The GO on the report is now before the Supreme Court and knowing the bias of the upper caste-dominated judiciary in this country, we can easily forecast the outcome.

A word of caution: I was closely associated with the preparation of the Mandal Commission Report. My name appears in the report itself. As a member of the executive of the National Union of Backward Castes, New Delhi, I was intimately connected with all the agitations on the Mandal report. And as a correspondent of the *Indian Express* for 25 years, I can also speak with authority on the heinous role played by this so-called national press on the anti-reservation agitation.

So, I speak from my experience and intimate connection with the country's persecuted, deprived Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backward Castes, who together form 65% of India's population, plus the 20% religious minorities. Some of my statements may "hurt" the ruling class but they are all historical truths and sociological facts echoing the feelings of the oppressed, the victims of the ruling class violence. So, it is a view from the bottom. Hence I request you to have an open mind keeping aside the prejudices, if any created in your mind by the upper caste media.

I want to say with full responsibility that the *Mandal Commission Report is not only scientifically prepared but also most acceptable to the largest number of our population. Over 85% of the country's 850 million population is happy over the report.* This can be judged from the fact that no political party, not even the Hindu nazi party, had the courage to openly criticise the report.

V.P. Singh love for Mandal: Some people said that V.P. Singh did not implement the report out of love for Backward Castes. A person cannot suddenly develop a love for the have-nots. He had a quarrel with his Dy. Prime Minister, Devi Lal, and so he used the Mandal Report to fight him. The critics of V.P. Singh mostly say that he had selfish motives. Such a criticism is made only by the opponents of Mandal Report. In other words, upper castes. But the beneficiaries of the Mandal Commission will not make such a charge. A hungry man eats whatever is given. He will not go into the motives of the giver. It is only the well-fed upper castes who do such hair-splitting arguments.

BCs taken for a ride: Even against such a truncated, mutilated Mandal some upper castes went to the Supreme Court which immediately obliged the upper castes and gave a stay. A five-judge bench headed by the Chief Justice, who is noted for his orthodox pro-upper caste views, is currently hearing the writ petitions argued by a battery of lawyers headed by Palkhiwala, the topmost lawyer for India's top income taxpayers.

The upper castes celebrated the Oct.1 1990 Supreme Court stay by bursting crackers outside the court

hall and distributing sweets. It was a victory for the upper castes and a temporary defeat for the SC/ST/BCs and minorities.

Mandal & Bandals: The country is today divided into two neat camps. And we have given the following names to these camps:

(1) Mandals (2) and bandals.

Mandals are over 85% and Bandals are less than 15%. This is a very healthy division. SC/ST/BCs, the original inhabitants of India, are on one side, the upper caste Aryan invaders on another side. Of course, with minor exceptions and exceptions only prove the rule. V.P. Singh has become India's first Prime Minister to bring about such a beautiful polarisation of social forces. And we call this "social engineering".

Religion to jati: The violent agitation launched by the upper castes in some north Indian cities has helped us understand one thing:- that the Mandal social engineering made us witness a major transformation in society. The violent agitation was a great blessing in disguise. What we witnessed (between Aug. and Dec. 1990) was a sort of mini-revolution. All the hidden hypocrisies came out. Our so-called "intellectuals" got exposed. Our so-called "national press" has proved anti-national. The Arun Shouries, Chandan Mitras sided with the *chaddi party*. Mandal has also proved that we have only a jati press, jati judiciary, jati legal system, jati political parties, jati intellectuals. The upper castes all these years were talking about "nation", "national unity and integrity". Later they shifted their

emphasis from nation to their religion. Today, they don't speak about religion. They are worried only about their jati (castes).

To put it more scientifically, in sociological terms, to them their Aryan race (*varnashrama dharma*) became more important than the entire 850-million population of India. **This has helped us to understand that the anti-Mandal agitation is to preserve the hated caste system and the laws of manu that protect it.**

To a Hindu his jati is more important than his religion. Because, Hinduism is built on the solid bedrock of caste. *Remove caste, the so-called Hindu religion collapses.* The Mandal agitation has helped us understand that a Hindu loves his caste (jati) more than his religion. Because caste brings the upper castes so much of privileges, posts and powers. It also helps them to enslave the rest. We must therefore, thank Mandal for exposing all this humbug. **We have to also thank Mandal that this hidden racism in India has come to surface. And this racism is given the mask of "merit and efficiency".** In the name of these two things, the upper castes have been practising their colonialism.

Breakup of Soviet Union: Small minds may criticise these welcome social convulsions. But these very same small minds admired and praised the breakup of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe. They welcomed social convulsions outside India but when it happens in India, they hate it.

Caste wars should be, therefore, welcomed because that is the only way to cleanse the stinking, stagnant cesspool that is India. Only the churning of the ocean produced *Amrit*. V.P. Singh might have lost his chair by churning the ocean but in fact he won the hearts of the millions of the oppressed. What he produced might have become poison to the upper caste rulers but we the oppressed welcome it as

Amrit.

I will even go to the extent of saying that India's road to socialism lies through caste wars because in India "caste is class". Since the Aryan varna/castes are not prepared to concede our human rights assured in the Constitution in the shape of reservations without resorting to violence, the awakened original inhabitants of India, who have the support of the Constitution of India, will fight it out in the streets. So what is going on today is a battle between the Constitution of Manu (Manu dharma shastra) and the Constitution framed by our leader and saviour Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Objection against Mandal: The greatest objection against Mandal report is that it has taken caste as the sole criterion. Such people are speaking without knowing the facts.

Mandal has adopted three different yardsticks: social, education and economic. Please see page 52 of the I part of the Report. if the upper castes critics of the report want to think that Mandal has "over-emphasised caste", it is because the BCs happened to be the least educated and the poorest. The problem with anti-Mandal racists (Bandals) is that they have not read the Mandal Report.

It is on this basis that in Karnataka it has included the entire rural Vokkaligas and 42 sub-castes among Lingayats. That means about 30% of Lingayats are BCs. What a beautiful report. That is why there is hardly any opposition in Karnataka. Even in Maharashtra there is no opposition because Kunbis are included among BC.

Even Muslims, Christians and Sikhs are included, making it a secular document. (page 56).

In fact, by uniting 85% of the people of India, Mandal has strengthened the "national" unity and integrity. If this is true those opposing Mandal are trying to destroy the country's unity and integrity.

Economic criterion: The Constitution of India, Article 340 under which reservations to BCs are made, speaks only of "socially and educationally backward classes". It does not refer to "economic backwardness".

I don't know from where the advocates of "economic criterion" get their brainwave.

For your information during Nijalingappa's Chief Ministership in Karnataka "economic backwardness" was tried and it was discontinued because it proved to be impractical. Because, those who could afford to pay the bribe to the Tahsildar or having influence got the "poverty certificate as 'economically backward". That means all the rich became "economically backward". *Judging by the scale of corruption, economic yardstick is simply unworktable and it will be disastrous. Economic criterion will be against the Constitution.*

Most important point: The most important point is the Article 340 under which reservations to BCs are made is for "socially and educationally backward classes". The preferential treatment is for a "class". Not for individuals but to recognisable and persistent collectives. Economic criteria aims at individual salvation but the Constitution under Article 340 aims at collective salvation. From this angle also economic criterion will be ultra vires of the Constitution.

"Economic backwardness", therefore, is an impracticable proposition and even those who advocate it know it. Even after knowing it, they advocate it. That means their motives are different. They are motivated more by their prejudice against SC/ST/BCs. Prejudice has no medicine. It is a mental disease. For mental disease, you know where we have to take the patient. Mental hospital, of course.

The Bandals have their "national press" in their pocket. And through

this "national press" they are trying to mesmerise us saying those who advocate "economic criterion" are in majority in India. If the Bandals are in a majority, why they took to violence and launched caste war against the innocent SC/ST/BC lambs?

"Dalit Voice" burnt in JNU: SC/ST/BCs and the religious minorities believe in democracy and peace. In the anti-Mandal agitation, it is the upper castes who took to violence. Our people were the victims of violence. *Dalit Voice* was burnt in New Delhi (JNU). I had to face serious trouble. Our people did not burn anybody. We did not destroy buses and trains. It is the advocates of *Ahimsa* who took to violence.

During the anti-Mandal violence, it is they who defied the Constitution. Even after the Supreme Court gave a stay (Oct. 1, 1990) and called for peace, it was these people who refused to stop violence. They continued the violence even after the stay. But our people were non-violent before the stay and also after the stay. It is the upper castes who took to violence and expressed no confidence in democratic methods. Is this not a sure sign of fascism?

Anti-Mandal agitations were not the first Aryan "caste war" against the original inhabitants of India after "independence". Gujarat witnessed two "caste wars". Maharashtra witnessed one. Bihar and UP had one each. This war between the two did not start now. The Adi-Shankara's violent wars against Buddhists was the first major war.

Caste criterion: *Archaka* posts are given only to a Brahmin in all gov.-managed temples in India. Brahmins, who oppose Mandal because "it made caste the sole criterion", have no objection to caste as the sole criterion for *archaka* posts. See their double-standards. That means whenever caste is advantageous, they want caste criterion and whenever "economic

criterion" is advantageous they want that. That means they want to eat the cake and have it too.

Mandal did not invent caste: So, VP Singh is not the cause of caste clashes. Mandal did not invent the caste. **Caste is the bedrock on which Hinduism is built. Remove caste, Hinduism will collapse. So everybody wants caste. Caste led to clash.**

Are those opposed to Mandal prepared to destroy caste? No. *In fact, the anti-Mandal agitation is the upper caste last-ditch battle to save caste.* They want caste because it brings them so much of pleasure, power, position, privileges and posts – of course without doing any work.

Palkhiwala's two-nation theory: Then we have our great rich man's lawyer Palkhiwala saying 'Mandal has divided the country into two nations'. If there is a truth in this charge, why there was no anti-Mandal agitation in South India? Does he consider South India as part of India? Tamil Nadu, AP, Karnataka have 50 to 68% reservations. Did not the upper castes accept the reservations here? Why there was no agitation in West Bengal, Assam, Gujarat or Maharashtra? Palkhiwala is wrong. However, Palkhiwala is also right: Mandal has divided the country into *savarna* and *avarna*. The *avarnas* are 85%, and *savarnas* are 15%. It is this 15% *savarnas* (Hindus) who are opposing Mandal. They are also demanding a separate homeland for *savarnas*. We are ready to concede their demand. Instead of this daily mindless violence, it is better to be separate, but equal.

Mandal identified Hindus: We have to actually thank Mandal that for the first time, it has made our people, SC/ST/BCs, realise that it is the Hindus (upper castes) who are opposing our human rights – because we are not Hindus. *Mandal, therefore, was a great*

blessing. In fact the Mandal brought down the edifice of "Hindu unity" crumbling down. Mandals on one side and the Bandals on the other side. It is this collapse of the Hindu pyramid that forced Advani to launch his Toyota Rath Yatra. Mandal forced the Masjid agitation. It was a beautiful polarisation.

Mandal decision not sudden: The other charge is that VP Singh suddenly plumped for Mandal without consultation or consensus. This is wrong.

Every part of this deal is part of a longdrawn struggle. It began with the Kaka Kalelkar Commission. Parliament had held three debates on the Mandal. The report was submitted in 1980. There were hundreds of agitations, conferences during the past 10 years. I had courted arrest at least three times on Mandal. Addressed scores of conferences. Hundreds of MPs had submitted signed petitions to PM. Mandal was implemented after good deal of discussion and hence perfectly democratic. Every political party including the nazi party has included Mandal in its manifesto.

How can anybody say that VP took a hasty decision? Those who say this are prejudiced against SC/BCs and minorities. And prejudice is a mental disease. And those suffering from mental disease have to be taken to mental hospital.

Merit, my foot: Another favourite argument of the anti-reservationists is that reservations will affect "merit and efficiency".

We are tired of replying to this stupid argument. Justice Krishna lyer has replied to this charge in his judgment, the full text of which is reproduced in my book, *Merit, My Foot*, (Dalit Sahitya Academy, 1988, Rs.8).

India ruled by the "merited" only: During the past 45 years or so we were ruled by only the "merited" upper castes who claim "merit" as their sole monopoly. Of our nine Prime Ministers, all belonged to

upper castes. Of this five were Brahmins. All the top positions are occupied by them. All decision-makers are upper castes. So this country managed by the upper caste "meritocrats" should have been on the top of the world. But the fact is it is a beggar nation. We are at the bottom. In every sphere, every sector we are at the bottom. That means, 45 years of "merited rule" is responsible for this. What is the use of this "merit and efficiency"?

With highest number of holidays in a year, we have become the laziest people in the world. If the country is pushed to such a crisis, we the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims can't be blamed, but these "merited" upper castes. To hell with their merit and efficiency. ?

Right to rule: I don't want to go into the arguments of these heartless merit-mongers except to say only this:- Even if it is admitted that SC/ST/BCs have no brains, in a democracy, which assures equal rights to everybody, even the "brainless" have a right to rule themselves. Self-govt. is any day better than efficient govt.

The British advanced the same argument to deny "home rule" to India. They said Indians have no brains. They said India will go to dogs if India is given independence.

At that time, B.G. Tilak, M.K. Gandhi and other Aryans said: "we Indians prefer self-rule to efficient British rule". Bengali Muslims revolted against the Punjabi Muslim merit and formed Bangladesh after a bloody war.

Indian Races want self-rule: The same argument applies to SC/ST/BCs. These people constitute 65% of India's population. Together with religious minorities, they become 85%. This 85% of the Indian Races say they want to rule. They say we will not accept the alien Aryan/upper caste rule. Their argument is perfectly democratic. *India will be torn to pieces if the identities and dignities of the different segments*

of this country are not respected. Please learn lessons from the breakup of Soviet Union.

Social engineering: Reservations is the most well established, constitutionally accepted principle to pull up a socially submerged group.

It is not a poverty alleviation programme. To relieve the poverty of the poor, there are hundreds of govt. programmes headed by the Planning Commission. Reservations are not meant to remove the poverty of the BCs. The 52% of the BCs offered 25% reservations by Mandal will not become rich by the less than 5% govt. jobs that we have in India. Reservations are meant to empower a deprived group by putting a person in that group with the ruling class. It is called empowering a class. That is social engineering which is the only alternative to revolution. As revolution is not possible, we have to accept social engineering.

In America, the Blacks have reservations and the Supreme Court of America has accepted it. **Reservations means human rights. Every section of the population has its human rights including the Brahmins. But in proportion to the population of each community. We are prepared to concede the human rights of every section.**

Conclusion: Reservations are, therefore, our human rights movement. V.M. Tarkunde, father of the Indian human rights movement, despite being a Maharashtrian Brahmin, supported Mandal because reservations are our human rights movement. *Reservations are not given on the basis of poverty. Every section is entitled to human rights on the basis of its ethnic identity.*

Human rights: That means those who oppose reservations are opposed to our human rights. Those who oppose human rights, therefore, are anti-humans. **Human rights (reservations) are given not on the basis of poverty. They**

are given because a particular section is entitled to its human rights.

Many people joined this anti-Mandal madness without understanding things. I am not referring to the prejudiced mental cases – those who committed fake self-immolation. I am referring to the prejudiced intellectuals. I am referring to the many BCs and minorities who joined these agitations. They joined the agitation because the Janata Dal did not prepare the ground to sow the seeds of Mandal.

Tips to Supreme Court: The Supreme Court is now seized of the Mandal report. According to judicial norms, the Court should be not only be impartial but "appear impartial". But the five-judge bench (this is now referred to a nine-judge bench) is completely upper caste, if not anti-SC/ST/BCs. And hence the 85% of the Indians will not be wrong if they get the impression that the Supreme Court, to which we have the highest respect and reverence, that it does not "appear impartial".

The judges in India are not above prejudices. All over India, it is the judiciary that scuttled the different govt. orders on reservations. Elected Members of Parliament and Legislatures who are the true representatives of the people are not opposed to human rights. It is the judiciary that always comes in the way. The Supreme Court is today facing the supreme test. The question before the supreme court is will they uphold the Constitution by correctly interpreting the Article 340 and do justice to the deprived 85% of the Indian race or do injustice by supporting their 15% Aryan jatwalas ? ■

Paper presented at the national seminar on "Emerging Trends in Politics" by V.T. Rajshekar, Editor, "Dalit Voice", Bangalore, on the subject: "Mandal Commission Report and Anti-Reservation Agitation" at Whitefield, Bangalore, Feb. 22, 1991. ■

K. VIJAYARAJU, VISSANAPETA, AP

This is a short review of the Telugu journal, *Godavari Keratalu* (Waves of Godavari)

Editor: K. Satyanarayana Murthy, published from: Kakinada (Aport town in coastal Andhra). Address: *Godavari Keratalu* No. 64-1E-1, Treasury Employees Colony, Kakinada - 533 004, subscription Rs.25 yearly.

The *Godavari Keratalu* mirrors the problems of different nations (Dalits, SC/ST/BC minorities and women).

Historical background: The very title reveals the love of the natives to the river Godavari which has centuries-long history of struggles of the SC/ST/BCs who depended on it for their survival. Revolutionaries and poets wrote several songs on the Godavari. Everyone in Andhra Pradesh is hypnotized when listening to the melodious songs on the Godavari.

I too have a special love for the Godavari as I spent some of my early days beside the Godavari which is more beautiful than the river Krishna.

The present "Naxal movement" is also spread on the banks of the Godavari right from its origin in Maharashtra to Bay of Bengal where it joins the sea at Kakinada. The very title catches the hearts of Andhras. It can be said that the Godavari is the symbol of our struggles.

Kakinada, the East Godavari dt. Hqrs., from where this journal is published, is one more political centre next only to Vijayawada.

Fathers of Dalit movement: Amalapuram taluk where the Dalit population is very high is also in the

same district. It is the stronghold of RPI and elected a Dalit MP. The Dalits of the district were the fathers of the Dalit movement in AP. They brought Babasaheb to their district and we can find hundreds of statues of Babasaheb. Culturally East Godavari people are far superior to those of Vijayawada and Guntur districts.

Editorial Board: I do not know anyone of them personally but know them as intellectuals of high calibre. They obviously started it inspired by the *Dalit Voice* and they follow exactly the DV line.

They are connected with the Telugu National Liberation Organisation but ideologically they are closer to DV. I do not know whether they have acknowledged it or not, but the contents justify my statement.

Contents: There are some articles rewritten from DV (by N.K. Sharma) in an easy style (not as translations) but not acknowledged to the author. But the central idea is correctly projected.

The Oct. 91 issue has two articles of the Editor of DV - one on Christians and the other on Muslims. They were edited and shortened. Unless we are thorough with the material that comes in DV (English), we cannot trace such edited writings.

As they appear very closer to our ideology we can take them as our friends as they support the Dalit movement in AP.

This is the only journal which involves women at least on ideological lines as DV. In the previous issues there was a lot of discussion on Mandal report.

It is a journal independently working on the lines of DV.

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