

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

Vol. 11

January 16 -31, 1992

Estd. 1981

No.

Editor &
Publisher: V.T. RAJSHEKAR

Representatives:

Madras: R. ELUMALAI
Calicut: V. PRABHAKARAN
Vijayawada: K. VIJAYA RAJU
Bangalore: Dr. N. SIRAJUDDIN
United States: RUNOKO RASHIDI
Circulation: A. PATRICK
Printer: A. PRABHAKARAN
Sales &
Distribution: HEMLATA

Annual Subscription: Rs. 90
Foreign Airmail: US \$ 40 dollars

- Dalit self-determination means three separations from Hindus
- Cavery "war" proves India is breaking
- Jews Joining "Jews of India"
- Brahminical bid to break JD
- DV proves right on Rajiv murder
- Thackeray fall is warning to all shudra worms & slaves
- Toddy-tappers federation
- Ezhavas not Hindus
- A Sikh traitor as CPM chief ?

Perils of democracy:
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Perils of Parliamentary democracy

Parliamentary Democracy has all the marks of a popular Government, a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is therefore a matter of some surprise that there has been a revolt against Parliamentary Democracy although not even a century has elapsed since its universal acceptance and inauguration. There is revolt against it in Italy, in Germany, in Russia, and in Spain, and there are very few countries in which there has not been discontent against Parliamentary Democracy. Why should there be this discontent and dissatisfaction against Parliamentary Democracy? It is a question worth considering. There is no country in which the urgency of considering this question greater than it is in India. India is negotiating to have Parliamentary Democracy. There is a great need of some one with sufficient courage to tell Indians "Beware of Parliamentary Democracy, it is not the best product, as it appeared to be." Why has Parliamentary Democracy failed? In the country of the dictators it has failed because it is a machine whose movements are very slow. It delays swift action. In a Parliamentary Democracy the Executive may be held up by the Legislature which may refuse to pass the laws which the Executive wants, and if it is not held up by the Legislature it may be held up by the Judiciary which may declare the laws as illegal. Parliamentary Democracy gives no free hand to Dictatorship, and that is why it is a discredited institution in countries like Italy, Spain and Germany which are ruled by Dictators. If Dictators alone were against Parliamentary Democracy it would not have mattered at all. Their testimony against Parliamentary Democracy would be no testimony at all. Indeed Parliamentary Democracy would be welcomed for the reason that it can be an effective check upon Dictatorship. But unfortunately there is a great deal of discontent against Parliamentary Democracy even in countries where people are opposed to Dictatorship. That is the most regrettable fact about Parliamentary Democracy. This is all more regrettable because Parliamentary Democracy has not been at a standstill. It has progressed in three directions. It has progressed by expanding the notion of Equality of Political rights. There are very few countries having Parliamentary Democracy which have not adult suffrage. It has recognized the principle of Equality of Social and Economic opportunity. And thirdly it has recognised that the state cannot be held at bay by corporations which are anti-social in their purpose. With all this, there is immense discontent against Parliamentary Democracy even in countries pledged to Democracy. (Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar writings & speeches Vol. 10 p. 107-08).

With this we begin quotations from Vol. 10

Maharashtra Govt. Books on Babasaheb — Just Released

DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR WRITINGS & SPEECHES

With foreword from Sharad Pawar, then Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

Vol. 9 & 10 at last on sale

Vol. 10 DR. AMBEDKAR, AS MEMBER OF
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL

1942-46

Of the ten volumes so far published this is the thickest book with 1,080 pages. Contents include such valuable and yet unpublished writings of Babasaheb on Situation in India, Labour and parliamentary democracy, discussions on Labour problems, Damodar Valley Project, Development of Orissa villages.

1991 pp. 1080 Rs. 95

All other previous eight volumes are also available.

And also Govt. Press Book Depots at Nagpur, Auranagabad, Kolhapur and Pune.

Vol. 9 is the Babasaheb's thundering book

WHAT CONGRESS AND GANDHI HAVE DONE
TO UNTOUCHABLES

in which the perfidy of M.K. Gandhi and his Congress, the country's original brahminical party, is exposed.

The volume also includes Babasaheb's another short booklet. *Emancipation of Untouchables*. 1991 pp. 500 Rs. 50

Maharashtra Govt. Publications
for copies write to:

Directorate of Government Printing and
Stationery, Charni Road, Bombay 400 004

DALIT VOICEThe Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights**Dalit self-determination means
separate electorate, separate
settlement, religious separation**M.GOPINATH, GENERAL SECRETARY, SAMATA SAINIK DAL,
KARNATAKA, BANGALORE

The oppression of Dalits is quite unique unlike many other problems facing India. Most Dalit organisations today are in a dilemma as to whether the Dalit question has to be given a special consideration and treatment or has to be solved along with many other problems.

Those who consider the problems of Dalits as something totally dissimilar to the other go by the premise that Dalits include only Untouchables, whereas the others ignore the "caste" factor.

Dalit organisations emerged as a historical development in the eternal search for solutions to the specialised problems of Dalits. Though the Dalits over a period of time struggled alone, some started taking a queer stand of defining 'Dalits' to include "poor people" of all communities and castes. Such a shift of emphasis may look good as if providing a "broad base". But inclusion of the non-Dalit "poor" gradually results in dilution of our thrust and objective. *So, before we think of 'Dalit self-determination', it is absolutely necessary to remove the ambiguity and the consequent confusion created with regard to the word 'Dalit'.* ("Self-Determination for Each Nation", DV edit: Oct. 16 1986).

Who is a "Dalit"? : Most Dalit organisations define 'Dalit' as an oppressed "class" to include "all poor people of every caste or community". But, in their heart of heart, they are sure that it is only the Untouchables who could be termed Dalits. The reason for such a hypocrisy is that we Untouchables, are afraid of being

branded as casteists if ever we say that only Untouchables are Dalits. We may call every "poor man" as Dalit and consider ourselves as one among such Dalits. We may also think that others also will accept that Dalit means the "poor".

But this is not the reality. The Hindus recognise only the Untouchables as Dalits and refuse to admit the "poor" among Hindus as Dalits though such "poor" Hindus may be the poorest among the poor. Why this deliberate confusion?

Confusion: This confusion is caused because of the contradiction between the literary meaning and the historical meaning of the word 'Dalit'.

Hindus see Dalit as *Deen-Dalit* (poor and helpless) who are to be sympathised. Whereas for Untouchables, it is a 'historical identification' to give a psychological thrust to their militant struggle.

POOR BRAHMIN

Though everybody agrees that the literary meaning of 'Dalit' is poor, why no poor Brahmin, poor Reddy, poor Lingayat (or anybody other than an Untouchable) calls himself a 'Dalit'? Because their *jati* has given them enough pride, place and identity in the society. They do not require yet another new identification. They do not like to be clubbed with an Untouchable under the nomenclature of 'Dalit'. Whereas, for an Untouchable, the word 'Dalit' has brought him a badly needed identity, dignity and more so militancy to fight for his/her human rights.

Newspaper headlines: Besides

this there is yet another reason why the "poor" among the Hindus do not like to be called Dalit. Look at the newspaper headlines given by Hindu journalists in their own Hindu newspapers and journals. When they write "30 Dalits killed in Chundur", "Atrocities on Dalits", they mean Untouchables and not the poor. So the Hindus themselves admit that Dalit means the Untouchables.

US Black Panther Movement: The word 'Dalit' is not without a base and history. The word was coined from out of the inspirations of struggles of our Black sisters and brothers in America. In the 1970s, the Untouchables of Maharashtra called themselves 'Dalit Panthers' which was based on the militant 'Black Panthers of America'.

Untouchables had been given filthy, insulting names such as Holey, Madiga, Bhangi, Mahar, Pariah, Chamar etc., which conveyed nothing but contempt. Since the ruling class (Hindus) coined words, concepts and images, it made our people believe that these were their natural names meant to convey the dirty work we are engaged in.

When the educated, enlightened and self-respecting Untouchables woke up to fight for their liberation, it was natural for them to reject all these insulting names and search for dignified names. 'Dalit' has met this requirement.

Name that strikes terror: 'Untouchables' was a negative identification, beside being an English word. Whereas 'Dalit' has secured, in the course of our 30-year-long struggle, a positive identification, which is very much

essential for a liberation movement. As *Harijan* meant bastard, and "Scheduled Castes" are English words, our people had no collective, common name of their own.

'Dalit' became the only name which the Untouchables of India gave unto ourselves. Hence the word became quickly popular and the widely accepted name which became more popular because of the *Dalit Voice*. This name is not only widely accepted now but more than that it conveys our anger, our determination besides striking a terror in our enemy hearts.

IDENTITY TESTS

The next question is should we include only the Scheduled Castes and Tribes among Dalits (Untouchables)? The list of SCs and STs is prepared according to the needs (or pleasures) of rulers for administrative purposes. The English name of SC/ST does not convey our distinct identity; our separate ethnic entity. "Scheduled Castes" means a schedule of castes listed by the President of India and put in the Constitution. It conveys no other meaning.

In fact, such bald, vague words may even destroy our identity by pooling us under a 'schedule'. There are many Untouchable "castes" or races who have been left out of this "schedule".

Dalits are beef-eaters: The census of 1911 had laid down ten tests (*Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches* Vol. V, page 7, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay) to identify the Untouchables. Under these tests the census officials made a separate enumeration of "castes" and "tribes" who (i) denied the supremacy of the Brahmins, (2) did not receive the *mantra* from the Brahmin or other recognised Hindu guru; (3) denied the authority of the vedas; (4) did not worship Hindu gods; (5) were not served by Brahmins; (6) have no Brahmin priests at all; (7) have no access to the interior of the ordinary Hindu temple; (8) cause pollution; (9) bury

their dead and (10) eat beef and do not revere the cow.

To these ten identity tests, we have to add four more: (1) Those who could not secure profitable employment, (2) unable to own lands and forced to accept filthy jobs; (3) who hold subordinate political positions and (4) those who are conveniently kept away from modern education and technology.

Muslims and BCs: What about Backward Castes and Muslims? They are also original inhabitants of India and hence *Moola Bharatis* like the Untouchables. Some of these indigenous peoples embraced liberating religions like Islam and Christianity to escape from the tyranny of brahminical rule. Thereby they secured yet another cultural identity and became very much antagonistic to the brahminical social order. But some aboriginals succumbed to the Aryan rule (brahminical social order) and agreed to be their servants. They were given such professions that brought them into a sort of physical contact with Hindus.

Dalits & BCs: Such of those Untouchables who surrendered to the Hindus became Backward Castes. Hence there is absolutely no difference between the Untouchables/Dalits/SCs and the BCs. Both are pre-Aryan. Both are indigenous population of India.

BCs surrendered to Aryans: Since the BCs agreed to surrender, they were allowed into the outer-yard of the Hindus though the BCs were continued to be treated as Untouchables. On the other hand, the Dalits/Untouchables/SCs never compromised, never surrendered to Hindus and hence chose to remain as the deadliest enemies of Hindus and away from them. That is all the difference.

The so-called religious minorities — Muslims/Sikhs/Christians — are also our own blood relations. They went over to an egalitarian religion but continued to suffer seclusion, segregation and racist treatment even after conversion.

The doors of our house are always open to them if they choose to come back. But whether they come with us or not we will continue to fight for their human rights whenever they are threatened by the Hindus.

For example, it was the Dalits who came forward to face the Hindu caste war (1990) against the Mandal Commission recommendations. And even during the Gulf War, Dalits en masse and India's oppressed Muslims stood by Saddam Hussain and though nobody asked them to do so.

Dalits being the brothers of BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs, they think they have a responsibility to protect them.

Meaning of self-determination: What then is right for self-determination? It is the "right" of every race or group of people with a distinct identity and historic past to determine and shape its own life and future. The right of self-determination does not arise in the case of two different income groups having the same cultural identity. In other words, income disparity does not divide a "nation", meaning a distinct ethnic entity. It is the racial and cultural antagonism that decides the right of self-determination but not "class antagonism".

Class does't divide a nation: In other words, "poor" Brahmins do not hate "rich" Brahmins. "Class" does not divide a nation. An oppressing race always uses racial and cultural differences as a weapon to extract the surplus from the oppressed race. Hence, the oppressed race, which is deprived of its human rights, will acquire, over a period of time, the right of determining and shaping its life and future.

Dalits & nationality question: How could this be applied to Dalits ?

Dalits do not come under the caste system (*chatur varna*). They are *avarniyas* or *avarnas* meaning out-castes or outside the caste or outside the *varna* system.

The traditional meaning of 'race' does not fit them. They do not subscribe to the race theory. In other words, they are not racists. Dalits are a wounded race whose cultural foundations have been stolen and to some extent destroyed by the foreign invaders. They are not only a wounded race but a wounded nationality who had their own socio-cultural, economic, educational and political system in the pre-Aryan glorious golden days of Indus Valley civilisation.

Stalin's definition: The nationality question naturally leads us to the classical definition given by Stalin. We admit that the Dalits are not geographically concentrated in a particular area. We also admit that they do not have a common language or a homogenous economic system to fit into the definition of a nation of Stalin's concept.

BABASAHEB'S DEFINITION

The term 'nationality' need not be limited to these points alone. Babasaheb Ambedkar recognised Dalits as a separate nation. (Ibid page 63).

Nationality may also mean common feeling of kinship or suffering. A race or a social group with distinct identity, which is socially discriminated, must unite to struggle for liberation, treating themselves as a separate nation. The life and future of Dalits are currently left to the whims and fancies of the brahminical social order which denies and deprives our just freedom, self-protection, self-respect and basic human rights assured by the Constitution.

In fact, it is not the Constitution of the country given to us by Babasaheb Ambedkar that is governing India but the Manusmriti — the Constitution of the Brahmins — which is in direct conflict with the principles of democracy.

Having established our claim that Dalits are a separate nation, we now proceed to analyse the need

for us to defend our claim for self-determination.

Political segregation: The very first attempt to claim our self-determination was made by Babasaheb Ambedkar as early as at the historic Round Table Conference held in London in 1930. He declared that he had no more confidence in the Hindu majority (?) rule and hence demanded a separate electorate for Dalits wherein Dalits had to elect their own (Dalit) representatives. The British rulers, after considering the objection raised by M.K. Gandhi and his Congress, a Hindu party, conceded the justness of the Dalit claim and provided special electorate wherein Dalits were given two votes — one in the special electorate to elect their own representative and other in the general electorate to elect a general member.

GANDHI'S MISCHIEF

Gandhi, a Hindu leader, quickly scented the danger to his community and on their behalf threatened to "fast unto death" unless this political recognition to the Dalit as a separate nation was withdrawn. A big drama followed. Babasaheb was forced to discuss with Hindus and arrive at a compromise agreement with Gandhi. They begged Babasaheb to accept "reserved constituencies" in place of separate electorates. This agreement is called the "Poona Pact" of 1932. Special electoral constituencies were mere 78 but the Hindus (Congressmen) to win over Babasaheb raised the number to 148 "reserved constituencies" assuring the Hindu non-interference in the political activities of Dalits.

As usual with Hindus this "solemn assurance" given to Babasaheb was violated and the Hindus betrayed Dr. Babasaheb, thereby repudiating all the terms and conditions of the Poona Pact.

Dalits Cheated: In all the "reserved constituencies", the Congress contested the elections putting up

Harijan candidates under their banner and won 78 seats out of 148.

Dalits were thus tricked to accept an enhanced number of seats in place of effective representation of our choice.

Hindus cheated us by giving us quantity in place of Babasaheb's plea for quality. Babasaheb's very first attempt for "self-determination" was thus totally nullified by the heinous game played by Gandhi and the Congress. (Gandhi — Saint or Sinner ? Fazlul Huq, Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1992)

So much so, we have today a massive representation in Parliament (120) SC/ST/members — but all of them are bonded labourers of Hindus.

Poona Pact: The consequences of Poona Pact made Babasaheb think seriously that in the peculiar circumstances of India ruled by the brahminical social order mere political separation would never make our people totally independent.

Though Babasaheb was trying to secure the highest power to his people, some of his co-workers stabbed him in the back and yielded to brahminical pressure. This yielding on the part of Babasaheb was mainly due to the fact that the nation for which he was demanding a separate electorate was

- (i) culturally deprived
- (ii) geographically dispersed and
- (iii) economically dependent.

SEPARATE SETTLEMENT

Babasaheb, having been made to forcibly sign the Poona Pact, realised the importance of cultural consolidation and geographical concentration. Early in 1947, he had raised yet another demand besides separate electorate and that is separate settlement. Babasaheb's memorandum to this effect was later published in the form of a constitution titled *States and Minorities*.

Reservations used as a threat: And two months before his death,

Babasaheb embraced the Buddha Dhamma to liberate Dalits from the alien cultural aggression, mental slavery and a sense of insecurity created by Hinduism and also to bring about a cultural unity among them by embracing the rational religion of Buddhism which in fact was the original religion of Dalits. The right direction given by Babasaheb unnerved the brahminical forces. Anticipating such a danger, Hindus did their best to undo the damage of mass conversion that gave a body blow to Hinduism.

Bid to co-opt Babasaheb: They tried to co-opt Babasaheb by offering Central ministership and making him chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution. After Babasaheb's death, they infiltrated into Buddhism to sabotage it from inside. On one side, they used reservation as a stick to frighten Dalits that if they were to quit Hinduism and embrace Buddhism, they would lose the reservations.

Though Hindus said we got "reserved constituencies" as a "concession" in place of "separate electorate", it was actually done at the behest of Hindus to save their Hinduism. Once their job was done, Hindus made the Dalits believe that reservations were a Hindu "charity" to Dalits. And this made most of our "educated" Dalits to remain obedient servants of Hindus.

"Harijan" welfare doles: Repeated attempts have been made by Hindus to destroy the foundations of our "Dalit national identity" and thereby deny our "right of self-determination". Our post-independent Dalit leaders, who can be better described as *Harijan* politicians, never bothered to understand the concept of Dalit nationality and our right of self-determination.

Dalit problem not poverty: They were brainwashed by their Hindu slave-masters to believe that our problems were first economic and then lack of education. These "Harijan leaders" were tutored to believe that the "Harijan problem"

was due to their (economic) poverty and lack of education. Having convinced these *Harijan* slaves, they were made to receive the "Harijan welfare" doles. They were even made to ridicule Babasaheb's ingenious moves to establish a separate "Dalit nation" and then fight for our right of self-determination.

Gandhi, enemy No. 1 of Dalit: M.K. Gandhi, whom Babasaheb called the Enemy No.1 of Untouchables, played the major role in brainwashing the *Harijans* and co-opting them. If ever some unconcious Dalits believe that they are Hindus, the credit for this goes to this wily Gujarati Bania.

The Hindu press made a propaganda against the idea of political separation and advised the *Harijans* to join the "mainstream" through reservation. The result was eternal slavery.

Cultural identity: Babasaheb had rightly thought that mere political separation (separate electorate) would never lead to right of self-determination to Dalits. **Cultural identity was more important to establish the Dalit nationhood.**

How Muslims succeeded: During the pre-independence days, Muslims succeeded in securing their own "nation". In recent years, Sikhs, Jharkhandis, Bodos, Ghorkhas, Uttarkhandis, Nagas, Mizos, Tamils etc. are engaged in bitter battle to secure their nationhood.

BLACKS IN AMERICA

Similarly, Palestinians, Russians of USSR, Irish people of UK, French in Canada and Blacks in America are all gaining their strength from their distinct cultural identity. Jews said they were an oppressed nation and aggressively occupied the Palestinian homeland and established Israel.

Slaves enjoying their slavery: In all these cases, oppressing races or nationalities have treated the oppressed nations as slaves and kept them underdeveloped and

extracted exorbitant surplus from their labour by destroying their culture and making them believe that they were inferior and hence born to serve.

All ruling nations use culture as a tool to perpetuate the status quo which is to their benefit. Once the oppressed nations accept they are inferior and born to serve, they start hating themselves. Not the oppressed. Once self-hatred is created among the oppressed, there is no need for any weapon or violence to suppress the oppressed. Not only they become slaves but the slaves start enjoying their slavery.

Meaning of culture : What is a culture? It is too difficult to define in words. It may be said that culture is an environment developed by a group of people to live on and which serves as the mainspring of their behaviour and action. Culture, therefore, is both matter and spirit; seen and unseen — past, present and future. It is also a set of ideas, values and meaning, system that is dearest to our heart and hence everything.

Fair-skinned Brahmin girls: Culture is like water to fish, like air and every essential to living beings. People become good or bad through culture. Dalits became a no-people because they were made to lose their culture. They lost sight of their great cultural heritage and made to believe that whatever they possessed was 'inferior'. We were made to feel that 'black' is an inferior colour compared to 'white'. "Educated" Dalits preferred to marry fair-looking girls which ultimately resulted in going behind Brahmin girls who were ready to marry our boys and finish them. We were made to believe that our names based on our great Dalit heroes and goddesses were awkward and hence we were made to go in for sanskritised names.

Brahmins call our food habits "non-vegetarian" (as if they are non-eatable). They call beef-eaters as

barbarians. Such a barrage of brahminical propaganda has forced our "educated" Dalits to give up beef-eating and even boast that they are vegetarians.

Even in our religious ceremonies, we have started serving useless vegetarian stuff. Our marriages were used to be solemnised by heads of our families. Today, we feel honoured to have a Brahmin priest to perform our marriage. *All this proved that we were getting absorbed by Hindus.*

Brahmins & bastards: Brahmins went to the extent of declaring that such of the marriages performed without them became illegal, unholy and unethical and children born to such pairs would become bastards. Our urbanised, brahminised, "educated" Dalits got frightened and accepted it. Hindu dwelling places are called "villages" and towns but ours given the contemptuous name of *keri cheri*, colony and *kolegeri* where even minimum civic amenities are denied.

HATING OUR OWN MOTHER

Our oppressors call themselves citizens (*nagarika*) in Karnataka while we become just no-people (*jana*). They say we have no history, no past, no roots and we blindly believe their story.

Ram-Lila festival: They say their Aryan gods fought Rakshasas, Daityas — all our pre-Aryan ancestors — and we believe it and burn our own forefathers (during Ram-Lila festival in Delhi). Though we belong to the Rakshasa-Daitya race (pre-Aryan) we believe the Aryan myth and hate our own ancestors, heroes, our own roots, our own languages, our own mother our own food. Because, they describe the Rakshasas as demons who destroyed the *puras* ((cities). They say we have no history or civilisation. This made us believe their bundle of bunkum and celebrate the killing of our own heroines. So much so, ultimately we are left with no history of our own.

They called us Madiga, Holey,

Bhangi, Mala Pariaha and so on. We believed them as if they are our natural names. And they assigned the work to each of us to serve them and we simply obeyed their rule.

Stop scavenging: Today, we take up scavenging jobs on our own without anybody's compulsion.

Are all the Brahmins doing their ancestral priestly job? Did they not take to other un-brahminical work? When our oppressors can violate their own *jati* rules, why should we stick to scavenging, sweeping, and such other heinous professions? We do it because our oppressors have brainwashed us to accept their version of history.

DEVADASIS

The Devadasi is nothing but a system of prostitution in the name of religion. In the name of religion this oppressive custom is imposed on our women. We were neither 'Devas nor Dasis. *Yellamma, Ramba, Urvashi, Menka and such others were the official prostitutes of the Aryan god, Indra. Prostitution was a divine profession for Aryans. Whereas it was sin for us. Sex-play was a full time pre-occupation for Aryans. But due to cultural deprivation or cultural vacuum created by the Aryan incursions, our women imitated Brahmin women and accepted Devadasi system as if it is our own.*

Greater tragedy: That is why cultural deprivation as a weapon is mightier than even atom bomb. As long as we remain enslaved under this alien culture (brahminical) we can never achieve any freedom. Brahminical domination has killed not only our initiative but even our sentiments have been deadened to the sufferings of our own kith and kin. Our brainwashed "educated" comrades refuse to be identified with the pain of our own people. This is the greatest tragedy we are facing today.

A people who refuse to learn from its past will never have a future? When our past is destroyed

how can we have a future? When we don't respect our own mother, our own grandfather, our great ancestors how can we command respect from our children?

SEARCH FOR ROOTS

It is what is called "roots". Every society, every human being must have roots. A rootless being drifts. And like a bigger fish eating smaller one, a rootless being will be swallowed by culturally stronger elements. That is how many of our own saints got co-opted by the brahminical social order.

How to become proud?: Therefore, it is very essential to reconstruct our history, know our own history and possess a sense of our cultural heritage.

Then only Dalits can become proud of their past, their mother, their language, their ancestor, their deity, their food. It is for this reason Babasaheb claimed and wanted his people to be freed from the thralldom of Hinduism by which the Hindus would perpetuate their racist system through cultural domination which in turn benefits them and enable them to exploit us culturally, socially, economically and also politically.

M.K. Gandhi was lionised and hailed by the Hindus as a mahatma because it was their Father of the Nation who succeeded in first claiming, then corrupting and then crushing us under their Hinduism. Untouchables were "made" Hindus and "called" Hindus solely because of the efforts of this *mahatma*. That is why Babasaheb rightly called him the Enemy No.1 of Untouchables.

Buddhist path: So, to get rid of such a Hindu cultural domination, Babasaheb chose the radical path of Buddha Dhamma which would help give us pride, dignity, unity, fraternity and a great psychological spin-off to fight for our rights. People who have lost their culture will lose everything. Hence we must dig deep into our great glorious culture to regain our lost rights and powers.

We must say with pride that "we

are Dalits".

Defective education system:

Education means the training needed for an individual to develop self-reliance, creativity and sociability. As the Indian society is based on stratified, graded inequality (caste system), the freedom to choose one's own profession and the freedom to mix with others is denied to everybody. The caste rules become more rigorous when it comes to the question of Untouchables. Dalits were denied every profession or job that had minimum dignity and leisure. According to the jobs assigned, education was also fully denied to our people. During pre-British days, denial of education (study of vedas, archery horse-riding, etc) to Dalits, despite being an original martial race of India, had religious sanction. Hindus denied this education fearing that we might overpower them. When the social structure received a shakeup during the British regime, when formal education system was inaugurated and peoples movements exerted pressure, Dalits were admitted to school in 1856.

Dirty tricks: But then again, the Brahmins played their usual mischief. In place of *Gurukula* system, Lord Macaulay introduced the new education system. Brahmins, who had monopolised Sanskrit and kept it for themselves, quietly took control of the English education system also. Purohits and advisers to Rajas and Nawabs became clerks and secretaries to British officials. They succeeded in getting close to the British and also Christian missionaries and as usual started their dirty tricks. Consequently, they wangled top positions.

Dual education: At least in the post-independent India, we should have attained equality in the field of education if not in anything else. **But the Brahmins have intentionally maintained a dual system of education - expensive English-medium, privately-managed institutions for Hindus**

and poorly equipped government schools with regional languages as medium of instruction for Dalits and other natives.

HATE ENGLISH

To perpetuate this dual system of education, they play all sorts of tricks to fool the gullible. One such is their own Brahmin-sponsored fake "struggle" against English schools. Our people are told that English is a foreign language and we should love our own mother tongue. By this they create a hatred against English and love for our language. And we succumb to this foul propaganda and thereby our children became clerks and peons and Brahmin children become IAS, IPS officers.

Every time we fall prey to their tricks. Today, most of the children going to govt. schools are Dalits. In many of these schools, even minimum facilities like decent class room, blackboard are denied and even the teachers are not available. **The Indian Constitution has assured free, compulsory and universal primary education to all who are below 14 years. But a majority of the Dalit children cannot afford the luxury of spending a whole day at schools.**

In the first place, the existing education system is very much inadequate to Dalits even if they are interested. In the second place, the system is arranged in such a way that it is possible only to those families who have sufficient economic means to support their children till they get a degree.

Dalit hostels are cowsheds: The hostels run by the Social Welfare Departments of the State are nothing but cow-sheds. In Karnataka, even today there are no permanent staff to manage the hostels. Students are served with food which are fit not even for pigs. (In some hostels there is a strict instruction not to cook beef). These hostel facilities created a feeling among Dalits that they are a burden to the govt. and that they are under its mercy. That is how Hindus kill

us by "kindness".

The 1981-census: The brahminical social order defend the existing dual education system, which is working against our interest, by arguing that if Dalits are not able to make use of the system "it is because of their inability to come up to the standards". What standards? The standards which the enemies of Dalits fix.

Apart from the fact that these "standards" are fixed by the Brahmins to keep themselves in power, the system is made inaccessible not because of the "mental incapacity" of Dalits, but primarily because of socio-economic and cultural reasons.

The 1981 census says the general literacy rate is 36.23% whereas among Dalits it is 10.54%. The dropout rate between I standard to X is as high as 60% among Dalits, whereas the general dropout rate is around 42%. Among Hindus, it is as low as 11% and almost nil Brahmins.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Because of such a dangerous dual education system, Dalits are conveniently kept away from engineering, medical, and management faculties. Most of the Dalit graduates are from the unwanted art faculties which are easily accessible to them. Whereas in science and technical courses, our share is less than 6%.

As the dual education system has become part of the society and accepted by the society, it also reflects on employment sector. *A Dalit graduate has to wait, on an average, 16 months to obtain a job. Whereas for a Hindu, it is 14.3 months. Unemployment among Dalits is 73% and among Hindus 59%.*

The teaching methods and examinations are very much helpful to Brahmins because under this system, "merit" means memorising and reciting which they have been doing for the last several generations. **The existing anti-**

human education system has become a deadly weapon in the hands of Hindus to impose their culture on us and to internalise the self-hatred among us.

Education system: The physical structure of the education system is so well built that as we, the rural Dalits, pursue the studies from primary school to colleges, we are forced to move away from our villages or colonies to settle down in the heart of Hindu localities without a comeback point. Not only the education system brings us closer to brahminical forces, we become physically closer to brahminical dwelling places.

The educational curriculum has nothing on Dalits. They make us study their (Hindu) culture and history. In such an atmosphere, the school can never be an extension of the house to Dalits. Whereas for a Brahmin it is so. Lessons we read in schools will never be a reality for us. It only helps us to accept our low-image and develop a glowing image of the Brahmin. They teach us what we should know about them.

The existing education system is a curse on us and a boon to Brahmins.

To develop creativity, self-reliance and self-respect, Dalits must be free from brahminical values and the school should be made an extension of our home. Our cultural values must be realised in greater width and depth in schools. Schooling should become a joy for our kids.

CURSE OF MANU SMRITI

The Manusmriti not only discriminates between brain work and physical work but also has sanctions against possession of assets and power by Dalits. Such a deprivation is also given religious sanction. Such religious restrictions upheld by Manu are evident in every aspect of life and much more so in the economic field. *As it is a sin to own any land or property on the part of Dalits, even today we*

find Dalits owning very little land and practically no industries.

Ownership of land: In 1981, census figures say 52.5% of the total cultivable land is owned by 11.5% of the population who are big Hindu landlords, 32% of the population, who are the self-employed peasants, own 35.3% of the land and the remaining 56.5% of the population, who are marginal farmers and landless labourers, own 12.2% of the cultivable land. **In the first category, we never find a single Dalit landlord. In the second category, we find about 1% of Dalits (owning more than 4 acres). As marginal peasants, (owning land within 4 acres) Dalit representation is less than 4%. And as agricultural labourers, it is more than 90%.**

This is because of the dictates of Manu though the Brahmins may say that the law of the land imposes no such restrictions. But the point is that *India's ruling class obeys not the Constitution framed by Babasaheb but the Constitution framed by Manu.*

Another shocking factor is that Dalit ownership of land is seen mostly in dry and rainfed areas. Ownership of irrigated lands is not even 1%. The pattern of ownership also goes in accordance with yield or fertility of the soil. In Karnataka, the Dalit population is concentrated more in few taluks of Kolar, Mysore, Hassan, Bidar and Chickmagalur where the land is totally dry and other alternatives of economic development are almost closed.

HUMBUG MARXISTS

Therefore, Dalits have no choice but to be agricultural labourers. They go for traditional crops like paddy, ragi, jawar and others. Horticulture and commercially profitable crops are beyond their reach. Dalits have comparatively little power to command prices for their produce at the market. In some of the villages, even today, Dalits are forced to do their hereditary services to the villagers and headman's family. Besides, child

labour and bonded labour is mostly confined to Dalits.

Urban picture: In urban areas, we experience totally new developments. A modern industrial society with its mass production and systematic organisation should have thoroughly destroyed the caste system which, the Hindus say, is based on the agrarian feudal society. Industrial development at least should have paved the way for social mobility and development of individual capacities.

Marxists proved wrong: This is what the Indian "marxists" also said. They said "caste would wither away under the impact of industrialisation and new classes of the bourgeoisie and proletariat would be formed and caste would vanish into thin air". This might have been true of western societies. But not so in India.

MANUAL JOBS FOR DALITS

Urban economy has been nothing but an extension of rural economy. Those who were the patels, shanbhags, karnikas, kulkarnis, purohits, jhagirdars and other feudal lords (who never soiled their hands to earn their food, but brain, brawn and tongue to live in luxury) became industrialists, businessmen, middlemen, directors, bank managers, govt. officials, judges, journalists and what not. Those who were at the "bottom" of caste pyramid, assigned menial jobs, got similar type of assignments in urban life. **So in every city without any exception, all the scavengers, sweepers, cobblers, construction workers, road-diggers, and all those doing hard work but having the lowest income and involving 100% physical labour are all Dalits**

Urban edition of feudalism: In this sector, we get over 100% reservation. Even after 45 years of "independence" we fail to see a Dalit owning a hotel or a cinema house or any other business and industry which earns handsome income and status. *Therefore, industrialisation of India is nothing*

but an urban edition of feudalism.

To understand this upper caste duplicity in "marxian dialectics, we can take the example of any market complex in cities. Those who own fabulous shops belong to upper caste/Hindus. In these shops, prices of all products are "fixed" and a customer cannot bargain. As we come down the shopping complex, we see the Dalit pavement vendors. Prices of their products are subject to bargaining and the customer has the final say. Hindu traders' products are sold in sellers market but ours in buyers market.

Market economy & Manu: Economic theory says that the price is fixed on the basis of demand and supply. But in India, price depends not on the market but on the sellers' *jati*. That means, even the market mechanism is manipulated by Manu. As the selling price is at the discretion of the Hindu, sales will be more leading to higher profits or surplus. As we slide down the descending degree of contempt, sales diminishes and cost increases ultimately resulting in loss.

As the technology, establishment, infrastructure, marketing and all other commercial network are built and tuned according to the caste structure, more and more surplus gets concentrated in the hands of Hindus, who are in a minority, and ultimately capital formation and development also remains within their hands.

Consumption side: As we do not have any profitable industry, profession or land, Dalits cannot command the price of our produce and hence cannot demand just wages for our labour. Our purchasing power also remains the lowest. So much so, we can only go for second and third-grade things. We cannot even think of going for capital goods.

In some villages of Karnataka, our people were beaten up and forced to quit their villages for the mere "offence" of riding scooters and wearing good, clean clothes or shoes. Caste system has prescribed different

layers of purchasing power for every one. And according to the variation in purchasing power, different varieties of the same goods are sold in the market.

Bata shoe for Hindus: Bata and Carona shoes for Hindu and shabby shoes sold on footpath for Dalits. Raymonds, Dinesh and Vimal suitings for Hindus and NTC, Sulabh and other "discount", "sales", "exhibition" clothes and roadside dress for us. To imitate the Hindus, some of our boys and girls fall a prey to fake goods sold in some of the evening bazaars. As producers, we are not recognised, as sellers we are weak and as customers, we are powerless and get cheated. The whole Hindu society is deliberately fashioned to to enslave us.

Foxy role of the govt: As regards govt. efforts to secure our "economic independence", it has failed to fulfil the objectives of the Indian Constitution.

INTEGRATION MEANS DEATH

It is often said that the govt. is taking steps to "integrate Dalits with the mainstream of the country". What does it mean by such an "integration"? What are these steps? What is this 'integration'? And how do these integrationists look at us?

Since we are said to be at the "bottom" of the production system — both industrial and agricultural — our people are engaged in the most hazardous and risky professions like mining, fishing, diving etc. By this we become the biggest producers of wealth and also the highest tax-payers. Hence, we should have had a preferential claim over the state funds that are to be allotted for development and expenditure.

Dalits should have become the basic unit of any planning, project or expenditure. But the reality is the exact opposite. Dalits are given the least consideration.

We can't blame the ruling class for this. The rulers rule according

to their rules — not our rules.

Salaried people (most of them Hindus) in the organised sector, get DA and other benefits to keep up their standard of living. As house owners, they get all civic facilities.

A major portion of the revenue is being spent on industrialists. And some portion is spent on irrigation and "village development". All the beneficiaries are Hindus.

Planting priests: Dalits (who are 30%) are allotted just 8% to 9% of the total budget or plan outlay.

In the Karnataka State budget of 1991-92, out of the total estimated revenue of Rs.1,510 crores, 38.18% went for industries and 37.95% for agriculture. Only Rs.130 crores is apportioned for our (social welfare) programmes. It means every Dalit gets only Rs. 108 for his "development" (which is around 8.6% of the total revenue).

Besides this, the govt. spends Rs.1 crore to build Hindu temples in our colonies by planting Brahmin priests and their values under the *Aradhana* scheme.

We are never consulted before formulating any development scheme. Our development depends on 'their' ideas. Since their ideas are alien to us, their schemes will also remain alien to us.

Whose development?: They have evolved a beautiful financial system to strengthen the muscles of Hindus under the name 'development'. In the name of development the Hindus have developed themselves.

Almost 90% of the borrowings from the commercial banks and land development banks are by upper castes. Loans borrowed by the upper caste farmers are written off, while most of the Dalits continue to pay interest by becoming bonded labourers to the local money-lenders.

The Department of Social Welfare is playing the dangerous game of "integration". Schemes under this department are out-dated and obsolete and never intended to make us self-reliant and creative.

While the industrial technology is galloping towards the 21st century, this department is striving to push us back to the 18th century.

PRODUCERS OF WEALTH

We are the chief producers of all wealth. Hindus only sit and eat. In other words, we are the producers and Hindus are the consumers or destroyers. Without our 'touch', nothing comes out of the land and water. But they call us 'Untouchables'.

We are the people who guard the whole "nation" as soldiers on the borders of the country being the original martial race of India. But the Hindus say we are to be protected and we too believe that our protection lies in their hands.

This is the pattern of Indian system under which we are enslaved. *Enslavement of Dalits means enslavement of the whole country. As long as we remain slaves, India will continue to be under the clutches of blood-sucking industrialists and multi-nationals.* Hence we must become economically independent to make the country self-reliant. Our economic self-determination means getting rid of local plunderers and international exploiters.

Conclusion: The caste system has not only stratified the entire social, economic structure but every walk of life. As brahminism descends down the caste hierarchy so are the power, knowledge, possession of assets and every privilege and prestige.

Dalit legislators: Just as the Dalits are kept out of all social and economic activities, they are also kept away from everything else. In education, we are the most illiterates. At best we can get some outdated education wherein we will be made to learn about others history and culture. In politics, we may have reservation, but these "reserved constituency" legislators are elected by others. Therefore, they will have to remain as faithful slaves of Hindus. They have no

courage to raise their voice against any injustice done to us.

The so-called "national unity and integrity" means accepting the supremacy of brahminism and retention of caste system. It may be advantageous to them but certainly not for us. It may be their interest to be our masters. But how can it be our interest to be their slaves?

We are disappointed: We believed all these days that our rulers and "progressive intellectuals" would support our liberation struggle. But we are disappointed. We believed that they would protect us and secure justice whenever caste atrocities occur. We are disappointed. *They not only strengthened the caste grips but also stepped up their caste wars against us. So, we are left with no other choice but to protect and secure our 'todays' and 'tomorrows' on our own.* No one else can determine and shape our life and future.

What self-determination means: Hence for us the right of self-determination means:-

1. We work not only to produce the wealth of the country but also to own and enjoy the wealth we produce.
2. We should get such an education which will teach us about our history and culture but also teach us self-reliance and self-respect.
3. We cannot be represented by others. We should have our own separate electorate to elect our effective representatives.
4. We should no more accept "social welfare schemes" but fight for our due share in proportionate to our population.
5. We are not Hindus, but Dalits who had a great history and a glorious cultural past.
6. We cannot expect somebody to protect us but we have to organise our own self-protection force.
7. We should stop believing the

cock and bull stories of Hindus that we are slaves. We should remember that we were once the rulers of this land who built the great, glorious ancient civilisation of Indus valley.

8. We believe that the real "national integration" is possible only through retaining and promoting our native, indigenous culture and history and assuring our share in everything.

9. Our liberation cannot be done by others — much less our oppressors. Our liberation is possible only through our struggle, our sacrifice. ■

(Paper submitted at the national seminar on "Dalit Self-determination", Bangalore, May 12, 1991). ■

National SC/ST Finance Corp. sacks Dalit officers

N.G. UKE, SOCIAL STUDY CIRCLE,
NEW DELHI

The National SC/ST Finance and Development Corporation (NSFDC) was established here in 1989 for the economic development of SC/STs in the country. Last year, after senior SC/ST officers joined it NSFDC achieved a great success. It sanctioned 100 projects last year alone valued at Rs.180 crores with NSFDC's aid of Rs. 100 crores. This was possible only because of these committed SC/ST senior officers. There was a senior Managing Director from ST and the board of directors were sympathetic to the cause of SC/ST.

However, things took a sudden and dramatic negative turn after Mrs. Vohra, IAS, joined the Ministry as Secretary, Welfare; B.R. Basu, IAS, joined the Corporation as CMD. Today, the work in the Corporation has come to a standstill.

Mrs. T.S. Kalanjali, Dy Manager (ST officer), Southern Zone Office, Bangalore, was terminated without notice. Shatrugan Lal, Dy. Manager (SC) Central, Lucknow, was threatened. Pazare, Dy. Manager (SC), Bombay, was transferred to Bangalore.

Manohar Prasad, a Senior General Manager (SC), and a former Private secretary to Ram Vilas Paswan as Welfare Minister, is being relieved before completing two more years of service. David Molly, Manager, Training (ST), has been ill-treated by the CMD.

If the present anti-Dalit CMD is allowed to continue, the Corporation would cease to be a SC/ST Corporation and would not be of help to SC/ST in any way. ■

Letters to Editor

Richard Essex, Unpopular Books, London: We have been engaged in producing some revolutionary literature. We would be interested in regular exchange of material with you. Would you be also interested?

P.D. Hunter, London: Your report, "Warmongers of India holding world peace meet, (DV Dec. 1, 91) did not come as a surprise to me. Today's Christian leaders of the west — haunted by an unfounded fear of Islam and Muslims, are joining hands with all sorts of dangerous forces. Western Christian missionaries have done such a thorough job of studying and leaving monumental works on the Indian Aryan/ brahminical Hindu system. The great French monk, Abbe J.A. Dubois, in his historic book, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 1906 (Asian Ed. Services reprint, C.2/15 SDA, PB No. 4534, Delhi -16), has pronounced his verdict with a foreword by Max Muller. Earlier (1883), Monier Williams had written his book, *Religious Thought and Life in India* (John Murray London). The three Christian International Religious Organisations hosting the peace conference in India should have consulted such authoritative documents before joining hands with India's brahminical forces who are oppressing its over 85% of the non-Aryan peoples. This is a very dangerous development.

Dr. Velu Annamalai, International Indian Dalit Support Group, 14902, James River Lane, Houston, TX-77084. (Phone 713/550-7580): Our efforts to mobilise more life-membership to *Dalit Voice* are continuing. Many friends have promised to pay their dues in instalments (life-membership is \$ 200) and some have already made partial payments. Those who became life-members are Dr. Pichumani, K. Ganesan, Dr. R.L. Kanthan, Dr. Prakash Dhamshala. Dr. T.S.S. Rajan, and K. Chellappa.

Dr. Rahul Dipankar, 357-Windemere Way, Bourbonnais, Ill, USA: I was shocked on hearing from Yogesh Varhade and Dr. Velu Annamalai that DV is on its death bed" because of financial problems. I was distressed to know that the only source of media that is capable of voicing the concerns of the oppressed classes in India could go under because of financial deficits. I pray that you are not forced to close down before you see my letter. I was introduced to DV very recently but what little I saw in your efforts was a good reminder of so many failed missions that were attempted by so many people in the past. I am tempted to say a lot of things about your publication but I will reserve my comments. To make it short, I hereby pledge the following: 1. Please accept my life-membership 2. Besides, I also pledge \$ 100 each year as long as DV continues. No matter what

happens in future, you deserve the salutes for what you have already achieved.

Dr. Ambedkar Centenary Celebrations Committee, UK, Milan House, No.8 Kingsland Rd., Shoreditch, London E2 8DA, UK: We propose to install a 12-feet high bronze statue of Babasaheb Ambedkar in the heart of London and a full size bust of Babasaheb at the UN bldg., New York. For this we need financial support.

Iqbal Ahmed, Riyadh: Local Arab leaders have to be educated about the plight and persecution of Muslims and Dalits in India. Some Indian Muslim "leaders" come here, give a rosy picture of the Muslims in India and go home with Saudi funds. The Saudi govt. is also entering into business deals with pro-Hindu Indian Govt. and Indian Hindu businessmen who make use of the Saudi aid to continue their anti-Muslim and anti-Dalit pursuits. DV should persuade the Saudi govt. not to enter into deals with either India's pro-Hindu govt. or its Hindu businessmen. You must also urge it not to recruit Hindus but prefer Dalits and Muslims.

We often receive such requests from conscious Indian Muslim brothers working in Muslim countries abroad. Our visits to some of these countries abroad have also convinced us the truth of their statement. Our reply to such requests will be spelt out in the coming issue —
EDITOR

V.T. Hirekar, London: DV's sad financial position gives me terrible shock. This is the only paper for us. Until now, no one has produced such a paper to raise the voice of the Dalits and other persecuted nationalities.

A.M. Khajawall, Kashmiri American Council USA: We are waiting still and expect India to keep its promises and pledges as given to the people of Kashmir, to the national community and the UN. We have struggled, suffered and sacrificed far too long.

Non-Resident Indian Form (UK), Post Box 42, Wellingborough NN8 3 HL, UK: We have sent a petition dt. Dec. 1 to the UN Secretary-General complaining about the human rights situation in India. We are a group of non-resident Indians (NRIs) belonging to all religions, racial backgrounds and cultural traditions, who are now living outside India. We are alarmed at the rapidly deteriorating state of law and order in many parts of India, notably in East Punjab, where over 5,000 people have been killed in political turmoil, and violence in this year alone. The number of such killings during the last 10 years runs into tens to thousands. Such largescale human carnage and blood letting of innocent citizens of India, which has been going on unabated for more than a decade, ought to be given urgent consideration at the UN. We urge the august world body to compel India to accept a team of UN observers in East Punjab (and Kashmir) and to carry out an immediate investigation with a view to recording the magnitude

of this human tragedy for posterity. We have also come to the conclusion that the source of all terrorism in India, in fact, lies in her thoroughly corrupted political establishment at the top which is deliberately "stage managing" all this brutality and savagery with a view to remaining in power for ever.

S.P. Singh, Danapur, Patna-800 012: Konda Lakshman Bapuji has formed a "SC/ST/BC & Minorities Sangham" in New Delhi. Address: WZ-48, Ramgarh colony, Kirtinagar, New Delhi-110 015. D. Prempati is in charge. Its first convention was held on Oct. 26/27 in Delhi. I belong to a Backward Caste in the Bihar State service. BCs are a divided lot everywhere. They don't know that caste is more important than class. My own eyes were opened after I read the *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* by Sir H.H. Risly. The book was reprinted (1981) by Firma KLM Ltd., Calcutta-700 012. European writers have written a number of books on castes and tribes. We must study all this to know our roots. Over 85% of the Indian population is still Dravidian. We have practically no knowledge of Indian history. India was never a single nation. Kings and princes had fought among themselves. What is called Aryan invasion was a mere infiltration. Inter-racial marriages took place. The Aryans established themselves through their sons-in-law. Dravidian kings always preferred fair-looking Aryan queens. The cunning Aryans adopted all Dravidian godheads - Shiva, Krishna for their livelihood. Unless we know how the caste system originated we cannot shake off this dirty tradition from our society. I am studying books on caste system in India. Dravidian Indian culture is long and large. Vedic culture is superimposition.

Sub-Maj. K.C. Bhagat, Sujampur, Punjab: I have been able to make ten new subscribers for DV within a week to save DV from dying." I also appeal to all DV readers to make 10-20 new subscribers for DV immediately and collect donations.

V.I. Ittycheria, SDO Telecom, Miriyalgude, AP-508 207: This is a warning to all brahminical fundamentalists. Are you really ready to challenge my intelligence? You can come in the way of my family life by posting my wife, also an employee of Telecom department, away from me. A brahminical fundamentalist officer in the AP Telecom dept. is after my flood.

Prabhakar Rao, Hyderabad: The current Nazi *yatra* from Kanyakumari to Kashmir is not against the govt. or P.V. Narasimha Rao, our PM. In fact, PVN is promoting the Hindu nazi interests better than the nazi party. Many do not know that PVN was the right-hand man of Swami Ramananda Tirth, the notorious Arya Samaj leader of Hyderabad, who was responsible for the many anti-Muslim and anti-Dalit violence in the erstwhile Nizam's Hyderabad. The BJP *yatra*, therefore, is to strengthen PVN who is a better nazi than the nazi party of Deoras.

Sardar Sujan Singh, Chandigarh: The threatened election in Punjab will be a farce. Punjab has come under the Army rule today. The jawans will be made to lock up all Sikhs inside their houses and the jawans will be made to cast votes dressed in civilian clothes. And the Congress (meaning the original brahminical party) will be made to win. And this is called democracy in India.

S.R. Talukdar, New Delhi: I am taking interest in politics/sociology since three years. I read all your books and also that of Babasaheb. First, I started with your books. You started as a marxist and carried it on for a long time. Later you realised that marxism is not the solution and you became an Ambedkarite. You are very right to say that only Ambedkarism can unite the Indians and convert them into a nation. You realised that reservation is nothing but human rights. But you are a supporter of V.P. Singh. This is a mistake.

Baldev Singh, Punjab & Sind Bank, Jandiala guru, Amritsar: It is very sad to know that DV is likely to close down because of the financial problem. But those inspired by your writings, Dalits and minorities, would not let that happen. As far as Sikhs are concerned perhaps they believe in "Action speaks louder than words". They do not subscribe to your thinking that "Pen is mightier than sword". There is another reason for Sikhs not going in for their own press. Late Kapur Singh, philosopher-politician of the Sikhs, would often say that the Sikh would not hesitate for a second to spend Rs.100 for whiskey and chicken but would not spend even a Re.1 to buy a newspaper and read. The majority of Sikhs still like to eat, drink and be merry. It is only few among the younger generation who are concerned about the future of their people and their faith.

Surendran, R.No. 10, ALM Hostel, Farook College; Calicut 673 632: Farook College, known as the "Aligarh of South India", has a big library with 54,789 books. But not a single book of our Saviour, Babasaheb Ambedkar, and of you. What a tragedy. Can it be called a library without Babasaheb books? I took this matter to the librarian who agreed to buy all Babasaheb books when funds are available

Yoginder Sikand, JNU, New Delhi: As regards the debate on the Jamat-e-Islami in DV, it is a very welcome measure. However, I feel you certainly have alienated a large number of Muslims with the pieces on "Mohammed was Black" and "Jamat says the Prophet was White". I feel that you should not have taken up this particular issue regarding the Prophet. On the other hand, it is perfectly alright to indulge in healthy criticism of the Jamat. But please do not bring the Prophet into the picture. We would be losing our sympathisers that way and our whole effort would prove counter-productive.

Sultan Akhtar, Khanpur-Deh - 393 150: Hats off for

countering the nazi propaganda against Amina marriage in such straight forwardness (Dec. 1, 91). No Muslim has so far given such a sound reply to those who hate everybody who is Muslim and everything Islamic, even merely in name. It is only this hatred for Islam and Muslims of the zionist-racist-nazi cult (surpassing even the white KKK of US) which is criticising the Hyderabad marriage. Otherwise, according to press reports, American girls have started preferring older and wiser men for a stable marriage.

Raju Thomas, Kaduthuruthy, Kottayam, Kerala: Kallara Sukumaran, the State president of the BSP, declared at Kottayam that the unity of the SC/ST/BCs with the MCS (Muslims/Christians/Sikhs) is a must and this unity can only break the back of the 15% Aryan Hindu nazis and smash the brahminical brain. Noted naxal leader A. Vasu, a BC Ezhava, openly accepted the leadership of Kallara Sukumaran. He is closer to Ambedkarism and asked the BCs to accept the SC leadership. The tortoise theory of Babasaheb is becoming popular among the BCs and SCs. Will the SNDP Yogam and its leaders listen to the historic advice of Babsaheb? The BCs all over India and even the MCS can simply trust the SC tortoise and jump on it and it will carry the BCs safely across the river. Moin Babu and Moideen Shaw, the State General Secretary of the BSP, and another Naxal leader, Philip M. Prasad, spoke in the seminar at Kottayam. Paul Chirakarode inaugurated the seminar.

Dr. Ibne Farid, Bait-us-Saleha, Zeena Inayat Khan, Rampur, U.P. 244 901: By going through the latest four issues of *Dalit Voice*, I apprehend that you, like Kanshi Ram, want to divide the Muslim community vertically which is practically not possible. If you remember, I had explained to you at our first meeting at the Institute of Objective Studies, New Delhi, that this community is always treated by all the other communities as one. For long, the Congress Party tried to widen the gulf between the Sunnis and Shias. The communal forces did this "constructive work" and thereby compelled them to remain united by becoming the equal sufferers. Now, the present politicians want to disintegrate the Muslim minority into different pseudo-caste groups and exploit it for their political ends. But every time the communal politicians are making them realise that they are nothing else than the Muslims. Benaras is the latest exposition of this identity. Further, Kanshi Ram experiment's failure is evident from the latest mid-term polls. By regular assaults, Muslims are getting more and more integrated and the artificial pseudo-caste system is fading away. Anyone who wants to treat this community against the normal process will face disappointments. DV is called "The voice of the persecuted nationalities denied human rights". If it applies to the Muslims, it will refer to the whole

community and not one or the other section of it.

Chief Editor, "Al-Irfad monthly", 18/76, Kallai Road, Calicut-673 002: Our magazine is 8 years old, readership over 50,000. We are ready to publish your articles on current topics and we can arrange for translating your works into Malayalam.

Nazir Ahmed, Editor, "Mizan", Calcutta: I have resigned from the editorship of the *Mizan* weekly. You may send the *Dalit Voice* : C/o. Roshni Tailors, Mahespur Market, PO Birshibpur, Dt. Howrah, WB - 700 315. A new socio-political party has been started under the 'Indian Unity Centre' to unite 85% population of India. A magazine, *Toofan*, has also been started.

P. Koya, Islamic Youth Centre, Bank Road, Calicut-673 001: I strongly feel that *Dalit Voice* should exist and will exist - for without which the Dalits and the downtrodden will be back to square one i.e. without the freedom today.

Abdul Ghafar Shah, Srinagar, Kashmir: Your paper is read all over the world and by eminent politicians and those upholding the cause of oppressed Dalits. Dalits of Jammu observe and enjoy Dasara which you have declared a Hindu festival. When would these people be educated and renounce Hindu religion for a religion of Dalits?

Ravi Menon, Calicut: The "Anti-Savarna Fascist Convention" at Trichur from Jan. 17 to 19 organised by the *savarnas* (Nairs) is a fraud on the people of Kerala. Highly communal, anti-Dalit and anti-Muslims of Kerala are associated with this conference which is held at the behest of Hindu nazis to boost the Congress Party which you have rightly branded as the original brahminical party of India. Not a single Dalit or BC was included in the organising committee. The main organisers are Pavanan and Sridharan Therambil, both Nairs and noted for their pro-nazi face. Pavanan, editor of the *Yukti Rekha*, a Malayalam "rationalist" monthly, refused to publish the review of your book, *Hinduism, Fascism and Gandhism*, a Malayalam translation of which you recently released here. In a letter to Gopinathan Meppayil, he said he would not agree with yours views. Such pro-fascists are the pillars of the Trichur conference. In an article in the *Mathrubhoomi*, Pavanan had defended Gandhi against Babasaheb Amedkar. (See also page 15).

Jagjit Singh Sidhwan, Chandigarh: I am sending my usual small contribution, (Rs.1000) for DV as I very much wish the DV to survive the financial crisis and continue to play the crucial role it is doing in the service of the Dalit cause.

Rahul Mane, Bombay: Bhaurao Deoras, a nazi leader, has asked the BJP to seek a coalition with the Congress. The statement shows that the RSS is losing its credibility. Any alliance of the BJP with the Congress is just highly impossible, because it will be a union of secularism with fascism. It will be the

dusk of democracy and the dawn of dictatorship. BJP is a party representing obscurantist forces.

We don't agree with Rahul Mane. The Congress is the mother of all Hindu nazi parties. So, if the daughter wants to join the mother, it is a natural home-coming. Such a unity of the daughter (RSS) with its mother (Congress) will put an end to all confusions by removing the mask of socialism and secularism worn by the Congress, the country's original brahminical party that is responsible for all the country's problems including its partition. Destruction of the Congress is more important than the nazi parties, which are the visible enemies while the Congress is the concealed enemy comprising the more dangerous "socialist brahmins" — EDITOR.

Prof. (Dr.) E.G. Lingam, JNT University, Hyderabad: As a management trainer, I talk on reservations too in recruitment and education. I use this opportunity as a part of subject matter. People are so deeply prejudiced, neither they wish to listen nor allow others to listen, even the mention of Dr. Ambedkar.

M.L. Rao, Agra, UP: We want to congratulate S. Swatantra Rao (IAS) for his film, *Balak Ambedkar*, which was telecast on Dec. 6 night. We had heard about him through DV. Please convey our best wishes to him.

P. Chandragesan, All-India Dalit Action Committee for Social Justice, No.6, 97th Street, Sector 15, KK Nagar, Madras-78: The Committee was inaugurated on Dec. 18 by Ram Vilas Paswan, MP. All unemployed Dalits may come on Jan. 24, 10 AM near Nehru Stadium (Ambedkar statue), Madras, to contribute a drop of blood as a symbolic gesture towards the cause of employment.

Judiciary also corrupt

New Delhi: K.N. Singh, who retired two days ago as chief justice of India, passed a series of orders, favouring the Jain Shudh Vanaspati group, in seven different cases in eight months.

In favour of those cases, K.N. Singh, as the senior judge of various benches, passed the final orders which benefited the group (of the beef tallow fame) to the tune of about Rs. 8 crores. (*Times of India*, Dec. 16).

Hindu Nazi wants India to join Jews in anti-Muslim drive

New Delhi: M.L. Sondhi, convener of the Sanskrit-Hebrew Society welcomed India's "positive role" in the revocation of the UN resolution on Zionism but pointed out that "a deeper understanding of the national concerns and objectives of India requires immediate establishment of Ambassador-level diplomatic relations with Israel".

The immediate task of bringing peace to West Asia requires an Indian participation and this cannot be achieved unless "we have full diplomatic relations with Israel". (*Statesman* Dec. 21).

DV message to "Anti-Savarna Fascism Convention" in Kerala

To Sridharan Therambil, General Convener, "Anti-Savarna Fascist Convention", P.O. Road, Trissur-1, Kerala.

1. Happy to receive your invitation to the Jan.17 to 19, 1992" Anti-Savarna Fascist Convention."

2. We are happy that the term "Savarna-Fascism" has become popular in Kerala. We learn that the term was coined by our esteemed comrades of the Students Islami Movement of India, Kerala branch, who were inspired by our work.

3. "Savarna Fascism" is the correct and the most appropriate name for the brahminical social order which today has taken the name of Hinduism.

4. In *Dalit Voice*, we, however, call them "Hindu Nazis" as it sums up the philosophy and action of these anti-nationals and we are happy to say that they have gladly accepted the name.

5. On behalf of the Dalit Sahitya Akademy and the *Dalit Voice*, we congratulate you for this bold step of fighting the Hindu nazis.

6. Since a convention should not be held for the sake of convention, and at has to fulfil certain basic objectives, we propose the following resolution:

"The Anti-Savarna Fascism Convention "held in Trichur from Jan. 17 to 19, 1992 calls upon the Kerala Scheduled Castes, Tribes and Backwards, who are the victims of *savarna* fascism and constituting 45% Kerala's population, that they are the original inhabitants of the state.

"They were once the rulers of Kerala and the invading Aryans usurped their land and positions and subjugated them.

"Hence the convention requests these three communities with a great historical past to declare themselves as *avarnas* (Dravidians and non-Hindus) and constitute themselves into a separate community outside the brahminical social order or Hinduism".

7. Only if this resolution is passed, your convention can be said to be genuinely Anti-Savarna Fascist Convention.

8. We are publishing this letter in DV for record – so that the people of Kerala will hail your convention as a turning point in history.

9. In case you fail to pass this resolution, we will take it that yours is a *savarna* (Hindu) — inspired Anti-Savarna fascist stunt.

Dec. 24, 1991

Sd/- V.T. Rajshekar

DV 10 YEARS AGO

Dec. 1-15 1981

"DALIT LIFE IS THE CHEAPEST IN INDIA"

The editorial deals with the cold-blooded murder of 24 Dalit (Jatav) men, women and children at Deoli, Mainpuri district of UP, on Nov. 18 1981 — the worst massacre of Dalits since the Dec. 1969 burning alive of 42 Dalits in Tamil Nadu's Kilvenmani village. But no Shankaracharya, Gandhian or a Hindu hero, who had poured out gallons and gallons of tears out of their eyes and had rushed to Meenakshipuram during the recent mass conversion of Dalits, was seen in Mainpuri. Not one "Hindu" hero expressed any sorrow. Because they were silently enjoying the massacre. They cried over Meenakshipuram because Untouchables going over to Islam weakened the foundation over which the Hindu pyramid was built.

The brahminical forces did not want the Untouchables to get converted to other religions because that would reduce the "Hindu majority" — claiming to be 85% of the Indian population — into less than a 15% minority. They oppose conversion and make the govt. ban conversions not because they love the Harijans. If they had any love for the Harijans, why they did not go during the mass murder of Harijans at Kilvenmani, Belchi, Kafatla, Pipra, asks the editorial.

Jagjivan Ram, who had loyally served Hindus for decades and allowed himself to be used by Hindus to malign Babasaheb, is an angry man these days. He spoke in Delhi on Oct. 29 (1981) and bitterly criticised Hinduism and criticised Hindu rulers for wasting money on Harijan welfare. "Untouchability will not go with their economic uplift", he said warning them that their problem was not poverty but social cultural and political.

An article by Prof. Kadiravelu of Madras University, "RSS recruiting Thevars in TN", says the TN RSS unit is headed by a Thevar. The Meenakshipuram mass conversions were due to the Thevar atrocities on Untouchables. Thevars are classified as a BC but this community of BC (classified as robbers by the British) is today acting as the loyal dogs of RSS.

Union Home Minister Makwana, who visited Meenakshipuram, defends the mass conversion of Untouchables at a speech in Calcutta.

Virubhai Bhairavia, who is now (1992) a judge in the Gujarat High Court, writes from Ahmedabad in the "Letters" column that DV and DSA literature are very inspiring.

M. Mazharuddin writes from Illinois, USA, that Dalits of Meenakshipuram did the right thing in embracing Islam and says that the Blacks in US are also going over to Islam after facing discrimination in the Christian church.

Moulana Mir Jaffar Ali, one of our esteemed friends who died about six years ago, writes on the BAMCEF Chandigarh convention (Oct. 14 to 18) which he attended. BAMCEF, formed in Delhi three years ago, is progressing well under the leadership of Kanshi Ram.

In Bangalore, the Karnataka Dalit Action Committee on Nov. 23 1981 organised a massive "High Court chalo" to protest against the anti-Dalit action of the communal-minded then Lingayat Chief Justice D.M. Chandra Shekar (who today after retirement is working with some Hindu nazi organisations). The Editor of DV was one among the 1,000 Dalits and Muslims who were arrested for the action.

Cavery "war" proves India is breaking

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Small minds writing in India's "national" toilet papers may describe it as Cavery river water "dispute" between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka that exploded into bloody violence between the two States. But the verdict of great minds, who will tomorrow write the history of India, is that what is going on now is a veritable war between two "nations", the homogeneous "nation of Tamils" and the loose knit "nation of Karnataka". The victims of this war and violence are all Dalits on both sides but the engineers of this violence are mostly *papans*.

Since India is not a "nation" but a group of nations within a single country, what we are now experiencing is the upsurge of the submerged nationalities. The Bangalore *papatti* ruling TN or the Backward Caste Bangarappa whom the brahminical forces hate, are not its cause. They are just helpless actors in the ongoing tragic trauma of the break-up of India under the stress and strain of its submerged nationalities trying to assert their human rights.

Bid to topple Bangarappa: The Cavery dispute came just handy for one nation to declare a war on the other. Soviet Union broke up and Yugoslavia is breaking fast and India too is showing signs of breaking.

That in this dispute the *Bangalore papatti* will win was never in doubt — because she is a Brahmin. And a Brahmin does no wrong. The Prime Minister may be in the Congress and the Karnataka CM, Bangarappa, may be also from the same party. So what? But the PM and the Bangalore *papatti* belong to the same tribe. That is enough.

Upper castes in Karnataka hate Bangarappa. The brahminical press is daily malinging him. They say he is corrupt but the same people have no complaint against the wily R.K. Hegde who was convicted for corruption by several judicial commissions. If you belong to the right *jati*, you can be corrupt. You can be anything.

Coming back to the "war" between TN and Karnataka, we welcome it despite knowing the fact that the thousands of victims in this war have been all Dalits on both sides. We are aware of it. This can't be avoided. It has to be like that only.

Such "wars" between nations will increase in days to come and it has to increase because the ruling Aryans find a united India against their interests.

A Hindu nazi leader is on an *Ekta Yatra* (to unite India) without knowing that his own *jatwalas* are breaking India and our people are victims of violence.

Jews join hands with "Jews of India"

A CORRESPONDENT

Hyderabad : Rahim Quraishi, general secretary of the All-India Tameer-e-Millat, Hyderabad, and also secretary of the Muslim Personal Law Board, Delhi, said here on Dec. 15 that the Brahmins can be rightly described as the "Jews of India" as they are a branch of the Jews.

Both believed in the "chosen people" concept, he said quoting several cases of similarity between the two peoples.

He was presiding over a talk by V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, at the Tameer-e-Millat.

Earlier, the Editor recalled how he stopped calling Brahmins the "Jews of India" about ten years ago on being pointed out by a noted French Jewish historian and a DV subscriber that the Jews were victimised by the German nazis after being inspired by the Indian brahminical/Aryan race theories. Leon Poliakov, the author of the famous book, *Aryan Myth*, had argued that *Brahmins were the inventors and originators of the race theory which was borrowed by German philosophers and this resulted in the mass murder of Jews by Germans. How could victims of nazism or racism could be called "Jews of India", Poliakov had then asked the Editor.*

Hitler borrowed Swastika from Vedas: In his book, *Who is the Mother of Hitler?* (Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1984, for long out of print), the Editor of DV had then apologised to Poliakov and also assured him that he would stop calling the Brahmins "Jews of India".

In this book, also translated to German and Japanese languages, the Editor said Hitler had borrowed his nazi symbol, *swastika*, from the

Vedik Brahmins and Max Mueller, a German, was inspired to translate the whole set of brahminical Sanskrit scriptures after being impressed with the Aryan race theory.

India's nazi party and Hitler's nazi party both had the *swastika* on their flags.

India is called the original home of racism and Aryans called the father of race theory, he said suggesting that his book, *Who is the Mother of Hitler?* needs a reprint in view of the fact that the Jews have now come to India and joined hands with the Aryans here.

Anti-Muslim hatred: The Jews and Indian Aryans have joined hands because both are haunted by the hatred against Muslims.

He also predicted that the New World Order, which failed in its first experiment with the Gulf War, has now taken India as its second experimental ground.

Earlier, the Editor of DV disclosed the "shocking news" that zionists, about whom the Muslims were so much worried, were coming to India in a big way. "The devils are coming to the very doorsteps of Muslims", he said. (DV Jan. 1, 92 p.19).

"So far you were being oppressed only by the Hindu communalists. But now the zionists are also coming. Last month, a top zionist leader came to Delhi and met the PM and paid high tributes to P.V. Narasimha Rao".

A big business delegation of Jews is also coming to India in March to establish several industries.

"That means henceforth you will be oppressed not only by Hindu nazis but also by zionists. Did you realise this danger?, he asked.

INDIA SURRENDERS TO US & ZIONISM

G.J. JANSEN

Nicosia: The US General Assembly vote to rescind its 1975 resolution that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination" has a singular importance. Not only because it is only the second time in its history that the Assembly has changed its mind — the last time was in 1950 — but also because the vote was, in reality, a display of the global strength of the sole super power, US, and revelatory of the attitude of the countries of the world towards that super power.

Therefore, it was a test of moral courage, a clash between power and principle, a test which India failed, most miserably.

The vote did not really concern itself with zionism as such, for there was no discussion, either in 1975 or 19⁹⁰, of the beliefs or programme of the Zionist movement.

If there had been, all that would have been necessary to prove, beyond doubt, that *zionism was a specifically Jewish, fascist, movement was a reference to the four volumes of the diaries of Theodor Herzl, the Viennese journalist and founder of the movement.*

Those diaries, a fascinating human document reveal that all Herzl wanted was a refuge, a funk hole for the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe, especially those of then Czarist Russia. And he was not particularly devoted to Palestine as the Jewish state. (Deccan Herald Dec. 25)

All-out brahminical bid to break Janata Dal

OUR CORRESPONDENT

BANGALORE: The Brahminical press is putting out false reports saying that the "Janata Dal is cracking". What it means is JD is getting refined, purified.

If the enemy praises our institution, it means it is a fraud. If the enemy attacks our institution it means it is pure. Indians (SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs) must learn how to read these brahminical toilet papers. *These papers praise our enemies and criticise our friends.*

JD is coming under increasing brahminical press attack because it is getting purified. The Hindu nazi party has entrusted the job to attack and break the JD to a notorious Nazi, Subramanian Swamy, who is also close to zionists.

In UP, the pro-brahminical wing of the JD lost its battle and purer people (meaning our people) have taken over. Shortly, Mulayam Singh Yadav will take over as the JD chief in UP. In Delhi too, the pro-brahminical group planted by the wily R.K. Hegde is being kicked out.

Tips to Kanshi Ram: The Jat leader Ajit Singh, a World Bank economist with no knowledge of Indian soil, betrayed his own great father and joined hands with brahminical forces – without knowing that his father and his non-Hindu Jat community were blood enemies of the brahminical forces. Ajit Singh has been cut to size. Either he has to surrender or join the enemy camp. Most probably, he will yield and shut up. Swamy is trying to take him to the Congress, the original brahminical party of India.

The other Jat leader, Devi Lal, also has started regretting for having joined the crooked Chandrashekar planted by the nazis. We advice him as well as the Jat farm leader, Tikayat, to join JD and strengthen the anti-nazi forces that are regrouping under V.P. Singh.

Biju & Hegde: Kanshi Ram has a chance if he joins hands with VP.

Meanwhile pro-nazi forces in JD like Biju Patnaik and the wily R.K. Hegde are trying to enter the Congress but Hegde is blocked by the backward caste Bangarappa and his people in Karnataka. That is why the brahminical forces with the support of Lingayats, Vokkaligas and other corrupt forces are trying to topple Bangarappa as CM of Karnataka using the Cavery water dispute.

Even the PM is said to be soft to Jayalalita because she belongs to his tribe though she is not in the Congress. When the *jati* comes there is no party, there is no country.

It is all-round confusion. The upper caste leaders appear to be going mad. ■

Biju's bid to put Orissa STs against SCs

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Biju Patnaik, the Kayasth CM of Orissa, is a well-known enemy of the SC/ST/BCs. Even being a Janata Dal leader, he continues to oppose V.P. Singh and the Mandal Commission.

Lately, he is trying to jump into Congress, the country's original brahminical party. But the problem is orissa's brahminical forces and particularly the other Patnaik, a former CM, and Nandini Satpati, a Brahmin, are blocking his entry.

Just to please P.V. Narasimha Rao, Biju has started oppressing the Dalits more and more. Passing of the Orissa Reservation and Vacancies and Services Bill in the Assembly on Dec. 19 is one such step.

The anti-Dalit Bill says that henceforth there cannot be any exchange of reserved seats between the two scheduled communities. Patnaik thereby succeeded in driving a wedge between the Scheduled Castes and Tribals.

Previously, in the absence of candidates of one community, the posts left vacant were offered to the other. Most of the reserved posts went to SCs as tribals are most backward.

Patnaik gave vent to his animosity towards SCs while intervening in the debate on the Bill. He said "tribals were being exploited by SCs and were cornering government posts reserved for tribals". ■

Voting on zionism destroys "Islamic unity"

Manama (Bahrain) The voting pattern in the UN General Assembly on Dec. 16 on the rescinding of the "Zionism equals racism" resolution has destroyed conclusively the myth of Islamic or Arab unity.

None of the Arab League members actually voted for the total and unconditional repeal of the 1975 determination that "Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." But then seven nations out of the 20 voting UN members from the Arab League (Palestine does not have a vote) voted with their feet in not opposing the revocation of the 1975 resolution.

The unity among the Arab nations was in any case a chimera. They were split right down the middle even on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. (*Hindu* Dec. 21) ■

AWARD FOR DV?

JARAYAM RAO, HYDERABAD

The Union Welfare Ministry is instituting a Dr. Ambedkar National Award for Rs. 10 lakhs to be given annually to a person or an institution for outstanding and constructive work for social understanding.

I request the *Dalit Voice* readers to recommend the name of our Editor for this award. They may write to Sitaram Kesari, Welfare Minister, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi - 110 001.

Welfare Ministry is not controlled by Kesari. The Govt. is controlled by the ruling class which will never, ever like our work. So, we have no hope of ever getting awards or rewards from this govt. They will be rather too pleased to punish us. And such punishments — which we had received in abundant measure already — have to be taken as awards and rewards — EDITOR. ■

DV proves right on Rajiv Murder

Madras: Shocking disclosures are soon likely to be made about the advance knowledge some politicians in Tamil Nadu had about the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister, according to Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, Janata Party "president". Talking to presspersons here on Dec. 23, he asserted that there were a number of people who knew about it in advance. Some had 24-hour advance information and a couple of politicians were aware of the conspiracy even two months ahead. (*Hindu*, Dec. 24).

What this Tamil Iyer has said now, we have said over six months back. Among the people who knew about the Rajiv murder, this Iyer might be one being a Union Minister then. Read our editorial, "Thoughts on Rajiv Murder" (DV June 16, 91).

We had even named the conspirators behind the murder. Rajiv's was a well-planned murder to avert the definite victory of the Janata Dal in the elections and to save the brahminical social order, and also put the Congress back in power. And it happened with the support of the CIA and Mossad. The goal having been achieved, the CBI is now entrusted with the job of eliminating all evidences in the name of hunting the Tamil Tigers.

Iyer's close connections with the zionists and their Mossad should be noted. But who murdered Rajiv will never be known — EDITOR. ■

MUHAMMED AND THE QURAN

Rafiq Zakaria

Reveals the depth and humanity of Islam, its Laws on theology, family and life.

1991 pp. 450 Rs. 85
Penguins

New human rights unit for Kerala

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Calicut: A new human rights organisation, *Manushyavakasa Samrakshana*, has been formed in Kerala and its first convention is proposed to be held here on March 6, 1992.

Dr. K.K. Rahulan of the SNDP Yogam, a noted Ezhava leader and a great advocate of Mandal Commission, was elected as its president. Dr. Punathul Kunj Abdulla, a noted Malayalam writer from Badagara, Athiram Prabhakaran, a noted journalist, and C.V. Antony, advocate, are vice-presidents. Convener is A.R. Panangad. V. Prabhakaran DV representative in Kerala, is one of the three joint conveners.

The new human rights organisation is formed by Kerala's SC/ST/BC and minorities who feel that the existing human rights and civil liberties organisations are pro-Hindu and not helpful to the non-Hindu original inhabitants of the state.

Its address is : I.Y.C. Buildings, 5/2525, Bank Road, Kozhikode, Kerala - 673 001. ■

All over India, such a feeling is developing after having been disgusted by the attitude of PUCI, PUDR and other Hindu human rights outfits — EDITOR. ■

Dalits massacred by Hindus

Patna: Ten people, all Dalit and backward caste people, were done to death in two villages of Gaya district on Dec. 23 night.

The massacre took place in Meen and Barsima villages under Belaganj and Tekari police stations.

Though the dead persons in Barsima village have not been identified as yet they were stated to belong to Kumhar, Manjhi and Ravidas castes.

It was all in probability in retaliation to the murder of three Bhumihars a week ago. (*Hindu* Dec. 25) ■

Jobless on the Increase

New Delhi: A two-Day workshop held under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation UN Development Programme has assessed that structural reforms initiated by the government will result in additional unemployment of four to eight million persons in 1992-93, and another four to ten million in 1993-94. The incidence of poverty during the process of structural adjustment will further increase. The increase in unemployment will be particularly felt in the informal sectors while in the organised industrial sector, there will be increasing casualisation of labour (*Times of India* Dec. 13). ■

Thackeray's fall is a warning to all shudra worms & slaves

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The poor shudra (meaning slave) Thackeray of the Shiva Sena has to himself blame if the Brahmins quickly removed the paper tiger's mask, and cut him to size. ("Shudra nazi chief gets a taste of Brahmin Anger", DV Dec. 1. 91, p.11).

Thackeray's father, Prabodhankar Thakre, was once running a paper exclusively to expose the Brahmins of Maharashtra. During those days he was considered a leader of the anti-Brahmin (pro-human) movement. Being a Kayasth, a despised shudra caste that had no status in the brahminical social order, he was inspired by Mahatma Phule, the country's only genuine Mahatma, and carried on a relentless anti-Brahmin struggle. And for this he was respected by the victims of brahminical oppression.

His son, a cartoonist in Bombay's *Free Press Journal*, was very much unlike his father. He was a crook and all crooks are in great demand by the BSO.

Udupi Hotels: After leaving journalism, he came into contact with some lumpun elements in Bombay city and to get quick name and fame he started a fake "anti-South Indian movement", meaning stoning and pestering the thousands of "Udupi Hotels" that dot the length and breadth of Bombay.

This writer was then (1960) a sub-editor in the *Indian Express*, Bombay, and Bombay city had then many Brahmin journalists who bitterly criticised Thackeray.

This Brahmin criticism in the press made him get the image of a rowdy and that was how he started his career. How to become popular in the press? How to get the praise of the Brahmin journalists? The only way is to work for the promotion of brahminism.

Anti-Muslim posture: He, therefore, took quick about-turn and turned against Muslims, Dalits, Sikhs and became a nazi leader. *Anybody in India criticising Muslims becomes an instant hero.* Such a posture brought praises galore from the Brahmin journalists. Along with the praise and popularity, he acquired fabulous wealth — perhaps running to several crores. When his petty peons could be *crorepatis*, what would be the boss worth?

The brahminical social order will never mind its slaves making any amount of money by any means. The word "corruption" is not in the dictionary of BSO. In fact brahminism is the other name for corruption. The other word which is also not part of its vocabulary is non-violence. In fact, brahminism means violence and ruthless violence, all-round violence.

The BSO will pamper a person even if he indulges in violence as well as corruption. BSO does not believe in either ethics or character. So, Thackeray took advantage of all the rules of the BSO game and

became the boss of Bombay. And became a menace.

Praise from the Press: The Marwadi, Sindhi, Gujarati Baniyas, Punjabis, who dominate the Bombay business, relegating the Maharashtrians to background, also blessed Thackeray. But more than money, what he wanted was praise from the Brahmin journalists of Bombay and this too he got in plenty.

It was this "Brahmin Press" that built him up thinking that he would be the obedient slave but he exceeded the brief.

Within a decade Thackeray became a top nazi leader — almost a mini-Hitler — an uncontrollable menace.

BSO would have tolerated any amount of his menace but Thackeray crime was he excelled the Brahmins.

Why a Chitpavan killed Gandhi?: And this roused the anger of the Brahmins in the nazi party which had its birth in Maharashtra. *The brahminical rule is you can do anything you like but you should not grow taller than them.* M.K. Gandhi was given this warning by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, as soon as he came to India from South Africa. But Gandhi did not listen. He took over the "national" leadership from the Brahmins who resented it and a sincere Chitpavan Brahmin went to Delhi and shot the mahatma dead. ("Chitpavans Praise Godse", DV. Jan. 1 92, p.18).

Thackeray was punished because he continued to flout the brahminical rule.

This is the secret behind the split in the Shiv Sena.

The brahminical toilet papers may give the credit of cutting Thackeray to size to Chief Minister Sudhakar Naik, a Banjara (tribal). But Thackeray knows and every thinking person knows that the Shudra Thackeray was cut to size by the Brahmins because he refused to behave like a shudra (slave).

It was the Brahmins who managed the split by encouraging the Backward Caste Bhujbal to break away from the RSS and it was they who asked the Congress to take Bhujbal and made him a Minister.

Plot to finish Sharad Pawar: It is also part of the larger nazi game of finishing Sharad Pawar who is proving a headache to P.V. Narasimha Rao in promoting the brahminical interests.

This, in short, is the story of the rise, fall and the death of the shudra Thackeray.

This is also a warning to all slaves and worms created by the BSO. Remain as slaves and worms. The slaves and worms will be allowed to eat as much as they want. They can indulge in anything: corruption, murder, sex and scandals. But they should not challenge the BSO.

Thackeray's fall is a warning to all shudras, slaves and worms. ■

Toddy-Tapper Communities form Southern Federation

R.K. BARATAN, PRESIDENT, TN-THIYYA ASSOCIATION (TEA), MADRAS.

Each community represented here chooses to maintain its identity – Illathu Pillaimars, the Billavas, the Idigas, the Ezhavas, the Thiyyas, the Nayaks.

We have, for example the SNDP, the Sree Narayana Mission etc. The overwhelming membership of these bodies come from all these communities and yet they want to maintain their identity.

However, we differ from them. All delegates here, came as members of a single community. Secondly, all of us acknowledge the towering inspiration of Sri Narayana Guru. For him language was no limitation.

Based on his scholarship of Malayalam and Sanskrit, he soon mastered Tamil. He travelled over Tamil Nadu, Dakshin Karnataka and Sri Lanka, and today we have the Billavas and Idigas naming their educational and socio-cultural institutions after the Guru.

So, our second bond is we all accept the spiritual leadership of the Guru.

Respect Ancestors: Our ancestors were not only toddy-tappers, but they were also the great scholars, the Ayurvedic physicians, eminent astrologers, noted exponents of martial arts like Kalari Payattu, weavers of the finest of cloth. But even with this flowering knowledge and culture, the bulk of our fellow members were severely deprived and relegated to the lowest strata of society - condemned with contempt as tappers.

When we conceived the Southern Federation we acknowledge (i) our sense of pride in owning up our community names, (ii) our allegiance to the guru and (iii) awareness, and a sense of pride in our ancestors, who were tappers.

4-crore population: Our combined population in South India is about 4 crores. Even then, we are so fragmented, splintered and our strength lost in petty local bickerings.

After the passing away of the Guru, Maha Kavi Kumaran Asan, T.K. Madhavan, C. Kunhiraman and Dr. Palpu, we threw up just one C. Keshavan, and years later one R. Shankar as leaders of national stature. Soon he too was relegated to the background, defeated and destroyed by our own community.

What is the reason for this? This is a task for historians and sociologists. I speak as a management specialist. I feel we must jointly bear the responsibility for this failure to throw up a leader who can speak for us.

Role of Kamaraj Nadar: Kamaraj Nadar was born in a poor family and had little schooling. But he was a man of the masses. The community nurtured him, stood by him. He became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu and later president of the Congress Party.

Today, the Nadars of TN are one of the most powerful communities of this state, with a firm grip in industry, commerce, education and in every aspect of its social life. And they are organised solidly as one distinct community in TN, supported by a number of powerful institutions.

We have R. Chittaranjan Das of the Illathu Pillaimars, Damodar Suvarna of the Billavas (Mangalore), Advocate

Guruve Gowda of the Idigas Bangalore (Chief Minister Bangarappa of Karnataka is an Idiga).

If R. Chittaranjan Das wants to start a medical college in Kanyakumari, we must all work with him to make

COMMUNICATION

Ezhava leaders say Ezhavas are not Hindus

V. PRABHAKARAN, KALLIKAD, PALGHAT,
KERALA - 678 015

I have found an old Malayalam book, published in early 1930's titled , *Thiyyarude Abhivridhi Margangal* (Steps to Liberate Thiyyas), written by a group of famous Thiyya (Ezhavas) leaders of Malabar, Kerala.

The writers include Arayam Parambil Govindan, Kotra Krishnan who were highly respected Thiyya leaders.

The thesis of the book is that the Thiyyas (Ezhavas) were never Hindus but Untouchables.

The book suggests steps to fight the brahminical social order of which the Thiyyas were one of the worst victims despite being the single largest community of Kerala. It advocates that since the Thiyyas are not Hindus they must establish and maintain their separate identity — religious, cultural, social and political. And this is what Sri Narayana Guru did.

Thiyyas were Buddhists: Another important disclosure made in the book is that Ezhavas were originally Buddhists and hence they must take over to Buddhism which is the only way to fight brahminism.

It is a small book of 65 pages and its reprint is very urgent. The book will be sold like hot cakes and will serve a very important purpose as the Ezhavas and Thiyyas have to be rescued from the clutches of both RSS and "marxists".

Will some Ezhava (Thiyya) community leader come forward to reprint the book?

his task a success. So also with every existing educational institution. ■

Keynote address delivered on March 25, 1990 at the Madras Southern Federation of the Backward Caste toddy-tapper community. ■

Govt. No to publish Dr. Ambedkar books

New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had declined to undertake the publication of commemorative volumes of the writings of Dr B.R. Ambedkar.

The Ministry of Welfare had offered to the I&B Ministry to get the commemorative volumes published in nine languages, including Hindi, Urdu and Tamil. The Welfare Ministry had also offered to provide funds for the project.

The Welfare Ministry wanted to get published 12 volumes each in the nine Indian languages, and the offer was to the Directorate of Publications, which is the Government outfit for publications. The project was estimated to cost Rs. 4 crore. (*Hindustan Times* Dec. 17). ■

Books on Sri Narayana Guru

1. SRI NARAYANA GURU

The greatest saint of Kerala who liberated and then revolutionised the Untouchable community of Ezhavas (Thiyyas) oppressed by the brahminical social order and constituted them into a separate community.

Murkot Kunnhappa

1988 pp. 75 Rs. 9

National Book Trust

A - 5 Green Park

New Delhi - 16

2. FIVE GEMS OF SRI NARAYANA GURU & OTHER POEMS

P. Damodaran Panicker

1989 pp. 70 Rs. 7

3. LIFE HISTORY OF SRI NARAYANA GURU AT A GLANCE

N. Ramachandra of Madras

1987 pp. 17 Rs. 5

No.9, Hunters Road, Vepery, Madras-7

"Modern Shankara" clips Ezhava leader's chance to become Kerala CM

V. PRABHAKARAN, CALICUT

Kerala's "Modern Shankara", who after finishing Mrs. K.R. Gowri has now dashed the hopes of another Ezhava leader, V.S. Achutanandan, to become the Chief Minister of Kerala. With this he has completed his life's only ambition to make marxism the monopoly of Aryan forces in Kerala before bowing out as the general secretary of the Communist Party Marxist (CPM), a bogus party headed by upper castes vowed to see that India does not go communist. Even before marxism died in Soviet Russia, the "Modern Shankara" had seen to it that marxism was swallowed by the brahminical forces in India.

The clash between the "Modern Shankara", leading the upper caste lobby in Kerala's "cross thread marxist party", and Achutanandan, the powerful general secretary of the Kerala CPM, began on the Mandal issue.

While the Black Brahmin "Modern Shankara" opposed the Mandal, it was Achutanandan who backed the Mandal. This was the beginning of the rift between the two and the cantankerous communist saw to it that Achutanandan was crushed to pieces. And he did it. In fact, in many respects the "Modern Shankara" excelled the Adi Shankara.

Though Achutanandan, a mass leader, had won in all district level party elections, the "Modern Shankara" sabotaged his re-election as general secretary of the State CPM by nominating all upper castes including his son to the state Committee. Even with all this Achutanandan was defeated by a narrow margin of five votes.

Buffoon made party chief: Communism/marxism

might have ruined the Russians but in India marxism brought lot of benefits to our brahminical forces.

In place of Achutanandan, the "Modern Shankara" brought the Super Nair, E.K. Nayanar, a former CPM Chief Minister of Kerala, who is considered virtually a buffoon even by his party cadres.

Muslims denied Medical Colleges: Achutanandan like all other Ezhava leader is today a frustrated man but he is helpless. Unfortunately, all the CPM cadres in Kerala are from the Ezhava community. *Narayana Guru liberated them but the "Modern Shankara" enslaved through marxism.*

Meanwhile, under the leadership of the "Modern Shankara" the CPM is proving to be a better Hindu nazi party by taking the initiative in opposing private medical colleges to be given to Muslims. It is the CPM that took the initiative in organising fake student agitation and the managing the violence before the AKG Centre, the party headquarters in Trivandrum.

Because of the CPM agitation, the wily Karunakaran, Chief Minister, quickly announced that no medical college would be given to the Muslims. He also wanted the same. In India, political differences are just a cloak to deceive the masses. All Nairs and Brahmins are one when it comes to their *jati*.

Karunakaran, a Nair, and the "Modern Shankara," a Brahmin, both had a common cause, to suppress the Muslims and Dalits they and did it.

On the whole, Kerala is getting brahminised in a very big way and the "Modern Shankara's" role in this is the biggest, Karunakaran coming second. ■

Sikh traitor as CPM Chief ?

New Delhi: CPI(M) leadership has to decide on a new general secretary in view of the "failing health" of E.M.S. Namboodiripad who has served four terms in the post.

The next choice is Harkishen Singh Surjeet, a Sikh who takes a pleasure in opposing all Sikh demands to please the Aryans, stands the best chance. ■

No Buddhist University

Pune: The Centre is not in favour of establishing a Buddhist University and an international research centre in the name of Dr B.R. Ambedkar in the Ajanta area in Marathwada region, education minister. Anantrao Thopte said in the legislative council on Dec. 19 (*Times of India* Dec. 20). ■

Ruling class deceives Dalits

New Delhi: The centenary celebrations of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, begun with a flourish by the Janata Dal govt. in April 1990 is being extended by a year and will extend to April 1993 because none of the grand schemes for upliftment of the SC/ST has taken off. The Congress Government feels it needs another year to truly honour the Father of our Constitution. (The Rs. 130-crore budget earmarked by the V.P. Singh govt. which the present Planning Commission has slashed to Rs.10 crore. (*Indian Express* Dec. 23). ■

Remembering the Great Son of India
(Glimpses of Dr. Ambedkar)

Editor : Bhoopati Tirupati and Naladi Ratna Raju
Articles by eminent Ambedkarites in Telugu and English, excerpts from Dr. Ambedkar Writings.

1991 pp. 110 Rs. 15

Babasaheb Ambedkar Memorial Society
32, Ambedkar Nagar, Kulasumpura,
Hyderabad 500 267

A brief detail of the
BAMCEF

Backward and Minority Community Employees
Federation

Founder-President : Kanshi Ram
1991 pp.25 Rs.5

Editor: Kolluri Chiranjivi
No. 609 C Wing, Vijaya Hills, Lakdi ka Pool,
Hyderabad 500 004

West grooms more stooges to deceive Muslims

MUHAMMAD YUSUF IN MADRID

The United States called it the 'Middle East peace conference'. In reality it was a dialogue of 'Christian' and "secular" Arabs with Israel that took place in Madrid last October.

The man who led the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, Jordan's foreign minister Kamel Abu-Jaber, is a Christian. The spokesperson for the Palestinian team, Hanan Ashrawi, is a Christian. The press spokesperson for the Palestinians in Madrid was also a Christian. The man who led the Palestinian delegation, Haider Abdul Shafi, is a known leftist; some say that he is a communist.

The fate of the Muslim nation of Palestine was left in the hands of Christian Arabs and some secularists. (*Crescent International* Dec. 16 1991) ■

Meanwhile, the Americans have managed to get a willing Arab stooge as the new UN Secretary-General. Ghali, the Egyptian Minister is not a Muslim but a Christian with a Jewish wife. ■

Important Urdu booklets

1. AMEENA CASE : WARNING TO MUSLIM LEADERSHIP

V.T. Rajshekar

Reprint of the *Dalit Voice* Editorial of Dec. 16, 1991. Hailed by thinking sections of Muslims and Dalits as one of the most powerful piece of writings so far written on the Hindu Nazi bid to destroy the Muslim identity.

1991 pp. 20 Re. 1

2. RIDDLE OF RAMA AND KRISHNA

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

Second Reprint 1991 pp. 29 Rs. 3

3. GULF WAR

Reprint of DV editorial on the 1991 Gulf war
1991 pp. 20 Re. 1

4. RAM, RAMAYAN AND BABAR

P.S. Sridhara Murthy, Advocate

1991 pp. 40 Rs. 5

Published by the Muslim Law Protection
Committee, Bangalore
(For copies write to *Dalit Voice* office)

INDIA'S BANDIT QUEEN

The true story of
Phoolan Devi
Mala Sen

The life and exploits of a
living legend

1991 pp. 255 Rs. 95
Indus. — Ansari Road,
New Delhi 110 002

**URDU LANGUAGE AND
LITERATURE**

(Critical perspectives)
Prof. Gopichand Narang
Prof. of Urdu at Delhi University
Urdu has been one of the most
popular vehicles of our national
freedom struggle. The studies range
from ghazal, sufism,
Ghalib etc.

1991 pp. 244 Rs. 250
Sterling Publishers,
L/10 Green Park Extension
New Delhi - 16

**DEMOCRACY AND
DISCONTENT**

(India's growing crisis of
government)
India is becoming ungovernable,
society is getting violent. There
are doubts if India can be stable
and civilised.

Prof. Atul Kohli
Princeton University, Woodrow
Wilson School and International
Affairs
1991 pp. 420 Rs. 495
Cambridge University Press

GLORIES OF BLACK AFRICA

A British sociologist traces
the glories of African
civilisation which the
Whites stole

A GOLDEN BOUGH

(A Study in Magic and
Religion)

Sir James George Frazer of
Cambridge University
Explains the remarkable rule
which regulated the
succession of the priesthood
of Diana in Africa and
priestly kings of Africa. The
custom points to an early
influence of Africa on Italy or
even the existence of
African population in
Southern Europe.

1991 — abridged edition
pp. 756 price not mentioned
MacMillan Press Ltd., London

**BUDDHIST SUTRA OF LOTUS
FLOWER**

Its Essence and Reinterpretation
one of the noblest texts of
Buddhism

Surendra Prakash
1991 pp. 90 Rs. 30
ISPCK & CISRS
Kashmere Gate
Delhi - 6

Gandhi — Saint or Sinner?

Fazlul Hug
Barrister, London

1992 — pp. 112 Rs. 50
Dalit Sahitya Akademy
109/7th Cross, Palace
Orchards
Bangalore - 560 003.

**COMMUNAL RIOTS IN
POST-INDEPENDENT
INDIA II edition**

Articles by :
**Dr. A.R. Desai,
Moin Shakir,
Imtiaz Ahmed,
Ghansham Shah,
Syed Shahabuddin**

1991 pp. 366 Rs. 180
Sangam books
3-6-272 Himayat nagar
Hyderabad

Telugu booklet
**Dalitulu-Asamanatalu-
Atmavimarsa-Ikyata**
(A guide to every Dalit)
pp. 40 Rs. 3

This is a reprint and all copies
sold out. A second reprint will
be out in early 1992.

A Dalit Sahitya Akademy
(Telugu unit publication)

Dalit Sahitya Akademy
29-14/72, Prakasham Road
Vijayawada 520 002.

Phone: 366 771

EDITOR : V.T. RAJSHEKAR

PUBLISHED FROM:
109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,
Bangalore - 560 003 - India

Annual Subscription: Rs.90
Payable in MO or DD to: "Dalit Voice".
Foreign Airmail: US 40\$ dollars

When corresponding, please quote your label number

To

.....
EC 43 (ends on 1.1.92)
Librarian
Indian Social Institute
No. 24, Benson Road
Bangalore - 560 046

