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**Siddharth leaving his home:  
Thus spake Ambedkar**

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

### Leaving his home

1. Siddharth thought of taking Parivraja at the hands of Bharadwaja who had his Ashram at Kapilavastu. Accordingly he rose the next day and started for the Ashram on his favorite horse Kanthaka with his servant Channa walking along. 2. As he came near the Ashram, men and women came out and thronged the gates to meet him as a newly arrived bridegroom. 3. And when they came up to him, their eyes wide open in wonder, they performed their due homage with hands folded like a lotus calyx. 4. Then they stood surrounding him, their minds overpowered by passion, as if they were drinking him in their own eyes motionless and blossoming wide with love. 5. Some of the women verily thought that he was Kama incarnate, decorated as he was with his brilliant signs as with connate ornaments. 6. Others thought from his gentleness and his majesty that it was the moon with its ambrosial beams as it were visibly come down to the earth. 7. Others, smitten by his beauty, yawned as if to swallow him, and fixing their eyes on each other, softly sighed. 8. Thus the women only looked upon him, simply gazing with their eyes. They spoke not, nor did they smile. They surrounded him and stood aghast thinking of his decision to take Parivraja. 9. With great difficulty he extricated himself from the crowd and entered the gates of the Ashram. 10. Siddharth did not like Suddhodana and Prajapati Gautami to be present to witness his Parivraja. For he knew that they would break down under the weight of grief. But they had already reached the Ashram without letting him know. 11. As he entered the compound of the Ashram he saw in the crowd his father and mother. 12. Seeing his parents he first went to them and asked for their blessing. They were choked with emotion that they could hardly say a word. They wept and wept, held him fast and bathed him with their tears. 13. Channa had tied Kanthaka to a tree in the Ashram and was standing. Seeing Suddhodana and Prajapati in tears he too was overcome with emotion and was weeping. 14. Separating himself with great difficulty from his parents, Siddharth went to the place where Channa was standing. He gave him his dress and ornaments to take back home. 15. He then had his head shaved, as was required for a Parivrajaka. His cousin Mahanama had brought the clothes appropriate for a Parivrajaka and a begging bowl. Siddharth wore them. 16. Having thus prepared himself to enter the life of a Parivrajaka, Siddharth approached Bharadwaja to confer on him Parivraja. 17. Bharadwaja with the help of his disciples performed the necessary ceremonies and declared Siddharth Gautama to have become a Parivrajaka. 18. Remembering that he had given a double pledge to the Sakya Sangh to take Parivraja and to leave the Sakya kingdom without undue delay, Siddharth Gautama immediately on the completion of the Parivraja ceremony started on his journey. 19. The crowd which had collected in the Ashram was unusually large. That was because the circumstances leading to Gautama's Parivraja were so extra-ordinary. As the prince stepped out of the Ashram the crowd also followed him. 20. He left Kapilavastu and proceeded in the direction of the river Anoma. Looking back he saw the crowd still following him. 21. He stopped and addressed them saying: "Brothers and sisters, there is no use your following me. I have failed to settle the dispute between the Sakyas and the Koliyas. But if you create public opinion in favor of settlement you might succeed. be, therefore, so good as to return." Hearing his appeal, the crowd started going back. 22. Suddhodana and Gautami also returned to the palace. 23. Gautami was unable to bear the sight of the robes and the ornaments discarded by Siddharth. She had them thrown into a lotus pool. 24. Siddharth Gautama was only twenty-nine when he underwent Parivraja (Renunciation). 25. People admired him and sighed for him, saying: "Here was a Sakya blessed with high lineage, noble parentage, possessed of considerable riches, in the bloom of youthful vigor, accomplished in mind and body, brought up in luxury, who fought his kinsmen for the sake of maintaining peace on earth and goodwill towards men. 26. "Here was a Sakya youth who when outvoted by his kinsmen refused to submit but preferred to undergo voluntary punishment which involved the exchange of riches for poverty, comfort for alms, home for homelessness. And so he goes with none in the world to care for him and with nothing in the world which he could claim as his own. 27. "His was an act of supreme sacrifice willingly made. His is a brave and a courageous act. There is no parallel to it in the history of the world. he deserves to be called a Sakya Muni or Sakya Sinha." 28. How true were the words of Kisa Gotami, a Sakya maiden. When referring to Siddharth Gautama she said: "Blessed indeed is the mother, blessed indeed is the father, who has such a son. Blessed indeed is his wife who has such a husband."

*(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume XI, Rs.70 1992, Govt., of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.*

## DV proves right on Harshad Mehta : A well-rehearsed brahmin-bania drama to dupe the masses

With absolute monopoly over media, the ruling upper castes are continuously fooling us and ruling us. Two latest instances are to be added to the mountain of evidences we have already given: "International crook" Harshad Mehta, the Gujarati bania's Rs.1-crore bribe to neogi brahmin and Satya Sai Baba Ashram murders are suffice to prove that Aryan rulers are ruling us only through the media power.

The sole secret of their unbroken rule is their mind control through the media. But, alas, even the thinking people among the 85% of the ruled and fooled are not realising the need for our own media to counter this monopoly media. This is another story which we are tired of repeating.

Did the Gujarati bania pay the Rs.1-crore bribe to the neogi brahmin or not? Did the four RSS Hindu nazi functionaries (all upper castes) try to kill the Telugu Backward Caste godman or he only killed the nazis? The brahminical "national" toilet papers have suppressed the truth.

**Slaves enjoying slavery:** Why this monopoly press has suppressed the truth? Because the upper caste thieves who collectively and unitedly loot us - the Scheduled Castes/ Tribes/ Backward Castes and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs have absolute monopoly over the media which can suppress any truth and turn their crimes into a thrilling sport to entertain the slaves enjoying their slavery.

Who killed Indira Gandhi? Who gave the Bofors bribe to whom and where it went? Who killed Rajiv Gandhi? Who demolished the Babri Masjid? Truth is so systematically suppressed in every one of this case. Because this brahminical press, so efficient and ruthless in "investigative journalism" when it comes to the question of a Backward Caste Supreme Court judge Ramaswamy, a BC jungle-jungly Veerappan or a Muslim politician Antulay, is totally silent where the ruling Aryans are involved. Why the latest two crimes are not subjected to "investigative journalism" by their ace experts like Arun Shouri, N.Rama? Because

they are "our *jatwalas*". Because the brahminical press is guided by the laws of Manu who dictates that truth should never be revealed. It should be allowed to be gradually forgotten and erased from the minds of the masses.

So, you can take it from us that in the latest two tragic stories, the bania bribe and Satya Sai Baba sadism that are hogging the headlines, we will never know the truth through the "national" toilet papers that control our minds.

**Robbers quarrel:** We too should not break our heads on the bania bribe because these are mere upper caste tricks to entertain and hoodwink us. To us, it is nothing but a quarrel between the two sections of the thieves to share the loot. Whom did the thieves unitedly waylay and rob? We the oppressed SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Sikhs/Christians - the over 85% of the Dravidian indigenous producers of wealth who are the victims of their highway robbery. The total robbery, according to the latest JPC report, amounts to Rs. 13,00,000 crores. (*Hindu* June 23).

Who are the thieves? The upper caste rulers.

After robbing us, the thieves give an ideological color to their quarrel, perhaps stage-managed, over sharing the loot. The neogi brahmin and his original brahminical party - the Congress - collectively accuse the Hindu nazi party (BJP) while the latter sing the chorus of Congress as the corrupt. In robbing us of our human rights and in kicking, killing, burning, raping and destroying our little property both the thieves are united and single-minded.

**Fake fight:** They have absolutely no differences over running their road-roller on us. The quarrel is only on sharing the loot. The neogi brahmin is a better nazi than all the founding fathers of the Hindu nazi party put together. In sucking the blood of the indigenous Dravidians, these Aryan thieves not only act unitedly but with extreme efficiency and speed.

They fall out only in sharing the loot and even here much of their fight is fake, stage-managed.

The current controversy over the Bania bribe is perhaps a well-rehearsed hilarious *natak* to divert the attention of the slaves - particularly from the burning issue of Babri Masjid which the two thieves collectively demolished, seven months back.

**Parasites:** The latest drama is enacted to divert the attention from two burning issues, Babri Masjid and Mandal Commission report, and entertain us and then lull us to sleep - at least for a couple of months.

We must also note that every problem that the country is facing today (or yesterday) is manufactured by the parasitical upper castes and then imposed on us, the real producers of wealth, as a "national" problem.

The Harshad Mehta bribe has two parties. The bribe-giver is the bania described as an "international crook and a master racketeer". And the bribe taker is the country's PM. Both are *dwijas*. There is nothing to choose between the two and in fact one depends on the other. The bania money and the vaidik brain together exploit us.

It is the vaidiks who discovered the bania, M.K. Gandhi, conferred the title of mahatma, used him to partition the country, revive the dying Hinduism, build up the Congress, the original brahminical party, and after exploiting him to the fullest extent finally killed him. (*Why Godse killed Gandhi?* DSA) It was a brahman-bania conspiracy then. And it is a brahman-bania conspiracy now. Actors only have changed. The theme remains the same. And in the game, we unnecessarily get excited, take sides, break our own heads and get duped.

**Hindu belief system:** Hindus believe what they want to believe (*Know the Hindu Mind* DSA). According to this wonderful belief system, upper castes particularly the vaidiks can never be corrupt. Nay, they commit no offence. Their lawyer, Manu, says even if a vaidik commits a murder, it is no murder. Has anything happened to Krishnamurthy, the former chief of the Maruti Udyog? Or the Fairgrowth fellows or the ex-Reserve Bank Governor Venkataraman Iyer? Or the Satya Sai Baba? The entire brahminical social order subscribes to this wonderful value system even to this day just as the world steps into the 21st century.

**DV proves right:** So, if we go by this Manu-made belief system the neogi brahmin is not corrupt because he is a pure vaidik and a vaidik shall do

no wrong. A survey "conducted" by the *Times of India* and front-paged in this country's largest-circulated marwadi daily held the neogi brahmin innocent. The "international crook" is the darling of the upper castes even after his share market manipulations upset the country's economy itself. He is invited to the Rotary Club, Lions Club, Donkeys Club and Pigs Club. And convent girls in mini-skirts Q up for his autograph. Every upper caste man today wants to become another Harshad Mehta. That is his popularity. And that is why we had confidently predicted that nothing would happen to this Gujarati bania and we have proved right. (DV July 1 1992 p.18: "*Harshad Mehta Darling of the Ruling Class*").

**Bofors forgotten:** The very same brahminical toilet papers went wild over the Bofors bribe for two years or more but not even a mouse came out of this mountain of shit they produced. To this day nobody knows who paid the Bofors bribe and to whom though great "investigative journalists" like Chitra Subramaniam wrote millions of words on that and got many awards and rewards. The whole thing is coolly forgotten today because those involved are all those belonging to that charmed circle of BSO.

Brahminism or the brahminical social order is the other word for corruption. The more corrupt you are dearer and closer you become to the BSO. BSO is a stinking pond of corruption. The word corruption is not at all found in its dictionary. (DV Aug.1 1992 p.6: "*Harshad Mehta proves how corrupt are upper castes*").

**Sword of corruption:** However, the BSO will unleash the sword of corruption to fight and finish you if you go against the BSO. Brother Veeramani, chief of the powerful Dravida Kazhagam of Tamil Nadu, said the very same thing when he wrote on Justice Ramaswamy (DV July 1 p.9).

Justice Ramaswamy is corrupt, Bangarappa is corrupt, poor Veerappan, a Backward Vanniar, is a smuggler, Sant Bhindranwale is a terrorist but the Satya Sai Baba is not a criminal though six people were killed in his bedroom. Neogi brahmin is not corrupt. Rama Krishna Hegde is not corrupt. Bangalore *papatti* is not corrupt.

So, if we the original inhabitants go on wasting our time on this Aryan grand game of corruption it is we who will become fools and not the neogi brahmin or the Gujarati bania. India is ruled by frauds, swindlers, international crooks, crimi-

nals, cheats master racketeers. They want to rule us by tricks, strategies and tactics with the sole weapon of their monopoly media. We can't finish them unless we have our own counter-media. But, alas, we victims of this BSO are not able to understand the truth. (DV edit Nov. 1 92: "Warning to Muslims on Media").

**Darling of dwijas:** Be that as it may, we can take it for granted that the upper castes/Aryans/Hindus will never let down the neogi brahmin, the darling of the dwijas. Because never before they had such an ideal leader who did in two years what nobody else could do in 45 years.

His greatest achievement was that the Babri Masjid, which the nazi party was only threatening to destroy but failed to execute its threat, was demolished during his two-year term. Sikh backbone was broken and the upper caste rule was re-established over Punjab. Kashmir where very other PM failed, the neogi brahmin succeeded in clamping the Army rule. He managed to manipulate a Supreme Court ruling to eliminate the "creamy layer" from the Backward Castes and extend the same to Dalits and thereby tried to destroy the Dalit and BC movement. He allowed international crooks like Harshad Mehta, his own creation, to manipulate market which helped these upper castes to make enormous money in shares.

**Zionist link:** He established diplomatic ties with Zionists and invited a top zionist leader to visit India - a thing which no PM had the courage to do. Hindu nazi parties grew up in leaps and bounds. The Bangalore *papatti* was allowed to grow despite her state terrorism. In the name of privatisation America was virtually asked to take over the country's management. Zionists were asked to take over defence and internal security.

And that is why the king-maker Shankarachari of Kanchi Kamakoti has blessed and defended the neogi brahmin. That means there is none to challenge him. He is supreme. Which PM has achieved all these things within two years? In fact his life's ambition is to hand over the country to the nazis.

So, with all these multifarious achievements to his credit upper castes/Aryans are the happiest under his rule. Do you think they will frown at the Gujarati bania's bribe charge?

So this Rs. 1-crore bribe is all a drama to entertain us, fool us and then lull us to sleep.

Beware the master crook and the master manipulator are staging a well-rehearsed play with Hindu nazi parties as the director.

**Internal sabotage:** The Joint Parliamentary Commission's draft report published on June 22 has named all the corrupt crooks, frauds, cheats, thugs and robbers ruling India who siphoned off about Rs. 13,00,000 crores blessed by Finance Minister M. M. Singh himself.

That means DV proves right in saying that the top is wholesale corrupt, rotten, stinking and every one involved in this "scam" is either a vaidik or a member of the BSO.

The thieves kitchen is presided over by a head cook, also a pure vaidik blessed by all the Shankaracharis.

Never before the country has suffered such an all-round internal sabotage - highway robbery by its rulers. Therefore, in the interest of the country's health and happiness, unity and integrity, we must bid good-bye to this neogi brahmin. ■

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## Brahmin leader curses Hinduism

**Calcutta:** "I regret to say," wrote Raja Rammohun Roy to his friend John Digby in England in an 1823 letter, that "the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes introducing innumerable divisions and subdivisions among them has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling... It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort".

Rammohun Roy was among the first Indians to raise his voice against casteism and the appalling nature of orthodox Hinduism. He wrote to the governor general in 1823: "**The Sanskrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in the darkness...**"

In the name of scriptures Hindu children were thrown in the Ganga Sagar, humans were sacrificed and polygamy was practiced. Obscurantism was pervasive, making action beneficial to society impossible. Events today would have struck a familiar chord with Rammohun Roy. Recently some sants demanded the scrapping of the Indian Constitution because they claimed it was anti-Hindu. (*Telegraph* May 13 '93). ■

## OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Truth never comes out in India. And this oft-repeated statement of ours needs no better proof when India's "national" toilet papers - boasting of their tremendous capacity for "investigative journalism" - suppressed truth about the ghastly murders that took place on June 6 night in the bedroom of Satya Sai Baba, India's richest godman.

Even the "truth" revealed by the BBC was not reproduced by any newspaper in India because it is so inconvenient to the upper caste rulers and particularly the neogi brahmin whose office is said to have given a direction to all editors to keep off Sai Baba.

**DV duty:** This is what journalists covering the Sai Baba affair here tell us. And that should once for all convince us that in India there is nothing like "freedom of the press". Every journalist who had been to Puttaparti knows the truth but he/she is under orders not to write. Hence it becomes our duty to reveal the truth.

What is the truth? According to the BBC visiting correspondent, Jaswinder Singh's on-the-spot reporting from Puttaparti the four alleged assailants were not killed by the police, but by the Baba's own people. The BBC had quoted the mother of one of the dead "assassins" now living in the Puttaparti ashram itself. She was quoted saying that her son was for long fearing murder and he was finally killed.

That is why the cock and bull story of the police barging into Baba's room and "killing them in an encounter for self-defence" was manufactured after 24 hours of the actual murder, the reporters said. The "Hindustan Times" Bangalore correspondent Avinash Singh and the BBC man interviewed the mother together.

**Downfall begins:** But like all other top secrets hushed up, the Baba Blacksheep's murder story will remain a mystery. Because India's Home Minister S.B. Chavan is a

**bhakta** of this fraudman.

Instead of the Bhagavan protecting us the police are today protecting the Bhagavan. A Hindu believes what he wants to believe.

Though the murdered people include top Hindu nazi party functionaries and they are influential gowda saraswat brahmins from Mangalore, and that the Sai Baba is a Backward Caste (Raju community) fellow, truth is being suppressed at the behest of country's top notch frauds who are devotees of the Baba Blacksheep.

But this much can be said that the Baba's ashram has accumulated enormous wealth and to share this loot a power struggle is going on. The June 6 murders are a part of this. DV thus once again proved right on this godman. Be that as it may, the miracle man's downfall has begun. If one Baba goes, the brahminical force are capable of manufacturing 100 more godmen and fraudmen. ■

## Tamil poet under TADA

**Madras:** The People's Union for Civil Liberties has charged the Tamil Nadu government with widespread use of TADA, Unlawful Activities Act and other "black laws". In a memorandum sent to Chief Minister the PUCL said TADA and other "excessively repressive political acts" were being used to deal with political opposition in the state. The signatories included former Supreme Court judge V.R. Krishna Iyer, and the former Bombay High Court judge V.M. Tarkunde. The very fact that there were more than 60,000 TADA Act arrests in the country showed that the Act was being used very liberally and not just in special cases. Referring to a specific case, it was noted that Perunchitranaar, a noted Tamil poet, had been detained under the TADA act since February just for airing certain opinions. "He illustrates the worst possible use of the TADA Act. There are no criminal charges against him." (Times of India June 12)

## Brahmin officials blocking BC reservations

**Bombay:** A charge has been made by a senior Maharashtra minister, Chagan Bhujbal, that the bureaucracy is obstructing moves to better the lot of downtrodden, including the BCs.

Bhujbal, a backward leader from the Shiv Sena who says he switched to the Congress (I) because the Sena "did not want to support the Mandal Commission recommendations," has publicly criticised the civil servants for being the stumbling block in "my efforts to do what best I can for the OBCs."

The hurdle is from "those who constitute the two to five percent of the population which rules regardless of who is in power" (Hindu June 10)

# "Creamy layer" theory destroys reservation system

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I read the article, "*Judicial Conspiracy to wreck SC/ST/BC Progress*", by Ram Khobragade (June 1 1993 issue of *Dalit Voice*) with considerable interest and alarm. I belong to one of the Scheduled Caste communities from Bihar. I agree with Khobragade that the Nov 16 1992, judgment of the highest Court of our country is going to have grave consequences on Indian society and politics. As stated in the article, among other things, it went on to rule that (i) total reservation cannot exceed 50%; (ii) no reservation in promotions; (iii) advanced backwards to be excluded; and (iv) that the so-called "creamy layer" of the Backward Caste must be made ineligible for job quotas.

All of these are very devastating for the future of SC/ST/BC progress.

I am very surprised that Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), and Backward Caste (BC) leaders did not denounce the judgment, and no agitation has been launched against the same.

In this letter I would like to ponder upon the creamy layer theory a little bit more and then go on to examine the need for strengthening and further expanding the "quota system." Quota system should be looked upon as a right to achieve proportional representation for a more democratic society, with a greater sense of social, economic, and political justice, rather than merely as a form of compensation for the wrongs done to us and to our ancestors.

**The Supreme Court judgment is a conspiracy to nullify the quota system altogether:**

I fully agree with Khobragade's statement'... "the most adverse part of the judgment is the concept of "creamy layer",... The judgment the Supreme Court excluded the so-called "creamy layer" of only the Backward Castes from reservation as a trial balloon, *But make no mistake, once fully accepted, the same creamy layer theory will be applied to SC as well as to ST.* We all must be ware of the divide and conquer tactics in such a move. There is absolutely no justification in applying the creamy layer theory to BC, and not to SC and ST. The judgment was totally political.

They did not want to start a political turmoil by applying the same to all three groups. They figured that the BC would be happy to take just what it gets, without much opposition, which is what happened. Once the dust has settled and judgment has been well accepted, demand for extending the said theory to SC/ST will come in and the Bench will coolly grant its application, citing precedence in the case of BC. The creamy layer theory will thwart the economically better off SC/ST/BC, and the rest can be stopped by artificial barriers of the arbitrary 60% or 80% marks requirements for any qualifying examinations. Thus the whole reservation system will be totally derailed, much to the delight of the upper caste minorities.

*It is not that the proponents of those favoring to take up the creamy layer out of reservation have been moved to their current thinking out of their compassion towards the real poor among the SC, ST and BC. What*

*has really moved them is the knowledge that once the creamy layer is made ineligible for reservations, the non-creamy layer won't be able to cross the artificial barriers of arbitrary minimum requirements erected to block them from capturing any sizable chunk of their quota of jobs.*

**proportional quota:** Actually speaking, there are elements of truth and justice in the creamy layer theory. But the Supreme Court Bench was not really interested in properly taking care of justice because that would have led them to areas they did not like to venture in. The truth is that in all likelihood the creamy layer of about 5-10% of all castes capture about 80% of the jobs in the hands of their respective castes, including the SC/ST/BC. That would leave only about 20% of jobs held by each caste in the hands of non-creamy part of that caste. This does not seem right. If the court (or the government) had ruled that the creamy layer constituting of, say, 5% of BC should be allocated only 5% of the total number of jobs allocated to the BC people, the rest of 90% of their quota of jobs should go to the 95% of non-creamy part of BC, with no artificial barriers of minimum qualification requirements to bar allocation of the full quota to BC's then I would have nothing against the ruling. But of course the court did not want such a thing because such a ruling would justify the concept of proportional representation at all levels.

It would justify arguments that the upper caste people who constitute only 15% of the society should be

occupying only 15% of the civil service jobs, and among them, the creamy layer of 5% should have only 5% of their share of 15%, i.e., only 0.75% of the total number of jobs with the remaining 14.25% of their share going to non-creamy "upper" caste!!

**Upper caste judiciary:** Logic of proportional representation would have required them to throw away arbitrary 50% ceiling on reservations, and would have required a ruling that 85% of the jobs should go to SC/ST/BC and Muslims and other "non-upper" caste groups. But of course, the Bench, which, I am sure, was constituted of mostly "upper" caste members would never have stomach to stomach such a logic. They were simply interested in making the creamy layer of BC ineligible for reservation, not caring whether any fraction of them would be able to secure jobs via "the irrelevant competitions" (irrelevance elaborated later on), and not caring if most of the non-creamy BC's do get blocked out by the artificial minimum qualification requirements. They did not care to pay attention as to why these quota systems were formulated in the first place.

**The quota system was instituted to share power with the downtrodden, knowing that they would not be able to compete against the privileged "upper" caste people in the so called merit tests.** Did they examine the repercussions of their ruling? Did they make sure to include provisions so that even after denying reservation for the creamy layer of BC, the BC people do get their awarded share of 27% of jobs? I bet the Bench did not care. I think these aspects of the case should be brought to light, and discussed, in public and in the parliament, and effort should be made to rectify them as soon as possible.

**Fear of Dalits:** Of course, the proponents of the creamy layer theory

would argue that if an SC candidate does not declare his or her caste, he or she is basically competing for the non-quota part of jobs, so the SC candidates may end up capturing more than their proportion of population. Well, I think we should say that we are not interested in ever capturing more than our due (proportional) share of jobs or college or electoral seats. There should be an altogether different category of casteless people in census as well as in job considerations. Proportion of seats reserved for the casteless people should be the same as that in the census. One might argue that such a system appears to perpetuate the caste system. I believe the answer is that one has to recognize class and caste distinctions for the purpose of eliminating caste and class distinctions. Hopefully, there will come a time when people of all castes are at about the same level, statistically, and mention or omission of caste would not make any difference in their chance of obtaining the same. However, until that time comes, one needs to make sure that all segments of the society are equal participants in the power structure of the society.

B. Justifications for quota system

**(i) The so called "merit: has no relevance to the real job requirements:**

A debate on quota system cannot be complete without considering the so called "merit" considerations. Current system of determining merit, have no relevance to the candidates' suitability for most positions of power. *What these positions do need are honesty, a sense of social economic, political and moral justice, a feeling empathy towards all, particularly to the deprived ones, how a person treats others, including their subordinates.*

However, I do not know of any tests that can measure the above men-

tioned qualities of a person. Most of the regurgitative tests appear to be no more relevant to actual job requirements than, say, piano playing is for persons who want to make a football team. As long as a person has a reasonable capacity to read and write, he or she is quite capable of being a better administrator than someone with a Ph.D in physics or chemistry or philosophy or English or for that matter a Ph.D. in administration. Because I have pointed out above, it is the underlined qualities that are pertinent for a good administrator which can neither be tested nor be taught in a school setting. One might say, well we have some how chosen a few from the whole lot, so we need to make them compete in some thing. Why not make them compete in 100 meter dash or swim or dance or paint. The truth is that after an initial screening off of persons who can't read with reasonable comprehension and write sufficiently understandable sentences, it is really hard to predict as to who would make a better administrator among the qualifying candidates with reasonable reading and writing ability. So from among the "qualified candidates" in the above sense ( with reasonable reading and writing capacity) a selection has to be made. I would say that this selection should be done by a draw of a lottery modified so as to produce a result that is in consonance with the democratic and federalist principles of "proportional representation."

**Competition based on irrelevant qualification or competence is denial of due process.** If the appointment were for a research position then the requirement of a Ph.D. degree, or even a regurgitive test in the appropriate field makes sense; but not for an administrative position. However, even in the case of a research position a concern to involve all segments of the society should perhaps play an over-riding

role. Social equity where all communities feel equal participants is taking care of the social needs provides a healthier atmosphere for the growth of all individuals, with none feeling oppressed or exploited. People would not feel equal participants unless they are represented in proportion to their population at all socio-political strata of the society, in all walks of life. Since most of the tests themselves are totally irrelevant from the point of view of suitability for the jobs for which they are given, the arbitrary minimum requirements, often arbitrarily required by the Indian officials, are even more unjust.

**(ii) "Quota" system justified as an extension of the concept of "federalism":**

There are other compelling reasons for the system of "proportional representation" which is what "quota" system is. Suppose people of a region, for the sake of argument, say Biharis, are considerably less developed than Bengalies. Would you allow Bengalies to come over and grab all positions of power if they are more competitive in the tests given for civil administration? No, Bihar will be governed by Biharis, even if the Bengalies score higher marks than Biharis. A country is generally a federation of its parts, with each federal unit sharing the wealth and power of the country on some kind of equitable basis. This concept of federalism needs to be further extended to cover different segments of the society - segments, that are actually apart from each other, socially, educationally, economically, culturally, just about in every way, than people belonging to different regions. It is more imperative to have a federation of different castes and classes than a federation of different regions. Just as lack of equitable sharing of wealth and power would lead to conflicts among different regions and eventual disintegration of a country, if the

power and wealth is not equitably shared by different segments of society, the deprived ones are eventually bound to rebel causing a lot of hardship to a lot of people. On the other hand, an equitable sharing of wealth and power would lead to a faster improvement in the quality of life of all. But alas, the privileged class never sees it that way, even if they are minority. They find it advantageous to create other differences on the basis of other spurious considerations like religious and linguistic differences and foment tensions based on these differences. This causes people to get all wrapped up in the conflict due to trivial differences and forget about the real exploitation at the hands of the privileged class.

**Hindu nazi aims:** That's precisely what BJP is trying to do. It recognized that people of SC., ST., B.C. were coming together, forming a majority of the oppressed classes, and it could wait no longer. They figured that they had to pull them together with the upper castes under the umbrella of Hinduism by inciting them against Muslims, and in the process forget about their own exploitations at least for the time being. Basically all Indian political parties are controlled by upper caste men, and they all decided to sit and watch while BJP was tearing down the Babri Masjid. I am glad to note a bill banning religious from politics is being considered in Delhi. However, it is high time the 85% of the Indian population that is not upper caste Hindu recognize these facts and soon come up with some kind of coalition to disempower the current political structures in Delhi.

**iii. "Quota," or "proportional representation" in all power structures is a democratic right, not just a compensation for the wrongs done to us or to our forefathers:**

Many people might argue in favor of

quota system as compensation for the deprived for the wrongs done to them and to their forefathers. However, what is the right amount of compensation, in what form should this compensation be made, and how long should the compensation be disbursed, etc., are difficult questions. The ones who have to "give" feel like donors and the "receivers" of the compensation are made to feel like beggars. Also, when it comes to charity giving, people are more used to doling out negligible part of their wealth on voluntary basis, not on mandatory basis. Even though there are ample individual and group awards of compensation for wrongs done to them by the society, some how people don't seem to reconcile on the idea of giving jobs as a way of compensation. I see no reason for continuing with this weak idea of compensation when we have much stronger reasons for a "quota system" based on the democratic ideals of proportional representation in the disbursement of power, and in the ideas of federalism. Instead of meekly seeking jobs as compensation, we should be demanding "our quota of jobs" as a democratic and federalist right, unencumbered with the irrelevant so-called "merit" considerations.

**iv. "Proportional distribution, "of power is the only fair way to distribute power in the society:**

I believe, the only fair way to distribute power is to distribute it evenly, i.e., by proportional representation. Power distribution (via hiring and promotions) must be made to correct socio-economic imbalances in the power structure and in accord with socio-economic-political justice. Power need not be handed to people as laurels for having excelled in various tests, particularly if the tests are irrelevant to the actual performance on the job. Even when more relevant tests have been devised, excellence in those tests maybe a criteria

for awarding trophies or bonuses, but not for disturbing equity in power distribution based on Proportional Representation in bureaucracies.

### **C. Proportional representation in electoral bodies:**

As for proportional representation in electoral bodies, the current system of randomly allocating certain districts to be represented by a SC or ST or B.C. candidate does not serve the purpose. None of these minority communities really get represented. The current electoral system has to be replaced by one of the proportional representation systems discussed in various books on political science. Ones that stand out are the systems of cumulative voting and limited voting. In cumulative voting system, in an electoral body of, say, 10 representatives, each of the voters are given ten votes to cast, which they may cast for one or distribute the same among more than one. Such a system would ensure that even a 10% minority has a fair chance of electing a representation (10%) of its own (if all of its members cast all ten of their votes for one candidate belonging to that minority). In fact, experience in such a voting system, court enforced in many local elections in the Southern parts of the U.S.A. has worked very well. In the limited system the electorate is gives smaller number of votes than the total number of representatives to be elected. There is no reason why we, in India cannot adopt the cumulative or limited voting system, or a variation of the same.

### **D. Democratization of Mass Media:**

However, none of these systems are going to work until the media is also democratized. "Pen is mightier than a Throne." I don't know if I have quoted the phrase in the right form or not, but certainly its substance is more true today than ever before. Unless mass media are democra-

tized, democracy will be illusive. Without the democratization of the media, people will continue to be dis-informed and mis-educated and transformed into highly trained idiots, bigots, and fanatics. With faith in supremacy of rational view points over irrational ones, it would not be unreasonable to assume that exposure to various points of views will result in prevalence of the rational views over irrational ones, most of the time, just as we have faith that on the whole democratic ways of doing things are the better ways. All of the mass media, TV, radio, news papers, magazines, etc., must be required to allocate 50% of their space or time for expression of diverse view points, as public service.

One might say that freedom to print anything one likes is good enough. But that's not true. People in general do not have time, energy, or motivation to seek out and look at diverse points of view. It has to be the government's (which is supposed to be of the People, by the People, for the People) responsibility to facilitate dissemination of diverse view points for a better educated and informed citizenry, which is so essential for a healthy democracy. In India the State controls radio and TV, so it generally represents the view point of the government, which currently is controlled by the interests of the rich and powerful. Newspapers and periodicals are all privately owned, mostly by big business houses, thus reflecting big business view-points. Interests and view-points of the rest of the populace are hardly audible. This imbalance must be corrected. Otherwise, one sided view points from segments in control of most resources leads to plutocracy, which is what we have today, not a democracy. Importance of democratization to the mass media can never be over-emphasized. Mass media is the most important pillar of any society. Without its de-

mocratization, democracy is a sham.

Autonomous bodies may be formed to oversee allocation of 50% time or space of all mass media instruments to various segments of the society. For example, certain percentages may be allocated to the representatives of various communities like representatives of different religions, of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Castes, etc. Problems may occur in deciding as to who really represents various religious communities, or various other "minority" communities. Unless the electoral system is rectified to accommodate a system of proportional representation, the elected minority candidates, in reality, have to be beholden to the significant portion of "non-minority" voters, as discussed above in greater detail. In the USA all of mass media, including radio and TV are privately owned. So enforcement of proportional representation among so disparate sources would be more difficult than in India. In the USA precedence already exists for requiring TV stations to air programs in the public interest. All broadcasters are required, by law, to devote a certain number of hours towards educational programs for children. The fact that the US TV networks waste that amount of time in useless cartoon animations is another matter. But if they can be required to cater for educational needs of children, they and all other mass media can certainly be commissioned to allow dissemination of diverse view points in the interest of properly informing and educating the adult population, as a public service, and as a national service, and for a better world.

**Wanted new party:** In closing, I hope this article would lead to adding some additional fuel to the debate stirred up many vested interests trying to do away with the reservation "quotas" for SC/ST/BCs, starting with the removal of creamy layer of BC

from reservation considerations.

**It is high time we launched a new Party of the Oppressed People of India (POPI) composed of all oppressed people of India - SC/ST/BC., Muslims, women and poor from all other castes. Such a constituency will cover well over 90% of the population.**

Platform of the POPI should demand and promise representations in bureaucracies as well as in electoral bodies in proportion to their population. They should declare that when the POPI came to power, they will bring about proportional representation at all levels of the government and any big corporations that did business with the government. Such a proportional representation will ensure that 50% of all jobs are held by women. Then each half of the pie will be further halved between people coming from families with income higher and lower than median income of the group.

For example if median income of women happens to be say, Rs.500, then 50% of their share of jobs will go to women coming from families whose median per capita income is less than Rs.500, and the other 50% of their share (i.e., 25% of all jobs) would go to women from families earning more than Rs.500 (the median income of women). Likewise for men. Each of these quarters would further be apportioned among people of different religious persuasions, and different castes, etc., All of the above mentioned constituents would stand to gain from a such a platform. It is only on the basis of appeal to all oppressed and exploited elements of the society that we can make a winning coalition.

Appeal for the upliftment of all oppressed sections of the society is not only a winning formula but it is a very just and moral and secular formula, worth really fighting for. ■

## TRIBUTES TO GEN K. M. CARIAPPA

### English alone can safeguard India's unity & integrity

A.M. DHARMALINGAM, 5-WHEELER RD., BANGALORE - 560 005

In the death of Field Marshal K.M. Cariappa India has lost a great protagonist of the English language which is to be retained as the principal link language of India and one among the national languages of India. He has aired his views from many platforms and had stuck to his view to his last days.

A small booklet on the "Language Problem of India" was printed and issued in 1957 making out a strong case for retaining English as the principal language of India and for safeguarding the unity and integrity of India. General Cariappa wrote in the above booklet as follows:

**"For some inexplicable reason some people started a sudden hate for English language in India soon after we got our independence. Why I do not know. The gaining of our independence to rid the country of foreign rule did not mean that the language which our past rulers spoke and which we have been learning for decades should go too. At international conferences where India is being represented more and more everyday, where our delegates have been doing great work, most of the democratic countries represented speak in English. The knowledge of English is a great asset to our delegates at these conferences. India is rapidly extending her world trade - particularly with all the commonwealth countries and America, where English is spoken. Indian business representatives, therefore, who visit foreign countries in ever increasing numbers would find the knowledge of English language indispensable. If we neglect the continued study of English we will find it hard to keep up our rightful place in the commercial, intellectual, cultural, international and economic**

**worlds of today. In the circumstances we must continue to keep the English language in India as an obligatory language. We cannot have a false sense of nationalism to make us bury this great language which we have been learning for more than two centuries".**

**Tamil Nadu lead:** In 1978, when the thrust for Hindi became stronger, some intellectuals in Bangalore got together to form a movement to press for the retention of English as the official language of India and also to make English one of the national languages of India. A committee called the "National Committee for English" was formed. When approached, General Cariappa readily agreed to be the Patron of the Movement. He continued his support for English enthusiastically from many platforms. Under these circumstances, the best tribute that can be paid to the memory of Field Marshal Cariappa would be to continue the struggle and urge for the retention of English as a national language and as a link language.

Tamil Nadu has expressed its opposition to Hindi. A few states in the North-East have made English the official language of their States. Pandit Nehru had declared that even if one State were to oppose Hindi, English must be continued. In order to preserve the unity and integrity of India, it is necessary that English is continued as hitherto as the language of all Secretariats, the High Courts and the Universities. ■

## Letters to Editor

**Dr. Y.N. Kly**, Hemline University School of Law, 1536-Hewitt Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota USA: 55104: Do African Americans have the right to self-determination under international human rights law? Is there a continuing pattern of gross human rights violations suffered by African-Americans in the US that may be in violation of international law as defined by the United Nations? Historically the rights of African-Americans in the US have been discussed almost entirely in terms of US constitutional law rather than international law. However, important recent developments and perspectives raise new questions. In Sept 1992 the United States ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights developed under the auspices of the United Nations. This covenant protects the right to self-determination, the right to no-discrimination, the right to remedy, and the rights of minorities. Yet in the same month Human Rights Monitor, a Swiss-based publication of the International Service for Human Rights, revealed that the US was among three nations in 1992 that narrowly escaped condemnation by the UN Human Rights Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities for a pattern of gross human rights violations. This petition regarding the US was submitted by the International Human Rights Association of American Minorities (IHRAAM) to United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali on April 30, 1992. The petition was based on the continuing pattern of gross human rights violations suffered by African-Americans in the United States as typified by the case of Los Angeles motorist, Rodney King. What is the context for such a petition? What is the legal vocabulary for a discussion of these issues? IHRAAM and the Hamline University School of Law explored the critical issue of self-determination for African-Americans today under International Human rights Law.

**Roderick J. Lewis**, 55, Willowood Street, Dorchester, MA 02124, US: I read a very interesting article entitled "The Black Untouchables of India: Reclaiming Our Cultural Heritage" by you. This article was published in an American periodical called African Presence In Early Asia. Africans in India, and Asia in general, is a fascinating subject and I would be happy to purchase additional materials you may recommend that would throw additional light on this subject. I would like to know, for instance, where did the Aryans come from.

Debate in this area still rages. Who were (and are) the Dravidians? These are some of the questions that puzzle Africans in the West and any light you can help to throw on these matters would be appreciated.

**Dr. Satinath Choudhary**, Computer Science Dept., William Paterson College, Wayne, New Jersey 07470 USA: I am a new subscriber for *Dalit Voice*. I must applaud you for the tremendous job you are doing as a great service to humanity via your *Dalit Voice*. I find it very engrossing, I wish I could read each and every word of it.

**Gopal Ch. Biswas**, West Kotalia, P.C. New Barrackpur Dist. 24 Parganas (N), West Bengal - 743 276: As I look at the people of India, my logical conclusion is India has become a land of believers and followers. From the scandalous events of Dec. 6 1992 one would often have heard from various Hindu nazis that faith and belief is a prefixed divine dispensation in the lifeblood of Hindus. This faith and belief are beyond the preview of law and the constitution of India. Here is an example of such an unbridled madness exposed in connection with death of one godfather of West Bengal with a nickname 'Balak Brahmachari'. This godfather died on April 4 last but his dead body has not yet been cremated. His disciples assert and declare that their father did not die, but is meditating only in a sleeping state which they term in Bengali as 'Nirbikalpa Samadhi'! Have you ever seen any such naked mockery anywhere in the world at the present time is believed to come any other religion where a deadbody coming back to life again? Even a fool practicing any other religion than Hinduism will not commit such devilish fallacy. His deadbody has been kept in a room flooded with icebergs fitted with aircoolers and the disciples and others can see the deadbody from places outside the room. What will happen to this rotten body is not known to us. The govt is keeping mum! All other religions of the world have their God and faith in their God, but the way I see the diabolic vandalism of the Hindus having crippled the rational instinct of human brain and mind has no parallel world over. Hindus with their pet faith and belief can bring the sky down to this earth. This pious faith and belief of the Hindus can make any amount of damage to the image, life and property etc. of the country.

**Nagareeka**, Bangalore:

### REVOLUTION VS COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Dravidian rule was a revolution;  
Aryan intrusion was a counter-revolution.  
Buddhism was a revolution;  
Brahminism was a counter-revolution.  
Dhammapada was a revolution;

Bhagavad Geeta was a counter-revolution.  
 Periyar-Jinnah-Babasaheb-Lohia were revolutionaries;  
 Gandhi-Tilak-Nehru-Hedgewar were counter-revolutionaries.  
 Struggle for Dravidanadu was revolution;  
 Partition of India was a counter-revolution.  
 Separate Electorate for Dalits was revolution;  
 Joint Electorate is counter-revolution.  
 Dalit movement is a revolution;  
 Hindu unity is counter-revolution.  
 'Mandal' is revolution;  
 'Mandir' is counter-revolution.  
 And  
 'Ramraj' is counter-revolution;  
 Bheemraj is emerging revolution.

#### WHO'S NEXT?

Yesterday, the Aryans attacked Sikhs and ...  
 Today, they attacked Muslims.  
 We remained quite.  
 Because, they told us all,  
 'You are neither Muslims nor Sikhs, but Hindus'.  
 And we believed it.  
 Tomorrow they turn to Christians  
 Still we keep quite.  
 Because, we are not Christians, but Hindus!  
 Who's next?  
 They captured Bodhgaya and  
 Turned to Dalits, the Untouchables.  
 Still, the rest of us remain silent.  
 Because, Dalits are not Hindus.  
 Finally, they turn to Backward Castes.  
 But there will be none to speak for Backward Castes!  
 And they say "You, bloody Shudras, are also not Hindus,  
 Only we, the twice-born Holy brahmins are Hindus,  
 The rulers of Hindustan!?"

**Panduranga Rao**, Bangalore: At the recently held international conference on the future prospects of Marxism in Calcutta, organized by the CPI(M), two of the Left Front allies, the RSP and Forward Bloc, were not invited by the CPI(M) on the ground that they are not truly "Marxists". A report in the *Economic and Political Weekly* (May 8, 1993) says that the Forward Bloc gen. secy. Chitta Basu remarked that the only invitation he had received from CPI(M) quarters was from Somanath Chatterjee, MP, in connection with his two grandsons' "thread ceremony". Somanath Chatterjee, a Bengal Brahmin, happens to be the leader of the CPI(M) in the Lok Sabha. Apparently, his "Marxism" in no way stops him from publicly flaunting

his divine Brahmin status.

**R. Elumalai**, General Secretary, PMK Madras TN: Hindus are driven out of the Hindu temple Tamil Nadu papans have shown the way. The political gimmicks apart, the social scenario of Tamil Nadu has taken a serious turn when a Leftist group called Makkal Kalai Ilakiya Kasaagam had launched a struggle to enter the sanctum sanatorium of the Iyengar temple at Trichy on May 1st 93. The group members had tirelessly campaigned throughout the State through wall posters, wall writings and publicity material for quite some time. But when they gathered at Trichy on May 1 they had been promptly rounded up by the police and put behind bars. Thousands of youth, women, and children were denied even a bail on medical grounds. The group has hardly any non-Hindus. Why the poojaris beat up the worshipers and how the government agencies denied rights of Hindu worship through Hindu Gods? This once again exposes the truth the multicore Gods are the creations of the *papans* and hence this attempt has also proved that so far no one in Tamil Nadu has collectively organized a struggle of this nature. All the rationalists and tall heroes confine themselves to tall talks and big claims. They have been cautious not to hurt the feelings of the Bhoodevatas and therefore this is a beginning after several generations against the monopoly of the *papans*.

**Pramod Meshram**, Indore: Madhya Pradesh is in a grip of the BJP/Congress combine. But from April the situation is some what changed due to involvement of the Bahujan samaj Party Chief, Kanshiram. He addressed a number of meetings and a massive gathering at Bhopal on April 14.

**Jamal Mustafa**, Mass Analyses News and Views, Hoda House, South Gandhi Maidan, Patna-800 001: I am a regular reader of *Dalit Voice* and a great admirer of V.T. Rajashekar because of his wonderful task done for the cause of Muslims and Dalits which none of us have done so far, which deserves the greatest applause, genuine commendations and truest recommendation for the "Prestigious King Faisal Award for 1994 on Mr. V.T. Rajashekar for his outstanding services to Muslims. This very idea has been mooted by Sultan Kalimullah, Hyderabad (DV May 1 93) which I and my group of young journalists and intellectuals support most heartily and very truly. ■

#### Yellow journalist joins BJP

**Bangalore:** The country's "leading yellow journalist" and editor of *Blitz*, R.K.Karanjia, on June 18 joined the BJP. The Parsee (Aryan) turncoat was given a bouquet here by the party president, L.K.Advani. ■

## Beware of 3 internal enemies who killed Muslim militancy: Medieval Maulvis, Marxists & secularists

QURBAN ALI ZAMEENZAD, NEW DELHI

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was of the view that while the Muslims are militant the "Hindus" are cowards. After all, Islam is perhaps the only religion that ordains militant self-defence and calls for war against all forms of oppression. Babasaheb's analysis may have been perfectly true at the time when he was writing, but, tragically, in a mere 50 years since then, the opposite holds true - Muslims have now retreated into passive submission, while the "Hindus" tacitly supported by the State, have assumed the role of nazi aggressors.

**Dalit war:** The humbling of the Muslims in a span of a mere half century is one of the biggest puzzles of history. It took centuries before the conquering Aryan barbarians could enslave the original Dravidian inhabitants of this land and turn them into Untouchables. And despite being enslaved the Untouchables have never reconciled themselves to their animal-like existence and have sought every means of liberation that has come their way.

On the other hand, the Muslims were the rulers of this country for a thousand years, and even during the British rule, when their power had been seriously eroded, managed to salvage some of their past glory.

**But ever since the "Independence" of India - in a short span of a mere five decades - the Muslims have been turned into a veritable class of slaves living at the mercy and beck and call of their former "Hindu" subjects.** Not only their property and prosperity, but even their very lives are under constant threat from the Hindu nazi forces. And, unlike the Dalits who, despite being enslaved, are making every effort to emancipate themselves, the Muslims seem to have reconciled themselves to perpetual slavery. Such is the tragic fate of the Muslims today.

**Nominal Muslims:** How did things manage to come to such a sorry, tragic pass? To answer this, one has to explore not only the crafty machinations of the Hindu Brahminical mind but also the nefarious links between the "upper" castes/Hindus and a class of nominal Muslims who, in actual fact, are mere traders in Muslim lives and votes.

**Lack of heroes:** A class or community can be militant only if it has a militant hero or heroes whose example it can emulate and from whom it can derive its inspiration and enthusiasm to struggle. Of course here we do

not wish to advocate the blind hero-worshipping that degenerates into personality cults such as Stalinism, Gandhism and Nazism. But, if history is observed, one will realize that the example of heroes and worthy leaders is the guiding-force behind most militant struggles for social liberation. Marxists have Marx and Engels, Lenin and Mao as their militant heroes. The Dalits have Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

The Muslims have a long list of militant, brave fighters whose sole mission in life was the struggle (*Jihad*) against oppression - starting from the Prophet Mohammad, the Khalifas, especially Hazrat Ali Hassan and Hussain and down to various Muslim Kings, many, though not all, of whom led to valiant struggles. It has been the example of these brave fighters which has constantly inspired Muslims to launch militant movements against exploitation.

Not only Muslims, but even many non-Muslims were inspired by these heroes, for the struggles that these leaders led were for the emancipation of all the oppressed (*mustadafeen*) and not solely for the Muslims. For instance, Ghazi Masud Salar, also known as the Ghazi Pir, who lies buried at Bahraich in Uttar Pradesh. The bulk of his followers are, in fact, Dalits. He was a valiant fighter and his followers remember him for his relentless struggle against feudal and caste oppression.

**Devils in textbooks:** *Today, if the Muslims have lost the spirit of struggle, one of the main reasons is that they have no militant, revolutionary heroes whose example they can emulate and from whom they can draw inspiration.* Muslim leaders have been branded as devils in textbooks and in the media and the Muslims now hesitate to identify themselves with them.

Aurangzeb and Babar, Mahmud Ghazni and Jinnah, all of whom, in their own ways, were militant, have been painted in such horrible colors that Muslims themselves have begun to abhor and detest them. Call your enemy a mad dog and shoot him dead - this has been the time-tested tactic of rabid Muslim and Dalit haters. Even the Prophet Mohammad has not been spared. **On the one hand, the nazi media have portrayed the Prophet as almost an agent of the devil himself.**

**Ivory tower Moulvism:** On the other hand, the ivory-tower *maulvis*, *imams* and *sajjada-nashins* remain painfully silent on the essentially revolutionary character of the Prophet. (This is not to say that all our *ulema* are dead to their responsibilities). And hence, while the so-called "secular", "Marxist" and "Progressive" Muslims have swallowed the nazi propaganda lock, stock and barrel, the Muslim masses, under the sway of the *Maulvis*, remain ignorant of the revolutionary message of Islam.

**Islamic magazines:** Besides the medieval *maulvis* and the atheist 'Marxist' Muslims, a third class of 'Muslim' propagandists has emerged - the "Islamic progressivists". This class derives much of its support from the state and from the "upper" caste "intellectuals". These are the people who throw lavish *Iftar* parties during *Ramzan* where ministers come to gorge. These are the people who bring out glossy 'Islamic' magazines in English. These are the people who, in the name of helping poor, starving Muslims, have started numerous rackets, robbing the Arabs of their petrodollars. These are the people who fly from one Muslim capital to the other, attending conferences and presiding over Islamic committees and commissions. These are the people - the Wahiduddin Khans, the Asghar Ali Engineers, and the Muzaffar Hussains - who feature prominently in the brahminical, and even nazi newspapers. *And, above all, these are the people who plead Islam as a philosophy of peaceful coexistence - the peaceful cohabitation of oppressor and oppressed.*

**Wolves & lambs:** True, the very word 'Islam' means 'Peace' and the Muslim form of greeting *Asalaam Aleikum* means "Peace unto you". **But the peace that Islam preaches is not peace between wolves and lambs, murderers and victims, oppressors and the oppressed. It calls for peace between equals, an honorable peace.** And it is precisely to bring about social equality - the base upon which peace between equals can be built - that Muslims have been called upon to wage militant struggles against all forms of oppression - economic, political, social, religious and cultural. And on this, all three classes of 'Muslim' propagandists - the *maulvis*, the "Marxists" and the "progressivists" are remarkably silent.

Muslims in India have been so effectively enslaved and silenced that they do not dare to even voice their grievances and articulate their demands. The moment they do so, they are branded as anti-Indians, anti-Hindus, Pakistani agents, Arab stooges and what not, by not only the nazis but also by the so-called liberals and progressives. The "marxists" too respond in the same way - they argue that working class Muslims must make only working-class demands. Any voice

which articulates the grievances that Muslims face as a community - simply because they are Muslims - is quickly dubbed by them as a "communal" demand. And the 'Muslim' lackeys of the 'Marxist' and "progressives" assert the same thing, but much more vigorously and vociferously than their masters, to prove their "secular" and "progressive" credentials. And that is how the Muslims have been robbed of their voice, brutally gagged, rendered helpless and unable to speak out against the oppression under which they barely manage to survive, if at all.

**Self-hatred:** Another crafty tactic that the brahminical lobby and its 'Muslim' agents employ to silence the Muslims is to inculcate in the Muslims an extreme guilt-feeling, an acute inferiority complex and self-hatred.

**The moment a person begins to hate himself, he begins to love his cruel master. The brahminical lobby, the 'Marxists' and the 'liberals' have all succeeded in brain washing the Muslims and others into swallowing the myth that Muslims were responsible for the partition of the country.**

The actual truth - that the brahminical forces conspired to divide the country to drive away the majority of the Muslims and thereby establish unadulterated brahminical rule after a period of 2000 years of Buddhist, Muslim and Christian dominance - has been carefully and craftily hidden from the masses.

*And, instead, Muslims have been painted as criminals responsible for India's partition. Muslims themselves have swallowed this hollow lie and have begun to imagine that if they speak out against their oppression, they would be silenced by being dubbed as creators of Pakistan.*

This in fact, is what the Hindu nazis aggressively assert - that Muslims created Pakistan, and if they feel oppressed, they are free to migrate to that land, and that if they want to stay in India, they have no option but to passively obey the dictates of the Hindus and submit to their oppressive hegemony. And this is why the Muslims, so drained of every trace of revolutionary militancy, passively accept the horrendous atrocities heaped upon them as divinely-ordained.

**Imaginary wrong:** Since the oppression of the Muslims is often justified on the basis of the myth that Muslims were responsible for the Partition of India, Muslims themselves have begun to see themselves as criminals. History text books, pulp fiction and even the so called "national" press freely propagate the lie that Muslims were, and are, responsible for all the bloody riots, and Muslims, once again, swallow this myth and see themselves as criminals. **And, since the Muslims are taught to believe that they are criminals, they**

are also taught that they must improve themselves, by making amends for the imaginary wrongs that they are told that they have committed. They are told that the only way they can repent and reform themselves is by mending fences with the "upper" caste rulers, by remaining docile, passive, quiet and meek. And this is how the artificially created self-hatred in the Muslim is employed to push him into passive submission, to drug him to sleep.

**Role of media:** The Hindu nazis are a class of people whose sole profession is Muslim-baiting. They are the professional Muslim-haters. Their sole profession is spreading venomous propaganda against the Muslims and Islam. They represent the mad, lunatic fringe, but with the help of the brahminical media, attempt to create the impression that they are all-powerful-omnipotent. And, some Muslims, swallowing this dangerous lie, have begun to prostrate before the fascist monsters, oblivious of the fact that in Islam, *sajjada* or prostration can be made before Allah alone. These Muslims, who surrender before the Hindu fascist hordes, have entered into an agreement with them, both accepting each other as the leaders of their respective camps. It is the "you scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours" philosophy at its worst.

**Jamaat-e-Islami:** Self-appointed leaders of the Muslims, such as the Jamaat-e-Islami, are among those who have entered into a secret agreement with the Hindu fascists. No longer, however, is this pact a secret - the recent meeting between top Jamaat and BJP leaders was prominently featured in newspapers and magazines. Since the Jamaat leaders live in their own cocoons in their own lofty ivory towers and minarets, they have no knowledge of, and concern for, the misery of the Muslim masses.

The Jamaatis claim to have a monopoly over the knowledge of Islam and hence have gone on record as saying that fascism can only be countered by clearing up the misunderstandings that fascists entertain about Islam. And so, the Jamaatis are to go on a frenzied spree distributing free books on Islam to their fascist friends.

Of course, the version of Islam that they shall pedal will not be the true revolutionary Islam of the masses but the Islam of the monarchs, the lackeys of the western imperialists.

**Fighting nazism:** Since the Jamaatis have never condescended to descend from their ivory-towers, they fail to understand that fascism is quintessentially a social phenomenon, a product of the ruling caste/class rule. Fascism, therefore, can only be countered by struggling against the oppressive system of "upper"

caste/class hegemony.

It has to take the form of a social movement, uniting all victims of this system - Muslims, Dalits, BCs, tribals and women. But the Jamaatis, whose sole occupation is building castles in the air and hair-splitting over minor theological niceities, do not, and, indeed, cannot, realize this obvious truth. They naively imagine that fascism can be countered by removing misunderstandings among the public about Islam. On the contrary, the Jamaat, by being silent on the revolutionary and emancipatory essence of Islam, has, in a crucial way, been responsible for spreading misunderstandings about Islam among the Dalits. *For, the Jamaat's version of Islam is seen by Dalits as monarchical, anti-poor and anti-women. True Islam, on the other hand, is the Islam of the oppressed.*

**Tablighi Jamaat:** The silencing of the Muslims has received a boost from another quarter - the Tabligh-i-Jamaat. This movement started off with laudable goal of crusading against non-Islamic practices among rural Muslims and inculcating in them the knowledge of the basics of Islam. Even today, the roving *muballighs* or preachers of the Tabligh movement are doing practical work, unlike the Jamaatis who preach but do not practice. But it is feared that the Tabligh movement might soon degenerate into a prayer-preaching club, since besides teaching Muslims the method of Muslim prayer, the Tablighis do little else.

With their vast network spread across the land, in every village and locality, the tabligh movement could have worked wonders in raising the social consciousness of Muslims on a whole range of issues - religious, cultural, social, economic and political. But since the Tabligh, like all other 'Islamic' outfits, is headed by those whose lives have revolved solely around their *madrāsas* and mosques, it has been quite unsuccessful in doing anything positive except for raising the Islamic consciousness of the masses. **But here again, the Islam that is preached is a non-revolutionary, passive Islam - the Islam of mere external practices - Namaz, Roza etc.** And the Tablighis, deluded as they are, quite proudly proclaim that they shun politics, even though political action alone can empower communities and social groups.

**Women ignored:** As we have mentioned earlier, the maulvis live in the clouds. They care little about the plight of the masses. Muslim women and the plight of the starving Muslim poor millions are of no consequence to them. When asked to live up to their responsibilities to these hapless people, the only thing they can do is to produce mountains of literature on how Islam promises a fair deal for women and seeks to do away

with poverty. And they imagine that by stating these already well-known facts the plight of the starving Muslim millions will be somehow magically overcome. They make no effort to do anything practical to help their helpless co-religionists. They merely preach, but do not practice.

Since the maulvi class imagines that Islam is merely a system of prayer, it remains passively silent and docile so long as the Muslims are allowed to be able to pray. Since this class does not recognize that **Islam stands for revolutionary equality it remains blind to the obvious fact that the continued social, cultural and economic oppression of the Muslims is really an attack on Islam as well.**

The less said about the westernized 'Muslim' elite the better. This class seeks to distance itself from the Muslim masses whom it regards as "obscurantist", "barbaric", "fanatic", "fundamentalist" and "criminal". And since this microscopic elite desires to worm its way up into the category of the ruling classes, the only way it can do so is by thoroughly de-Islamizing itself.

**Hindu wives:** Till a few decades ago, Hindus, even the so-called "upper" caste educated Hindus, used to convert in large numbers to Islam and conversions to Hinduism were completely unheard of. Today, however, this is not the case. Rich, educated Muslims who marry Hindus now prefer to get married through Arya Samaj rites rather than through Muslim rites. They tend to keep Hindu names for their children.

Just the other day, the Union Minister for Railways, **C.K. Jaffer Sharief, a Muslim by name, and a leading Muslim lackey of the brahminical Congress party, went all the way to Tirupati for a pilgrimage.** Before entering the temple, he had to make a public declaration that he believes in the Hindu religion. The number of such Jaffar Shariefs among the microscopic Muslim elite is legion. And the hinduization of this elite is yet another factor responsible for the taming and silencing of India's 150 million Muslims.

**Ali Miyan's failure:** According to a saying of the Prophet Mohammad, if the oppressed cannot, for some reason, physically struggle against an oppressive system, the least they can do is to speak out against tyranny. But, tragically, the Muslims in this country have been so effectively gagged by their enemies and their "Muslim" stooges that even this seems impossible. Yet, a beginning must be made somewhere, and it must be made now, before it is too late.

**The respected Ali Miyan, described by our Editor as the country's most famous Muslim saint, should have heeded the repeated requests of the editor**

**(last warning) to identify at least the enemy of the oppressed Muslims - that is the brahminism. But he failed to do even this, let alone asking the Muslim masses to fight the Enemy. Such is the monumental failure of our Muslim religious leadership.**

But with all these failures, we have full hope in our oppressed masses. They **SHALL** rebel and revolt. And will not allow the repetition of Spanish experiment in India. Insha Allah.

## Lessons from Bengali Bhadraklok

CUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** DV has proved right on W. Bengal. Did we not predict: "*Bengali Bhadraklok switch over to Mamta*"? (DV Jan.1 93, p.8)

Now, we have the confirmation from both the nazi party and the country's 'marxist' party chief himself.

**New Delhi:** Alleging "collaboration" between the Congress (I) and the BJP in the West Bengal panchayat election due on May 30, the CPI (M) said that the "nexus" represented a disturbing trend.

"The nexus is no longer tacit", the party general secretary, Harikishan Singh Surjeet said pointing out that the two parties had entered into seat adjustments, issued joint appeals to voters and even circulated joint sample ballot papers.

BJP had even prepared a video cassette appealing to the voters to "combine *mamata* (compassion) with *samata* (equality) and vote for the BJP". This, he said, was a clear hint to the supporters of the Congress leader, Mamta Banerjee to join hands with the BJP to fight the Left. In the cassette, Uma Bharati is full of praise for Mamta Banerjee, he said. (*Hindu* May 29).

Please note: Upper castes (Bhadraklok) have no permanent party. They have only permanent interests. If the upper castes are united on *jati* basis, why not we too? *Jati* is our future ideology. This we must learn from upper castes. ■

## Another Actor as CM?

**Madras:** Superstar Rajanikant (43) a Backward Caste (Maratha) from Karnataka, is emerging as a serious challenge to the Tamil Nadu chief minister, Jayalalitha, a brahmin (*papatti* Iyengar) also from Karnataka. Even those who do not wish to antagonise the *papatti* admit that the bus conductor-turned-actor, who commands a hysterical fan following, could become the next chief minister if he were to enter politics. ■

## Indian Maulvis misinterpreting Koran, misleading Muslim masses

ABDULLAH-BIN-ADAM, LUCKNOW

Dr. Ali Raza Shaikh Attar, Iranian Ambassador spent three days here from May 9 to May 11. He met Maulana Abul Hasan (Ali Miyan) Nadvi, inaugurated Maulana Kalbe Abid Road, gave generous financial aid to different *madrasas*, addressed a press conference, remained surrounded by *ulema* (clergy), *khutaba* (orators) & *waizeen* (preachers) of every hue and color and also visited a Hindu Temple where he was duly blessed by a priest.

He was throughout escorted by a Maulvi close to the Congress Party. The said maulvi is a votary of the ritualistic version of Islam and is very eloquent in criticizing Islamic 'Fundamentalism' for which he uses his own term *Mullaiyat*. He had even abused publicly Ayatollah Murtada Mutahhari, a great scholar of social sciences and Islam and one of the architects of the Iranian revolution, Mutahhari was a beloved pupil of Ayatollah Khomeini and had laid his life for the revolution.

**Visit to Ali Miyan:** Attar went to see Ali Miyan and his institute on his own. He was however accorded a warm welcome there. Attar offered financial assistance to the institute. Ali Miyan thanked him for the Iranian stand on Babri Masjid, and the two agreed that there was a need to do much work for developing a global Islamic fraternity.

The students and staff at Nadwa, like all other Muslims the world over, had sympathy for the Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah.

**Oppressed:** Ayatollah's Islamic revolution was the dawn of a new era in world history. At a time when the globe was divided between Zionist and communist blocks, financial exploitation and racial discriminations were increasing day by day, in the form of the cult of consumerism, so called labor movements, and Aryan racialism, the Ayatollah rejuvenated Islam as the alternative world social order capable of eradicating all these ills. Ayatollah placed special emphasis on eradication of apartheid, be it in South Africa, USA or in India. During his life time Iran openly and boldly sided with the oppressed people of the entire world. Slogans like '*Ma ba hama mazloom-i-jahan hastayem*' (we are with all oppressed people of the world) and '*Peeroozi-*

*e-khoon-i-mazloom bar shamsheer-i-zaliman*' (Victory of the blood of oppressed over the sword of oppressor) were conspicuous in Iranian electronic and print media. In doing so he in fact emulated the Prophet.

The Indian maulvis lack this clarity of vision very badly. They assign funny causes to the plight of Muslims in this country. Some say it is the lack of religiosity - by which they mean the rituals - that is the main cause of the present condition, others argue that it is lack of modern education and say schools colleges and universities should be opened by Muslims. They do not see that AMU, Jamia, and many other Muslim institutions are already existing which do not find enough Muslim students to fill all the seats. They cannot see that it is the lack of proper orientation which is the cause of this state of affairs. Few among them if any have heard the name of the satanic Scripture called *Manusmriti*, and perhaps none knows that Dalits are not Hindus.

Surpassing Gandhi himself in their Gandhian gimmicks, the *ulema*, *khutaba* & *waizeen* had reacted to demolition of Babri Masjid and Bombay and Surat pogrom in the most hilarious way. They organized a blood donation camp at the Asafi Imambara of Lucknow on the death anniversary of Gandhi, not for the poor victims of these massacres, but to be donated to the blood bank of King George Medical College.

All know that the blood bank blood is available to the VIPs only. They exhibited top class hypocrisy in doing this. Lacking the courage to tell the irate Muslims that they were trying to appease the brahminical rulers by commemorating M.K. Gandhi on his death anniversary, they said that they were doing this to celebrate the birth of Imam Husain (Had they been true, they would have chosen Imam Husain's birth day for this camp, which they did not).

They said by doing this they wanted to send across a message that we are peace loving people, our blood is not to be shed on the streets it is for blood banks; meaning there by brahminical masters.

Why Attar frolicked with these lackluster moulvis for three full days can be anybody's guess. ■

# Jamat-e-Islam flirting with nazis even after Babri Masjid blast

QURBAN ALI ZAMEENZAD, NEW DELHI

Truly, as it is said, you cannot teach an old dog new tricks. A Leopard cannot change its spots. And the same may be said of the Jamate-Islami.

*Dalit Voice* has consistently and relentlessly been exposing the nefarious links between the Jamaat and fascist RSS in the hope that the Jamaat leaders would see sense and prevent the impending slaughter of innocent Muslim lambs by the Hindu nazi wolves. The Jamaat, however, has turned a deaf ear and a blind eye to the pleas of *Dalit Voice* and is now once again upto its old, time-tested trick of flirting with the Hindu nazis.

According to the report in the *Sunday* magazine (6-12 June, 1993) President of the Jamaat Siraj-ul-Hasan, accompanied by the Jamaat's vice-president, Secretary general and secretaries called on senior BJP leaders at the BJP headquarters here on May 22. It is reported that they discussed ways in which Muslims "may join the mainstream."

**Hollow myth:** As DV has been tirelessly asserting, the so-called "national mainstream" is a hollow myth. India is not a "nation". And so how can there be a "national mainstream"? The much talked about national mainstream" is merely a euphemism for the brahminical system and culture. Apparently, by discussing ways and means of joining this "mainstream", the Jamaat has exposed its own brahminical leanings, pining as it does for recognition by India's brahminical rulers.

The Jamaat and other such ivory-tower Maulvis live in a dream-world of their own. According to the *Sunday* report, the Jamaat believes that the hostility of the RSS towards the Muslims is merely because the Hindu nazis have a distorted understanding of Islam. The Jamaat is of the view that it can win over RSS by enlightening it about true nature of Islam.

**Islam distorted:** It is well-worth considering what interpretation of Islam by the Jamaat might find favor with the RSS. Both the RSS and the Jamaat are extremely hostile to secularism, socialism, democracy and gender equality, even though Islam, if properly understood, stands for these noble values. Apparently, the Jamaat's thoroughly distorted and deformed version of Islam, and not the true revolutionary Islam, will be presented by the Jamaat to the Hindu fascists for their approval.

**Dalit Hatred:** As DV has been for long asserting, the Hindu nazis have no grouse or hatred at all for the Muslims, especially the ivory-tower, reactionary Maulvis and Jamaatis. **Deep down in the Hindu nazi heart is an all pervasive fear and burning hatred for the Dalits and the Backward Castes.**

It is merely to perpetuate their subjugation that the brahminical nazis have painted the Muslims as a monster, to divert the wrath of the oppressed castes to an imaginary enemy. This being the case, no amount of pontification on the virtues of Islam will melt the nazi heart. Nazis have respect for virtue. Teaching the virtues of Islam to the nazis is like scattering pearls before the swine, as an Arabic saying goes.

You cannot teach an old dog new tricks. Nazis who are beast-fed on hatred, cannot change their colors, and certainly not by sermons on Islam by medieval-minded Maulvis. And the same saying applies with equal validity to DV's efforts to drill sense into the dull, dense heads of the Jamaatis. The Jamaat will not learn simply because it does not want to.

History has pronounced its verdict. Those who do not learn from History are condemned to repeat it. And soon the Hindu nazis and their Jamaat lackeys will find themselves dumped in the rubbish bin of History. ■

## State terrorism in Kashmir

A CORRESPONDENT

**Bombay:** Justice V.M. Tarkunde has said that India is following the footsteps of Hitler's narrow nationalism which is very harmful to the country.

Addressing a seminar organized by the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) on May 30 here, he said India was least interested in the welfare of the Kashmiris. He spoke at length on the theme of the seminar, 'Terrorism, State-terrorism and human rights' and said human rights cannot be protected without democracy because the opposite of democracy is dictatorship and that democracy does not mean majority rule. ■

## Kerala meet says Dalits are indigenous

RAJU THOMAS, KOTTAYAM

There was a 3-day conference of Kerala State Dalit leaders here. M.E. Prabhakar, a Dalit Christian leader of the CISRS, was the chief guest. Over 30 Dalit organisations participated including those under the control of the Aryan/Hindu nazi parties.

Dalit leader Kallara Sukumaran, Dalit writer Paul Charakarode and Simon John were the main organisers and Raveendra Raj was the convener.

*The conference decided to bring all Dalit organisations under an "International Forum for the Liberation of the Indigenous Peoples" all over the world and free them from the Aryan white racists.*

**Separate nation:** Internationalisation of the Dalit issue as an indigenous peoples' problem was stressed by the conference. The indigenous people of India are a separate entity - with a distinct national identity. As such their indigenous "national ethnicity" is wounded when their self-respect is denied (as also right to self-determination). It characteristically internationalises that denial (*Until Justice and peace Embrace*; page 107, 1981 by Nicholas Wolterstoff; Michigan, USA). Realising the importance of the "Year of the Indigenous Peoples, 1993", the Dalit leaders felt the need for taking up the Dalit issue to the international forums especially the Black human rights organisations.

**Aryan racism:** Our brothers Yogesh Varhade and Dr. Y.N. Kly must open the chapter now so that India - the world's largest oppressed indigenous nation - will be liberated. When India's Dalits are liberated that will be the beginning of the end of Aryan racism in the whole world.

Dalit leaders and organisations elsewhere must now come forward to discuss the issue, it said. ■

## New brahman chief's bid to hinduise Army?

**Chandigarh:** The Army chief designate, Lt Gen. B.C. Joshi will introduce lessons in spiritualism in the Army after he takes over on July 1. Giving an indication about what he has in mind for his soldiers here on Saturday, Gen Joshi said: "There is no harm in being a Sadhu as long as you do not become a beggar". (*Indian Express* June 20).

## Anti-Hindu revolt in world's only Hindu country

**Darjeeling:** Nobody knew journalist Gopal Gurung before the autocratic panchayat regime of Nepal put him behind bars.

Five years later Gurung, founder president of the anti-Hindu and anti-Aryan Mongol National Organisation, is fighting tooth and nail for the removal of King Bhirendra because he is a Hindu and Aryan.

Since the birth of the Mongol National Organisation two years ago, his politics of Hindu-baiting has traveled beyond the frontiers of the world's only Hindu kingdom. He does not want Nar Bahadur Bhandari, a Hindu Aryan, to continue to rule over the Nepalis of Mongoloid stock whom he prefers to call simply "Mongols," in Sikkim.

**Buddhist origin:** He insisted that all Nepalis of Mongoloid origin were Buddhists, and not Hindus. The warlike Mongoloids form the bulk of the Gorkha regiments in Britain, Nepal and India.

Asked whether or not his own name, Gopal, made him a Hindu, the Kathmandu-based leader now in his mid-fifties, quipped: "I had no control over my birth or my naming. Now I know I am a Buddhist and have the right to die a Buddhist."

Gurung, now edits two Kathmandu based weeklies, *Thunderbolt* in English and *New Light* in Nepali, said. The "reawakening" among the Mongoloid Nepalis, he felt, was mostly due to his book in Nepali, *Nepal ko Rajniti Adekah Sachchai Haru* (The Hidden Facts About Nepal's Politics), which has run into three editions since it first appeared five years ago.

It was due to this book, which highlights the suppression of Mongoloid Nepalis by Aryan Nepalis, that Gurung was sent to jail for 18 months. It was in jail that he conceived the formation of MNO and also designed its motto and flag. (*Telegraph* June 6) ■

## Aryan army in UP

**Lucknow:** A private army of upper caste killing, butchering or torturing anyone who dares to defy them sounds outlandish, something which can be associated with Bihar, but not with Uttar Pradesh. At least one such army has become a reality in the state, especially in the areas bordering Bihar. The army, which calls itself "Savarn Mukti Morcha Samaj", has been terrorising Dalits, Backward castes and others in the eastern part of the state, especially in the areas adjoining Varanasi and Ghazipur districts. (*Times of India* June 19) ■

## Many defects in India's human rights bill

**New York:** Lawyers Committee for Human Rights welcomed a proposal by the Government of India to set up national and state human rights commissions, but expressed "concern that the Bill falls short of expectations in some vital respects"

In a 14-page analysis of the Human Rights Commissions Bill, 1993, the Lawyers Committee recommended several key changes to the Bill intended to ensure the independence and effectiveness of the commissions. Such changes would also help address concerns raised after Indian officials suggested that the commissions are intended to deflect criticism of India's human rights record by international human rights organizations. The Lawyers Committee considered it crucial that the proposed commissions not be viewed as a substitute for the existing mechanisms for the protection of human rights in India.

The Lawyers Committee noted that it was especially concerned by elements of the Bill that might hinder commission investigations of alleged human rights violations. It urged that the mandate of the commissions be enlarged to give full effect the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and related international human rights instruments, such as the Convention Against Torture. It called for the extension of commission powers to investigate human rights violations attributed to military and para-military forces. It also called for revision of a provision that would enable state governments to prevent the national commission from investigating cases already before state commissions. Also proposed was the elimination of prior approval by state governments before visits to jails.

"India: The Human Rights Commissions Bill, 1993" is available for \$3.00 from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, 330 Seventh Avenue, New York, NY 10001.

Since 1978, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights has worked to promote international human rights and refugee law and legal procedures in the United States and abroad. The Lawyers Committee has sent research missions and issued reports on more than three dozen countries throughout the world. The Chairman of the Lawyers Committee is former US federal judge Marvin E. Frankel; Tom Bernstein is its president; Michael H. Posner is its Executive Director; Arthur C. Helton is Director of its refugee Project; James D. Ross directs the Committee's Asia Program. ■

## COMMUNICATION

### Kanshi Ram on Muslims

FAZLUL HUQ, DELHI

The following item reproduced from the *Sunday Observer* (May 9 1993) has shocked me. Kanshi Ram is your friend. Do you share these opinions?

He said: Pandering of the minorities is another reason why I am unwilling to join (JD etc.) front. I am convinced that it is the coming together of V.P. Singh, the Janata Dal and the Muslims which led to the rise of the BJP. Pandering to any section of society unnecessarily or for the sake of votes is not desirable. It will be harmful to the Muslims themselves and it has proved so.

I have joined forces with Mulayam Singh to meet the BJP challenge. I am convinced that if the BJP is defeated decisively in UP the land of Ayodhya, Kanshi, Mathura, Ganga, Yamuna, rishis, munis then it will have no face to claim that it will rule India..

V.P. Singh and Mulayam Singh are one only in their pandering of Muslims which I do not like. But Mulayam is better in the sense that he did not play ball with the BJP and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad when he was Janata Dal chief Minister in UP. But I have told Mulayam that pandering of the Muslims should stop and I think he is no longer doing that. Now he just tells Muslims that he will give them justice. (*Muslim India*, June 1993)

### Dalits worried in UP

INDRA RAM, KANPUR

We are worried over reports that Dalit leader Kanshi Ram is getting closer to the Congress, the original brahminical party. Brahminical press is giving all-out encouragement.

The Congress is striving hard to wean away Ram from Mulayam Singh. Ram's meeting with Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, has caused concern to us.

Mulayam Singh has said he was ready to forgo his claim to the office of Chief Minister in UP in the interests of BSP-SJP combine.

Meanwhile, it is learnt that a senior IAS officer, known to be close to Dalit Ram, is being brought to Lucknow as new Chief Secretary. He was in New Delhi on deputation. Sources claim that a number of conditions put forward by Ram for a deal, has been accepted.

## Allah cursed Muslims, ignored prayers to protect Masjid

ABDULLA ADIYAR, PO BOX 7012, VIRUGAM-  
BAKKAM, MADRAS - 600 092

*There is a reference in Islamic scripture that Kaaba at Mecca was protected by tiny birds at the instance of Allah. But why Babri Masjid was not protected by Allah even though Indian Muslims offered prayers at all mosques in India? A week before the Babri Masjid blast we offered special prayers here for the protection of this Masjid. After the prayers, I met a khadi-clad Muslim.*

**He said with authority: "Don't worry brothers. My leader is P.V. Narasimha Rao. Do you know the meaning of Narasimha? Man and lion (animal). Take it from me he will protect Babri Masjid".**

*Likewise, some Muslims believed that the Supreme Court would protect them. Some reminded the presence of military forces stationed near the masjid. Some staunch Muslims believed that Babri Masjid Protection Committees would protect it. But Alas! No body protected the Babri Masjid. Then what happened to our prayers? We prayed with hesitation. Of course, we equated Allah with P.V. Narasimha Rao and other unbelievers and that's why our prayers were not accepted by Allah and the Babri Masjid was blasted without any hindrance.*

**Self defence:** *Another point. In Islam - God never takes avatars and will never come down to safeguard masjids and Muslims. We have to protect it ourselves. Self-defence is sanctioned in Koran. When the Makkans made a design to demolish the new-born Islamic State at Madiana, the Holy Prophet offered prayers and then appeared as a military commander in Badr warfield and won the battle with his 313 soldiers against 1,000-strong Makkan army. That means the Muslims have to fight, take revenge to revenge and shed fear. Because Allah is questioning the Muslims with a pinch of heckling. "Do you fear these men? Fear only me if you are a true believer".* ■

### Dalit killed for marrying Brahmin girl

**Surat:** Two Dalit brothers hailing from Bihar were brutally done to death by a group of professional killer hired by the upper castes in the Pandesara area on June 7. The gory incident occurred when the two Dalits Ramesh and Krishna, were attacked with lathis at their house. Krishna is said to have eloped with Rekha, a brahmin girl from Bihar. Both got married on May 21 and started staying at Ganeshnagar. Ramesh the younger brother of Krishna, was also staying with them. (*Times of India* June 12) ■

## DR. AMBEDKAR INTERVIEW

*New Delhi: Heard of an interviewer with just one counter-question?*

*Well, the episode dates back to the when the great Indian constitutional expert, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, was a much sought after celebrity, particularly for the Delhi based foreign correspondents. A young lady correspondent of New York Times wanted an exclusive interview with him. She went through the voluminous works of Dr. Ambedkar knowing well that the father of Constitution granted interview only to those who had read him thoroughly Armed with the detailed knowledge she gathered from his works, the young lady sat down with dr. Ambedkar for the interview.*

*Before she could shoot her first question, Dr. Ambedkar asked her, "Dear, young lady, have you gone through all my works?"*

*"Yes Sir", she answered confidently.*

*"Well, if that be so I have nothing else to say in addition to what I have already stated in my works", he said smilingly The crest-fallen interviewer had no option but to leave Dr. Ambedkar in peace with the proverbial 'thank you'.*

*This interesting episode was recalled by the former US Senator, Mr. Alan Cranston, who was recently in the Capital to attend the two-day conference of the Rajiv Memorial Initiative for the Advancement for Human Civilization. (*Hindustan Times* May 5)* ■

## Punjab & Kashmir worse than Bosnia

**Washington:** Congressman, Dan Burton told the US senate on July 15 that human rights violations in Kashmir and Punjab were worse than those in Bosnia and Somalia. he told the house that human rights atrocities in Bosnia and Somalia were in many cases "pale in comparison to what's going on in Kashmir and Punjab."

**India punished:** People are being tortured "beyond human belief" the world was ignorant because of the Indian govt's restrictions on human rights, International Red Cross and media groups from entering disturbed areas. He made his remarks while participating in discussion on the Foreign Assistance Bill. (*Times of India* June 17)

**The Hindu (June 18) adds:** India was barred by the US House of representatives from inclusion in the US financed international military education and training (IMET) programme for alleged ineffective enforcement of human rights. The House was discussing the foreign aid legislation cut off of \$3.45 lakhs - about Rs. 9 crores - being the amount earmarked for India under the programme. ■

# A Black Muslim cries for justice from American prison

ZOLO AGONA # 4969, INDIANA STATE PRISON, DEATH ROW - PO BOX 41, MICHIGAN CITY, IN 46360, USA

The United States of North America has three branches of government. The executive branch is the first, the legislative branch is the second, the judicial branch is the third. The judicial system is derived from Roman and medieval English law. The US judicial process is a repressive system to stifle dissent and to maintain the existing state of affairs under the guise of legality. This system thrives on sheer opposition. Not cooperation and reconciliation. In other words, it is an adversary court system. A system is a way you do something over and over again. There are always two or more sides to a court case where each individual is trying to prevail over the other. Somebody must win and somebody must lose, as in a contest or war. The vanquished party suffers penalties and punishments.

**Jail torture:** The masses of people in the US are oppressed under various forms of social anesthesia of novacin which numbs the pain inflicted by national, state and local government repressive laws and pre-trial detention. Jails and prisons are designed to destroy the human spirit and dignity of those incarcerated. **In a sedative stupor your mind and physical body is wracked. The blood flows but goes unnoticed until the novacin wears off. Then you feel the pain from the repressive damage.**

Out of all this, you still find it hard to understand exactly how and why it happened. So you try to reason that this is not a perfect system, but you think it is the best one in the world.

**Death penalty:** Most folk are unsuspecting and naive about the true function of the judicial system. The government deny capital punishment trials, convictions, and sentences are political, which confuses matters more. Because judiciary is the third branch of government, how can it not be political? Politicians advance their careers on a pro-death penalty platform.

The constitutional law reads that you're supposed (deemed, in theory) to be considered innocent until proven guilty by the government. Be that as it may, in actuality, you're treated as if you're guilty until you prove your innocence, is confusing. When the government prosecutor seeks capital punishment charges, it indicates that you're guilty of such hideous crime warranting the ultimate penalty. It doesn't make any sense. Where is the presumption of innocence? Capital punishment laws are used as a means of social control and political harassment, and to spread fear. It doesn't have anything to do with deterring crime.

**Multiple murder:** It's not necessary for the government prosecutors to prove that an accused defendant knowingly

and intentionally killing anyone. All that is required is to prove the intent to commit the underlying felony, such as robbery, burglary, kidnaping, rape, arson and so on, while armed with a deadly weapon causing serious bodily injury to another human being. If the existence of the aggravating circumstance outweighs any mitigating circumstances the trial jury could find the accused defendant guilty of the underlying felony and may recommend that the accused defendant be sentenced to death. In cases in which a person is charged with allegedly committing multiple murders, the government prosecutors have to prove beyond a reasonable doubt what frame of mind the person was in, whether they knowingly and intentionally did it, to establish the degree of one's culpability (guilt). The appeal process is even more complicated. You have to pay money every step of the way. This money is paid for bail bond, attorney fees, travel expenses, legal research, expert witnesses, transcript charges, investigation, filling and motion fees. Appellate courts are higher courts of review. The judges presiding in these courts only look to see whether the condemned received a fair trial.

**Racism:** Capital punishment or death penalty laws are discriminatorily applied against defendants of minority extraction, defendants accused of killing Caucasians, and improvised defendants upon the sole grounds of race, political belief, poverty and sex. The application of capital punishment laws are arbitrary and capricious. For example, in June 1991, the US Supreme Court ruled that racism may be mean and irrational, but it is not unconstitutional. In February 1993, this same court ruled that an innocent person can be executed. All that's required by the US Constitution is that the defendant receive a fair trial, not a perfect one. Only the most compelling claims of innocence can justify federal court intervention to prevent execution. But, according to the court, executing the innocent is not cruel and unusual punishment. The judicial interpretation of the laws makes open-eye, prejudicial, distinction between people along class, caste and racial lines. Every variety of the sufferings of exploitation are aimed at the politico-economically weak and powerless through the appearances of judicial legality. The poor, uneducated, miseducated, have-nots, are held under the crushing heel of oppression while the super-wealthy few private property owners, who control the government, continue to eat well, drink, and be merry, and plunder the world's resources with impunity (free from punishment). Any decent human being with a conscience would regard capital punishment laws with disgust, and stand resolutely for its prompt abolition.

**Muslim victims speak out**  
**Bombay, a myth shattered**  
*Hindi and English Film*

Bombay the commercial and financial hub of the nation, has for long also enjoyed the reputation of being the most cosmopolitan city in India. Like a powerful social magnet, this mecca of opportunities has attracted people from every nook and corner of the country. For decades, people pursuing different faiths, speaking different languages and personifying multicultural India have intermingled and lived as close neighbors in tightly-packed spaces of a land-starved metropolis. But it took just ten days of January 1993 to shatter long-cherished notions of an urban conglomerate in which there was place for every Indian. As Bombay burned, neighbors turned upon each other with a viciousness and brutality only comparable to the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 or even farther back to the communal carnage following partition. How could this happen? What went wrong?

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We who have been associated with the making of this documentary are trying our best to ensure that the film gets to be seen by as large a number of people as possible. Your help can make this happen. You can contribute by making donations of Rs. 250 or more for individuals and Rs. 500 or more for institutions for one video copy of the film. The money thus received will be utilised for making more copies of the film and towards expenses for arranging shows in schools, factories, offices and in people's areas of residence. Payments could be made through cash/cheque/drafts, Cheques or drafts should be drawn in favour of SABRANG.

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**Babasaheb on the hero of Ramayana & Mahabharata**  
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