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# DALIT VOICE

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Gautama answers Bimbisara :  
 Thus spake Ambedkar

# Thus Spoke Ambedkar

## Gautama Answers Bimbisara

1. Thus spoke the monarch of the Magadhas, who spoke well and strongly like Indira; but having heard it, the prince did not falter. He was firm like a mountain. 2. Being thus addressed by the monarch of the Magadhas, Gautama, in a strong speech with a friendly face, - self-possessed, unchanged, thus made answer: 3. "What you have said is not to be called a strange thing for thee. O King! born thou in art in the great family whose ensign is the lion, and lover as thou art thy friends, that ye should adopt this line of approach towards him who stands as one of thy friends is only natural. 4. "Amongst the evil-minded, a friendship worthy of their family, ceases to continue and fades; it is only the good who keep increasing the old friendship of their ancestors by a new succession of friendly acts. 5. "But those men who act unchangingly towards their friends in reverse of fortune, I esteem in my heart as true friends. Who is not the friend of the prosperous man, in his times of abundance? 6. "So those who, having obtained riches in the world, employ them for the sake of their friends and religions, - their wealth has real solidity, and when it perishes it produces no pain at the end. 7. "This thy suggestion concerning me, O King, is prompted by pure generosity and friendship; I will meet thee courteously with simple friendship; I would not utter aught else in my reply. 8. "I am not so afraid even of serpents nor of thunderbolts falling from heaven, nor from flames blown together by the wind, as I am afraid of these worldly objects. 9. "These transient pleasures, - the robbers of our happiness and our wealth, and which float empty and like illusions through the world, - infatuate man's minds even when they are only hoped for, - still more when they take up their abode in the soul. 10. "The victims of pleasure attain not to happiness even in the heaven of the gods, still less in the world of mortals; he who is athirst is never satisfied with pleasures, as the fire, the friend of the wind, with fuel. 11. "There is no calamity in the world like pleasures, people are devoted to them through delusion; when he once knows the truth and so fears evil, what wise man would of his own choice desire evil? 12. "When they have obtained all the earth girdled by the sea, kings wish to conquer the other side of the great ocean; mankind is never satiated with pleasures, as the ocean with the waters that fall into it. 13. "What it had rained a golden shower from heaven, and when he had conquered the continents and had even obtained the half of Sakra's throne, Mandhatri was still full of craving for worldly objects. 14. "Though he enjoyed the kingdom of the gods in heaven, when Indra had concealed himself through fear of Vritra, and though in his pride he had made the great Rishis bear his litter Nahusha was not satisfied. 15. "Who would seek these enemies bearing the name of pleasures, by whom even those sages have been overcome, who were devoted to other pursuits, whose only clothes were rags, whose food roots, fruits, and water and who wear their twisted locks as long as snakes? 16. "When they hear of the miseries of those who are intent on pleasure and are devoted to worldly pursuits it well befits the self-controlled to fling it away. 17. "Success in pleasure is to be considered a misery in the man of pleasure, for he becomes intoxicated when the pleasures of his desire are attained; through intoxication he does what should not be done, not what should be done; and being wounded thereby he falls a miserable end. 18. "These pleasures which are gained and kept by toil, which after deceiving leave you and return whence they came, - these pleasures which are built borrowed for a time, - what man of self-control, if he is wise, would delight in them? 19. "What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like a torch of hay, - which excite thirst when you seek them and when you grasp them? 20. "What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures which are like flesh that has been flung away, and which produces misery by their being held in common with Kings? 21. "What man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which, like the senses, are destructive, which bring calamity on every hand to those who abide in them? 22. "Those men of self-control who are bitten by them in their hearts, fall into ruin and attain not bliss - what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like an angry, cruel serpent? 23. "Even if they enjoy them men are not satisfied, - like dogs famishing with hunger over a bone, - what man of self-control could find satisfaction in these pleasures, which are like a skeleton composed of dry bones? 24. "He whose intellect is blinded with pleasures the wretch, who is the miserable slave of hope for the sake of pleasures, well deserves the pain of death even in the world of living.

*(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.*

# Dalit SOS on racism & persecution of Untouchables in India reaches Black MPs in America

DR. VELU ANNAMALAI, PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL DALIT SUPPORT GROUP,

PO BOX 842066, HOUSTON, TEXAS 77284-2066, US

This is a copy of my letter to Kweisi Mfume, Chairman, Congressional Black Caucus, Room 344, Building FHOB, Washington DC 20515-6805, regarding the continued and horrifying human rights abuses on the Black Untouchables of India and his warning to the Indian Govt. while speaking on the \$41-million in development aid to India which is goriest violator of human rights on a large section of its community in the name of caste system (racism) and untouchability. It is difficult to narrate in this letter the abuses the upper castes perpetrate on the 200-million Untouchables for over 3,000 years in the name of their evil religiously ordained teachings.

**Sanctified racism:** Though the world knows this barbaric system as caste system it should in fact be called sanctified racism. Yes, what the upper castes are practicing is nothing but hard core racism, and it is sanctified racism because it is part of their brahminical Hindu religion.

**Runoko Rashidi work:** These Untouchables are the original Black people whose forefathers migrated from Africa over 7,000 years ago. They established one of the oldest and the best civilizations in the world, the Indus Valley Civilization, which the white barbaric and nomadic Aryans destroyed and made our people as their slaves. Brother Runoko Rashidi of Los Angeles, an eminent African-American historian and an expert in *African Presence in Early Asia*, will be glad to talk to you about this subject.

The caste system was initiated on the basis of colour, and the real name of this caste is "varna" system, *varna* means colour in Sanskrit language. The Untouchables and the tribal people of India are Black, racially, physically and even culturally. The Untouchables and the tribals are now calling themselves **Dalits** meaning

'Broken and Crushed'. I am enclosing a book, ***The Dalits - The Black Untouchables of India***, written by our foremost crusader V.T. Rajshekar, and foreworded by Dr. Y.N. Kly, a specialist in International Human Rights Law and an African-American. Would you believe that the Govt. of India has confiscated Rajshekar's

passport to prevent him from traveling to other countries so that he will not speak on the caste system and untouchability and the genocide on these people? This government is called 'the biggest democracy in the world'. Nothing can be far from the truth!!

**Wanted force:** The abuses on the Untouchables continue even today unabated, but shamelessly the whole world ignores even to talk about it, leave alone do something to correct it. Whether or not you know the severity of this issue and that the Untouchables are

Black people while supporting Hon. Burton's Bill, we want to educate you about this evil system with the hope that persons like you and your members will do something about it. **The upper castes/Hindus will not change their obnoxious practices until the world forces them to do so. They are a mentally sick people. Anyone who can justify and practice the evil caste system and untouchability (sanctified racism) has to be tyrannically sick.** These Hindus happily and religiously follow these heinous practices right at your backyard too; yes, the upper castes, who are probably circling around you are hypocritically lecturing you everything about tolerance, non-violence, brotherhood, etc., practice these cold-blooded evils in the US too!

**Warning to US:** Recently, there is a move in the US Congress to organize a Congressional Caucus on

**The year 1993 has been declared by the United Nations as the Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples. In India, history says Dalits (20%) and Tribals (10%) are its indigenous people. Aryans are alien intruders. SC/STs must observe the Year to make the fact known of their existence and also the reckless violation of their human rights to the UN at the Centre for Human Rights, 1211 - Geneva - 10, Switzerland.**

**(SEE ALSO PAGE -5)**

India to lure the enormous money available from the upper castes living this country. Hope the members of the Congressional Black Caucus will not fall a prey to this blood-soiled money.

Any support from the US Congress for India Caucus or the opposition to such Bills as Hon. Burton's will definitely send only a wrong message to the perpetrators of horrible violations in India that it is perfectly OK to treat human beings worse than animals and call them **untouchables**.

These 200 million Untouchables have been discriminated, segregated, exploited, kicked, killed, raped, paraded naked, their meager belongings destroyed, and forced to live as sub-humans since their birth by the upper castes of India. These atrocities are being perpetrated for over 3,000 years. **If there is one single human rights violation issue in the entire world, it is the lives of these 200 million Untouchables.** Any other human right problem in the whole world will pale into insignificance in front of the heinous caste system and untouchability. **We are not against India. As a matter fact the perpetrators of these crimes are the real perpetrators of tyrannical crimes of Himaian proportions by telling them that they can continue their crimes against humanity.**

More than half a million Untouchables are forced to carry human excrement on their heads even today in India! These unfortunate Untouchables are forced to drink urine and eat human excrement in India!! Please also read the attached article, "*Caste violates Human Rights Law: Untouchables Worst Effect*" by Roshani M. Gunewardene. (DV Aug 1-15, 93)

Please read an enclosed article written by an African student studying in India. You will know the barbarism practiced against the Black people in India. (DV Aug 16-31, 93)

**Forgotten humans:** We are requesting you to speak out for the unfortunate and forgotten 200 million sub-humans of India, and to let the Indian upper caste tyrannical rulers know that the world will no longer keep silent while they continue to treat a portion of their people as Untouchables and sub-humans.

**Memorial to Gandhi:** Dr. John Henrik Clarke, an eminent African-American historian, has promised us that he will get in touch with the "Black Caucus" on the issue of the Black people in India. Also we are fighting to stop a memorial in Washington, DC to M.K. Gandhi, who was and is still the No.1 enemy of the Black Untouchables of India. We had sent an appeal to the concerned Senators on this issue. As and when this issue comes up again (presently it is dormant) we, need your support to stop it permanently. All you have

heard about Gandhi, the mentor of Dr. Martin Luther King on his non-violence path, is nothing but a myth, and Dr. Clarke can vouch for it.

The 200 million Black Untouchables are counting your (their blood relatives) support in their life-long struggle. The Black Untouchables of India need your support, and counting on it.

## Kashmir should be allowed to secede?

**New Delhi:** The army in the Kashmir valley is "an army of occupation" and "like all armies of occupation will some day be forced to vacate ignominiously the areas it occupies", says the former Foreign Secretary, R.D Sathe.

In a letter to Dr. Dabholkar, author of an investigative report on Kashmir, Sathe says that India has no "Muslim friends" left in the valley and that the Kashmiri Muslim is now fanatically opposed to any integration with the Indian polity. "He has also lost the fear of the gun"

**Doubtful means:** The letter, which has been fully reproduced in a Marathi book written by Dr. Dabholkar on the pros and cons of the Kashmir issue, says that "military occupation" of Kashmir valley, besides being enormously costly, is taking a toll in many other ways. Rejecting the view that Kashmir's defection would weaken India's policy of secularism, Sathe says the argument is spurious as Indian secularism is not dependent on what a minuscule portion of the vast Muslim minority of India thinks and does.

According to Sathe, integration of Kashmir into India was accomplished by doubtful means. "In any case, if people wish to break their link with India they must not be denied the choice. But this must be done in a civilized manner." He also feels that human rights violations in the valley would isolate India internationally. (Hindu Sept.7)

(DV Oct.1 P11 "VP Menon on Kashmir")

### KASHMIR

#### A People terrorised

A report on torture, extra-judicial execution, rape, arbitrary arrests, disappearances and other violations of basic human rights by the Indian Security Forces in Indian-administered Kashmir.

1993

pp.100

Patanjali M. Varadarajan, Levine Memorial Lecturer in Law, Trinity College, Oxford University  
OX 13BH, UK

# Indian Govt. refusing to observe 1993 as Year of Indigenous People

S. FAIZI, PO BOX 61681, RIYADH - 11575, SAUDI ARABIA

I have addressed a letter to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, New Delhi, to direct the Govt. of India to observe meaningfully the International Year for the World's Indigenous People (1993), to which it has committed on the forum of the UN General Assembly.

I am an Indian national, ecologist, presently working in Riyadh. Ever since the observation of the Year was started in January, under the coordination of the UN, I have been screening Indian newspapers for news on the Year observations in India, but in vain.. I was in India in April and May on vocation and the absence of any visible programme on the Year in the country, and further enquiries I have made have led me to conclude that the Year is not being observed in India. To confirm this I wrote a letter to the Ministry of External Affairs, but no reply was received.

**International obligation:** India has an international political obligation to observe the Year as the UN General Assembly resolution proclaiming 1993 as the "International Year for the World's Indigenous People" invites member states "to ensure that preparations are made for the year" (resolution no: 45/146, 18 Dec. 1990, A subsequent UN General Assembly resolution specifying the details for the preparation for the year encourages member states "to consult with indigenous people, and non-governmental organizations working with them, regarding activities for the year" and further "invites States again to inform the (UN) Secretary General of their initiatives". (resolution no.46/128, 17 Dec. 1991). India, having ratified the UN Charter and being a member of the UN, has an international political obligation to follow the decision of the UN General Assembly.

**Moral responsibility:** The Year is an important international event undertaken by the global community and India being a responsible member of this community has a moral responsibility to participate in this international event. **Even countries with dominant European settlers' populations, whose annihilation of the indigenous people form the most systematic genocide in human history, are taking the lead in observing the Year.**

The convention on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples coordinated by the International Labour Organization, of which India is a member, seeks, at the global level, to empower the indigenous people. The Convention on Biological Diversity, which India has signed, requires the parties to ensure the full participation of the indigenous people in the management of natural resources. The Rio de Janeiro Declaration and the Agenda 21 that came out of the high profile UN Conference on Environment and Development at which India was represented by the Prime Minister himself, forcefully call for respecting the rights of the indigenous people and giving them prominent role in deciding over matters that would affect their life. The plight of indigenous communities world wide has found its place on the international agenda and the global community is gearing itself to bring long-denied justice to the indigenous people. This makes the moral responsibility of India to observe the Year squarely important.

**Domestic responsibility:** India's indigenous people - the tribal people and Dalits - are abysmally marginalized and they are forced to stay far away from the mainstream socio-economic life of the country. The centuries-old caste system, worse than the apartheid regime, has kept them like a people under occupation. **The living tragedy of this people, who constitute 30% of our population, and the connivance of the establishment in perpetuating this tragedy and the insensitivity of the judiciary have been glaringly recognized by the Supreme Court in a judgment delivered in February 1993 by Justice Kuldip Singh and Justice Ramaswamy, (Hindustan Times Feb.22 1993).** Fortunately the architects of our Constitution had recognized the gravity of the plight of our indigenous people and recognized their rights in the Constitution. But the power of the establishment is so ruthless that it has successfully resisted the constitutional objectives of equity and justice. For a systematic documentation of the worsening plight of the indigenous people you may consult the Govt. document *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes 1986-87.*

**Producers of wealth:** A fair look will prove that the

indigenous people are the most worthy Indians. They have conserved the forests for millinia, they have kept the rivers pure an they have protected the resilience of the nature. Their wisdom and knowledge of nature and the ways of using it to the advantage of all - including the future generations - is superior to the knowledge we have borrowed from the west. They have patiently suffered all disasters imposed upon them. **They were the fuel for building our modern nation.**

**Dalit spirituality:** Today, when all our organized religions pursue a course of confrontation and mutual destruction, it is the spirituality of the Dalits that remains benign and truly universal and one that indeed soothers the country. Now it is time for us to come to terms with history, to balance history. India should make an intensive and sustained effort to reform the

society in order to accord the indigenous people their rightful place in the socio-economic life of our nation. "The International Year for the World's Indigenous People" is a tremendous opportunity to help build public awareness on the rights of the indigenous people and to help them assert their role in the society. In a situation where no opportunity should be missed to promote the cause of the acutely marginalized people, the refusal by the Indian Govt. to observe the Year cannot be pardoned.

**Public interest petition:** I appeal to you to kindly consider this letter as a petition in public interest and instruct the Govt. to fully observe the Year. In considering this petition, it is my appeal that you may conform to the concerns expressed by the Supreme Court in its statement cited above. ■

## Does Muslim poverty cause "communal" riots?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Muslims are given a mischievous mantra. They are told their "problem" would be no more with education and economic advancement. Such an upper caste argument coming from the very oppressors of Muslims was refuted in DV several times. (DV Edit, Aug.16, 1984: "Is poverty the cause of anti-Muslim riots?") And yet it needs repetition as the oppressors go on repeating their stale argument in their "national" toilet papers to such of those Muslims willing to be fooled. The best example is Bhatkal, a prosperous port town on the coastal

"economic progress" which naturally created lots of heart-burning among "Hindus", meaning the upper castes who are led by a Brahmin jati called **Havyaks**. The notorious ex-CM, Ramakrishna Hegde, convicted by three judicial commissions for corruption, belongs to this jati which is the brain behind nazi activities in this district of Uttara Kannada.

**Nazis lies:** When the Muslims of Bhatkal are a "prosperous lot", as admitted by Hindus, how "Hindu-Muslim" riots could occur there? Going by the upper caste argument "it is lack of

### **BHATKAL BLASTS UPPER CASTE MISCHIEVOUS MANTRA**

Karnataka. In the continuous "Hindu-Muslim riots" from April 1 to this day, a total of 20 died so far. In the past five months, the town has been under curfew for 60 days.

**Havyak havoc:** Reports say the "communal divide" is total. Muslims are in a majority and most of them belong to a sect called Navayats who control the economy of the town. Navayats trace their origin to Iran. S.M. Yahya, Karnataka Education Minister, is a Navayat. Muslims are a hard-working and disciplined people and thereby achieved fairly good educational and

education and economic advancement that causes Hindu-Muslim riots" But Bhatkal Muslims are fairly educated and also prosperous and yet why they have been subjected to anti-Muslim riots? Bhatkal gives the lie to this mischievous mantra. In fact, it is exactly the opposite. The moment the Muslims get educated and become prosperous, Hindu nazis become jealous and then engineer anti-Muslim riots to crush their progress. Bhatkal has proved it as did Moradabad, Bhiwandi, Aligarh. The Editor would like to visit Bhatkal and prepare a detailed report.

## Laloo corners Aryans

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** India has not seen a chief Minister like Laloo Prasad so far. That is why he has become India's most hated leader and the upper caste press is daily pouring venom. But this down-to-earth Dravida is going ahead caring a twopence for these Aryan hate-mongers.

His master-stroke is in making English compulsory. Because he knows the Aryans are able to defeat the Dravidas only because of their mastery over English. (DV Sept. 16, p. 11: "Man behind Laloo Miracle in Bihar")

He may give the impression that he does not know English but one should see him talk to someone who does not understand Hindi. After all, he got his BA and the law degrees when it was not possible to do so without a working knowledge of English. His latest act is bringing a Bengali Backward Caste as Chief Secretary. A.K. Basak's appointment has rattled the whole lot of Aryan officials because it sidelined three of his seniors, C.R. Venkataraman, an Iyer Brahmin, P.K. Mishra, a Bhumihar Brahmin, and R.K. Srivastava, a Kayasth. ■

# Brahminism as a mental disease killing India

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

Keynote address delivered at the Inauguration of the Bahujan Samaj, a new cultural organisation of BC/SC and Muslim intellectuals of Kerala, by Dr. Rahulana, President, SNDP Yogam, Kerala, on June 6 1993 at Trichur, Kerala. Sub: "Brahminism, cause of India's Backwardness"

*Sisters and brothers,*

I don't know what made you to select me to address a distinguished gathering of social scientists and intellectuals, that too on a subject on which I haven't had any specialization.

Your general secretary, Prof. T.B. Vijaykumar, showed me the list of office-bearers of the Bahujan Samaj and I found in it distinguished personalities.

Except that I am a victim of brahminism and that I am the Editor of a journal dealing with India's vast Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights - who are all victims of brahminism - I have no other qualification.

Of course, I am the author of two works:

1. *Brahminism - Curse of India; and*
2. *Brahminism - Father of Racism, Fascism and Zionism*

Both these books published by the Dalit Sahitya Academy are sold out and DSA has no money to reprint them despite big demands for the books.

This is perhaps my second visit to Trichur. My earlier visit was on the invitation of Dr. Rahulana for some SNDP Yogam conference many years back.

**Cultural capital:** Normally, this subject of brahminism is never discussed on public platforms. Nobody has the courage, particularly in recent years which witnessed a tremendous upsurge in brahminical nazism.

*That you made bold to discuss this subject in Trichur, the so-called cultural capital of Kerala, and that too in this very hall of the Kerala Sahitya Academy, the centre of double-distilled brahminism, proves that you are a set of people with courage and conviction. I congratulate you.*

**Brahmin women:** Though over 85% of India's population is the victim of brahminism including a section of Brahmins themselves and the entire lot of Brahmin women, very little discussion is taking place in this country, in its press or platform. There is so much of fear. This was not so just 10-15 years ago. Periyar EV Ramaswamy used to publicly expose brahminism. But today Tamil Nadu is under a Brahmin chief minister who has re-established the brahminical hegemony over the State.

**This hesitation to discuss brahminism in public is because the English-knowing people ( a tiny, less than 2% of the population) and even the Indian language-knowing people are mostly from the upper castes who are benefited by brahminism.**

And hence this "educated" section not only avoids any discussion on brahminism but denigrates any writer or speaker who dares to touch this subject by dubbing him a casteist, communalist, hate-monger and hence anti-national.

**Threatening letters:** Delhi's largest circulated English daily, Birla's

*Hindustan Times*, now and then publishes my "Letters to Editor" in which I mildly criticise caste system and upper casteism.

The moment my Letter is published some enraged but honest Brahmins directly write to me holding all sorts of threats. Of course, the brave authors of these letters don't write their names - not to speak of their addresses. They abuse me in filthiest of language. This is the culture of the votaries of brahminism. I pity them.

The point I am trying to make is any open discussion on brahminism is never allowed. When so much of secrecy is surrounding this subject your organisation has to be congratulated for openly announcing the subject matter of discussion and conducting an open debate on that. And that too in this caste-ridden "cultural-capital" of Kerala.

**Secrecy:** Why this secrecy on this subject?

It is because this delicate subject "hurts" our upper castes who are also the country's property-holders and hence rulers.

The hundreds of Harshad Mehtas, who have acquired so much of illegal wealth with the help of brahminism, will not like their dirty linen to be washed in public.

**Nairs of Kerala:** During the days of Swami Dharma Thirtha (Parameswara Menon), the author of the famous book, *History of Hindu Imperialism*, and a Nair, even non-Brahmins like Nairs used to join us in

criticizing brahminism.

An English book on the "Nairs of Kerala" refers to a Brahmin saying: "if ever a Nair were to become a university graduate, I will shave my mustache"

So much was the Brahmin-Nair hatred even as recently as 50 years ago.

But today the same Nairs are the strongest advocates of brahminism (cheers).

Such Nairs may be in the Congress or the marxist parties, naxalite parties or even the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad but they all continue to be votaries of brahminism.

**Co-opting the critics:** This is because brahminism has the tremendous capacity to co-opt its critics and make the new recruits fight on behalf of brahminism. Once upon a time vaidik Brahmins were the sole sellers of brahminism. When Vivekananda, a shudra (Kayasth), and then M.K. Gandhi, a Vaishya (Bania), jumped into the bandwagon of brahminism, this nazi philosophy acquired a lot of respectability and muscle power. Today the most vociferous practitioners of brahminism are the shudras like Nairs, Kayasths, Marathas, Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Reddys, Jets, Khammas.

**Shudra muscle:** Brahmins, of course, are there. There can be no brahminism without the Brahmin. But being a cowardly lot, the Brahmins do not have the courage to engage the victims of brahminism in a physical fight. This job is done by the shudras. The landed shudras have both the money and the muscle.

That is how in Karnataka the two dominant landed shudra castes - Lingayats and Vokkaligas - Andhra Pradesh's Reddys and Khammas have become the main oppressors of SC/ST/BCs and Muslims. And thereby they have become ardent upholders of brahminism, which is getting new feathers, new vigour.

This is the secret of the big jump in the popularity of our nazi parties like RSS-BJP, Shiv Sena etc.

The subject you have given me is so vast, (India's principal contradiction) that I cannot do justice to it even if you give me one whole day. But there is a time limit and we can discuss further when I answer questions.

**Bal Thackeray example:** One example can convince you how brahminism is growing day by day and threatening the country's not only unity and integrity but also its social and economic well-being.

The famous example is the Hindu nazi Shiv Sena chief Bal Thackeray.

Today, this Thackeray is considered more brahminical than the pure brahminical party of Chitpavan Brahmins, namely RSS.

**Papayoni:** Thackeray is a Kayasth who according to the vedas are born out of *papayoni*.

His father, Prabhodankar Thakre, was the leader of the anti-Brahmin party movement in Maharashtra before "independence". He even started a paper for his anti-Brahmin movement.

But what is his son doing? He is the greatest upholder of brahminism, which is the father of racism, nazism, zionism (Read DSA book of the same title, 1993).

**Tamil leaders:** The other example is the Dravidian leaders of Tamil Nadu - both DMK and ADMK - born out of Periyar's virulent anti-Brahmin movement.

How Bal Thackeray and the TN's Dravidian leaders transformed themselves into greatest bum-lickers of Brahmins?

The answer to this provides the key to the growth of brahminism.

**Corrupting technique:** Vaidik brahminism or *sanata dharma* first corrupts people through *sama* and *dana* and then *bedha*. It resorts to

*danda* only when the first three weapons, used one after the other, fail.

The brahminical social order (BSO) had used all the three weapons against me but it did not succeed. So, the last weapon is reserved and may be used against me any time.

**Ezhavas - not Hindus:** This corrupting technique was also used against the Ezhavas.

Sri Narayana Guru was perhaps Kerala's most virulent crusader against brahminism.

"Oru Matam, Oru Jati, Oru Daivam" was his slogan.

He installed the "Ezhava Shiva" who was not an Aryan God but a Dravidian deity.

Shiva worshipers are in majority all over India. Hence to capture the Shiva *bhaktas*, a dwarf Namboodiri from Kerala called Adi Shankara did the job of re-establishing brahminism after destroying Buddhism.

After Adi Shankara, today you have the "Modern Shankara", E.M.S. Namboodiripad, to complete the job through marxism (laughter).

**Om and kavi:** But the Guru's movement soon got corrupted and I witnessed this corruption when I visited Varkala where I saw *Om* written all over in Sanskrit and monks wearing *kavi* dress, though the Guru wore a yellow robe.

Nitya Chaitanya Yati has started giving discourses on Gita, thereby once again pushing the once liberated Ezhavas back to slavery as shudras under brahminism.

Sri Narayana Guru had liberated the Ezhavas and constituted them into a separate community.

But this community, forming almost 30% of the Kerala population - single biggest community - got corrupted and that is how brahminism was able to once again enslave and swallow them.

*The Guru never said that Ezhavas were Hindus. Like the Dalits they are*

*a separate entity. But today what happened to them?*

The "Modern Shankara" has made a mince-meat out of the Ezhavas.

**Cross-thread marxists:** Either under the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, or under the Modern Shankara's cross-thread marxist party, the Ezhavas could not get any justice.

**Ezhavas are perhaps the country's best example of slaves enjoying their slavery (cheers).**

Ezhavas did not have a single chief minister after R. Shankar though every party used them as its musclemen.

**Ecology heroes:** Upper castes fooled us in the name of marxism for 50 years.

Marxism having failed, the cross-thread marxists have taken to new weapons to enslave us: environment and ecology.

Trissur, I was told, is the centre for these fellows. Beware of these ecology heroes - enemies of SC/ST/BCs, Muslims (cheers).

Ezhavas are also a good example in the country to prove the efficacy of brahminical corrupting technique and how through corruption it enslaves a whole community.

**Do you know why the Ezhavas are enslaved? Because you have ceased to be an organized community.**

What do I mean when I say that you are no longer an organized group? Muslims, Christians, Sikhs are an organized community because they belong to an organized religion. But you say you are Hindus. Until you declare you are not Hindus and go back to the Guru and take shelter under his liberating religion, you will continue to suffer. The Guru never said that he was a Hindu.

The *Kerala Kaumudi*, the only Ezhava Malayalam daily, is having a Nair editor. To that extent your com-

munity is devoid of intellectual strength today. The SNDP Yogam must bend its head in shame.

**Muslim League:** Then we have the beautiful example of the Muslim League.

Its leadership has been corrupted by the BSO and that is why the Oppressed Muslims are deserting the League.

I was an eye-witness to the League leaders acting at the behest of the BSO when I went to inaugurate the Abdul Nasser Madani's new party, People's Democratic Party or PDP. PDP is Kerala's party of the future. The brahminical press has tried its best to spoil Madani's image but masses do not believe it.

The police used lathis and broke up the meeting at Calicut and all leaders including Madani were arrested. I was the only person spared. The PDP inauguration was not allowed. The brahminical forces used the Muslim League leaders to attack Madani. See the power of brahminism.

Today, not only the Muslim League in Kerala but the entire Muslim leadership in the country has been corrupted.

**Babri Masjid:** That is why even after six months of the Babri Masjid demolition, the Muslim leadership is sleeping on its decision to rebuild the mosque.

Every community leadership has been corrupted. Even the Dalit leadership is corrupted. The forth coming Ottapalam Lok Sabha byelection will teach a lesson to this corrupt League leadership.

**Corruption is the best and the most effective weapon by which brahminism kills a community, destroys its identity and then swallows it. Once a community becomes rootless, it decays and falls.**

Sikhs, Christians, Tamils have been

all swallowed by brahminism. Enslaved. Brahminism is growing taller, fatter and heavier. Apart from the 15% Hindus, it derives support from at least 5 to 10% of non-Hindu corrupt followers.

**Terrorism in Kashmir:** Kashmiris refused to be corrupted and enslaved and that is why they are being violently tackled today through military operation - just like the "Blue Star Operation" against Sikhs.

Anybody not obeying is called a secessionist, separatist, anti-national. Call a dog mad and shoot. This is what is happening in Kashmir today.

**Sikhs finished:** Sikhs have been already finished, enslaved by using Sikhs only. Jat Sikhs (K.P.S. Gill) were used to kill Jat Sikhs.

Advocates of BSO say that brahminism is the world's best religion and a sure solution to all human problems.

**"Poor" Brahmins:** If this is true, why brahminism has not been able to solve Brahmins' own poverty?

Brahmins very often complain that there are good lot of "poor" Brahmins among them. They demand job reservations on par with SC/STs.

What does it prove?

*If the Vedas, Upanishads and all their "sacred scriptures" are the panacea for all the ills of our society, why these scriptures have not cured Brahmins' own illness?*

Advocates of the BSO are also our rulers. They occupy all important positions from President and PM of India down to bank managers, Harshad Mehtas. Every sector of our society is headed by a Brahmin or a member of the BSO.

**Merit & efficiency:** And they defend their monopoly saying that upper castes alone have the "merit and efficiency".

If so, why the country is at the bottom of the world? Why India is being pushed out from the Third World to

the Fourth World?

Why these merit-mongers have failed to give a proof of their "merit"?

I will have to conclude.

**Total breakdown:** If the country is what it is today, the sole responsibility rests on brahminism.

**This all-round moral corruption, decay, utter chaos and confusion, total breakdown of law and order, environment pollution and the rising violence are all due to one sole single factor - brahminism.**

The BSO owns a majority of the country's properties, all important positions, weilds all the power. BSO is the master of everything.

**Siege mentality:** And yet why it is suffering from a siege mentality?

This is because the members of this brahminical social order suffer from a peculiar mental disease that has turned them into kill-joys.

**They think they can be happy only if others are miserable.**

This is something unheard of in the whole world. Is it possible to create a tiny island and happiness with filth and misery surrounding all over? Such a thinking defies history.

But the BSO is an exception to this universal rule.

BSO thin'ks it can be happy only at the cost of others' happiness.

**Extra peg:** If the Muslims are crushed and killed the BSO gets a vicarious pleasure. On the day Babri Masjid was demolished members of the BSO jumped with joy and downed an extra peg (laughter).

The same BSO derived supreme satisfaction when thousands of Sikhs were killed with "Blue Star Operation".

It gives them immense joy when SC/STs are denied reservations.

BSO thinks it can benefit by denying the reservations to Backward Castes as recommended by the Mandal Commission.

*Other's suffering brings joy to BSO. Other's pain brings it pleasure.*

Have you heard of a people like this anywhere in the world?

**Battlefield:** That is why I have called this a mental disease. BSO's mental disease has converted India into a huge battlefield.

It needs a psychiatrist like Dr. Sukumaran (who presided over the seminar). The victims of brahminism are not only those outside the BSO but members of the BSO themselves - particularly its women folk. It is our

duty to cure its mental disorder and bring it back to sanity to restore the country to its original splendour and assure the human rights of the members of BSO itself and thereby liberate ourselves and the country.

That is all I have to say.

The 20th century is coming to an end and with it the "Gandhian Era" is also coming to an end.

The 21st century will be Babasaheb Ambedkar's and Sri Natrayana Guru's Era.

We have to get ready. (cheers). ■

## *DV Editor's final warning to Kerala Muslim League*

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The Editor of *Dalit Voice*, V.T. Rajshekar, has written a letter to Shiahab Thangal, chief of the Kerala Muslim League, giving a "final warning" and at the same time assuring "to rescue the League leadership before it finds itself unemployed" following the Ottapalam byelections. (DV Oct. 1 '93 p.3: "Ottapalam warning")

The letter dated Sept.15 asks the League to quit the Congress coalition in Kerala. It says:

1. You did not reply to our two letters of April 27, 93 and also that of June 14, enclosing my Calicut speech, inaugurating the PDP (Peeditharude Party of Abdul Nasser Madani) which your police refused to be delivered. The speech has since been translated to Malayalam and printed as a pamphlet, *Keralathil Madani Tharagam*. Thousands of its copies have been distributed in Ottapalam causing the defeat of the Congress, the original brahminical party of India.
2. We had also posted a full set of our books on April 27 last. But you did not acknowledge even a single communication of ours. Not only that, you even refused to heed our repeated warnings

predicting that the Muslim masses of Kerala are dead opposed to the League sleeping with the Hindu nazi Karunakaran.

3. Your silence arising out of your arrogance has made you and your party eat dust in Ottapalam.

4. Will you at least now wake up and see that your party parts company with the Congress and the neogi brahmin who caused the Babri masjid blast?

5. Please note that Muslims form the second largest constituency of our journal, *Dalit Voice*, and hence we are in intimate touch with the feelings of the oppressed Muslims, not only in Kerala but all over India. These Muslims are bent upon crushing the Congress and also its child, the Hindu nazi parties.

6. If you refuse to heed this final warning, your party leadership will soon find itself unemployed. So, please come to us and we will rescue you because Muslims and Dalits are brothers and have to work together.

7. Please reply at least to this letter and then let us meet to chalk out a common programme to fight our common oppressor. ■

## DV 10 YEARS AGO

Jan. 16, 1983

Editorial: "Three Cheers to Andhra and Karnataka".

We congratulate the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims of AP and Karnataka for throwing out the oppressive regimes, teaching a lesson to the power-drunk politicians pawned to dynastic rule. The Jan. 5 voting in the two crucial Assembly elections has given a clear rebuff to forces of reaction. It is true that Telugu Desam is led by an upper caste N.T. Rama Rao who may introduce the Khamma rule and Karnataka may bring in a corrupt and communal person as Chief Minister. All the more, we are happy that Congress Party is thrown out.

**BJP all set to take over Indira Gandhi: Dalits and Muslims Beware:** The chorus of protests against the memo of 45 Muslim MPs to the PM seeking protection to Muslims and the RSS demand "to derecognise the minorities" has created widespread fear in India.

**Dalits will lead Indian revolution:** Gall Omvedt.

**Letters to Editor** from Gobind Mukhoty of PUDR, Delhi, Bapurao Pakhidey, Dalit Panthers, Delhi.

**US exposes torture of Untouchables in India:** US Ambassador to UN, Kirkpatrick, raises in UN the issue of "widespread denial of human rights to Dalits and tribals in India." ■

The regular column that last appeared in DV June 1 1993 could not be published for the past four and half months for two reasons: (1) shortage of space owing to flood of reports, articles, letters and communications, pouring in from all over the world thereby putting too much pressure on our limited space and (2) the Editor, already under too much strain, is not able to find time to prepare this column. Those sending materials for publication must get it neatly typed, double-space, with wide margin on both sides. All correspondence from subscribers must bear the subscription number found on the address slip pasted on last page - **EDITOR** ■

### Shahabuddin Charge

**New Delhi:** Syed Shahabuddin, MP, on Sept. 15 accused BSP chief Kanshi Ram of creating impediment in forming an alliance of various groups of the "Janata Parivar". He said the BSP leader was playing the Congress(I) game and making every effort to prevent unity of various factions of the Janata Dal. The BSP was trying for an alliance between the Congress and the BSP-SP combine. (Deccan Herald Sept. 16)

## Kanchi Mutt faces Tamil threat

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Madras:** The Shankarachari Mutt at Kanchipuram in TN was not established by the Adi Shankara, according to his followers. Other Shankaracharies of India do not recognise the Kanchi Mutt.

But all the more Kanchi has acquired so much of power under the brahminical social order (BSO) that no Prime Minister can be selected without consulting it. Only the *Bangalore Papatti*, an Iyengar brahmin, had the courage to defy the Kanchi, never even bothering to visit the place.

Entire Hindu nazi party ideology is shaped at Kanchi. Jayendra Saraswati, a pillar of the Hindu nazi party, is the key figure at Kanchi.

But the poison-spewed from this Aryan centre has evoked so much anger in the hearts of Dravidians in this purest Dravidian State of India, that lately Kanchi is fearing a bomb attack. A strong posse of rifle-wielding policemen is on guard outside the Mutt, says a report.

**Palani Baba threat:** Apart from Palani Baba's Jihad Committee, some Tamil cum Periyarist cum Naxalite groups have vowed to "storm this "citadel of Indian/Aryan/Brahmin hegemony," says *Hindustan Times* (Sept. 5).

Tamil liberation to them means "not only the driving out of the agencies of the Central govt. but also the Brahmins, the north Indians and Hinduism itself. Recently, one of these groups had declared that it would not allow the North Indians to visit the Rameshwaram temple, which in the North is considered one of the four principal Hindu pilgrimage centres."

**Periyar's order:** "In the Southern Tamil Nadu, especially in Tirunelveli dt., a number of temples, even small village temples have been desecrated. More recently, a group called Makkal Kalai Iyakkam (Peoples Arts Organisation) stormed the sanctum sanctorum of the temple in Srirangam in Tiruchi district and desecrated it after throwing the poojari down".

"Periyar EV Ramaswamy has been identifying the Kanchi Mutt as a quintessential representative of brahminism and the Brahmins. Periyar's Dravida Kazhagam (DK) even built a statue of Periyar virtually in front of the Mutt," says the report. ■

## Letters to Editor

**V.T. Hireker**, 42-Broxholm Rd, West Norwood, London-SE27, OLZ, UK: To discuss the existing anarchic situation in India caused by Hindu nazis, a public meeting was held here on Aug.15 by the "Alliance Against Communalism" by its convener, Dr. Gautam Appa, a lecturer at the London School of Economics. The subject was "Gandhi's India or Godse's India?" Dr. Ramachandra Gandhi, an Oxford doctorate and grandson of M.K. Gandhi, said Hindu nazis had called Gandhi a hypocrite and fraud who partitioned India and hence deserved to be killed. A member of the audience added that Gandhi was also called Enemy No.1 of the Untouchables. I said the practice of untouchability (racism) in India is entirely the creation of its upper castes who have branded 200 million human beings as Untouchables. Which religion in the world calls human beings Untouchables? Gandhi named them *Harijans*. But can the *Harijans* become "holy" Shankaracharies or Brahmins? As I spoke all Hindus put their heads down in shame and Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and Dalits were happy. Ramu Gandhi remained silent. I quoted V.T. Rajshekar's book, *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?* (DSA 1986) which said Gandhi was a "third grade" Bania under BSO with no right to talk against brahminic scriptures. Had the sensible Indians considered Dr. Ambedkar's views at that time India's partition could have been averted. Who is a greater patriot, Gandhi who brought about India's partition or Dr. Ambedkar who intended to avoid it? Gandhi discouraged India's modernisation and development with science and technology. Whether they wish to take India to gandhian primitivism or to Babasaheb's modernisation and development? Gandhi supporters in the audience had no answer. Racism exists in India in the form of *varna* and caste which Gandhi upheld and hence branded a "violent racist" in Atlanta, US (DV Dec.16 1992, p.7 and June 16 93, p.6). Hindu nazis intend to further strengthen caste system and *varna* system. That is why V.T. Rajshekar called brahminism as the Father of Fascism & Racism (DSA 1993). How the Hindus can condemn racism and discrimination in US and Europe but propagate and practice the same inside India?

**Sheikh Hyder**, 94B, Gaisford Street, London, NW5 2EH: Honesty and fairplay, either in politics, art or culture, are dead. The best example of poison and deceit coming out of the pen is from one "I.S" of *India*

*Weekly*, London, June 11-17, 1993. The writer has not mentioned his full name to hide his true colours. Such writers are usually from the ruling upper castes. May be a sold-out writer from other communities as well. They don't have love even for their own communities - the shudras and Untouchables. Babasaheb Ambedkar tried to lift the Dalits from the brahminic slavery. But the upper castes killed him under mysterious circumstances. This "I.S" has written a five-column commentary on Dr. Iftikar M. Malik's recent publication which came out in March, *The Continuing Conflict in Kashmir: Regional Detente in Jeopardy* (10 pounds). He is a Senior fellow of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, and is an authority in South Asian History and Politics. The writer "I.S" has no objective or honest discussion, but to churn out hate-propaganda with devious means and pretenses. These jaundiced brains see nothing wrong in genocide in Kashmir or Bosnia. India's first Prime Minister, Nehru, gave "solemn assurances" to UN to hold a referendum in Kashmir under UN auspices. (DV Oct.1 1993 p.19: "*V.P. Menon on Kashmir*"). That was just a ploy to gain time and strengthen the upper caste rule. *Dalit Voice* is fully right in saying that "national press" of India are 'toilet papers'. Their aim is to serve brahminism and divide the oppressed. If a freedom fighter kills one Israeli soldier it brings out its warplanes and tanks to raze whole cities of Lebanon. In Judai-Christian teaching, there is eye for eye and tooth for tooth. But in zionist-brahminical philosophy there is unrestrained revenge of killing and destruction. Bombay and South Lebanon have been their latest examples of unrestrained killings. Hindu fundamentalists worship the cow but put to sword innocent human beings. US went to Iraq to kill over 30,000 civilians, men, women and children. No holds barred. Geneva conventions don't apply to the Trio-Israel, America and India. They bomb hospitals, bridges, baby food plants, water purification plants, sewage facilities, and all in the name of human rights and territorial integrity. We who love India and its people want to be saved from its upper caste hegemony.

**Ratnakar Bhengra**, C/o J.M. Kajur, Albert Compound, Pathal Kudwa, Purlia Road, Ranchi-834 001: My friend, Meghnath, once said: "When a Scheduled Caste goes to the city his status is raised but when a tribal goes there his status is lowered." He is right. Upper castes (Hindus) have a certain character. They are casteist/racists, patriarchal. In Jharkhand, the tribals and other indigenous people are victims of these very forces from Bengal, Orissa, Bihar. But our upper caste "marxists" would like to describe the oppression of tribals and indigenous people as a simple "class problem" hiding their racist prejudices. The Indian upper caste-domi-

nated state dominates Adivasis by force breaking native (Adivasi) resistance through every possible means from gifts to genocide. The state is imposing deadly mega-dam projects on the lives and territories of the Adivasis of the Narmada Valley. The local daily, *Prabhat Khabar*, recently reported that the Army has ordered the tribals of Kumhar Toli, Pahan Toli and Guru Toli, on the outskirts of Ranchi, to vacate their houses and lands. The deadline to quit was June 30 '93 and about 1,500 persons would be effected. The Ranchi case illustrates how force is sought to be used against the Adivasis by the state. Even judiciary is against them. Adivasis are even exploited socio-culturally. They are being absorbed or influenced by brahminism. The so-called "national integration policy" is a hypocritical political ploy by which Jharkhand brothers and sisters are being flung into Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and MP. Behind all this military, juridical and socio-cultural aggression is the main issue of power of the upper caste rulers enslaving the tribals.

**C. Surendran**, Alm Hostel, Farook College, Calicut-673 632: Presenting gold medals to meritorious SC/ST students at Madras, Vice-President K.R. Narayanan said: "The weaker sections must follow the words of B.R. Ambedkar - Educate, Organise and Agitate - which are the key to success." (*Indian Express* Sept. 7). The order of the slogan given by him is wrong. Please send him a copy of your article - *Three Commandments of Babasaheb* - and correct the Dalit scholar who has not correctly studied Babasaheb.

**Swapan Kr. Biswas**, chief coordinator, Bangla Dalit Sahitya Sanstha, 387-A, J&K Pocket, Dilshad Garden, Delhi-95: Hindu "saints" and "holy saints" joined hands with Hindu politicians on Dec. 6 to destroy Babri Masjid. Even the "Hindu" police, PAC, CRPF jawans in uniform or in disguise supported this sacred vandalism along with "Hindu" social workers, intellectuals, administrators and defenders of the "Hindu" faith. Article 49 of the Constitution made it an "obligation of the state to protect every monument or place or object of art or historic interest of national importance from destruction." The Supreme Court also gave directions not to infringe geographic jurisdiction of the Babri Masjid. But nothing could prevent "Hindus" to bonfire the Constitution and destroy the Supreme Court along with the Babri Masjid. Why they did not hesitate to destroy the Masjid? It was not hindering "Hindus" to propagate or practice their religion. Why then it was destroyed? This is because Islam is at loggerheads fundamentally with the "Hindu religion". Islam propagates universal humanism, fraternity and equal rights and duties of each individual. Brahminism is a tower of graded inequality. Universal humanism or brotherhood are unknown to

brahminism which spreads pollution and hatred. It creates untouchables, unapproachables, sudras and backwards. Islam has no caste system. There is no Bhoodevata under it. Untouchability is unimaginable under it. It never gave birth to permanent widowhood. Devadasis, Sevadasis are unheard of. Islam makes even slave a worthy sultan. Slave Qutbuddin established a "Slave Dynasty" in India. Slaves in succession rose to the highest pulpit of Indian power. They ruled with exceptional ability. Islam does not discriminate against women. It allowed women to rise to the zenith. Indian history witnesses only one queen, Sultan Razia. Upper castes cannot dream of it. By becoming a Muslim "low caste Hindus" who were devoid of all rights can become a governing class. The President of Bangladesh today is Abdul Rahman Biswas. He could not have imagined to be so as a Hindu "lowborn". Dr. Ambedkar, therefore, gave a call to desert the stinking, sinking boat of Hinduism and jump into other religion.

**Gopal Ch. Biswas**, West Kodaliala, PO New Barrackpur, Dt. 24 Parganas (N), W. Bengal-743 276: This is with ref. to "*DV Editor Walking too Fast*" by Kumar Krishnan of Cochin (DV Aug. 1 93, p. 12). I have been reading DV almost for the last ten years. Krishnan has assigned to the Editor the honour of "Master of predictions." He has also cited some examples of such predictions. Our Editor has shown an outstanding capacity and zeal in making correct assessment, evaluation and interpretations of important issues, subjects and situations which he had for long been dealing with in *Dalit Voice*. What all he had so long been telling and stating cannot wholesale be viewed as "predictions or prophecies." At best they may be called "assessment, evaluation and interpretations" of relevant issues, subjects and situations concerning India. The Editor while warning makes use of certain rhetorics which make it look like predictions. Krishnan had quoted the example of the Editor's booklet, *How Marx Failed in Hindu India* (DSA). This booklet is purely a sort of synthesis-cum-thesis based on some facts and ideologies. So, I cannot accept that the Editor is a "Master of predictions". Yes, I agree with Krishnan that the Editor's "intellectuality" runs too fast. And yet, I have found a sound philosophic tenet in the Editor's intellectuality to shape a liberation philosophy for the Dalits and other persecuted peoples.

**N.K. Sonare**, Sec.-General, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar National Assn. of Engineers, "Tushar", 19th Road, Khar, Bombay-52: This concerns the revision of post-matric scholarships for SC/ST students given by the Union Govt. (Ministry of Welfare) through respective State govts./Union territory admn. Presently, 50 lakh SC/ST students are suffering due to inadequate scholarships. The rates fixed in 1948 have been revised

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hrice (1954, 1976, 1989). The rates are (A) Medical, Engg., Agri., & Vet. - Rs. 280 (hosteller) and Rs. 125 for others. (B&C) Ayurvedic, Homeo, Sc. degree. Polytech, Pharmacy, Law, Drawing, & Soc. Science - Rs. 190 and Rs. 120 respectively. (D) BA, BCom. and other courses - Rs. 175 and Rs. 90 and (E) XI & XII (Jr. college) - Rs. 175 and Rs. 65. Professional course students have to spend monthly Rs. 600 on mess and Rs. 600 on accommodation, travel, books and instruments. Non-professionals need monthly Rs. 800 minimum. Though the Govt. Order is for monthly disbursement of scholarships, not a single college in the country is obeying it. Instead, college authorities keep the amount in banks and eat the interest on it. Parents income-ceiling to become eligible for the scholarship is Rs. 24,000 a year. That means even a son/daughter of a peon, sweeper is debarred. The revision of scholarship should be on the basis of 100% maintenance and as such it should be linked with price index or DA. The amount should be same for both hosteller and day-scholar and paid monthly by cheque. Eligibility should be modified by raising the income limits of parents from Rs. 24,000 to Rs. 60,000 a year.

**B.K. Ghatak**, New Delhi: In DV Edit Sept. 1 1993, you have argued that the Hindu nazi party is less dangerous than the Congress. What is important is we should first form the Bahujan Samaj and prepare it for "political power". Babasaheb has said "political power is the master-key of all locks." If master-key is in your hand you can open all locks." If the PVN Govt. were to fall on the no-confidence motion, the President would call the nazi party, the largest, to form the govt. and this is the party of "scared brahmins" who are more united and dangerous compared to the "socialist brahmin" party of the Congress. If "socialist brahmins" can rule for 50 years, the "sacred" will be able to rule many more years. The "socialists" are a divided force and hence easy to break them.

*Brother Ghatak and all those involved in social movements should first study the law of contradictions without which we will remain a bundle of confusion. Brahminical forces are such experts in this law that they will never allow us to identify them as the Enemy No.1. It is true that Babasaheb had asked us to capture "political power". But did he not also say that social revolution should precede political revolution? Is it possible for us to capture "political power" through the existing parliamentary democracy which is favourable to Aryans? Are the SC/STs lacking in "political power" today, if getting elected to Parliament is mistaken as "political power"? Don't we have 120 MPs in the Lok Sabha? If they all join hands they can make and unmake any govt. If this 120 MPs are a "political*

*power", why did they all sit silent when Babasaheb's book, **Riddles in Hinduism**, was burnt by Hindu nazis? If these 120 MPs are a "political power" why they were insulted by not allowing them into the Rashtrapati Bhavan when they went in a delegation to meet the then Tamil Brahmin President, R. Venkataraman? "Political power" is no power today. Did not Sitaram Kesari other day frankly tell Parliament that govt. officers simply don't obey the order of Ministers. Today, the "power" has passed into the hands of bureaucrats, judiciary and more than anything the Press. Because it is only through these the Aryan upper castes can monopolise in the name of merit and efficiency. "Political power" is no power today. "Political power" has to be seized. Do you think Aryans will give it on a golden plate? The second but more important point is between the Congress and the Hindu nazi parties who is more dangerous. Babasaheb has already answered the question saying Congress being India's original brahminical party, and thereby identified the Enemy No.1. All through his life he fought only MK Gandhi and his Congress. Hindu nazis were very much there during his days but he had not a word of complaint against Savarkar, Moonje, Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya etc. who constituted the Hindu nazi parties. These nazis represent the brahminical thought which has a place in India. The 1932 "Communal Award" for separate electorate for SC/STs, demanded by Babasaheb and upheld by the British govt., was sabotaged by Gandhi and his Congress through the Poona Pact. Hindu nazis had never opposed it. India was partitioned by the Congress. The Sikh identity promised to Sikhs was broken by the Congress which launched the "Operation Blue Star". It is the Congress which failed to implement the Mandal Commission Report. It is the Congress which failed to honour the "Poona Pact" and sabotaged the SC/ST reservations. It is the Congress which broke the promise given to Kashmiris. It is the Congress which sold India to America. It is finally the Congress which broke the Babri Masjid. The most cunning, crafty, crooked Aryans like the neogi brahmin are found in Congress. If the Hindu nazi party has suddenly become prominent it is because of the encouragement given by the Congress. So, Congress is our Enemy No.1 and must be finished first. Muslims have taken this decision and Dalits should not lag behind. Oct. 1 DV edit has elaborately dealt with the Congress "socialist brahmin" **natak** companies playing havoc with us confusing everybody. In the UP election, it must be an all-out anti-Congress and anti-Hindu nazi alliance of all Dravidian forces (including Muslims) to bury the Congress, fathoms deep - **EDITOR***

**M.L.Rao**, 26/45, Koyalawali Basti, Jeoni Mandi, Agra-202 004: Bharatiya Dalit Sahitya Academy, Delhi, has selected P.P. Shilankar for the "1993 Dr. Ambedkar Award" for his contribution to Dalit literature. The award ceremony is fixed for Nov.24 (Poona Pact day). Earlier, he was given the Dr. Ambedkar Sahitya Ratna Award by the Dr. Ambedkar Kalyan Trust, Chandigarh. He has worked as journalist in many local Hindi dailies and published and edited *Nav Jagruti* (Hindi weekly), *JayMangal* and *Samyak Vachan* (Hindi monthly magazines) and many books. Despite being physically handicapped, he is writing (Hindi) on some Jatava intellectuals and social activists.

**C.H. Prasada Rao**, Andhra Pradesh Ekalavya Seva Samithi, 211C, Renuka Apts., Anand Nagar, Khairatabad, Hyderabad-4: We the Malakkuravan, Kuravan, Kurumans, Koravans belong to one single stock of wandering gypsies having no abode or shelter, earning through soothsaying, basket-making, pig-rearing, selling leaves for centuries on donkeys and bullocks. We are India's most innocent, neglected people. We have our own separate tribal language, Kurru. The British Govt. had listed us as aboriginal hill tribes under the 1886 census. In Tamil Nadu, this single community is put under ST/SC and BC lists unlike in other States. Anthropologists who had worked on Indian tribes had identified us as "Kuruvan community" having the same language known as "Kurru" and gotras as (1) Kavadi, (2) Sathpadi, (3) Manpadi and (4) Mendragutti. All these names are nothing but the synonyms of Kurumans/Yerukula. Because of including us in different categories the development of brotherhood among us has suffered. We are more than 10 lakhs in TN alone. But only a part of us (Kurumans and Kattunayakans) are listed under ST and clubbed with other STs. Yerukulas (ST) from Andhra Pradesh came to TN in search of jobs and settled there but they are treated as BC in TN but ST in AP. We want that all the synonyms of Kurumans viz. Kuravans, Kattu Nayakans, Yerukulas, Koravans and Nalaikuravans, Dabbakuravans, Pandy Kuravans, Uppu Kuravans, Engi Kuravans, Thappa Kuravans, Kepmari are to be treated as ST in TN.

**Vijaya Raju**, Vissanapeta, AP-521 215: After great deal of thinking, study and travel, I have come to the following conclusion on Dalit Movement. In the next 100 years there is no future for Dalit movement. Havanur was correct in saying that the future is bleak to Dalits and BCs (*Havanur and the Bible of BCs* by V.T. Rajshekar). Your latest book, *Dialogue of the Bhoodevatas*, also confirms this and it is also my experience. The marxian concept of revolution is wrong. There will be no such revolution in India. If Dalits attempt such a revolution it may fall as the French

revolution as there is no planning, finance and support from outside. Marxism proved unscientific. So what we need is our indigenous cultural religious renaissance - a rebirth in the Buddhist concept, as Dr. Ambedkar showed. DV is no doubt "educating" but not "agitating". Then who will "agitate"? The DV Editor will be finished if he enters the field of "agitation". One man cannot play all these three roles - "Educate, Agitate and Organise". DV Editor's prediction that the 21st century belongs to Dalits will fail. Only a miracle can make him true.

**Sunil Sardar**, "Dinbandhu", PO Box-13, Yavatmal, MS-445 001: DV is clear in vision and understanding. We support you because we are also missionaries. I have been jailed twice and beaten up by the police for religious conversion but this is acceptable to us according to the Bible. We share your vision to deliver people from this evil *vaedic* practices which take our country into the pit. I will be a part of your mission. Can we translate and publish DV? Gail Omvedt is our personal friend. There are tribals dying daily here in Amravati dt. because of malnutrition.

**Y.P. Chhibbar**, Gen. Secretary, People's Union for Civil Liberties, 81-Sahayoga Apts., Mayur Vihar-1 Delhi-91: This is with ref. to the DV Editor's note on V.T. Hireker's article, "*Can Enemies of Dalits be human rights heroes?*" (DV Sept. 16 93, p.9). According to our records, you are life-member of the PUCL. And if I remember correctly, you had paid the life-membership when I was in Bangalore in connection with the PUCL journalism award function in which Justice Chinnappa Reddy had delivered the JP memorial lecture. All the information about the activities of the PUCL are published in the *PUCL Bulletin*. If you had written to the gen. sec. of the Karnataka PUCL he would have surely responded to your complaints about not being informed of the activities of the Karnataka PUCL. I do not think anyone can say that the Karnataka PUCL has members who "do not like" any section of the society or who are "enemies" of any section of the society.

*Chhibbar's record is not correct. We had paid the PUCL life-membership by cheque dt. Oct. 18, 86 and posted to Chhibbar in Delhi. Only after writing a reminder on March 24 1987 for a receipt, we received a signed receipt dt. Feb. 26 1987 after a month. In spite of becoming a life-member, we were not getting all the communications. So we wrote a letter to Justice Rajinder Sachar dt. May 2 1989 in which we reminded the PUCL chief that we got no reply from his office for our letter of March 24, 1987 complaining about non-receipt of communications either from the Delhi office or Karnataka unit. In this letter to Sachar we had stated that PUCL is an organisation to defend and promote civil liber-*

ties and human rights. But the Karnataka Govt. under the chief ministership of R.K. Hegde had filed several criminal cases including sedition against us for writings on Dalits and other persecuted minorities. "Different organisations including Amnesty International had lodged strong protests against our persecution. But the local unit of PUCL has not bothered to take any step against the injustice meted out to a fellow member of the PUCL (a founder-member) and also a prominent journalist. As this is a human rights issue, we are sure this would be a right case to take up by the PUCL". Even to this letter, we received no reply. Persecution of Dalits., Muslims were not taken up seriously. For all these reasons, Dalits were forced to form their own "Dalit Human Rights Forum" here because Dalits are feeling that upper caste human rights organisations are not concerned with us. It is this feeling that V.T. Hireker had expressed in his article in **Dalit Voice**. Instead of inquiring into all these aspects, about which we have the record, Chhibbar has come to his own conclusion. If the upper caste human rights organisations are sincerely concerned with Dalits, it is for them to prove it. Enemies of Dalits can't be human rights heroes - **EDITOR**

**Principal Gurdial Singh Grewal**, 179/180, Model Gram, Ludhiana-141 002: There is a common saying in North India, 'Kaal Baagron oopjay Bura Brahmin tay hoy', "Famine takes birth from unfertile lands of Rajasthan and evil actions are committed by Brahmins". History of unknown dates speaks volumes of this truth. Manu's Code and the Vedas form the base. The known history has many instances of the devilish part played by *vaidiks* who caused the untold sufferings of Bhagat Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas, Prahlad and other saints. They called Guru Nanak "Kurahia", follower of a bad path. They opposed Guru Amar Das, the Third Nanak, for serving *langar* (food) to all seated alike at one place, disregarding caste. Even Emperor Akbar and his royal family members were made to dine with all others in the common kitchen of the Guru. He was pleased with the common kitchen and offered lands for the kitchen. But the *vaidiks* opposed this *Guru Ka Langar*. Chandu, a Brahmin, was one of those responsible for the martyrdom of Guru Arjun Dev though the real culprit was Emperor Jehangir. Some Brahmins challenged Guru Hari Krishan, the 8th Nanak, for debate on religion but the Guru got them defeated at the hands of a totally illiterate and a shudra. Guru Tegh Bahadur laid down his life to protect the religion at the request of Kashmiris but the Brahmins rewarded him by betraying Guru Gobind Singh. The *vaidiks* opposed and invaded Guru Gobind Singh often, though defeated on all such occasions. In Sikh wars against

invading alien forces, Brahmins like Tej Singh and Lal Singh, despite being ministers under the Khalsa Empire, betrayed the Sikhs and joined hands with the foreigners. This resulted in the defeat of the national forces. When the Sikh army had the upper hand, one Pahara Singh, a Brahmin, who collaborated with the vanquishing alien armies, gave them all the war secrets and thereby converted the Sikh victory into defeat. Thus the British were able to annex Punjab to complete their domination of entire India. The credit for this mean action goes to these *Vaidiks*.

**Isa Haque**, Vill. Madhupur, PO Hoerah, dt. Hooghly, WB-712 147: This is with ref. to Qurban Ali Zaminzad's brilliant article, "Beware of 3 Enemies" (DV July 16 p.14). The article is a thought-provoking. With deep insight and painstaking analysis he has brought out the true colour of some Muslim organisations which are hobnobbing with our deadliest enemy, Hindu nazis. we can no longer place our trust on this leadership because it has already brought down its credibility to the lowest level by its repeated failure to uphold and safeguard the Muslim causes. Muslim interest and identity are no longer safe under it. Divorced from reality, this UP-based Muslim leadership is under the mistaken impression that lambs and wolves can be made to live in peace and harmony without any harm to the former. They seem to forget that the life of a Muslim and the life of the *Manusmriti*-dominated Hindu run along parallel lines. Because of the fundamental differences inherent in their religious outlook and religious conduct, if ever they meet they will meet only when one is assimilated by the other. Making love with one is a decent thing. But to make love with a maneater is insane. A Hindu fascist intent upon destroying everything which is Islamic ranks as our Enemy No.1. In that case, he should be and must be dealt with in the same manner as a ferocious animal is dealt with when encountered in a jungle. There are specific directives to do this in the Koran. We must fight this enemy and not surrender before it. This is the need of the hour. A spade should be called a spade. Enemy should be identified and named. (DV Edit March 1 93 "Muslims must right away identify their friends and enemies"). Life flourishes through relentless struggle. It is through struggle that Islam has grown into a global power. To forget it is a sin. Are we to commit this sin? Our intellectual elites instead of being torch-bearers of our community prefer to be the pall-bearers of Islam. They need not wait for long to have their assignment fulfilled. They will get the corpse soon when history repeats itself in the form of "Spanish Experiment in India" about which DV has repeatedly warned.

**Mahboob Alam**, Iqra Academy for Dawah, Rahmat

**Manzil, Sharif Colony, Patna-800 006:** The British Prime has disclosed his heart's desire not to see the existence of a Muslim state in Europe in the form of Bosnia-Herzegovina. By adopting a policy of genocide of Muslims in Bosnia, the western powers are inviting the wrath of god. God's mill grinds slow but sure. As for the future of Islam in Europe and the West, Geroge Bernard Shaw has said: ".....within the next hundred years, perhaps even much earlier, England in particular and the rest of the western world in general are bound to embrace Islam, if they intend to save themselves from the devastations of wars".

**Indian Peace Keepers, Kutchi Masjid Bldg. Azeezuddin Rd., Bunder, Mangalore:** We have just read your book, *India's Muslim Problem*. It is extraordinary. We want to translate it into Kannada, besides your *Aggression on Indian Culture*. Please give permission for the same.

**Md. Taherul Haque, Editor, "Bhorer Azan Weekly", Masjid Para Road, Diamond Harbour, 24 Parganas, WB-743 331:** West Bengal has a Muslim population of 18 millions and for historical reasons they are mostly backward. One of the main problems is they don't have a single newspaper to reflect the Muslim viewpoint. We want *Dalit Voice* to enrich ourselves.

**Sultan Akhtar, Khanapur-Deh-392 150:** MY fear is that so far as the awakening of Gujarat's downtrodden are concerned, it is miles to go. See what a revolutionary-looking Gujarati booklet, *Shoshit Jaagruti*, by Jaynatilal R. Manani and published by Kanchanben K. Mistry says: ".....owing to the policy framed by the Bharati constitution, the circle of Untouchability has been destroyed and is now confined only to the heart of the Pandit/purohit class and within temples..." ".....The foolish class of Pandit-purohits closed the doors for re-entrance into Hindu fold of the Khoja, Vohra, Memon Muslims...". This 55-page Gujarati booklet is all praise for people like M.K. Gandhi, Shivaji, Dayanand Saraswati. The current Hindutva hero, Swami Vivekanand, occupies almost half the booklet. I am dead sure your scathing work, *Know the Hindu Mind*, has not yet reached these 'torchbearers' of Hindu awakening". Indeed Gujaratis are correctly called 'Dadh Daahyaas'. Under the misleadership of Gandhi, they had adopted Hindi script at the expense of Gujarati. Consequently, there is a terrible shortage of Gujarati typewriters.

**Dr. M. Anees, Press Sec., SIM Hqrs., 151 - Zakir Nagar, New Delhi-110 025:** The proposed *Anti-Varna Vyavastha Campaign* of the Students Islamic Movement of India is postponed to Jan. 2. to 9 1994 instead of Oct. 2.

**Yoginder Sikand, No.13-Old Block, Brahmputra Hos-**

**tel, JNU, New Delhi-67:** I have just returned from a fortnight's stay at Qadian (Punjab), hqrs. of the Ahmadiyya community. Though these people have been declared as non-Muslims by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, they regard themselves as Muslims. One might not agree with their theological principles entirely, but, it would be uncharitable not to recognise and acknowledge the good work that they have done. For instance, there is an absolute absence of casteism or provincialism among them. In 1947, all the Ahmadies of Punjab fled to Pakistan and only 313 Ahmadi youth remained in Qadian to look after their religious shrines. This they did despite having to face riotous mobs of Sikhs and "Hindus". After a few years, when matters cooled down, these youths had to look for brides and since there were no Ahmadi women left in East Punjab (since they had all fled to Pakistan), the Ahmadiyya Jamat arranged for their marriage with Ahmadies from other parts of India. Hence nearly every family of Ahmadies in Qadian is mixed in terms of provincial and linguistic backgrounds. Yet, husbands and wives seem to encounter no problem of cultural differences. I also met some converts to Ahmadiyyat who had been readily accepted into the Ahmadi fold and were able to marry with the Ahmadies. Thus, a Kumhar (potter) convert has married a Jat Ahmadi girl, a Brahmin convert (presently a Maulvi) has married an Ahmadi girl from UP and a sweeper convert has married a girl from a Syed family of Bengal. I was most impressed by this remarkable display of social solidarity among the Ahmadies of Qadian. They need your literature at Khuddam-ul-Ahmadiyya Library, Ahmadi Mohalla, Qadian, Gurdaspur dt., Punjab.

**S.A. Rahman, 8/289, Byron Bazar, Raipur, MP-492 001:** Soon after "independence" it was decided to abolish the all-India services like ICS, IPS, IMS, IFS etc. for better and efficient administration and to make the all-India and state services equal. But this was not done. It was reborn in the new name of IAS, IPS, IFS etc. The super services personnel think they are superior to their counterparts in state services. Only 16 banks have been nationalised leaving other banks. Despite our huge 84-crores population India could not get a single gold-silver-bronze medal in Olympic games. Even after 50 years of "independence" we could not evolve a uniform national wage policy.

**Henry Thiagaraj, Dalit Liberation Education Trust, 161-TTK Salai, Madras-18:** A delegation of senior Christian leaders of India met President Sharma on Aug. 20 and urged him to give reservations to Dalit Christians. He assured that he would try to get the gross anomalies in the Presidential Order of 1950, para 3, removed for getting reservations to Christian Dalits. The delegation included Senior Vice-President of the

National Co-ordination Committee for Scheduled Caste Christians, Prof. Sydney R. Rebeiro, Rev. Anand Chandu Lal, Bishop of Amritsar, Rev. Dr. S. Micheal, Archbishop of Pondicherry, Rev. M. Azariah, Bishop of Madras, Rev. Pritam Santaram, Bishop of Delhi. Dr. V.S. Lall, Gen Sec. CNI., Rev. Dr. James Massey, Mrs. Shamim Sagar, Jose Daniel, Mrs. Veena Samuel, Henry Thiagraj, Justice (retd), A. Varadarajan and Prakash Ambedkar.

**George K.X.** 227-2nd Cross, Cambridge Layout, Bangalore-8: The Hindu nazi virus has contaminated Christianity also. All sort of stories are fabricated to "elevate" some sections as "upper caste Christians". They call themselves Syrians, Orthodox Syrians etc. having separate churches within the Catholic community. "Indianisation" of the Catholic church is another conspiracy of the nazis within the church to pollute the Christian values. In the name of "Indianisation" they are bent upon introducing Hindu rituals. Hymns are changed to *bhajans* by inducting Sanskrit words such as *Om*. Indianisation does not mean brahminisation.

**M. Gopinath**, Samata Sainik Dal, Bangalore: This is in response to the DV Edit of Oct. 1 93: "*Socialist Brahmin natak companies*". On April 17 93 along with the Editor of DV, I attended one such "anti-communalism" *natak* where we issued the following pamphlet warning all such *natak* companies which deliberately avoided to diagnose the disease described as 'communalism'. The menace of 'communalism' is an urban phenomenon. Whereas in the rural parts we face caste oppression. Communalism is the extension of caste oppression. The driving force behind both is brahminism. We are the victims of brahminism - SC/ST/BCs as well as Muslims/Sikhs/Christians. If seminars like this are seriously interested in destroying communalism/caste aggression, we must first identify brahminism as the principal contradiction and eliminate it. Or else, we may have to come to the conclusion that such seminars are also an activity of brahminism in disguise to divert the attention of the oppressed. As this convention has reference to Babri Masjid demolition, we demand answers to the following questions: (1) In a lecture Dr. Sarvepalli Gopal said that there was no historical evidence to prove that there was a Ram temple on the site of Babri Masjid. If it is so, why Prof. Gopal remained silent on this after its demolition. (2) Ambedkarites, Dalit and backward Caste organisations have declared that they are not Hindus. But the press and mass media are putting SC/ST/BCs under Hinduism for bloating the Hindu population to 85%. Whether this convention too believes that SC/ST/BCs are Hindus? (3) Everybody is shouting that only the BJP-VHP-RSS combine is responsible for the Babri Masjid demolition. Thereby they

are trying to prove that the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, is innocent and secular party. Will this convention too be a party to this mischievous opinion that only RSS and Co. are the culprits?

**Kumara Krishnan**, Cochin: It is now certain that Kanshi Ram's BSP will go with the Congress, country's original brahminical party and Enemy No. 1 of Dalits. The Congress Working Committee decision in Delhi on Sept.19 to have alliance with Ram has come as a shock to me. Babri Masjid was demolished by the neogi brahmin and his party. How can a Dalit party join such nazis? Will it not amount to betrayal of Babasaheb? Will you meet Ram and avert this disaster? ■

## SELLOUT IN PALESTINE ?

*The drum beating in Western and Arab capitals about the "historic agreement" with Israel is designed to mask the abject surrender of the PLO, especially its chairman, Yassir Arafat. The deal, however, comes as no surprise. Arafat and associates in the PLO as well as the Arab rulers owe to the west's pleasure. The PLO itself was created by the advice of Dean Rusk, US secretary of State during Lyndon Johnson's presidency. Its official birth certificate was issued at the Arab League summit in Cairo in Jan 1964 to 'liberate Palestine through armed struggle.' Born under such circumstances, it quickly became the victim of its own propoganda.*

*Arab rulers have a tendency of confusing rhetoric with reality, bringing unmitigated disaster upon their hapless subjects. The PLO is no exception. In fact, the humiliating deal that Arafat and company are peddling as a 'historic' breakthrough is the product of this mindset. In return for getting limited autonomy on the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho, the PLO is willing to abandon virtually the whole Palestine on behalf of the Palestinian people when it has no mandate to speak on their behalf. The zionist occupiers were on the verge of fleeing Gaza anyway, not because of any effort by the PLO but because of the heroic resistance of the Islamic Jihad and Hamas. (Editorial in Crescent International, Sept. 16 '93)*

# SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus: Savarnas are a microscopic minority

S.R BISWAS BE-203, SALT LAKE CITY, CALCUTTA-700 064

The question, "Are we Hindus?" raises eyebrows of many a god-fearing Dalit. Most of the Dalits consider and introduce themselves as Hindus. They cannot but write 'Hindu' in their bio-data. They infact take pride in saying they are Hindus. But this religious identity is wrong. Some of our Dalit friends may retort, "If we are not Hindus, what is our religion?"

**Hindoo:** There is no mention of the word 'Hindu/Hindoo' in the Sanskrit "sacred scriptures". Therein it is called 'Arya Dharma', 'Vaidic Dharma', 'Sanatana Dharma' etc. The word was first used as late as in 7th century AD when the "Muslim invaders" entered India through the North-Khot passes. They designated the conquered people as "Hindu" who stood for servants/attendants. In that period all people were called the Kings servants. In that sense, Dalits - like others - are Hindu.

**Territorial sense:** 'Hindu' is also used in a territorial sense. It is said the country got its name 'Hindustan' from the name of the valley area of the Indus (Indus - Sindhu - Hindu). Accordingly, anyone who is an inhabitant of Hindustan is called a Hindu. In that sense it can certainly be claimed that the Untouchables are Hindus. But so are the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jews, Parsis, Buddhists etc of India.

**Religious sense:** The third and perhaps the most pertinent one in which "Hindu" is used is the religious sense. Before one can draw any conclusions, it is necessary to separate the dogmas of Hinduism from the cults of Hinduism. Whether the Untouchables are Hindus in the religious

sense of the word depends upon whether one adopts as his text the dogmas or the cults. If the texts of Hinduism are the dogmas of caste and untouchability, then every Untouchable would repudiate Hinduism and the assertion that he is a Hindu. If the text applied is the acceptance of a cult such as worship of Rama, Krishna, Vishnu and Shiva and other gods and goddesses recognised by Hinduism, the Untouchables may be claimed to be Hindus. The Congress Party as usual maintains a body of agents from among the Untouchables to shout when need be that the Untouchables are Hindus and that they will die as Hindus. But even these paid agents will not agree to be counted as Hindus if Hinduism means belief and practice in caste and Untouchability, said Dr. Ambedkar.

**Two nations:** One more point must be stressed. On the foregoing analysis the Untouchable may be classed as a Hindu if the word Hindu is used in the religious but in the limited sense of a follower of a recognised cult. Even here there is a necessity for giving a warning against concluding that the Hindu and the Untouchables have a common religion. The fact that even as followers of recognised cults they cannot be said to have a common religion. The exact and appropriate expression would be to say that they have a similar religion. A common religion means a common cycle of participation. Now, in the observance of the cults, there is no common cycle of participation. **The Hindus (whose religious identity is not in doubt)**

**and the Untouchables, practise their cults in segregation so that notwithstanding the similarity of their cults they remain as separate as two aliens do.**

**British mischief:** It was the British who described the Arya Dharma/the Vaidic Dharma as Hinduism in 1861 for the first time while doing different social reform works in Hindu society. Even in that period not to speak of earlier ages, the *savarnas* did not recognise the so-called lower castes consisting of innumerable sub-castes as Hindoos. They were kept outside the four *varnas* - Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. So the so-called upper castes treated them contemptuously as outcastes as before.

**In 1881 when the British Govt. declared Home Rule and had subsequently enacted it, the election process also ensued. The *savarnas* then realised the all-important value of the number game in capturing power. Overnight they declared all indigenous peoples of all castes and sub-castes and the backward castes of the country as Hindu.**

In this way, they could defeat the Muslims and their allies in election by dint of the resultant majority of the Hindus. Now, they showed the *avarnas* as Sudras of the *Varnashram*. But at the same time, the *Savarnas* made themselves the masters of the Untouchable *avarnas*.

**Brahminical trick:** They did not even allow the representation of the lower castes in the local self-govt.

Thus by a false majority created by the brahminical trick, they kept the

Muslims away from the centre of power and at the same time deprived the indigenous peoples of all political, social and economic rights.

**Even in 1892 two famous Brahmin leaders, nay two uncompromising freedom-fighters, Bala Gangadhar Tilak and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, on behalf of the Congress, reported to the British Govt. that none others than the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and the Sudras - as recognised in the vedas - are included in the Hindu-fold.**

Thus all *avarnas* and *adisudras* were kept outside Hinduism and were treated as *Asprishyas*/Untouchables as ever. In that very year, the *savarnas* also pressurised the govt. to prescribe recruitment of the Untouchables into the Army.

**Tribals made Hindus:** When "democracy" came after "independence" the *savarnas* once again played the vital trick. Democracy being majority rule they declared all Dalits including the Scheduled Tribes as Hindu. The ST, who do not come into contact with the outer "civilised" society before nor had even heard about Arya Dharma of the Hindus, were made Hindu overnight. They said that "Hinduism is not rigid". It can adjust, adapt and absorb one and all, the known and the unknown. Thus willy-nilly the *avarnas*, the *adisudras*, the *adivasis*, all were annexed to the Hindu fold. The unfortunate and strange thing is that just like Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras, who feel proud of being a Hindu, the servile *Adisudras* and others also pride over being counted as Hindu by their *savarna* masters.

**Avarnas made sudras:** The constant and repeated propaganda by the "national" media owned and controlled by the upper castes (and none owned and controlled by the Dalits) also made them "believe" whatever is publicised. Thus the *avarnas* have become *Sudra*, the

*Hindu-Sudra*, nay the Hindu. The words Indies, Hind, Hindu denote names of places or the inhabitants of a particular region or country. But the upper castes say and use them in religious sense only and insist that the word Hindu stands only for their own religious sect and nothing else. Thus the Untouchables having been "included" in the Hindu-fold, the Hindus gained a coveted majority. Otherwise by Arya Dharma yardstick the Hindus are a microscopic minority. We have been thus deceived by the *savarnas*.

**Special terms:** Can an Untouchable be held part of the Hindu society? Is there any human tie that binds them to the rest of the Hindu society? There is none. There is no *connubium* (matrimonial ties). There is not even the right to touch, much less to associate. Instead, the mere touch is enough to cause pollution to a Hindu. The whole tradition of the Hindus is to recognise the Untouchable as a separate element and insist upon it as a fact. The traditional terminology of the Hindus to distinguish Hindus and Untouchables furnishes the best evidence in favour of the contention of the Untouchables. According to this traditional terminology, Hindus are called *savarnas* and the Untouchables are called *avarnas*. It speaks of the Hindus as *Chaturvarnikas* and of the Untouchables as *panchamas*. Such a terminology could not have come into existence if separation had not become so prominent and its observance so necessary as to require coining of special terms - dignified for the upper castes and stigmatic to the lower castes - to give expression to the fact.

(Read: *Untouchables are not Hindus but a Separate Element*, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, a reprint of DV editorial April 16, 1989).

**American Blacks:** Admitting for the sake of the argument the Untouchables are Hindus by religion, is that

enough to conclude that they and the Hindus are of one single community? If that be the logic behind the contention of the Congress then, what about the Belgians, Dutch, Norwegians, Swedes, Germans, French, Italians, Slavs etc.? Are they not all Christians? Do they not worship the same God? Do they not all accept Jesus as their Saviour? Have they not the same religious beliefs? Obviously, there is a complete religious unity between all of them in thought, worship and beliefs. Yet, who can dispute that the French, Germans, Italians and the rest are not a single community? The Whites and the Blacks in US too have a common religion. Both are Christians. Can anyone say that the two on that account form a single community? The third case may be sighted from India itself. The Indian Christians, Europeans and the Anglo-Indians profess and follow the same religion. Yet it is admitted that they do not form one single Christian community. The argument of the Congress, M.K Gandhi and the Hindu protagonist is thus proved full of fallacies.

**What Hinduism preaches:** It is now well known that Hinduism preaches separatism instead of union. To be a Hindu means not to mix, to be separate in every thing. The real genius of Hinduism is to divide. This is beyond dispute. For, what do caste and Untouchability stand for? Obviously for separation. For caste, another name for separation and untouchability, typifies the extremist form of separation of community from community. Caste and untouchability far from being mere dogmas are among the foremost observances prescribed by Hinduism. It is not enough for a Hindu to believe in the dogmas of caste and untouchability, he must also observe caste and untouchability in the conduct of his daily life.

**Barbed wire fence:** The separation, which Hinduism has brought

about, between the Hindus and the Untouchables by its dogma of untouchability is not a mere imaginary line of separation, it has both depth and width. Factually the two are divided by a fence made of barbed wire which the Untouchables have never been allowed to cross and can never hope to cross, says Babasaheb Ambedkar.

*If any conclusion is to be drawn from the hypothesis that the Untouchables are Hindus it is that Hinduism has always insisted both in principle and in practice that the Untouchables are not to be recognised as a chip of Hindu block but are to be treated as a separate element and segregated from the Hindus.*

**Separate element:** If therefore the Untouchables say that they are a separate element, nobody can accuse them of having invented a new theory for the sake of the political advantages. They are merely pointing out what the facts are and how these facts are the heritage of Hinduism itself. The Congress cannot honestly and convincingly refute it. If it does it is only because it is actuated by selfish motives. It knows that the recognition of the Untouchables as an element in the national life of India, as distinct and separate from the Hindus, must result in the apportionment of places in the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and in the public services between the Untouchable and the Hindus and thus limit the share of the latter. The Congress does not like that the Hindus should be deprived of the share of the Untouchables which the Hindus are in the habit of appropriating to themselves. That is the real reason why the Congress - nay, any other party - refuses to recognise that the Untouchables are a separate element in the national life of India, says Dr. Ambedkar.

**What is caste:** The general allegations that every society consists of groups cannot be challenged. For

even in European or American society there are groups associated together in various ways and for various purposes. But when the state goes beyond and says that the castes in India are not different from groups and classes in Europe and America, it is nothing but utter nonsense. The groups and classes in Europe and America may appear the same as the castes in India to look at. But fundamentally two are quite different. **The chief distinguishing feature is the isolation and exclusiveness which are the hallmarks of the castes in India** and which are maintained as matter not of routine but of faith none of which characteristics is to be found in the groups and class system of Europe or America.

**Caste is anti-social:** Again, every society consists of groups. But it must be recognised that the mutual relations of the groups are not the same everywhere. In one society groups may be only non-social in their attitude towards one another. But in another they may be anti-social - where the spirit which actuates the various social groups is only non-social their existence may not be taken seriously as there is no cause for danger in any group which is only non-social towards another and to which alien is synonymous with enemy, the fact must be taken into account in framing the constitution and the class which has been victim of anti-social spirit must be given protection by proper safeguards.

**In India, castes are not merely non-social. Often they are anti-social.** This is particularly true of the Hindus to the Untouchables. The anti-social activities of the *savarnas* (Hindus) towards Untouchables are manifest in their not allowing the Untouchables to take water from the wells, enter schools, travel in buses and trains, wear clean clothes or any jewellery, put tiles on the roofs of

their houses and so on. They are not isolated acts of a few bad men among the Hindus. They are the proof of the permanent anti-social attitude of the Hindu community against the Untouchables.

**Mental disease:** There is another floating argument one sometimes comes across. The basis of the argument is that untouchability is a vanishing thing and therefore there is no use recognising the Untouchables as a separate element in the national life. Everything is vanishing and there is nothing that is permanent in human history. The point may be considered when Untouchability has gone root and branch. Until that state arrives, it is unnecessary to pay any regard to it. We must all hope for the disappearance of Untouchability. At the same time, we must be careful not to be misled by people who boast of being incorrigible optimists. Actually, this argument is no argument at all. Those who raise this point do not seem to make a distinction between Untouchability as a touch-me-not-ism and untouchability as mental attitude manifesting itself in social discrimination. The two are quite different. It may be that untouchability as a touch-me-not-ism may be gradually vanishing in towns although it is doubted if this is happening in any appreciable degree. **It is quite certain that untouchability as a propensity on the part of the Hindus to discriminate against the Untouchables will not vanish either in towns or in villages within imaginable distance of time.** Not only untouchability as a discrimination propensity will not disappear but untouchability as a touch-me-not-ism will not disappear within a measurable distance of time in the vast number of villages in which the vast number of Hindus live and will continue to live. *You cannot untwist a two-thousand year twist of the human mind and turn it in the opposite*

direction.

**Allahupanishad:** There are some protagonists of Hinduism who say that Hinduism is a very adaptable religion that it can adjust itself to everything and absorb anything. It is quite true. But is it a virtue? The best example of its adjustability is the literary production called "Allahupanishad" which the Brahmins of the time of Akbar produced to give a place to his "Dine-Ilahi" within Hinduism and to recognise it as the seventh system of Hindu philosophy. It is true that Hinduism can absorb many things.

The beef-eating Hinduism/ brahminism absorbed the non-violence theory of Buddhism and became as religion of vegetarianism. **But there is one thing which the Hinduism has never been able to do - namely to adjust itself to absorb the Untouchables to do - or to remove the bar of Untouchability.** There have been many reformers, who long before Gandhi came to the scene, tried to remove the stain of untouchability. But they have all failed. The reason for this failure is very simple. The Hindus have nothing to fear from the Untouchables, nor have they anything to gain, they have in fact much to lose by the abolition of untouchability.

**Goldmine of Hindus:** The system of untouchability is a gold mine to the Hindus, said Babasaheb. About 25% of the Hindus are kept as Untouchables. The Untouchables have to serve as their retinue to enable the Hindus to maintain pomp and ceremony and to cultivate a feeling of pride and dignity befitting a master class which cannot be fostered and sustained unless there is beneath which a servile class to look down upon. They are used as forced labour, to work on a mere pittance and sometimes on nothing at all. They have to do all types of dirty and

filthy works of scavengers, sweepers and so on. They are always kept for lower jobs and are prevented from entering into competition for higher jobs.

**Why beef-eating stopped:** In slump the Untouchable is fired first and in boom the Hindu is employed first and the Untouchable is employed last. To revert, **the Brahmins gave up beef-eating because they were afraid that otherwise Buddhism would overpower Hinduism.** Hindu wrote "Allahupanishad" because they have everything to gain by helping Akbar to establish a new religion. The author gained money by pleasing the emperor and by lending aid to establish a religion which promised less tyranny and oppression to the Hindus than Islam held out.

**Savarnas have no heart:** Untouchability is an attitude of the Hindus. For untouchability to vanish, it is the Hindu who must change. Will he change? Has the *savarna* any conscience? History does not justify the conclusion that a Hindu has a quick conscience. It shows that where ethics and economics come in conflict, victory is always with economics. Vested interests have never been known to have willingly divested themselves unless there was sufficient force to compel them.

**Remarks:** Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was deeply religious. But he established long back that we are not Hindus but are merely counted as Hindus for selfish interest of the Hindus. Babasaheb forsook the shackles of Hinduism which was a source of life-long torment to himself and at last embraced Buddhism.

Even now only a limited few of the Dalits accept that they are not Hindus. **Some fight shy of Dalit movements lest they should lose their hereditary religion. Majority of the Dalits are believers of Hinduism.** Of course, there is no denying the fact that the Untouchables and the

Hindus belong to the two separate communities and that there is little scope of any reconciliation between the two.

Under the circumstances, can't we call ourselves as "Anarya Hindus" who are poles apart from Aryan Hindus? Alternatively, we can take the name Dalit Hindu as distinct from Dalit Christians, Dalit Buddhists, Dalit Sikhs etc. Few can repudiate the authenticity of these terms. We can thus have a distinct religious identity. After all, perhaps, none in this land of ours like to be without a religion of his/her own.

Sources: 1. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar - Writings & Speeches Vol.9

2. Shri A.K Sharma's article - Amra Kee Hindoo?

The 1992 Third reprint of Babasaheb article, *Untouchables are not Hindus*, Re.0.50, may be ordered from Dalit Voice Office.

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## Why church in India failed to liberate the oppressed?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Dr. Gnana Robinson, the newly-appointed Principal of the prestigious United Theological College here, has said the failure of the Church in India is due to the fact that it is charity-oriented neglecting the all-important justice aspect.

Addressing the Dalit Human Rights Forum here, Dr. Robinson, a Backward Caste (Nadar) Christian from Tamil Nadu, on "Caste in church" he frankly admitted that "casteism in church is a fact of life". This is because from the very beginning Christian missionaries committed the mistake of pursuing a "salvation-oriented approach neglecting the justice aspect."

Even those western white missionaries who went to Africa never bothered about racism and slavery. So also in South America. Missionaries made themselves comfortable, unperturbed by the exploitation around them. They were only interested in conversion to increase the number of Christians without bothering the serious contradictions in the society they lived in.

**Half-hearted conversion:** In India, liberation of the oppressed was never the aim of the missionaries. **No doubt conversion did liberate the oppressed Dalits to some extent but the missionaries indulged in only superficial conversion. That is why many Christians are "reconverting" themselves.**

Casteism came into church because the missionaries did only a half-hearted conversion, aiming only at numbers. To increase the numbers, they permitted caste inside the church (Bishop A.M. Azariah: *Unchristian side of the Indian Church*, Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1989).

Caste is playing havoc in church today. It is extended even to the election of a Bishop, the highest office in the church. There are caste-wise graveyards.

All this is happening because justice-orientation is missing in the church which is prepared to give charity but not justice. "The church has to rediscover the message of Christ who gives no scope for discrimination, and until this is done, the church will have no message for India."

**Catholic Church:** In the Catholic church things are much worse because there is hardly any democracy. However, things are changing since Dalit conscious-

ness is spreading fast. And Dalits may take over the church shortly, he said.

In the UTC, so far headed by an upper caste Syrian Christian principal, he is thinking of giving a big shake-up through a reform programme. A Dalit theology dept. may soon come up.

Prof. Ambrose Pinto, a Jesuit priest lecturer at the local St. Joseph's College who is leading a battle within the Catholic church for reservations to Dalits, presided over the meeting. ■

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## Ruling class makes a mess of judiciary

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** *Judiciary in India is not only a close preserve of the upper caste rulers, but their only hope of protecting the varnashrama dharma. Only those with "merit and efficiency" are selected as judges as there is no reservation to the posts of High Court and Supreme Court judges.*

*See what happened to this exclusive preserve of the Aryan brahminical merit-mongers.*

*Karnataka for instance, provides a remarkable model for the mess in which the judiciary in the country finds itself today. Official figures state that over 1,30,000 cases were pending before the High Court as on July 1 1993. At this rate the judiciary may soon collapse under the sheer weight of its workload. As it is, it takes over 15 years to clear the arrears, let alone those which may file in the coming months and years. (Deccan Herald, Sept. 13).*

*The High Courts and Supreme Court have not only become so costly and inaccessible to those outside the BSO but they are completely preoccupied with ruling class disputes only. And this charmed circle of ruling class (BSO) comprises not even 15% of India's population.*

*Look, what a horrible state we have been pushed to in 50 years of "independence".* ■

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