

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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**Birth of Siddharta Gautama :
Thus spake Ambedkar**

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Birth of the Bodhisatta Siddharta Gautam

HIS BIRTH

1. To Suddhodana was born Siddharth Gautama and this was the manner of Gautama's birth. 2. It was a custom among the Sakyas to observe an annual midsummer festival which fell in the month of Ashad. It was celebrated by all the Sakyas throughout the State and also by the members of the ruling family. 3. It was the usual practice to celebrate the festival for seven days. 4. On one occasion Mahamaya decided to observe the festival with gaiety, with splendour, with flowers, with perfume, but without drinking intoxicants. 5. On the seventh day she rose early, bathed in scented water, bestowed a gift of 4,00,000 pieces of money as alms, adorned herself with all precious ornaments, ate choicest food, took upon herself the fast-day vows, and entered the splendidly adorned royal bedchamber to sleep. 6. That night Suddhodana and Mahamaya came together and Mahamaya conceived. Lying on the royal bed she fell asleep. While asleep she had a dream. 7. In her dreams she saw that the four world-guardians raised her as she was sleeping on her bed and carried her to the tablelands of the Himalayas, placed her under a great sal tree and stood on one side. 8. The wives of the four world-guardians then approached and took her to the lake Mansarovar. 9. They bathed her, robed her in a dress, anointed her with perfumes and decked her with flowers in a manner fit to meet some divinity. 10. Then a Bodhisatta, by name Sumedha, appeared before her saying, "I have decided to take my last and final birth on this earth, will you consent to be my mother?" She said, "Yes, with great pleasure." At this moment Mahamaya awoke. 11. Next morning Mahamaya told her dream to Suddhodana. Not knowing how to interpret the dream, Suddhodana summoned eight Brahmins who were most famous in divination. 12. They were Rama, Dhaga, Lakkana, Manti, Yanna, Suyama, Subhoga and Sudatta and prepared for them a befitting reception. 13. He caused the ground to be strewn with festive flowers and prepared high seats for them. 14. He filled the bowls of the Brahmins with gold and silver and fed them on cooked ghee, honey, sugar and excellent rice and milk. He also gave them other gifts such as new clothes and tawny cows. 15. When the Brahmins were propitiated, Suddhodana related to them the dream Mahamaya had, and said, "Tell me what it means." 16. The Brahmins said: "Be not anxious. You will have a son, and if he leads a householder's life he will become a universal monarch, and if he leaves his home and goes forth into a homeless state, and becomes a sanyasi, he will become a Buddha, a dispeller of illusions in the world". 17. Bearing the Bodhisatta in her womb like oil in a vessel for ten lunar months, Mahamaya, as her time of delivery was coming nearer, desired to go to her parents' home for delivery. Addressing her husband, she said: "I wish to go to Devadaha, the city of my father." 18. "Thou knowest that thy wishes will be done," replied Suddhodana. Having seated her in a golden palanquin borne by couriers, he sent her forth with a great retinue to her father's house. 19. Mahamaya, on her way to Devadaha, had to pass through a pleasure-grove of sal trees and other trees, flowering and non-flowering. It was known as the Lumbini Grove. 20. As the palanquin was passing through it, the whole Lumbini Grove seemed like the heavenly Cittalata grove or like a banqueting pavilion adorned for a mighty king. 21. From the roots to the tips of the branches the trees were loaded with fruits, flowers and numberless bees of the fine colours, uttering curious sounds, and flocks of various kinds of birds, singing sweet melodies. 22. Witnessing the scene, there arose a desire in the heart of Mahamaya for halting and sporting therein for a while. Accordingly she told the couriers to take her in the sal-grove and wait there. 23. Mahamaya alighted from her palanquin and walked up to the foot of a royal sal tree. A pleasant wind, not too strong, was blowing and the boughs of the trees were heaving up and down and Mahamaya felt like catching one of them. 24. Luckily one of the boughs heaved down sufficiently low to enable her to catch it. So she rose on her toes and caught the bough. Immediately she was lifted up by its upward movement and being shaken, she felt the pangs of childbirth. While holding the branch of the sal tree she was delivered of a son in a standing position. 25. The child was born in the year 563 B.C. on the Vaishakha Purnima day. 26. Suddhodana and Mahamaya were married for a long time. But they had no issue. Ultimately when a son was born to them his birth was celebrated with great rejoicing, with great pomp and ceremony by Suddhadana and his family and also by the Sakyas. 27. At the time of the birth of the child it was the turn of Suddhodana to be the ruler of Kapilavatsu and as such was in the enjoyment of the title of Raja. Naturally the boy was called Prince.

(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume XI, Rs.90 1992, Govt., of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

The dastardly demolition of Babri Masjid on the dreadful Dec. 6, 1992 by the "saintly" savages who behaved like beasts is the beginning of the systematic stepped up extermination of Muslims in India, aided and abetted by zionism and white western racism. It is the culmination of the most successful "Spanish Experiment" being tried in India as part of the global conspiracy against Muslims and executed by the Aryans in India. The arrest of some Hindu nazi leaders only after demolishing the Masjid (not before), banning of Hindu nazi organisations, dismissal of nazi govts. and promises to rebuild the mosque are all part of the nazi gimmicks.

We are writing this with an aching heart. When we heard on the BBC at 1.30 pm on Dec.6 that the Babri Masjid was demolished, we simply collapsed but the next day we slowly recovered. And as we deeply pondered over the cataclysmic event, new thoughts dawned on us and we felt it was all for the good.

45-year old story

The waves of history can't be checked. The nazis were itching to demolish the Babri Masjid. It is a 45-year-old story. In the rising tide of frenzied Hindu nazism, the demolition of the Babri Masjid was a certainty. If not today, tomorrow. So why postpone the evil day? What should have happened tomorrow, happened today. It is all for the good.

1. With the Dec.6 destruction of the Babri Masjid, the upper caste rulers of India can no more fool us. Secularism,

socialism, democracy are dead.

2. It is a goodbye to tolerance, non-violence and such other gandhian slogans.

3. The rule of law is dead.

4. The govt., the judiciary, political parties, police, press have all proved to be "Hindu" at heart.

5. The Congress, the original brahminical party of India and the cause of all our ills, is more Hindu than the Hindu nazi parties.

6. India is called a "functioning anarchy" but people have begun to doubt even this. It is only anarchy henceforth. Might is right.

7. The Constitution of India is stabbed. India has become a "Hindu Rashtra" where the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs, over 85% of the population, should either live as slaves or else get ready to be eliminated.

8. The Babri Masjid demolition proves that the country's Muslim leadership and particularly the UP elite Muslims stand discredited. And hence the revolutionary masses of Muslims, who sacrificed themselves during the 10-day long violence that rocked the country, will eliminate this corrupt leadership and take over.

9. Since the Muslims stood in the way of further enslavement of SC/ST/BCs and now that Muslims have been effectively "taught a lesson", the Aryan nazis will step up their effort to clamp their Hindu nazi rule.

10. Since the life, property and honour of Muslims are no longer secure and the upper caste nazi threat has taken away even their night sleep, they are now feeling it is impossible to live with

such elements. And hence like the Untouchables they too may press for separate settlement.

11. Dalit-Muslim alliance so far discussed at intellectual levels may now get a concrete shape at all levels. There is no other alternative.

12. Finally, a sleeping lethargic Muslim community is awakened - thanks to nazis.

New Chapter begins

These are the most important welcome developments of the Babri Masjid blast. The Muslim leadership has utterly failed and will meet its end very soon.

The Babri Masjid destruction is the beginning of a new chapter in Indian history.

DV proves right

We have proved right in our war against this discredited Muslim leadership. The entire responsibility rests upon it. The elite Muslims poured milk to the serpent. Now that they finished the Babri Masjid, they will take up the Mathura and Varanasi, followed by 3,000 more mosques listed by them. The last of their target is Kaba at Mecca which they claim to contain the Black stone, a Shivalinga carried from India.

The Babri Masjid episode shows that DV has proved right in predicting a "Spanish Experiment" in India (DV Aug. 15, 92 p20) and that India's Hindu nazis have joined hands with zionists and the western white racists to destroy Islam.

The next target will be Dalits. The war now begins. It will be a wholesale war henceforth. Either we swim or sink. No rest until then. ■

MAJOR SUCCESS OF "SPANISH EXPERIMENT" IN EXTERMINATING MUSLIMS IN INDIA

Welcome developments of Babri Masjid demolition

JD endorses DV line

New Delhi: The Janata Dal on Dec.15 rejected the possibility of joining hands with the Congress (I) to fight communal forces.

Party Vice President Ram Vilas Paswan told a news conference his party did not recognise Congress (I) as a secular force and treated the ruling party as being on the same side as BJP. (*Deccan Herald* Dec. 16)

If what Paswan says is the stand of his party, then JD will be India's first party to endorse what we have been saying all these years. Congress, the original brahminical party of India, is more dangerous than the Hindu nazi party - EDITOR. ■

SIKHS ON MUSLIMS

Chandigarh: The IPS officer-turned politician, Simranjit Singh Mann, said: "Agreed that Sant Bhindranwale and his men had converted the Golden Temple into an armoury, but no Muslim fundamentalist had fortified the Babri masjid. It was not posing a threat to the country's unity and integrity like the temple in 1984, yet it was not allowed to exist, why?"

The line of thinking among the Sikhs at present is that both the raiding of the Golden Temple and the demolition of the mosque was a show of might by the Hindus to the minorities. (*Telegraph* Dec. 13). ■

Babri blast is US Plot?

Tehran: Thousands of demonstrators marched here accusing the United States of masterminding the destruction of the Ayodhya mosque as part of a plot against Islam. A spokesman charged that the destruction of the shrine in northern India was a new international plot against Islam led by the United States. (AFP - *Deccan Herald* Aug. 12). (DV edit March 16, '92: "Why the whole world hates Muslims & islam".) ■

BSO grooms Tiwari?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: P.V. Narasimha Rao is wilting and he may wither away. By this time he should have been out but the reason for the delay is that the king-makers have not found the right *jatwala* to be his successor.

PVN has to pay the price for the Dec. 6, '92 disaster. None else can be held responsible.

There is no point in blaming Hindu nazi parties for destroying the Babri Masjid. Destroying the Masjid was their aim. They said it and did it. But it was PVN who bluffed throughout and secretly connived with the nazis. As the most cunning and crafty vaidic, he and he only is responsible for the Dec.6 disaster. And so his head must roll. That means this is the end of PVN.

Fearing this catastrophe to the brahminical social order already the pahadi brahmin has been brought to the centre stage as Arjun Singh, a Thakur, and Sharad Pawar, a Maratha, is not acceptable to the BSO.

Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, angry with the "treacherous actions" of the neogi brahmin, is also understood to have blessed the pahadi brahmin. We have already hinted at this possibility. (DV Nov.1 p.15 "N.D. Tiwari groomed to succeed PVN").

That means one brahmin goes and another brahmin comes.

True face of Hinduism

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: "Hindu" journalists were beaten up by only "Hindus" at Ayodhya (*Indian Express*, Dec.9). Reports by "Hindu" correspondents in "Hindu" papers said "Hindu" photographers were assaulted, their cameras stolen, smashed and money seized. They were not attacked by Muslims but by "Hindus" only. The report said that "kar sevaks" were thieves, thugs, rowdies, savages, beasts and they came there to rob and make money, drink and molest women. A "Hindu" journalist said the true face of "Hinduism" was visible at Ayodhya on Dec.6 when rowdies took over the day.

Nazis have crores in banks

Lucknow: With 22 different RSS-sponsored organisations actively involved in the Janmabhoomi stir, the ban on the RSS, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the Bajrang Dal will hardly suppress the next phase of the offensive that they have already set into motion.

Three other independent organisations which influence that course of the movement are the all-India Sant Samiti led by Acharya Vamdev, the Ram mukti yagna samiti led by Mahant Avaidyanath and the Raj Janmabhoomi nyas which has Rs 6.39 crores in bank accounts alone. (*Times of India* Dec 12) ■

Savita support for PVN

Bangalore: An indication that PVN is likely to sink is available from the statement the brahminical social order extracted from Mrs. Ambedkar, a Brahmin.

Savita in a statement on Dec.16 called upon people to strengthen Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's hands in the present "national crisis" caused by the demolition of Babri mosque in Ayodhya.

Her statement was addressed to "Dalits, Ambedkarities and Mandalites" (*Hindustan Times* Dec. 16) ■

THOUGHTS ON BANNING R.S.S.

V.T.RAJSHEKAR

The Govt. of India announcement of the ban on five "communal organisations" on the night of Dec. 10 1992 did not come as a surprise to us. To save his skin, the Prime Minister, the main culprit in the Dec. 6 demolition of the Babri Masjid that led to about 1,500 deaths (official figure) and largescale violence, is prepared to do anything.

The most prominent among the banned organisations is the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). This is not the first time it is banned. It was banned in 1948 after it killed MK Gandhi. Again during the Emergency (1975). This is the third ban. **In 1975, including Deoras, the present RSS chief, they all tendered apology and begged for their release.**

The aim of the ban is to curb their activities which includes "promoting disharmony between religious communities".

Richest nazi outfit: Did the two earlier bans have any effect on the RSS? No. Rather it grew from strength to strength and today it is the most powerful, richest and extremely violent fascist outfit. It is said the RSS now has 35,000 shakas and about 25 lakhs members.

During the second ban (1975), the RSS was almost unknown in Tamil Nadu and Kerala. But today, it is metal-muscled in the South. *Every ban has helped it to grow into a mighty fascist Frankenstein, and hence the 1992 ban also will help it. And you can take it from us that it will use the latest ban to grow double its present size. Is the ban intended towards that? Such doubts are bound to come.*

Law can't curb values: When it was

banned earlier the RSS was not in power anywhere. Today, it is in power not only in UP, MP, HP and Rajasthan (the govts. there were just dismissed), but in Parliament itself it is the recognised main Opposition party. One can easily imagine its height, breadth and depth.

Almost all corrupt industrialists (all upper castes) finance this organisation. And all "intellectuals" (also upper castes) have their heart in it. Upper caste journalists who have a monopoly of the "national" press, secretly admire it. RSS has its sympathisers not only in the defence services and police but even in the highest places of this land.

How can such an organisation which echoes the sentiments of the ruling upper castes (Hindus), who form less than 15% of the country's population, be banned? *Can a reigning ethos be banned? Can law curb a value system which governs the life of a particular society?*

The "people" did not "ban" the RSS. When we say "people", we mean members of the ruling class. It is this ruling class which has put the PVN govt. in power. *Almost all the top positions in the legislature, executive, judiciary, bureaucracy, press, finance are occupied by members of this ruling class which is silently and secretly in sympathy with the RSS.* When its political outfit, BJP, called for "Bharat Bundh" defending the Babri Masjid demolition every "Hindu" closed down his establishment and defended this Hindu fascist organisation's criminal, anti-national atrocity.

Constitution of Manu: So, can the

govt. which is controlled by the ruling class "ban" an organisation which fights for their interests?

When the interests of the govt. sworn to defend the Constitution of India and that of the ruling upper castes, sworn to defend the Constitution of Manu, collide who will get crushed?

Therefore, the latest ban on RSS is sheer humbug.

RSS is a thought: That is why the RSS philosopher, Guru Golwalkar, rightly named the Bible of the RSS as *Bunch of Thoughts* (1966, Jagarana Prakashana, Kempe Gowda Nagar, Bangalore - 19).

Hindu Rashtra: What is this thought? The RSS wants to convert India into a Hindu Rashtra by forcing the non-Hindus to surrender and be subordinate to their dictates. If they resist they will be eliminated - mercilessly. **There is no room for non-violence, tolerance etc. which are alien to the brahminical social order which the Manu's constitution (Manu Dharma Shastra) seeks to uphold. It is a simple, straightforward thought and hence we have named it Hindu nazi thoughts.**

Most important point: We have time and again made it clear that we are not against this Hindu nazi thought. This is the most important point.

This thought may be against the interests of the indigenous Indians - Scheduled Castes (20%), Scheduled Tribes (10%) and Backward Castes (35%) plus Muslims (15%), Christians (2.5%) and Sikhs (2%) - a total of over 85%.

We repeat: Even if it is opposed to our interests, we are not against this Hindu nazi thought.

Nazis have place in India: Why? Because this thought has a place in India.

We will explain it.

RSS is India's chief Hindu party. "Hindu" means only those belonging to the four-fold caste system. Before the Aryans invaded this country, this thought was not there. Aryans brought their *Sanatana Dharma* which helped them to become rulers after destroying Buddhism which was the universal religion of the indigenous Adi-Dravidas and Dravidas who are today called SC/ST/BCs. To escape from this anti-woman, anti-human *Sanatana* system, some got converted to egalitarian religions like Islam, Christianity and Sikhism. *That means the 20% of today's "non-Hindus", who are described as "religious minorities", are also indigenous Indians.*

Dravida-Arya war: The Aryans have come to India and have made India their homeland. Not only that they later became rulers. It is true that many indigenous thinkers, scholars and prophets like Buddha, Babasaheb, Mahatma Phule, Narayana Guru, Guru Nanak, Periyar and others have bitterly criticised the Aryan social system or the brahminical social order (BSO). This anger and anguish is continuing even to this day culminating in many violent outbursts. **What is going on today is a war between the Aryans and Dravidas.**

Blue Star Operation: The latest Aryan act of demolishing the Babri Masjid (1992) and the 1984 assault on the Sikh's holiest Golden Temple (Blue Star Operation) are all part of this Aryan plan to force the surrender of the indigenous non-Aryan forces. The 1991 anti-Mandal war and violence is also part of that. The "Marathwada caste war" (1978) and

the two "Gujarat caste wars" (1981 & 1985) against Dalits also. *In each and every village of this country, the Aryans and Indians are at a perpetual war - daily.*

Secularism is dead: The RSS and all its different outfits have made it clear in their words and deeds that they don't believe in socialism, secularism and democracy. That means they are totally against the Constitution of India. That means in their words and deeds, they have amply proved that they are against the interests of Indians protected by the Constitution and gifted to us by Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Nazis our open enemies: Does it not prove that these Hindu nazis are our open enemies? They make no secret of their words and deeds.

We like any day the honest enemy. An honest enemy is better than a dishonest foe.

Congress concealed enemy: The dishonest enemy is the Congress, the original brahminical party of India. (DV Dec. 16, '92 p.8: "*Criticising RSS/BJP helps the Congress party*").

There is no clash of interest or war between SC/ST/BCs and Muslim/Sikh/Christians. Because both belong to the same stock of indigenous Indians. The war is only between the two - alien Aryans and the indigeneous Indians. All the six sections of "non-Hindu" are oppressed by the "nation" of Aryans.

That means it is an ethnic war.

But inspite of this did any non-Aryan indigenous section of the population demand a ban on the Aryan thought? No. Never.

Aryans have no homeland: Indigenous Indians have silently suffered the war and violence of alien Aryan nazi thought.

Indians have such a soft heart that they are prepared to suffer any amount of war and violence inflicted upon them by the Aryans but none is

prepared to demand a ban on the Aryan thought, let alone driving them out of India.

Poor fellows, where can the Aryans go? Which country is prepared to accept them?

We don't hate Aryans: We the Indians have allowed them to remain in India and choose it as their homeland. Many other foreign elements like the Aryans have also come but joined hands with the indigenous. But of all the foreign elements it is only the Aryans who have continued to nourish a burning hatred in their hearts against us. Even then we don't hate them though we will never compromise with them.

Still, if anybody were to demand their expulsion from India we are prepared to fight on behalf of the Aryans despite the Aryans being our aggressors and the cause of the country's misery and its backward march. (*Aggression on Indian Culture*, DSA, 1987).

Thought can't be banned: So, when that is the case the ban on RSS has pained us. We will not tolerate even our enemy suffering. This is yet an important point.

We repeat: The RSS/Aryan/Hindu thought may be anti-national and violent but still it should not be banned.

A thought can't be banned. Just as air cannot be arrested, a thought too can't be arrested. Hitler's nazi thoughts have surfaced in Germany again after 50 years.

We repeat: A thought can never be banned and arrested. So, we are totally against the ban on RSS.

Mental hospital: RSS thought may be bad and dangerous but it can certainly be contained if not cured. The nazi thought is the result of a sick mind. Mentally sick people have to be isolated and admitted to mental hospital. Do we kill mental patients?.

A thought can be fought by a counter-

thought. Since we the indigenous Indians are over 85% and our great glorious thought of justice and truth handed down to us from the days of Indus Valley Civilisation and built on the firm foundation of Buddha and Babasaheb Ambedkar, we are capable of peacefully tackling and facing the Aryan nazi thought despite the fact that the nazis resort to all sorts of deception and heinous treachery to perpetuate their mountains of untruth and injustice.

DV's 12-year-old work: Already good lot of work has been done in this direction. In DV, we have been humbly doing this work for the past 12 years - spreading the thoughts of Babasaheb to ideologically combat the Hindu Nazi thoughts - And just we are making some progress, the ruling upper castes are trying to put a brake on our work by imposing such a ban.

The ban will, therefore, help the Hindu

nazis because through the press they own they can control our thoughts and further poison our thoughts. Very dangerous days are ahead. "Spanish Experiment" has had its biggest success in the demolition of Babri Masjid.

So, this ban announced on Dec.10 '92 is not only not ours but against us.

Fake ban: RSS is our honest enemy. We like it. We are capable of putting it in its place and also rescuing some of our own many people who have fallen a victim to this thought.

Hence, this is a ban imposed by the ruling upper castes, who share its thought, to arrest and slow down our pursuit of truth and justice. And hence it is a fake ban.

Jamate-Islami: As for the ban on the Jamate-Islami, we are just not able to understand how it is clubbed with a Hindu nazi organisation. Nei-

ther in its basic literature nor in its writings and speeches, the Jamat is anti-Hindu. The ground on which the Jamat is banned is that it is preaching secessionism. We have nowhere read or heard the Jamat indulging in such a thing. If at all the people of India have any charge against the Jamat, it is that the Jamat is closer to Hindu nazis and collaborates with many of the Hindu nazi thought and action. How honest Muslim intellectuals reacted on the Jamat is evident from the year-long DV debate on this ineffective Muslim organisation dominated by the UP Muslim elites.

ISS: As for the ISS of Kerala, it was formed as a self-defence force to protect Muslims from Hindu nazi violence. When the nazi forces are banned, ISS naturally will be unemployed and hence it was naturally dissolved.

AYODHYA REHEARSAL IN BOMBAY

Kick out corrupt Muslim leaders stooging Hindus

A. RASHID, EDITOR, "JADID URDU REPORTER", 97 - MORLAND ROAD, BOMBAY -8.

Just opposite the residence of Shiv Sena nazi chief, Bal Thackeray, a mosque was there at Kala Nagar, Bandra, for 25 years. More than once the nazis had burnt the mosque but Faiz Ali Shaheen with his children and Muslim friends had pushed the nazis back.

A case is going on in the Bombay High Court. The Bombay Municipal Corporation is pleading to widen the road and demolition of the mosque and the house of Faiz Ali Shaheen.

The Court gave its judgment that Shaheen is allotted ten days time up to Sept. 6 to file a petition against the demolition order. If he fail to file a petition, the authorities may demolish the mosque and the house after the expiry of the allotted time but before the demolition an accommodation to Shaheen must be provided

in Bombay.

Thackeray was present: This was the High Court order but Collector Suresh Salvy did not wait for the expiry date fixed by the court and on Aug.27 with the help of hundreds of police he demolished the mosque, and also Shaheen's house. Hundreds of Shiv Sena nazis helped the police.

The Collector ignored the court order. He did not wait for the expiry of the date and before the demolition he did not provide accommodation to Shaheen. Bal Thackeray was present as the demolition operation was going on, just as Advani was present at the Babri Masjid demolition. The order of the Supreme Court was violated at Ayodhya on Dec.6. The Hindu nazis said Hindus are above law, above court and above

the Constitution. The demolition of the Kala Nagar, Bandra, Madina Mosque has paved the way for the demolition of Babri Masjid.

Dalit-Muslim Unity: The only way-out is a strong and unbreakable Dalit-Muslim unity. Fake secularism of Nehru, Gandhi and Azad cannot save the Muslims of India from the "Spanish experiment" being tried in India. Our Muslims leaders are humbugs. Kick them out.

Lallu breaks another record

New Delhi: When most of India was going through a frenzy of killings in the wake of the demolition of the Babri Masjid, Bihar, which has a record of horrendous communal massacres, remained relatively quiet. (*Times of India*, Dec. 16)

The credit goes to Lallu Prasad Yadav, the darling of the Muslims

Bengali Bhadraklok switch over to Mamata

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: In the past 45 years after independence, the oppressed masses of India comprising Scheduled Castes, Tribes, Backward Castes and minorities, forming over 85% of India's population, have seen good lot of "political" changes. The Congress Party was defeated twice and the Opposition parties ruled from Delhi. In States like W. Bengal, Kerala etc. Marxists came to power. In UP, MP etc. BJP ruled. Karnataka saw Janata Dal which is ruling Orissa today. The Khamma leader captured AP once.

But all these are mere "political" changes that brought no change in the social and economic fields for which the oppressed masses have been waiting. The oppressed continue to be oppressed in all the States whether under the Congress, the Marxist, the BJP or the JD, or any other party.

Wanted social change: Coming to

W. Bengal, it was ruled by the Congress. The "marxists" took over from them. That means there was only a "political change" with no change in the socio-economic sphere. This is because three upper castes of W. Bengal - Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasths - controlled the State when the Congress was in power 15 years ago and they continue to do so even today under Jyoti Basu.

There is hardly any representation to SC/ST/BCs and Muslims either in the "marxist party" or the govt. under Jyoti Basu.

What is now happening in Bengal is that the oppressed masses are losing all patience and trying to revolt. And scenting the mood of the angry but innocent masses the very same three exploiting Bhadraklok jatis are trying to divert their anger against the CPM.

Frying pan into fire: The masses

are angry only with the exploiting upper castes. But the representatives of these three communities knew the danger of putting all their legs in one basket and got themselves cunningly divided into CPM and Congress etc. to deceive the masses once again via Miss Mamata Banerji. That means, if ever Miss Banerji is to succeed, it is a jump from frying pan into fire for the oppressed Bengali masses. Since every political party is led by the upper castes and of the many varieties for democracy, we have opted for "parliamentary democracy" based on political party system, such a continuous betrayal of the confidence of the oppressed masses by all the political parties may put our very system under jeopardy and may lead to an explosive situation. West Bengal is the standing example to the failure of parliamentary democracy which is based on mutual faith. ■

Aryan mesmerism fools Bengali masses

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasths have been ruling W. Bengal ever since "independence". Whether it is the Congress or the "marxist" parties, the three Aryan upper castes have been ruling the State permanently.

The non-Aryan original inhabitants SC/ST/BCs and Muslims have been cheated both under the Congress and now under the "Marxist" rule. The Aryans have come to know that the 15 - long years of "marxist" rule under the hated Kayasth Chief Minister Jyoti Basu has exhausted the patience of the oppressed masses.

And scenting the mood they are now planning to exploit this anger so that when the masses kick out the Aryan "marxist" rule, they will replace it with another set of Aryans rule with a different brand name. The content remains the same.

The person chosen to replace Jyoti Basu is a Brahmin,

Miss Mamata Bannerji.

Here is a report from Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Calcutta:

Calcutta Nov. 25 1992, venue - Brigade Parade Ground, Calcutta. Time 2 pm sharp. Ms. Mamata Bannerjee sounded the death-knell of CPM in Bengal literally and metaphorically before a record crowd of 20 lakhs, repeat two millions.

Had people stranded on the way made it to the ground, the number could swell to 25-30 lakhs. Simply unbelievable. One has to see and believe the sea of humanity that turned up to hear Mamata giving the call, "Remove CPM, Save Bengal". The meeting was to last upto 5 PM. But many people would have been killed in stampede if the rally was not declared closed at 3 PM. Still people kept on pouring up to 4 PM. Calcutta has never seen a miracle of this sort before. The red hot "marxists" are simply benumbed.

Chappals for Jyoti Basu: Educated unemployed

young boys came to the ground dancing with Jyoti Basu's effigies, garlanded with shoes. Occasionally people used to beat his effigy with Bata-Hawai chapals. Gang-rape of women and killing of civilians in dozens in Hariharapara (Marshidabad dt.) enlivened the proceedings. Bengal has the highest number of educated unemployed in the country, simply 60 lakhs. Courtesy, the "goonda raj" of CPM - led unions forcing the closure of factories.

Calcutta has never seen a spontaneous crowd like that. Jyoti Basu's image has touched its nadir. People simply call him thief. Ladies were seen abusing him in the filthiest language.

US film: The US Consulate people were vedio-filming

the whole show from their new building on Chowringhee Road.

Jyoti Basu and his crooked cronies have lost their sleep. **If this rally has proved one thing in Bengal; it is that Mamata will be the next Chief Minister of Bengal.** Encouraged by the response, she resigned from the union council of ministers. ■

Mrs. Kaur report also reflects the feelings of all non-Aryan indigenous Indians on Bengal. The "national" toilet papers have mesmerised everybody and made them believe that Jyoti Basu is sinking and Mamata is the rising star. ■

UP Muslims kill mother Urdu and adopt stepmother Hindi

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: We received a new Hindi journal by post - *Nayi Zameen*, the Hindi version of the prestigious Delhi - based *Nayi Duniya* (Urdu weekly).

More and more UP Muslims and their Islamic organisations are adopting a stepmother, Hindi, after rejecting their mother tongue, Urdu, the richest language of India and the official language of undivided Punjab, UP, MP, Bihar, the princely states of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Bhopal and scores of others. Hindu nazis wanted to snatch the Muslim mother Urdu, hinduise her, pollute her with jaw-breaking Sanskrit words, dress her with the ugly Devanagari script and introduce her to Muslims as their mother Hindi and make them her step children. Muslims of undivided Punjab had realised it and took their mother to Pakistan. Muslims of Kashmir gave her protection along with their Kashmiri.

South Indian situation: Muslims in Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka understood that Brahmins, are other "Hindus" but not robbers and convinced and persuaded Hindus to accomodate their mother also along with Marathi, Telugu and Kannada and they have 5,500, 2,108, 1,135, 2,853, Urdu primary schools in these respective States where their population respectively is 70, 43, 42 and 35 lakhs. (DV April 16-31, 1992).

Second - class citizenship: But the 1-crore and odd UP Muslims do not have a single govt. Urdu primary school. Muslim elites and organisations have become step children of Hindus and they are serving her more loyally than the real children. They are contented with a second-class citizenship. For three decades, they

had handed over Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu to the Kashmiri Brahmin, Justice Anand Narayan Mulla, who indoctrinated these leaders and organisations with the doctrine that "Urdu is a Ganga-Jamuni language, culture etc. It shall never die and official recognition and patronage is not necessary for a language to survive". They believed the bluff spite of the warnings from the Kayasth Urdu poet, Raghupathi Firaq, and writers like Kishan Chandar and the Sikh Rajinder Kishan Bedi.

Defeated children: But the defeated children of ex-rulers yielded to the sweet musings of Brahmin Mulla and not to the growls of non-Brahmin tigers. The result, Urdu vanished from UP. It survived and it shall survive, not in UP, but everywhere.

The result: every Muslim elite organisation has to spend double the energy, time and money - Urdu publication for oldtimers and Hindi version for youngsters. Could they not have started a "Teach Urdu" movement? Can they not do even now? Can they not go to the Muslim masses at least on this single front? They will not. They are interested in making more and more rubber stamp all-India organisations and become Indian leaders in their own journals and boast and look down with contempt at sincere regional workers who are saving Urdu elsewhere from destruction. Mulla had laughed at their standard of Urdu and punned on their love for it. UP Muslim elites continue to do it. What else can be the *chelas* of Aryans do?

The Hindu nazis got the courage to destroy Babri Masjid, also in UP, after observing the spineless UP Muslim elites kill their own mother. ■

Indian press misleading readers

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Press in India now-a-days does not give news. It gives mainly views, the views of the rulers, to brainwash the Bahujan Samaj (85%).

Press - the "national" toilet papers as we call them - is not owned by us and hence we have no right to ask them what they should write. What we have is the right not to believe this press. We may buy them, read them but don't believe the trash.

Here is a typical report by a brahmin reporter of the *Times of India* (Nov. 21):

Patna: The landowners in different parts of the state are seeking assistance of armed guards to harvest their standing paddy crops following "crop loot" launched by some leftist and militant organisations.

The 'crop loot' has led to the death of seven people and many injured in clashes between the extremists' supporters and the landowners.

The Sangram Samiti, the Kisan Sabha and other organisations linked with the Indian People's Front (IPF), the Marxist co-ordination committee, the CPI and the CPM, are active in the 'crop loot'.

The reporter, Law Kumar Mishra, uses all sorts of "marxist" jargons to confuse us.

The message of the report is that alien Aryans, the land owners, are cheating their tenants and farm labourers who are none other than our indigenous Indians (BS). And to stop this they are recruiting an army. To say this simple thing he is using all sorts of "marxist" words to mislead us. And the upper castes have their "naxalite" - "maoist" outfits to deceive us. ■

Satya Sai Baba promoting Aryanisation

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: In the all-out Aryan bid to subvert democracy and bend it to their advantage, these people are not sparing any institution. The latest to be bent and broken is the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi (DV Dec. 1, 92 p.22), which has been made to collaborate with the country's richest but the most famous bogus godman, Satya Sai Baba.

No less a person than the President of India, the Bhopal brahmin, inaugurated this hospital at the remote Puttaparti (AP) on Nov.22. It is called a "superspeciality hospital" meaning exclusively reserved for the rich, meaning upper caste Aryans. The rulers

also linked Puttaparti with the Indian Airlines because the rulers travel only by air. The neogi brahmin is a *bhakta* of this fraudman.

Slowly and systematically aryanisation of India is going on but the non-Aryans are not getting angry.

Govt. hospitals all over India even in big cities have been already converted into cowsheds and fish markets. No "rich" (read Aryan) man goes to these hospitals. If they catch cold, the Aryans fly to America for a checkup. This is the state of health-care in India. Private hospitals have come up with reckless speed and all the "specialist" doctors (a profession reserved exclusively for the Aryans) are employed in these private five-star luxury hospitals and they make tons of money.

The Backward Caste hypnotist Satyanarayana Raju alias Sai Baba, who is serving the Aryans in the guise of a god man, has now provided the Aryans another facility to exploit us. ■

DEVIL QUOTING THE SCRIPTURE

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: A furious but fake debate is going on in the 'letters' column of the *Hindu*, India's chief brahminical daily, on a Tamil Brahmin's article (*Hindu* Nov.8) criticising their own Aryan law-giver, Manu.

One P.V. Narayanaswamy in his "letter" in the *Hindu* (Nov.26) defends his *jati* judge and quotes their god Krishna saying in the *Gita*, "*Chaturvarnam Maya Shristam Gunkarma Vibhagyasha*" (The four-fold order in society was created by me based on *guna* and *karma* that is quality and Swadharma).

He points out that caste system was not created by Manu to help Brahmins.

Alright, alright If caste system is based not the *jati* but on the fundamental qualities (*guna*) of a person. Then why to this day no non-Brahmin has been made a Shankarachari? We are not saying this post should be given to a non-Hindu SC/ST/BC. Even the Hindus belonging to the four-fold caste system did not get the chance to become a Shankarachari, which has remained an exclusive Brahmin preserve.

Why for the past 2,000 years the Brahmins could not get one Kshatriya or Vaishya, their own Hindu fellows, to become a Shankarachari?

Caste system was designed to help the Brahmins at the cost of others. Manu was the main culprit who aided and abetted this anti-human, anti-democratic sanctified racism. Any amount of defence is like the devil quoting the scripture. ■

DV 10 YEARS AGO

Nov.1, 1983

Editorial : RSS also Turning Hypocritical?

Dalits and persecuted minorities in India have two types of enemies - an open enemy and a concealed enemy. The Hindu Nazis, defending their caste and persecuting Untouchables, according to their Vedas, are our open enemies. Whereas the concealed enemy is coming to us disguised as our friend, describing themselves as Marxist, Socialist etc. to kill us with their kindness. Lately, the open enemy (RSS) is also concealing its colour to confuse and confound the Dalits. The awakening among Dalits has made the Hindus to give up their outdated vedic weapons. The RSS leopard, which honestly believed in its Bible- Bunch of Thoughts - is trying to change its spots to befriend the lamb. As Indira Gandhi is getting popular among Hindus with her socialist mantra, the RSS is trying to move closer to her. However, the "conservatives" like Nanji Desmukh wanted to stick to Golwalkar's line which has rejected by Balasaheb Deoras who has sacked Nanji as the editor-in-chief of the Organiser, the official journal of the RSS, for refusing to support Mrs. Gandhi who has proved a better saviour of Hinduism. Nanaji is sent away to hills to hinduise the tribals and Untouchables. RSS leaders want to support Mrs. Gandhi whereas the cadres, who are punished during the Emergency, are angry with the leaders who have started flirting with Mrs. Gandhi. Some honest workers openly say that as long as the Chitpavan Brahmins are leaders of the RSS, it will have no future. Deoras and co. think that a "socialist brahmin" image can fool the Dalits and BCs better than the "vedic brahmin" image. A 3-day workshop of 200 RSS leaders decided to step up efforts "to love" Untouchables and tribals who are fast slipping out of Hinduism. This development poses a danger to Dalits to identify their enemies. Threatened by the increasing conversion trend, RSS has stepped up the wooing of Untouchables and tribals in a big way. Hindu nazis use "reservation" as a stick to keep the Untouchables within the hindu fold by denying them reservation if they convert to Christianity - Islam. Yet, Untouchables are slipping out of Hindu fold. The Hindu worry is natural. Because the escape of Untouchables will destroy the Hindu pyramid and those sitting at its top would be the worst hit. It is this fear which made the RSS to join hands with others to "save" Hinduism by "loving" Untouchables who are not Hindus. Hence their "love" is not sincere. In the name of the "Harijan uplift" they swindle millions of rupees and get enough publicity in the willing "national press". Besides, RSS also has long-range objectives to (i) spend millions of rupees to hinduise SC/ST. At the same time their reservation schemes are to be scuttled. (ii) Recruit "Hindu BCs" into RSS and sharpen the antagonism between Dalits and BCs, (iii) Scuttling the Mandal Report (iv) Hinduise Dalits/tribals to fight Muslims (v) Fanning language conflicts.

International Commission to probe untouchability: Second part of testimony given by Bhagwan Das at the World Conference on Religion and Peace. MGR govt. to dismiss Dalits who convert: R. Elumalai.

How China treats its Muslim/Christian minorities: A report by V.T. Rajshekar on his visit to Chain.

Brahmin - BC tie for Supreme Court chief justice

New Delhi: The present Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Justice L.M. Sharma, is due to retire in about two months.

The govt. is not able to make up its mind who should be Justice Sharma's successor. The choice is between Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah, a Karnataka Brahmin, and Justice Ratnaval Pandian. Venkatachaliah is number two in the Supreme Court as far as the highest court's seniority is concerned, Pandian is senior to him if one has to take into account his career as a judge and his age.

If Justice Pandian is appointed as the next Chief Justice of India, he will be the first head of the Supreme Court from the "backward community," a Thevar, who delivered the most upright judgement on the Mandal Com. (DV edit Dec. 16.92)

DV proves right on Kerala Muslim League leadership

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Despite the fact that the All-India Muslim League Chief Sulaiman Sait has given a call that ML would no longer support the Congress, the cause of the Babri Masjid blast, its Kerala unit wants to continue in power with the Nazi Karunakaran. This proves our charge that the ML in Kerala is more interested in power (for the sake of corruption) than in protecting the Muslims it represent. DV proves right here also. (DV July 16, 92 p.21: "In defence of Sulaiman Sait").

War against church

Bombay: Hindu nazis have started a war against the church. The scene of the battle, Mandpeshwar, is a serene spot in suburban Borivili, about 35 kilometres from the city. It is a centuries-old formation of caves adorned with "Hindu gods" carved in black stone. Today, the caves are in a derelict state and Mandpeshwar itself is no more than an address for upper middle-class housing societies.

If Mandpeshwar has any religious associations, it is not to a Hindu temple but to the St. Francis d' Assissi Church, a boys' school and junior college affiliated to the Church and a shelter for poor and orphan boys also run by the Church.

Hindu Nazis demolished a huge cross carved of stone in one of the caves.

Letters to Editor

Benny Alexander, Secretary-General, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania, PO Box 25245, Ferreirastown, 2048, S. Africa: I have distributed copies of the Indian Dalit Support Group, USA, submissions on the Gandhi Memorial in Washington DC. People are first stunned by the sheer force of truth and they are very excited to have a consistent theory on the plight of the Untouchables. (DV Oct. 16, 92 p.6: "*Brahminical bid to rename street after M.K. Gandhi defeated*). I hope to have research done by one of our Indian brothers on the light of the Untouchables in Azania and the structure of Indian society in Azania. We do need as much material on the topic, especially on the early history of the religion of the Dalit and the first civilisation they built. Keep up the good work and we trust that we can build on the relationship in struggle we have now started.

Dr. Velu Annamalai, PO Box 842066, Houston, Texas 77284-2066, USA: I have received Dr. Arthur Bonner's book, *Averting the Apocalypse: Social movements in India Today*, which I am reading now. It is interesting to note the contrast between Dr. Bonner's book and another, *India, Million Mutinies Now*, by V.S. Naipaul. Even slight connection to the obnoxious brahminic religion, no matter how long ago as in the case of Naipaul whose forefathers left the shores of India over a century ago, makes the man to be not very objective about the realities of India. I have also received a copy of your MS, "Churning, the Stinking Pool". I will contact the Clarity Press, Atlanta, about publishing it. The role played by our beloved Africans brothers and sisters at Atlanta (in particular Brother John Tremble and his wife, Sister Tendai, and Sister Sheron Davis) did a wonderful job in educating the Afro-American people living in the Atlanta street to be named after Gandhi as well as going to the Atlanta City Council to speak against this naming episode. They only deserve all the credit - thanks and compliments from our Dalit brothers and sisters from India. This is by no means the end of the struggle but it is just the beginning of the battle. The bigger battle will be in Washington, DC where there is a proposal before the US Senate to create a memorial to Gandhi. This is a bigger and more difficult battle because of the brahminical muscle and financial power in US. I represented the Indian Dalits at a conference organised by the Caribbean Cultural Center, New York, in Sept. I talked about our past glory with the Indus Valley Civilisation and how the Aryans through

their vicious brahminism killed our people and civilisation. I also had the privilege to speak to two Africans groups, "The First World Alliance" at Harlem, New York City, and "The African Echos" in Newark, New Jersey. Most of the members of these groups know already about our Dalit people thanks to our beloved Brother, Runoko Rashidi, noted Black historian. These groups have promised to help us fight the Gandhi Memorial in Washington DC. While I was with the "First World Alliance", I had an opportunity to meet representatives of "Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania (South Africa)". They were very interested in Dalits. I sent them some materials including your book, *DALIT*, the Black Untouchables of India.

Lyord C. Honore, PO Box 2821, Fairfield, CA 94533-0282 USA: I enjoy reading *Dalit Voice* very much and eagerly look forward to receiving it in the mail. It continues to be my only source of information concerning the plight of the persecuted nationalities in India. May you be blessed to continue providing this much needed service so that people in America and the rest of the world will wake up to the reality of what is happening to the dispossessed people in India.

John Peter Jr. Plankadavil, PO Box No. 2403, Abu Dhabi, UAE: I heard from Jose Pallithoppil, Kumarakom, of St. Peter's church that the bishop and his advisers are out to sell the paddy field (*kayal*) at Kumarakom, which is commonly owned by our diocese, to upper caste Christians. I heard of a conspiracy to hand over our diocese to Syro-Malabar hierarchy. I fear bloodshed in Vijayapuram diocese. Liberation of the oppressed is not possible unless the church abolishes caste.

D.P. Singh, Desu Sub-station flat, B Block, East of Kailash, New Delhi-65: Congratulations for your "letter" in the *Hindustan Times* taking up the cause of Backward Castes in a very intellectual manner. Your assertion that economic criteria in the guise of "creamy layer" imposed by the Supreme Court is nothing but denying reservation to the BCs in a very shrewd manner by the upper castes. As there was no one to protect the interest of the BCs in the Supreme Court judiciary, upper castes have taken undue advantage of delivering a judgment which is nothing but sugar-coated poison for BCs. By advocating the "creamy layer" condition, they have ensured indirectly that quota for the BCs in the services always remains unfilled and in turn the upper castes continue to rule over the BCs permanently. Who will compete in the services from the BCs if the "creamy layer" is kept out of the reservation? In Bihar and other northern States the BCs have been reduced to the status of slaves. There is no facility for their education even if they are

economically well off. They are denied admission for one reason or the other as academic institutions are 100% managed by the oppressor upper castes. Unlike the Christians and Muslims, BCs run no educational institutions. In the villages, the hatred against the BCs is so intense that any prosperity of the BCs is not tolerated by the upper castes. If the SC/BCs acquire wealth by their own labour or by working in a city, they are subjected to dacoity and murder, rape etc. In this way, the BCs don't enjoy even symbolic freedom and security. They always live under fear, slavery and boot of the upper caste politicians. The SC/STs have got moral reinforcement because they enjoy share in service and politics but this is not so with the BCs. The so-called "creamy layer" consists of a few people from BCs. They are those whose family migrated to the city where they did manual labour and the lucky few could get opportunity to get education under free atmosphere. Only such a section of BCs can manage to get job under reservation. Unfortunately, such people are very small in number. Vast majority of the BCs consists of uneducated, suppressed, a tortured demoralised category which means that majority of the BCs are not even remotely able to compete. BCs should, therefore, get reservations without any condition as recommended by the Mandal Commission and rightly advocated by you.

Raju Thomas, PO Box 2296, Madras - 23: I am always disturbed and worried about your safety. No Ambedkarite is afraid of death, because we die once and live eternally. Cowards only die once for all. We expected the incident at Ayodhya and we welcome many more such events. We have given enough warning to the elite Muslims. They will not obey the Koran and the Hadis. The corrupt Muslim leadership could be thrown out by the revolutionary Muslim masses if only the Aryan-Hindu-Nazis brutally continue their genocide against the Muslim community. This is the way how the "Law on Contradictions" sharpens the social engineering. Gulf countries must kick out all Aryan-Hindu-Nazis but not the SC/ST/Christians/Sikhs and Indian Muslims. One lady doctor from Coimbatore, an Aryan, donated Rs. 15 lakhs for kar seva and she was kicked out from Saudi Arabia within 24 hours. Congratulations to King Fahd. Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait must take over the Kerala Muslim leadership and give a call to the Muslim masses. All Muslim countries must unitedly march towards India to protect the victims of brahminism and its custodians. Is India heading for a civil war as you had predicted some time ago? Even Albert Einstein had predicted that India will perish by itself. What the hell the Kerala Muslim League is licking and sucking the corrupt nazi shudra Karunakaran? We

are sure that the Islamic volcano will erupt from the masses and all those lickers and suckers will be burnt alive in the lava.

Katti Padma Rao, Andhra Pradesh Dalit Maha Sabha, Ponnur, AP: What you have been warning all these years came true with the demolition of Babri Masjid. We have been relentlessly fighting against the forces of "Hindu imperialism".

Maniarasu K. Naryanaswamy, HIG 24/ NH 1, Maraimalainagar, TN - 603 209: Dr. S. Ramadoss is second to none in the whole of India to sacrifice in favour of SCs and BCs. I was the secretary of the school at Madras wherein young Ramadoss had his primary education upto VIII std. He has never forgotten me. He offered me a general seat at Madurantakam. I was sure of winning against the richest Marwari of the State, S.D. Ugamchand. Because of Rajiv Gandhi's assassination I lost to an ADMK candidate, P. Chockalingam, a BC Vanniyar. I think you are the first who introduced the word *papan* out of Tamil Nadu.

Abdul Karim, 53 - Deveraja St., Madras - 5: Your predictions that bad days are ahead for Muslims has come true with the ugly act of demolition of Babri Masjid by Hindu nazis. It is now crystal clear that PVN is hand in glove with the nazis. Instead of arresting the culprits, they arrested the DK leader Veerappan here. The *Bangalore papatti* came out with her true colours. Among the *kar sevaks* there were lots of SC/ST. These brain-washed weaker sections should be rescued by leaders like Dr. Ramadoss.

A.G. Shah, Zaindar Mohalla, Srinagar, Kashmir: There are two districts in Ladakh - Kargil and Leh. The Ladakh district has 90% Buddhists and Kargil, 95% Muslims. The Ladaki Buddhists have started a social boycott of Muslims there at the instigation of Hindu nazis who infiltrated there. Otherwise, the Buddhists used to have inter-marriages with Muslims. I wish you advise the Buddhists there to refrain from "Hindu" activities which goes against the Dalit-Buddhist interests. I get the *Dalit Voice* very late. I don't know why. I await for it as if for food.

Dr. Abdul Kareem, Ex.Rev. Fr. Samuel Peter, Madras: The Jamat-e-Islami is close to RSS. Palani Baba recently offered them bangles during riots at Triplicane here. For new Muslims they are not helpful. You are wasting your precious time and energy by trying to reform them. Please do not disappoint new converts like me. I am an ex-Rev. Father. This "Dalit Christian" is a wrong concept and by the turn of this century, Christianity will be out of the Indian scene as a religious entity.

B.K. Ghatak, G-1320, CR Park, N.Delhi - 19: Why the

Hindus hate the Namasudras in Bengal? Both Brahmins and Namas perform the same religious rites, both claim they belong to Kashapgotra. Then why they hate each other in every sphere of life? Inter-dining with Namas is prohibited despite the fact that the Bengali Brahmins are not accepted by other Brahmins in India as Brahmins. As a strong and united community (Bengali Namas Brahmins call them Chandalas) they once wholesale got converted to Buddhism. After the Muslim invasion of Bengal to take the revenge against the Brahmins, a large number of Buddhists embraced Islam in Bengal. Therefore, we can conclude that Namas were the original Buddhists in Bengal. During the British rule a large number of Namas embraced Christianity and the founder-father of Matua religion, Hari Chand Thakur, saved them from conversion.

Dilip Paswan, Lallupokhar, Munger, Bihar - 811 201 : S.M. Doula (DV Nov.1,92) says that BSP views are different from that of Dr. Ambedkar and hence it does not "talk of conversion". This is wrong. BSP is not only seeking the support of Muslims but striving to constitute the entire 85% SC/ST/BCs and Muslims into a Bahujan Samaj and capture Parliament.

S R Talukdar, New Dehli: I read with interest the article, "*Racism in Defence Services - Upper castes keep out SC/STs*" by V.Prasanna Kumar (DV Nov.1, 92). This is an eye-opener to Dalits. The reservation in defence services will open up new area of employment to SC/ST youth. Reservation is necessary because without it these candidates, however competent they may be, will always be discriminated against by the upper caste recruiting authorities. Without a proper share in the defence of our country, how can we say that we are free citizens of India?

Shyamal Kr. Biswas, Eroli, Murshidabad, WB: In response to your statement ".....VP Singh lost his PM post for Mandal" (DV edit Oct.16), it should be said as the PM, he announced his decision on Mandal report and secretly made an agreement with Justice Ranganath Mishra, the then Judge of the Supreme Court, that Mishra would be promoted soon if he could murder the implementation of the Mandal Report, through the court. This was a secret agreement. Mishra obliged and issued a stay order and got promoted as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by VP Singh.

K Mukundan, Peruvattor, Koilandy, Kerala-673 305: I have translated your famous book, *Know the Hindu Mind*, into Malayalam. In a month, we will publish it. Now, I am translating the *Merit My foot*. Half the job is over.

R.T. Nasalpur, Indiranagar, Chikodi-591 201: The enormous literature you have produced came to our

notice only recently. It is only the DV which is disclosing the secret technique of Hindi nazis. DV has really opened our eyes and convinced us that the brahminical forces are even now pushing us down. The people on this side were not aware of you and your DV. It is only on account of the efforts of my daughter, Jeevanlata of Belgaum, the educated mass are flocking to DV. Please carry on your struggle. We are prepared to follow you.

Mohd.Yusuf Beg, ex-MP&Vice-President, Hind Mazdoor Kisan Panchayat, Bhadohi-Varanasi, UP-221 401 : This is with reference to DV edit Oct.16, 92: "*We warn VP not to dilute Mandal but make it the sold weapon*". It has lots of worth-considering suggestions to the Janata Dal but also some misconceptions. George Fernandes is criticised for his Mandal approach. George is an old socialist having full faith in Dr.Lohia's ideology which inspired the Mandal report. Mandal himself was an old associate of George. As the president of the HMKP, he launched a struggle to get the Mandal report implemented. It is painful to note George being described as a man of urban background and a confused man. It is only George in the Janata Dal who has some original revolutionary thinking and has the guts and ability to fearlessly express what touches his mind. However, Biju Patnaik can be called confused and hostile to Mandal. To criticise SR Bommai as the enemy of Mandal, merely because he is a Lingayat, shows the prejudice of the Editor. Even the Lord Buddha, the first who revolted against brahminism, was born in an upper caste Rajput family. So too Dr. Lohia. ■

CPM punishes BC leader

Thiruvananthapuram: Veteran CPM, Ezhava (BC) leader and former Kerala minister, Mrs.K.R.Gouri Amma, has been removed from the CPM's State Secretariat, the party's highest decision-making body in the State, for "breach of party discipline", CPM State Secretary, E.K.Nayanar said. (*Indian Express* Dec.10)

SC/ST Commission

New Delhi: Members of newly constituted National Commission for SC/STs are: Ram Dhan, Chairman, Baudi Uraon, Vice-Chairman, B.Sammaiah, Mrs.Sarojini Mahishi, Ch.Hari Singh, P.N.Brahma and Jhinabhai R.Darjee, members. The office of the Commission is at Loknaya Bhawan, Khan Market, New Delhi - 110003. ■

Swedish scholar looks at India's Dalit movement

EVA-MARIA HARDTMANN, DEPT. OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, STOCKHOLM

A noted scholar from Sweden and a *Dalit Voice* subscriber recently toured India and her impressions on the Indian brand of racism and the protest movement it provoked, that is Dalit Movement - the only movement worth the name today - were published in a scholarly journal, *NIASnyth*, 1992 No.2, and the whole country was shocked on hearing about the Apartheid in India. Western people are slowly coming to know India's closely guarded secrets.

In the masses there are older landless agricultural labourers from Madhya Pradesh, middleclass families from Tamil Nadu, and intellectuals from Bangalore. In the demonstration procession there are groups of college students dancing and singing to the beating of drums as they are waving with thick new editions of Ambedkar's production, there among the Indian Constitution. Samata Sainik Dal, the Social Equality Army, from Karnataka give a disciplined impression in their uniforms: black shirts, trousers and berets, red scarves and a red feather in the beret. They are carrying banderols, which are about respect and equality. Dalit Mahasabha from Andhra Pradesh, younger militant boys with blue scarves around their foreheads, are waving with their blue flags with the red star in the centre, as they clench their fists, coming together in a "Jai Bhim", the greeting of Ambedkar. It is the day of the year when individuals and groups can get a confirmation that they are not alone in their district or village.

So what have this heterogeneous crowd in common? They all belong to the category of people who were placed at the bottom in the traditional caste hierarchy, those who were called Untouchables and impure, *avarnas*, *atisudras*, *panchamas*, those who Gandhi gave the name *harijans*, the "Children of God", a name they reject themselves. Today they belong officially

to the category "scheduled castes", a name which was coined already in 1935 when "backward" groups were registered to get grants and reserved jobs in the administration.

Conveys our anger: Today they have found their own name, they call themselves *Dalit*, a Hindi word which means downtrodden. A Dalit-activist in Samata Sainik Dal says:

"The word Dalit was coined in the beginning of the 1970s when the untouchables in Maharashtra called themselves Dalit Panthers with inspiration from the militant Black Panthers in USA. Before we were always given insulting names, such as Bangi, Mahar and Pariah. Untouchable was a negative identification and besides an English word. Dalit on the other hand have given a positive identification which is necessary for a liberation movement. Our people had no name of our own. Dalit came to be the only name which we, the untouchables of India, gave to ourselves. The word soon became popular. The name is not only commonly accepted now, but it also conveys our anger, our determination, besides striking a terror in the heart of our enemies".

Who are Dalits: The Dalit-movement has a longer history and even if the name Dalit was not used in the new sense earlier, already in the end of the 19th and beginning of 20th century we can find groups which were fighting against discrimination. The Untouchables were not allowed

entry into temples, they were denied to walk in certain streets or to use public wells, and their touch and shadow were polluting according to

Hindus. In the movement today it is not clear who has the right to call himself Dalit. Almost everybody will agree that "scheduled castes/scheduled tribes", who form 22.5% (according to 1981 census) of the Indian population, constitute the core of the Dalit-movement. For many activists the category "backward castes" also belongs to Dalits, many include Christians and some will also include Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs and other minorities. Some people use the term changeable with "poor" in general. But the most common opinion among activists seems to be that only "scheduled castes/scheduled tribes" are the "real Dalits".

Gandhi thrown out: Many people from different parts of India, of different ages and different professionals have come to Delhi today, which is a sign that Ambedkar is that powerful symbol, which can unite despite differences. Among Dalits Ambedkar is the undisputed leader and Gandhi is put in the shadow and even put to scorn. Activists who want to use a stronger language talk about Gandhi as the enemy number one of Dalits'. Unlike Gandhi, Ambedkar was himself an untouchable, a mahar from Maharashtra. He lived from 1891 to 1956, and the centenary celebrations are now going on for the second year. Ambedkar struggled

against caste oppression, and took the lead on many occasions when the masses exceeded the limits which were set for untouchables; for example when they in 1927 marched to a pond in Mahad, a small city south of Bombay, to drink symbolically of the water they were forbidden to touch; or in 1930 when they tried to force their way into the temple in the pilgrim centre Nasik, northeast of Bombay.

Burning Manusmriti: The most famous action of Ambedkar is maybe when he burnt the holy scripture Manusmriti, the laws of Manu, which prescribes caste-rules, and for Dalits symbolizes injustice. Ambedkar was lawyer by profession, and the first Minister of Law in and the first Minister of Law in India. HE is sometimes called the Father of the Constitution, as he was the chairman of the drafting committee which formed the Constitution after India's independence in 1947.

Ambedkar and Gandhi were contemporaries, and between them many struggles took place. Gandhi gave the name *panchamast* to the untouchables, which indicates that he wanted to introduce a fifth varna, in addition to the four already existing caste categories, brahmins, kshatriyas, vaishiyas and shudras. In this way he hoped the untouchables should be accepted in the fold of Hinduism. Ambedkar went the other way and fought for separate electorates for untouchables. He condemned Hinduism when he in 1956 took the lead in a mass conversion into Buddhism when about 300,000 mahars converted in Nagpur, Maharashtra.

Ten volumes: The collected writings and speeches of Dr. Ambedkar have now been published in new editions in ten thick volumes, and four more will come. For many students and intellectual Dalit-activists these are as attractive and hard to obtain as oranges were in former East Germany. You have to be on

the spot when the books reach the shop and many people still have gaps in their collection which they want to fill. Volume nine, *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*, is the most popular; and it is with support of this book some speak of **Gandhi as the enemy number one of Dalits**.

Many Dalit-activists are today on the same line as Ambedkar. They have started to agitate for separate electorates, and they fully condemn Hinduism. In the demonstration-procession on the 14th of April there were banderols with the text: "We want separate electorates, separate settlement and religious separation."

Kerala activists: V. Prabhakaran, a Dalit Panther-activist from Calicut in Kerala, tells me about a mutual heritage: "We have a mutual history of suffering and oppression, and Ambedkar is the symbol that unite".

Sarika, a 15 year-old activist, from a small village in Haryana, has decided to sacrifice her family-life. She will not marry, but become a doctor and work full-time in the struggle for Dalits. She speaks lyrically about the centenary celebration:

"The best speaker this year was from south India. He was in his fifties. Fantastic! He didn't speak Hindi so we did not understand, but because of his way of speaking we could understand anyway. What a tremendous round of applause he got, and everybody wanted him to go on speaking".

Invisible oppression: Some conditions are obvious while others are hidden from the eye. **India is in many ways a segregated society**, which is evident in the dwelling conditions for example. In many villages in the countryside "scheduled castes" still live separated in small mudhuts some distance away from the central village. We can also find "scheduled castes" in slum-areas in the

city, on land that is economically useless, close to sewage or garbage. Many Dalit-activists have been brought up in this kind of surroundings. They still consider themselves to represent the category "scheduled castes" although many of them have now improved their situations, not seldom with the help of caste-based reservations in colleges, universities and government-service.

US Blacks: A feeling of social oppression is expressed by many Dalits, and not seldom is there a parallel drawn to the situation of the Blacks in USA or apartheid in South Africa. Many Dalit-activists are government employees and economically safe. But still they feel discriminated, which have led to their involvement in the movement. They struggle to get social recognition.

Many speak of the invisible oppression as the most difficult to get rid of. Jayadev Anand, Dalit Panther-activist from Engineering College in Calicut, Kerala, states:

"Untouchability is still there, but it has taken new forms. It's not possible to discover it immediately, but it is there. They think themselves superior, because we have got our seats on reservation. They don't say anything but we can feel it all the time. They can point us out directly, because everybody knows who was accepted in the reservation quota".

Black Bishop: M. Azariah is a Christian Protetant and the Bishop of Madras. He is a Dalit himself and works actively for the Dalit course:

"The problem with our people is that they are suffering from an inferiority complex, at the same time as upper castes suffer from a superior complex. We have been looked down at for so long that finally we have started to hate ourselves".

Were we right?: Humuna, a 23-year-old Dalit-activist, lives in Bangalore and studies at the university.

His brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents live in a small village with 400 households northeast of Bangalore in the south of India. He is studying sociology and wants to continue in the research department. All spare-time is spent in the work for Dalits. He is bitter about what his parents and grandparents have gone through as untouchables, and now he wishes to contribute to some changes and improvements in the village. Humuna is self-confident and energetic, he is in a good mood and it is difficult to follow his speed in the Indian heat:

"We are not against the brahmins but brahminism. They are scared now when we start to get education. They are terrified to give us education because they know what a fury is burning inside us".

We are walking through the home-village of Humuna and he tells me about the street playgroup of which is a part:

"Even here in my village we tried to put up a streetplay. We dramatize different problems which we Dalits meet. We wanted to show the problem of untouchability on stage. The first time we tried Ramegowda, an MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] came and told us it was not possible. He lived in this big house but is dead now. We came back a second time, and then upper caste people came with sticks and stopped us. We were much less people. When Ramegowda was in the hospital in Bangalore we gathered 50-60 students and went to see him. I asked him: 'How can you stop us from giving dramas showing the problems, isn't this a democracy and you are a member of the parliament?' At that moment he was trembling with fear. We grabbed his shirt, and we put him out of the bed by force, like this".

In our company there is a friend of Humuna and he nods in agreement.

"We forced him down to the floor

and gave him some good kicks. When we came to play here in the village the next time he was here. 'Oh, welcome', he said. 'Welcome'. It is difficult to understand India. Scientifically, from an objective point of view, were we right? What do you say?"

Many Dalit-activists are like Humuna: young college - or university-students from small villages. Not seldom they are the only one in the family who has got the opportunity to study. They live in the bigger cities, and like Humuna they keep the contact with their families in the countryside.

Quit Hinduism: A common denominator in the Dalit-movement is the rejection of Hinduism and the caste system. Many ways have been tried to get away from the social oppression during the years, and the most well-tried is maybe conversion.

Ambedkar chose Buddhism after a long time of consideration, and he took the lead in a mass conversion to Buddhism in 1956, as already mentioned. Also during recent years followers of Ambedkar converted, although on a smaller scale. In many cases conversion is pure strategy and it seems more important to escape Hinduism than to find a new religion. Many Dalits have converted because they consider Buddhism a more equal religion, but they have no special interest in religion and they never perform any Buddhistic rituals. At the most one can find a Buddha statue in their homes. But of course there are also devoted converts. Maybe the number of conversions to Buddhism will now increase, because since 1990 the Buddhists have got the right to reservations. Earlier many stayed in the fold of Hinduism not to lose their advantage.

Born Buddhists: Lakshmi is a 35-year old woman from Bangalore. She is small and sensitive, and a

convinced Dalit-activist. She is propagating Buddhism in a somewhat different way:

"The most difficult thing is to make people leave their religion. Brahmins have brainwashed us during all these years and made us believe that we are Hindus. We don't need to convert because we are already Buddhists. That means nobody has to leave his religion. When we go to the villages we explain to our people that we are the original inhabitants and even the original Buddhists in this country and because of that we have the right to the land."

"I ask Lakshmi if she is performing any Buddhists rituals: "No, you can say we are secularized Buddhists", she says laughing. In the small room which is her home, where books are almost the only belongings, she has put two posters on the wall, one of Ambedkar and one of Periyar, who was a rationalist from Tamil Nadu, who in 1925 started a self-respected-movement in south India.

An All-India Buddhist Conference is taking place in New Delhi between the 1st and the 3rd of May 1992. A portrait of Ambedkar is placed on a table on the podium, and decorated with flower-garlands. Much of the time is spent discussing the situation of the Dalits. Basavalingappa, Congress Minister from Karnataka, echo what I have already heard from Lakshmi:

"We are Buddhists since the time of Ashoka [third century BC]. We have been Buddhists during thousand years. This is something we must go out to propagate."

Beef Biryani: There is a unity in the conference and I wonder whether there will come any conflicts to the fore or not, between conservative Buddhists and secularized Dalits that now belong to the Buddhist fold. In the south of India for example a new group of Dalit-Buddhists celebrated the birthday of Ambedkar with beef

biriyani for lunch. However, on the second day of the conference, in the afternoon, the discussion is more agitated, and many monks point out that there are some criteria to be a Buddhist, and to call yourself a Buddhist you should at least have meditated five minutes in your lifetime.

Role of Islam: Dalit-groups do not only convert to Buddhism, but also to Islam, Christianity as well as Sikhism and atheism. In 1981 about 1,000 Dalits converted to Islam in Minakshipuram, Tamil Nadu, which scared Hindu fundamentalists, who imagined how the Muslims were soon to take over the country.

Hindu fundamentalists, like members of BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) and VHP (Vishva Hindu Parishad) are in conflict with the Dalits as well as with the Muslims, which makes Dalits and Muslims look for alliances. According to Ram Vilas Paswan in Dalit Sena (see below) the cooperation between Dalits and Muslims has grown stronger the last year in the state of Bihar. I am also told by Jayadev Anand in Dalit Panthers in Kerala how they cooperate with a group of younger Muslims, who even work as bodyguards in their conferences:

"Since we were attacked by RSS during a meeting we have taken help from the Muslims. I am not sure what they think about us but they use us and we use them. We are both oppressed by the brahmins, so we have a common interest in fighting them".

Caste in church: Also Christianity has Dalit converts. A big problem for the Christian Dalits, which has been a topic for discussions and conferences the last years, is that they lose their right to reservations when they convert. Another problem is that they do not always escape oppression through conversion to Christianity. In Tamil Nadu in the south of India there are for example places

where different chalices were used for Dalits and others in the same congregation until recently, places where Dalits and others went to different churches in the same congregation, and places where Dalits are buried secluded in the graveyard. Dalit Liberation Education Trust, a Dalit-organization in Madras, works socially among Dalits and have produced a video about the conditions inside the church.

An atheistic outlook is not uncommon among the Dalit-activists of the younger generation. According to their opinion faith in any god is superstition. In the home of an activist in Mangalore the house-altar, with Vishnu, Krishna and many other Hindu gods was put away into a dark hidden corner, while a poster of Ambedkar was put up in the altar's original place in the centre of the room. Initiator to these not very popular changes was the young activist in the family. The opinion among the younger generation is that the faith of the aged is not possible to change, an opinion shared by Deekaiiah in Mangalore:

"The old people have believed in these things all their life, so let them be. We mostly propagate among the younger".

Reservations: Dalit Panthers came into existence as a literary movement in Maharashtra in the beginning of the 1970s, but later on as a result of internal conflicts they split up. For many activists today, not only in Maharashtra, Dalit Panthers has been a source of inspiration and is looked upon as a new starting-point after Ambedkar. There seem to be two main events the last two years which have contributed to the revival of the Dalit-movement. In addition to Ambedkar's centenary celebrations an event of importance was when the percentage of caste-based reservations was increased two years ago.

Janata Dal, under the leadership of

V.P. Singh, implemented during its short governing period, added reservations, that means special quotas for "backward" groups in the central government service. This was in accordance with a ten-year-old government recommendation, the Mandal Commission Report. Many of the upper castes felt this as a threat, and during the autumn of 1990 we could witness on television how students in the universities set themselves on fire, as a protest and because they were frightened of losing job opportunities to "backward" groups. The opposition against V.P. Singh and the implementation started discussions, and with the law on their side Dalits were agitating that the reservations should not only be a paper-exercise but be implemented in practice, an agitation which still goes on today.

Role of Dalit Voice: There is not one overall formal Dalit-organization, but hundreds and hundreds of separate informal and formal groups. Consequently there is no well-formed-groups from different states together, but on the other hand many effective informal networks. What happens in the south of India is not always known in the north, and vice versa, but with the help of central activists who maintain the contacts, the information sometimes seems to be spread surprisingly well.

With the help of periodicals the informal networks are also kept up. In the south of India, with its main office in Bangalore, we can find *Dalit Voice*. The editor V.T.Rajshekar is a journalist who worked for the large Indian daily, *Indian Express*, but ten years ago lost his job because of, according to himself, his radical opinions. He then started *Dalit Voice*, a fortnightly periodical in English, which he is still publishing. The central theme is how brahminism has destroyed the country, and Rajshekar compares brahminism with nazism in its cruelty. The periodical informs

about Dalit-meetings, atrocities on Dalits and about new literature of interest. In "letters to the editor" Dalits make themselves known and Buddhist, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and other minorities communicate and exchange ideas. **Even though the periodical has a limited edition it has a widespread effect as it is read by many key-figures in the Dalit-movement.**

A new Hindi periodical in north India is *Naya Chakra*, (The New Wheel), which is published from New Delhi by the editor Ram Vilas Paswan. Even this paper gives information of interest to Dalits.

BSP and Dalit Sena: Even if many of the networks have a local extension, efforts are made to keep groups together in a more organized way over larger areas. In the north of India there are a few larger organizations, Dalit Sena, and BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party), between which it is possible to trace some competition.

BSP is a political party which gathers "scheduled castes" and "backward castes" and it is steadily growing since its birth in 1984. It is in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Punjab the success is most visible. At present they have three seats in the Central Parliament and 24 seats in state Legislative Assemblies. Kanshi Ram is the founder and leader of the party.

CIA Agent ? : BSP has its background in BAMCEF, Backward and Minority Community Employees Federation, which was born in 1978. It is an association of government employees who feel discriminated by upper caste people. These employees who belong to "scheduled - and backward castes" are the foundation of BSP. They have a sense of guilt towards their caste-mates who are not as well off, and they are willing to finance the party-work - they are the financial muscle of BSP, says Kanshi Ram. Upper caste

people can join the party, but they are not allowed to be its leaders, as they would block a process of change in the same way as they do in other political parties, according to Kanshi Ram. A lot of propaganda have been spread against BSP, and Kanshi Ram has even been accused of getting assistance from CIA.

The other force of importance is Dalit Sena. Its President Ram Vilas Paswan, who is sometimes also called the second Ambedkar among his followers, is careful to point out that Dalit Sena is a social and not a political organization. In spite of this Dalit Sena has close connections with state opposition party, Janata Dal, in which Ram Vilas Paswan is Vice President. Dalit Sena makes up the base in a network of 158 Dalit organizations, which in the end of last year formed All-India Dalit Action Committee for Social Justice, in which Ram Vilas Paswan was chosen chairman. Ram Vilas Paswan likes to be in the centre, and media has also given him a lot of attention during this spring. At present he is in the middle of a campaign where he is demanding that the country's next President should be a Dalit. Janpath 12, the residence of Ram Vilas Paswan, is a luxurious white house in the more well-off blocks of central New Delhi. Paswan denies a rumour that he is about to leave Janata Dal and form a new party of Dalit Sena: There is no conflict between Janata Dal and Dalit Sena. In Dalit Sena we want to accelerate ideas. Janata Dal is like the weapon of the social movement." I have read earlier that Ram Vilas Paswan would introduce armed Dalit forces in the villages. "Yes, that is right. I have even asked the government to form Dalit liberation force. You just train them and give them arms, so that they can defend themselves. No response, as you can understand".

Movement Taking Shape: Consciously and strategically an ideal-

ogy and Dalit-identity is being formed, and because of the loose structure of the movement many ideas can be tried out. Dalit-activists are building up self-respect in the movement and they also demand the respect from others. In conferences, meetings and Dalit-periodicals it is spoken about common roots and about Dalits as the original inhabitants of India. A search is going on to find mutual symbols, and Ambedkar seems to be a symbol everybody can accept.

There is no evident leader, even though Ram Vilas Paswan and Kanshi Ram have got a lot of attention in media lately. Rather, many active key-figures have the role of leaders in their own district or region. To maintain the contacts these activists are important to the informal networks in the Dalit-movement, a movement which foremost and explicit purpose is to change the existing power-structures. Even if the opinions whether the changes should be carried out through reforms or faster, upheavals vary.

Dalit a force: The term Dalit has now come to be used in the daily newspapers and the success of BSP has made many people understand that the Dalit-movement, despite its sometimes split appearance, is a force no longer possible to ignore. It was a powerful manifestation in New Delhi on the 14th of April and for sure some Hindu fundamentalists became wary. **The movement has got a revival during the last two years, and we will have all reasons to keep an eye on the Dalits in the close future.** Now to begin with, we are waiting to know if India will get its first Dalit President, as Paswan demands.

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Nazi with a socialist mask

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Mark the following words of the Tanjore Iyer who has been appointed by India's chief Hindu Nazi party to do what he has been doing all these years.

Janata Party president Subramaniam Swamy has demanded the arrest of Rashtriya Swamy Sevak Sangh activists under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act and called the RSS a "terrorist organisation out to divide the country".

The RSS, which was not pro-Hindu but anti-Muslim, has no concern for Hindus and is only interested in issues where the Muslim could be intimidated, he said at the Karnataka Pradesh Janata Party workers' conference here on Wednesday. (*Indian Express*, Nov. 26).

Since they have the "press", they can do what they want and get away with any falsehood. The nazis deceive people with false masks and falsehood. Swamy is wearing a mask to deceive us by criticising RSS.

BEWARE OF DALAI LAMA

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: DV has proved right on Dalai Lama (DV Dec. 1, 92, p.9: *'Dalai Lama flirting with Nazis: Enemy of Buddhists?'*)

The *Organiser*, (Nov. 22, 92) official English journal of India's chief Hindu Nazi party, RSS, in a front-page story on Dalai Lama hails him as a "great" Hindu leader and quotes him saying that "Buddhism is part of Hinduism". He also criticises the latest Buddhist bid to liberate Bodh Gaya from brahminical control (DV Nov. 1, 92 p.7): "*Laloo must help liberate Bodh Gaya from Aryan hands*".

If Buddhism is part of Hinduism why did Babasaheb Ambedkar quit Hinduism and embrace Buddhism? If Buddhism is part of Hinduism why the Adi Shankara resorted to largescale killing of Buddhists and destruc-

tion of Buddhist viharas? If Buddhism is part of Hinduism why the Hindu leaders refused to give reservation to Dalit converts to Buddhism for 43 long years until VP Singh govt. granted it?

Buddhism is the deadliest enemy of brahminism and that is why the Hindus fear it.

Beware of Dalai Lama. ■

Havoc played by Brahmin Christians

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Who created racism inside the church? (DV edit, Nov. 16, 92)

The havoc created by the Aryans, who embraced Christianity just to gain favours from the Christian rulers, is very well brought out by Percival Spear, a noted British historian, in his book, *The Nabobs* (Rupa & Co., 3831 - Pataudi House Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi - 2), a reprint of its 1963 edition :-

Spear sets apart a whole chapter to chaplains and missionaries. While the earliest missionaries were catholic priests based in Goa, who even set up the Inquisition in their aggressive pursuit of converts, Robert Nobili started the "pious fraud of the white brahmins" in Madura. They took to wearing saffron clothes and the sacred thread and lived like high caste Hindus, and even observed the practice of avoiding pollution by untouchables. Their credibility was however compromised when they secretly visited the coastal missions at night. The Papal office took a strong line and finally condemned the whole mission as heretical in 1744. Nevertheless other missions too encouraged the untouchables to receive the sacrament at the church door, and also adopted other native practices like elaborate ceremonial processions during festivals and religious observances relating to marriage, funerals and so on. . ." (*Hindu* Nov 24, 92) ■

Rajput gang-up against Brahmins in Nazi party

Shimla: In a surprise move the influential Rajput lobby has attacked Chief Minister Shanta Kumar, a Brahmin. Revenue Minister Jagdev Chand Thakur, who had been divested of the important portfolios of Public Works and Transport by the Chief Minister in April, has openly aligned himself with the Rajputs. The powerful Rajput lobby in the State Congress Party led by the former Chief Minister and President of the Pradesh Committee, Virbhadra Singh, is reportedly lending backstage support to the Rajput-Brahmin feud in the ruling BJP. (*Deccan Herald* Oct. 16). ■

Gandhi - Periyar dialogue on "Brahmin domination"

Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy once objected to the brahmin domination in the Khadi Board. As a result, K.Santhanam (Iyengar) resigned his secretaryship of the Board. He also sought (M.K.) Gandhi's help to withdraw the resignation. In this connection, the following dialogue took place between Periyar, Gandhi, C. Rajagopalachari and K. Santhanam in March 1927.

Periyar: Since there was a preponderance of brahmins in Khadi Board, I suggested as the President of the Board that more non-brahmins should be appointed to the Board. This did not please K. Santhanam. So he submitted his resignation.

Gandhi: Is C.R. not aware of this?

Periyar: In this respect all of them (i.e. brahmins) are one in their thinking (This means that brahmins are opposed to reservation for non-brahmins)

Gandhi: In that case, does it mean that you do not have faith in C.R. too?

Periyar: The brahmins have faith in C.R., but I do not have such faith.

Gandhi: Does it mean that you have no faith in any brahmin?

Periyar: I find it difficult to have faith in them.

Gandhi: Does it mean, in the whole world there is not a single good brahmin, in your opinion?

Periyar: No good brahmin is visible to me! What am I to do?

Gandhi: Please do not say like that I know one good brahmin. That is Gokhale. He never calls himself a brahmin. If anyone calls him a brahmin, he would say that he does not deserve to be called a brahmin.

Periyar: If to the 'Mahatma' himself, only one brahmin is visible, what would be the position with such as us!

Gandhi: (laughing) Cannot Santhanam withdraw his resignation?

Periyar: I have no objection provided there should be reservation of 50% for non-brahmins

Sankarlal Banker: It is really surprising that Periyar asks only for 50% reservation for non-brahmins.

Gandhi: I will not agree. At least 90% reservation should be made for non-brahmins.

Periyar: They are reluctant to give even 50%. Then where is the question of 90% reservation?

Gandhi: I do not say that a resolution should be passed in this regard. It is proper that such provision should be made. Santhanam, what is your objection to

giving the posts to non-brahmins?

Santhanam: I have no objection. But nobody comes forward to take up the posts.

Periyar: That is not true. First jobs should be given. Next, they should be treated with proper respect. If both these conditions are satisfied, a number of persons would volunteer for the jobs.

Gandhi: In that case, you take up the responsibility of appointing persons to the posts.

Periyar: If Santhanam declines to do the job. I shall do it

Santhanam: I have no objection

C.Rajagopalachari (C.R.): (hastily intervening) That is impossible. Only those who get the work done should have the power to appoint the persons to the posts. Otherwise, work will not be got done.

Gandhi: (laughing): I have a feeling that there is an element of truth in what E.V.R. says, Now I am the President of the Congress, I appoint some persons. If Jawaharlal Nehru, as Secretary, cannot get work done, either I should be at fault or Nehru should be at fault. There cannot be any fault in the person appointed to the job. Even in government, the appointing authority is a different person from the one who supervises the work. The work gets done smoothly.

C.R.: If reservation is adopted, should we not think in terms of merit?

Gandhi: I am sure E.V.R. would take that aspect also into consideration. Even if work suffers a little on account of appointing non-brahmins to the posts it does not matter. Even as Khadi is important, so is communal harmony. Let the appointment of persons to the posts be entrusted to E.V.R.

Congress a Party of Brahmins?:

[The dialogue revealed many interesting things. Even though Gandhi ruled that Periyar should take the responsibility of appointments of persons to the posts in the Khadi Board, the brahmins ignored his ruling. Slowly they got full control of the Khadi Board. It also revealed that Gandhi was seized of the question of

brahmin domination and sought to nullify it but in vain. When Santhanam was willing to hand over the responsibility of appointments to posts to Periyar, it was C.R. who hastily intervened to safeguard the interests of brahmins and to perpetuate brahmin monopoly. Then, in 1927, even as now, the bogey of merit and efficiency was raised to prevent non-brahmins getting their legitimate rights.

It showed how consistently Periyar had fought for social equity and social justice right from the beginning. It showed now neither Gandhi nor Periyar could succeed in their laudable aims within the framework of brahmin-dominated Congress Party. It showed how

brahmins were prepared to resign their positions if they cannot appoint their own clansmen in several posts. It is the same clannishness and nepotism that successfully prevents the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendation even unto this day (9/92) The successive resolutions brought forward by Periyar for reservation policy were effectively foiled by the brahmins in the Congress party. Realising that the Congress party does not stand for social justice, he quit Congress and worked all through his long life for the legitimate rights of the deprived classes.]

The Modern Rationalist, Sept. 1992 .

Nehru, a fake socialist, was essentially casteist?

C. SANGEETHA RAO, GUNTUR, AP

Jawaharlal Nehru is said to be a 'socialist'. About Nehru's socialism, Sardar Patel said: "There are as many varieties of socialists in the country as there are of Brahmins".

Ram Manohar Lohia, the greatest socialist leader of India, said "Parasu Ram, the mother killer, and Nehru, the nation - killer, both belong to the Vasista cult of brahminism" (caste system).

Nehru is also said to be a "nationalist". But he too performed *shrad* on the banks of the river Ganga when his wife Kamala died. In his "will" he required on his death that part of his ashes should be thrown into the Ganga.

Then what "ist" he might be? Hindu political leaders are said to be "political radicals and social Tories and never disown Hinduism" (which created the caste system).

Governing class: Then what about Nehru? In the 1937 elections, in all Hindu provinces the Prime Ministers (Chief Ministers) were Brahmins. In all Hindu provinces, if the non-Hindu ministers were excluded, the cabinets were wholly composed of Brahmins. This was particularly so in Nehru's United Province, the province to which he belonged. In 1947, because the Brahmins constituted the governing class at the time of independence they were able to become the Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers in all states.

Can anybody say that the Brahmins occupied the above top-most posts at the Centre and States without the knowledge of Nehru? Certainly not. Then he must be a casteist. Then how can a casteist be a "national" leader? So, he is a Brahmin leader but not a "national"

leader.

The great humanist, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, said: "The interest of a brahmin is communal but the interest of a sudra is individual". He said these words about 50 years back and they are correct even to this date.

Congress, the main culprit: The Congress is the biggest brahmin party of India. P.V. Narasimha Rao, the neyogi brahmin, is continuing as Prime Minister (Congress) at the Centre happily with the direct and indirect support of the other brahmin parties and organisations. Their aim is "Hindu Rashtra" and their man must be in power whoever he may be.

But in Andhra Pradesh within a period of three years two sudra chief ministers were replaced. In the disturbances created for the "change", 300 people lost their lives in Pata Basti (Hyderabad). A third sudra chief Minister has taken over. Why these changes? Sudras interest is only individual, as Periyar said.

Churchil's prediction: Discussion was going on in the House of Commons on Indian Independence Bill. Then the great Churchill said:

"If independence is given to India, power will go into the hands of rascals, rogues and free-booters. Not a bottle of water or a loaf of bread shall escape taxation, only the air will be free and the blood of these hungry millions will be on the head of Atlee.

These are men of straw of whom no trace will be found after a few years. They will fight among themselves and India will be lost in political squabbles. (13.9.1987, *Uyayam*).

On account of the fight for power among the Congress

groups in AP, the first Chief Minister Chenna Reddy, was replaced by N. Janardhana Reddy. Again Janardhana Reddy was replaced by K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy who is the third chief minister in three years.

Can anybody refute the words of Churchill spoken 45 years ago? ■

Antuly & the causes of his misery

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Our friend poor Abdul Rehman Antulay, barrister, persecuted by Hindu nazis for the past 10 years just because he is a Muslim, has been totally acquitted by an upper caste Hindu judge himself on Dec.11 in Bombay. Antulay was innocent and even the nazis knew it but they wanted to use the court to persecute him. They have failed. But that doesn't mean the persecution of Antulay and Muslims will end. It is all part of the "Spanish Experiment" (DV Aug.1, 92, p.20).

The persecution of Antulay, MP, began with the launch of the much-publicised fake "investigative journalism" of Hindu nazi journalist, Arun Shourie, then editor of the *Indian Express*. With the resignation of Antulay, his "investigative journalism" also ended.

Antulay was Maratha - dominated Maharashtra's first Muslim CM and the last. He was so popular throughout that he used to get elected from his Konkan coastal constituency without even going there.

He has the people's support, he has money. He has everything but no press. That means even to defend the justice and truth for which he worked, he has no media support. Muslims have no media (DV edit: Nov.1 '92, *Warning to Muslims on Media*). What a tragedy. And poor Antulay continues to be in the Congress, the cause of his trouble, and hence remains imprisoned.

Meenambal Shivaraj: noted Ambedkarite dead

DALIT EZHILMALAI, MADRAS

Meenambal Shivaraj, as she was popularly known in the Tamil 'nation', was a firebrand leader in the early thirties. Her father 'Vallal' Madurai Pillai was a famous shipping magnate. This Dalit family stood in the forefront of the depressed classes movement during the first quarter of this century.

Shivaraj, a prominent lawyer at that time, married Meenambal and both played a leading role in the Justice Party even before the "non-Brahmin" stalwarts

like Periyar EVR joined it.

Author of "Periyar" title: It was Meenambal who, while presiding over a women's conference in Madras, gave the title 'Periyar' to EVR which the rest of the lot copied.

Shivaraj was a lawyer, law teacher, legislator, Mayor of Madras and above all he was a close confidant of Babasaheb Ambedkar. He was next only to Babasaheb in the movement of Untouchables. And Meenambal was steadfast in her commitment and contributed so much for the emancipation of Dalits. In turn, the Dalits in Madras city preferred to call their colonies as Shivarajpuram and Meenambalnagars. She belonged to the first generation pioneers that led the Anti-Hindi agitations and fought 'Hindu imperialism'.

Meenambal (90) was unwell for sometime and the end came on Nov.30,92 (6 pm) at her residence in Kellys, Madras, and buried on Dec. 1,92.

Despite the blackout of this important news in our "national" napkin papers, thousands of Dalits gathered to offer their respects to the departed leader. TN Dalits lost in her an uncontaminated, ever-inspiring leader. This is the end of an Era. ■

Telugu Dalit Voice

Bangalore: We are pleased to inform our readers that the Telugu edition of "*Dalit Voice*" is now registered by the Registrar of Newspapers, Govt. of India, under a new title "*Dalitulu Ostunnaru*" (Dalits are coming). V.L. Sebastian will be the editor of this monthly and V.T. Rajshekar will be its honorary editor.

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