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- WCC must be forced to support Dalits

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Gandhi, the creation of the British :
Thus spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Gandhi, the doom of the Untouchables & Creation of British

Congressmen never hesitate to impress upon the Untouchables that Mr. Gandhi is their saviour. Not only do Congressmen all over India hold out Mr. Gandhi as a real saviour but they go forth to persuade the Untouchables to accept the fact that he is their only saviour. When pressed for evidence, they tell the Untouchables that if any one ever took a vow to go on a fast unto death for the sake of the Untouchables it was Mr. Gandhi and none else. Indeed, without any compunction they tell the Untouchables that whatever political rights the Untouchables have got under the Poona Pact, they are the result of Mr. Gandhi's efforts. As an illustration of such propaganda, I refer to what one Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna is reported to have said at a meeting of the Untouchables held at Peshwar on April 12, 1945, under the auspices of the Depressed Classes League:

"Your best friend is Mahatma Gandhi who even resorted to a fast for your sake and brought about the Poona Pact under which you have been enfranchised and given representation on local bodies and legislatures. Some of you, I know, have been running after Dr. Ambedkar, who is just a creation of the British Imperialists and who uses you to strengthen the hands of the Government in order that India may be divided and the Britishers continue to retain power. I appeal to you in your interests, to distinguish between self-styled leaders and your real friends."

If I refer to the statement of Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna, it is not because he is worth taking notice of. For, there cannot be any one guilty of bigger blackguardism in Indian politics than this man. In the course of one year - not in very remote time but in 1944 - he successfully played three different roles. He started as Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha, turned agent of British Imperialism, went abroad to explain India's war effort to the British and American people and is now agent of the Congress in N.W.F. Province. The opinion of a man like Rai Bahadur Khanna, who, to use Dryden's language, is so various as to be everything by starts, and nothing long, and who in the course of one revolving moon can be chemist, fiddler, statesman and buffoon must be beneath contempt. If I refer to him it is only because I wish to illustrate what sort of propaganda friends of Mr. Gandhi are carrying on in order to beguile the Untouchables.

I do not know how many Untouchables will be found prepared to swallow such a lie. But this much I think has been proved by the Nazis that if a lie is a big lie - too big for the common man's intelligence to scrutinize - and if it is repeated continuously, the lie has all the chances of being accepted as truth, and if not accepted as truth has all the chances of growing upon the victims of propaganda and win their acquiescence. It is, therefore, necessary for me to expose the part played by Mr. Gandhi in the movement of the Untouchables and to warn the Untouchables against succumbing to this propaganda. (P. 42 to 44)

(Gandhi & Gandhism, Bhim Patrika Prakashan, Nakodar Rd., Jalandhar, Punjab)

Quarrelling as India's most favourite national sport : Churchill's prophecy coming true

Winston Churchill, it seems, has said that if the British quit India and Indians get "independence" they will kill each other and eat each other. There may be some exaggeration in the statement of the former British War-time Prime Minister but he knows India too well having lived in this country as an army officer for many years. But our half-century experience since "independence" (1947) makes us believe that Churchill was not far wrong. Indians might not be actually engaged in killing each other but things are heading towards such a state of primitive barbarism.

All this is because India's ruling class, comprising less than 15% of the population, wants to forcibly impose its hegemony on the rest which is refusing to let the rulers' jaded judgment to run over them. This conflict between the alien Aryan races and the indigenous Indian rulers is manifesting itself in several ways. And one such is the latest split in the Janata Dal.

Not yet a nation: Since India is not yet a "nation" but striving to be one, every effort at nation-making gets a setback when the Aryans try to devour the natives. **That is how Indians have become the world's most notorious quarrelsome people.** Torn into hundreds of castes and communities (which continue to remain intact despite all the claims of the Aryan rulers to impose their alien "class-based theory"), Indians have displayed a tremendous knack to get divided and sub-divided. **The cause is the caste (Jati) which is the basic cause for all the conflicts. As long as the rulers do not recognise that caste is an essential part of life and that it decides India's life itself, there will be no peace in India.**

The split in Janata Dal is due to caste. All those MPs led by George Fernandes, the Mangalorean Roman Catholic, who led the split but master-minded by the BSO is due to caste because all of them are opposed to caste-based reservations as recommended by the Mandal Commission. R.K.

Hegde, a former Brahmin Chief Minister of Karnataka convicted by several judicial commissions for corruption, is the most notorious in this gang of anti-Mandalites. Even the Kayasth Chief Minister of Orissa, Biju Patnaik, is a part of this thieves' kitchen. So also the Lingayat chief of JD, S.R. Bommai. Long back we had given a call to sack all these anti-Mandalis from JD. (DV Edit July 16, 1991). **So we welcome this split and hail the good riddance of the bad rubbish.** V.P. Singh is forcing this split so that the anti-Mandalis are kicked out and then forced to join the Congress-BJP Aryan camp so that the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims could constitute themselves into the Bahujan Samaj. It should be a neat and clean division: Arya Samaj versus Bahujan Samaj.

The BSO-controlled Brahmin-Bania "national" toilet papers will not say all this because it is not in their Jati-interest. Only DV has the courage to disclose all these truths.

Congress going BJP way: There is no political party, organisation, company or family of Aryans which is not suffering from disension or division. Even the country's premier Hindu nazi party, Bharatiya Janata party (BJP), is a house divided. The Sindhvi Khatri, L.K. Advani, is hated by the Brahmin Vajpayee who is silently collaborating with the neogi brahmin who in turn is converting the ruling Congress Party itself into a Hindu nazi party. The latest killing of Gazi Nisar Ahmed, Mirwaz of South Kashmir, is part of this game. Every action the neogi brahmin took after coming to power - Babri Masjid demolition, Kashmir and Punjab state terrorism, diluting the Mandal Com. order, share market Scam, etc. are all Hindu nazi party programmes and hence pleased the upper castes. For giving a free hand to the 15% upper castes to loot and rob, the neogi brahmin has become their dearest darling.

Khairnar campaign: That doesn't mean the ruling Congress Party is safe. It is divided from

top to bottom. The Thakhur Arjun Singh and Shudra (Maratha) Sharad Pawar are ready with their sharpened knives to stab the neogi brahmin, the crooked Kautliya, who in turn is doing every thing to weaken and then liquidate the two formidable non-Brahmin leaders. The mall (gardener-BC) Jati Khairnar out for Sharad Pawar blood has the blessings of neogi brahmin.

The Congress Party is deeply divided from top to bottom on caste lines and every State is full of noisy quarrels and the toilet papers are full of their shit. **Even the new Dalit party of Kanshi Ram is facing a revolt in UP.** Muslim League confined to Kerala got divided recently. Dr. Ramdoss had to finally heed our warning and expel his own lone MLA, Panruti Ramachandran, who set up a rival PMK in Tamil Nadu. The DMK got divided and Gopalswamy is heading a new party of DMK. The Khamma party, (TDP), chief, N.T. Rama Rao, is facing split with the expulsion of a woman party MP. CPM and CPI, which have ceased to be a force, are facing serious caste contradictions and this may be Bengali Kayastha boss Jyoti Basu's last inning. The Akalis are in shambles in Punjab. In Kerala, the "Mother Shankara", EMS Namboodiripad, is killing his own party in his hatred against the "Mother of Kerala", Venerable Gowriamma. Jharkhand parties are too many. There is no political party or political leader who is not engaged in quarrel. In fact quarrelling is their staple diet.

Mount Road Mahavishnu: Conflict and chaos are not the monopoly of only political parties. Even upper caste families controlling giant corporations are cutting each other's throats. The Iyengar empire of the *Hindu*, the Madras Mount Road Mahavishnu, had many years of quarrel. Marwadi Goenkas' *Indian Express* has not yet come out of a prolonged family feud. The Tatas are divided. The Birlas are bursting. The Pairs of Manipal are washing their dirty linen in public. **These are just a few cases to prove how India has become the world's most litigant country. A nation of perpetual, habitual, compulsive quarrellers.**

The country from bottom to top is jammed with cases of such cat and dog quarrels. No country in the world is so deeply divided as we are.

Are our religious leaders united? Hindu (brahminical) swamis hate each other. Since Hinduism (brahminism) is based on hate philosophy, hate they must. India's richest god man,

Satya Sai Baba, an year back was involved in killing six of his closest inner circle people in his own bedroom at Puttaparti. One jagadguru jabs at the other. Inside the Hindu nazi party, RSS, the Vaidik Brahmins are in revolt against the imposition of non-Brahmin for the first time as the head of the party. The Babri Masjid Committee is divided. "Milli Council" is set up brushing aside the "Majlise Mushawarat". The Christian church is a divided house - both Roman Catholic and Protestant - even as both are unitedly keeping out the Dalit Christians who together with Tribals form 90% of the church population.

Dirty dozen: Less said the better about SC/ST organisations. Everybody claims to be an all-India organisation. Ram Vilas Paswan hates Kanshi Ram and vice versa. Buta Singh has his own pocket organisation. Andhra Dalit Mahasabha is split, Katti Padma Rao and Bojja Tarakam expelling each other. Dalit Panthers are a dirty dozen. Republican Party of India may be 15 or so. Karnataka's most powerful Dalit Sangharsha Samiti got split into five sections or so with the largest one (meaning one which gets publicity in the brahminical press) under the control of the notorious R.K. Hegde.

Veeramani vow: God save the Backward Castes. They have as many associations as there are BC leaders. Any day Dalits are better than BCs. Tamil Nadu's powerful BC organisation, Dravida Khazhagam of the great Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy is divided. The most important of them headed by Veeramani is reported to have vowed to fight and die to protect the notorious *Bangalore Papatti*. What a fall, my countrymen !!!

The worst division and schism is found in trade unions. There must be a dozen unions for bankmen. The same is the case for other govt. employees and private sector. It is all chaos.

Only hope: What about journalists union? There are two or more? The whole scene is sickening. Cutting each other's throat and grabbing has become the rule.

Under the BSO the whole country looks as if it is broken into pieces. A bloody battlefield. But it is the underdog, the producers of wealth, who strikes a silver line in the midst of this murky horizon. That is our only hope.

Most of the quarrels are on property in India. Both movable and immovable property are mostly the monopoly of the upper castes. And it is these 15% of the upper caste rulers who control all the

political parties, organisations, trade unions, companies, lands and real estate. **And since they are the rulers and the propertied class, they alone enjoy the leisure to quarrel. The propertyless 85% of the non-Aryan indigenous people are busy producing the wealth of India. For the rulers to eat, quarrel and then sleep.** So when these 15% of the rulers quarrel, the newspapers owned by these very people give it such a dimension that the readers are made to feel the whole country is engaged in quarrelling. No doubt, *Jati* divides even the non-Aryan Dravidas and Adl-Dravidas but even a quarrel among the indigenous people is many a time engineered by the Aryans. The latest bloody clashes between the Tribals and Dalits in Orissa (DV July 1) was engineered by the Hindu nazis. The Brahmin-Bania newspapers themselves have become victims of such quarrels. The country's largest circulated English daily, *Times of India*, is still without an Editor after the Maharashtra Brahmin Editor, Dilip Padgaonkar, was kicked out by the Marwadi Jain owners. Similar quarrels have rocked the *Hindustan Times* and *Indian Express* also. Quarrelling has

become the staple diet without which our rulers will not survive. **We cannot get such a habitual, perpetually quarrelsome people anywhere in the world.**

Blame ISI: So much so, all the time of the rulers is wasted in quarrelling and whenever they get little time in between two quarrels, they spend in duping the rest of the population. Stock market scandal engineered by the Gujarati Bania, Harshad Mehta, who remains the darling of the ruling class, with the blessing of the neogi brahmin, is one such instance.

If all the time is spent in quarrelling and defrauding the country, where is the time left to build the country? But who bothers about the country? Aryans don't belong to this country. The 15% rulers own the entire wealth of India despite being aliens. So, why should they bother about this country going to dogs? If there is some trouble here and there, they can conveniently put the blame on "terrorists", "militants" and lately their hottest favourite "Pakistani ISI". Did not Churchill prove right? Is not his prophecy coming true?

UP crisis & Yadavas

COMMUNICATION

RAMANANDA YADAV, LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY, LUCKNOW

We the Yadava students here are deeply hurt by the reported remarks of Kanshi Ram against the country's tallest Yadava leader. It is no secret that Kanshi Ram has from the beginning been trying to belittle Mulayam Singh Yadav. But he had never before stooped to such low levels as to compare him with hardened criminals. At a press conference sometime back he not only compared Mulayam to five hard-core criminals recently killed in an encounter with the police in Bulandshahr but also said that the Chief Minister and his brothers had a worse record. You have been saying that Dalits and Backward Castes are brothers and both are original inhabitants of India. You have been also telling that both are oppressed by the same Brahminical Social Order and hence they must stand together to fight the common enemy. We agree with you but your friend, Kanshi Ram, has deeply hurt us. **Chamars unhappy:** He is attacking BCS on one side and Muslims on the other. Chamar students in my university say they are also not happy with BSP. They are the single largest Dait segment in the State and they brought the BSP to power. They form 80% of UP

Dalits. They say Raj Bahadur, a Chamar and the BSP state chief during elections, was sidelined and dominant Backward Castes like Kurmis and Yadavs were favoured leading to lot of heartburning among Chamars. BSP legislature group leader, Ram Lakan Varma, and the party's State unit chief, Jang Bahadur Patel, both are Kurmis.

SCs and BCS may be both original inhabitants and both oppressed by the same BSO but the two are different. Sharp caste contradictions divide the two. And in our report ("**DV fears on UP come true**": DV Jan. 16, 1994 p.4) we had even hinted that such caste contradictions might even upset the fragile BSP-SP coalition under Mulayam. We had even fixed a six-month time-limit. The latest Ram-Mulayam-Muslim clashes are part of this inherent contradictions which the BSO want to sharpen for its own advantages. This is natural. In the absence of a "Media Centre", we have to swallow what BSO press tells us. As for the "controversies" between Ram, Mulayam and Muslims, we have nothing to say as they are part of the parliamentary political game of politicians. Ambedkarites cannot understand this game - **EDITOR.**

Saral Chatterji must force WCC to support Dalit struggle

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Prof. Saral Chatterji, Director of the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, New Delhi (CISRS) and a noted social scientist, has come out with the opinion that Dalits along with Tribals are India's indigenous people whose very existence is being denied by the ruling Aryan upper castes.

The Untouchables (Dalits) are also a distinct nationality along with Tribals, he says in a lengthy paper on the "Social and Theological thinking of the CISRS", which is the country's foremost research organisation of the Protestant church. Prof. Chatterji is not only one of the foremost scholars among the Christian community but he gets some credit for pushing the upper caste-dominated church towards Dalits and Tribals. He also gets some credit for taking up the question of neglected Dalit Christians, oppressed by the upper caste Syrian, Goan, Mangalorean and other Christians. So, his categorical statement that Dalits also are India's indigenous people is expected to open the eyes of the world and particularly the World Council of Churches (WCC).

Bangalore meet: Though the WCC has already recognised this historical fact, the church within India is yet to take up the issue seriously. The two-day All-India Conference of the Indigenous Peoples of India held here on Dec. 24 and 25 1993 with V. T. Rajshakar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, in the chair declared that "Dalits and Tribals as well as Backward Castes are India's indigenous". (DV Jan. 16, 94 p.6).

Rev. Bob Scott of WCC's Programme to Combat Racism (PCR) in a letter to our Editor had commended the WCC decision to recognise Dalits as India's indigenous people along with Tribals and also assured the WCC support to Dalit struggle for self-determination (DV June 1, 1992 p.3).

WCC failure: Our April 16, 1992 Editorial spoke about the "Aryan rulers suppressing truth about the existence of indigenous peoples in India."

Though it is over two years since the WCC came out with this categorical declaration supporting the Dalit struggle for self-determination nothing much has been done to implement its decision. The WCC helped set up a Dalit Solidarity Programme (DSP) headed by a Dalit Advocate, Bhagwan Das of Delhi, but except holding some meetings nothing concrete has been done. What is badly needed is the "education" of Dalits on the thoughts of Babasahab

Ambedkar and this has to be published in all regional languages. Dalits should be made to know the Truth so that they could free themselves from their slavery. **Saral Chatterji must force the WCC to do this job and DV is ready to take up this job.**

Prof. Saral's 56-page scholarly thesis in the *Religion and Society* journal (March-June 1993) should, therefore, remind the WCC and other world church organisations about its obligations in India to help restore the losing hold of the church in India.

Words of gold: The services done by the church and the church leaders can be written only in words of gold. This is what DV had said several times. Not only they did so much to liberate the Dalits and Tribals, they even gave the upper caste Aryans the idea to fight the British rulers who also happened to be Christians. The very concept of "nationalism" was put into the empty heads of upper castes by church leaders, and Christians actually became the founders of nationalist movement in India. Such is the service rendered by the church.

Syrian theology: But all this was before the "independence" (1947) After the foreign missionaries left, the upper caste church men with their "Syrian theology" came closer to upper caste rulers and converted the church into a business thereby alienating their own Dalit Christians and Tribals who formed over 90% of the country's Christian population.

The ruling upper castes (Aryans) are not only denying the existence of the indigenous population, as Prof. Saral said, but they are re-writing the Indian history itself to say that "India is the homeland of Aryans who gave civilisation to the world".

Arun Shourie attack: The RSS, the country's premier Hindu nazi organisation, held its executive meeting at Jaipur on July 5 and asked the govt. to stop flow of foreign (read Christian) fund into Indian Christians (*Times of India* July 6, 1994). The Punjabi Brahmin, Arun Shourie, a Hindu nazi journalist, has been spitting fire at Christians (*New Leader* July 15: "Khrushwant Singh on Arun Shourie diatribe against missionaries"). All over India the church is under attack by the Hindu nazis but our upper caste churchmen continue to be happy in the company of the very upper caste enemies of church. If this is not racial affinity what else is it?

That is why we had given a call to the Dalit Christians and Tribals to kick out the upper caste church men from the church (DV edit. Feb. 16, 1994)

Abolish graduates & teachers constituencies

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: India has a very small "educated" population. Including those who are illiterate in their regional language, the percentage may come to 30%. But those who can read and write only English may not exceed 3% of the population. And who are these "educated", and particularly the English educated? Naturally the "rich", and the "rich" in India are mostly upper castes/Hindus. And these Hindus suffer from a peculiar "mental twist" (DV Edit Jan 1, 1989: "*The Twist in the Hindu Mind*") which makes them think that if they have to remain "rich" and "educated", they must keep the rest "poor" and illiterate. The upper caste/Hindu/Aryan value system for which there is no parallel in the whole world says that one can be happy only if the other man remains miserable. Heard of this anywhere in the world?

And since this country is ruled by the upper castes, the rulers deliberately keep the non-Aryan Dravidas and Adi-Dravidas (SC/ST/BCs) "poor" and illiterate.

Primary education: That is why the very Directive Principle in Indian Constitution for free, compulsory and universal primary education has not been implemented - deliberately. Because those in charge of implementing this constitutional provision happened to be the upper castes. And these rulers' sole single pre-occupation since "independence" (1947) has been how to keep their properties, privileges, power and position intact exclusively with themselves. And the method they found fit to secure such a monopoly hold was that if they have to remain in perpetual happiness they must keep others miserable.

Satanic dharma: This is the quintessence of their satanic sanatana dharma. (DV Edit Nov.1, 1989: "*Roots of Corruption in Dharma*"). And what is this Hindu philosophy of hatred (DV Edit Jan. 16, 1990: "*Hate that hate produced*") is there for everybody to see.

English monopoly: That is why English is kept as the closest preserve of the ruling class. And even in the ruling class (15%), only the top 3% have monopolised this world language. That means even within the ruling upper castes there is so much of hatred and rivalry. The Hindu caste system is based on hatred which is the other name for caste. The rulers may collectively oppress us but when they are not engaged in sucking our blood, the upper castes fight between themselves and cut each other's throat. Yes. Did not a Chitpavan Brahmin kill the "Father of

the nation", a Banaria? Did not the Kashmir Brahmin, Nehru, drive out the Shudra Kayash, Subhas Chandra Bose, from India? Did not the *Bangalore Papatti*, an Iyengar Brahmin, refuse to visit the notorious Kanchi swarni, an Iyer? Brahminism, thy name is hatred.

Dictatorship: Be that as it may, what is the socio-political thinking of these upper castes who go by the name of "educated elites"? The recent results of the "graduates" and "teachers constituency" elections to the Karnataka Legislative Council has given us a peep into their mental make-up.

The Hindu nazi party (BJP) has won four of the six seats. In these two constituencies, the voters are "graduates" and "teachers". That means only the "educated", and mostly English-educated, can vote and they voted for the Hindu nazi party (BJP) which seeks to re-establish the supremacy of the Brahminical Social Order by enslaving all others outside this order. And this "educated people" (read upper castes) of Karnataka voted for such a party. That means the upper castes want a Hindu nazi dictatorship. As those **oppressed outside the BSO are slowly but steadily waking up, the BSO thirst for a naked, cold-blooded nazi dictatorship is also increasing.** For the first time the non-BSO graduates of Bangalore fielded a Dalit candidate but he came a poor fourth, securing 1,200 votes. A number of "graduates" belonging to the non-BSO category either did not vote for D.S. Veeriah, the Dalit candidate, or did not have the voting right. As the country's education system is brahminical, "graduates" from the non-BSO section tend to be brahminical in thinking. Veeriah, a Syndicate Bank Dalit employee leader and a DV reader, would do well to prepare the ground for the next election - six years away - which he is sure to win. If the "graduates" and "teachers" constituencies tend to favour such Hindu nazi dictatorship, which vows to break the Constitution of India wedded to social justice, what is the use of having such constituencies? Why send such anti-nationals to the legislature? Why not have a constituency for producers of wealth like farmers? Agricultural labourers, members of the registered SC/ST welfare organisations? Being children of the soil they will not be anti-nationals like these "graduates" and "teachers". We demand the abolition of these two constituencies to keep out the internal saboteurs. An agitation must begin.

Phulbani violence to check Dalit conversions to Christianity

BINOD BIPLABI, BARGARH, ORISSA

This is with ref. to your report (DV July 1, p.11 on Tribal-Dalit clashes). We have received factual reports of this clash in Phulbani dt. from our readers.

The Phulbani clashes have proved right what you had written in your two historical books, **Know the Hindu Mind and The Dialogue of Bhodevatas.**

Those who have read these books can easily guess the cause of this clash. Frightened by largescale conversions of Dalits to Christianity, the Puri Shankarachari started a **Rath Yatra** at Phulbani and settled his Hindu nazi agents there. And they enforced the Hindu traditional law Untouchables" which caused the latest violent clash between SCs and STs.

Buddhist stronghold: The Phulbani dt. is popularly called "Bauddha Phulbani". It is said Buddha had visited this place and hence it was named after him. The noted blind Tribal philosopher and poet, Bhim Bhoi, had also selected this place for his work and preached a new religion "Mahima Dharmā", based on Buddhism (no god no worship). That is why Phulbani had been a peaceful district before the BSO started its nazi camps. The Hindu nazi party activists brainwashed the STs saying that they are Touchables and should not allow the Untouchables into their temples.

Dalit killed: On March 28 last,

one Dalit entered a Tribal temple, Bhandar Gharian, at Lainpada. The Tribals took objection but the situation took a different turn when Kamalakant Pandey, Gobardhan Das Sharma, Rabi Sharma, Siba Tripathi, Satyaban Panda, Satya Prakash Pandey (all Brahmins) attended the meeting on April 2 at Lainpada village. They instigated the Tribals to attack the Dalits, followers of Padmanava Behra (SC), now a Minister in the Biju Govt. Achut Naik (SC) was killed and in this connection 27 persons were arrested.

The Hindu nazis arranged a rally at Phulbani dt. head-quarters for which each ST family was made to contribute Rs.2 and a kg of rice. A big rally of 15,000 Adivasis (Tribals) was organised with the demand to release the 27 arrested persons, to declare it as ST reserved seat, which is now reserved for SCs, and to release the lands transferred in the name of other people.

Dog eating dog: The notorious anti-Dalit Biju Patnaik, Chief Minister of the State, deliberately sided with the nazis and declared that the SCs were exploiting STs. His statement encouraged the violent ST leaders claiming 20 innocent lives (12 SC and 8 ST) till June. Our Editor has said that at least the dog does not bite the stone, throw it but chases the person who throws the stones. But our poor SC/STs are busy biting the stones. Dog eating dog.

The CM addressed a meeting at Phulbani on June 1 and renamed the district as Kondhmal to create

further division between the SCs and STs. Now, the entire Phulbani dt. is on fire. No SC/ST leader is allowed to enter the district. It is time for our Ambedkarites to teach the innocent Tribals and Dalits that they are blood relatives and BSO is their Enemy No.1. Will our Ambedkarites look into this matter?

Church conversion: Meanwhile, there is a shocking news. M. Nageshwar Rao, Supdt. of Police, has dismissed seven constables and one ASI, Nawrangpur dt., on charges that they have been converted to Christianity. The charges were made under Sec.428 and 420 IPC. They were dismissed from service without calling for their explanation. Three more cases have been registered under the Orissa Freedom of Religion Act to check the conversion. A Christian church in village Khunuti, near Nawrangpur, was forcibly demolished by the police and a false complaint from a Dalit that "force and threat were used to convert 30 SCs into Christianity". Nageshwar Rao, SP, is a staunch Hindu nazi party supporter. He used to take Durga Das, a BJP activist, with him while on tour. Even though Nageshwar Rao, IPS, has been transferred to Cuttack, the poor Christians are suffering a lot. The dismissed employees have taken their case to the High Court of Orissa. But they expect no justice from the BSO-controlled judiciary.

History of struggle for a name for Untouchables

C. L. KUREEL, 176/90-A, BAGHAMBARI HOUSING SCHEME, BHARADWAJPURAM, ALLAHABAD, UP - 211 006

The term which has been used for Untouchables as a nomenclature in the present Constitution of India is Scheduled Castes (SCs). Many safeguards and privileges have been provided for them. These safeguards were not obtained by them overnight. They struggled hard to secure them and fought even more hard for the present (SC) nomenclature which was coined in 1932. In the beginning of 1930, a word which was used for the "Depressed Classes" by the Hindus was *Harijan*, it is wrong to think that this word was coined by M.K. Gandhi. In a speech opening a private temple at Ahmedabad for the Untouchables on Aug. 2, 1931, says his secretary, Pyarelal, in his book, *The Epic Fast*, Gandhi said this word was originally coined by a Gujarati poet, Narasinha Mehta, a Nagar Brahmin, who resented the treatment of Untouchables by his community. Gandhi wrote in his paper, *Harijan*, a weekly (Feb. 11, 1933):

"It is not a name of my coining. Some years ago several Untouchable correspondents complained that I used the word *Aprisryain* the pages of *Nayivian*. *Asparisrya* means literally Untouchables. I then invited them to suggest a better name, and one of the Untouchable correspondents suggested the adoption of the name *Harijan* on the strength of its having been used by the first known poet-saint of Gujarat. Though the quotation he sent me did not exactly fit the case he wanted to make out for the adoption, I thought that it was a good word. *Harijan* means, "a man of God".

Bastard: But this word was very much hated by the Depressed Classes because it is a term of abuse, meaning a person whose father is unknown bastard. Babasaheb Ambedkar's lieutenant, Dadasaheb B.K. Galkwar, had then asked:

If the Untouchable classes were the children of God, were the Touchable classes assumed to belong to monsters? "Thus the efforts of Gandhi to enforce any dignity or grace to the Untouchables through a change in their name did not succeed. Owen M. Lynch in his anthropological study of the Charmkars of Agra, *The Politics of Untouchability*, says:

Literally the word means "Child of God", but figuratively its connotations are quite different. My Jataav (Chamar) informants showed a dislike, at times an intense dislike, for the word. They felt it connoted the idea of being a bastard and also brought to mind patronizing upper caste benevolence".

(DV Edit April 1, 1986: "Three categories of Untouchables: Harijans, Scheduled Castes and Dalits" and DV Nov. 16 1993 p.9: "Bastards & Harijans").

Excluded castes: The suggestion of the term of

"Excluded Castes" by Babasaheb might have been acceptable to all Depressed Classes but none of the suggestion of Babasaheb was acceptable to the Hindus. To them it was an idea of separatism. Under the circumstances the British Govt. maintained neutrality. The Indian Statutory Commission and the Indian Franchise Committee made no recommendations in this regard. Some members of the Bengal Legislative Council, Rai Sahab Panchanan Barma and Babu N.N. Roy, on behalf of the Raj Banshi and other communities of the Bengal SCs, in their memorandum on the present controversy on the name said: That the term Scheduled Castes and the Backward Classes have been adopted by the Bengal Govt. They may be adopted for the whole British India in place of the term "Depressed Classes".

After a review of the recommendations of the Indian Franchise Committee, the Govt. of India in a letter dated 24-9-1932, to Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, said:

We support Dr. Ambedkar's suggestion that the term "Depressed Classes" should not be used in the electoral law. He suggested either "Exterior" or "Excluded Castes". We prefer the proposal of the Govt. of Bengal that the castes so protected should be simply described as "Scheduled Castes", a term which carried with it not specific connotation of their actual social status."

The nomenclature "Scheduled Castes" was adopted as the most dependable, authenticated, systematised and exhaustive. The term SC connotes nothing more than the words, i.e. Schedule of Castes" or the castes put under a Schedule. This nomenclature is used in the present Constitution of the Republic of India. A list of SCs is given in the Govt. of India (SC) Order 1950 as amended by the SC/ST lists (modification) Order 1956 published in the Gazette of India, the Constitution Scheduled Castes (Amendment ordinance 1990).

Casteless people: These class of people with a new nomenclature of "Scheduled Castes", recognised and described as such in the Constitution of India, had been treated as casteless out-castes and "Untouchable and have been depressed and subjected to every manner of deprivation and discrimination for centuries upon centuries by a unique system of social and economic segregation, a system of graded inequality" (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar) of "gradatic and degradation" (Dr. C.R. Reddy) and of "gigantic cold blood repression" (Rabindra Nath Tagore).

The use of term *Harijan* was disapproved and banned by Parliament in 1982.

American ignorance on India's sanctified racism

DR. VELU ANNAMALAI, INTERNATIONAL DALIT SUPPORT GROUP,
P.O. BOX 842066, HOUSTON, TEXAS, 77284-2066, USA

We were rather surprised and pained to read a recent comment by John Shattuck, US Asst. Secretary of State for Human rights, on the status of human rights abuses in India as "...India.. is in the process of addressing human Rights abuses and adhering to international human rights standards." Again he said, "Countries which are in the process of improving their human rights records as India should be very proud at the advance they have made."

These comments are made with no sensitivity whatsoever for the permanently suffering millions and millions of human beings under the chain of caste system and untouchability. Over 250 million human beings are treated as sub-humans (less than even beasts) for the last 3,000-4,000 years, and this system is still being strongly and proudly practiced in India.

No system in the world calls human beings Untouchables, unseeables, unapproachables and even unshadowables except the brahminical-Hindu religion which has been chocking these people for centuries. They are among India's poorest and most despised. By branding these people that they are Untouchables due to their own sins of former life and a punishment from God, the perpetrators justify in violently denying their simple and common human rights without any remorse whatsoever.

Self-hatred: They have also justified the indignities heaped upon them, unspeakables degradation, pre-ordained misery to the extent of making them carry human excreta on their head. These people have no self-respect and they are taught to hate themselves. **They do not seem to have any escape from this hell to the human race, and the world community does not seem to give a damn about it either.**

Even today, there are mass murders, gang rapes, forcing them to drink urine and eat human excreta, parading their women naked in public, in addition to constant discrimination, segregation, exploitation, and pushed them educationally, socially, culturally, financially, physically to the lowest level that they cannot even lift their heads, leave alone their souls. In most villages (80% of Indians live in villages) they are still

not allowed to use common drinking water well, walk on the village streets, use an umbrella, wear shoes, and wear even decent clothes.

Washington Post report: Not too long ago, the *Washington Post* referred to the frequent killings of the Untouchables as "*The Untouchables are killed like rabbits*". Every hour two Untouchables are assaulted; every day three Untouchable women are raped; every day two Untouchables are murdered; every day two Untouchable houses are burnt - these are only what are officially recorded, but actually less than 10% cases are reported.

When this is the horrifying case of the 250 million Untouchables in India, how is that not a word has been said about their pathetic conditions when the world and in particular US talk about human rights issues in India? Is it because these people are suffering for centuries and their conditions perpetrated by a so-called religion, no one wants to talk about it?

African apartheid: If what has been and is happening in India for the Untouchables would ever happen to anyone anywhere else in the world, I am certain that the whole world community will spit on the faces of the perpetrators.

How is it, then, that the inhuman sufferings of the Untouchables are any less painful than the others in the world that it is being talked about all the time, and not the horrendous plight of the Untouchables? With all the goriness of the South African apartheid system, it will pale into insignificance in front of untouchability any day any time, and any where! Will the United States Government open their eyes at least once for the sake of the 250 million Untouchables? If ever it does there is no way it will miss the permanently suffering sub-human millions in India.

Until and unless the world community persistently talk about the Untouchables, these sickly brahminical Hindus will continue to suffocate and exploit these millions of Untouchables and feel proud about faithfully following their religious teachings.

Population of Hindus: I wish to congratulate the *New York Times International* for publishing Edward A. Gargan's timely article on India, highlighting the

havoc, pain and the constant suffering that the Hindu caste system (sanctified racism) and untouchability have caused the 250 million Untouchables, in addition to the reckless murder and killings due to religious fanaticism.

However, I wish to correct one major mistake that has been made by Gargan when he referred to the population of India. He said, "...Hindus, who make up 85% of the population..." When Gargan has analysed the problems in India so well, I am rather surprised at his ignorance in saying that 85% of Indians are Hindus. For the sake of clarity, we need to correctly describe the so-called Hindu as "brahminical Hindu", because these so-called Hindus believe in the superiority of Brahmins and the rules of *Varnashramadharma*, which dictates a color-based segregated society. However, for simplicity, we will call Hinduism for brahminical Hinduism, and Hindus for brahminical Hindus.

Dalits not Hindus: There are 20% Untouchables or outcastes, meaning they are outside the caste system. **If one does not have a caste, he cannot be a Hindu and if one is a Hindu, then he must have a caste. This is a simple rule to define the religion of brahminical Hinduism.** Without the caste system, this religion will crumble like a deck of cards. The Untouchables are outside the caste system, and they are not allowed inside the Hindu temples, into their streets, into their houses, and they live in well-defined segregated areas outside the main village. They are not only Untouchables, but also unseeable, unshadowable and approachable. They are essentially sub-humans and they are treated worse than beasts. They can never be Hindus, (they were never Hindus, they are not Hindus, and they will never be Hindus) even though the cunning Hindus call these people as Hindus for their political and economical power game. If they are Hindus, how come they are Untouchables?

There are about 10% of Indians who live in jungles and remote places and they are Tribals. They still practice their own indigenous religion, culture, habits, etc, except those very small percent who converted themselves to Christianity. These people are not Hindus, and they are very much Tribals, and positively they are not Hindus.

There are about 35% of Indians who are called Backward Caste. There are about 15% Muslims in India. In addition there are 5% Indians comprising Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsees etc (others). Now let us add all these people together:

Untouchables	:	20%
Tribals	:	10%
Backward Castes	:	35%
Muslims	:	15%
Others	:	5%
Total	:	85%

It is the non-Hindus who comprise 85% of the total Indian population, and the real brahminical Hindus are only 15%.

The reason why everyone, including Gargan, blindly saying that 85% of Indians are Hindus, because the country is ruled by this tiny minority of 15% which controls the country's wealth, political power, education, media etc. They tell the world what they want others to hear, and unfortunately the world does not want to learn the truth. ■

DV 10 YEARS AGO

Sept. 1, 1983 Vol.2 No.22

Editorial: "Convulsions of the ruling class"

Even a casual reader of newspapers in India will not fail to observe two types of crisis facing the ruling class - internal and external. The rulers are never united but they are united in keeping the slaves as slaves. In all other things the rulers quarrel. Corruption has become a part of its life. If even the highest person in India is seeking in corruption, what about lesser people? Religious centres have become dens of corruption. Kerala's Chief Minister, a "devout Hindu" and Hindu nazi party admiral, fell out with that party on the Nilackalissu. Karunakaran, a shudra, is hated by the Brahmins. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi gave up her "love" for Dalits to save her Jati people and started copying the policies of Hindu nazi parties.

Khaliistan - A Dalit view: (Amarjeet Singh, London): Dalits are failing to see the true colour of the Khaliistanis. Being a Punjabi Dalit, who very much admires historical Sikhism, I warn Dalits not to demand a separate Sikh state. To think that all Sikhs are a "separate nation" is wrong. Sikhs are a separate religious sect from the rest of the Punjabis. The Punjabi language is not a monopoly of Sikhs alone. Muslims Sufi saints have enriched the language. It is also wrong to say that only Punjabi Jats are a martial race thereby belittling non-Sikh Punjabi Dalits as cowards. The Sahnami Chamar rebellion during Aurangzeb's time proves the Dalit valour. The fact is that Jat Sikhs are landlords and the main oppressors of Dalits. S. Viral has written a booklet on this: Sikhs had a Sikh state of their own once. Did the Sikhs then abolish caste? Modern Sikhism in practice is as caste-ridden as Hinduism. ■

Letters to Editor

Hashfri Ramasetti, Aepoptia, "The Centre of Helio-centric Study", 238-Highland Ave., Piscataway, NJ 08854, PO Box 134, USA: We need your permission to publish excerpts from your latest book, *Dalit Movement in India*. This published work will appear in the Sept. 1994 copy of the *The Scroll of Ramasetti* which is our journal - price \$10, 5,000 copies, 116 pages. The distribution is expected to be on an international level. Please forward any pictures of the Untouchables.

Mrs. Annette Gordon, Business Manager, Clarity Press Inc., Ste.469, 3277-Roswell Rd., NE Atlanta, GA.30305, USA: In our continuing effort to find funds to reproduce a new expanded edition of V.T. Rajshekar's famous book **DALIT, The Black Untouchables of India**, we have written to the World Council of Churches, Geneva, requesting a grant to cover printing expenses. The title has been widely used by activists in North America and elsewhere in their efforts to draw attention to the Dalit cause. Hence 500 free copies of the book will be sent to you with a further 500 each donated to the Ambedkar Centre for Justice and Peace, Toronto, and the International Dalit Support Group in Houston, with additional copies to be made available to them at a discount of 60% off list. Any support you might be able to give to this appeal would be much appreciated. We have addressed the appeal to Dr. Jeane Sindab, WCC. If successful, we will be contacting you concerning revisions of the book. It might be possible to simply incorporate some of your more recent writings into it.

Dr. Dennis Walker, 35-Rosamind St., Balaclava, Melbourne, 3183, Australia: Keats was a poor English romantic poet whose father worked in the Swan and Hoop livery stables and a leather worker (*moch*) in London. Keats's poverty forced him to stop secondary school early, and the upper-caste editors and poets refused him all but the barest attention or recognition during his life-time. They refused to eat or drink with him saying that he might pollute. His poetry is close in its natural, Anglo-Saxon vocabulary and diction to the speech of the Dalit working-class and peasant English masses from whom he sprang. You can read these desolate verses of Keats in which he voices the pain and marginality of the Dalit English poor whom the UCs beat down and segregated. Keats, given his Dalit background and experience, was able to revolutionize the thinking and themes of his middle-caste poet-

friend, Shelley. Shelley's poetry became full of images of the charnels - the cemeteries, houses and mortuary places of the corpses of the victims of imperialism and UC oppression. But Shelley, given his more privileged class background, remained always prone to relapse from collective struggle into a sentimental individualistic melancholy. This danger is shown in the elegy that Shelley wrote to Keats when consumption finally killed that starving Dalit English poet. Overall, then, the verse of the poor Dalit poet Keats and his middle-caste admirer and friend Shelley is excellent and inspiring when it focuses militant love of life and determination to struggle until the liberation of the masses of the poor. This fact of English romantic verse can definitely contribute to the new Dalit liberation high literature in Hindi, Marathi and other Indian literatures. In some ways, Keats and Shelley did prefigure Dr. Ambedkar and his emancipatory movement. The struggle-leaders are immortal.

Dr. Velu Annamalai, 14902, James River Lane, Houston, TX 77084-2118, USA: I have started writing firing letters to editors like Ms. Bina Murarka of the *India West* or news agencies like Reuters or PTI for describing Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as only a Dalit leader, an "Untouchable hero" or a leader of Scheduled Castes. Dr. Ambedkar was no doubt a tireless human rights champion that the 250 million Dalits love him as their Saviour, but he was also one of the tallest intellectual giants India has ever produced after Lord Buddha. Dr. Ambedkar is considered a giant among the geniuses the world ever produced, and he is one of the greatest thinkers falling in line with Socrates, Plato and Marx. Dr. Ambedkar was once hailed as one of the six best brains of the world. In short, Dr. Ambedkar was a philosopher, thinker, statesman, scholar, economist, jurist, constitutional expert, sociologist, historian, political pundit, linguist, religious leader and more than anything else a Prophet. The Editor of *Dalit Voice* has called him "Father of India". Every other Indian leaders that these upper caste journalists glorify are dwarfs before Dr. Ambedkar. Are not even equivalent to the dust on his shoes. I have protested to Koshiy Thomas of the *Voice of Asia*, 12121-Bellaire Blvd. Houston, TX 77072, USA, for using the hated, evil, insulting, obnoxious word, *Harjian*, which means bastard. Dalits have decided to call everyone bastards who call them bastards. I have written to Prashant Shah of the *India Tribune*, 2702-W. Peterson Ave., Chicago, IL. 60659, USA, protesting the use of the word *Harjian*. And to Mahesh H. Mankani of the *The Catalyst*, 2250-Clavendon Blvd., Apt. 1712, Arlington, Virginia 22201,

USA, for the same reason. To Gopal Raju, Editor and Publisher, *India Abroad*, 43-West, 24th Street, New York, NY 10010, USA, asking him to stop insulting 250 million people of India.

Readers are requested to fire similar letters to Editors of Indian papers thus emulating the bold example of Brother Velu Annamalai. If there is no response they may go in for wall-writing (not posters) right before newspaper offices - so that the words: "Those who call us bastards will be called bastards", will stare at the culprits daily -
EDITOR.

V.B. Rawat, New Delhi-48: As the Dalit awareness is growing, the brahminical agents and particularly the "Lohaites" are displaying their true colours. The Janata Dal has disintegrated. Reason: V.P. Singh wanted Ram Vilas to be the President, Sharad Yadav as leader in Parliament, Mufti Sayeed, chairman of Parliamentary Board and 60% reservation for the BC/Dalit/Muslims. Those opposed to it say that they cannot work with these "Mandalites". So, fellows like Chandrajeet Yadav and Harikishore Singh and a reputed Nitish Kumar, a Kurmi, who wanted to be Chief Minister of Bihar, walked out encouraged by the Brahminical Social Order. The Vaishali polls do not represent the downfall of Laloo Yadav. In Vaishali, a Thakur, Anand Mohan Singh, supported by another brahminised Mulayam Singh Yadav, joined hands with feudal Bhoomihars and other criminal elements. The Rajputs and Bhoomihars along with Kurmis dominate the area. They buried their animosity and defeated Laloo Yadav's candidate, a Thakur from Vaishali. Bihar is very much with Laloo. It is good V.P. Singh has openly come out in support of Laloo. Why should a party supporting social justice back an upper caste candidate? George Fernandes and all others who have left are anti-Mandal. They don't want to fight brahminism. George is closer to the Hindu nazi party. In UP, Mulayam Singh Yadav after engineering split in friendly Janata Dal and CPI, is now planning a major split in BSP. BSO is helping him. DV should expose all these fellows. Backward Caste politicians are killing the BC movement. I am worried that we have not been able to start a strong "Media Centre" which alone can expose the brahminical conspiracies.

Jogesh Sarkar, 152/5-Diamond Harbour Rd., Thakurpukur, Calcutta-63: The 3rd Varate Literary Conference was held on June 5 under the presidency of Prof. Nareesh Ch. Das. About 50 poets and authors were present of which 19 veterans were given awards.

Abhani Mohan Roy, Dalit-Muslim Suraksha Mahasangh, 98-Elliott Road, Calcutta-16: We held a condolence meeting on the death of Hajji Mastan and

demanding the renaming of Sophia College Lane of Bombay as "Haji Mastan Meerza Marg", who fought for the cause of Dalits, Muslims and the downtrodden of the country.

P.N. Dongre, Ashok Nagar, Dr. Ambedkar Ward, Bhandara, MS-441 904: The recent attack on M.K. Gandhi by Mayawati was timely and also befitting. We the Untouchables will never accept the name *Harijan*. What is going on today is an ideological war between gandhism and Ambedkarism. Gandhi's so-called "Epic Fast" at Pune destroyed the Dalit human rights and ended up in a compromise offering us reservations which Babasahab had never demanded. What Babasahab wanted was separate electorate and not reservations. Gandhi opposed the separate electorate saying that it would fragment a village into groups on caste and communal lines. He also said separate electorate would destroy Hinduism. But was Gandhi justified in supporting Manu and caste system which too divided the Hindus into 6,000 castes with each caste of the *shudravarna* further sub-divided into subcastes totaling 75,000 subcastes among which all kinds of interactions and socio-political intercourse were severely and rigidly tabooed and whose violations are still resulting in massacres and social excommunication and dehumanisation of shudras by the upper castes in every nook and corner of the country?

T.K. Narayanan, Puthumana, Vailyaklia, Thirumala, Trivandrum-6: This is with ref. to Ambeth Rajan's "Letter" about Vice-President K.R. Narayanan (DV June 16, 1994). I know both Narayanan and Ambeth Rajan personally. Both are good, gentle, amiable and conscious of their social position in the Brahminical Social Order historically known as *chaturvarna*. Being Untouchables, both are very much worried about their kith and kin sunken in the mire of untouchability thrust upon them by the BSO. Rajan is a dedicated worker of the Bahujan Samaj Party. Our late Jagjivan Ram was an "eminent" Central Cabinet Minister and a very able administrator. In spite of his abilities, qualifications and administrative caliber, he could not get over the curse of *chaturvarna*. Brahmins did not allow his body to be buried in Delhi. He was once invited to unveil a statue of Sampooranand, a UP Shudra Chief Minister. As soon as the unveiling ceremony was over, our holy Brahmins cleansed the statue "polluted" by the touch of an Untouchable with a much more polluted Ganga waters. I don't know if our Narayanan also will have to face a similar situation during his term as Vice-President. Men may come and men may go but to the all-pervading brahminism, the most sacred things are cow-dung and cow-urine. For over 2,000 years our

holy Brahmins were eating beef, their most delicious food. *Madhuparka* (liquor) was their very life and without it they could not go to bed. They stopped beef-eating to attain supremacy over Buddhism that stood and fought for the establishment of a new society based on the noble principles of equality, fraternity and liberty where man's inhumanity to man was abolished for ever-never to come back. Pushyamita Sunga, a Brahmin, murdered Brihadraatha, the grandson of the Great Ashoka. Thus Buddhism was thrown out from the land of its birth by our holy Brahmins whose very brain and breath is incapable of enjoying the fragrance of **human equality and fraternity**. In their vast literature starting from the very first one, Rig Veda, and the very last one, Sahyadrikhanda, one cannot see these two words. Even in a desert there may be an oasis but alas none in the brahminical Sahara of scriptures. India became a "sovereign democratic republic" (SDR) on Jan. 30, 1950, an "auspicious day" selected by our "eminent" Brahmin astrologers. The first President of our SDR happened to be Dr. Rajendra Prasad, a shudra. As soon as he took the solemn oath as the President, he rushed down to the "holy" city of Allahabad where he washed the feet of 100 holy Brahmins and then drank that "holy water". Every Brahmin and every non-Brahmin possessed with the spirit of brahminism was gay and happy at the "holy act" of our first President. This is how our SDR came into being. We, the Untouchables, have lived our life almost half a century in our SDR and yet the Untouchables are the weariest, most loathed and the most miserable people that history has ever witnessed. They work from dawn to dusk. Their enduring labour is the source of all wealth. And yet they are overtaken by a sense of utter frustration and helplessness. Self-hatred. Many people suffered frustration in their life but they soon recovered from their flight and rose to glory again with new vibration. But the case of the Untouchables stands on a different footing. Their frustration is frustration for ever. Their's is a life devoid of any hope. They have no plus condition of their body and mind. They have no hope of a rise in the future. This is no fault of theirs. This frustration which is their fate is the result of the social environment born out of the BSO which is eating every vital part of their body and mind. Thanks to brahminism, we the Untouchables have been crawling in the dark dungeons of poverty, ignorance and superstition for centuries under the protective wings of the all-pervading BSO against which the Editor of *Dalit Voice* is fighting a lone battle today. But we are now a rising people inspite of the deadly BSO that has fouled the entire atmosphere of this country. Look at

the two bewildered social scenes that exist in our SDR. A child in the womb of its mother has been declared an Untouchable, unfit for human association and human consideration. Look at the scene on the other side where another child in the womb of its mother has been declared as Brahmin, *Bhoodevata*, with all position, power and prestige. Did not brahminism commit treason against this country by creating caste and caste system? In my own Kerala, the so-called "highest-educated State of India" frequently visited by our Vice-President, a day does not pass without witnessing atrocities committed on Untouchables. If this is the state of affairs in Kerala, one can imagine what is going on in other parts of this country. Unless the Untouchables wield the weapons handed down to them by their Saviour, the Great Babasaheb, their emancipation will never be a material reality. To us, the Untouchables, the battle is a matter of joy as taught by our Saviour. For, we are fighting not for power and position. We are fighting for creation of a new human society based on the noble principles of equality, fraternity and liberty where man's inhumanity to man is abolished for ever, never to come back. When we the Untouchables possess all the inner requisites of revolution, the day of our resurrection will be proclaimed by the crowing of the cock from our far flung huts and hamlets right from Kanyakumari to Kashmir.

M.L. Rao, 26/45, Koyalawali Basti, Jeoni Mandi, Agra-4: I want to introduce a noted Dalit writer, public servant and journalist, Pradeep Shilankar of Agra, who spent his 40 years for the liberation of Dalits. He passed 4 1/2 months in the district jail, Agra, under DIR along with his wife and children. From 1956 to 1970, he published and edited three Hindi journals - *Navjeevan* (weekly), *Jay Mangal* (monthly), *Samyak Vachan* (monthly). He published half a dozen books. He was the editor, managing editor and guardian of three local Hindi dailies, and dozen other journals. His writings, plays, stories and poetries appeared in many Indian newspapers and magazines. He got several awards. But Shilankar's health is failing, after a fall he is bed-ridden for the last five months. Financially he is bad. The society to which he did so much of sacrifice has a responsibility to support him in his economic and health crisis. He needs your support. Prem Pradeep Shilankar, 26/73, Koyalawali Basti, Jeoni Mandi, Agra-282 004.

Ch. Babu Ambedkar, Ordnance Factory, Kanpur: This is in response to Aathi Srinivas's letter. It is true that Ambedkarism is a liberating religion like Christianity but not correct to say Dalits lack a definite religion. Dalits did have their own deities but they were

swallowed by the Aryans. That is how some of our gods occupied important positions in their Hinduism. They did it by fabricating stories in which the Brahmins are experts. As a result of such a distortion the Puri Jagannath, Tirupathi Balaji, Hanuman, scores of Kalis, Ambikas, Ambus etc., were added to the pantheon of Hindu gods. Even demi-gods like Ram, Krishna may be also Dalit gods hijacked by the BSO. Dalits thus lost their lands, property, culture and religion and even their deities. Under these circumstances, it is very essential for us to create a new religion with Babasaheb as the presiding deity. He is like Martin Luther who started the Protestant Christianity. Babasaheb was like Moses and Jesus who led their people to a new world. For good or bad, common people (for that matter intellectuals also) need a religion to satisfy their spiritual urge though it is true that religion is just a man-made institution. Babasaheb's ideology very much fulfills their spiritual needs which prompt them to view Babasaheb as a god. Dalits are India's most humble, simple and innocent folks. Producers of wealth. In their innocence they made Babasaheb a god. And I beg Srinivas not to mistake their innocence and attribute motives to it.

Milind Andhare, O/94, New Mahavnagar, Opp. Kangraniketan, Vikasपुरी, New Delhi-18: Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, New Delhi, is compiling the names of Dalit academicians teaching in various institutions to make use of their services when needed. I request DV readers to send the names of serving and retired Dalit academicians to: N. Manohara Prasad, Director, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, Govt. of India, 25-Asoka Road, New Delhi-110 001. Similarly the addresses of stenographers and those working in the Accounts/Audit and Finance Dept., right from the level of Accounts Clerk, Accounts Asst. and Accountants, may also be sent in separate lists.

Bikas Kusum Roy, 140-Aswani Dutta Rd., New Barrackpore, W.B-743 276: As per the 73rd and 74th Constitution Amendment Bill, election to "panchayat" and "municipal bodies" is going to be held with reservations for SC/ST and women in the said local bodies. In W. Bengal and MP elections are already over following the above guideline. Will such elections expedite "social engineering" or is there any other motive behind this?

S.U. Rangari, 211/8359, Kannamwar Nagar-1, Vikhroli (E), Bombay-83: In an editorial, *Maharashtra Times*, (June 10) Editor, Govind Talwalkar, praised and congratulated advocates for supporting Justice J.N. Patel, who heads the TADA Court in Bombay, for performing *Satya Narayana Puja* by a Brahmin in the

presence of Chief Justice on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the TADA Court in Bombay and also the display of *swastika*, a Hindu Nazi symbol, behind the chair of Justice Patel. Slowly, the Indian judiciary is also showing its nazi colours and going the nazi way. Advocate Shanti Bhushan demanded re-placement of Justice J.N. Patel as his clients, mostly Muslims, had lost faith in a pro-nazi judge. He said that his clients would not get justice from a biased judge. The Editor wrote such demands would delay the judgment. Such types of *pujas* and brahminical rituals are going on in all govt. offices throughout the country. The Editor has forgotten that India is a secular country and not a "Hindu" (Brahmin) country. I was working 17 years back at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Bombay. During the Dasara a Brahmin *bhaji* was called to do *puja*. On behalf of our Buddhist SC/ST Welfare Assn., we lodged a protest with the Director who issued an order prohibiting any religious function inside the BARC. But in all the govt., semi govt., local govt. offices such *pujas*, display of Hindu god, goddesses photos, collection of money for Hindu religious functions are freely going on causing serious offence to Dalit and Muslim sentiments. Therefore, I call upon our SC/ST Associations to stop this nuisance.

We are also receiving such complaints. What these mischievous brahminical forces do is they catch hold of one or two weak Dalit and Muslims, show them petty favours and make them take the initiative for such pujas. Such mischiefs can be tackled if our SC/ST associations, joining hands with Muslims, take direct action if the authorities refuse to put a stop to this nuisance. The entire office time is spent on such pujas. By this the BSO is trying to threaten us; overawe us and then force us to submit to their brahminical hegemony. This can be stopped if our people firmly put their foot down on such brahminical forces - EDITOR.

Tryambakeshvarananda Avadhuta, Anand Marg, Public Relations Secretary (Central), Calcutta: We draw your attention to a report published in a Calcutta fortnightly, *Yuger-Dak* (Jan. 22, 1994) saying the West Bengal Govt. was directly involved in the brutal assassination of 17 Ananda Margi monks and nuns on April 30, 1982. A secret report submitted by an IAS officer, Sher Singh, is with the Home Minister of West Bengal. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* (April 27, 94) carried a front-page news that on April 30, 1982, the then Addl. District Magistrate of 24 Parganas, Sher Singh, had claimed that he was thoroughly conversant with all the facts and figures as to how, when and under whose direction the Ananda Margis were ambushed and

Killed. The Margis were murdered in broad daylight at Ballygunj Brigade and Bondel Gate in Calcutta. The findings of these two papers and the statement of Magistrate Sher Singh clearly vindicated our position.

Dr. E.V. Chinnaliah, Plot E, Flat-206, Surya Saroj Apts., Saroomnagar, Hyderabad-35: Mudragada Padmanabham went straight into the masses with a specific issue that Kapus and Balijas should be declared Backward Castes. The historic rally he started on bicycles in mid-May from Ravulapalem (E.G. dt.) to Renigunta (Chittoor dt.) covering the coastal belt has consolidated the Kapus and Balijas as a strong unified force with Mudragada as its leader. His fast from July 1 on the said issue has shaken the Reddy Govt. As the president of the Republican Party, AP, I have asked Mudragada to join hands with Dalits. The so-called reservations are a farce. The SC representatives in the State legislature and Parliament are slaves. Hardly 6% of the educated and well-settled apart, the rest of the SC population continues to be hewers of wood and drawers of waters. On the other hand, the Reddys with no reservations as such control over three-fourth of the Cabinet posts. Your oft-repeated plea that the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims must unite is the only solution.

K. Karuppiah, 63-Thirunagar, Karumandapam, Trichy-620 001: Fr. Stephen D'Souza (DV June 16) had commented about Babasaheb's conversion. We accept the principles of Jesus Christ as egalitarian. But his principles are not faithfully followed by the followers of Christ because Christianity in India has been hinduised. We have to accept with shame about the prevailing caste system among the Christians and the practice of untouchability. The regrettable thing is the caste feeling even among missionaries. Serving the upper castes, specially Brahmins through Christian educational institutions, is still continuing which is a crime against Jesus. Let Fr. Stephen D'Souza try to set right his own religion before commenting on the conversion of Babasaheb.

Ayesha Chaudhury, Dept. of History, North Bengal University, Darjeeling dt., WB-734 430: Sher Singh, IAS, was chargesheeted on baseless and false charges.

Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Calcutta: L.K. Advani, Ashok Singhal and other Hindu nazi leaders have been charged by the CBI for demolition of Babri Masjid on Dec. 6 '92. To get them convicted, the CBI had contacted Sher Singh, IAS, Calcutta, and get from him the full set of his book, *The Secular Emperor Babur*, in four volumes along with the *Archaeology of Baburi Masjid-Ayodhya*. The CBI counsel will be using evi-

dence collected by Sher Singh from British Library, London, establishing that Baburi Masjid was built 16 years before the birth of Babur by Husain Shah Sharqi, Governor of Jaunpur, in 872 Hijri, Babur was born in 888 Hijri. This will refute the Hindu nazi plea that Ram Bhataks demolished Babri Masjid as it was built by Babur by demolishing Ram Janmabhumi temple. The same Govt. has now charged Sher Singh for writing the book.

B.K. Ghatak, New Delhi: Ms. Padmaja Mandi, a Tribal final-year medical student of the North Bengal medical college, is facing nervous breakdown after facing persecution from upper caste fellow students and staff. She was compelled to seek police protection in March after powerful student lobbies allegedly threatened her when she tried to resist them. From the very first year she was being heckled by students as "Sonar tukra" (a piece of gold) used for ST. "Sonar chand (golden moon) used for SC in Bengal which is under communist rule. The rulers of Bengal say there is no casteism in Bengal. Her father, Chittaranjan Mandi, was a Jharkhand Mukti Morcha leader. Another tribal girl, Churni Kotal, a PG student of anthropology, committed suicide two years ago. In another case, in South 24-Parganas dt., Ms. Jyotsna Sardar filed a police complaint after she was allegedly stripped and paraded in public some time ago. Is this not casteist, Jyoti Basu?

S.P. Singh, Takiapara, Patna-800 012: *Bahujan Sangharsh*, a Marathi monthly, celebrated its 10th year of publication on June 19. Special invitees were Niloo Phule, actor, Dr. Baba Adhav, social worker, Jogendra Kavade, Ramchandra Ghangare, myself representing the Kurmi Sabha, Patna, and Ram Nagarkar. It was a well-attended meeting. Unity of SC/ST/BCs & Muslims was the main theme on which the concept of social justice can survive. It was decided to include Hindi versions of all important articles and letters published in *Dalit Voice*. People of the cowbelt have failed to bring out a Hindi version of *Dalit Voice*. People of Nagpur have decided to come to the rescue. DV readers from the cowbelt are requested to send Hindi translation of articles, letters which they want to be published in Hindi, to the Editor, *Bahujan Sangharsh*, Nagesh Chowdhary, Rahate Colony, Jail Road, Nagpur-440 022. The Kunbi Sabha, Nagpur, invited me to address their meeting. So also the Teli Samaj of Nagpur. At both these meetings I said SC/ST/BC plus 80% of the "minorities" are from the same stock (non-Aryan, Dravidian, Asura, Danava etc.). The concept of "Mul Nivasi" was accepted by them. It was decided to hold an All-India Convention of Original Inhabitants at Nagpur sometimes in Nov. 94.

Gobinda Bele of the Teji Samaj, 554 - Ganeshnagar, Nandanban, Nagpur-440 009, is the organising secretary. Nagesh Chowdhari, Editor, *Bahujan Sangharsh*, is the brain behind this new movement. V.T. Rajshekar, Editor, *Dalit Voice*, shall be the chief guest.

Dr. P.K. Sukumaran, XX/515/1, Sankaraya Road, Thrissur-680 004: Recently Sugatha Kumari, a notorious savarna environmentalist, more appropriately the Kerala edition of the species, received a "prestigious" scholarship for "research" in Veda and other Hindu rubbish so as to glorify such literature as "environment friendly". Please note the conspiracy. We know the traditional Hindus are very much against the environment and the indigenous people. The Aryans called them Asuras (those who do not drink sura, alcohol) and ousted them from their abode to forests. But the indigenous people loved the forests and protected it. Whereas the Aryans have tried only to destroy it. Moreover, it was during the reign of Asoka the Great, Buddhist King, the first veterinary free clinics were introduced not only in India but the first in the whole world. He was protecting all living things as per Buddhist compassion and universal love by royal decree. He prohibited all yagas. Those days massive cow slaughter and destruction of all animals were due to yagas. So, if we are able to be proud or if any research to be done about the past, it should rightly be about Buddhist past and Asoka's contribution to environment and not the Hindu onslaught against environment. (DV Edit April 16, 1991: "Be-wäre of Three Aryan stunts to enslave us: Development, Ecology, Feminism").

Prof. T.B. Vijayakumar, President, Bahujan Samajam, Perinichery, Kerala-680 306: This is with ref. to your report, "Madani's dazzling show at Guruvayoor" (DV July 1 p.10). The Guruvayoor result is a severe warning to both the savarna camps - LDF and UDF, the first led by the "Modern Shankara" and the other by the Hindu nazi godfather Karunakaran. It is also a warning for Gouriamma, the veteran expelled marxist leader. LDF wrested the seat from the League led by Banatwala by a slender margin of 2,000 votes with the active support of the other League led by Sulaiman Sait Sahab and the Students Islamic Organisation of Jamaat-E-Islami. The people punished the Congress Party for its role in Babri Masjid demolition and the Muslim League was indicted for supporting the treacherous Congress disregarding Muslim sentiments. The Muslim-dominated constituency (45%) has been a stronghold of the League from 1970 onwards. Both the Fronts polled lesser votes compared to the '91 election. For the LDF, the drop was by 6% and for the UDF it was by 15%. Abdul

Nasser Madani's PDP, contesting for the first time, performed well by scoring 15,000 votes despite heavy odds. Both the Fronts spent millions of rupees to annihilate the PDP. People are getting fed up with both the Aryan fronts. The self-styled Brahmin supremo, Adi-Seshan, held this by-election with great haste to finish off Gouriamma and to boost the Modern Shankara's sunken image after Gouriamma's expulsion from the CPM. The Palghat Iyer might have played his role well but poor Gouriamma never realized this trap, and fielded her own candidate and fared badly. Gouriamma's party has no support base there. She could have supported the PDP. Then it would have been a victory for Bahujan Samaj. She is guided by Naxal Nair frauds and dull-headed BCS. Her Thrissur dt. committee, barring few Naxal Nairs, wanted her to support the PDP. The savarnas are very much worried over the success in PDP's entry into Kerala's electoral politics. Gouriamma is still in the ideological grip of "Modern Shankara" who is essentially anti-Muslim and anti-Dalit. Unless she reorients her party programme and eliminates savarna elements from her outfit, Guruvayoor will be repeated everywhere. Meanwhile, Madani has appealed to all including Gouriamma, Sait Sahab, SNDP Yogam, various Kerala Congress factions, KPMS and other SC, BC organisations to take steps for the formation of a Bahujan Samaj third front.

Dr. S.P. Sumarakshar, President, Bharatiya Dalit Sahitya Akademi, 233-Tagore park, Model Town, Delhi-9: Thank you for acknowledging our services throughout India and abroad during the past ten years. You have drawn our attention to some complaints and criticisms regarding the "Dr. Ambedkar Fellowship" (DV July 1, 94 p.17). We have been honouring writers and social workers for their distinguished and outstanding contributions and services by giving them "Dr. Ambedkar International Award" and "Dr. Ambedkar Fellowship" etc. These awards are meant to inspire other writers. We never collect any amount from any awardee for these awards. We only request the recipients to become members of our Akademi. We give proper receipts for the amount of the ordinary/life membership. We send our literature and also our journal, *Himayati* fortnightly, to the members. To get enrolled as Akademi member is not a crime or sin. As we are not getting any fixed or regular grants, we have to depend on donations.

Akhtar Hussain, c/o. Postmaster, PO-Harinkhola, Hooghly dt., WB-712 415: I am eager to know about Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule and Periyar Ramaswamy. I also want to read *Dalit Voice*. But I am unemployed and not in a position to purchase these

literature. Will some good soul come to my rescue?
Isa Haque, Vill Madhupur, PO Hoerah, Hooghly dt., WB-712 147: We have heard and read a lot about Periyar.E.V.Ramaswamy, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule and Sri Narayan Guru, all great revolutionaries. But unfortunately we have not heard as yet anything about another great soul, Thakur Haran Mukherji of Malda who was a great Dalit thinker. A Brahmin, he got himself de-caste by casting off his superiority of "high" birth through his close, continuous intercourse with Dalits. His message found a favourable response among the naxals of Naxalbari in Darjeeling dt. where Thakur Mukherji had been staying for over a decade as a mechanic at a govt.-run tube well at Hathighisha.

F. Ahmed, Chingdong Leikai, Jirbam, Manipur-795 116: I was shocked to read the Letter of Dr. Riyazuddin, Gen. Sec., Islamic Development Council of Manipur (DV March 1 94). He may be a scholar but has no knowledge of history of Manipur. He says our forefathers came from Bangladesh to help Sanangba Raja on his request at the time of war. Pangal (Manipuri Muslims) did not come from Bangladesh which was born only recently. Pangals had come to Manipur long back, possibly in 1603 AD. Historians say Pangals came to Manipur during the reign of King Khagemba in 1606 AD. Sanongba, not Raja and brother of Khagemba, following differences with his brothers decided to revolt against the King of Manipur and fled to Cachar (Assam) and raised a big army including a large number of Muslims equipped with fire arms. He promised the Muslims rich rewards and high offices if he succeeded in getting the throne. The king won the battle, captured a large of Muslims who were rehabilitated in Manipur, first at Lilong, 15 km. South of Imphal. Pangals are enjoying slavery under Meitheis. Kayamuddin Pukhrimayun, a leading figure in Manipuri literature, is publishing a bimonthly, *Mingshel*, at Imphal. Only recently, a forceful fortnightly newspaper, *Imaleibak* (motherland), is being published from Imphal by Kayamuddin.

Masood Azhar, Gorakhpur, UP: Through DV, "the only voice of the persecuted nationalities denied human rights in India", we invite the attention of the Amnesty International and all other concerned people and groups the world over to Point-4 of the 34-point "Secret Letter" issued by a Hindu nazi party to its cadres. The "Letter" (DV Feb. 1, 1994 p.12) was from Rām Kishen Upadhyay of Bhopal Press Club, Bhopal, and a Brahmin. A copy of the "Secret Letter" reached us at Lucknow and hence there is little doubt about the authenticity of the command issued by the Hindu nazi group to its field-dogs. Through the entire Letter is

packed with racist venom, the Point-4 causes special concern because it means that Dalits and Muslims can no longer even avail medical facility in hospitals without the fear of being killed deliberately on the operation table or in the ward or being maimed for life. A group of "Hindu doctors" was overheard at the King George Medical College, Lucknow, after the Dec.6 demolition of Babri Masjid, calculating how many *mlechhas* (Muslims) can be removed from the earth if each of them kills at least one on the operation table every month. In India, we have no way of verifying whether or not and to what extent these orders of the nazi party are being executed by Hindu doctors. We, therefore, request the Amnesty International and other human rights groups to conduct an inquiry to find out whether: (1) The percentage of operation theater post-operative and hospital deaths of Muslims is significantly higher than that of "Hindus" in India, (2) the percentage of above deaths is significantly higher among the Dalits than among the "Hindus" in India, and (3) whether the rate of such deaths is significantly increasing over the years. We also request Punoko Rashidi and Dr. Velu Annamalai and others to take up the matter with the WHO and at all other appropriate fora.

Abdul Rashid, C/o. Kanwal Spices, A-9/Industrial Estate, Anarhnag, Kashmir-192 101: I want to support the oppressed and encourage the depressed. Please tell me how can I join hands with you. I am a post-graduate social science student eager to do something for the liberation of the oppressed.

Dr. Arshad Kalliatth, TC6/444, Arapura Road, Vatyurkav, Trivandrum-695 013: This is with ref. to your Editorial of June 1. I think you have to add "growth" and "human rights" too to the list of Hindu naziracist stunts designed to deceive the oppressed -Development, Ecology (Environmentalism) and Feminism (DEF). So, the password becomes "Defgh gimmick". Beware of the "Defgh".

S.A. Khan, Park Circus, Calcutta: Dalit-Muslim unity has started taking a concrete shape in West Bengal. The issue is very simple - suspension of a Dalit-Sikh IAS officer, Sher Singh, for doing research on Baburi Masjid. Muslims and Dalits have been holding protest meetings and rallies. Some coordination is developing between these two powerful communities. Posters and banners in favour of Sher Singh are coming up. A mass memorandum led by Abdur Samad Choudhary of Raigram, Burdwan dt., containing 1,000 signatures dated June 10, 94 was sent to Jyoti Basu. They have described the suspension of Sher Singh as anti-Islam and anti-Muslim.

Dr. Imteyazur Rahman, 4C-Anusuya Apts., Shastrinagar, Patna-23, Bihar: Please bring out a special edition of *Dalit Voice* highlighting the major mistakes made by the Muslim *ulemas/leaders* (intentionally or unintentionally) during and after "independence", related to the relationship between Muslims and Dalits facing the challenge of Brahminical Social Order (BSO).

M. Ehsan, Chairman, Maulana Azad Memorial Public Library and Reading Room, PO Box No. 469, Aabi Guzer Chowk, Srinagar, Kashmir-190 001: You are a torch-bearer for all those people who strive and struggle for justice, equality and human rights. We here are running the above institute inspite of all the

COMMUNICATION

Elite Muslims have become idol-worshippers

MASOOD AZHAR, GHAZI RAUZA, GORAKHPUR, UP-273 001

Though it is an unquestioned fact that there is just 5% or even less "elite" Muslim population which will not easily accept the idea of joining hands with Dalits - the Indian *Mustadafeen* - in a joint struggle to emancipate the motherland from the shackles of Aryan racism, it is not true that this is so because this self-styled elite has no blood relationship with the Dalits or is composed of upper caste descendants (DV April 1, 1994: "*New Constitution for a United States of India*").

To give an unconditional - repeat unconditional - support to the *Mustadafeen* in their struggle against the tyrants, a Muslim need not be a blood-relation of the *Mustadafeen* (Dalits in India). The Koran enjoins upon the Muslims to fight against the tyrant and support the *Mustadafeen* even if the tyrant is a close blood relation or even a father of a Muslim. (DV March 16, 1993: "*Muslim Leadership betrays Mustadafeen*").

Khomeini invention: You had rightly said in your famous speech at Lucknow on Oct.3, 1993 during your lecture on "Islam and Mustadafeen" that the idea was taken from the Holy book by Imam Khomeini and we all had picked it up from him. Khomeini had a lot of Aryan blood. Iranians were Aryans. But Islam de-Aryanized them and made them humans.

The Indian "elite Muslims", who constantly remain busy appeasing their bahminical masters, do so because they have given up the Koran. They have not abandoned it. They have made an idol out of the Koran. They hang beautiful, expensive carpets adorned with Koranic verses (of course in Arabic only - which

hurdles. We provide the local youth literature which has the potential of awakening and getting them prepared for the struggle of their just cause. We need your message and ideas through *Dalit Voice* and your books.

Salman Zafar, s/o Dr. Zafrul Islam, Dept. of Islamic Studies, AMU, Aligarh, UP-202 002: The resignation of Dr. Masood Ahmed, UP Minister of Education, has in fact created a big void. He was one of the most honest and hard-working Ministers in UP. BSP leaders should not think that Dalits alone can carry their movement forward. The Dalits can't succeed without the support of Muslims and vice versa. This is also the opinion of our Editor.

they cannot read) in their drawing rooms. They tie its pocket edition around the neck of their children as a charm. They kiss it, keep it on their head - but do not read it. They may recite it in Arabic parrot-like without understanding a sentence like that *mantra* but never study it. Alas, gradually they are becoming "Mohammadi Hindus".

Mouvlis: There is another breed of "elites", the *mouvlis*, who imitate the Hindu pundits keeping the masses ignorant about Koran,

These elites being anti-Koran in their world-outlook fear everything and anything except the wrath of Allah. In fact, they live like those sacred rabbits - unable to muster enough courage to utter a single word of truth during their entire life-time (DV July 16, 1993: "*Indian Mauvlis misinterpreting Koran, misleading masses*").

For these "elites" the BSO is a substitute for Allah. Who says they are Muslims? They are idol worshippers.

Dalits oppress none: I am a Syed by descent. Though I do not come from the lineage of Dalit converts, from which of course 99% Indian Muslims come, you know my sincere support to the Dalit movement. I never count myself among the "elite" Muslims, or "intellectual" Muslims or "Syed" Muslims. I am proud of being a Muslim - sans all adjectives. There is only one condition of my support, if at all you call it a condition - that the Dalits of today do not oppress any other human being at any time in the history to come.

Constitutional protection to Muslim Personal Law if not referendum

ISLAMIC RESEARCH WING OF DALIT SAHITYA AKADEMY

Introduction

(1) We are once again compelled to write on the Muslim Personal Law. Earlier our write-up on the Hindu demand for a Common Civil Code after the infamous Shah Bano judgment on maintenance was the most publicised. It was reproduced in scores of Muslim journals in many languages both in India and outside, published as booklet in various languages and it got a place of pride in various books on the subject. (DV Edit Aug. 16, 1985). We are very proud of it. Scores of letters being received even to this day in the Dalit Voice office give us the confidence that even this write-up on "Triple Talac" would give us the due pride and also inform the Indian Muslims of the correct background and the reality of the issue, and lead them in the proper direction.

Brahmin Judge's apology

(2) The earlier controversy on maintenance was raised by a Brahmin judge of the Supreme Court who later felt ashamed of the Indian Muslim rebuff so much that he apologised to the Muslims after retirement. But the current controversy on the "Triple Talac" is Muslims' own making. It was raised by a small Muslim group - Jamat-e-Ahle-Hadith - with sinister motives. This group is struggling to get recognised as the sixth school of Muslim Law along with the already recognised five schools viz., Hanafi, Shafei, Maliki, Hanbali and Shia schools. This school is partially recognised only in Saudi Arabia and it wants

recognition all over the Muslim world.

(3) All Muslim countries have their religious department and every suggestion has to be submitted to that dept. which in turn places it before the jama committee of experts, which in turn submits it to the legislatures for approval, just as in India the Law Commission processes all legislations. The Ahle-Hadith elsewhere failed to achieve the object because the required consensus was not available. So, it decided to get its doctrines first approved in India, because India is the most fertile ground for enemies of Islam to raise, grow and sustain demands and have hopes of official approval. The Hindu press, bureaucracy and judiciary anxiously wait for controversies on Islam and Muslims so that Muslims always remain engaged in defence of their only remaining asset - their faith and morals.

(4) The Ahle-Hadith without any reason made an uncalled for announcement that "Triple Talac" is invalid. What was considered as valid for over 1,400 years by all scholars, saints, lawyers, judges, rulers and masses of Muslims everywhere in the world was suddenly declared invalid by this group of people, who do not form even 1% of the Indian Muslim population. India's brahminical "national" toilet papers gave it a big boost instead of giving a befitting, well-reasoned reply. Another Muslim organisation, Jamait-ul-Ulema, which is considered as the "Islamic wing of the Congress", the party of India's "socialist brahmins", simply said "No, it

is valid".

Ali Miyani formula

(5) Pseudo-Muslim scholars used the Muslim Personal Board to give a decision and the Board could have simply set aside the entire "controversy" by referring it to the World Muslim League on the ground that Muslim Law is universal, and so the Board alone is not competent to decide. But the Hindu agents in the Board gave an "ultimatum" to the Venerable Ali Miyani to declare its invalidity. And he gave a compromise formula that "Triple Talac" is valid but one who resorts to it is a criminal. This statement gave a terrible shock to the Islamic Research Wing of the Dalit Sahitya Akademy. But we decided to keep aloof thinking that the demolition of Babri Masjid has already stunned the Muslim mind. Let us wait till the Hindu nazi agents use this gun powder and then we shall shoot our Scuds targeting all Hindu nazis, their Muslim agents, the media and the prostituted, corrupt "Muslim intellectuals". Since we have read enough of their bullshit we are now firing our Scuds.

Reply to "Muslim Intellectuals"

(6) "Muslim Intellectuals", who have all contempt for Islamic scholars, rake up the dust that this provision of Islamic law has come out of the whims and fancies of the founders of various schools. They say that there is no provision in the Quran at all. This shows that either they have not read the Quran in full, or they do not know the art of interpretation or they want to read the Quran like an

income-tax ready reckoner.

Our study reveals that the Quran envisages three situations where Talaaq has to be resorted to, namely where the husband and wife have lived together for some time, where they have not consummated the marriage and where either of the party renounces Islam.

Quranic Interpretation

(7) The general rules of Talaaq, its method and consequences are dealt with in Section 29 and 30 of Suraa II from Ayaths 229 to 235. All these relate to those who have lived together as husband and wife.

(8) According to these Talaaq has to be pronounced at monthly intervals and on the third pronouncement, it is complete and irrevocable. The consequences of this are that the husband has to pay full *mehar*, pay maintenance during *iddat*, he cannot remarry the wife, and the wife can take remarriage with another after a period of about 100 days etc.

Triple Talaaq in one sitting

(9) In the case of un-consummated marriages, it is ordained:

"When you marry believing women and then divorce them before you having touched them, no period of *iddat* have you to count in respect of them (Ayat 49 Suraa 33 Ahzab).

i.e., the wife can remarry immediately.

(10) And the entire *mehar* need not be paid.

"Only half of the *mehar* be paid, and the receiver is also permitted to waive" (Ayat 237 Suraa 2).

(11) Marriages go unconsummated on the following few situations.

- (i) After *nikah* it is found out that the husband is impotent.
- (ii) The bride refuses to co-operate with the husband and expresses dislike and demands

separation.

(iii) The bride gave consent under compulsion on grounds of family honour etc. and pleads to the husband to relieve her.

(iv) The bride is found to be already pregnant through someone else and the fact becomes known to the husband after marriage.

(v) After marriage, it is found out that the parties are within the degrees of prohibited relation like having been fed by the same wet nurse.

(vi) A minor girl taken in marriage to protect her property and person, after attaining puberty, has to be relieved and settled according to her choice.

(12) These are a few cases. Those who read history and study society will find more such occasions:

Exchange of brides

(13) A very interesting incident happened with Imam Abu Hanifa. Two sisters were married in one sitting to X and Y, but during the night the brides got exchanged and they cohabited. The mistake was found out in the morning.

The grooms were agreeable to live with the exchanged wives. Abu Hanifa advised each of the husband to pronounce Triple Talaaq, pay half *mehar* and marry the respective exchanged wives.

This was because, the marriage was not consummated by the husband in each of his case.

Can our authorities solve this problem under the Hindu Law?

(14) Even in respect of consummated marriage, "Triple Talaaq" announced may be resorted to when there is an irretrievable breakdown of marriage and all efforts of conciliation have failed and third parties advise for it and the advice given in

Ayat 35 Suraa IV is followed i.e., two arbitrators, one from each family are appointed" and still the parties do not want to live together.

Our study reveals that it is this formula that is resorted to in almost all divorces in India. The party or the parties represented to the local masjid committee and arbitrators from both sides and impartial members give a direction to compel the husband on threats of social ostracisation to pronounce "Triple Talaaq" and end the tragedy. Many times the *Talaaq nama* is even recorded and authenticated. Of late, this is being done by shariah courts. But the enemies of Muslims are even opposed to these sharia courts.

Divorce is compulsory

(15) The Quran envisages a situation where divorce is compulsory. Ayat 10 of Suraa 60 *Mumtahina* provides: "Hold not to the guardianship of unbelieving women". This occurs when wife renounces Islam. Here, divorcing her is compulsory and *mehar* also need not be paid.

(16) We give the above-cited *ayaths* of Quran only for those Muslim elites whose knowledge of Quran does not go beyond the *ayaths* which are cited by the Hindu judges i.e., *ayath* 236 and 241 of Suraa 2. So that at least now they may open the Quran and read it, at least once, by comparing various translations and commentaries.

(17) Apart from these direct provisions in the Quran, the practices prevailing and approved by Prophet Mohammad, his companions and the orders of the earlier authorities have been taken into consideration just as the judges in our courts rely upon the writings of authentic jurists and earlier judgments.

Anti-human

(18) How preposterous that some scholars even blamed Caliph Umar

for having introduced "Triple Talac", and call it, "innovation". This is the respect the Indian Muslim elites and Muslim scholars have for some of the noblest human beings. On the contrary every Hindu scholar has such high respect for such anti-human fellows like Shankara, Kautilya and Manu.

(19) They forget that Prophet Mohammad who made these laws on divorce was a person who has himself suffered the effect of Talac. His daughter Ruqiah was divorced by Utaiba, son of Abu Laheb, for no fault of hers, but for the Prophet's preaching of Islam. This is unlike our cool thinkers in air-conditioned rooms.

(20) The Muslim law was long back codified by the great Imams who devoted their entire life for study and research applying their high morals, Islamic sense of justice, equity and conscience. The Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act 1937 says "Muslim personal Law (Shariat) exists in the form of a veritable code and is too well known to admit of any doubts or to entail any great labour in the shape of research, which is the chief feature of customary law".

Problem confined to India

(21) Even if it is not codified these pseudo-scholars forget in their anxiety that the constitution of England itself does not exist as a code. The well known law of Torts also does not exist as a written code and this too is well known to lawyers and judges.

(22) No scholar of the past expressed any doubt about the matter anywhere in the world. Even in India, such universally accepted authorities like Badruddin Tyabji, Justice Ameer Ali, Sir Zafarullah Khan, Faizi, Justice Hidayathullah, Mohammad Ali Jinnah of pre-independence India did not express any

doubts. But the present-day hinduised half-baked, pseudo-Muslim scholars consider themselves far far superior and enjoy their ignorance.

(23) An even today, no scholar is engaged in digging graves of the past anywhere in the Muslim world like Egypt, Iraq, Pakistan etc. But such questions are raked up in India alone by vested interests; and incompetent Aryan stooges who are given such high-sounding adjectives by the brahminical media like Dean of the Faculty of Law, Professor of Islamic Law, Progressive thinker, Moulana, authority on Quran, Director of so and so Institutes etc. The moment such questions are raised these people get the chance of their photographs, Letters and write-ups being published and lavishly paid and praised in trash Hindu journals.

(24) Money corruption is bad, but Intellectual corruption is worse. A financially corrupt person can be silenced by more money but intellectually corrupt and publicly maniacs are simply incurable. Hence we consider intellectual corruption as the worst form of corruption. And the Brahminical Social Order has manufactured one such corrupt Muslim scholar in every city of India. (DV edit June 16 1993: "Wahiduddin Khan Fate").

Misuse of Law

(25) The only objection that can be raised against Talac is that the provision of unconsummated marriage may be misused by the husband. In the case of consummated marriages i.e., an elderly woman may be instantly divorced by "Triple Talac". But can a law be amended or deleted on assumptions or misuse? Income tax laws, Civil Procedure

Code and Evidence Act in particular, and all other laws generally are misused by lawyers many a times at the cost of justice. The courts have pleaded helplessness. Has anybody ever asked for abolition of these laws? Or, do we have an alternative? Misuse of law is a moral matter. Among Muslims, Islamic morals play a greater role than the provision of law.

Our study reveals that divorces are not even one in 500 cases. We challenge for repudiation of the claim.

Rama's Talac to Sita

(26) If Talac is made difficult and people made only legal minded they will resort to what the Aryan God Rama did to his wife Sita. Without giving any mehar and maintenance, he treacherously abandoned her by sending her to forest. This is worse than Talac. Unless the Hindu nazis condemn this act of Rama or deny him godhood, they have no right to condemn the Muslim husband even if he resorts to "Triple Talac" unjustly.

(27) The real motive of the Hindu nazis is not concern for Muslim women. It is a sinister motive to take away the right of Islamic scholars to interpret Islamic Law. They contend that making law is the sovereign right of Parliament and interpreting it is the prerogative of the judiciary. And judiciary in India is extremely communal and Nazi minded.

(28) The Hindu nazis are not satisfied with their total control on the life, honour and little property of Muslims. They want their total surrender. Communists believe in the dictatorship of the proletariat. Democrats believe in the rule of the people. And Hindu nazis believe in the dictatorship of Hindutva. But Muslims believe in the sovereignty of god. The Muslim

rule was based on a three-pillar sovereignty. It was consolidated in the slogan *Khalq Khuda ki, Mulik Badshah ka, Hukum Sarkar ka* (people belong to God, country belongs to King and right to rule belongs to the government).

(29) **The controversy about the Muslim Personal Law is neither a legal nor a social issue but a political matter and one relating to sovereignty.** The issue of common civil code does not arise from Article 44 of the Constitution which was promulgated in 1951. Attempts to destroy the Muslim Law apart from other matters were made in the thirties, when the upper castes felt confident of transfer of power from the British to their hands. "Guarantee by statute of the protection of Muslim Personal Law and Culture" was one of the 14 demands made by M.A. Jinnah in 1932 (*Pakistan or Partition of India*, Babasaheb Ambedkar, Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1990, Rs.40 - page 263). Instead of so saying, the Hindu nazis resort to their usual treacherous methods.

(30) Gradually and systematically the number of Hindu agents among Muslims is increasing. Acharya Wahbeeduddin Khan has taken a full circle and completely joined the nazi camp and become a regular decorative piece of their mouthpiece. *Organiser*, but still misuses the honorific "Moulana". (*Tahir Mahmood: glaring case of intellectual prostitution* "DV March 1, 1992 p.9).

(31) The nazis are considering the Bombay serial blasts (March 1993) a boon as these saved the country from a bigger catastrophe. They feel that but for these blasts, a young man from every Muslim family would have become an "extremist". Of course, they are expressing this version through the mouth of a film actor and Janata Dal MP, Raj Babbar (*Organiser* May 8, 1994), which is

their usual method.

Wanted referendum

(32) **The only way to prevent this attempt to erode MPL is to redemand the 1938 demand of Jinnah to be incorporated in the Constitution through an amendment.**

(33) The All-India Muslim Personal Law Board must come out with this positive demand instead of fackling it again and again. It does not matter even if a referendum of Muslims is taken in this regard. Otherwise,

since all these doubts and conspiracies are raised by Muslims from the Ayavarta (Delhi and Western UP), Muslims in other parts of India will have to say good-bye to Ayavarta. Muslim elites. And once the Muslims get divided region-wise, the unity and integrity of India would be doomed. Because, Muslims, due to their common culture, language, law, history, mutual affinity and beliefs are the greatest uniting force in India. If India is to remain united, Muslims must not be divided.

(34) The Hindu nazis are hereby warned.

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