

DALIT VOICE

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**Gandhi forced Dalits to become Hindus :
Thus spake Ambedkar**

Thus Spake
Ambedkar

Gandhi tried to make the
non-Hindu Untouchables
into Hindus

Some Untouchables are probably under the impression that all this is a matter of the dead past and that Mr. Gandhi having accepted the Poona Pact cannot now oppose the political demands of the Untouchables, for, as a party to the Poona Pact, Mr. Gandhi must be assumed to have conceded that the Untouchables are a separate element in the national life of India. This is complete misunderstanding. For there are grounds to believe that the Poona Pact has made no difference in Mr. Gandhi's view and he still maintains the same attitude to the Untouchable's claim for political safeguards as he did, at the Round Table Conference and before the Poona Pact. These grounds have their foundation in the fact that when His Majesty's Government declared in 1940 that the Untouchables are a separate element in the National life of India and that their consent to the Constitution is necessary Mr. Gandhi came out with a protest. When the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow referred to the Untouchables as a separate element and said that their consent to the Constitution was necessary, Mr. Gandhi said:

"I felt that the putting up by the Viceroy, and then the Secretary of State of want of agreement by the Congress with the Princes, the Muslim League and even the Scheduled Classes as a barrier to the British recognition of India's right to freedom was more than unjust to the Congress and the people."

"The introduction of the Scheduled Classes in the controversy has made the unreality of the case of the British Government doubly unreal. They know that these are the special care of the Congress, and that the Congress is infinitely more capable of guarding their interests than the British Government. Moreover, the Scheduled Classes are divided into as many castes as the Caste Hindu Society. No single Scheduled classes member could possibly and truthfully represent the innumerable castes."

The argument advanced by Mr. Gandhi is puerile. It may be pointed out that in the hurry he made in stating his opposition to the position assigned to the Scheduled Castes by the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi forgot that if the Scheduled Castes are divided into many castes and no single caste could represent them all, the case of the Muslims and the Indian Christians is in no way different.

The Muslims are divided into three groups ; (1) Sunnis; (2) Shias and (3) Momins, each of which consists of many castes who interline but do not intermarry. Indian Christians are divided into (1) Catholics, and (2) Protestants. Catholics are again sub-divided into (1) Caste Christians and (2) Non-caste Christians. Both Catholics and Protestants have castes which do not intermarry and caste Christians and Non-caste Christians do not even interline or go to the same church.

This shows that Mr. Gandhi notwithstanding his being a party to the Poona Pact is determined not to allow the Scheduled Castes being given the status of a separate element and that he is prepared to adopt any argument however desperate to justify his attitude of opposition.

In short, Mr. Gandhi is still on the war-path so far as the Untouchables are concerned. He may start the trouble over again. The time to trust him has not arrived. The Untouchables must still hold that the best way to safeguard themselves is to say 'Beware of Mr. Gandhi'. (page 90 to 92)

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

Sonia has every chance despite BSO opposition : Masses fed up with Chanakya's misrule

Sonia Gandhi's "increased public appearances" are sending shock waves among our brahminical forces but greeted with glee by the masses of India.

Why every Aryan journalist is perturbed? Why they are crying "wolf, wolf"? Every effort is being made to keep her confined to her palatial No.10 Janpath bungalow in New Delhi.

The ruling Brahminical Social Order (BSO) has kept billions and billions of rupees at her disposal in the name of Rajiv Gandhi Foundation, Nehru Bhavan etc. The super Chanakya Neogi Brahmin, who fears Sonia most, has instructed that any request with the govt. from Sonia should be immediately conceded and she and her children should be provided with utmost security plus comfort. She will get anything she asks but on one condition that the Italian widow of the murdered Ex-Prime Minister should keep off the top post reserved to the Aryan *vaidik*.

Why the BSO shudders at the very thought of Sonia, a frail, powerless mlenchha? Because she is not only outside the BSO but a foreigner - a non-Hindu white western Christian (Catholic) - uncontaminated by the *vaidik* caste cancer. And this is also the secret of her popularity with the innocent masses of India - victim of the BSO - because they value her impartiality and more than that being a woman they expect her to have a kind heart - as against the rock-hearted BSO. The oppressed Indians always preferred a "foreign rule" because "Indian rule" meant BSO rule.

Forbidden fruit: That is why all sorts of "advices" are pouring from our jaded journalists and "elder statesmen" subtly asking her to remain indoors and not to aspire for the forbidden fruit. But Sonia has started coming out and going public sending palpitations in the BSO heart. **She has the charisma, youth, the Gandhi name and the right heart. And the blessings of the masses too. That means Sonia has become the nightmare of the BSO. And that means what the BSO hates we must love.**

An attempt to make her the Congress Party president was quickly torpedoed by the BSO immediately after the Rajiv Gandhi murder. And ever since, scenting the danger of Sonia to the BSO, the crooked Chanakya - considered the best *vaidik* leader the country had since "independence" - has been using all covert and overt tactics to frighten Sonia.

But the "wolf" is out and the Congress crooks have started scampering. And as the elections are nearing, the "wolf" will be more and more on the prowl. But it is only the Congress crooks who call Sonia wolf but for the innocent masses of India, cheated by the *vaidik* vampire, she is considered an angel. So much is the gulf between the rulers and the ruled in India. So sharp is the contradiction.

Who murdered Rajiv? : Do you think Sonia has forgotten what the Chanakyas have done to her husband, herself and her children? Does she not know why her husband's assassination inquiry is being deliberately postponed? Has she forgotten the forces behind the Rajiv murder and how the BSO shifted the blame on some others to gain electoral benefits for the Congress. Indias' original brahminical party, which otherwise would have eaten dust in the V.P. Singh-inspired Mandal typhoon then sweeping the country?

In our Editorial dealing with Rajiv murder we had come out with certain statements (DV June 16, 1991: "Thoughts on Rajiv Gandhi murder: The only people who stand to gain are Hindu nazis") and we are happy to say every point made in the Edit has proved correct.

Sonia knows all this and that is why she got such a tremendous welcome from the innocent Tamil masses when she visited the Rajiv assassination spot near Madras recently. She is popular with the masses and also the Congress Party rank and file, and if she decides she can just elbow out the Chanakya in no time.

But, Sonia, however, is proceeding cautiously

knowing the dangers to her life and more so to that of her children. A set of people who killed their own "Father of the Nation" like a dog, will they ever hesitate to eliminate another potential threat to the *vaiddik* vampire?

She knows the risk and having lost her husband, who was killed in a well-planned conspiracy, she dare not take any risk to her life and that of her two children who, we learn, are also coming up fast getting private tuition on India's caste system and the Brahminical Social Order to combat the Hindu nazis head on. The stage is set. And if ever that happens, the BSO alone is to be held responsible for "selling the country to a foreigner" within 50 years of India becoming "independent".

West supports BSO?: The Chanakya and his Congress crooks are no problem to her. The masses will take care of them. But the Aryan racists of India appear to have received some assurances from the white western racist rulers of the world who have entrusted the job of acting as the policemen of South Asia to India.

The western white rulers of the world in their imaginary fear of Islam are more and more falling into the net of India's Aryan brahminism, Father of racism, fascism, zionism. (Read DSA book of the same title 1994). And this is the only factor blocking the smooth sailing of Sonia.

We don't know if poor Sonia is aware of such wheels within wheels but having top-level international contacts, we have no reason to believe that she is not aware of west's clandestine connections with the BSO. After all she too is a white and part of the same western caucus.

This is what we had said in our June 16, 1991 Edit on Rajiv murder:

The surge of saffron Hindu nazism is bound to get a shot in the arm because of this assassination. The one who stands to gain most by this assassination is Hindu nazism which is hand in hand with white racism and zionism.

DV proves correct: Did we not prove right? The crooked Chanakya became the hand-picked choice of the Hindu nazis. It was after his takeover India started displaying nazi muscles. Kashmir problem reached the boiling point, the backbone of Sikh struggle for self-determination was broken, Babri Masjid was demolished and the "Spanish experiment" to exterminate Muslims was stepped up, Dalits, Backward Castes and all

other nationalities were suppressed. Scam, the mother of all corruptions, was launched and the 15% upper castes have been provided with unprecedented comfort. If this is not Hindu nazism what else is it? All this became possible because of Rajiv's assassination, which helped the Congress victory and the elevation, of the Chanakya. Our June 16, 1991 Editorial added:

The New World Order of US President Bush and the zionist forces seemed to have assured to supply fuel to this (Hindu nazi) machinery.

The editorial also said:

"That is why the brahmin press added so much of lies against poor Sonia Gandhi whose nomination as Congress president would have been welcomed by religious minorities, tribals in particular, women and weaker sections. But a well-orchestrated campaign was engineered to block her entry by spreading all sorts of lies. They wanted to hoist only a Brahmin and succeeded in it.

Did not DV prove correct?

Demon of Islam: If Sonia steps up her "public appearances" and tries to go closer to the hearts, of masses, the BSO and its malicious monopoly press will engineer a typhoon of lies against her, her children and even her family. The Bofors sword is still kept hanging on her dead husband's head. Besides, the BSO may also convince its white western masters that Sonia entry would encourage the "demon of Islam" and thereby it may force the west to halt the march of Sonia. And Sonia also being a white western, pressure may come on her via the Pope or Mother Teresa to go slow and not to come in the way of the BSO bid to cut Muslims to size and castrate the Dalits.

Will Sonia bleed for her dear Tribals, Dalits, Christians and other religious minorities or listen to her white western fellow-men? The BSO is confident of applying the brake on her via its white western masters but all this depends on the international situation. On our part, we repeat our support to Sonia who is anyway better than the nazi BSO.

Beware of Pahadi Brahmin: Meanwhile, anger is mounting not only within the Congress but even outside against the crafty, cunning Chanakya who is using all sorts of heinous tricks to weaken powerful leaders and eliminate all opposition to his rule. The entire brahminical press is backing the Chanakya as he has given

a free hand to the BSO plague to loot and murder as they like.

So, all powerful but disgruntled, leaders like Sharad Pawar, Vijaya Bhasker Reddy, Arjun Singh, Bangarappa and many others have sharpened their knives and kept it ready but hiding inside their *kurtia*. Even within the BSO, N.D. Tiwari of UP is leading a revolt of the cowbelt Aryans against the Chanakya. But Sonia has to be careful with this Pahadi Brahmin because the BSO may back him if the Chanakya starts sinking. Meanwhile, she will do well to set one thief to catch another thief.

Even the rabid sections within the Hindu nazi party are fed up with the Chanakya tactics which are not allowing them to build the Ram temple on the Babri Masjid site. Nor did the Chanakya concede the Hindu nazi demand to dismiss Mulayam Singh Govt. in UP. So all these disgruntled elements may pull out their concealed knives the moment Chanakya's one leg slips.

Privatisation fails: Such a moment has not yet come but it is coming. Surely coming. Caste contradictions are sharpening. The white western rulers are terribly disappointed by the Chanakya's false promises on privatisation. Nothing has happened so far on the promised privatisation. Nor did he end the widespread corruption that is blocking the entry of foreign capital. The BSO plague has tarnished image of India in the whole world. The world Bank and foreign financiers are fed up with Chanakya because India is unable to pay even the interest for the enormous money it has borrowed, let alone returning the loans. Whole privatisation process is held up because BSO is afraid that privatisation would hurt its *jattwalas*. ("DV proves right on privatisation," Sept. 16, 94 p. 8).

The white western masters are being frightened by the BSO by showing it the ghost of Islam and Muslims. But this imaginary fear may not last long because the west has many thinking and also honest people among them and they are sure to see through Chanakya's bluffs and brags. India has a big virgin market for the west and Japan. If the standard of living of the Indians kept deliberately poor and illiterate by the BSO - improves the west and Japan are going to gain a whole world in India. The foreign investors will simply brush aside BSO's cock and bull stories on Islam and Muslim ghost at least as far as

India is concerned. And this is sure to happen because Chanakya's fake Finance Minister, the Khatri Sardarji, has been a total failure and the cause of the Scam.

BSO plague: As Sonia steps up her speed and the masses clamour for her and as the BSO plague envelops the whole country, the white western rulers are sure to realise the folly of keeping the Chanakya any longer. Economic interest of the west will guide its policies and the moment the waiting Congress crooks come to know that Chanakya is slipping and he is getting weak, and that he could no longer be relied upon to bring back the original brahminical party of India to power, the hidden knives will come out one by one in one full shot the Chanakya will be finished.

This is going to be the scenario. And Sonia should be ready to take over. We wish her all the best. And that means the end of the 'merited' rule of the BSO and the inauguration of a new era. And history will say that an opportunity was given to the BSO to rule India but it lost because of its own unending appetite for human flesh and blood.

Virulent anti-Muslim film coming

Bangalore: The "Clash of the Cross & Crescent" as predicted by us (DV Sept. 16, 1994 p.6) may come sooner than we expected.

A Zionist-sponsored American box office film is making waves the world over ridiculing Muslims as terrorists and Islam as anti-human. Titled "True Lies", it is about an American hero's fight against a West Asian "terrorist group" called the "Crimson Jihad". Jihad, an Arabic term meaning "true fighter" is often used in Islamic countries to describe a crusade. The film has offended Muslims all over the world. If the film is allowed to continue, it is feared that "it might destabilise and sow disharmony in society". The film is banned in Indonesia and many other countries.

The film will soon hit India and will be hailed as the world's greatest film and cinema theatres will be jammed. Muslims get ready.

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People of India Project Vol. XXXIV
Editor: K.S. Singh
1994 pp.300 Rs.250
Anthropological Survey of India
Seagull Books, 26-Circus Ave, Calcutta-17

Dalit problem is not poverty but denial of human rights

The credit for internationalising the plight and persecution of India's Black Untouchables and drawing the attention of the world church to this unique sanctified racism goes to India's famed Black Bishop Azaralah, the author of the book, *Unchristian Side of the Indian Church* (Dalit Sahitya Akademy 1985). That such a racism continues even after conversion of Dalits to Christianity is highlighted in our Editorial of Sept. 1, 1994: "*Black Bishop Azaralah must walk out with Dalits if upper caste Christians fail to accept our 10-point ultimatum*". In this historic speech delivered in Bonn during his recent tour of Germany (Aug. 31-Sept. 2, 1994) heading a Christian delegation on Dalit consultation, the Black Bishop stunned the Germans, if not the whole western church, when he declared the problem of Untouchables is not poverty but denial of human rights. Church leaders should support programmes to EDUCATE the Dalits and make them aware of their problems instead of diagnosing it as an economic

problem and wasting their money on worthless anti-poverty programmes. Dalit problem is not economic but social and cultural oppression. This is the burden of Black Bishop's song. This is exactly what Babasahab Ambedkar had also said. All others are misleading the western Church leaders as well as the Dalits and offering wrong diagnosis and prescribing wrong medicines. Once the Dalits get back their human rights, they will solve their poverty themselves. As the Bible says: "And you shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free" (John 8:32). The church must help make the Dalits know the Truth. Nothing more is needed. *Dalit Voice* and Dalit Sahitya Akademy are doing exactly this: empowerment of Dalits for the past 15 years and meeting with tremendous success. And that is why we consider the Bonn speech of the Black Bishop as very significant needing immediate attention of the world church

- EDITOR.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The word "Dalit" comes from the root word "Dal" which means "broken" or "crushed" and this refers to a people that are "oppressed". It is interesting that Isalah the prophet uses this word - having the same root in Hebrew language - "Dal" meaning "broken or crushed" or to refer to the "poor of the land". This is pointed out by John Phobee in his book called "Who are the Poor?" (WCC Geneva Publications). But in India this word 'Dalit' is used to describe the Untouchables of India. They number over 200 million, almost a quarter of the total population of India.

The origins of untouchability and caste are obscure and thus a matter of disagreement among scholars. While Hutton in his book, *Caste in*

India (1931), saw caste as a pre-Aryan means of tribal self-preservation in the face of invasion, most historians of ancient India have seen it as an Aryan form of social organisation with both racial and economic components. The basic unit of the resulting "caste-system" was a kinship unit called the "Jati". It was the priests (Hindu religious rituals) who in their concern for ritual purity, ranked *Jatis* hierarchically according to the degree of ritual pollution associated with the various *Jatis'* traditional occupations.

II. ARYAN ORIGIN OF CASTE

The first group mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit texts as "Untouchable" were the Chandala, whose distinguishing tasks were carrying off and cremating the dead, as well

as executing the criminals. In subsequent texts, other groups were added to the category of "Untouchable". "Avarnas", "Panchamas" are other names referred to in Sanskrit texts.

The Depressed Classes, as they were often called, were those people whose *Jatis* were at the very bottom of the hierarchy, because of their traditional *Jati* occupations (disposing of the dead animals, rubbish, sewage etc.), and were considered, polluting in the extreme. Not only were they poor and powerless, if not actual slaves, they also suffered from the stigma of untouchability as well. One significant consequence of this was that they were virtually cut off from the mainstream of Hindu religious life and thought. Even as late as the 1931 census, one of the marks of the "exterior Castes" was

that they were debarred from the use of Hindu temples. The result was that they had their own forms of religion, which were at best only marginally related to the mainstream of Hinduism.

Dalits not Hindus: As Henry Whitehead brings out in his book, *The Village Gods of South India* (1921), the distinctive religions, beliefs and practices of the "Exterior Castes" or "Depressed Classes" are quite different from the brahminical Hinduism.

To the early historians who were interested primarily in the ruling elite classes in society, Untouchables of India were for all intents and purposes non-persons, a "Non-People". This situation changed in the 19th

century when foreign ethnographers, missionaries and civil servants began recording some of the details of their present lives and traditions. At that time it was observed that the *Jati* was a closed and highly cohesive social unit which served as a primary source of identifying others. *Jatis* were still being ranked hierarchically; however the criteria included not just ritual purity, but land ownership, wealth and political power as well. People were sensitive to where their *Jati* stood in relation to others within this hierarchy, and social intercourse was well defined by the respective position of *Jatis*. This situation was neither as harmonious, nor as static as its apologists would have us believe, as each *Jati* did not pursue its own occupations and *dharma* in perfect cooperation with others. There was considerable maneuvering for positions as *Jatis* sought to improve their own status and keep those below them in their places.

Christian influence: The 19th century proved to be a time of slow but significant change, the pace of which accelerated during the course of the 20th century. Under the British colonial administration, not only a new

political change was effected, but also important changes in the economy provided a new context for social relationships. The old pattern was being directly challenged by the values imparted through the educational system and the religion being spread by Christian missionaries. All these came in time to affect the Depressed Classes, some of whom responded by entering new occupations opened up in the army and industry, by acquiring land made available to them, by sending their children to school and by changing their religion. Such were the beginnings of a movement for change that impinged upon the caste system and the place of the Untouchables.

Benefits of conversion: The defining characteristic of the first stage in the Modern Depressed Classes Movement was mass conversion, especially to Christianity as this was the most dramatic and alarming step the Depressed Classes took in the 19th Century to improve their lot. This stage may be dated from the 1860s to 1870s through the 1930s. The Depressed Classes themselves took the initiative in conversion, so says Dr. John C.B. Webster, author of the book *The Dalit Christians - A History* (ISPCK New Delhi, 1994). John Webster also points out:

Recent studies have indicated that the primary 'good' the converts had in mind was not economic (as economic reprisals far outweighed any economic benefits received) but social and psychological; a chance to move up by moving out of the caste system, a chance to acquire helpful friends outside the village and most important of all, a chance to gain a new sense of one's own worth, dignity and self-respect that came with conversion.

Turning to the present situation of the fragmented Indian society with people living in rather separated

compartments, John Webster observes that each section of society has had its own special burdens to bear - and its own struggles to survive to develop. **The special burdens of the Depressed Classes have been social stigma, poverty and powerlessness.** Their recent history has been their struggle to throw out these burdens by their own efforts and with the assistance of others.

Poverty not the problem: The foregoing brief account of the historical background of the Dalits (formerly described as Untouchables or Depressed Classes) make it abundantly clear that the central question of the Dalits is indeed the question of human rights. And this will become more clear even if we only highlight or outline the salient features of Dalit Reality in the contemporary Indian society.

III. DALIT REALITY & HUMAN RIGHTS

Real Problem of Dalits: The real problem of the Dalits is not just economic. It is primarily social and psychological. It is not colour problem. But it is worse than Apartheid that had manifested itself in such ugly forms in South Africa for over 200 years until it was totally dismantled after hard struggle for many decades that left several million native people of Africa dead in the hands of white colonizers that managed to rule over them for over two centuries. **The Indian situation is much worse. The sense of inferiority and other negative attitudes of the Dalits have remained the same for generations. They still believe in what has been instilled in them for centuries.** These ancient original inhabitants of the land of India have been made to internalize into their psyche a pernicious system of beliefs about themselves about other dominant classes of Hindus who had enslaved them and

about a world view that had no space for them to develop.

False beliefs: They believe for instance, in doctrines of *karma* and *punaljamma*, that is, that one's station in life is determined by destiny or fate and by the good or bad deeds of the previous births. As victims of such a belief system, the Dalits were rendered incapable of taking any initiative to change, alter or improve their own life situation - controlled by apathy and inertia, self-pity, self-negation and self-hatred.

Wounded psyche: It is this inner reality of the Dalits that I have tried to describe in terms of Dalits suffering with "wound in their soul" or "wounded psyche". It is this psychological condition that had deeply affected their sense of self-dignity and human worth and self-respect. Every Dalit victim, therefore, is in urgent need of restoring his or her human dignity and human rights.

Socio-Economic conditions: Despite the compensatory discrimination accorded by the reservation benefits provided in the Constitution for Dalits over the past four long decades, the socio-economic condition of the Dalits has in fact deteriorated. For instance, as per latest estimates, over 70% of the Dalits are living below the poverty line, whereas this percentage for non-Dalit population is 48%. While 82.8% of land in the country is owned by other caste groups and communities, only 7% of the land is owned by the Dalits who form 16.48% of the total population according to the Census of 1991. The gap in literacy rate is also quite glaring. While the percentage for general population is 36.23%, for the Dalits it is only 21.38%. The female literacy rate among Dalits is abysmally low at 10.93% compared to 29.43% among women in general. It continues to be true that Dalits are discriminated, the Dalit women are dou-

bly discriminated as Dalits among Dalits and oppressed with no glimmer of hope.

Upper caste violence: Article 17 of the Indian Constitution (1950) declared, "Untouchability is Abolished". But that is only on paper. Then there is the Protection of Civil Rights Act of 1955 and the SC/ST Prevention of Atrocities Act of 1989 to protect the Dalits from the variety of increasing acts of discrimination and violation perpetuated daily in different parts of the country by the upper castes against Dalits. But these laws are respected more by violating them than by abiding by them. Caste-prejudice and hatred are on the increase rather than on the wane. As one parameter for such terrifying communal trends, we can notice the following facts relating to court cases filed against incidence of atrocities on the Dalits, on women in one particular year. In 1988 there were 6,722 cases pending in the courts and 2,822 cases were added that year. Of these, 1,705 were disposed of and 303 ended in acquittals.

IV. DALIT CHRISTIANS

In the Report submitted to Parliament for 1986-87, the National Commission for SC/STs (Dalits) gave the following reasons for the failure of atrocity cases in courts: economic vulnerability of the witnesses leading to their being won over at the hearing stage, court delay, inexperienced prosecutors, some of whom play dubious roles, police disinterest and inadequate protection to witnesses. The Report had this conclusion: "Failure of the police and prosecuting officers to discharge their duties effectively and promptly had resulted in the commitment of atrocities with greater impunity". It has been officially admitted that atrocities against SCs and STs are consistently increasing - the number having risen from

15,207 in 1988 to 18,014 in 1992.

The Indian Constitution (1950) states in Article 15: "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them".

In Article 16: "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State."

And yet, the Presidential Order of 1950 (para 3 of Order 19) decreed that no-one except Hindus is entitled to the privileged and reservation benefits provided under the Constitution to the Scheduled Castes. This order was revised in 1956 to include the Sikhs, and in 1991 to include the Buddhists. **This still leaves the Dalit converts to Christianity and Islam discriminated based on religion.** It must also be noted that the present law in India relating to Compensatory Reservations violated Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes freedom to change his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

V. ROLE OF UNITED NATIONS

The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations has a record of outstanding and pioneering work in most of the member-countries to restore the dignity of human beings by declaring and demanding the signatories to the Covenant of Universal Declaration of Human Rights on December 10 of 1948. India also is a signatory to this great global instrument for protecting the inalienable and fundamental rights of every human being on this planet earth. Accordingly, everyone has the right

to an acceptable standard of living, adequate income, right to employment and work, to health and well-being, to education and to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

And yet, it is in India that most of these rights enshrined in the UN instruments are denied to practically all those citizens classified as "Scheduled Castes" in the Constitution, if not by law, but most certainly by the Social and Economic discrimination sanctioned by Hindu religious practice of Caste system in the Indian society. Clearly, the problems of the Dalits are basically related to Human Rights.

What can be the response to such a situation? If Dalit people of different political ideologies, religions, languages are made aware of their exploitation and brought together to work for the liberation of Dalits, it could accelerate the process of achieving human rights for the millions of Dalits who continue to suffer oppression especially in rural India, living in segregated colonies.

Segregated housing is the most visible form of discrimination against Dalits. Hence the Dalits who are socially handicapped communities need to be empowered to face this social tyranny and remove the shackles of human rights violations against them. This may be achieved by Human Rights Awareness Education which will certainly help people to help themselves. ■

BSO plague pillages Bahujan Samaj

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The serious problem facing DV is what we write, every word, is understood by the ruling Brahminical Social Order - but with regret and sorrow we have to say that the Bahujan Samaj (SC/ST/BCs & Muslim/Christian/Sikhs) to whom these words are addressed cannot understand it. When it can't understand it, how can it appreciate it - much less act upon it? The contagious cholera, plague, malaria etc - which the BSO proudly announced that it eradicated them from India - are back with a bang and its victims are mainly our people - Bahujan Samaj (BS). It struck Surat and is spreading to Bombay and other cities where our people have fled unable to bear the BSO atrocities in their villages. In the urban anonymity they were able to at least live with self-respect and had enough to eat - though living conditions were horrible. But soon the BSO struck here also. Urban slums became totally neglected - no water, sewage, no sanitation - den of diseases. And our people live like animals amid dirt, diseases, squalor, stink illicite liquor, prostitution and daily brawl and fights. They escaped from rural

tyranny but soon caught in the jaws of urban catastrophe. The slums are "well-maintained" by the BSO because in one single slum the BSO gets 10,000 or so captive votes for its ruling Congress - the original brahminical party. It is mainly the Dalits and Muslims who live in the slums. BCs are also there. But no Brahmin is found in any slum. It is from these slums the BSO gets all its loyal servants and slaves. Bangalore has 250 of them. More are under formation.

And the BSO has maintained some Congress goondas - barking and biting dogs. These dogs are kept well-fed because they will not allow any BS member of the slum to go without voting for the Congress. The utter neglect of the slums by the BSO has brought the dreaded plague. And we can see how the BSO will make a song and dance of the plague and allow many more to die.

It will see the beauty of our people dying once the plague pillages Bombay. They will say "The country is over-populated, why not allow the dirty ones to die? Are members of BS listening?"

BSO warned against holding fake poll in Kashmir

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The rulers ruling India through tricks and intrigues want to fool the innocent Kashmiris in the name of elections - after mercilessly slaughtering thousands of them in the name of terrorism. They want to bring back the corrupt, discredited anti-people Farook Abdullah and Company by rigging the elections. The Kashmiris suspect even Yasin Malik, JKLF chief, who has suddenly become the blue-eyed boy of the BSO. This is what it

means by holding elections in March to end its four years of state terrorism through military rule to impose such a corrupt pro-Congress (read brahminism) rule. All such previous attempts have been rejected by the people. We warn the rulers not to repeat the mistake and lose a sensitive border state that is completely fed up with the Indian rulers (DV Edit Dec. 1, 1993: "Dalits will foil brahminical bid to drive Kashmir out of India"). ■

Ban burning of Ravana effigy: It is anti-national act

N.G. KAMBLE, IPS (RETD), 529-A, HANUMAN NAGAR, NAGPUR - 440 009

As per the *Lankawatara Sutta* published in Bengali, Ravana was not only a Mool Niwasi of the Dravida race but a great Buddhist philosopher who discussed philosophical aspects with Lord Buddha himself.

The discussions between the Buddha and Ravana edited by Bunmideniyō Guota (Japan) in 1923 published in ten volumes in Chinese language. (*Harme Jinapur Garvani* - by Smt. Dropadi Harit, F/124 - Nanakpura, New Delhi - 21, p.48-49).

Almost all the Mool Niwasis (original inhabitants of India) followed Buddhism. A Brahmin historian, Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar, says:

"Thus from about beginning of the 2nd century before Christ to about the end of the 4th century after, princes of foreign races were prominent in the history of India and ruled some times over a large portion of the country up to the limits of Maharashtra. During this period it is the religion of the Buddha alone that has left prominent traces and was professed by the majority of the people". (*A Peep into the Early History of India* p.44).

Buddhist monks burnt: This opinion has been confirmed by Tarkatirth Laxman Shastri Joshi, another Marathi Brahmin, in his book, *Hindu Dharmachi Samiksha*, saying that in India, only the non-Brahmins established Buddhism which was professed by the majority of the people:-

"As a result of professing Buddhism by the Mool-Niwasis scrupulously, the Brahmins were deprived of their privileges and monetary gain which was being received in the shape of *Dan-Dakshina* on account of *Yadnya* and rituals and thereby they lost their social status.

To regain their lost privileges and power by destroying the Buddhism and restore the Brahminical Social Order (BSO), a brahmanic revolution led by Pusyamitra took place in 185 BC"

Dr. Ambedkar says:

"First thing to be noted is that the Manu Smriti is a new code of law promulgated for the first time during the reign of Pusyamitra" (p.271). "How pitiless was the persecution of Buddhism by Pusyamitra can be gauged from the proclamation which he issued against the Buddhist monks. By this proclamation Pusyamitra set a price of 100 gold pieces on the head of every Buddhist monk". Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar's *Writings and Speeches* Vo.3, p.269)

As per the famous Buddhist book, *Vidyawadan*, and

History written by a Tibetan Lama, Taranath, Pusyamitra burnt Buddhist monasteries at Pataliputra and Jallunder.

Sankara ordered killing: As quoted in the *Sankara Digvijaya*, on the orders of Shankaracharya, King Sudhanwa killed all the Buddhists right from Rameshwar to Himalaya with further direction that in no case even an old Buddhist or a child be spared. One who hesitated to kill them should also be killed. Dharmasvamin, a Tibetan pilgrim who visited Bihar, states:

"...they (Hindus) performed a yaina, fire sacrifice, and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrifice pit into the Buddhist temples etc. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnabodhi, the nine-storied library of the Nalanda University". (Extract from the book, *How and why Buddhism declined in India* - D.C. Ahir p.33).

Rama was BSO spokesman: Brahmins composed an imaginary Ramayan in which they included the stanzas from Manu Smriti while depicting the incidents and got them confirmed from Rama as a spokesman of brahminism. By giving the status of god to Rama in the *Ramayan*, the position of Brahmins was elevated above the god and forced particularly the shudras, Untouchables, women etc. to follow *Manu Smriti* and the *Ramayan* rigidly, being the order of god.

Similarly, to establish the BSO firmly, they carried out the brain-washing of the Buddhists by treating Ravana as villain, the most hated person in the Ramayan, whereas Rama was treated as a hero.

What Vinoba Bhave said: It is an established fact that the *Ramayana* cock and bull story was manufactured by Brahmins after the fall of Buddhism. A Maharashtrian Brahmin, Vinoba Bhave, says,

"It is possible to rewrite *Ramayana* since it is not a book of history."

(*Vinoba Bhave & His Mission*, extract from Sita Niskasan-Arvind Kumar p.26).

What Nehru said: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a Kashmiri Brahmin, is of the opinion that the principles laid down in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are imaginary and inhuman (From *Ramayan ka sachcha adhyayan* - Periyar E.V. Ramaswami p.70).

Brahmins changed the nature of Ashoka Vijaya Dashmi, the Buddhist festival, and introduced the burning of the effigy of Ravana through Rama in order to create an image of Rama being god where as Ravana as the notorious villain.

Though Bharat is a "secular state" as envisaged in the Constitution, the Brahmins are deliberately burning the effigy of Ravana violating the provisions of the Constitution with a view to establishing their victory over Mool-Niwasis and their highest civilisation, Buddhism, - and also to hurt the feelings of the Mool-Niwasis.

The Mool-Niwasis and Buddhists should not allow the burning of the effigy of Ravana, the symbol of humanity and Adimanapurush of Mool-Niwasis by adopting only constitutional ways. The govt. should on its own accord ban the burning of the effigy of Ravana with immediate effect.

In no case should we allow our feelings to be hurt. How long should we preserve our mental and all other sorts of slavery imposed by brahminism? ■

DV supports "Jatland"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Ajit Singh, a poor imitation of his illustrious father, Charan Singh, has demanded a separate "Jatland" comprising Western UP. Good.

Just as we support the breakup of UP and the upper caste demand for Uttar Khand, we support Ajit Singh's demand also. UP, the bone in the throat of Bharat, needs to be broken up. Then only India can breathe little more freely. But the problem is that the brahminical press which went delirious over the Uttar Khand demand may not support Ajit Singh because he is not "our man". Jats may be "uncomfortable" with Dalits and Muslims. But in turn they are hated by the Aryans because they are not part of the Brahminical Social Order. Jats like Aryans are also a foreign element but they hate each other. It is this Aryan hatred of Jats that took them to Sikhism and Arya Samaj - a jump from frying pan into fire. The born BSO-hater Charan Singh, was an Arya Samajist and that is where he slipped and fell. Be that as it may, we wish good luck to Ajit Singh who in his hatred against SC/BC/Muslims has jumped into the Congress, the original brahminical party, while his Jats jumped into the Hindu nazi party. And the Jat farmers leader Mahendra Singh Tikayat is going over to Mulayam Singh. The poor turncoat Ajit is today waiting for a ministerial post but the Chanakya Neogi Brahmin is not prepared to oblige him. But the Jatland demand may bring back his Jat flock. ■

Why BSO opposes foreign media & lawyers?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Do you know why the upper caste/Aryan-dominated Indian "national" press and the bar associations are vehemently opposed to the entry of foreign press and foreign lawyers? Is it because they are worried that the entry of things foreign would jeopardise Indian sovereignty, as they say? No. All their argument is bullshit.

The Aryans, themselves being foreigners, have been never opposed to foreign invasion. Every foreign ruler was invited by them only. Aryans love everything foreign. Even a foreign wife. Their hearts is in America. Only the feet in India. So how can they hate anything foreign?

The simple truth is our upper caste/Aryan merit-mongers are mediocres. The western press or lawyers will simply excel them in quality. And everything - particularly basic honesty.

Hidden secrets: Not only they will purify the upper caste-contaminated yellow press of India but more than that bring out the hidden secrets about the appalling conditions of human rights suppressed in India. The foreign lawyer will be more efficient, and also honest. That is why the Brahminical Social Order, which has a monopoly over the country's media and legal profession, is falling head over heels on the entry of foreign press and foreign lawyers - and staging all sorts of dramas to oppose foreign press and foreign lawyers.

No. We must welcome the foreigners and give them a red carpet. And then use them to finish these drones and dregs of the society. (DV Sept. 16, 94 p.8: "DV proves right on Privatisation") ■

TAGORE PRAISED BRITISH KING IN NATIONAL ANTHEM

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: This is with ref. to our report, "Tagore anti-national?" (DV Oct. 1, 94 p.22) based on Ashis Nandy's latest book. An article from the *Deccan Herald* of Aug.25, 1992 was reproduced in DV two years ago (DV Sept. 15, 1992 p.7). "Anti-national national anthem?" The article says Tagore composed this poem in praise of the Adhirayaka, King George the V.

Letters to Editor

Dr. S. Omprakash, Professor of Psychology, IIT, Kanpur, UP - 208 016: Your nice words on my two treatises (DV Oct. 1, 94 p.4) have given me great encouragement. These booklets could be had either from the publishers or directly from me. I was born (1938) at Jalandhar, Punjab. Having completed MA and Ph.d. from Delhi University, I was associated with All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, New Delhi, and taught there since 1970. In 1981, I joined the IIT here and teaching Psychology to B.Tech and Doctoral students. I am the only Professor who has developed a discipline-called Community Psychology in India. I was invited to deliver the "principal address" to the 22nd International Conference of Applied Psychology at Kyoto, Japan (June 22-27, 1990). In 1993, I demonstrated two of my posters at the First International Poster Session of Community Psychology around the World in the Fourth Biennial Conference of the International Interest Group of the Society for Community Research & Action at Williamsburg, Virginia, US. I had been working in three different villages - Panchrakhurd (Haryana), Sofripind, (Jalandhar, Punjab) and Duari, Kanpur (UP). My work was applauded by all those visited the villages. So far I have published 30 scientific papers in national and international journals. I am also the author of several books such as (1) *Development of the Weaker Sections: Problems, Policies and Issues* (1989), (2) *Caste and Politics in Indian Education*. This is on IIT (Untouchables) students' experiences, (1986), (3) *Hindu (Brahmin) and Scheduled Caste Children in Rural India* (1985). It deals with the myth of Brahmin children's superiority in personality and in intellectual capabilities, for this was proved wrong on empirical basis. Three books are in press, including the "Doctrine of Karma: its Psychological Consequences" (1990).

S.L. Viridi, Advocate & convener, First Punjabi Dalit Sahit Samellan, GT Road, Rattanpura, Phagwara, Punjab: After our conference on March 13 & 14, 1994 here, I have edited six books (1) *Dalit Sahit and Sabhiyatya*, (2) *Dalit Peera*, (3) *Bharti Samaj Te Sabhi-chark Inquilab*, (4) *Dalit Sahit*, (5) *Bharti Aurat Di Dastan*, (6) *Resume of the First Punjabi Dalit Sahit Samelan*.

Dr. Mahohar Yadav, Principal, Dr. Ambedkar College, Hubli: M. Gopinath's analysis of the genesis of the Hubli Idgah turmoli is candid to the core and fully

enlightening (DV Sept. 16, 94 p.9). *Dalit Voice* is no doubt wonderful but our sleeping Dalits, including those pretending to be sleeping, have not yet realised the strength and vigour of this *Voice*. To serve this *Voice* to every "educated" Dalit an exclusive movement will have to be launched. Your proposal to have a seminar on Hubli Idgah is taken up seriously and will be organised at the end of October.

We want the seminar to be purposeful and effective. Dalits and oppressed Muslims of Hubli and nearby areas must be invited - EDITOR

Jaganmatha Rao, Osmania University, Hyderabad: It is a shame on India's human rights organisations, particularly the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), that India's foremost human rights fighter and Editor of *Dalit Voice*, "Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights", V.T. Rajshakar, is being denied his passport for the past over eight years. The Editor has been complaining that the PUCL and other Indian human rights organisations being upper caste-dominated, they are not interested in the persecution of Dalits, Muslims and other weaker sections. That must be the cause of PUCL's silence on our Editor's passport. As the issue is not going to be taken up by either our human rights walahs or by journalists inside India, I want Dr. Velu Annamalai of the Indian Dalit Support Group, which has become famous now in US, to organise a campaign signed by leading American and African citizens and Dalits and Muslim organisations and petition the Prime Minister, Home Minister, External Affairs Minister and the Chief Justice of India and thereby put to shame the PUCL. A copy of the petition may be published in DV.

R.U. Rangari, Vasai Road (E), Thane, MS: I am trying to collect the list of Dalit hostels of Maharashtra and request Ramdas Athawale, Social Welfare Minister, to recommend *Dalit Voice* English and Hindi to these hostels. With his letter I will approach each hostel for DV subscription. We have 100 units of our trade union spread over the State. If one unit takes the responsibility of 10 copies of Hindi DV then 1,000 copies can be easily distributed all over the State and then the demand for Hindi DV can be created. English DV is a paper far above the average reader. We are also trying to increase its readership. If our All-India trade union federation of electricity board BC workers is created then we will be in a position to share the financial burden of *Dalit Voice*.

Avadhesh "Ashru" MA, (room No. 1), Gandhi Hostel B-115, Nirala Nagar, Lucknow, UP - 226 020: I am a student of Lucknow University. I came to know of DV and its revolutionary content from a friend. But I have financial problem to become a subscriber but I will

eventually pay.

Poverty is never a problem. If you have the commitment and the will to suffer and sacrifice for the cause Dalit Voice stands, we are here to support you - EDITOR.

S.C. Dogra, R/O Ambedkar Colony, Udhampur, PO - PTS, J & K - 182 101: The political campaign launched by Kanshi Ram to capture power from our Aryan oppressors has frightened the Delhi throne. And in the field of journalism you have done a pioneering job. The two great fighters of the country are having the same goal. But too much speed may harm our struggle as any restless campaign may ruin your health. This happened with Babasahab when he left us. Our Bahujan Samaj is not fully prepared. It needs the good health of these two fighters. So, both V.T. Rajshekar and Kanshi Ram, the two great thinkers and fighters, must not orphan the millions of indigent people of India. Please save your precious health by minimising your aggressive thinking.

Dr. Shatrughna Kumar, Indira Gandhi National Open University, 13/170, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi - 17: I have been reading English DV for one year. I am a senior lecturer in the Hindi Dept. of IGNOU. I am a Ph.d with Diploma in Bengali and Japanese. I know Bhojpur, Maithili and Magadi. Just as you have started Hindi DV, you have to start DV in other regional languages. Only then your valuable message will reach the masses. In our university there are 60 official quarters for teaching and non-teaching staff. They have allotted all these between Brahmins and Baniyas. In the name of reservation only two houses are allotted to our people. I have been writing to them. But they say only 1 to 1 1/2 houses are built and hence nothing can be given to SC/ST.

Dr. Yogendra Kumar, R-2/27, Sunderpara, Agra-10: Kudos to DV Editor for introducing Hindi DV. Shame on cowbelt Dalits and BCS. Being well to do lots (govt. officers, industrialists, Lalla's and Seth) in their community they are shirking their true responsibility. The need of the hour is to publish and circulate more and more DSA literature. Not a single person has come to dedicate towards publishing "Black literature" from the cowbelt. Hindi version (translation) of our Editor's famous book, *Dialogue of the Bhoodēvatās* (DSA 1993), is completed. Now busy preparing the final copy. It is tremendous experience going through the world of "Bhoodēvatās".

J.C. Berry, Bhawangigani, Ram Nagar, Nainital dt., UP - 244 715: Congratulations for launching Hindi DV. I saw its first issue with my father. Contents are superb, but needs improvement. I will try to popularise it. Hindi DV is the need of the hour as a violent anti-

reservation agitation of Hindu nazis in Hill districts of UP is spreading. It has awakened our sleeping slaves. What they need is a simple mental tonic like DV which alone can lead them to the path of liberation. I thank you for writing a touching letter to my 80-year-old father whose lifestyle and thinking has been fully transformed by DV and its great Editor. My father has written a few books in Hindi on racism in Hindu society. I shall translate them into English. I need your suggestions in this matter.

Your father's letter published in DV Oct. 1 (p. 14) was equally touching. Hindu nazis are the founding fathers of racism. On seeing the MS of your father's book, we will take a decision - EDITOR.

Bikash Kusum Roy, 140-Aswani Dutta Rd., New Barrackpore, WB - 743 276: This is regarding the letter of N.C. Barman (DV Sept. 1, p. 14) on the "educated" Dalits. While appreciating Barman, I like to add something more. Our "educated" Dalits are dishonest and ungrateful to their own relatives. They are accustomed to imitate the Aryan customs and pose as upper castes. Some do not find suitable brides in their own community and become loyal sons-in-law of upper castes. These dishonest Dalit intellectuals do not follow Dr. Ambedkar's teachings. They invite their upper caste friends to Dalit meetings to show their influence and "knowledge" to those cunning invitees who only mock at them behind their back. We Ambedkarites are forced to fight on two fronts: the upper caste exploiters on one side and our own Dalit traitors inside our own house. The second fight is more tough than the first one.

The "educated" and employed SCs are the "cream" of Dalit society. Such a "cream" exists in all societies including Brahmins. The Blacks in US have also produced such a "cream". And this "cream" always tries to imitate the ruling class of that country. This is human nature. Even the rich Brahmins have forgotten their "poor" blood brothers and sisters. That is why we very often hear complaints that there are very many "poor" among the Brahmins. But both the rich and "poor" Brahmins join hands to oppress us. The entire upper castes of UP - both "poor" and rich - united to oppose Mulayam Singh Yadav. (DV Edit Oct. 1, 94). That means the "rich" and "poor" of any community come together during a struggle. Hence such a struggle must be welcomed. We were eye-witnesses to such a unity of all Dalits - both "poor" and elite Dalits during the two caste wars that rocked Gujarat in 1981 and 1985. Unity comes out of struggle. The elite Dalits may pretend to be away from us. But not a day passes without a Dalit IAS, IPS or other officers, judges, teachers, engineers, getting abused and kicked from their upper caste bosses. Vice-President K. R.

Narayanan - a Kerala Dalit who never talks of Dalits, never allows a Dalit to step anywhere near his vice-presidential bungalow in Delhi and married a Burmese woman and always sings praise of the Anyans - is treated with contempt in his home state by the Anyans. His blood boils when he goes to Kerala. Every elite Dalit, who pretends to be close to upper castes forgetting his community, is every day forced by the upper caste oppressors to remember his birth and background. That means every day he is forced to remember that he is an Untouchable. So, we need not worry about these elite Dalits. Upper castes dare not insult or kick Ambedkarites. They will get it back with compound interest. But they kick only such docile K.R. Narayanans. The upper castes will never, ever accept a Dalit however high he may be. The elite Dalits don't get even proper sleep during nights. They suffer silently. They will be forced to join us the moment the upper castes launch their war and violence in the name of reservations. The moment such a violence begins they will come rushing to us. **That means unity comes out of struggle** and to achieve such a unity, we must always keep the caste contradictions alive and engineer anti-reservation agitations. So we have nothing to fear from upper elite Dalits: we only pity them. Hence it is not proper to criticise them in public - **EDITOR.**

Dr. G. Nallathamby, MD, Professor of Medicine, Medical College, Thiruvananthapuram - 695 011: The so-called mathematics genius of India, the Thekkalai Iyengar, Ramanujam (1887 - 1920), died of pulmonary tuberculosis. Two Brahmin BA degree students, R. Swaminatha Iyer and Ganapathi Subba Iyer, had taught him maths at high school. He took Sanskrit as the Indian language for his studies and got just three out of 100 marks in English. P. V. Sessa Iyer and T.K. Venkita Rama Iyer were his teachers in FA class. His academic records: Zoology 10%, English below 25%, Graco-Roman History 15%. He could not attend the FA exam due to lack of attendance and term certificate. He married a 9-year-old girl and taught maths to a Brahmin and this tuition ended within two weeks. Another Brahmin, Narasimhan, hardly got 35% in maths with his tuition. Professor Sehsha Iyer, V. Ramaswamy Iyer and S. Narayana Iyer got fed up with him and got a job in the Madras Port Trust as a clerk. The Syndicate of Madras University refused to give a research fellowship to him as he had no qualifications. Brahmins, however, helped him by influencing the British to get an admission into the Trinity College, Cambridge, and managed to get a research fellowship at the Madras University. He objected to go to England and to cut his long scalp hair as they went against brahminism. Kasthuri Ranga Iyer of the *Hindu*, Madras, visited him at Cambridge.

He tried to commit suicide in 1962. This crazy Iyengar received FRS after two months of his suicide attempt which is against the norms of the university to award a fellowship to a mentally unstable person. His contributions to maths: (1) Theorems of no application, (2) $2n - 1 = moola\ brahman, n = 0 = soonyam, n = 1 = Easwar, n = 2 = Thrimorti, n = 3 = Sabda\ rishigal.$ Do you know this Iyengar was raised, taught and imposed as a "maths prodigy" by two Brahmins to frighten the whole of India? Truth is bitter and revolutionary.

Surendra Nath Biswas, "Dalit Voice Readers Circle", c/o. Harish Chandra Mondal, Vill- Agapur, PO - New Barrackpore, North 24-Pgs, West Bengal - 743 276. ON Aug. 20, we organised a meeting on the 2nd death anniversary of Churni Kotal, a student of Vidyasagar University, who hanged herself to death being unable to withstand the mental torture by her upper caste teachers, fellow students and staff. She was a tribal (Lodha). The conspiracy was hatched up by a notorious Brahmin, Falguni Chakraborty, lecturer of Churni's Anthropology Dept. Mahasweta Davi, a Brahmin feminist leader and a self-styled messiah of the tribals, could not deny her responsibilities in this tragedy. S.P. Singh from Patna was the main speaker at the Aug. 20 meeting.

M.D. John Sastry, Narendrapuram, via - Palivela; E.G. dt., AP - 533 229: I am happy to know that Telugu DV will resume publication. Brother Sebastian gave me this assurance. The mind of our people are fully rusted with brahminical thoughts. The BSO has created a feeling in their minds that English is not our language. They are also told that it is very hard to learn English. So, I cannot collect any new subscriptions for English DV.

K.D. Kanyal, (retd. Principal), Kanyal Nivas, Netaji Subhas Nagar, Gopeshwar (Chamoli) UP - 246 401: This is with ref. to your DV Edit of Oct. 1, 94 on "*UP caste war*" which is a well planned conspiracy of the brahminical forces. All political parties are hand in glove with the bureaucracy, and the brahminical forces are pouring oil on the burning fire. The agitation is launched to topple the Mulayam Govt. and perpetuate their hegemony on the 21.3% Scheduled Castes, 4% Scheduled Tribes, 45.6% Backward Castes and 10% Muslims (Mominis) of UP Hills. Though the upper castes have launched this agitation against the 27% reservation in the admission of schools and colleges, they seduced the innocent young students to join their anti-reservation agitation and gradually pushed it towards their Uttar Khand hill state. The hill people, however, have already given their verdict against the creation of such a separate Uttar Khand state in the

last election in which the UKD was badly defeated in the elections. The SC/ST/BC and Muslims have not joined this agitation but are supporting the reservation policies of Mulayam Singh govt. They are also opposed to the Uttar Khand demand as the creation of such a state would bring a pure upper caste rule in which they will be further enslaved. The upper castes are forcing closure of schools, colleges and offices. It is clear that the motive of this agitation is to segregate the UP Hillis (Himalayas) from India and hence the agitation is anti-national. The population of BCs is over 45% according to the settlement records of 1980 and the gazetteers of Garhwal and Kumoun (Uttar Khand).

Nathuni Yadav, Vill-Simari, (West Tola), PO-Simari, Arehat, Madhuban, Bihar - 847 222: I thank you for sending me my coveted magazine DV to which I find myself unable to subscribe on account of the stark poverty which has crippled my family.

When you love DV so much you could support us by selling 50 copies of Hindi DV and in turn we could support you through a complimentary copy of English DV - EDITOR.

Balbir Singh, Kendriya Vidyalaya SC/ST Minorities Sagathan, 610/9, Top Khana Bazar, Ambala Cantt., Haryana - 133 001: I appeal to all Kendriya Vidyalaya SC/ST/BCs and Minorities employees all over India (1) to protest against the govt. for not implementing the reservation policy. (2) Our employees and teachers are working as slaves doing forced labour under the *Sawarna Raj*. (3) To get ready for a long-drawn struggle, all our employees must join our association. (4) The *swarna* monopoly is maintained in the name of "merit", reservation for women, ex-servicemen, freedom fighters, politicians, bureaucratic nepotism, corruption and false certificates. (4) As the *swarnas*/upper castes/Hindus are only 15% they should get only that much reservation. Reservation means equal participation of all communities in the "national development". Upper castes are not ready to give any reservation to us (Bahujan Samaj) and that is why our "national development" is not taking place. (5) The brahminical press is suppressing truth and publishing anti-Bahujan Samaj reports. The only sure source of information to us is *Dalit Voice*, *Bahujan Sanghata*, *Vow*, *Daily Hind Senani* and *Anarya Bharat*. *Kanshi Ram* is the real leader of the oppressed Indians (Bahujan Samaj).

Tapas Kumar Das, VIM-672 - Salashree Vihar, Chandrasekharpur, Bhubaneswar - 16: I was very much moved by reading your Pune University speech: "*Indian Press run by Dishonest Journalists*" (DV Sept. 16 p.22). Please publish an article why the Indian press

people are opposing entry of foreign media?

We had worked in the *Indian Express* and other "national" English dailies for 25 years and even today continue to maintain close contact with these toilet papers. Hence our opinion on the press is based on our personal experience. Over 85% of India's deprived population say the press is anti-people. This is their unanimous opinion. This is because the press is owned by the upper class and managed by upper caste journalists. The interest of both is exactly opposite to that of the 85% Bahujan Samaj. That is why this press suppresses truth and exaggerates anti-people news and views. Today, it is this cantankerous brahminical press that is creating all the trouble to Dalits, Muslims and the whole Bahujan Samaj. It is the BBC which first disclosed the demolition of Babri Masjid. Upper castes fear that the foreign media will disclose the country's closely-guarded secrets. The opposition to the foreign media entry is led by the upper castes who are also violently opposing reservations (our human rights) all over India. what our enemy opposes we must support - EDITOR.

Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Calcutta: While working on his new book, "Vaishnava Mandir vs. Bauri Masjid Ayodhya," Sher Singh, IAS, came across a shocking historical fact regarding Manu, who is believed to have lived in India and propounded his "philosophy". It is learnt from the *Indian Architecture* (vol.11) by A.V.Thagaraja Ayar (1920 Ed. ASI publication) that Manu was not at all a living person in India. It is the name of a "philosophy" of Aryans with which they migrated to Greece, Babylon, Egypt etc. It is recorded on p.314-315 as follows:

Even before the Aryans went out of the regions of Brahmapuri, which was the name of their ancient home in the Elavrita-varsh of Jambu-dwipa, probably the Steppes around the Caspian sea...Manu was the name of the first preacher of the Trans-Indian Aryans, long before they migrated into India. The Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Romans and all these races had almost the same name, for their first kings but only in slightly modified forms.

The poisonous philosophy propagated in the name of Manu has been completely wiped out of the above-mentioned races and countries. Only in India, the crooked *vaidik* class has been befooling the gullible Dalits by making them believe that Manu was a historical king. Hence his dictates must be followed. The historical fact now brought to light should be sufficient to call their bluff.

S.K. Katiyar, "Prayas", VPO-Deogarh, Via - Pratapgah, 312 621: The news of Hindi DV is great. I have been long waiting for this event. The ongoing

agitation in Hill dts. of UP on Uttar Khand once again lends credence to your theory that caste is the central contradiction in Indian society. All brahminical parties had forged a superficial consensus on the reservation question. This got ruptured during the recent agitation. Influential sections of the upper castes are not yet reconciled to reservations. The *savarnas* (Hindus) of Uttar Khand are resorting to all sorts of tricks to strengthen their case. They say that 27% reservation for BCs is illogical in an area where the BC population is just 3%. All this while they themselves have been enjoying reservation in professional colleges in the plains of UP where their population is negligible.

V.B. Rawat, 114-1 Floor, Greater Kailash - 1, New Delhi - 48: Uttar Khand has no administration today. The Rajput dominated Uttar Khand is being hijacked by Brahmins who were the first to oppose the 27% reservation constitutionally declared valid by the Supreme Court. The dishonest Delhi press gave a wide coverage to this fake agitation as long as it was against reservations. But the moment the people started asking for a separate state, the Brahmin-Bania press dubbed the Paharis as anti-national. For their information, these brahminised Paharis send the maximum number of people to the mighty Indian army.

Ch. Manoj, JNU, New Delhi: A recent newspaper report of a speech by the Punjab Chief Minister at an Anya Samaj meeting says that "Sikh religion is part of Hinduism". I was rather surprised to see such an atrocious distortion of Sikhism founded by Guru Nanak and strengthened by other Gurus. It is true that there are a lot of factors like certain names, rites etc. of Hinduism in Sikh religion. But the fact remains that Sikhism's origin is directly as a result of a revolution against brahminism.

S.P. Singh, Danapur, Patna - 12: DV stands for SC/ST/BC/minority unity. While it has done a good job in enlightening the Dalit masses, it is more or less dependent on the ideas of Babasabab alone. Let istnot turn into a paper of the neo-Buddhists. Our fight is against the BSO and not against our own culture which is 100% Dravidian. All the so-called Hindu gods and goddesses are of Dravidian stock. The only god of the Brahmins is Vishnu. No one worships Indra or Brahma (related to Brahmins). The fact is the Brahmins have stolen our gods and adopted them to make a livelihood out of it. Rama and Krishna were in no way related to the Brahmins but they have come out with a false theory that they are incarnations of Vishnu.

Vivek Kumar, P.h.d., 12/114, Beledarilane, Lalbagh, Lucknow: A sea of Brahmins and other upper castes

were seen on the main road here, the occasion being the arrival of N.D. Tewari (a Brahmin) as the new president of the shattered State Congress Party. The posters, very colourful and costly, pasted on the walls of the city to welcome the Pahadi Brahmin had only names like - Tripathi, Bajpayee, Upadhyay, Pandey, Mishra, etc. Obviously these surnames had one thing in common. Yes. They were all heaven-born *vaidsiks*. Their speeches testified their hatred against Dalits and BCs. They used filthy and abusive language. Why this hatred? Why this intolerance? Because the well-fed upper castes cannot digest the Mulayam-Kanshi Ram Govt. of the non-Aryan indigenous people. The Brahmins deserted the Congress in UP and went over to the Hindu nazi party, BJP. Expecting the Congress to come back because of N.D. Tewari, they are thinking of shifting to the Congress as the BJP ate dust in UP. P.V. Narasimha Rao, the Southern *vaidsik*, wants to revive the Brahmin rule via N.D. Tewari.

Anil Kumar, 2M/7, Haque Manzil, Gandhi Nagar, PO - Lohia Nagar, Kankarbagh, Patna - 20: Looking into the prospectus, *The Gazette of India Extraordinary* (Jan.1, 1994) regarding the civil services exam it becomes clear that the BC candidates are being systematically deprived of their share of 27% seats. Consider the following points: (1) Out of the 9,973 candidates qualified in the civil services exam (prelim), the number of BC candidates is only 1,225 which is only 12.8% of the total. (2) The minimum qualifying marks for BC in C.S. (prelim.) was not related. (3) The prospectus says that only SC/ST candidates will be called for interview by applying relaxed standard in the C.S. main exam (written). There will be no relaxation for BC candidates in the main exam (written). There are 770 vacancies to be filled up and 22.5% of seats (173 seats) are reserved for SC/ST. After deducting SC/ST quota, 597 seats remain for general BC candidates. Trends of previous years indicate that twice the number of vacancy, the candidates are called for interview. Hence, to fill up 597 vacancies, the number of candidates to be called for interview would be 1,194. Deducting the general category seats (50.5% of 770) i.e 389, there now remain 208 BC vacancies and 1,194-389 = 805 candidates in the remaining merit list. It is highly improbable that the 805 remaining candidates in the merit list will include 208 BC candidates. At the maximum, 100 BC candidates will make into it eventually filling only 13% of the BC quota. You have been relentlessly fighting for the cause of social justice and whatever little has been gained, the credit fully goes to people like you. So, please bring this to the notice of the appropriate authorities, the political leaders and at different for a

so that the conspiracy to deprive the BC candidates of their due share is defeated. Being an examinee of the C.S. (main) exam 1994, I do not find enough time to bring this to the notice of different leaders and hence earnestly look forward to your valuable guidance and leadership.

H. Mohan Kumar, 4-7B, Nagamale, Stone Well Street, Kollegal - 571 440: This is in response to Letters of M.L. Rao and N.G. Das (DV Sept. 15, 94). Babasaheb has clearly pointed out in his book, *Untouchables, Who were they?* that the contempt for Buddhists is the root cause of Untouchability. So, every Untouchable is a born Buddhist. We need not worry about the "caste certificates" which we expect from our enemies. If we go by the law and "caste certificates" even after getting converted to Buddhism we will remain 'Hindus'. Because Hindu Law applies to all Hindus who include those who are not Muslims, Christians, Jews and Parsis. According to this Hindu Law, Buddhists, Sikhs are also Hindus. We should never get deceived by the strategies of Hindu nazis. We become Buddhists the moment we start thinking which are just opposed to the nazi thoughts. We need not wait for 'caste certificate'. N.G. Das must read Babasaheb's book, *Revolution and Counter-revolution* (Vol 3 of *Writings and Speeches*). Nazis had neither the physical strength nor any army to drive the Buddhist Bhikkus out of India. They did it through sheer tricks. They formulated certain strategies and tactics to exterminate only the Bhikkus but they could not exterminate Buddhism. I wonder how Dalits like N.G. Das could jump to the conclusion that Buddhists should abstain from killing. Buddha himself was not a vegetarianism. I quote from Babasaheb's book, *Buddha and his Dhamma* (p.346):

"It is quite clear that Buddha meant to make a distinction between will to kill and need to kill. He did not ban killing where there was need to kill. What he banned was killing where there was nothing but the will to kill (Yadnas). So understood there is no confusion in the Buddhist doctrine of Ahimsa."

J.S. Bittu "Anandpur", Solan, Himachal Pradesh: This is with ref. to an article, "Dalit, Muslim, Sikh, Christian front to save India from brahminism", by Dr. Gurinder Singh, Editor, *World Sikh News*, Stockton, CA-95210, USA (DV May. 1, 93 p.5). The two-pronged attack (1) to weaken the economy of India's brahminical class and organise the Bahujan Samaj, as suggested by Dr. Singh, is in perfect order. This can be done if we follow the wonderful strategies suggested by Guru Geyand Singh called "Principles of the Khalsa" which needs a powerful media. The Sikh "creamy layer" especially the Akal Takht, SGPC, Amritsar, etc. are

responsible for reversing the 10th Guru. These highest authorities on temporal matter have become embassies to the ruling BSO and thereby they have sabotaged Sikhism. The need of the day is to organise the Bahujan Samaj by starting our own media. To counter the brahminical bombardment, the Sikh leadership must rise to the occasion and put all available resources to establish a powerful media by supporting the Editor of DV. Will Dr. Gurinder Singh prevail upon the Sikh leadership in India on media?

DV 10 YEARS AGO

Nov. 1, 1983

Vol.3 No.2

Editorial: "RSS also turning hypocritical?"

Dalits and persecuted minorities in India have two types of enemies. The open enemy that stands right before us - and threatening - the other one is the closed, concealed, enemy coming disguised as our friend and then killing us with its slow poison of garbali hatrao slogans, marxian mantras, gandhian charities etc. Such a disguised enemy is more dangerous. That is why we say: "Beware of Socialist Brahmins". The Hindu nazis, defending caste and Dalit persecutions as recommended in their vedas, are our open enemies. We never had any difficulty in identifying it. As victims of this enemy from centuries we know it too well. But lately this open enemy has started disguising itself to confuse and confound the Dalits. Here lies the real danger. It is changing its strategies in keeping with the notorious Hindu hypocrisy. This open enemy has realised that Dalits are waking up because of Babasaheb Ambedkar's thoughts, and hence is becoming difficult to enslave our people if continues to remain as an open enemy. Hence this open enemy has also started wearing a socialist garb and uttering marxist mantras. The RSS philosophy as outlined in its Bible, Bunch of Thoughts, is a very honest statement. But the RSS leopard has started changing its spots to deceive the lambs, and disowning its own Bible. It is bidding goodbye to Golwarkar's pristine, pure nazi thoughts. Deoras has rejected the Golwarkar line. He is sure that if the RSS sticks to the "pure Vedic Brahmin" image, RSS will be stoned to death by the enraged Dalits. Hence the RSS is going all-out to "love" Dalits and Backward Castes - the two sections fast slipping out of Hindulism.

International Commission to probe Untouchability: Bhagwan Das, Advocate, New Delhi.

TN Govt. to dismiss Dalit govt. servants if they convert to Islam: R. Eumaldai, Madras.

How China treats its Muslim and Christians: V.T. Rajshaker reports on his visit to China which has 1.4% Muslims and much less Christians.

Bartister Khobragade, a Dalit leader, presides over RSS meeting at Nagpur when Ravand Idol was burnt.

"Media Centre" for Bahujan Samaj

V.T. RAJSEKAR

This is an important announcement for our dear DV readers who are part of our growing family world-wide. For the past 15 years we have been publishing DV without even a single break. And how we have converted our blood into sweat is known to every member of this well-knit family. Our readers all over India and outside tell us that DV is the one and the only journal that reflects the wishes and aspirations of the Bahujan Samaj. If the original inhabitants of India (Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Castes plus Muslims, Christians, Sikhs) and women sincerely say so that means DV serves over 90% of the India's population.

Babri Masjid: When the Babri Masjid was destroyed by the Aryan oppressors of the Bahujan Samaj, some family members of the DV suggested that DV should be made a weekly as the speed and intensity of Aryan aggression sometimes overtook DV and made its writings outdated. Since the Aryan atrocities are mostly emanating from the cowbelt, readers from this area wanted us to start a Hindi DV at Lucknow. Having been disappointed

Ajay Narasuu, B1/71-Sector D, LDA Colony, Kanpur Road, Lucknow - 226 012: The suggestion of Brother Sunder Rajan to start a donation campaign for our own "Media Centre" is the only solution. Though our people are not so "poor" they are not willing to spare Rs. 1,000 even for such a noble cause. My suggestion is that all DV readers should collect small donations and send it to DV in instalments of Rs. 1,000. I have started one such campaign at my level. Response from our "poor" and low-paid employees is very encouraging. I hope I shall be able to remit many instalments in few months. The first instalment of Rs. 1,000 is sent in DD. My best wishes for complete success of the campaign. I have been a reader of DV from 1989 and have full faith in the Editor.

S.L. Sundera Rajan, F-6105, KKR Town, MH Road, Jambuli Village, Madras - 51: With ref. to your report (DV Sept. 16, 94 p.21) regarding "Media Centre" I will definitely rise to the occasion by collecting Rs. 1,001 from Dalits who

by the UP response and waiting in vain for two years we started it from Bangalore itself. And the response is good. Since DV is in English and only a small percentage of the Bahujan Samaj is allowed to learn English by the Aryans, they wanted us to start language editions of DV. So, bowing to the wishes of our readers to whom DV belongs, we prepared a project report for "Media Centre", costing about Rs. 15 lakhs and went round the country twice or thrice meeting the richer sections of the Bahujan Samaj. And we are sad to state that we got lot of praise for our work and fine treatment. And there it ended. Their heart refused to melt. Dalits and Tribals have hardly any rich. Of course officials are there but none with the capacity to finance a project of this size. Muslims/Christians/Sikhs have some rich but even here our experience has been not encouraging. The rich "religious minorities" prefer to be with the ruling class.

Readers own media: So, having wasted about three years searching for Good Samaritans, we finally decided to approach our readers directly. (DV Sept. 16, 1994 p.21: "Will

each reader donate Rs. 1,000 for Media Centre?") The proposal is that just as the DV is now owned by its readers, the expanded "Media Centre" will also be owned by the readers. Each reader should contribute not less than Rs. 1,000 - and if 1,000 readers contribute Rs. 1,000 each we can collect Rs. 10 lakhs. Another 500 people will complete the job. Why should we beg anybody? **Babasaheb caravan:** The 15 years of experience with us must have convinced our readers about our honesty, sincerity, integrity, commitment and our ability to deliver the goods. Our editorial policy has been fully endorsed. DV has already become the country's most powerful journal - the journal of the future: Nay, a movement. The Babasaheb Ambedkar Caravan. Its Voice, however, needs to be magnified so that it can be heard far and wide. Hence the need for a "Media Centre", owned by its readers. Contributions may be sent by DD to the Editor. No paper in India is owned by its readers, except DV. And this "Media Centre" will be an enlarged version of the same leading a new experiment in Indian journalism. ■

are "poor" but rich in heart. If I am not able to mobilise Rs. 1,001 at a time, I will send the amount in instalments within four months. Such an instalment payment is due to our "poverty". Had I been a rich man I would have paid it in lumpsum. Inspite of my family background, I will rise to the occasion and send Rs. 1,001 within the promised time. I want my blood brothers and sisters all over India to follow me and sacrifice for this community cause to make the dream of "Media Centre" a reality - to fight this Aryan menace which only our Editor is capable of fighting.

S.R. Biswas, Field. Chief Engineer, BE-209, Salt Lake City, Calcutta - 64: Is it possible to publish a daily by yourself, if the DV readers contribute Rs. 1,000 each? Please spell out the details of your programme. Whether you can cover BSP news? what I feel is in West Bengal and even elsewhere, those who contribute to DV, are all aiming to see one "daily" of, for, by Dalits/Bahujans. It can be done by you alone. ■

A Muslim woman editor's tears & fears

MRS. KHUJUA BEGUM FAROOQUI, EDITOR, "AFKAR-E-BAHUJAN", 24/4/31,
LABOUR COLONY, NANDED, M.S. - 431 602

For publishing in my fortnightly the translation of your famous Editorial, "*Hindu Nazis corrupting Muslim intellectuals to Destroy Islamic identity*" (DV Feb. 16, 1992), the Govt. of Maharashtra and its pro-nazi police tortured me by filing a non-bailable case which caused me great hardships. Even the Supreme Court did not grant me bail. Finally I had to surrender before the Sessions Court here. Through DV I want to share my agony as a Muslim woman journalist fighting for human rights.

Fascist feminists: Except your paper and your readers none came forward to support me. I met all those "great feminist leaders" supporting Taslima Nasreen but even they turned me away. DV editorials are translated and published in my fortnightly as DV had no Urdu edition, and thereby serving as its Urdu edition supporting its great movement. My paper too became popular and this caused lot of heart-burning and the Hindu nazis forced its closure and I had to incur heavy losses fighting the legal battle.

To secure justice from the court, I have already spent over Rs.32,000. DV published my appeal for financial

support for which I received only Rs.2,200. I am indebted to those who have sent donations. But in our fight for justice against the Brahminical Social Order (BSO), which is suppressing Truth and exploiting the Bahujan Samaj, such a meagre amount will be of little use. However, on reading DV I received consoling letters from UK, US, Middle East and India, specially from Kerala. A copy of this letter is sent to Amnesty International, which may be forced to come to my rescue if it is published in DV. DV's human rights fighter, Dr. Velu Annamalai, can xerox this letter and send it all those feminist leaders of the world and human rights organisations to prove that India is turning into a Hindu Nazi land.

Sister Khudija Begum, young Muslim woman who was arrested and her Bahujan Samaj Party organ closed down, represents a more important case of human rights violations than that of Taslima. But all our Hindu heroes and heroines crying for Taslima have no tears to shed for Sister Khudija. Sister Yvonne Terlingen of the Amnesty International, London, should make this fact known to the world - EDITOR.

RBI nazi bid to block Babasahab thoughts

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Aryans even while loudly praising Babasahab to please the Bahujan Samaj are doing everything to silently suppress his burning thoughts. A very striking case has come to light in the *papan*-dominated local Reserve Bank.

A. Devaraj, Secretary of the RBI SC/ST/Buddhist Employees Assn., Bangalore-2 in a press note says that the black-board carrying quotations from Babasahab at the entrance to the bank building here was seized by the *papan* management. The board carried one quotation a day from Babasahab's world-famous statements and had become a centre of attraction in the whole area. The press note says P. Govindrajani, Manager of the Bangalore branch of the RBI, took objection to the following quotation:

"If a man with a smile on his lips, and a sword under his armpit were to be called a mahatma, then Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is a mahatma".

The board was being displayed to educate the Asso-

ciation members as well as many enlightened upper caste RBI staff who had all praise for the work of the Association which helped them read one quotation a day. Besides, the above quotation is a world-famous statement on Gandhi by Babasahab, taken out from the book, *Gandhi & Gandhism*, published from Jalandar.

The fascist *papan* bosses unable to bear Babasahab's burning words shouted at the top leaders of the Association using all sorts of unparliamentary words and seized the board thus proving the anti-Dalit racist behaviour of the management. Dalit employees and even others are missing the Board and Babasahab words since then.

*Only tame animals are slaughtered during Yagnas and Yagas. The local RBI Dalit employees leaders proved to be lambs and sheep. Hence the racist *papans* took courage to act. Self-respect is more important than life itself - EDITOR.*

Women's movement must fight brahminical culture

NOTES BY STRI MUKTI SANGARSH CALVAL & DRAFTED BY MRS. GAL OMVEDT, KASEGAON, MS - 415 404

Nearly every women's group has been writing on communalism recently, often with agonising documentation of the traumas and atrocities caused by communal riots and in particular politically motivated attacks on the 'minority communities'.

However the effectiveness of much of this is lost simply because of its negative qualities. The approach of Stri Mukti Sangarsh Calval has always been - whether in the area of economics, politics or culture - that there is a need to offer positive and concrete alternatives. The

"Hindutva" groups are making certain statements about Indian identity, about the nature of Indian traditions and we feel it is necessary to deal with these; we cannot simply ignore the question of identity. The same can be said about Muslim and Christian fundamentalism, though we are not dealing with this so much here.

At the same time the rise of religious fundamentalism throughout the world poses problems that cannot be dealt with simply by talking of "secularism". It is necessary to understand why this is happening.

Nature of Hindutva: From our perspective, the most dangerous aspect of "Hindutva" is not simply that it attacks "minorities" in the name of building Hindu-Indian identity, but that it represents a brahmanic takeover of Indian culture.

There are several points to the "Hindutva" claim, which all continue to lie behind the praise of the "pluralistic, tolerant" etc. aspects of "Hindu tradition":

- (1) The origin of the Hindu tradition is to be found in the Vedas and Upanishads;
- (2) the Aryans, or creators of

the Vedas, are the core group in the various races and ethnic groups making up Indian society (originally the upper castes also believed the Aryans were from outside; since the 1930s they have been arguing, against all reason and historical evidence, that the Aryans also originated in India);

(3) while there are many various sects and panths within "Hinduism" (and they will try to include even non-Hindu religions in this, including Sikhism and Buddhism), it is the *sanatani dharma* based on accepting the authority of the *shastras* and *smritis* and other *puranic* texts, which is fundamental; this means that sadhus and sants can be organised in the "*dharma sansad*" to have a determining voice, and that shankaracharies (who are all Brahmins) will continue to have authority;

(4) all of this means a continuing acceptance of the caste system and an inferior position for women, though the spokesmen of the BJP are reluctant to admit this;

(5) Ram and the Ramayana story is being depicted as the fundamental divinity of India, part of its "national" identity.

Aryans are invaders: In emphasising the Vedic Aryans on one hand, and Rama on the other, the Hindutvadis have chosen the most patriarchal aspects of Indian tradition.

The Vedic Aryans were invaders, nomadic tribes who did not know writing, whose economy was a pastoral one, whose dominant gods were all male.

The Aryans did not represent the oldest "civilisation" in India: that honour belongs to the Indus

Civilisation which was pre-Aryan and agricultural. There is some historical archaeological doubt that the Aryans were actually responsible for destroying the Indus cities (many believe that this was instead a result of floods and ecological destruction) but there is no doubt that the Aryans attacked it and considered the original inhabitants as their enemies and tried to make them inferiors and slaves. The Rig Veda is a hymn of conquest and destruction in which Indra is pictured as destroyer of cities and releaser of floods.

Ram as MCP: The later *puranas* continue these stories of attacks on native inhabitants and on *advaitas*. The Pandavas, for example, are depicted as burning down forests and destroying their "Naga" inhabitants, a reflection of the movement of the Vedic Aryans across the Gangetic valley and shift to agriculture.

But it is Rama who is the greatest protector of patriarchy and caste. His marriage to Sita (who is described as *bhumi kanya*, that is a daughter of the earth-goddess), represents the triumph of patriarchy over matriarchy. The "devotion" to him of Sita, Hanuman and Lakshman are all depictions of the extreme patriarchal family relations. Rama's abandonment of Sita shows her as the first *parityakta* woman, and the fact that she had to leave Ayodhya after this reveals that she had no property rights, no estate of her own. Along with this Rama is depicted as the upholder of caste. This is clear when he kills the "Rakshasas" of the Dandakarnya forest in order to protect it for the *rishtis* and Brahmins. Here it is sig-

nificant that Sita pleads with Rama not to kill the Rakshasas (who were in fact adivasis) and in particular not to kill Tataka, the Rakshasa queen.

Sita defended Rakshasas: So, we in Stri Mukti Sangarsh Calval reject this version of a patriarchal Rama. We also want to stress that Sita is a heroine for us. For according to many stories, Sita was not simply a devotee or helpless victim of Rama's injustice. Sita was a woman who sought to defend the Rakshasas, and who rebelled in the end against Rama himself.

There are many versions of the Ramayana besides the "orthodox" Valmiki or Tulsidas versions.

In the Jain version, for instance, Sita is shown in the end rejecting Rama and becoming a Buddhist nun. In many stories, after Rama has sent her away for the last time, she refuses to return to him. There is a U.P. peasant folk tale in which Sita refuses to go back and raises her sons on her own, giving them the father's name. This story is also there in the Thai version of the *Ramayana*, where in the end the gods have to intervene to convince her to go back.

And in Maharashtra's Raveri village (in Yeotmal district) there is a Sita temple where the story is that after leaving Ayodhya, Sita settled in the village and went house to house asking for flour to make *chapattis*, and when people refused to give it to her, she cursed the village that they would not be able to grow

origins go back to the beginning of agricultural society in India, even before that in some ways (the proliferation of female figurines in early archaeological sites may represent some kind of proto-goddess). Their original form show that they were most independent goddesses; if they are shown having male consorts, the male is separate and usually of less importance.

Only with the brahmanic Hindu tradition do we see a process of the goddesses getting "married off" and becoming "spouses" of more dominant male gods: Parvati-Shankar, Laxmi-Narayan, Sita-Rama. But the original form of the goddess is independent, and she is not simply a wife, or a mother, but an independent, active, creative, sexual, being. In the forms of Durga and Kali and in the innumerable village goddesses that still exist, this independence remains.

Maharashtra tradition: The Hindutvadis claim to be representing the dominant Indian tradition. But if we look at Maharashtra, we can see how hollow this claim is. Shiva may have very ancient roots. But Rama is practically nonexistent among the Bahujan Samaj; there may be Hanuman temples in villages, but Rama temples are rare. Vishnu is known to the literate, but Vishnu and the story of the avatars are only used as a device to incorporate in brahminical fashion the true deities of the people.

Who are the true deities of the

These are the ones who are the centres for pilgrimages, for yatras, events that are important in peasant society. These are only superficially brahminised," e.g. when Vithoba is said to be an avatar of Vishnu. Of these, almost all have non-Brahmin pujaris, only Vithoba has brahman priests.

What is fascinating about these is their relations with women. All of them have some kind of devi, wife or consort, associated with them. But the stories connected with them reveal something different from the oppressiveness of patriarchal Rama or the "pativrata" tradition that Sita is supposed to represent.

* **Khandoba** has two wives, each with separate temples near his. One is Mahasha, the other is Banu. Banu was Dhangar, and there are stones representing sheep and goats in her temple. The story is that when Khandoba (who represents an early warrior chief) was wounded in fighting, he took refuge in Banu's house and she cared for him, fell in love with him and left her husband. (Her husband, Biroba, is said to have gotten upset and left the village; temples for him are normally found outside of villages). Thus Khandoba's second marriage is a love marriage, and also an intercaste marriage, and it has not affected Banu's status.

* **Vithoba** consort is Rukmari or Rukmini, and her temple is separate and at some distance. There are various stories about why this should be so. One is that Vithoba is Krishna and Rukmari

he replies that if he is to marry at all he will only marry her (Yamai), but Yamai refuses.

* The story of devis refusing marriage seems to be fairly widespread in Maharashtra. At Mahurgad near Kolhapur, for example, there is a devi who has a wedding day in which people enact a ritual of trying to get her married and she refuses. Also at...

Such devatas and the stories connected with them clearly reflect a peasant-pastoral society with much more open, noncasteist and nonpatriarchal traditions. They all apparently go back to a pre-Aryan period. The effort to brahminise them or identify them with Vishnu etc. is very shallow. Khandoba, for example, (or Khandaka) was the patron deva of the Satavahanas, the earliest large kingdom in Maharashtra and the biggest of its time in India - a period in which both Buddhism and this "Hinduism of the people" flourished, in which the *Jataka* stories and the *Kamasutra* were very likely written, in which *The Little Clay Cart* represented the only Sanskrit play that shows a popular rebellion and has as its heroine a very independent courtesan. Just as the literature shows us a more open, flexible society in which independent women had a major role, so the stories of these popular devas and devis shows a peasant society in which relations between men and women were much more equal.

The stories of devis "refusing marriage" are significant because they

the people.

Role of Islam: Orthodox Islam is also a patriarchal religion (though in some ways women have rights that they don't have in brahmanic Hinduism). However Islam came into India not so much on the arms of conquerors but through Sufi and other missionaries who spread it as a religion liberating people from caste oppression. Those who converted were mostly of low caste, and they brought their traditions into Islam also.

For example, there is a Bangladeshi rural women's diary that is based upon what Indians would call a "Hindu" calendar. That is it sows the months of Baishak, Ashar, Sraban etc. This of course is not ultimately a Hindu calendar but a peasant calendar. It also shows how the Muslims of Bangladesh also have absorbed some of the ancient traditions; e.g. during Ashwin Bangladeshi rural women, including Mus-

lims, visit their parent's home for Durga puja. Islam, Christianity and Buddhism are all universal "world" religions, that is they make no differentiation among their believers by race, ethnicity or territory. The Hindut-vavadis are using this as an argument against them, saying that it means that they cannot really be patriotic.

But the opposite is true. How can a religion which limits itself to people of a given race and a given territory ever claim to be "universal" or humanitarian?

There is no reason why a universal humanistic religious identity should go contrary to national loyalties. A religion which is supposed to be the religion of a particular territory only can be called a "tribal" religion. This is what Dr. Ambedkar called Hinduism.

(Read DV Editorial Sept. 15, 1992: "Beware of fascist feminists & their timepasswala women's organisations").

Tribals must continue fight for Jharkhand

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Although we are not satisfied, we still congratulate the brave but innocent tribals of Chotanagpur for winning a small portion of their battle for Jharkhand.

The agreement between the Centre and the Bihar Govt. for the creation of a Jharkhand Autonomous Council marks the

But the upper castes/Aryans who migrated to the tribal area to exploit its wealth did everything to crush the tribal aspirations. The history of Jharkhand struggle can be written only in letters of blood. That is the extent and depth of the Aryan conspiracy to suppress the people's struggle.

We have to thank the Christian

BSP resumes attack on Gandhi

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Lucknow: The general secretary of the State unit of BSP, Ram Bilas Balmiki, has said his party is determined to boycott Gandhi Jayanthi functions on Oct.2

"Balmiki said the very struggle launched by his party was against Gandhism. Observance of Gandhi Jayanthi was an attempt to reestablish the philosophy of Gandhi and Mannu and BSP could not accept this." (*Hindu* Sept.23)

SCS/TBCs & Muslims should hail the BSP decision because it is fully in conformity with the stand of Babasaheb Ambedkar who called Gandhi as the "Enemy No.1 of Dalits." As the Hindu nazi party has the highest number of seats in the State Assembly it will lend silent support to BSP because as killers of Gandhi, they will greet any body exposing Gandhi (*Why Godse killed Gandhi?* DSA - 1986). ■

Hindus persecuted in Hindu Nepal

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: If Nepal is the "world's only 100% Hindu country", why Hindus there are complaining of persecution by their own Hindus?

This question was answered by Ram Vilas Paswan:-

"Quoting figures from the 1991 Nepal Govt. census, Paswan said that Dalits, Minorities, Backwards and Tribals constituted 72% of that country's population though actually 90, out of every 100 Nepalese, belonged to these sections. However, 95% of the Govt. jobs were shared by the remaining 10% population, the majority (90%) being left with just five percent jobs." Describing Nepal as a "Hindu Rashtra", Paswan insisted that there shouldn't be any discrimination between Hindus in that country. (*Hindustan Times* Sept.30).

It means, like India, Nepal also is ruled by a tiny minority in the name of Hinduism. ■

Dalit leader tells Dalits to Quit Hinduism

A noted Dalit Doctor of Tamil Nadu says:

NEVER BE A HINDU

Dr. A. Seppan, MBBS, Republican Party (Gavai),

Says social and religious liberation alone will secure political power to Dalits and concludes that only Islam will get self-respect for Dalits. "If any body proves me wrong, I am ready to change my opinion", he says.

1994 pp.75 Rs.25

Unarvu Publications

No.14, Aziz Mulk 5th Street, Thousand Lights, Madras - 6

Racism in central universities

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Did we not say that the "most highly educated people" of India are the most communal, bigoted and fascist? Yes. A report of the University Grants Commission, a gov't own body, endorses our findings. Central Universities are funded by the Central Govt. and hence duty-bound to implement the SC/ST reservations - 22.5% - which is a statutory requirement. But "our highly educated" professors of these 10 Central Universities are opposed to SC/ST reservations because they are upper castes and SC/ST reservations come in the way of taking their *fatwala*s. If their *fat*i interests are hurt the upper castes will throw the Constitution to the Arabian sea. But the same anti-nationals suddenly become super-nationalists to hoist the national flag on a Muslim property as it happened at Hubli on Aug.15 last. This is as simple as that.

Highway robbery: One such highway robbery is taking place in all universities and that too in Central Universities.

An *Indian Express*, New Delhi report (Aug.22) quotes the following dismal figures of SC/ST lecturers in Central Universities:

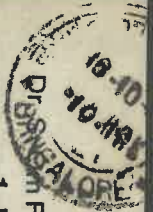
JNU (less than 4%), Visva-Bharati (less than 7%), Hyderabad University (7%), Pondicherry University (18%), IGNOU (6%), BHU (12.5%), AMU (0.2%) and Jamia Millia (1.3%).

Supreme Court mischief: Even the upper caste-dominated Supreme Court is helping their *fatwala* professors to violate the Constitution which this court is supposed to guard. The Supreme Court had said that

"Posts in super specialties in medicine, engineering and other scientific and technical subjects should not be subject to reservations".

The implication of this judgment is that only the upper castes are capable of "super speciality" and SC/STs have no brains and hence unfit to hold specialised jobs. Is this not racism?

Delhi University is headed by a high jurist who quotes Babasaheb Ambedkar in every para of his speech. But he too is incapable of implementing Babasaheb's will. He can only talk, praise, sing and quote Babasaheb but can't implement what Babasaheb had said because his own *fatwala* professors will throw him out. (DV April 1, 1991 p.15: "Collective conspiracy to hush up Babasaheb's burning thoughts". Upendra Baxi) ■



NOTED PSYCHOLOGIST WARNS SICK PEOPLE OF INDIA.

India Turning into a Huge Mental Hospital, says an expert,
Prakash, Professor of Psychology, Indian Institute of technology, Kanpur - 208 016.

1. HINDUTVA HARANGUE: A PSYCHOPATHIC INFERIORITY SYNDROME

1994 pp.36 Rs.20

2. MASSACRES: A STUDY OF SOME MAJOR DEFECTS OF HINDU PERSONALITY FORMATION
1994 pp.40 Rs.20

Says the author: Upper castes are worried about Taslima but they don't know that ill-treatment and persecution of women is worst in the world among India's upper castes/Aryans/Hindus.

How can Hindus - who claim to be "India's single biggest majority" and with a population of 800 millions and constitute India's most advanced and privileged ruling class - feel oppressed by the "minority" Muslims who are 1/8 of their size? (DV Oct.1, 1994 p.4).

How could "eminent" anthropologists like Dr. Roy-Burman and Dr. M.N. Srinivas (both Brahmins) suddenly discover that Mandal Commission data were faulty at the height of the anti-Mandal violence while they were silent when fully associated with the Mandal Commission work and having fully endorsed its final report? They remained silent when the Commission submitted the report to the Govt. but changed their colour and showed their brahminical teeth when V.P. Singh implemented the report. Hypocrisy, intellectual perversion or a mental disease?

Hindu social structure does not permit emergence of a cogent Hindu personality formation.

What the Hindu youth learns first is how to hate. That is why Hindus often indulge in brutal killings, rape of women. The youth is spoiled because they are made to carry within them the passions, hate, and blind love of the elders. That is why a Hindu hates everybody else as its enemy and distrusts others. Caste system has ruined them. "Hate Untouchables", "Hate Muslims" ideas are injected into every Hindu child.

The above booklets are published by two Brahmins. Dr. A.P. Shukla and J.P. Misra, both Professors at the IIT, Kanpur. They can be had from the author or **JANA VIGYAN SAMITI** Indira Nagar, HIG - 10 Kanpur, UP - 208 016

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Hence all oppressed people, particularly the Untouchables and women, should organise and teach a befitting lesson to Hindutva heroes and save India, warns the author.

The Hindu aggression against Untouchables and Muslims is due to frustration caused by the hate philosophy injected into every Hindu from his childhood. It is not merely racial prejudice but their cultural heritage. If a Brahmin commits a crime it is not as heinous as the one by an Untouchable. This is the Hindu law.

How can such a hate-mongering society be productive? A society can't be built on hate? Where a person can't be good to "low castes", he can't be good to his own children of his parents. That is how India has become a "sick nation"

Hindu generates only stagnation.

Are there any "wise" upper caste? There may be some but the problem with this "wise upper castes" is they are not responsive.

They have no feeling. When largescale atrocities are committed by Hindus on Untouchables, these "wise upper castes" are silent. Silence means consent.

Hence the Hindus are an abnormal people and their children are growing into menacing maniacs.

The "Hindu intellectual" instead of condemning the Hindu violence silently enjoys the fun. The personalities of "wise men" are also polluted, say the expert.

These two treatises are read at an international conference of Psychologists in Japan and acclaimed by world famous experts on the subject.

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