

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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**Nehru cheated us on Hindu Code Bill :
Thus Spake Ambedkar**



Nehru broke his promise on Hindu Code Bill

I have been obliged to give this elaborate explanation for my resignation because some people have suggested that I am going because of my illness. I wish to repudiate any such suggestion. **I am the last man to abandon my duty because of illness.**

It may be said that my resignation is out of time and that if I was dissatisfied with the Foreign Policy of the Government and the treatment accorded to Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes I should have gone earlier. The charge may sound as true. But I had reasons which held me back. In the first place, most of the time I have been a member of the Cabinet. I have been busy with the framing of the Constitution. It absorbed all my attention till 26th January 1950 and thereafter I was concerned with the People's Representation Bill and the Delimitation Orders. I had hardly any time to attend to our Foreign Affairs. I did not think it right to go away leaving this work unfinished.

In the second place, I thought it necessary to stay on, for the sake of the Hindu Code. In the opinion of some it may be wrong for me to have held on for the sake of the Hindu Code. I took a different view. **The Hindu Code was the greatest social reform measure ever undertaken by the Legislature in this country.** No law passed by the Indian Legislature in the past or likely to be passed in the future can be compared to it in point of its significance. **To leave inequality between class and class, between sex and sex which is the soul of Hindu Society untouched and to go on passing legislation relating to economic problems is to make a farce of our Constitution and to build a palace on a dung heap.** This is the significance I attached to the Hindu Code. It is for its sake that I stayed on notwithstanding my differences. So if I have committed a wrong it is in the hope of doing some good. Had I no ground for such a hope, for overcoming the obstructionist tactics of the opponents? I would like in this connection to refer only to three of the statements made by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House.

On 28th November, 1949 the Prime Minister gave the following assurance. He said :

"What is more, the Government is committed to this thing (Hindu Code). It is going through with it."

"Government would proceed with that. It is for this House to accept a measure, but if a Government takes an important measure and the House rejects it, the House rejects that Government and the Government goes and another Government comes in its place. **It should be clearly understood that this is one of the important measures to which the Government attaches importance and on which it will stand or fall.**"

Again on 19th December 1949, the Prime Minister said:

"I do not wish the House to think in the slightest degree that we consider that this Hindu Code Bill is not of importance, because we do attach the greatest importance to it, as I said, not because of any particular clause or anything, but because of the basic approach to this vast problem in problems, economic and social. We have achieved political freedom in this country, political independence. **That is a stage in the journey, and there are other stages, economic, social and other and if society is to advance, there must be this integrated advance on all fronts.**"

On 26th September 1951 the Prime Minister said :

"It is not necessary for me to assure the House of the desire of Government to proceed with this measure in so far as we can proceed with it within possibilities, and so far as we are concerned we consider this matter as adjourned till such time as the next opportunity - I hope it will be in this Parliament - offers itself.

This was after the Prime Minister had announced the dropping of the Bill. Who could not have believed in these pronouncements of the Prime Minister? **If I did not think that there could be a difference between the promises and performances of the Prime Minister the fault is certainly not mine.** My exit from the Cabinet may not be a matter of much concern to anybody in this country. **But I must be true to myself and that I can be only by going out.** Before I do so I wish to thank my colleagues for the kindness and courtesy they have shown to me during my membership of the Cabinet. While I am not resigning my membership of Parliament I also wish to express my gratitude to Members of Parliament for having shown great tolerance towards me.

New Delhi, 10th Oct. 1951

B.R.AMBEDKAR

(Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. XIV, (pages 1325-1327) 1996. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

Editor speaks from his heart : How will Babasahab Caravan towed by broken bullock-cart reach 21st century ?

We are writing this piece with an aching heart and tears in our eyes. For 15 long years facing great difficulties,

we pushed the Caravan of Babasahab forward single-handed and brought it to this stage. We fondly hoped that as **Dalit Voice** established itself as the most powerful and the single largest organ of the Dalits and other persecuted nationalities, many more would come forward and lend their hand to support us and put DV on an institutional foundation. But we are sorry to confess we are disappointed. Hence these tears.

Blood & sweat : To bring DV to this stage we have converted our blood into sweat. But what is the progress achieved ? Compared to the Aryan massive, monopoly media, DV is a peanut. We have Truth on our side, Justice on our side but we have no media except DV to convey it to our own people. Hence these tears.

Only last year (DV Nov. 16, 1995, p. 3: "**Just a request as DV enters 15th year**"), we made one simple, nay the simplest, request to our readers to enrol just one more subscriber which in turn would double our circulation. But barring a 100 or so alert subscribers others ignored our request. When our own DV family members cannot meet even such a simplest request, how can we expect them to push the Caravan of Babasahab ? Hence these tears.

This behaviour of our family

members has very much disappointed us - if not dejected us. Hence these tears.

Jet speed : The Aryan rulers are flying at jet-speed and are thousands of miles ahead of us. We are holding on to our broken bullock-cart and limping. But this "Dark age of Gandhi" is coming to an end and the predicted "Dr. Ambedkar Era" is just three years away. Can we expect those who can't enrol even one single new DV subscriber to defeat the Aryan rulers in three years ? Hence these tears.

The Aryan rulers have produced hundreds of **Chanakyas**, **Bangalore Papatis**, **Sunderlal Bahugunas**, **Meadh Patkaris**, **E.M.S. Namboodari pads**, **Seshans**, **V.R. Krishna Iyers** to protect and promote the **vaidik** vampire. But alas we have not been able to produce another single Babasahab Ambedkar. Hence these tears.

Muslim leadership : We sincerely believed that the Muslims, most enlightened among India's persecuted Bahujans, as our elder brothers, would join our liberation movement and give it a good push. Over 95% of the Muslim masses are with us but they are so poor and deprived that their very existence and identity are threatened. The 15% of the Muslim elites betrayed us. The same is the case with Sikhs. Hence these tears.

Media menace : Except political power which is reduced to no power, the Aryan brahminical rulers are controlling everything

including our very breathing. They possess a stranglehold on every section of the society. That is why their reckless moral and money corruptions are neatly hushed up by the govt., police, judiciary. Today, they are riding roughshod over us by their single power of monopoly media. Whereas we are simply beggars. Our leadership has been corrupted and co-opted. Hence these tears.

Every **vaidik** has heard of DV and their think-tank is keeping a close watch on our writings and the Editor in particular. Each **vaidik** is so alert that he has many eyes, many ears and many noses to thwart any trouble brewing to the **vaidik** vampire. But alas our people are blind, deaf, unthinking, indisciplined, dead wood. They may be sincere, hard working, good people. But before the **vaidik** thickens they are silenced. Hence these tears.

Why this sudden anger ? The country's entire media has become a menace. Muck emitting poison - Truth suppressed, fifth and falsehood foisted. Race horse is dubbed as donkey and the Derby horse called fool of an ass. Amid this all-round gloom, it was DV which kept the flag of Babasahab flying high for 16 long years. Fearlessly DV put out Truth facing ruling class fury. Not even once DV proved wrong. But alas our own DV family appeared unconcerned. Our readers read DV, enjoyed it and then slept.

Hence these tears.

Some readers have asked us why the Editor has suddenly become angry during the past 5-6 months. Yes, we are getting angry because our people are falling everywhere. Slaves enjoying their slavery. Even when the rulers are giving us every opportunity, caste contradictions are sharpening, we are not using these contradictions to our advantage. Hence these tears.

DV is an institution that has developed into a close-knit family worldwide during the past 15 years. When the Editor makes

the simplest request and if that request goes unheeded, should the Editor get angry or not ?

Broken bullock-cart : Babascheb has identified the Enemy. He has also pointed out how powerful is the Enemy. He has also supplied us all the necessary weapons to fight and defeat the Enemy. But alas we are not using even a single weapon. Our "educated", employed Dalits are not interested in Babascheb. Their selfishness has made them think of only reservations. This "educated" class has betrayed Babascheb. Hence these tears.

How to defeat and overtake the Enemy with our ramshackled Caravan towed by this broken bullock-cart ? Hence these tears.

We have exhausted all the words. But our people are not understanding us. We see resistance and revolt all around. But inside India, we see a silence of graveyard. Hence these tears. Should we be angry or not ? Should we weep or laugh ? Hence these tears.

As DV enters the 16th year of publication, we are speaking from our heart with tears in our eyes.

KANSHI RAM GIVES THE WARNING

Enraged Bahujans will break bones if media power is misused

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : If the Oct.25, 1996 alleged attack by India's topmost Dalit leader Kanshi Ram on Delhi media people is a 'criminal misconduct' and "rowdy misbehaviour" as described by the *Indian Express* and *Times of India* editorials (Oct.28, 1996), why no 'national' political party representing the people has said so ?

Poisonous scorpion : This is because every mass-based political party and people's leader representing the Bahujans has been victim of this poisonous scorpion.

While we demand that the guilty be punished, we also wish to remind that it is this media which daily maligns respected leaders like Deve Gowda, Laloo Prasad Yadav, Mulayam Singh Yadav, V.P.Singh, Waghela and made their lives miserable but praised bogus fellows like Subramanian Swamy, R.K.Hegde, and criminals like *Chanakya, Bangalore Papati.*

That is why genuine Bahujan leadership, which suffered at the hands of this cantankerous brahminical media, felt so happy on hearing the attack on these upper caste journalists. "They deserve it", they said. These vaidik journalists, who come as represen-

tatives of their *jati*, must know that after having tortured us for 50 long years, they must be now ready to reap what they have sown. Hate breeds more hate.

Aryan shield : It is this communal, corrupt and fascist press that shielded for the past 50 years all the sins of the 15% upper castes when they killed thousands of innocent people in *Blue Star Operation*, Babri Masjid demolition and sucked the blood of the people. If the Aryan upper castes are ruling today it is only because of this 'national' toilet papers.

Hence everybody silently enjoyed when these blood hounds in the media were thrashed. Kanshi Ram has won the hearts of millions of people who suffered at the hands of this poisonous press.

Press people must know that the days of *vaidik* slow poison to enslave the over 85% Bahujans are over. **The enraged Bahujans will break bones if media power is misused.**

Kanshi Ram has given this warning - loud and clear. **Aryan weaklings - crooks and cowards - use the weapon of words to sow seeds of hatred but honest Bahujans fist it out.**

Why not a Muslim CM for UP ? : SP-BSP must patch up

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : Our "national" toilet papers have suppressed a very sensitive news pertaining to Uttar Pradesh and misleading the people saying that Deve Gowda's United Front (UF) Govt. imposed President's rule on UP without allowing a chance to the single largest *Brahmana Jati Party* to form the govt. and thereby "murdered democracy."

They are all to sell this falsehood and make the gullible believe it because they own the entire media whereas we the over 85% of the Bahujans have no media. And that means our people in no way can know the truth. What then is the truth? **The truth is not that the UF Govt. came in the way of BJP but the upper castes controlling the BJP themselves blocked the BJP coming to power.**

Aryans hate Kalyan : Because if BJP comes to power the dark-looking Backward Caste (Lodha) Kalyan Singh will become the Chief Minister and not an Aryan. So the Aryans cut their own tree and put the blame on the UF.

Did not the same Aryans controlling the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, desert it when it started talking of reservations and formed BJP ? And when the hated Bahujans entered BJP, did not the same Aryans kill BJP in Gujarat to block a Backward Caste Vaghela becoming CM ? Even the division of votes between BCs and Dalits did not improve the BJP chances.

Kanshi Ram offered to join hands with BJP if that would help Mayawati to become the CM. Once again, the Aryans in BJP came in the way to block a hated Untouchable woman taking over UP. The Ary-

ans don't like anybody else to be the CM of UP except an Aryan.

Hindutva dying: Caste consciousness and caste consolidation are killing the *Hindutva* forces. Neither their Ram could save them yesterday nor their *Hindutva* could save them today. Because, the Aryans are nose-led by their hate-philosophy.

How then to restore "democracy" in UP?

Political leaders of different castes and communities must recognise the fact of life in today's UP and work out an alliance based on the population of each caste and community.

No party has majority: In UP, the chief players are Yadavas (BCs), Chamars (Dalits) and Muslims.

The leadership of this trio must work out a solution sinking their personal differences in the interest of fighting and eliminating the principal Aryan enemy of the Bahujans.

Political leaders must note that UP presents the classic case where no party is able to form the govt. for want of majority. No party enjoys majority because each party is a caste-based party and no caste or community is in a big majority. Here comes the concept of Bahujan and the need for compromise. Since, Mayawati (Dalit) is untouchable to Mulayam(BC) and vice-versa, together they can choose the CM from the third group of Muslims because that will be not only a good via-media but hasten the death of *Hindutva*.

The country's most powerful and politically important state if ruled by a Muslim for the first time in its history will simply instill new confidence in the hearts of the persecuted Muslims.

DV PROVES RIGHT ON GUJARAT

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : DV has proved right on Gujarat (DV Edit Oct. 16, 95: "Caste war in Gujarat BJP : Vaghela breaks nazi bones").

The three violent upper castes of Gujarat - Brahmins, Baniyas and Patels all followers of M.K.Gandhi founded the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) to fight the Congress Party's pro-Backward Caste and Muslim policies and defeated it. But soon the SC/ST/BCs with whose support the BJP ruled Gujarat asserted themselves under the leadership of Shankarsinh Vaghela, a powerful BC leader, and broke the backbone of the Aryans.

The "national" toilet papers are concealing the supreme truth that the BJP committed suicide in Gujarat (and also in UP) because of the caste war within this pure Aryan party. What a pity that BJP is dying a slow death even before ruling Delhi. That it has become the country's most hated party is evident when all other parties have ganged up vowing to crush it. Till yesterday, they kept us out as Untouchables. And today these very fellows who made us Untouchables have themselves become untouchables. That means the country is broadly getting divided into two parts - Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

L.K.Advani, a non-Brahmin (Sindhi Khatri), hated by the *vaidiks* in the party, said the same thing in other words :

"Politics at best in the North is now a matter between the BJP on one side and the "Rest". In UP once again the Rest have handed defeat to BJP". (Telegraph, Oct. 11, '96).

Bravo Vaghela for breaking up the backbone of BJP.

A Dalit journalist deprived of his human rights & passport

DR. VELU ANNAMALAI, THE INTERNATIONAL DALIT SUPPORT GROUP,
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1. Dalits or the "Untouchables" of India are the worst persecuted people on this entire planet earth. A total of over 250 million Dalits are undergoing a life of "sub-humans" in India by the divine orders of the Brahminical Hindu religious teachings and practices.
2. Mr. V.T. Rajshekar, a senior journalist having worked for *Indian Express* for over 25 years, decided to devote his life and his journalistic expertise to the cause of the Dalits and their emancipation. He started an English bi-monthly journal, *Dalit Voice*, in 1982, and it has now a country-wide and an international readership. *Dalit Voice* is India's largest and fearless English journal fighting for the human rights of over 250 million Dalits and other persecuted communities.
3. Since Untouchables and untouchability are the

matchless brain-child of India's brahminical Hindu religious barbarous caste system (sanctified racism), and the upper castes are all members of this religion harvesting bountiful and limitless privileges at the cost of the voiceless Untouchables and other persecuted minorities, anyone fighting for the cause of these innocent, voiceless and illiterate victims are essentially branded as "anti-national". The Hindus take every persecution to make sure that the world is not allowed to know the details of this evil caste system and the practice of untouchability which are glorified by their evil religion. They want to maintain the "status quo", keeping the Untouchables and the persecuted castes as their obedient slaves for ever. If anyone tries to even slightly disturb this barbarous system, the evil masters will hunt them down like mad dogs and permanently silence them.

OPEN LETTER TO DEVE GOWDA

The Honorable Mr. Deve Gowda
Prime Minister of India
Race Course Road, New Delhi - 110 011

Dear Hon. Prime Minister,

We are writing this open URGENT APPEAL on behalf of Mr. V.T. Rajshekar, Editor, *Dalit Voice*, Bangalore, India. He has been tirelessly fighting for the emancipation and simple human rights of the permanently degraded, dehumanised, despised and persecuted some 250 million UNTOUCHABLES (Dalit - Broken and Crushed) of India. These innocent and voiceless people have been systematically subjugated by the powerful and oppressive upper castes from time immemorial with the full support of their perverted religion, bureaucracy, economical, political, judicial and police power. They have also been so magnificiently cheating the world about the evil and barbarous caste system and untouchability which are faithfully practiced in India without any shred of shame or remorse.

Simply because Mr. V.T. Rajshekar has been forcefully writing and speaking about these inhuman acts of violence against a large mass of humanity, and that the exploiting upper castes do not want this human (physical and much more so psychological) genocide to be known to the world, they took away Mr. Rajshekar's passport.

There are absolutely no charges against him that should instigate the denial of his passport.

Even the Supreme Court of India has directed the Government to prove Mr. Rajshekar's guilt.

But the upper castes of India who practice the evil caste system as usual, do not even obey their own court orders because they do not want their evilness to be known to the rest of the world. But a government headed by a Shudra cannot and should not allow this injustice to continue any longer.

Holding a passport is a fundamental right of every citizen of any 'democratic' country. India has been paraded as "the largest working democracy in the world". Please read the enclosed details of this sad but cunning episode, and if your conscience indeed touches your heart, then we would request you to direct your govt. to issue Mr. Rajshekar his passport immediately. Hon. Mr. Prime Minister, you need to correct the wrongs done by our oppressors to prove that you really care about the suffering masses and that you want to eradicate evilness from the face of India.

Thank you very much for your time, consideration and help.

sdl.
(VELU ANNAMALAI, Ph.D.) Sept. 19, 1996

4. Mr. V.T.Rajshekar has done nothing more than writing and speaking about the inhuman sufferings of the voiceless Untouchables and the root cause of the evilness. His writings and speeches are directed always towards the sufferers to awaken them from their misery by teaching them their rights and duties and telling them the reasons for their permanent suffering.

Obviously, Rajshekar's pen is mightier than the brahminical sword, and therefore could not silence him. The only easy option for them is to prevent him from travelling outside India, and so the Government of India revoked his passport, and even with repeated appeals, no action has so far been taken in the last 10 years.

5. This tragic episode took place when evil forces were ruling India. Now India is ruled by a **Shudra** and other persecuted castes. Why can't Mr. Rajshekar's passport be restored now? The details of this undemocratic act in the "largest working democracy in the world" are:

Mr. Rajshekar's passport No. P 219747 dated May 31, 1980 was issued at Bangalore, India. Subsequently, his passport was revoked through Chief Passport Officer's (Government of India) letter No. 26/585/Pol/85 dated August 29, 1986. The reason stated was:

"It has now been brought to our notice that you have been indulging in activities such as writing inflammatory articles in Dait Voice, speaking in public not only in India but also abroad in a manner which promote disharmony among the various sections of the population and affecting the sovereignty and integrity of the nation...."

(It simply implies that harmony will prevail in India if the Untouchables remain for ever as Untouchables without making any complaints about their degraded, dehumanised and oppressive life).

Old passport lapsed : Mr. Rajshekar made an appeal to the nation's Supreme Court (writ petition No. 1497 of 1987), and the Court in turn directed the passport authorities on August 30, 1988 to serve a fresh showcause notice to Mr. Rajshekar. But, to-date, neither a new showcause notice was served nor a new passport issued to Mr. Rajshekar, even after submitting his appeal (Sept 27, 1986), and two fresh applications for a new passport (June 9, 1993 and again March 11, 1994).

The reasons given by the passport authorities in revoking the passport were extremely general, vague, ambiguous, irrelevant and extraneous without giving any specific incidents, and the revocation was illogical by denying the fundamental rights of freedom of movement and freedom of speech of any

citizen. (DV Dec. 1, 1995, p.8 & 9 : '55 AMERICAN MPS WRITE SECOND LETTER TO PM")

No opportunity was given to Mr. Rajshekar to defend his side before revoking his passport which is contrary to the basic tenets of justice, and the right for a fair hearing and appeal that is to be rendered to every citizen of any democratic country and should definitely be the case in the "largest working democracy in the world".

Criticizing an unequal and evil social and religious system, in which 250 million Untouchables are the worst and permanent victims, does not and should not amount to questioning the sovereignty or the integrity of India. Rather such constructive criticism strengthens the country's future, because no country will sustain for ever with such evil religious sanctions perpetuating discrimination, segregation, exploitation, oppression, torture, tyranny, genocide, and treating human beings worst than beasts.

Willing slaves : No social movement is possible in India without breaking down this unique, unjust and poisonous social and religious practice of the evil caste system and untouchability. The Hindus are happy as long as their poisonous system is in tact and the Untouchables are their willing slaves. If anyone, such as Mr. Rajshekar, speaks out against this barbarous system, then he or she becomes an anti-national creating disharmony in the country, because they are trying to emancipate the permanently persecuted.

All the writings and speeches of Mr. Rajshekar are made in the interest of protecting the country as a whole and with the guidance laid down by our leader and Savior, the great social emancipator, Babasaheb Dr.B.R.Ambedkar, who is the architect of the Constitution of India, and suffered himself as Untouchable.

6. The design and the intent of the Hindu rulers is to shut Mr. Rajshekar's mouth in speaking out the truth about the barbarous brahminical Hindu religion and tyrannical teachings and practices. But, can a **Shudra** govt. and the other persecuted minorities afford to ignore this gross violation of the fundamental rights of its own suffering brothers and sisters for free travel, particularly the one who can stand up on behalf of the 250 million Untouchables and the other persecuted minorities?

7. The Janata Dal Govt. headed by Mr. Deve Gowda cannot and should not ignore this critical and fundamental issue affecting not just Mr. Rajshekar, but the entire Dalit and the other persecuted minority communities of India. The Hon. Prime Minister should forthwith order to issue the passport to Mr. Rajshekar.

Huntington made to eat his own words

SYED NAVEED, # 414, I 'C' CROSS, 7TH BLOCK, KORAMANGALA, BANGALORE-560 094

A serious debate that has furiously engaged the intellectual centres in the Western world for quite some time is about "Islamic resurgence" or "fundamentalism". The intellectual framework for the fear of a confrontation between Islam and the West was provided by Samuel P.Huntington's famous theory, "Clash of Civilizations" (*Foreign Affairs*, summer 1993).

Indian Muslims sleeping: When the entire West and the Muslim world outside is seriously deliberating on the issue, the Indian Muslim elites and the leadership are sleeping over it. This is in spite of the fact that *Dalit Voice* was the first journal in India to talk about it (DV Sept. 16, 1994, p.6 : "*Will Clash of Cross and Crescent lead to III World War ?*"). There is hardly any debate in India even though the West is continuously pursuing its operations taking clues from Huntington's above article. It is three years since Huntington wrote this article, and many important events have overtaken his findings in the light of which he has written another article, "The Challenges of Islam and West to each other" (*Al-Islam*, June 1996).

His change of tune necessitates a review and analysis of both the articles in the light of recent developments especially in the Balkans, Gulf, Chechnya, Turkey, etc.

An attempt has been made in the next few paragraphs to highlight some vital points in both the articles.

Eight civilizations: In the first article, the noted American scholar argues that a nation-state is no longer the primary unit of international relations and that competition and conflict will occur among larger units known as cultures or civilizations, each consisting of group of countries. According to him, the fault lines between civilizations will be the battle-lines of the future. He lists down eight such civilizations - Western, Confucian, Islamic, Japanese, Hindu, Slavic-orthodox, Latin-American, and African. But there are only three reasonable clear contenders in Huntington's much-publicised "Clash of Civilizations" -1. Western (Euro-American), 2. Confucian (Chinese), and 3. Islamic. He says that a Confu-

cian-Islamic connection has emerged to challenge Western interests, values and power.

He deliberately tries to project Islamic civilizations as a barbarous one by using statements like 'The crescent-shaped Islamic bloc, from the bulge of Africa to Central Asia, has bloody borders'.

We must, however, appreciate his frankness in openly admitting the grave errors being committed by the West. He writes, 'the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism as universal values, to maintain its military predominance and to advance its economic interests - gender countering responses from other civilizations'. He calls Israel, 'a creation of the West' (p.35) and also terms the West's action against Iraq, contrasted with its inaction in Bosnia, a 'double standard'. (p.36).

Western hegemony : He agrees with the non-Western view that the West is using international institutions, military power, and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, project Western interest and promote Western political and economic values (p.40).

On the whole this article strongly predicts that "conflicts between civilizations" will be more frequent, more sustained and more violent, and that a central focus of conflict for immediate future will be the West and several Islamic - Confucian states (p.48).

Huntington's second article, "The Challenges of Islam and West to each other", deals mostly with the issue of 'modernization and westernization'. He tries to drive home the point that the elites in the non-Western world are deliberating on whether their country can/should be modernised but not westernised. He writes that in the early phases of change westernization promotes modernisation, but in the later phases modernization promotes westernization and also the resurgence of the indigenous culture. He says that Islamic resurgence is both a product of, and an effort to come to grips with modernization.

Islam will fade ? But the most striking point in his second article is, "No religious revival or cultural

movement lasts indefinitely and at some point Islamic resurgence will subside and fade into history. This will occur when the demographic impulse governing it weakens it in the second or third decade of the next century."

He is of the view that, "The relations between Islam and West will not necessarily subside, but they are more likely to become more co-operative and less conflicting".

This last statement contradicts his earlier one in which he had predicted more frequent, more violent conflicts. What has brought about this softening in Huntington's stand on his much-publicised "Clash of Civilizations?". Why this scholar of such a high stature made a somersault? The answer to this question can be obtained by an indepth and sincere evaluation and analysis of the events that have occurred since he wrote his above article.

US defeat in Iraq : In the first instance, at the time of his first article there was a major upheaval in the entire Muslim world and parts of Europe. There was a bloody carnage of Muslims in the Balkans, Algeria and its effects on France, trouble in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and most important of all, the US attack on Iraq. These conditions must have prompted Huntington to think that if the Islamists assume power in Algeria, there will be a chain reaction throughout North Africa, Saudi Arabia and other West Asian states, resulting in the takeover of 'fundamentalist' Islamic governments in all these states.

Huntington, like his bosses in Pentagon and White House, miscalculated that the Western high-tech weapons could easily defeat Iraq, thereby weakening the morale of Islamists worldwide who supported Iraq. That the West under the US had to face defeat is another story.

Contrary to the worldwide media claims, DV was the only journal to say that Saddam had won. The truth of your analysis is being proved by reports appearing in media these days.

In his zeal to finish off Islam, like communism (a Western creation itself), Huntington propounded his highly provocative theory of "Clash of Civilizations", in which he even suggested the modus operandi for the West by providing long-term and short strategies such as limiting the expansion of military strength of the Confucian and Islamic states, to exploit differences and conflicts among Confucian and Islamic states and so on (p.49).

However, he had overlooked some vital facts. He failed to notice that not only the Muslims were against the West's invasion of Iraq, but there were protests under his very nose in Washington and oth-

er Western capitals by the Westerners themselves calling for "No blood for oil", etc.

Media lies : Also, the realisation of the futility of the West's high-tech weapons ('Patriots caused more damage to Israel than Scuds, *Deccan Herald*), and that though media lies had fooled the world about US victory (*Times of India* 6-1-96), it had actually lost miserably because of the radiation zone created by Saddam Hussein, which started affecting the allied soldiers (*Times of India* 24-8-96), must have made Huntington a more sober person.

Also, the "Dayton peace accord" in the Balkans that brought the much needed peace to the region, must have given a big blow to Huntington who expected a major 'Clash of civilizations' to erupt with Bosnia as the epicenter.

Moreover, the high rate of conversion of people in the West to Islam, the degradation of social values in the West, and the realisation of the fact that the more you try to suppress Islam, the more vigorous-ly it emerges, must have contributed in softening of Huntington's stand.

That is why he had to eat his own words and predict a more co-operative and better future for Islam and West in his second article.

Don't worship the serpent, kill it

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: "Never worship the serpent kill it wherever you find it." This is what Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy told us. But M.F.Hussain, the darling of the Aiyans, worshipped the serpent because it gave him name, fame and money. And today the same Hussainbhai is crying with pain having been bitten by this poisonous snake.

This upper caste convert with a Muslim name had spent all his life wiping the valdik bottom. He had not spared even a moment's thought to his community which has been the victim of merciless persecution by this very serpent. Today, the same fellows whom he served loyally have filed a criminal case against him. There are any number Muslims, Christians and Sikhs who are loyally serving the upper castes to gain their favour. All these fellows - you can daily find their names in toilet papers - will meet the same fate of this painter. Maulana Mahiduddin Khan, Mother Teresa and Khushwant Singh are some examples.

The lesson: However much you feed with milk, the snake is bound to bite you. Because that is its nature.

Saddam emerges as the deadliest foe of the West

IQBAL AHMED SHARIFF, ADVOCATE, BANGALORE

Khrushchev was the greatest headache for the Western countries headed by the United States in the 50s and 60s. Wherever and whenever they tried to play mischief, their plans were scuttled by him. The 1956 Suez War in which the US with its allies had committed aggression on Egypt came to an end with a one-sentence warning from Khrushchev, when he said, "If you do not stop within 36 hours, Russia will join the fray on the Egypt side".

One great quality of Khrushchev was that he was unpredictable. What, when and how he would act and react could not be imagined even by the greatest of the Western strategists, psychologists and investigating experts, including the world famous CIA. Understanding him was their greatest problem in which they never succeeded. Taking off his shoe and brandishing it while attacking the US in the UN General Assembly session shocked the US and put the whole West to shame.

CIA tests urine: Making use of his visit to New York, the CIA had collected samples of his urine passing through the sanitary duct to understand his strong and weak points at least through the chemical analysis of his urine. Even his urine was so dear to them. Today, Saddam Hussein has taken the place of Khrushchev. He is the greatest headache for the West. However much their experts may differ on assessing Saddam Hussein, they all agree on one point that he is unpredictable. No one can imagine what he will do, when and how. He has got his own methods of dodging the enemies.

They all expected that Saddam would beg before them for food and medicine after the economic embargo was imposed on Iraq. Saddam not only did not beg but converted the very problem into an opportunity. He took the embargo as a Western gift to him and a suicide note for themselves. Embargo helped him not to pay their debts running into billions of dollars.

He very well knew that the Western computers provided all the data about Iraq, but failed to provide the most important data - that Iraq is an agricultural country unlike other Arab states and 75% of its economy is agriculture-based. In fact, Iraq did not suffer

as the Western war-mongers thought.

To offset this, the Western Muslim-baiters shed crocodile tears and offered to permit Iraq to sell 2 billion dollars worth of oil every six months with a rider that a bulk of money would be to adjust towards debts, and the West itself would sit to distribute the balance proceeds. Saddam did not want it. So he scuttled all their offers.

Attack on Khurds: When they offered on condition that he should allow their inspectors to inspect his production centres, Saddam agreed. But when the actual inspection began he refused entry saying "What you want to see are not production centres".

On the second occasion, when the offer was diluted and it was about to be signed, he moved his troops to Kuwait border and the "generous" West again fell into his trap and withheld the offer.

And on the third occasion, when they further diluted the agreement, and it was actually signed, Saddam played the greatest multi-pronged attack on Arbil, the stronghold of pro-West Khurds. The result was to his fullest advantage.

Trump-card : In fact the Iraqi attack on Khurds helped Turkey because Khurds were a headache for them too.

The attack on Arbil turned out to be a trump-card. Even a pro-West Turkey came to the side of Iraq. The Khurdish trump-card played by Saddam Hussein isolated US and brought the whole world on his side.

1. Taking this as a Khurd-Arab tussle, the Arab states were obliged to shift their stand and develop sympathy towards an Arab Saddam Hussein.

Arabs turn against US : 2. Clinton wanting to project himself as no lesser than Bush fell into the trap and ordered attack on some Iraqi defence positions. Khurd problem was on the North of Iraq but American attacks were on southern positions. This blatant self-boosting posture of Clinton was exposed and his closest allies - Egypt and Saudi Arabia - refused to support US.

3. Russia, which went into oblivion following its breakup, got a wonderful opportunity to assert its

world leadership by denouncing US aggression on Iraq.

4. France, which has the heaviest debts to be paid by Saddam, got angry with US action which further delayed Saddam's debt repayments. Except England, which Saddam describes as America's lackey, no European country supported Clinton's action.

5. The general mass of other minor and weaker nations condemned US action since it violated the sanction given by the UN Security Council.

6. Clinton hoped that at least Iran would support him since the subdued Khurds were also Iran's favourites, but it refused to oblige the Big Satan and the arch enemy of Islam.

By moving just one pawn from the chess board of international politics, Saddam not only strengthened himself in North Iraq but also shattered the entire game of US and altered international political scene.

Hats off to the unpredictable Saddam.

Latest Hindi Book

ARAKSHAN & HINDU MANNASIKATA

A.I.Ukey, Chachai, MP.

Even well educated Dalits very badly fail to counter anti-reservation arguments and false propaganda launched by upper castes and their media. This is due to lack of facts, figures and logic. Hence, the urgent need to compile all these in one single book. The book tries to put all these in one capsule. Hence it is a handbook, must for every Dalit to fight upper castes. The book has three parts. 1. Arakshan Virodhi Tarque Aur Unki Prasangikta (anti-reservation logics and their stand). It tries to counter upper caste arguments against reservation with facts and logics. 2. Relevant topics which need wide attention of our people. 3. Deals with Mandal Report crisis led by V.P.Singh tracing back its history.

Sagar Prakashan

Dariba, Manipuri, UP -205 001

WHO IS PROMOTING ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM ?

OURCORRESPONDENT

admits at last US defeat in Gulf War").

Even in the latest US attack on Iraq, Saddam Hussain again defeated US - though this time the Western press was forced to admit the fact because of the total isolation of US.

Saddam began his political career as a pro-communist supported by the then Soviet Russia and West as a bulwark against Iran. The West had supplied all the weapons which he possessed. Today, the same West has transformed Saddam into an "Islamic fundamentalist". His flag carries the Islamic slogan, **Allaho Akbar**.

The White Western racists in their mad, mad hatred against Islam and Muslims are creating more and more Islamic fundamentalists.

America's latest gamble in Af-

ghanistan should shock everybody.

Taliban is US sponsored: That Taliban is an American-sponsored outfit is well-known. That it indulged in reckless hanging of leaders, murders and enforcing of **purdah** on Muslim women and forcing everybody to do **namaz** were an attempt to carry Islamic fundamentalism to extreme extent. Even the most orthodox Muslim fundamentalists have denounced the Taliban actions as anti-Islamic.

What does Taliban prove? It proves that to fight Muslims, US will use Islamic fundamentalism.

US converted a communist Saddam into a fundamentalist. Who is promoting Islamic fundamentalism in the world?

Bangalore : DV was perhaps the only journal in India, if not the world, to welcome the Gulf War and extend full support to Saddam Hussain when India's upper caste pro-West press backed the US, put out false reports and predicted "defeat" of Iraq. (DV Edit Feb. 16, 1991: "Welcome Gulf War : War of the rich against the poor" and DV March 16, 1995, p.3: "Salute to Saddam".) DV proved right. The US army ate dust in the "Desert Storm". Iraq had then fought single handed against the world's mightiest powers led by US.

Fact suppressed: But the fact of the US defeat was not disclosed for five long years.

On the 5th anniversary of the Gulf War, BBC was forced to disclose the truth. (DV March 1, 1996, p. 11: "Western media

Arthur Bonner, 130-East Street, New York, NY-10003, US: I recently returned from Southern Mexico where I have started a long project on why Catholics (almost entirely indigenous people) are becoming Protestants. When I looked into additional demands for autonomy I was struck by the similarity with what you have advocated for Dalits in India and most striking of all - the parallel with Dr. Ambedkar's demand for separate electorate. It is necessary that scholars get a source of your material in the US. I don't know about the Library of Congress but I am familiar with the main library in New York. I suggested a complete set of bound volumes of *Dalit Voice* and a collection of your books. He said he would be grateful for the donation. This is a highly respected institution: it is a point of honor to have your works there. At some point I would like to put together history of the Dalit Movement and a bibliography of Dalit literature.

Thomas C. Mountain, Hawaii Black History Committee, 47-431, Hui Nene Street, Kaneohe, Hawaii-96744, USA: I would like to propose the following course of action regarding North America: 1. A private not for profit corporation be formed for the purpose of educating the public on particularly the Dalit question and anti-racist questions in general. The main instrument for this work would be an "Ambedkar Journal and Newsletter" subtitled "Focusing on racism in South Asia and Internationally". The proposed journal/newsletter would be published quarterly using the most important contributions from the previous years newsletters. The corporations Board of directors would comprise veteran Dalit activists as well as non-Dalit scholars and activists. Board members would be required to contribute at least one column a year to the journal/newsletter. After discussions with a number of veteran Dalit activists I would suggest we begin with the following minimum board: Velu Annamalai, P.P. Lakshman, Yogesh Varhade, P.N. Arya, Rahul Deepankar, Suresh Bhamre, Laxmi Berva and Runko Rashdi. We must struggle to include as soon as possible a Dalit sister/s on the Board and may also invite non-Dalits such as Eleanor Zelliot, Gail Omvedt etc. The founding Board members should meet in early 1997 to adopt bylaws, elect officers, appoint an editor and managing editor, raise funds and finalize plans for the immediate future. 2. Activities: I would propose as our first activity co-spon-

soring a North American (possibly international) speaking tour by Sister Phoolan Devi, in conjunction with showings of *Bandit Queen*. Depending on Phoolan's availability, we should aim for Women's History Month, March 1997, with co-sponsorship with various Womens Studies programs in US and Canada and Evergreen Entertainment, distributors of *Bandit Queen*. If a March tour is not possible, Larry Leon Hamlin has invited Sister Phoolan to host a showing of *Bandit Queen* at the Black Theatre Festival which will be held in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, at the end of July 1997. Phoolan's speaking tour and helping promote a possible showing of *Bandit Queen* would be the focus of the journal/newsletter's initial issues. If for some reason, Phoolan is unable to come we should invite the actress who portrayed her and or the director or producer. The *Bandit Queen* tour should be used to help launch the journal/newsletter and to help build for a proposed conference/tribunal series (see *Dalit Voice* letter by T. Mountain) towards the end of 1997 or in 1998. The journal/newsletter should also take up Hamlin's invitation to present a Dalit play at the Black Theatre Festival late July, 1997 as well as his request for producing a historically based play primarily for use in the schools tentatively entitled "Great (Black) Leaders of India". As many board members as possible should attend the Black Theatre Festival to help educate African-American as to the racial nature of the Dalit question, Runko Rashdi has been invited to address the Festival as the part of the inauguration of the Black Theatre Festival's Black History Scholars Series. Deepankar has volunteered his efforts to contact Phoolan and we hope to have news on his efforts soon. Meantime, I hope you will be able to discuss these proposal with your fellow Dalit activists and that we can begin a followup on these proposals as soon as possible. I have just begun a serious study of Dr. Ambedkar and V.T. Rajshekar. I have written to the Govt. Printing Press in Bombay to order the entire 14 Volumes if possible. Any information on price and shipping, or availability would greatly be appreciated especially on Rajshekar collection. Did Dr. Ambedkar have contact with W.E.B. DuBois? I understand Dr. Ambedkar's proposal for laws protecting Dalits were based on the laws passed to protect the freed Africans after the US civil war. Did Dr. Ambedkar ever have contact with Mao? I am an ex-Maoist, having been in Raymond Lotta's RCP, USA. In 1990 I began to study the African Centered historians and boom! six years later I am supporting Dalits. Previously I have supported the South African/Azanian liberation struggle through work with the National Forum/Azanian Peoples Organization and the Tutu Foundation. In

1988 I represented the US in Tokyo at the World Council of Churches funded "Asia-Oceania Anti-racist anti-Apartheid Conference and Workshops". In 1987 I was a member of the 1st US Peace Delegation to Lybia to commemorate the first anniversary of the US bombing. In 1982 I was a founder of the first Palestinian support group in Hawaii. Before that I was labor activist, working as a mechanic on a sugar plantation, in the shipyards, in the sewers. I was a founding co-chair of the Hawaii Black History Committee in 1985, helped found the Hawaii Artists in the School program in 1993 and will be helping found the Hawaii Every Child Will Succeed Program in 1997 under the direction of Asa. G. Hilliard, III. I have also been active in Black cultural programs since 1981. I have presented the "International Black Music Video Festival" to over 40,000 school children since 1990 as well co-produce a television series for our public access cable TV network on Black leaders and educators internationally as well as to document our anti-racist work in the schools. I have also produced a fund raising music recording (CD and tape) of Jamaican or "reggae" music and helping a native Hawaiian woman start the first native owned radio station in Hawaiian. I have also produced music festivals and tours in the Pacific by blues, jazz, Carribean and African groups as a part of my progressive Black Music Series. Anyway, it would be wonderful to be able to discuss theoretical and historical questions with you, and I would especially like to start an "Indian Influence on Europe" Scholars Series.

Sharif Qadir, Editor, *The Universal Message*, monthly journal of Islamic Research Academy, D-35, Block 5, Federal 'B' Area, Karachi-75950, Pakistan: Recently, I came across a piece on *Dalit Voice*, published in *Dawn* of Sept. 14, 1996. A photocopy of the article reproduced from *International Herald Tribune* (IHT) is enclosed.

American Correspondent Kenneth Cooper's article on Dalit Voice appeared in both IHT and the world-famous Washington Post (WP) dated Sept. 5, 1996. WP published even our picture with a caption: "Every two weeks, Editor-Publisher V.T. Rajshekar attacks the dominance of India's upper castes in his 24 page opinion magazine, Dalit Voice". Kenneth Cooper, WP Bureau Chief based in New Delhi, came on the way to Bangalore to interview us for nearly two hours and filed the story which must have shocked every hand-picked Indian correspondent based in Washington - the capital of the world. Yet they all chose to ignore the write-up as part of their collective conspiracy to hushup what is inconvenient to In-

dia's tiny brahminical ruling class which controls the entire Indian media, the sole objective of which is to suppress truth and publish falsehood, malign the powerful leaders of original inhabitants of India and keep alive the rootless corrupt Aryan leaders. These rulers have been ruling India solely with the power of their monopoly media. Dalit Voice has been the one and only English journal of India which has been exposing the frauds of this brahminical media menace for the past 15 years. Even the pissing of a pundit if reported in Washington Post becomes a big news in India's "national" toilet papers. But this six-column news with a double-column picture announcing the trail-blazing work of a revolutionary magazine - a new experiment in Indian journalism - was totally blacked out: Can you think of a greater conspiracy of silence? Only a brahminical wicked brain can plan and execute this. We thank Brother Kenneth Cooper for disclosing this well-guarded top-secret to the world and we hope sincere scholars of the world and students of racism will be shocked by the WP report and come to see the original home of racism that is India-EDITOR.

Jangam Joseph, Advocate, B2/F2-Madanapet Colony, Saidabad, Hyderabad -500659 : This refers to Vishal Mangalvadi's Letter(DV Oct. 16, 96, p. 16). Principles embodied in the Bible cannot be applied to every situation and every person. Love, forgiveness and patience are only to be shown when change of heart and repentance are expected. Cruel, wicked and incorrible criminals should be hated, hunted, hounded and pounded. Some opinions spring from honesty. We respect them. Some spring from hatred. We hate them. Evil and evil people should be changed. If they don't we should crush with contempt. Scriptural lessons should not be taken literally. What about punishments given to the criminals? Is it love? What about President Roosevelt's letter to Hitler to keep peace in Europe? He read it in Reich and ridiculed Roosevelt. Then the President sent the army - the biggest that has ever been created in history - on Germany. Is it turning the other cheek? The strategy that we forge to fight against injustice should be based on knowledge, wisdom and sense of justice - not on Bible. Gandhi's non-violence would not have worked with Hitler. By turning the other cheek, we beat on the conscience of the slapper. But if he has no conscience? Patience is only towards some people and some situations. Bishops advised Christians to join the army and fight the wicked foe. That is not love and

peace. Our Editor's crusade against injustice and oppression is supported by every justice-minded man of wisdom and knowledge. Your popularity is not cheap.

Tikesh Makwana, 23-Pratapnagar Society, Rajpur, Ahmedabad-380021 : A Hindu nazi, Arun. Shourie, has once again been up with arms targeting Dr.B.R.Ambedkar. A widely "circulated" toilet paper, *Gujarat Samachar*, carries his column. In his column this nazi has taken cudgels against Dr.Ambedkar. We must teach him a lesson for hurting our feelings. Toilet papers of Gujarat will not publish our rejoinder. What to do ?

About 100 Dalits of Gujarat must ghero the Gujarat Samachar office and refuse to budge until its editor apologises for his mistake and promises not to publish this Hindu nazi's column. Did not Madhavsinh Solanki send his police to burn the office of Gujarat Samachar which played havoc during the 1981 and 1985 "Gujarat caste wars" against Dalits ? EDITOR.

K.Ambujakshan, Dalit Panthers, Bhim Vihar, Kurumpala South PO, Pandalam, Kerala - 689501 : The DV Editorial of Sept. 1, 1996: "*Dalit-Christians must get reservations but outside the SC/ST list*", inspired us to take up the issue of Dalit Christians which has created a crisis in Kerala. Hindu nazis are dividing our people on this issue. They say only Christian Dalits are demanding reservation and non-Christian Dalits are opposing the same. Some Dalit leaders are being purchased by the Hindu nazi forces. A CPI stooge, P.K.Raghavan, and BJP stooge, K.V.Kumaran are leading this anti-Dalit Christians campaign. The Hindu nazi Daily, *Jannabhoomi*, carried many articles against Dalit Christians. Front-page stories are published to entertain the purchased stooges. Their charge is that the move to extend reservation to Dalit Christians is a conspiracy to christianise the whole country and is sponsored by World Council of Churches. They are further confusing ignorant Dalits saying all those who are using the word "Dalit" are agents of Christians. The only solution to counter these nazis is the solution you proposed in DV. If both the Dalit Christian leaders and the SC leaders meet and discuss they will be convinced by the DV formula. Today's task is not to maintain the limited reservation for the benefit of a few but to re-establish our "separate electorate" towards a self-government. For this the Dalits - both Christian Dalits and non-Christian Dalits - must stand together. We are reprinting the DV Edit on Dalit Christian reservation to distribute during our "March for Dalit unity", Oct.25 to Nov.8, 1996. There will be thirty members in our team. It will touch all

the Dalit villages of Kerala with the DV message. We are carrying a separate board on *Dalit Voice*. The March will end with a public meeting at Trivandrum following a massive rally attended by 30,000 people. All our people from different Dalit organisations will come to Trivandrum. On behalf of Kerala Dalits, I request you to confirm your valuable presence at the conference. You will be the chief person to talk on the issue. We are also inviting Ram Vilas Paswan, Black Bishop Azaralah, Dalit Ezhilmalai and M.Gopinath.Kerala Dalit Panthers, a cultural movement, was established in 1988 to work for the all-round liberation of the Dalits.It has 2 lakh Dalit members in 10 districts of the state. As you have rightly said Dalit Christians are our own brothers and sisters who embraced Christianity to get liberated from the centuries-old yoke of the oppression of brahminical Hinduism.Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar, who was the moving spirit behind the constitutional status for the Dalits, had set no religious criteria for including them under reservation. Dr.Rajendra Prasad, the then President of India, with the collusion of some Hindu leaders and without consulting the elected members of Parliament, issued the Presidential Order 1950 that only Hindu SCs would be eligible for reservation.The motive was to prevent the flow of Dalits from Hinduism to other religions.The Dalit Unity March will begin from Kanganjad. It will be led by K.Ambujakshan, General Secretary, Kerala Dalit Panthers, Soman G.Venpuzhasery, Girishkumar, Kottayam ,Sasi Pandalam,Thulaseedharan Palilikkal and Ramesh Nanminda.

S.P.Singh, Takiapar, Danapaur,Digha, Patna-800012 : Your report (DV Sept.16, 1996: "*Nazi party infighting proves Hindus are their own enemies*") is very interesting and enlightening. Shivaji was a Shudra. By paying huge bribes, he got himself promoted to the rank of Kshatriya(*Coronation of Shivaji*: DV June 16, 1996).In his book *Shivaji and His Times* Jadunath Sarkar says (pages 293-294):

"Shivaji and his father-in-law Gaikwar were Marathas, i.e., members of a despised caste. Before the rise of the national movement in the Deccan in the closing years of the 19th Century, a Brahmin of Maharashtra used to feel insulted if he was called a Maratha. 'No', he would reply, with warmth "I am a Dakshina Brahman". Shivaji keenly felt his humiliation at the hands of the Brahmans to whose defence and prosperity he had devoted his life. Their insistence on treating him as a Shudra drove him into the arms of Balaji Avjit, the leader of the Kayasthas, and another victim of brahminic pride. The Brahmans felt a professional jealousy for the

intelligence and literary powers of the Kayasthas, who were their only rivals in education and Government service, and consoled themselves by declaring the Kayasthas a lower caste not entitled to the vedic rites and by proclaiming a social boycott of Balaji Avjit who had ventured to invest his son with the sacred thread. Balaji naturally sympathised with his master and tried to raise him in social estimation by engaging Ganga Bhatta who made Shivaji a pure Kshatriya."

DV readers should try to know India through a large number of books written by European scholars on Indian caste. Dom Raja of Domnigarh, near Gorakhpur in UP, Pasi Raja of Unnao, and a host of Tribal chiefs, Gonds, Bhils, etc., have already become Rajputs. The word Brahman does not denote a single class of people - for there are 2,500 different varieties of Brahmins. Many of our castes like Lingayats, Devangas, Gollas, Namasudras, etc., have their own Brahmins. The question is "Who is a Hindu?" The answer is "Nobody is a Hindu in India". The word was used by Arab traders in the 8th century AD. Hindu is not the word of Indian origin. Vedas never used it. SC/ST/BC and a large number of Muslims/Christians/Sikhs are *Mulnivasis*-belonging to the same Dravidian family. *Mulnivasis* are not without a religion. The Madigas of AP and Sathamis of Central Provinces have a religion of their own. They are classed as Chamars - Untouchables - but their religion is no way inferior to any established religion on the earth. I see no difference in faith, so far as Sikhism, Islam or Christianity are concerned. Those who wrangle over differences in rituals shall be punished (*Koran* - 5 -48).

N.G.Uke, 1217-A/A, Vasant Kunj, New Delhi- 110070:
This refers to the "Left-Right controversy" among Untouchables (DV Sept 16, 96,p.11). The fragmentation of the reserved SC/ST quota, proportionate to the population of various sub-castes, is a very dangerous trend. Such attitudes result in dividing the SCs and nullifying the very purpose of providing reservations for SC/STs. Reservations envisage that the best of the SC/STs should occupy these posts. Whoever occupies the reserved post represents the SCs as a whole. Accordingly Malas, Madigas, Mahars, Chamars, Paraias, Pallans lose their identity once they become SCs. Posts are reserved not for individual sub-castes but for SCs as a whole. D.Venkateshwarulu admits that the Madigas feel deprived of their due share of reservation benefits meant for SCs because of Malas. Madigas have every right to demand a separate quota in proportion to their population. The notion of a caste-wise quota is not only dangerous, but also wrong.

The Govts. of Punjab and Haryana blundered in dividing the SCs by providing a separate quota for Valmikis. Leaders like Buta Singh divided the SCs as Valmikis and damaged the united house of "Scheduled Castes" which was built up laboriously by Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar. The Editor's statement that the "Left section among Untouchables seeking reservations in proportion to their population, and a distinct identity for themselves, is a welcome development because it indicates that the Hindu pyramid is shaking and there is nothing to be ashamed of or worried about this inter-Dalit bickering. Rather this should be welcomed" is highly objectionable and extremely harmful to the interests of the SCs. Such attitudes support the fragmentation of the SCs and hence deserve condemnation.

PravinRashtrapal, President "Swaman", Foundation for Dalit Literature, 4-Hemang Park, Vejalpur, Ahmedabad-380051: This concerns the appointment of vice-chancellors of various universities in Gujarat. We have 10 universities. The State Govt. has appointed a Search Committee for selection of vice-chancellors for Gujarat University. The members: Dr. Ramantlal Joshi, Dr. Hiren Pandya and M.D. Bhatt. All the three are Brahmins. Are there not others who deserve to be members of the Search Committee? Do we not have qualified people among Jains, Budhists, Muslims, Christians and Dalits in particular? Is it the monopoly of Brahmins to occupy all high posts in the field of education and also to decide who will occupy the seat of vice-chancellor? Gujarat had great rulers like Maharaj Sayajirav of Baroda and Maharaja Krishnakumar Singh of Bhavnagar. India could produce Dr. B.R. Ambedkar only because of the able assistance provided by the illustrious Sahu Maharaj of Kolhapur and Sayajirav of Baroda. What was done by the Kings is not being done in this "free" democratic country.

Anil Rangari, Press Colony, Shahdol, MP-484001:
Shahdol is India's most backward tribal district. Out of a total population of 17.5 lakhs, 12.6 lakhs are SC/ST/BCs and mostly illiterate. I could not get a single SC/ST advocate here. No SC/ST owns even a shop or runs any business. There are some govt. employees but they are all enjoying their slavery. Among the 50,000 Muslims, only 15% are literate. Christians are earning and enjoying their slavery under brahminism. This district headquarters town is connected to Bhopal, Delhi by train. Ministers, political leaders and high officials who visit Shahdol go to see Amarkantaka (Lanka of Ravan, the king of Dravida/Anarya). The State Govt. announced that during 1993-96 it spent Rs.68 crores in Shahdol for the "development" of tribals. But who

ate this fund? Among the 2,143 villages there are only 1,555 primary schools and only 147 middle schools. Many schools are without buildings and teachers. This is the fate of this district. Today, in the Legislative Assembly of MP, 54 MLAs are ST, 13 are SC, 42 BC and 16 are from minority communities. These 125 Bahujan MLAs could not make a CM. But the 39 upper caste MLAs made their own CM. This is the tragedy of Bahujans who merely enjoy their slavery. I appeal to DV readers worldwide to help by sending free Ambedkarite literature in Hindi for free distribution among students, sleeping employees, teachers, members of village pan-chayats.

We will post 20 copies of Hindi DV for one year to Dalit teachers selected by brother Rangari-

EDITOR.

M. V. Gopidasan, Mudayekkara House, Kanjirakkadu East Road, Rayon Puram PO, Perum Bavoor-683 543: The true color of the Brahmins will be seen at the time of the next presidential election due in 1997 when K.R. Narayanan's candidature will be opposed by them. All Dalits should start demanding his unanimous election.

B. K. Biswas, AE/513-Salt-Lake City, Bidan Nagar, Calcutta-700064: The "Durga myth" must be blasted. The theological edification of Durga with arms in nine hands and the resistance hero Mahish of the Anaryan force lying speared through his heart at her feet is much more racially hurting and religiously blind folded and incongruous to motherhood than M.F. Hussain's artistic work on Saraswati. Durga stands as a vengeful anti-thesis to the entire indigenous people of India. By divine manipulation, she came to be worshipped by the same people whose patriotic forefathers fell to her spears in defence of their rights on tribal lands. *Durga Puja* has become the cultural Kailash of Bengal. The ritualistic *puja* is for four days, but with attending pre-*puja* preparations, shopping and post-*puja* rituals like immersion and social exchanges, called *vijaya*, the festivities often covers one whole month. The festivals turn Bengal into a month-long veritable theatre of entertainment, with men, money and mind extended to bursting limits loudly pronouncing Bengal's classy pride. Durga stands for what the image is. Out of ten, she has arms in nine hands and is iconised as the destroyer of Mahish, the racial enemy of the Aryans. She is adored and worshipped not for being a simple mother benefactor, but the upholder of social and political supremacy of Aryans and for suppression of the indigenous resistance. This iconic depiction of Devi exposes the fact that her single-handed benediction and blessing, with Mahish

speared through the heart at her feet, is specially meant for the progenys of the racial Aryans, relieved of the scourge, not for the autochthons or the *sudras*, who may flock at the *puja* pandais for *anjali*. For an upholder of composite culture, much is wanting in her killing costumes. No one has ever entertained the thought that such racial and racially terrorising outfit of the icon, could evoke reprisal or review of social roles played by the descendants of the defeated clan and tribes who adored it with unflinching devotion all the same. If Durga represents Bengal's composite ethos, then an answer to this question has sooner or later to be addressed. The exact course to follow is not readily known. But that should not make any one complacent about the blind-folded acculturation.

All over India, the Aryans are using festivals like Durga Puja, Ram-Lila, Dasara, Ganapati, Diwali, etc., to humiliate and denounce the Bahujans. But the tragedy is our own Bahujans are the most enthusiastic participants, if not pillars, of such anti-Bahujan Hindu festivals. Aryans have hinduised our people only through such a cultural oppression. That is why we have been often stressing the need for cultural revolution but ours is a cry in wilderness-EDITOR.

Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Flat No.32-247/1-Minto Park, Alipore, Calcutta-700027: Dalit brothers have a good news. Sher Singh JAS, has won his court case O.A.No.1108 of 1994 on 26-7-1996. He was suspended on 25-4-94 by the Marxist Govt. of West Bengal for "1. publishing the book, *The Secular Emperor Babar*, 2. for declaring that there was no Ramjanmahoom on the place where Babri Masjid was in existence, and 3. for declaring that the Babri Masjid was constructed much before Babar's period and there was never a temple of Rama at the place where Babri Masjid was situated." These were the charges served against him on June 2, 1994 as Joint Secretary to the Govt. of West Bengal. To add salt to the injuries, he was superceded on 6-5-94 by his juniors. It is this very act of high-handedness which made them eat the humble pie. Sher Singh challenged his supersession before the Central Administrative Tribunal (CAT), Calcutta, which quashed his supersession. The state authorities were given two months time to hold a review DPC/ Screening Committee to consider the case of Sher Singh for promotion with effect from 6-5-1994. Thus under the orders of CAT, the W.Bengal Govt. is directed to consider his promotion w.e.f. 6-5-1994 as Special Secretary, almost one month before charge-sheeting him as Joint Secretary on 2-6-1994. The whole charge-sheet has become infructuous

and meaningless, and is going to end in fiasco. The whole experience has helped us identify our enemies. M.K. Gandhi and his Congress Party has been already declared Enemy No.1 of Dalits by Babasaheb Ambedkar. Now we declare marxists of all hues who believe in class struggle, but fail to identify "caste" as a "class" in India, as Enemy No.2 of Dalits.

G Rajendar, 104-Garodia Nagar, Ghatkopar (E), Bombay-400077: On the political front, tremendous changes are taking place. The gullible oppressed castes have started waking up from their deep slumber - thanks to the violent *Hindutva* aggression and barbaric vandalism by Hindu nazis. Having faced with defeat after defeat and failures in controlling/manipulating the oppressed castes they are going berserk. Their latest innovation - women's reservation - too failed and they cannot make use of spouses as their proxies because of the demand that this reservation should be caste-based (DV Oct. 16, '96, p.9). If we consider these developments, which will ultimately change the thinking of vast number of Dalits, it is certain that your prediction that "the 21st century belongs to Babasaheb" will come true.

D.David, Advocate 25-Battai Street, Velapadi, Vellore-632001; H.Hanumanthappa, Chairman, National Commission for SC/STs, New Delhi, addressed SC/ST Govt. Employess Union meeting on Sept. 29 at Madras where he opposed (1) Dalit Christians reservations facilities. He said (2) the large number of Dalit Christians are in Central Govt. services (3) and that reservation quota for Dalit Christians is to be given under the 27% BC quota. I am a Dalit by community and a Christian by religion and like to point that his views are not correct. There is a fear among the "creamy layer" of urban SC/STs that if Dalit Christians get reservation all Dalit Christians will "usurp" the reservation facilities for themselves. This fear is not well founded. This presupposes that there are a large number of Dalit Christians and that they are politically, socially, educationally and economically superior to other SCs. This is not correct. The truth is that Dalit Christian population is only 2%. Several commissions of SC/STs both Central and states as well as Christian organisations have found that the Dalit Christians are socially, educationally and economically backward like other SC/STs. There are Christians in the Central services but most of them are non-Dalit Christians. The Mandal Commission fixed 23% reservation for SC/STs and 27% for BCs. The Centre and states fixed reservation quota for SC/STs below 23%. So, adding Dalit Christians to the SC-list (2%) will not exceed the 23% earmarked for SC/STs. Only merited SC/STs are

selected for reservation quota. So too with the Dalit Christians. So, adding 2% Dalit Christians to the SC list will not affect SC/STs quota. *Dalit Voice* (Oct. 16, 1996) article by Venkateswarlu demands sub-caste-wise reservation quota among SCs. It is said by Pallars of Tamil Nadu that Paratahas are enjoying maximum reservation. Similarly in AP Malas have cornered the benefits from Madigas. A day will come when each sub-caste among SCs will demand reservation quota according to its population, thus paving the way for categorisation method in reservation quota.

Bhadant Nagarjun Surai Sasai, Indora Budha Vihar, Nagpur-440014: The history of Maha Bodhi Temple at Bodhgaya goes back to the period of Guptas and Kanishka (3rd to 7th century AD). Noted historians have said that the temple was built from the 3rd to 5th century AD. Emperor Asoka had visited this place and constructed stone railings and sanctified the sacred *vajrasana* (diamond throne) at the Bodhgaya during 3rd century. The Maha Bodhi Temple and its premises remained with the Buddhists from 3rd century. All repairs and alterations were undertaken not only by the Indian Buddhists but also by foreign countries like Lanka, Burma and others. The Maha Bodhi Temple turned into an international centre of Buddhists with the advent of Ven. Angarika Dharampala of Sri Lanka. All these facts about the temple at Bihar have to be incorporated in any amendment, in place of the present one, "The Budha Gaya Temple Management Act 1949" enacted by the Govt. of Bihar. As per the 1949 Act, an eight-member management committee was constituted by the Bihar Govt. in 1952. Of the eight, four should be Hindus and four Buddhists with the Collector of Gaya as Chairman. To ensure that the Hindus had an upper hand, the Act provided that the Chairman should be a Hindu if the District Magistrate of Gaya is not Hindu. Because of this mischief, the Buddhists had no say in the temple management. Ever since then the Buddhists have been struggling to liberate their holiest shrine from Hindus. It was here that Budha attained the supreme enlightenment and hence Bodh Gaya became the most sacred place for the Buddhists of the world. Following the visit of Asoka the Great in about 260 B.C. streams of pilgrims flowed towards it without any intermission for over 1500, years. Hiuenasang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim who saw the temple in 637 AD, says "the Maha Bodhi Vihar is 160 or 170 feet high". However, the decline of Buddhism in India caused desertion of Buddhists and the Maha Bodhi Temple was lost to Hindus. A Hindu Mahant, Gosain Chamandi Giri, made it a Hindu shrine in

1590 when the phase of sacrilege began. In 1861, Lord Cunningham found that all sorts of un-Buddhist ceremonies (*shradh*, *pinda dan*, etc.) are being performed by the Hindus in the main Maha Bodhi Temple. In 1875, King Min of Burma got permission of the Govt. of India to repair this decaying Maha Bodhi Temple. But the Mahant continued to be the lord. In 1885, the celebrated author of *The Light of Asia*, Sir Advin Arnold, visited Maha Bodhi Temple and wrote in a pathetic language as follows:-

"The Buddhist world had, indeed, well-nigh, forgotten this hallowed and most interesting centre of their faith.... when I sojourned in Bodh Gaya a few year back, I was grieved to see the Maharatta peasants performing 'Shradh' in such a place and thousands of precious ancient relics of carved stones lying in piles around".

Ven. Angarika Dharampala, the first Buddhist missionary of modern times, visited Bodh Gaya on Jan. 22, 1891 and decided to take over the control of the temple from the Mahanta. He invited four Buddhist monks from Lanka to Gaya and they came and stayed in the Burmese Rest House. The Mahant took objection and in Feb. 1893, two Monks were assaulted. In 1895, when Dharampala tried to instal an image of Budha, presented to him by the people of Japan, on the upper floor of the Temple, he too was assaulted by Mahant's men. The Budha image was, however, later kept in the Burmese Rest House. The Mahant and some Hindu organisations, particularly the British India Association, London, tried to get the Budha image removed even from the Burmese Rest House on the plea that it offended the Hindus. But the govt. did not yield. In 1906, the Mahant filed a case seeking eviction of the Buddhist monks from the Rest House. The Budhists also filed a civil suit claiming control of the Maha Bodhi Temple. The legal war continued till, even after the independence, the Govt. of Bihar, enacted the 'Bodhgaya Temple Management Act 1949', which played the mischief cited above. Our struggle is to liberate the Maha Bodhi Temple from the Hindus and is in accordance with the movement launched by Rev. Angarika Dharampala of Lanka in 1891. In the journal *Young India* (1925), M.K. Gandhi said :

"There is no doubt that the possession of the temple should vest in the Buddhists. There may be legal difficulties. They must be overcome (MB Journal, 1925)"

Same view was held by Rabindra Nath Tagore. This is the brief history of Bodh Gaya. We need the support and solidarity of all the Ambedkarites and others to liberate the holy temple from the hands of

Hindus.

Pannalal Rajput, Nagpur : I am a Tribal (Pardhi). I lodged a complaint with the Ummred police station, Nagpur, on Sept. 22, 1996 against Miss Rashmi Shukla, Supdt. of Police, who had given false information to the press insulting the Pardhi community. Pardhis are hunters and live away from villages and in small huts. They are virtually living as slaves. On Nov. 14, 1996, Chief Minister Manohar Joshi was passing through Ummred. About 100 Pardhis had gathered to meet him and give a memorandum. Police Inspector Upadhyaya of Ummred arrested all our people and lodged us in the Kuhi Police Station. Our leaders were beaten up badly. Miss Rashmi Shukla, JPS, issued a press statement accusing that "the Pardhi community sometimes kill their own children and put the blame on police" and thereby she committed a grave offence under the Civil Rights Act. The *Hivavada* (Sept. 15) published the lathicharge on our people and Miss Shukla's insinuation against our community.

A. Xavier, Dept. of English, St. Mary's Hr. Sec. School, Dindigul-624001: I was inspired to write this piece when I just cast a cursory glance at the first two paragraphs of the frontpage of your book, *Merit My Foot*. Particularly the passage, "In sum, they set the values", struck me a lot. There will be hardly any difficulty for Dalits to identify their visible enemies. They can either ward them off or vanish them with no pain. But it requires great insight and pain to discern things and discover the hidden vicious monster i.e., the brahminical value system of the Brahminical Social Order (BSO). Self-respect, justice, equality, fraternity, brotherhood, love, tolerance, militancy, revolt, honesty, self-acceptance are the positive values dear to the liberated Dalits. Violence, inequality, hatred, self-rejection, division, intolerance, arrogance, superiority complex, dishonesty, shamelessness are some of the important negative values deliberately cherished and enshrined by the votaries of the BSO. Every one in India can choose to follow either the positive ones or the negative ones but definitely not both at once. Humanism incorporates Dalit value system as humanism itself is nothing but the essence of Dalit value system. He who stands for the Dalit value system could not but be the symbol of revolt and emancipation while he who stands for the brahminical value system could not but be the symbol of submissiveness and shamelessness. No value either positive or negative remains isolated and delinked. Submissiveness in its dynamic process breeds its offspring like shamelessness, hatred, obsequiousness, fear and arrogance. Revolt breeds its own offspring like self-respect, self-acceptance, brotherhood, social

justice, courage, etc. There are quite a good number of elite Dalits who have shamelessly acquired the BSO values betraying their innate and native Dalit value system. For centuries Dalits have been the real victims of the inhuman BSO values, the real monster against humanity. The BSO value system has injected the deadliest venom - self-pity, in the thought stream of Dalits. No doubt the Dalits, the victims of this system are, overtaken by sense of frustration. So, they are the weariest of all human race. They have lost all their human essence, as Dr. Ambedkar says, and don't know how to fight against frustration, despair, self-hate and inferiority complex. What has been thrust upon by brahminism has killed the "giant" in every Dalit. No people on earth so eagerly look forward to a life after death as Dalits do. The psyche of the Dalits is conditioned to find security in the state of utter insecurity. Brahminism has taught Dalits to be resigned to their miserable plight and never to protest or revolt. The heart of the heartless - the votaries of brahminism - lies in making Dalits 'sigh' endlessly and die hopelessly. Human beings alone can change but a Dalit finds no change because of the most oppressive philosophy, brahminism. BSO value system is the product of the BSO. The latter determines the former while the former in turn influences the latter. At a particular stage of historical development (today), the former has solidified itself and acts itself as an indispensable matter. Today, the latter can't be altered without the former being ruthlessly attacked. Dalits should never make an isolated attack. Multi-pronged attacks against these two are to be waged today. Dalits who are born to set right all the rotten things in India should be armed with the knowledge of Dalit value system and the essentials of Dalit philosophy to build a Dalit Social Order in the 21st Century (in the Era of Dr. Ambedkar). This should be the historic mission of Dalits today. They are the real gravediggers of the BSO and its value system as they alone have been the real victims of this historically accumulated filth of mankind.

Sonu, Cochin : The *Indian Express* July 19, 1996 carries a statement from Kerala Chief Minister E.K.Nayanar dealing with the deity at Sabarimala.

Thiruvananthapuram: Chief Minister E.K.Nayanar today chose to speak on religion at the function. "Lord Ayyappa is not a Hindu God but a deity of Buddhists. The chants of *saranam* by pilgrims as they climb the hill is distinctly Buddhist. Lord Ayyappa's posture as well as the black *mundu* worn by devotees is further proof of this fact."

This is a historical fact. During the so-called golden era of Hindu period, many Buddhist shrines were forcibly taken over by Hindu fanatics and still continue to be under their illegal occupation. The awakened

Dalit Buddhist scholars should make a deep study of the Sabarimala shrine from historical point. Sabarimala attracts millions of devotees every year. If we take over it, we can use it as a powerful propagation centre.

U.N.Khobragade, Advocate, Khese Park, Pune-411032 : We have been publishing a weekly, *Kranti Sangram* (War for Revolution), from Yavatmal, MS, for the last 24 years. I am instrumental in organising its publication in 1972 when I was working there as a state govt. officer. My dept. was packed with Hindu nazi officers who used to insult us. Especially our women employees were at their mercy to save their honour. To fight these nazis we started this paper which was working as a mouthpiece of Bahujan employees in MS. The weekly is limping because of the neglect by the beneficiaries. I visited Yavatmal recently and published about *Dalit Voice*. We also published a DV article in Marathi and also an editorial on 'toilet papers'. We promise to continue to translate best DV articles in Marathi.

Prof.A.M.Khatib, 44-Azad Colony, Keshvapuri, Hubli-580023 : In DV Sept. 15 1996, you have called for a debate on Dr. Velu's suggestion, the use of adjective 'evil' for 'upper', spontaneously made at an international gathering in the US. Dr. Velu, however, justified on the face of it. Its use does not suit our struggle for social justice and amity. This is my considered view. Let us be generous. Drop adjectives of this type and call them *vaidiks* or *Manuvadis*. That is fully self-explanatory.

Nasir Hussain Peertzadah, Srinagar, Kashmir : The Valley once again witnessed a strange drama of electioneering. It was a big military exercise and Indian troops were campaigning for the elections. But the people were not interested in foisted elections. People know the fact that foisted elections cannot determine the will of the people. The polling turnout was very low contrary to Krishna Rao's claims. But at some places Indian troops compelled the masses to move to polling booths, and at some places people were dragged. The Election Commission of India was just an irrelevant spectator. India once again failed to deceive the international community by staging the election drama.

We are fully aware of the drama recently staged in Kashmir and the way they brought in their nominee, Dr. Farukh Abdullah, who has hardly any roots in Kashmir. It is a victory for the upper castes and it will not last long- EDI- TOR.

Shaminul Haque, Mohammedpur, Patna- 800006: Here is yet another case of double-standard of Hindu nazis. Nazi leader L.K.Advani said that his party would not accept any change in Kashmir's pre-1953

Editorial: "Elections: Whom to vote and how to throw out the oppressors?"

In India, a country that resists any change, lightening changes have taken place. Following the death of Indira Gandhi, nearly 3,000 Sikhs were massacred in the Congress-sponsored anti-Sikh riots. Hindu nazis quickly installed Rajiv Gandhi as PM and Congress Party President. Parliament elections about which Mrs. Gandhi was afraid to face were hurriedly announced to cash in on the "sympathy factor" roused over her killing. Now, every politician is busy giving promises to hungry masses. India's "poor" believe only in promises which need not be fulfilled. No election so far held has changed the state of persecuted minorities. So what use is this election to the slaves? India's "parliamentary democracy" is an utter failure, where votes can be purchased and manipulated. When over 70% are illiterate, how can we realise the value of vote? What hope will the persecuted minorities have in these elections? Whom to choose? If the Congress is our Enemy No. 1, the Janata Party proved worse than that. Charan Singh's Dalit-Mazdoor Kisan Party has only popularised the Dalit word. But he is notoriously anti-Dalit and anti-minorities. Communist Parties are a pack of thieves and thugs. Under these circumstances, regional parties rather than "national" parties are better in our interests. But are we in a position to influence the voters? No. While the ruling class is united in keeping us as slaves, we quarrel only among ourselves over petty issues and kill each other. Geographical diversity and varied languages have made communication impossible among us and that is why contradictions are not getting sharpened. Only Sikhs could sharpen the contradictions. After two stages (June 6, '84 Army Action and Mrs. Gandhi's killing), they are moving to the third stage - mass migration to Punjab. It means Sikhs found it impossible to live with Hindus, who declared them as foreigners. In this never changing India, Sikhs have brought some change. They stirred the stinking pond of Hindu India. Hindu fascism which pounced on Sikhs today, will turn on us tomorrow. Get set for the go.

The cry of scavengers and sweepers : P.Manickam, S.Railways, Madras.

India heading towards a spill ? R.K Chellappa, Washington DC, USA.

The Hindu hypocrisy at Nairobi Conference : Bhagwan Das, New Delhi.

Regional Parties alone can get rid of the high caste rule.

The Samitya Sahodarariva Sangham, an organisation of Dalit-Muslims formed in Tamil Nadu.

constitutional status. But the same coterie has in its manifesto vowed to revoke the Article 370 about Kashmir special status. Meanwhile, I am glad to inform DV readers that the person whom Rai Haran Das of Kharagpur (DV Sept. 16, '96) has been so often criticising is at last exposed. *Asian Age* (Calcutta Oct. 9, '96) has reported that the IIT, Kharagpur, Director, K.L. Chopra, is involved in a big drug trafficking and real estate scam. ■

Plight of our "national" toilet papers

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : Something wonderful is happening in Bangalore and soon it may happen in other cities too.

DV has very often said that newspaper readers in India are negligible in number and that too readers of English newspapers are just a few, may be 1% of the total Indian population.

These "national" toilet papers are solely surviving on the advertisement revenue liberally financed by companies of their own *jatwalas* to evade taxes.

Now, as the artificially propped up industrial economy has hit an all-time low, advertisement revenue too has slumped. Secondly, the campaign of falsehood launched by these toilet papers has failed to fool the masses (who don't read these papers) in the context of the growing caste-consciousness.

Every English toilet paper has added extra coloured magazine sheets to entertain the readers with sex, sports, gossip, gambling, cinema, TV, comics, etc. In spite of all these "bribes" to the readers, the circulation is declining.

The *Hindu*, *Indian Express*, *Deccan Herald* and *Times of India* have all slashed their daily sale prices by 33¹/₃%. *Deccan Herald* supplied free copies for a week to boost its sales.

Times of India invented a novel idea to make sales promotion. It found mute customers in school children. Children are the easy targets for all cowards. It introduced a scheme called "Newspaper in Education" (NIE) and compelled every child either individually or jointly to subscribe to it. School authorities too conveniently colluded with these encroachers. However, even this scheme also failed. TOI is facing closure in Bangalore. And other "toilet" papers are sure to follow. When the enemy is drowning throw a stone and see that he dies early. ■

When a Maha-Brahmin from Bengal warned against Sanskrit

The following is excerpted from the "Classics of Indian Politics", titled **Selected Works of Raja Rammohan Roy** (1977), published by the Govt. of India's Publications Division, Patiala House, New Delhi-1 (Rs. 20).

This appears on page 300 as part of the letter written by the Bengali Maha-Brahmin, founder of the Brahma Samaj:

It is part of his letter to the then Governor-General of India, Lord Amherst, in which he makes a strong case against Sanskrit, the exclusive language of the Bhoodevatas who once prohibited non-Brahmins from studying it. A Shudra called Shambuka was instantly killed by the Aryan god Rama for studying Vedas which is in Sanskrit.

We now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The Sangscret language, so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate

While the Bhoodevatas themselves have now switched on to the more profitable English, the voidiks are now forcing Sanskrit down the throats of non-voidiks so that they will become better idiots.

*Govt. of India's census figures reveal that the grand total of people who know this dead language does not exceed 5,000. This writer had attended two "national" Sanskrit conferences as a reporter in the **Indian Express** and surprisingly the welcome, inaugural, presidential speeches were made in English. When we asked the organisers why a "national" conference on Sanskrit was being conducted in English, the reply was that they did not know Sanskrit.*

If a conference to promote Sanskrit was being conducted in English because the organisers did not know Sanskrit, why are they asking others to study Sanskrit ?

Here lies the whole beauty.

Once upon a time when masses of people like Shambuk were yearning to study Sanskrit, they were mercilessly killed. Now, when the same masses want to learn English, they are being denied that knowledge and in its place they are forcing a dead, useless language which its salesmen themselves do not know.

A Bengali Maha-Brahmin had warned about this voidik conspiracy about 200 years before the voidik rule began in India. EDITOR.

this language for the sake of the valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means that the establishment of a new Sangscret College; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sangscret in the different parts of the country engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature, which are to be the object of new Seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to those most eminent Professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertions.

From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the Natives of India was intended by the Government in England, for the improvement of its Indian subjects. I beg leave to state, With due deference to your Lordship's exalted sit-

nation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of the Byakurun or Sangsrit Grammar. For instance, in learning to discuss such points as the following: *Khad* signifying to eat, *Khaduti*, he or she or it eats. Query, whether does the word *Khaduti* taken as a whole, convey the meaning he, she, or it eats or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinct portions of the word? As if in the English language, it were asked, how much meaning is there in the eat, how much in the S? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by those two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly?

Neither can such improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the themes suggested by the Vedant: In what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity? What relation does it bear to the divine essence? **Nor will youths fitted to be better members of society by the vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence; that as father, brother, etc. have no actual entirety, they consequently deserve no real affection and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better.** Again no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the *Mee-mangsa* from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Veds and what is the real nature and operative influences of passages of Ved, etc.

Again the student of Nyaya Shashtra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned it into how many ideal classes the objects in the Universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, etc.

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of Science and Literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. **In the same manner the Sangsrit system of education would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British Legislature.** But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will conse-

quently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy with other useful sciences which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with the necessary books, instruments and other apparatus.

In representing this subject to you Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen and also to that enlightened Sovereign and Legislature which have extended their benevolent cares to this distant land actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants and I therefore humbly trust that you will excuse the liberty I have taken in this expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

Calcutta

I have, etc.

The 11th December, 1823

Rammohun Roy

Caste consciousness kills "marxists"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : In support of our theory to strengthen every *jati* to destroy brahminism - India's principal contradiction - as propounded in our Editorial of Dec. 16, 1993 and further elaborated in our March 16, 1996, p.9, article, "*Is caste abolition possible?*" we have received a powerful proof from the "marxists" themselves.

The mask of marxism was worn by India's upper caste rulers to deceive the oppressed Bahujans. We consider "marxism" as more dangerous than brahminism.

And to destroy brahminism, we have given a call to strengthen each *jati*.

A *Times of India* report (Oct. 19) says caste consciousness is killing "marxists". Is it not great ?

"The advent of caste politics has deeply eroded its base and even threatened the relevance of its ideology of class struggle", the report says quoting CPM Central Committee sources.

In West Bengal and Kerala, the upper castes are ruling in the name of "marxism". Caste consciousness is not only killing "marxists" but even their more honest Aryan brothers in the *Brahmana Jati Party*, Gujarat and UP are the latest examples.

We repeat: "**Strengthen every *jati*, brahminism will be dead. Long live caste (identity).**"

World's No.1 braggarts

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : Army chief S.Roy Chowdhury bragged at Ramgarh (Bihar) on Oct.22 that " the Indian Army is the no. 1 fighting force in the world". (*Indian Express*, Oct. 23, '96).

We know only this much that the upper caste rulers are no.1 in the world in bragging, boasting. The Army chief has forgotten that only a couple of years ago his "no. 1 army in the world" got defeated at the hands of a mere 2,000-odd young boys and girls of LITTE in Lanka.

In Kashmir, the four Western hostages taken by the "militants" could not be captured even at the end of an year by the army-ruled Kashmir head-ed by an ex-Army chief himself.

What about Veeerappan ? Army itself was deployed to catch this Vanniyar hero who has just one bird-shooting gun.

Chidambaram must go

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : Here is a proof of Chidambaram's anti-people policy about which we commented in our story, "*Speculators must be forced to vomit what they have swallowed*" (DV Nov. 1, '96, p.4). This Tamil Chettiar Finance Minister, who is interested in making his rich *jatwala* Banias still richer, has given us ample proof of his thinking:

On October1, while exhorting US corporations to make big long-term investments in India, finance minister Chidambaram made an astounding statement in Washington, quoted at length in this newspaper. He asked investors to appreciate that the "300 million-strong" Indian middle class's "appetite for consumption... will not be satiated for the next 50 or 100 years". He then referred to his own remarks at a speech in London to a British audience : "You came to India and stayed for 200 years. Now come prepared to invest and stay for another 200 years, and there will be huge rewards". (Pratful Bidwai in *Indian Express*, Oct.22, '96).

This Chettiar has no love for farmers (shudras) much less the farm-labourers(SC/ST/BCs) who constitute over 90% of our population. He is only interested in pampering the urban rich who are none other than the Aryan upper castes.

He cannot allow him to further mismanage India. Chidambaram must go. ■

"Seven Sisters" preparing to quit India ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : After partitioning India and creating Pakistan and then Bangladesh, the Hindu nazis tried through their war and violence to dismember Punjab. Later they did their best to drive out Kashmir. Both involved killing of thousands of innocent Sikhs and Muslims.

Yet another area that is boiling – hardly noticed by our "national" toilet papers – is the mangoloid North East. Ethnically different and geographically far removed, the "Seven Sisters" – Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh – are preparing to bid goodbye to India, tired of India's Hindu nazi war and violence on the innocent mangoloid tribes.

Ashok Mitra, an upper caste "marxist" and a Bengali Baidya, says (*Deccan Herald* Oct. 16, '96) that he will not be surprised if the "Seven Sisters" get detached from India in the next 25 years.

Deve Gowda's gesture: Deve Gowda is India's first Prime Minister who has taken interest in these "Seven Sisters" and visited them in Oct. 1996 spending six days, trying to understand their total alienation. But, alas not one "national" toilet paper had the heart to admit this fact. Such is the depth of hatred in their hearts.

Gowda is a simple man – son of the soil. Perhaps, he does not know that his announcement of a Rs.6, 100-crore package for North-East will not soothen the souls of the "Seven Sisters". Their alienation is not due to economic reasons. It is cultural in content. Hindu nazi oppression through the Indian Army is the main cause threatening their very identity. The "Seven Sisters" are racially different and Christian by religion. They want freedom to live their own lives.

Like Gowda, the "Seven Sisters" are also simple people. Gowda must know this. ■

D.V. WORK PARALYSED

DV has suffered a setback due to the seven-day postal strike that ended on Oct.30. All the speed we gained so far is lost. The Nov.1 DV could be posted only on Oct.30. Under this brahminical rule any setback the country suffers hurts us very badly but brings enormous profit to the rulers. The Rs.1,000-crore loss due to the strike enriched them but we suffered - PUBLISHER.

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Religion & Law Review - Vol.V 1996

Prof.Tahir Mahmood of Delhi University examines in detail the Dec.11, 1995 verdict of the three-judge bench of Supreme Court headed by Justice J.S.Verma.

For the first time the highest court of India examined in length the newly-defined term *Hindutva* and in the process conferred on it some kind of a judicial recognition. The *Hindutva* judgment did not speak the language of the Constitution which no where speaks of "uniform culture". Justice Verma's "clarifying judgment" of March 22, 1996 has further helped the *Hindutva* forces. He regrets to note that all law-enforcing agencies and even the Election Commission has failed to check the sayings, writings and actions of *Hindutva* forces. He concludes that courts cannot check such anti-national forces. Only the people can.

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