

# DALIT VOICE

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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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- **Newsly-elected Bahujan MPs must force JD-led govt. in Delhi for Mandalisation of India**
- **DV poll predictions & punky poll pundits**

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- **Separate electorate alone can elect dedicated leaders**
- **Sex crazy Bengali Bhadrakolk produce millions of prostitutes**
- **Male-dominated Dalit movement**
- **Gaddar goodbye to marxism**
- **Global Islamic movement going weak**

**Congress misused Dalit fund:  
Thus Spake Ambedkar**

Thus Spake  
Ambedkar

## Congress under Gandhi misused funds meant for Dalits

Obvious, the Congress was not out for the abolition of Untouchability. It had accepted the policy of separate schools and separate wells. The resolution did no more than to undertake amelioration of the condition of the Untouchables. And even such a timid and mild programme the Congress was unable to carry through and which it gave up without remorse or shame.

II

Did the Congress abandon the programme because it had no funds? Quite the contrary. The Congress had started the Tilak Swaraj Fund in 1921. How much money did the Congress collect? The following table will give some idea. Rupees one crore and thirty lakhs were contributed by the public to the fund. The fund was collected to carry out Congress propaganda and to finance the constructive programme of the Congress as drafted by the Working Committee at Bardoli. How was this huge amount spent by the Congress? Some idea as to the purposes on which the money out of this fund was spent can be gathered from the list of grants voted by the Working Committee during the years 1921, 1922 and 1923.

### I. Grants Voted in 1921

1. Grants voted by the Working Committee at its meeting held in Calcutta on January 31st and February 1st, 2nd and 3rd 1921:-
1. Rs. 1,00,000 to remain at the disposal of Gandhi for the support of lawyers who give up their practice and stand in need of support (iv).
2. Read the following telegram dated the 31st January 1921 from Syt. C. Rajagopalachariar:-

(Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. IX, Rs. 50, 1990. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

"Regret unable to attend meeting. Selected full time public workers for Tamil, Kerala part Karnataka about hundred, of whom about forty lawyers suspending practice. Pending collection Tilak Fund sanction drawing Rs.5,600 per month. Student's movement progressing rapidly though newspapers do not show up news. Must carry on against parental opposition, least two months. Must draw three thousand per month for this. Committee must immediately wire authority issuing Swarajya Fund receipts in name of Congress for convenient denominations like Khilafat receipts. Confident to make up all advances in three months. Do not hope large sums Madras."

Resolved that a sum of Rs.8,600 be advanced to Tamil, Kerala and the Karnataka parts of the Madras Presidency for one month for the present, and for future advances the matter be placed before the next meeting of the Working Committee (xx).

11. Grants voted by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Bezwada on the 31st March and 1st April 1921:-

3. A lump sum of Rs. 6,000 by advanced to Pandit Mohanlal Nehru, Secretary, U.P Provincial Congress Committee, for carrying on propaganda and collecting funds (v).
- "4. Rs.17,000 be sanctioned for the remainder of the current year for the expenses of the office of the President, the Secretaries, the Cashier, and that out of the above a sum of Rs.300 per mensem be assigned to Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar for the expenses of his secretary and the President's stenotypist (vii).
5. A sum of 1,000 dollars remitted by cable to Mr.D.V.S.Rao of the India Home Rule League of America, 1,400 Broadway, New York (viii). ■

## DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

## Newly - elected Bahujan MPs must force a JD-led Govt. in Delhi for Mandalisation of India

**W**e are writing on the turbulent post - election politics, called the last resort of the scoundrels - a game in which we are no experts. Yet we see great possibilities for the Bahujans in this election and hence we feel it is our duty to warn the Bahujan (SC/ST/BC & Muslim/Sikh/Christian) leadership.

If properly exploited, with right strategies and tactics, we can form the country's first Bahujan Govt. in Delhi liberating it from a half a century-long Aryan imperialism.

But the short experiment of Bahujan Govt. -formation in UP has left a bitter taste which is still fresh. So, we can expect all sorts of hurdles from our Aryan enemies. They may set up our own people to frustrate our bid to capture Delhi.

**Misrule of Manuwadis:** Yet we are doing a duty to foretell the future and guide the Bahujan leadership on the occasion of the first such opportunity offered by the oppressed Bahujan voters fed up with this Aryan misrule. The oppressed Dravidas and Adi-Dravidas - the original inhabitants of India - want to put an end to this violent misrule of the Manuwadis and want to empower our own chosen leaders. Janata Dal central leadership headed by Laloo Prasad Yadav should not disappoint the Bahujans. The post-election scene in Delhi will be chaotic. Because the Aryan rulers are expected to suffer major reverses for the first time in history. And these rulers - the tiger-turned-blood-thirsty man eater - will not so easily give up the

rule ship. The rulers even if they lose elections still have the money power, the media to manipulate our minds, bureaucracy, judiciary and international support. More than that their Aryan gods are there to frighten our innocent lambs.

**Danger of purchasing our MPs:** Those elected from the non-Aryan SC/ST/BCs and Muslims will be mostly innocent, "poor", newcomers who may be simply purchased. This is the danger.

Besides this, "Socialist Brahmins" among Aryan rulers may frighten our lambs presenting before them the horror picture of the wolf (BJP) coming to power unless all "secular forces join hands". A clear warning against such a move by Vaidik R.K.Hegde was given in our previous issue (DV Edit May 1, '96).

The "Sacred Brahmin" BJP may emerge as the single largest party but it may not be able to form the govt. That is why the wily Vaidik Venkatraman (Iyer), former President of India, has already warned President S.D.Sharma, also a Vaidik, to call upon the single largest party (BJP) to form the govt. Chanakya's faction of the Congress and the upper castes with him may join hands with BJP (*Brahmana Jati Par-tij*). As every Aryan has fallen in love with Chanakya for his expertise in financial frauds to enrich the Aryans, they want him to continue as PM. The Hindu nazi party has also blessed this plan (DV April 16, '96 p.6: "*Grand nazi plan for second term to Chanakya*").

Such a prospect of Chanakya going with the

### DV GETS A FAX

*We have just acquired a Fax (the number is the same, 080-33 66 771) thus fulfilling the pressing demand from our readers in India and overseas. It has facilities to receive even photos. Those interested in talking to the Editor himself are requested to phone only between 9 am to 2.30 pm any day (when the Editor is not on tour). Even Sundays. Please do not disturb the Editor in the night.*

Hindu nazi party may force the non-*vaidik* slaves in the Congress to revolt and project the Maratha Shudra Sharad Pawar.

**Marxist anaesthesia:** And this may be supported by the upper castes in Manuwadi marxist parties. These Left parties might even field Shudra Kayasth Jyoti Basu who promoted brahminism in West Bengal in a painless operation by injecting the marxist anaesthesia.

**This in brief will be the picture in Delhi once the results start coming. And our brahminical toilet papers will create the maximum confusion to keep the Bahujans out of power.**

International support will be also taken. All upper caste "constitutional experts" will be ready to promote the Aryan case.

**Role of Laloo Prasad Yadav:** So it is in this context the role of the Janata Dal and particularly its chairman, Laloo Prasad Yadav, is very crucial. V.P. Singh, Mulayam Singh, Kanshi Ram, Karunanidhi, Ram Vilas Paswan, Sharad Yadav must guide him properly to complete the Mandalisation of the country.

There will be enough Bahujans from among the newly-elected MPs belonging to the Congress (both Chanakya's faction and Tiwari faction) and even inside other parties whose support can be taken to form the govt. led by Janata Dal.

**120 SC/ST MPs:** Mere SC/ST MPs alone will be around 120 - the single largest bloc - elected from reserved constituencies. Ram Vilas Paswan and the United Republic Party of Maharashtra must take charge of these MPs and guide them to become the most powerful bloc to pave the way for Mandalisation of the country. All Bahujan MPs together with progressive forces among upper castes should support a JD-led govt. If Laloo promises them strict implementation of Mandal Commission Report on reservation - not only in jobs but also in education, - all of them will fall in line.

**Rebuilding Babri Masjid:** Social justice through Mandal, equal representation to all the castes and communities will unite SC/ST/BCs and Muslims.

**Rebuilding the Babri Masjid, justice to Kashmir and non-interference in Muslim Personal Law will make the Muslim community to force the elected Muslim MPs to follow Laloo Prasad Yadav who should head the govt. Sikhs will lend their swords.**

**India's first Bahujan Govt:** The coming few

days, therefore, are very crucial. Top leaders of Bahujan movement must sink their petty differences and in the interest of establishing India's first Bahujan Govt. they must all unite. This is easier said than done. Hundreds of obstacles will be put by the wily *vaidiks*. But Laloo alone has the guts and the vision to overcome it. V.P. Singh must act as the high priest to anoint Laloo.

**Caution to Dalit leaders:** A word of caution to Dalit leaders. We have repeatedly said that Dalits and particularly Ambedkarites shall be the leaders of Indian revolution. It is they and they alone who shall liberate the whole country including the upper castes and, particularly their women. So, Dalit leaders like Kanshi Ram, R.V. Paswan, Prakash Ambedkar etc have to shoulder the greatest responsibility in installing India's first Bahujan Govt. in Delhi. The upper caste press will remind Dalits about the short-lived Bahujan experiment in UP and try to spoil the Dalit-BC unity.

Dalit leaders must note that BCs are a highly unorganised lot with no ideology or leadership. Dalits have both. Hence it is the duty of Dalits to guide them properly. As BCs are deprived of constitutional reservations, which at least "educated" SC/STs have, they have been left far behind. While "educated" Dalits have made some progress and Dalit movement has taken fairly good strides, BC movement is limping.

**De-hindusising BCs:** BCs are also Untouchables. It is our duty to lift them and liberate them.

**Liberation of BCs is possible only when we include them in the "reserved sector" (like SC/STs). Once they join us in this "reserved sector", they will be forced to de-hindusise themselves and join Dalits and Muslims in our common struggle against Aryan oppressors.**

So, in the interest of making BCs join us, and strengthening the Bahujan unity, Dalits as leaders of Indian revolution have a duty to elect the first BC Prime Minister.

Coming days will be turbulent. Violent. It has to be so. India's road to revolution will be only through caste wars.

Mandalising India will lead to bloody caste wars which we welcome. And that is the only way to usher in the "Dr. Ambedkar Era" when Dalits will take over the leadership. That day is still four years away. ■

# DV poll 'predictions' & punky pundits

BASAVA NARAYANASWAMY, BHARAT ELECTRONICS RADAR SECTION, BANGALORE

You have predicted a defeat for Congress and BJP and a victory for Third Front led by Janata Dal. (DV Edit April 16, '96). If your "poll predictions" proves true even to the extent of 50% then

the readers of DV will have to declare you as a philosopher par excellence. Because other "national" dailies and journals have said the exact opposite - either victory for BJP or Congress. ■

Our "poll predictions" are not like astrological predictions which often go wrong. As our subject of speciality is caste (*Jati*) and religion and India is nothing but a collection of castes and religious communities, as revealed by the Anthropological Survey of India's "People of India Project" (DV Edit Jan. 16, '95; "Caste decides every thing in India" and DV March 16'96 p. 9; "Ambedkarite interpretation of caste"). We make our analysis based on the collective behaviour of each prominent caste and religious community. To observe such a behaviour it needs no microscope. Each caste and religious group behaves in a particular way. It has its own caste and class interest.

**As easy as eating banana:** Studying how such castes and communities behave is nothing but studying the Indian society itself. Such studies will tell us how a particular group will act in a given situation. Therefore, all those who have a keen insight into

Indian society can make such "predictions", Babasahab did it and we learnt it from him. It is as easy as eating a banana.

But our "national" press deliberately makes wrong propaganda to mislead the readers. Because these punky poll pundits are converting their "wishes" into 'opinion'. They are doing so hoping that those who read their toilet papers will be influenced by their opinions.

**Did DV ever go wrong?:** In the past 15 1/2 years since we started the *Dalit Voice*, we have made many such "predictions". And nowhere we have gone wrong. So this is not the first time. Our "predicting" a victory for Saddam Hussain in the Gulf War was the most risky. Even here we proved right. (DV March 1, '96 p. 11: "West at last admits defeat in Gulf War").

The point Brother Basava is making is not about the correctness or otherwise of our "predictions". What actually he means by praising us is that the "national" press is loudly and powerfully projecting untuths as truth, while DV is only whispering truth

which none can hear.

**Babasahab's Caravan:** What can we do for it? Are we to be held responsible for this? We are doing a duty. Our duty is to carry forward the Caravan of Babasahab. But this Caravan can gain speed if more hands join in pushing the Caravan.

If only our readers help put a microphone before our mouth, the same whisper can be heard by many more. With the existing DV, we could do nothing more than a whisper. Nobody is listening to us. Shouting and shouting we got tired and now we are back to our old job.

**If the slaves of India want to enjoy their slavery what can we do?**

The current elections are bound to spring big surprises. If the oppressed Bahujans fail to take advantage of this election also and fail to establish a "powerful media centre" in Delhi, then even this last opportunity is lost. Those anxious like Brother Basava must act. - **EDITOR.** ■

## Bahujans can't expect justice in this farce of an election

V.T.RAJSHEKAR

Election, it is said, is the cornerstone of a democracy. But the just concluded parliamentary election in India does not stand this test.

In a poverty-stricken 1,000-million strong country packed with such a large percentage of total-illiterates, semi-literates and those "literate" suffering from all sorts of superstitions, how can we expect a fair election? In an election, the voter is expected to give his verdict on a political party and the candidate it fields. How can starving, naked fellows struggling for one square meal a day be expected to give such a verdict? The ruling upper castes have deliberately kept them poor and hence illiterate so that they can manage and manipulate their votes. How can such a management and manipulation of votes of the starving millions be called an election? If such an election becomes a fraud, how can it be called a democracy?

This is our verdict after working in *Indian Express* for 25 years and now as Editor of *Dalit Voice* for 15 years. That is how a giant like Babasaheb Ambedkar, Father of India, was defeated in Bombay itself by a worm in the country's very first election.

**Muslims & their religion:** Except Muslims, who solely because of their religion, are somewhat enlightened, the other oppressed sections like Dalits, Tribals and Backward Castes have not even identified their oppressors. So much so those who suck their very blood are getting elected in every election. These innocent dumb-driven lambs believe the very wolves that devour them.

Such a farce is called elections in India. What type of a verdict we can expect from such elections? We are sorry to say parliamentary democracy stands condemned in India.

Our upper caste oppressors have tons of money to manage voters and dazzle them with all sorts of pomp and show and the media to manipulate their minds. But candidates from the oppressed Bahujan Samaj have not only no money but have to face a hostile media.

**Muslims are no better. The Muslim lambs have been also trusting the very same Congress**

**wolves. Only after the Babri Masjid fall, they have become a little wiser.**

Except for the only hope of caste consolidation, which prompted the oppressed to **cast their votes to their respective caste**, the exiting democracy is not to our advantage even after 50 years of "independence".

**Parliamentary democracy is loaded in favour of the upper caste rulers. This is our verdict.**

We completed a tour of different constituencies in South India where the parliamentary elections have just ended. We went to selected constituencies in four South Indian States where our Third Front candidates like R.Elumalai (TN) and Ambujakshan (Kerala Dalit Panthers) are contesting. And these are our findings written with a heavy heart.

No upper caste-led political party is interested in educating the voters and building up their awareness. Because such an exercise will go against their class-caste interests. Political parties representing the oppressed Bahujan Samaj have neither the money nor the media for such a voter education. How can we then expect the voters to vote for the Bahujan movement?

All the constituencies we toured were reserved for SC/ST. As our candidates neither belonged to the ruling Congress nor the BJP (*Brahmana Jati Party*), they had hardly any money to spend. The two upper caste Aryan parties, Congress and BJP, had plenty of money and the brahminical media support. As publicity brings "popularity", even the names of our candidates are not known to the voters - even Dalit voters - in their respective constituencies. Both Elumalai and Ambujakshan are honest intellectuals and dedicated Ambedkarites. They will be a great asset to Bahujan movement. But how to make this known to the voters?

Elumalai was contesting for the third time to the Lok Sabha. He lost the earlier two elections because he had no money for posters and pamphlets and to pay campaign workers.

**Penniless party:** It is true that he is fielded by the Pattali Makkal Katchi (PMK), a party led by

Dr. Ramadoss, leader of the Backward Caste Vanniyars who form 30% of the TN population. But it is a penniless party. Vanniyars may love Dr. Ramadoss but in an election this love is of no use. Because Vanniyars are a force only collectively. In a given constituency they become a minority. Besides, Vanniyars who love Dr. Ramadoss as a *jati* leader may be a member of a different political party.

If this is the case with Backward Caste Vanniyars what about Dalits? Dalits are the "poorest of the poor" and when elections come that is the time for them to make some quick money. All poor people can be purchased and Dalits are no exception. The ruling upper castes deliberately keep the Dalits poor and uneducated so that their votes can be purchased. When *vaidiks* like Chanakya, *Bangalore Papatti* can be corrupt, why not a "poor", village-dwelling Dalit farm labourer?

**Stooges get elected:** Elumalai has no money to please his own community people. And the dazzle of the ruling parties flush with funds will lure the Dalit votes. And in such an election corrupt and idiotic Dalit candidate, stooges of upper castes, get elected. This is our parliamentary democracy at the end of 50 years of India's "independence". How can the oppressed Bahujans get justice?

Ambujakshan is a brilliant youth. As president of the Kerala Dalit Panthers, the biggest Dalit organisation in Kerala with branches all over South Kerala at least, he was contesting the Ottapalayam reserved constituency to Lok Sabha for the first time. Ottapalayam is in Palghat dt. and our tour of this area revealed that Dalits there are the most backward - not even heard of Babasahab. The three candidates opposing him are from the ruling Congress Front, the marxist-led Left Front and the BJP. All these parties are upper caste outfits with any amount of money at their disposal. All these parties have fielded first-rate stooges. Ambujakshan is a well-read Ambedkarite, brilliant speaker and an asset to Bahujans. But how do the poor voters of Ottapalam know this?

**BSP mistake:** In Karnataka, the BSP candidate for Bangalore North Lok Sabha, Prof. Krishnappa, faced the same problem. He had neither the money nor the media publicity. Added to this, BSP committed the mistake of having no alliance with the Janata Dal. And that means he will not be getting the Muslim votes. The same is the case in Andhra Pradesh where the confusion is still more confounded. This is the position of all our Bahujan candidates fighting on behalf of the Third Front. Those contesting from the Janata Dal may be slightly better.

**Game played by rich:** The point is election is an expensive game which can be played only by the rich who are mostly upper castes. Dalits and Tribals, even Backward Castes and Muslims, can hardly match the money power of the upper castes. Hindydu nazi Seshan's restrictions might have brought some blessing in disguise to our people but by and large our people become a frustrated lot in the game of elections.

**Honest, dedicated Ambedkarites, Lohaites or Periyarists cannot win such elections. This election is for frauds and cheats.**

That brings us back to the merits of parliamentary democracy which we have said many times before that is heavily loaded against us. (DV Edit Oct. 1-1992: "*BSO Killing Dravida leadership using parliamentary democracy*"). Apart from touring the four Southern States, we have received calls from Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh. And the same situation is prevailing in all these States.

**How to defeat Aryans?:** In Gujarat, the ruling BJP and the Congress are both upper caste parties. The Third Front has not taken a good shape. BSP candidates are left in the lurch. In such a hostile atmosphere how can we defeat the Aryan upper castes in elections? Still our people have fought with their back against the wall. Many of them will succeed with all the hostile forces - money and media. This is because **caste** has gradually assumed importance and the oppressed Bahujans have started seeking shelter under their respective **caste**. This is a welcome development and our only hope.

In elections even our people - Dalits and Muslims - are impressed by pomp and show business. A candidate who comes in a cavalcade of cars and all sorts of paraphernalia impresses voters. They don't go by the ideology or the commitment of the candidate because the voters themselves are not educated in this ideology of Babasahab, Phule, Periyar, Sri Narayana Guru or Lohia. So the candidates are devoid of ideology and so too the voters. The only thing that will influence them is the TV and press build-up and the money the candidate spends for his show business.

**That means parliamentary democracy is a costly game which only our oppressors can play. It is not our cup of tea.**

That brings us back to our good old demand for separate electorate for Dalits, Muslims etc. Every *jati* can also fight and get separate electorate which alone can send dedicated leaders to legislature. This is our findings on the just completed elections. ■

## Sex crazy Bengali Brahmins produce millions of prostitutes

A.K. BISWAS, IAS, EX-VICE CHANCELLOR, DR. AMBEDKAR BIHAR UNIVERSITY, 34/60, BAILEY ROAD, PATNA-800001

The volume *Anweshan* (Bengali: meaning search, probe, investigation) by Sipra Biswas is an anatomical analysis of social life of Bengal. She is unconventional in her approach towards the issue of caste, crime, social superiority of certain castes, *Kulinism*, prostitution, etc. of the Bengali Hindus. Based on materials of archival importance, the book has adopted the Ambedkarite approach. While dealing with the four-fold caste system, she has exposed convincingly the futility of its divine origin.

### ORIGIN OF THE CHANDAL

Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar says, for example,

"The caste of Chandala is said by Manu to be the progeny of illegitimate intercourse between a Sudra male and a Brahman female. Can this be true? It means that Brahman women must have had special sexual attraction for the Sudras... So vast is the Chandala population that even if every Brahman female was a mistress of a Sudra, it could not account for the vast numbers of Chandalas in the country". (p.64).

To highlight its inherent significance, Sipra has focused her searchlight on 1872 census and juxtaposed Brahman and Chandala population. In Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, there were over 15,94,000 Chandalas as against 23,72,000 Brahmans. (p.67). She has questioned as to why Bihar or Orissa did not return Chandalas though Sudras were neighbours of

the Brahmans there too. Further, why the heartland of Hinduism i.e., Aryavarta, is bereft of Chandal though the two castes responsible for his progeny lived there side by

**ANWESHAN**, Sipra Biswas, pp.375, Rs. 125, Publishers, B.K. Biswas, *Adal Badal*, AE-513, Salt Lake City, Calcutta-700 064

side since centuries. In some of the districts of Bengal even, though Brahmans were numerically superior, the Chandalas were inordinately few, raising questions about the motives of Hindu lawgivers like Manu and others who advocated illegitimate birth of Chandal. Sipra asks with justifiable candour:

Were Bengali Brahman females more liberal in showering their charms on their Sudra males than their counterparts elsewhere? (p.68).

Presentation census of data on this speaks volumes of the futility of Manu and his ilk.

### HEART LAND OF PROSTITUTION

The lower Provinces of Bengal, according to the 1872 census, had thriving prostitution: of the 40,277 public women, Bengal proper accounted for 93.5%, whereas Bihar 4%, Orissa 2% and Assam 0.7%. Calcutta alone had the pride accommodated over 40% (i.e. 15,380) of those unfortunate souls (p.231-233). In this background

Sipra discusses the role of *Kulins* in polluting the Bengal social environment. An inquiry report submitted by a committee consisting, among others, of Pandit Iswar Chandra Sarma alias Vidyasagar, the reputed social reformer, made startling disclosure on *kulinism* of Brahmans and the immorality and evils it generated.

**This report reveals that as many as "3 and 4, even 23 marriages" were performed by a kulin Brahman in one day. (p.28). Kulin Brahmans with 100 wives were not uncommon and polygamy was resorted to as a means of business and livelihood.**

Dwelling on this system, the committee reported to the Govt. of Bengal:

"It is so difficult to find husbands in the proper class for *kulin* women that numbers, it is said, remained unmarried. The married and unmarried daughters and wives of *kulins* are said to live in the utmost misery and it is alleged that crimes of the most heinous nature, such as *adultery, abortion, infanticide and prostitution* are the common results of *Bhanga kulin marriages generally*". (p.241).

John Wilson, former Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University, said in 1877:

"The houses of ill-fame at Calcutta and other large towns are filled with the daughters of *kulin* Brahmans" (p.209). The extent of sex exploitation is evident from "a mid-nineteenth century report estimates that of

the 12,000 prostitutes in Calcutta, more than 10,000 were Hindu widows and daughters of *Kulin* Brahmins" (p.238). Contemporary report indicates that sexual promiscuity resulted in monthly 10,000 abortions in the last century in Bengal". (p.242).

### BAIDYA & KAYASTH AGITATION

A picture of angelical innocence about the Bengalis has been created by deliberate propaganda to suppress the dirty interiors of caste. Contrary to such general belief that Bengal is free from caste conflicts and strife, Sipra presents an entirely different picture. Almost all non-Brahman castes, for instance, agitated before the authorities for change of caste nomenclatures. Baidyas wanted to be upgraded and enumerated in the 1931 census as Brahman, whereas Kayasths as Kshatriyas in 1921 and again in 1931. In the 1911 census, the weight of representations from various castes was over 1/2 mounds! (p.247-249). Only Namasudras and Mahishyas succeeded to get their caste names changed.

### BHADRALOK CASTE CONFLICTS

The intense bitterness and conflict between the Baidyas and Kayasths (p.251-256) as also between Kayasths and Brahmins (p.309-310) in the early part of this century appears inconvenient and hence, forgotten chapters of social history of Bengal. This forms a very interesting chapter.

### UPPER CASTE DISEASES & CRIMES

Another unknown chapter of history is the high incidence of infirmities of the upper caste Bengali Hindus. The Brahmins and Kayasths

particularly were leading in diseases than many "low and despised" castes.

**For instance, per 1 lakh Brahmins (in West Bengal) 177 Brahman males and 70 females suffered from leprosy.**

For Kayasth it was 159 and 39 respectively. The corresponding figure for Kaibarta, in contrast, was 81 and 25 and Pod 49 and 36. In Eastern Bengal, Chandal (Namasudra) 56 males and 15 females suffered from leprosy, according to the 1891 census. Similarly, data on insanity, blindness and deaf and mutism have been marshalled to demolish the irrational superiority of the upper castes.

What appears most striking is the study of crimes and criminals reflecting relative position of different castes in Bengal.

**The book reveals that in 1872, according to official report, the Brahmins accounted for 6% of the convicted prisoners, though they accounted for 3.75% of the population.**

The Kayasths accounted for 6.1% of the convicts, but they were bare 2.4% of the population of the Province. (p. 202). To nail a point disarmingly, Sipra has quoted the 1911 census report which says, "The largest number of Hindu criminals (in Bengal) are Kayasths and Brahmins" which accounted for 7 and 4 per 10,000 (p.210) despite the fact that these two castes along with the Baidyas enjoyed complete monopoly in the appointments of Deputy Magistrates, Munsifs, besides, ICS, high court judges, police etc. These functionaries could advisedly influence the prosecution of criminals of their own castes. In 1901, of the 492 Deputy/Sub-deputy Magistrates, 128 were Brahmins, 144 Kayasths and 70 Baidyas. 2 Brahman, 13 Kayasth, and 7 were ICS officers.

(p.206). In Bengal proper 47,000 zamindars were Brahmins, and 62,000 Kayasths (p.116). Their role in subverting judicial process and vitiating process of trial was just immense.

### DACOIT KULINS

These facts, in the background of insinuation by Sunanda K Datta-Ray, the then editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta, that the destitute Namasudra refugees are responsible for providing manpower for West Bengal's politico-criminal underworld, (p.198) sound malicious and abuse of his privilege as the editor of a reputed daily. Datta-Ray's songs of praise for the *Bhadralok* (actual and original meaning of *Bhadralok* is not gentleman but it is an euphemism for Bengali Brahman, Baidyas and Kayasths only) is partisan and charges against the Namasudras unfounded.

John Wilson says that "the husbands of these *Kulin* women have lately been found, to the most extraordinary extent, among the most notorious and dangerous dacoits" (p.208).

### MORALITY OF BHADRALOK WOMEN

Incessant propaganda by upper castes has created a misconception that the "low castes" indulged in disreputable occupations. *Anwshar* not only forcefully demolishes this misgivings by parading enough data, but has established that the role of upper castes in disreputable occupations is dominant and disproportionately high too. If actual workers are considered, the ratio of Brahman female in disreputable occupation was 53:1 and 15:1 in 1901 and 1911 as against 63:1 and 48:1 for Bagdi female. It was 405:1 and 57:1 for Doms and 299:1 and 32:1 for Hadis. The latter are hated lustily by the *Bhadral-*

ok. Compare the ratio of Baidya and Kayasth in bad livelihood in 1901 and 1911. For Baidya female, the ratio was 22:1 and 24:1 and Kayasth female 32:1 and 21:1 as against 31:1 and 24:1 for Chamar female (p.120-136).

To put it differently, as against one Bauri female in disreputable occupation, 11 Brahman, 17 Kayasth, and 27 Baidya females, in comparison, had similar occupation in 1901.

**The Chamar or Muchi females were morally far more sound than Brahman, and Kayasth counterparts and at par with Baidya females.**

With one Dom female having disreputable occupation, more than 7 Brahman, 18 Baidya females and 12 Kayasth females lived with immoral means. (p.128-129). This perhaps blasts the angelical image of the *Bhadralok* most disarmingly.

### GOLAM KAYASTH

The Sudras bear the index of morality of a section of Bengalis. They were entirely different from the Sudras of Manu and other ancient lawgivers. This class of Sudras were entirely Bengali and concentrated in Eastern Bengal. They "descended from the maid servants by their masters of good caste; also called *Golam or Golam Kayasth*" (p.137).

Being maid servants, obviously the masters of good castes sexually exploited them like captive chicken in their backyards at will. Since they bear the name of Kayasth, this ipso facto bears testimony as to the violators of their modesty. Furthermore, that *Golam Kayasths* were allowed to enumerate themselves as Kayasths in census returns in 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 shows who the culprits of sexual abuses were. Incidentally, their infiltration resulted in unusual in-

crease in the population of the Kayasth of Bengal. In 1891, they numbered 235,000, 186,000 in 1901 and 149,000 in 1911. (p.137-140).

Kunri did not receive as much accommodation from the authorities or from the society as the *Golam Kayasths* did in Bengal.

### FIRST GENERAL STRIKE

The book deals with the successful agitation of 30 years from 1880 to 1911 resulting in the change of name of from Chandals to Namasudras who were the largest caste of Eastern Bengal. They had organised India's "first general strike" in the district of Faridpur, Jessore and Barisal (now in Bangladesh) in 1873 against their dehumanisation by the upper castes.

### PLIGHT OF JOGIS

The Jugs represented during census operations to be returned as Jogi and the Brahman enumerator put his feeling that "he would cut off his hands than write down Jugi as Jogi and his wife the title of Devi like a Brahman woman". The brahminical order was responsible for their degradation so much so that "if one of them happens to enter the room of a Hindu of good caste, the cooked food and drinking water must immediately be thrown away". (p.261-262).

### BALLAL SEN'S BASTARD

The myths of origin of *kulinism* of Brahman in Bengal as well as import of Brahman from Kanauji is fictitious. Of the five of branches of *kulins*, namely, Phule, Sarbanandi, Khardah, Ballavi and Panditrani, the last one was created by a bastard of Ballal Sen who is credited with the investiture of *kulinism* in Bengal. "A Brahmani concubine of Ballal Sen" says Wilson, "is said to have had a son who was a good

pandit". (p.71) and the *kulin* created by this illegitimate son is called Panditrani (p.71). The proud declaration of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee to the effect that "I belong to *kulin* Brahman family which, since creation of *kulinism* by King Ballal Sen, had maintained their purity with pride and inflexible consistency" (p.72) appears quite ridiculous to the writer.

### DISMISSED ICS OFFICIAL

History presents a colourful and romantic perception of the *Bangobhango Andolan* i.e. anti-partition agitation and *swadeshi* movement following partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon in 1905. Though *swadeshi* means boycott of foreign goods, of all things, the import of foreign liquors increased in value and volume year after year; and this fact has nowhere been brought by highbrow intellectuals to light.

The high priest of *swadeshi*, as Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee is known; was dismissed from ICS due to inefficiency, misconduct, tampering of judicial document and dishonesty which Indian historians are chary to admit and labour hard to gloss over it.

They claim that he was dismissed from ICS for his patriotism, nationalism and fierce love for freedom. Facts tell a different tale which has been related in the book. (p.279-280).

### MUSLIMS ARE CHANDALA CONVERTS

The tall claims of a section of Bengalis that they are casteless have been put to ridicule by parading data that in the 1991 election to the West Bengal Bidhan Sabha as many as 55 MLAs were Brahmans, 56 Kayasths, and 5 Baidya. Thus they accounted for almost 40 per cent of Bidhan Sabha, though they

form an insignificant 6% of the State's population. The proportion of population entities then mere 17 representatives in the Bidhan Sabha. Looking at the unhealthy minority domination in all walks, she warns that the tail must stop wagging the dog, as it is unnatural and inauspicious.

This explains why there is so much emphasis on and euphoria about ideology among the (*Bhadralok*) Bengalis. Under an ideological pretension, the dark aspect of deprivation of the numerically superior castes/groups/communities by a minority can be suppressed and attention from this essential aspect has been deflected for pretty long. This clearly appears to be the reason why the high caste Hindus favoured partition in 1947.

In pre-partition Bengal, the solidarity among the depressed classes and Muslims who basically were converts from the former, successfully excluded the minority *Bhadralok* from the centre of power. They were effectively checkmated. Having partitioned India, however, they succeeded in getting back to its centre stage much to the detriment of the multitude.

**The book promises to be highly interesting, though some irrational upper castes may take umbrage at it. People at large will find it very useful. The data and facts are the greatest attraction of the book. The publisher has placed on record in his note that no reputed publishers of Calcutta were ready to publish this work though it was strongly recommended by Mahasweta Devi, a reputed authoress and activist.**

The work explodes many myths of upper caste hypocrisy. Sipra says in the preface that her work is designed to present the viewpoint of the deprived and neglected. According to me there is no work, ei-

ther in vernacular or English languages dealing with the anatomy of social life of Bengal comparable with *Arweshan*. Its documentation is exhaustive, and flawless and this is the most strong point. It contains many quotations of British authors, besides official source to drive her points home. As a new authoress this ensure richness and credibility to her statements.

The appendices to the book include three representations submitted by the Namasudras preceding the census operations in 1901 and 1911 and two rulings of Calcutta High Court are included. In *Bholanath Mitter v The Emperor* (1924 Calcutta 616) the High Court of Calcutta held that "marriage between a (Bengali) Kayasth and a Dom is valid" as both are "members of different Sudra castes".

#### WIDOW MARRIAGE AMONG DALITS

In another landmark judgment in 138 Appellate Civil on June 29, 1883 (*Hurry Charan Dass v Nimai Chand Koyal*), the Calcutta High Court held that the "custom" of widow marriage was "valid" among Namasudra caste, and such a widow, after remarriage, "was entitled to succeed as heir to her father under the Hindu law". In many respects, this judgment is very significant. The widow in question, Doyamoyee was a native of Midnapur which also was the home district of illustrious Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, social reformer and leader of Bengal renaissance. His son was married to a widow in 1871 and this fact is hailed as high point of renaissance of Bengal. Even the reformer Vidyasagar did not note the prevalence of the custom "since time immemorial" among the Namasudras in his own native place, not to speak of giving wholehearted sup-

port to it. Doyamoyee fought her case upto the High Court and got decree. Two lower courts, presided over by Bengali Hindus, Baboo Kedar Nath Mazoomdar, Sub-judge, Midnapur, and Madhub Chunder Chuckerbutty, Munshif, Tumlook, dismissed her claim to inheritance. Clearly, they could not rise above ordinary Hindu orthodox and morbidity.

**This only proves in letter and spirit the view held by Dr. Ambedkar that social reform movements led by upper castes were aimed at reforming their own family and not the society at large. The humane spirit of customs prevalent among the "low" castes were neither respected nor were treated as guiding principle in social reform for upper castes. Widow marriage among Namasudras is a striking instance.**

The indices are rare documents and students of social history will get unique insight into social life of Bengal. The word "renaissance" will sound like a nasty word and its leaders who hogged the limelight in the centre stage of history of Bengal would appear undeserving. Barring some printing errors which are due to inexperience of the publishers, *Arweshan* is a bold presentation of the realities of social life of Bengal. ■

#### Police-led anti-Muslim riots in Bombay

**Washington:** Human Rights Watch accused Indian officials on April 25 of covering up their role in deadly attacks on Muslims in 1993 and urged them to reopen a probe into the violence. In a 27-page report, "*India: communal violence and the denial of justice*", the group accused the Maharashtra Govt. of hiding its complicity in clashes that paralysed Mumbai and killed over 1,000 people three years ago. "The violence in Mumbai emerged out of an organised and systematic ideological campaign directed primarily against India's Muslim", it said. (AFP-Times of India April 26). ■

**Duane B. Bradford**, Pan-African Associations of America, 2325 Laconia St, San Diego, CA 92114, USA: Thank you once again for printing our dialogue for your readership. (DV April 1'96: "Only global African-Dalit war can fight Euro-Aryan racism"). Hopefully out of this dialogue will grow the seeds of global coordination towards African/Black global empowerment. My correspondence was misquoted in your editing process. In my original letter of March 7, 1996 I said that "60% of this nation's prison system houses African American males". This quite a contrast to, "Of this, 60% are in the prisons of the US". We do not want to give the false impression to non-African American that 60% of the African American population is in prison.

**Dr. Velu Annamalai**, PO Box 842066, Houston, Texas 77284, USA: No matter how watchful we are, there is going to be a number of new statues for M.K. Gandhi coming up in this country. The brahminical Hindus and the Govt. of India are joining together to propagate brahminism through gan-dhism. One way we can probably put a stop to this is to prove that Gandhi is being regarded as an incarnation of the Hindu gods and that he is treated like a god. If we can establish this fact, I understand that we can easily bring all the Gandhi statues down in this country. Is there a way that you can help me or at least direct me to accomplish this goal? It is indeed frustrating and depressing that I cannot do more than what little I am doing for the Dalit cause. But I do not seem to find any outlet to get away from this daily slavery of going to work which consumes most of my precious time.

**Matomah Alesha**, PO Box 11075, Atlanta, Ga-30310, USA: I am in a new place. It is very different from California. Atlanta is called the Black Mecca and it is. African-Americans here are very race conscious, cultural and soulful. California is socially falling apart, very permissive, non-spiritual and recessive. It is our typical European-based (dominated) town. Conscious blackness is leaving in droves to relocate in other American cities or in other countries. Of course, there is also the prophecies of earth changes. California is said to be converted into islands within the next decade. Many feel a big earthquake will happen this year. And I mean big earth quake in the next coupe of months.

**Shariful Islam**, London: Kalim Siddiqui, director of the Muslim Institute, London, died in Pretoria on April 18 aged 62. London *Times* (April 20) said:

A rabble-rousing firebrand, who thrived on conflict, Kalim Siddiqui was one of Britain's most radical Islamic leaders. His condemnation of Western involvement in the Gulf, his public endorsement of the fatwa against Salman Rushdie, and his call for Islamic revolution aroused belligerent controversy. Although he had no spiritual authority, he styled himself as the spokesman of Britain's nearly 1.5 million Muslim founding the London-based Muslim Institute and calling for the establishment of a nonterritorial Islamic parliament. Regarding the West as a sink of corruption, he denounced it in apocalyptic terms. At times he seemed almost to be daring the British Government to prosecute him, calculating, perhaps, that he would be seen as a martyr if convicted, and a hero if let free. His extreme rantings certainly made him something of a favourite with television producers. However among the majority of more moderate Muslims, he was seen as a dangerous fanatic, an isolated voice within the Islamic community who had set back its interests with promotions of religious separatism. He was born near Hyderabad in southern India, but grew up in Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh, in northern India where his father was a junior police inspector and small landowner.

**Federation of Ambedkarite & Buddhist Organizations UK**, Milan House, 8 Kingsland Road, London E2 8DA UK: On April 14, a function in commemoration of the birthday of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar was held at the Indian High Commission in London. There was a full capacity audience. On the same morning a function was held to inaugurate the library at the "Ambedkar Centre" situated at 12-Featherstone Road in Southhall by Dr.L.M.Singhvi, the High Commissioner for India. Large gathering of Ambedkarites, followers and admirers of Dr.Ambedkar from all over the UK attended the function. C.Gautam, a trustee and Gen. Secretary of Dr.Ambedkar Memorial Trust which set up the centre, outlined the aims and objectives of the Centre.

**Hafizur Raitman**, 185-Elephant Road, Dhaka 1205, Bangladesh: I am a Bangladeshi national who came to India on business. I have gone through the March issue of *Dalit Voice* and have been convinced by its splendid contents. I like to pay my regards to your valuable work and hope that you will continue the mission up to an end. I like to introduce you to friends in Bangladesh.

**Gopal Gurung**, PO Box-2828, Kathmandu, Nepal: The published Letter of 86 years-old Stephen D'Souza, SJ, Catholic Ashram (DV March 16'96)

draw my attention and I would like to thank him for taking so much interest for the oppressed female children of Nepal who are sold in the flesh market of India. The last as well as the only Hindu kingdom is under the heinous hegemony of Hindu nazi Aryans and they enjoy selling non-Aryan Buddhist people in different markets in different names. There are many "whore villages" in Western Nepal in the name of *Devaki*. They are like the *Devadasis* of India. These Aryans are so cruel to non-Aryan Buddhist-Mongol that I have no right word to address them. I have been fighting alone since 1960 and since 1967 I started a journal. But I had to face several difficulties. I could not run my journal and I was sent to jail. These nazi-Hindus are foreigners to this soil. Once they were refugees and at the same time beggars in this land. They are heartless creatures. I am organising and giving our people political consciousness. I would like DV readers to extend me their helping hand to recover our human rights. I want to assure Stephen D'Souza that I will not give up hope. It is a delightful news for me that a Letter of Isa Haque of West Bengal has appeared in DV on March 16. He says several letters have been written but so far I have received only two letters and already replied to them. Postal system in Nepal is not reliable. Nepal's political system is purely based on racial basis and 20% A&B class nazi-Hindu-Aryans' rulers are from top to bottom. Brahmins (we say Bahuns) are only 3%. Vicious conspiracy of Vishwa Hindu Parisad and RSS is going on against Muslim people and other non-Hindu people.

**Dr. Viendra Singh**, Division of Genetics, IARI, New Delhi-110 012: Dalit Voice gives correct and unbiased information not available from any other source. I belong to BC and well aware of and also suffered brahminical discrimination. Your prophecies are coming true. The political situation in India is changing at a faster rate than expected. The 11th Lok Sabha will have a higher number of MPs belonging to Bahujan Samaj (SC/ST/BCs and minorities) than it had earlier. I feel that when Bahujan Samaj (85% of the total population) sends its members as MPs in Lok Sabha in higher number, it is the duty of elected members to do something for the liberation of Bahujan Samaj taking initiatives from our great leaders like Dr. Ambedkar, Peryar and Mahatma Phule. But their efforts will be made useless by the presence of antagonistic and hostile brahminism in govt, a fact that Brahmins with 2.5% of the total population are occupying 60-80% govt. jobs in various departments. Hence, there is no other alternative but to break the backbone of brahminism,

which can be done if the Bahujan MPs unitedly and forgetting parties they belong, reduce the retirement age or govt. servants. A reduction to a level of say 54 years will be sufficient to remove the dominance of Brahmins in govt. machinery at higher levels. This should be followed by appointing retired Bahujan Samaj officers to various boards and filling the vacuum in higher positions by promoting middle level officers of Bahujan Samaj and filling the vacant posts in various categories through recruitment of unemployed youths by honestly following the reservation policies. If reservation to women is done, it should be also caste-based. Reservation to "poor" among the upper castes, as advocated by some parties now, should not be considered until and unless their proportion in govt. machinery is reduced to a level lower than their proportion in the total population. By this way, within two years the composition of the govt. machinery will be altogether different than what it is today. Thus the members of Bahujan Samaj will have a say in decision-making and their executives. Only then the policies of social equality and share in natural resources in proportion to their population will percolate to the bottom.

**Frank George**, Trivandrum: A two-day seminar is being organised here by Dalit Samskarika Vedi. Noted scholars like V.Prabhakaran, Mukundan Peruvattur, Babu Bhaskar, Dr.P.Sivanandan, Dr.M.Kunjaman, Prof. M.S.Jayaprakash, Thomas Mathew, Prof. Salim Balakrishnan, Ambujakshan (KDP), N.K. Jose, H.P.Chentharassery, Clement Lopez, Dr.Abraham, Paul Chirakarode, N.Devadas, Ramesh Nanninda, V.Gopinath are expected to read papers on "crisis facing Dalits in Kerala". Those interested may contact: M.Jalaludden, 'Jayageeth', TC16/570, Kochar Road, Jagathy, Trivandrum-14.

**M.V.Prabhakar**, 356/2-45A, Rachman Street, George Pet, Nellore-524001: I am a BA student here and a Dalit Catholic Christian from Nellore Diocese. A racist upper caste Pedda Kamma Catholic Bishop, P.C.Balaswamy, is persecuting the Dalit Catholics. He came here 20 years back. Our Diocese has 94% of Dalit Christians. He dashed all our hopes and took us 40 years backward. Funds are diverted to his sister-in-law. He gets his own *jati* children from Madras and gives them education here but our children are neglected.

*We had published a report, ("AP Dalit Christians punish racist Bishop") by Prasad Rao of Nellore. (DV Oct. 195 p.8) about the very same Bishop Balaswamy. When you say Dalit Christians constitute 94% of your Diocese, we can-*

*not understand how you are not able to take over your own church by ousting the racists. Just because you people have embraced Christianity, you do not cease to be our blood relations. You meet your Dalit counterparts of Nellore like Brother Soddhaima, a senior Buddhist leader of Nellore, and seek their support to jointly plan your strategies. When we visited Nellore a couple of months back we could have planned all then. Any way, it is not late. If the majority take a decision to take over the church, then everything follows. - EDITOR.*

**Naval Viyogi**, 518-Sita Nagar, Ludhiana-141001: With ref. to my report, "US Award for Dalit historian" (DV May '96 p.23), I have to add the following. After my thorough and deep studies of different religious and general history, I have come to the conclusion that not Buddhism but Sikhism is the only religion which can cure and save the 85% indigenous people from the deadly plague of brahminism. In DV Dec. '95 ("Sikhism alone can liberate BCS") Nand Kishore has also argued on the same lines. This issue is a very hot subject among the Indian Dalits settled in UK. A Dalit writer from UK came to Delhi in Sept. 1995 to attend a conference. He (Chahalon Chahal from North Wales) presented a research paper advocating Buddhism for the liberation of Dalits. But I wanted to know how Buddhism was driven out from its own motherland (India). No satisfactory answer came from Chahal. I quoted Babasaheb Ambedkar's famous sentence: "Not lions but only meek and weak animals are put to sacrifice.... So please be a lion". Sikh religion turned meek and weak cows into roaring lions. I may mention here a historical event which took place during the Mughal period. In 1739, after giving the last blow to the Mughal Empire, Nadir Shah was returning with heavy load of booty including valuables like famous Kohinoor and was nearing Lahore. Then he was shocked to learn that his victorious forces were attacked and plundered by the Sikh forces. Nadir Shah came to Lahore and asked the then governor of Western State, Jakariya Khan, "Who are these traitors?" He said: These are Hindu sants who gather twice a year in "Har Mandir" (Amritsar) to take ritual bath and escape afterwards. Nadir Shah asked: "Where do they live?" The governor said: "Sir, saddles of horses are their abode". Emperor Nadir Shah was shocked. He warned Jakariya Khan: "Note it, that time is not far away while any one of these traitors will be the ruler of India". Later history of India records the fact that within a short period, Sikh forces (Jathas) gave the last blow to the Mughal empire and established their own rule in Punjab, which

paved the way for Maharaja Ranjit Singh to establish a very strong kingdom in north-west India. He was a Sudra king. Brahmins are the offsprings of Chanakya, the most cunning politician of India, who hunted for the blood of the meek and weak Buddhists during the post-Gupta age. If there had been Sikh lions in place of Buddhists, the history of India would have been quite different.

**Dr.D.Yadaiah**, B2/23, MIG (Huda), Chandanagar, R.R. dt, AP-500138: Kudos to V.P.Singh for his brave comments on "Hindu hate philosophy". (DV April '96 p.8). We are happy to go through his speech at Harvard University. Despite being a Thakur and a former Maharaja, he could still analyse the BSO exactly on the lines of *Dalit Voice*. Under the BSO a "superior" caste hates the one immediately below it. But the hated caste is also happy because there are many below it. BCS, SCS and STs are also very much interested in imitating the BSO. Brahminism is surviving because of the brahminisation of BCS and SC/STs. We have published a booklet, *Budha* and the future of his Religion, by Babasaheb, in Telugu. It was released by Bhante Dhammachari of Pune here.

**J.P.Prem**, Ex-President, BSP, Gujarat, C-2, Swati Society, Opp. Dhaval Park, Viswamity Road, Baroda-11: We are interested in publishing the Gujarati edition of DV. We need your consent.

*Something is seriously wrong with Gujarati Dalits. In 1981 and 1985, the upper caste Brahmins, Baniyas and Patels of Gujarat launched two caste wars and killed many Dalits. But Dalits have forgotten all this and joined the very party (BJP) of their oppressors. Gujarat is the only State in North India where there was no Third Front in the recent elections to fight the two upper caste parties of Congress and BJP. So much so Gujarati Muslims were forced to vote for the Congress, the original brahminical party, to keep out the devil of BJP. To educate the Dalits of Gujarat, a Gujarati edition of DV is badly needed. But those aspiring for political leadership cannot run a journal. We need a missionary to do this job. It is easy to bring out a journal but difficult to continue it. We have suffered enough. Our Tamil edition could not continue. The first to stop was our Hindi DV from Bhopal. If Brother Prem is ready to fulfill all these conditions and also has the journalistic capacity, we will be too happy to accept his offer. It will be better if a meeting of his friends is called at Baroda to finalise the plans. And we are ready to come. - EDITOR.*

**S.Ram**, 117/94/L Navin Nagar, Kanpur: Secret ef-

forts are on to strengthen the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) and brahminism through *Ram Raiya* by rewriting history. All literatures of Bahujans will be destroyed and those remaining will be defamed. The most popular and beloved leader of SC/BC masses (Babasaheb) has been projected as stooge of British rulers. Of course, the most effective way of destroying BC/SC identity has been in tireless efforts to change the criteria of backwardness from "social and educational" to "economic".

**T.R.Azad**, 29-A, Rajinder Nagar, New Company Bagh, Jammu: All-J&K SC/ST Employees Association celebrated our foundation day and Dr. Ambedkar Jayanti with J.S. Patil, General Secretary, Maharashtra State Electricity Board Employees Union, as the chief guest.

**P.K.Biswas**, Calcutta University, Calcutta: This is with ref. to S.K.Biswas Letter of April 16/96 (p.15) about A.K.Biswas, IAS, getting Magsayay Award. Why such an important news has been blacked out by the "national" toilet papers? Is it because he is a Dalit? Or did he meet the fate of Sher Singh, a Dalit Sikh IAS officer (now under suspension here), who was given the King Faisal Award but the West Bengals *Manuwardi* Marxist Govt. refused to give him the clearance to receive the Award? I am anxious to know the truth. (DV May 16, '94 p.5: "Dalit Sikh IAS officer punished for speaking truth").

*A.K.Biswas case is exactly like that of Sher Singh. It was a beautifully planned and meticulously executed brahminical conspiracy to defame a brilliant Dalit IAS officer. Our enemies will certainly do every thing to cheat us and defame us. They are experts in such helious crimes. But why should we allow ourselves to be cheated? We suspected a foul play even when we received S.K.Biswas call from Delhi. He is not only president of the Dalit-Bahujan Intellectuals Forum, author of many books but a Dy. Secretary in the Union Finance Ministry. We had our own doubts because Magsayay Award had been always a preserve of the Aryans. How could A.K.Biswas, who had so effectively exposed the BSO treachery and took up the cause of Babasaheb, get this prestigious Award? Memories of Brother Sher Singh taken for a ride by the very same teacherous elements were still fresh. So we were hesitating. But S.K.Biswas was firm that we must announce the "news" which later turned out to be a case of brahminical fraud. Our enemies will do everything to destroy us but why should we allow ourselves to be destroyed? - EDITOR.*

**Pramod Meshram**, Ujjain, MP: I am sending this report from the birth place of Dr. Babasaheb

Ambedkar who was born on April 14, 1891 at Mhow (Indore dt) in MP. His father's name was Ramji Sakpal, who was a subedar in the army and was stationed at Mhow. Two years later he retired from the army and moved his family to Dapoli in Konkan, Maharashtra. Babasaheb's 105th birth anniversary was celebrated with great enthusiasm at Mhow. Most of the people coming to his birth place were from Maharashtra. One sorry feature is not a single bookstall of the Bahujan literature was found there. Bhartiya Boudha Mahasabha, Mhow, arranged free lunch to all the visitors. But gradually the crowd is getting thinner year by year.

**Mrs. Surinder Kaur**, Calcutta: Report of the Backward Classes Commission was submitted by B.P.Mandal on Dec.31, 1980. The report has said 52% of the Indian population as "socially and educationally" backward classes under Art.15(4) of the Indian Constitution. But the way it has arrived at this figure (52%) is highly defective: (1) It mentions in the preface to its report that owing to disturbed conditions in the seven North-Eastern States, it could not tour this region. (2) Only two villages and one urban block were selected from each district from the rest of the country for a socio-educational survey. The size of this sample survey was not large enough to give reliable data regarding "socio-educational" backwardness. The Commission admitted it was not sufficiently comprehensive to cover each and every caste in the country. (3) Systematic caste-wise enumeration of population was last done in the 1931 census. So, caste-wise population figures beyond 1931 are not available. But the Commission assumed erroneously that the rate of growth of population of various castes, communities and religious groups over the last half a century has remained more or less the same, despite partition of the country in 1947. (4) Education has pushed upwards many BCs and to be a member of BCs, one group has to be both "socially and educationally backwards". What do we do when we know the exact number of BAs/MAs/doctor/engineers etc. but do not know their castes? Without knowing their castes, it is very difficult to ascertain whether a particular group still belongs to BCs or not. (5) The Commission says that several synonyms of the castes listed as Backward have been left out. Certain castes are known by the number of synonyms which vary from one region to the other and their complete coverage is almost impossible. With the implementation of Mandal Report, there has been a mad rush to join BC group even by upper castes. So the only way to have a reliable data on BCs is to

order caste-wise census in 2001 AD. Till then, the figure of 52% BCs may be treated as provisional.

**Nattalam Devadasan**, 119/D1, CBH Road, West Kalungady, Nagercoil-629 001: We have written to the National Human Rights Commission, New Delhi, regarding the absorption of six temporary messengers to permanent messenger post in the State Bank of India. And also called for justice to six temporary messengers of State Bank of India. Trivandrum zone, who had been denied the rights to job (human rights) by some upper caste officials of the State Bank of India in collusion with the upper caste trade union.

*Lost rights can't be regained by begging. But the ruling upper castes have converted Dalits into beggars. The above is a case of begging. The NHRC is headed by a communal veldik who played havoc as the Supreme Court Chief Justice. Upper caste dhamaa doest not believe in human rights of those outside their charmed circle. Yet knowing all these our people continue to resort to begging and remain as beggars. Beggars can't be choosers. - EDITOR.*

**K.B.Ram, Rajkamal**, 1-CH-13, Sector-1, Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur, Rajasthan-302 004: Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar has said that a religion, howsoever atrocious to its followers may be, cannot be destroyed. In case they cannot tolerate its teachings, only way for them is to forsake it. Discarding the religion should be genuine. A follower of a religion should understand the tenets of the new religion which he wants to adopt before he takes action. And once he decides to change the religion, he should stick to it. This does not mean that he should hate the old religion after conversion. This is called conversion from one religion into another religion. All the followers of a religion except the originator are converted members of that religion. When Budha got enlightenment, he was alone. He wanted to share the ecstasy of his new find and found suitable the five ascetic the Brahmins with whom he was acquainted, to part with the truth. Immediately, when they came to know the truth, they accepted it and followed Budha as his disciples. He went on converting people high and low till the end of his life. Even after his death, his disciples, the Bhiku, carried on his job of conversion in India that is Bharat and outside till the entire country was converted to Buddhism. Even today we find people are taking to Buddhism. So is the case with Islam and Christianity. Therefore, there is no question of being new or old in a religion. Of all the religions of the world, Hinduism is the only one which does not permit conversion into it lest its policy of divide and rule will be

disturbed. There is one-way traffic. Hinduism does not permit conversion into it from other religions because of the fear that the converts may become Brahmins.

**Abhijit Roy**, 931-Jawpur Rd., Calcutta-74: This concerns the mischief done by the *Manuwadi* Marxist Govt. of West Bengal (WB) particularly with regard to tribals. Our basic problem is land alienation and in WB it is very high. Tribal population here is "decreasing" and this is again a mischief of the upper castes in the govt. The 1991 census put the Tribal population at 8.08% and the WB figure is 5.59%. The literacy rate in WB is below that of all-India rate. Jyoti Basu who swears by marxism has deliberately denied education to Tribals while promoting his *Bhadralok jatis*. The literacy rate of Tribals in WB is 27.78% compared to the all-India average of 29.60%. And these frauds claim to be the leaders of have-nots. Tribal's main occupation is food gathering and agriculture. And they continue to be at starvation level. No change in living conditions while Basu's *Bhadralok* have made a quantum jump. Concentration of Tribals in WB is above the all-India average. Purulia, Bhirbhum, Bankura, Midnapore are Tribal districts. Still these have not been declared as "Scheduled areas" by the govt. Advanced communities live in urban areas. Brahmins, the ruling race of India, are urban-based. But Tribals continue to rot in villages. The all-India percentage of Tribals living in urban areas is 7.39 (West Bengal 5.2%). So, the WB Tribals are worse than animals. They are not living but existing. Official figures themselves prove that the WB Tribals are the worst exploited in the whole country. Even in politics they are cheated. The 6% tribals have only one Minister. In the 17 zilla parishads (ZP) we have no Tribal president - not even in the Tribal-dominated districts. All the four districts have upper caste ZP chief. *Manuwadi* marxists have very cunningly established upper caste "Ram Rajya" better than the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP). Here a mere 6% upper caste (*Bhadralok*) are dominating every section of the society. In employment also STs share in WB is below the all-India level. Here STs are allotted 6% reservation in jobs but only 4% of it is filled by STs. (Those interested in knowing details on Tribals may study: *Indian Tribals through ages* by R.C.Verma, Publication Division, Govt. of India, pp.175). I get inspiration by reading the writings of Babasaheb and you. I want to fight this marxist menace and I want your readers to support our struggle. I like your idea on Dalit-Muslim unity which alone can fight upper caste menace. Such a unity is taking shape. Many

political parties have copied your ideas but none is thanking you.

*Brother Abhijit has given a heart-rending account of the Tribals in WB. We had visited Bankura, and the adjoining Jharkhand districts of Bihar over 10 years ago and lived with Tribals for 5 days. So, we know all the facts. But the point is those who are suffering, those in pain must groan, shout, protest, revolt. Then only others will know that they are angry. Then only they can hear their noise and feel for their pain. The persecution and suffering of the WB Tribals is a fact but the suffering Tribals are not even crying - not to speak of protest or revolt. This is the one and the only case in the whole world where the slaves are enjoying their slavery. See how painlessly our brahminical rulers have made the suffering slaves to enjoy their slavery. People like Abhijit must devote their time and energy to "educate" the suffering tribals so that they may identify the enemy. Those suffering and persecuted in India have not even identified their oppressors. How then they can fight the oppressors? - EDITOR.*

**Manioor Gopalan**, Surabhi, Kanakkary, Kottayam, Kerala-686632: This has ref. to the Editorial of April 16, "Defeat both Aryan parties, Congress & BJP". The Editor deserves congratulation for making the readers conscious of caste (jati). The Brahmana Jati Party (BJP) is very particular to field SC/ST/BC candidates to exploit the Bahujans. Two political parties in Kerala (B.L.P and SC-ST Reservation Protection Samithy) representing SC/ST/BCs have joined hands with the BJP declaring that liberation of indigenous people can be achieved only through BJP. It is shocking that the leaders of these parties are being paraded by upper castes. Those who made alliance with our enemy are also our enemies.

**G.Saddharma**, 25-1-1458, Gautam Nagar, Nellore-524004: BSP has once again betrayed the AP Dalits. Here is a proof. Katti Padma Rao, contested the Nellore Parliament seat under BSP but N.T.Rama Rao's TDP now headed by Laxmi Parvathi did not support him. She refused to allot a single seat to BSP. Katti stands betrayed and the AP Dalits for the second time.

**Damodar N.Pol**, 71-8 "Renukuni" Subhashnagar, Miral-416410: With great sorrow I have to write that a noted Kannada Dalit writer/poet, Kumar Kakkayya Pol of Bijapur, died on 15.2.96 following a massive heart attack. He was also DV subscriber. B.S.Pol has written a book, *Chaturvarna Dharma Darshana*, which was announced in DV of 1.5.90. B.S.Pol under the pen-name, Kumar Kakkayya Pol, has written a collection of Kannada Vachanas, Kumar

*Kakkayyana Vachanagalu*, which surpasses writings of Basavanna or Sarvajna. The book contains 1,235 verses (320 pages) and is a direct onslaught on the Brahminical Social Order, price Rs.65. It is published from Ulwala, Rashmi Prakashan, Kakkayya Niwas, 79 KHB Colony, Bijapur-3, Karnataka.

**Pramod K.Kureel**, C-5/D-115A, Janakpuri, N.Delhi-58: This is with reference to V.P.Singh's lecture on "Hindu hate philosophy" (DV April 1). V.P.Singh's lecture is an epitome of the impeccable socio-political philosophy he has fiercely adhered to bravely facing the avalanches of criticism from the ruling upper castes. It remains an undisputed fact that the "Mandal mantra" has become an inseparable part of the Indian society, more so of Indian polity. It definitely goes to the credit of Singh that the long suffering masses of the Indian society have woken up to a "roaring consciousness" and speaking in a voice that belie their hitherto muted manners. One "Mandal" has proved to be equivalent to hundreds of "Bastilles" in terms of magnitude of social transformation. "Mandal" has transcended the boundaries of its constitutional "domain" of reservations in govt. services and within a short span of 4-5 years, has itself well entrenched into the socio-political milieu of the country. Singh must be congratulated to have lent his well articulated voice to the millions who had no voice of their own.

**A.L.Ukey**, Asst.Engg., ATPS:MPEB, Chachai - 484220: This is with ref. to (DV Aug.16, 1995) Dr.Vellu Annamalai's visit to India (p.7) and Gulam Nabi Malik Shahabaz's Letter (p.19). Dalits express their solidarity with Muslims mainly because it is our people who got converted and hence our blood relations. Secondly, we feel that Muslims too are facing the same threat and tyranny from the same enemy. Thirdly, Islam is the antidote to Hinduism which means graded inequality of ascending order of reverence and descending degree of contempt. Islam cuts at the very root of this and that is why Dalits are closer to Islam. I endorse Dr.Annamalai's plea that during 1,000 years of Muslim rule they had done nothing to uplift the Dalits. No doubt, Islam offers greater brotherhood, but it is only within Islam. It is right that lions are not scarified but only lambs, and that is why Babasahab asked us to become lions. A true Ambedkarite feels like a lion. To say that if Babasahab had adopted Islam, Dalits would have been in better position and lived in peace, dignity like crores of Muslims, is baseless. Do Indian Muslims live in peace? They are hated, discriminated against and dubbed as anti-national.

**Er.S.D.Singh**, MIG-101, Avas Vikas Colony, Rudra-

pur, Utham Singh Nagar, UP-263 153: The impounding of your passport for so long a period and that too without any crime is indeed very much shocking in a global view. But, for Hindu India it is one more reason to be a great country. A country which is only concerned about human rights in other countries has no time, courage and shame to put its house in order. Human rights of criminals, mafias, money bags and the like are well protected here but a missionary and a crusader like you is made to suffer without reason. This is the greatness of Hindu India.

**Iqbal Ahmed Shariff**, Advocate, 94/1, Tank Garden Jayanagar, Bangalore-560011: Dr. Ejaz Ali appears to be using DV's precious columns only to boost himself as Syed Shahabuddin does. In spite of your detailed, all-embracing research document (DV Edit Jan. 1996: "*Cowbelt Moulanas*"), which no Indian Muslim has the capacity to write, Ali appears to have learnt nothing, and still harps on prefixes and suffixes like Syed, Shaikh, Khan etc. as caste names. The trouble with North Indians is that they take their regions as entire India. They do not know that such names do not exist among Tamil and Malayalee Muslims. In Karnataka and AP, these words are not of any pride or superiority but only of identification. Meenakshipuram Dalits adopted these words as mere names, without knowing any caste/family/pride connotations. In his desire for reservation and material benefits, Ali goes to the extent of discarding issues like Common Civil Code, Babri Masjid. This speaks of his poor knowledge of Islam and Muslim psyche. He forgets that *Iman* (faith) is the greatest and most precious possession of Muslims. He appears to be a prototype of Moulana Waheeduddin Khan, who is rightly condemned by DV for his advice to Muslims to compromise with brahminism to gain peace and prosperity. Ali's repetition of the same ideas again and again strengthens the doubt that he is a Hindu agent out to divide Muslims. He appears to be a new entrant to the DV/DISA world. He should therefore read, reread DV's different Editorials and learn it byheart and also the back copies of DV for some years. Otherwise, he will be one among those cowbelt Muslim elites who raised some such dust, got publicity and got lost. Ali can still show his sincerity by publishing and distributing Hindi/Urdu copies of your editorial to advance his own cause. Anyway, please do not allow the columns of DV for repetition, meaningless propaganda.

**Nafisul Hasan**, MD-68, Sector-C, Aliganj, Lucknow-

226020: I want to translate and publish my article, "*Moulanas misleading Muslims by ignoring duties in this world*". (DV April 1996 p.11). I am trying my best to spread the message of DV among the people in Lucknow and the adjoining areas.

**Moulana Asrar Ahmed Qasim**, All-India Ulama Council, 34-Bhandari Street, Kumbharwada 1st Lane, Bombay-4: Thank you for congratulating us on our decision to support the Third Front. Many Urdu and Hindi papers also interviewed us on the same issue and we have conveyed the same message. After the election, the Prime Minister of India should be a Dalit but not Brahmin or Muslim, as Dalits are exploited for over 5,000 years by upper caste Aryan/Brahmins.

**Shahul Hamid**, 3/7 Aliyar St., Kayapatnam, TN-628204: I wish to bring to your attention the insult done to Dr.Nirmala Arul Prakash, an educated, intelligent and energetic Dalit woman, who joined Gopalswamy Naidu's MDMK. The upper caste leadership of the party made her life miserable. Finally she resigned from the party itself and issued a statement to the press. From this it is evident that Y.Gopalswamy, heading the MDMK, is not a champion of the Dalits as he tries to project himself. If this is the kind of treatment he metes out to Dr.Nirmala, granddaughter of the celebrated Rattamalai Srinivasan, a veteran Adi-Dravida and a colleague of Babasaheb, what will happen to ordinary people?

**Mrs. Ruby Nishat**, S-6/B-2, Doshi Apts, No.1, Sectorariat Colony, Adambakkam, Madras-88: In an article, "Strategy of Indain Muslims in the light of Prophet's political theory", in the Urdu monthly, *Darus-Salam* (Malerkotta, Punjab), the author, A.Hafiz Khan (Editor of *Rahguzar*, Hyderabad), suggests the following strategies to defeat Hindutva and to establish a just society:-(a) Indian Muslim should not think that they are a "minority". As the Hindus are divided into different castes and a majority, officially declared Hindus, are now asserting that they are not Hindus, Muslims become a majority. (b) We should highlight the historical facts about Hindu culture and its cruelty against the indigenous people by making them slaves and reducing them to animal status. Its the same culture which has erased Budhism from Indian soil, demolished Budhist shrines, massacred Budhist monks and followers. It is the same culture which originated a religion to sanction such suppressions. Indian Muslim must

*Guest Editorial: "Thoughts on Dr. Ambedkar's conversion day: How Brahminism created a religion of inequality".*

*M.D. Panchabhal, a Buddhist monk from Nagpur, writes a guest editorial on the occasion of Dr. Ambedkar conversion to Buddhism on Oct. 14, 1956.*

*A Muslim plea to BCs by S.M. Ibrahim, Trichy, TN. Warns BCs that they are being used by upper castes to fight Muslims on one side and Dalits on the other. Muslims and Dalits are blood relations of BCs.*

*The Untouchables of Japan, Burakumin.*

*Muslim-Dalit Alliance in Bombay formed by Jogendra Kawade and Haji Mastan.*

*Aziz Sait asks Muslims to boycott elections to remove R.K. Hegde's anti-Muslim govt. in Karnataka.*

*Christians asked to close all institutions for a day - D. David, Advocate, Vellore, TN.*

*Dalit Panthers meet at Coimbatore under the leadership of Dr. Krishnaswamy. Editor V.T. Rajshekar's speech at the conference on Sept. 9, 84 was disturbed by a speeding car driven by a Hindu nazi that crashed into the maidan where the meeting was held.*

## DV fears on George Fernandes confirmed

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The *Pioneer* (April 24) has confirmed our fears about George Fernandes (DV May 1, 1996 p.4: "Death of a fake socialist").

George is contesting this time from Nalanda, where he fled from his old constituency Muzzafarpur, fearing defeat. Nalanda has 35% Kurmi population and its *jati* leader, Nitish Kumar, has assured to get him elected. Look at the fate of this "socialist". To save his life he had to finally seek the medicine of caste (*jati*) which he has been criticising all his life. George is opposed to caste-based reservations but now forced to depend solely on caste.

A Lohiaite finally became a *jati* leader. But Dr. Lohia was not. He was a Marwadi but always worked for the liberation of the oppressed *jatis*.

offer wholehearted support to this oppressed people so that these people could recover esteem, sense of equity and equality. (c) God alone has created the universe and the whole mankind. We are sons or daughters of our common grandparents, Adam and Eve. We are all equal in the eyes of god. As such any type of discrimination must be stopped. We must wage a *Jihad* against it. (d) In a democratic country like India the most powerful weapon is our vote. Election is a battlefield. We must thwart the attempt to convert India into a Hindu fascist *Rashtra*. Our aim should be social justice, brotherhood, equality and humanity. What Hafiz Khan says are all your ideas. Your age-old effort is yielding a very good result and now we often read such writings in Urdu magazines. A Hindi weekly, *Kanti* (3-9, Mar'96) has reproduced your speech which you had delivered at SIML's conference in Calicut on Jan. 18, 1986.

**G.M. Shaik**, 4-Wuthu Cattan Street, Periamet, Madras-3: I am seriously interested in the unity of the oppressed. That is the only way to jerk the carpet of power from under the oppressors, who ironically form but the most negligible of minorities in the country. I think, the Constitution delivered by the erudite Dr. Ambedkar is more than enough to achieve it - only if we sagaciously pool our resources together to manipulate things to bring forth the desired result.

**Prof. A.M. Khatib**, 44-Azad Colony, Keshvapur, Hubli-580 023: This is with ref. to the call "*Only global African/Dalit war can fight Euro-Aryan racism*" (DV April 1 p.22) by Duane Bradford. After the deadly disastrous II World War (1939-1945) irrespective of racial complexes the nation-states of the wailing world spoke out of building peace in the minds of men. They proposed to "catch them young" in schools, colleges, universities and similar campuses of mind-building. Did they honesty do so? The only remedy to my mind is not war. But "educate, agitate and organise as emphasised by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and of course advocated by the DV Editor so effectively without yielding to any sort of worldly temptations for a short-cut approach. Islam as analysed by the brilliant Editor in his DV April 1'96, (p.3-6) summing up "But more the west and the Hindu rulers - meaning the Euro-American and Zionist Aryan - squeeze Islam, stronger it will emerge. This is the greatness of Islam". This is so because Koran emphasizes equity and justice among all human beings, by virtue of their birth. ■

# Gaddar goodbye to marxism: PWG faces Dalit revolt

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** As caste is coming to the forefront and caste has started deciding everything including the current elections, the cunningly concealed caste character has started showing its ugly teeth.

The great Dalit poet and singer, Gaddar, who devoted his whole life for the "marxist-leninist" Peoples War Group, country's largest naxalite outfit, has finally left the party disgusted with its leadership's upper caste arrogance. (DV Nov. 16, 95 p.6: "PWG expels Dalit singer").

Gaddar's resignation from PWG was published in all "national" toilet papers but the most important fact about him was cunningly concealed. Gaddar is a Dalit and no paper disclosed this at it will bring discomfort to their *jatwalas*.

**Upper caste leadership:** PWG had earlier expelled K.G. Satya Murthy, also a Dalit, and with the exit of

Gaddar, PWG is facing a slow death. Because the Dalits and Tribals - who are its main base - have started discovering the ugly upper caste face of its leadership in the hand of Reddis, Khammas and Brahmins. Thousands of Dalits are expected to follow Gaddar.

Dalit sources within PWG say it is this fear of large-scale desertion that forced the PWG leadership to stage the four-day drama in Delhi in Feb. (DV Edit March 16, '96: "Dalits doubts & fears on nationality question: *Is it a bid to destroy caste consciousness?*").

Now that Gaddar has finally said goodbye to PWG having wasted his life uttering the useless marxist-mantra, will the great singer take up the message of Babasaheb Ambedkar and recover the lost ground? ■

## Dalit movement is male dominated

MISS SAMATA B. DESHAMANE, RESEARCH SCHOLAR,  
DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, MYSORE

Dalit women constitute a lower segment in Indian society and suffer from dual disadvantages: (1) of being Dalits who are socio-economically, culturally and politically oppressed and (2) and as women subjected to gender-based inequality within the Dalit community. Hence the Dalit women's struggle has to be a double-edged sword.

Dalit families, which were earlier matriarchal as evident from our female deities, are turning patriarchal as they are getting urbanised (hinduised or brahminised). So much so the Dalit woman has become subordinate to the man in the family as well as men outside.

**The first victim of copying this Hindu imitation is the Dalit woman.**

She lost her property rights and the share in production process - be it agricultural or industrial. She has become a machine to give birth to kids, feed them, foster them, cook food and serve the family members. She is forced to remain within the four walls of the family. In this process she also lost access to education and awareness which became ultimately the monopoly of men.

**Philosophy of enslavement:** To enslave a whole

community, the oppressors would first enslave the women of that community. Once the women are enslaved the whole community will automatically get enslaved. Similarly, brahminism, the world-famous philosophy of enslavement, has first taken control of the Dalit women fully and completely. Dalit women not only take lead in perpetuating brahminism but, alas, they are the first to fall a victim to it. After all, culture takes birth and develops from women-folk. Women are the carriers of culture.

Formerly in all our festivals and ceremonies, where sakti (female power) was dominant, Dalit women were heading all the religious activities.

**Papayoni:** With the hinduisation of Dalits, Dalit woman is not only prevented from participating but also ridiculed as *papayoni* and *kalanikini*.

The anger and frustrations of the oppressed sections will always be directed first towards the weak within the same sections. So, the anger and frustrations of Dalit men against the brahminical oppression is released first against the Dalit women. Lack of awareness, economic dependence and illiteracy

have made Dalit women to be the mute victims.

**Karnataka situation: Dalit movement in Karnataka is almost 25 years old. Yet, women's participation in the movement is highly discouraging. We do not find any attempts by the leaders of Dalit**

**movement to correct this imbalance. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for weakening of Dalit movement in Karnataka.** Dalit movement being a human rights movement it cannot reach its desired goals unless women take leading role in it. ■

*Sister Samata is perfectly right. Years back we had written an Editorial itself on this subject: "Women's liberation is part of Dalit movement" (DV Edit April 1, 1987). But as the upper castes stepped up their efforts to hinder the Dalits, the leadership of the Dalit movement itself became its first victim.*

*After hindusing (meaning enslaving) the Dalits, the upper castes launched another cunning campaign saying discrimination against women is prevalent does exist even among Dalits. As such a discrimination against women is a fact among urbanised "educated" Dalits, upper castes whose contagious disease spread among Dalits - they successfully used this phenomenon to further malign our people.*

*We have addressed innumerable Dalit meetings in different cities of India and we found hardly any women in such gatherings. In many places it used to be exclusively men. Not only we had*

*critically commented about it but wrote also. Dalit movement continues to be weak because of this main weakness. It is male dominated. It is male dominated because the leadership is corrupted, co-opted. In other words hindered.*

*Don't admit non-Dalits: A Dalit women's organisation was coming up well in Bangalore but it soon succumbed to brahminical influence as it feared it will not get name and fame otherwise.*

*Those involved in Dalit movement should not admit any non-Dalit or succumb to upper caste temptations. This is a very difficult task. Upper castes should also be told to keep off Dalit movement.*

*Sister Gail Orvedt, author of the famous book, Dalit Villions, has been also complaining about male domination in Dalit movement. ("Women's movement must fight brahminical culture" Gail Orvedt, DV Oct. 1, '94 p.20). Our Dalit leaders take up mostly economic and*

*political issues, guided by their Hindu masters, and ignore the brahminical cultural invasion.*

*These Dalit leaders get some cheap publicity in the brahminical press. And once they see their names and pictures appearing in print, they get intoxicated and their heads get swollen. They think they have become leaders. But what actually happened was that brahminical press trapped them and made them prisoners of Aryans. They were made leaders by the press and not by their own people. These leaders have made hardly any study of Babasheh's literatures and that is why they easily succumb to brahminical temptations.*

*Sister Samata has raised a very important point on which we need to have a frank debate.*

*Dalit leaders have no right to complain against upper caste discrimination as long as they discriminate against their own women - EDITOR. ■*

## HINDU NAZI PARTY DYING?

**Nagpur:** There is disquiet in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) headquarters in Resham Bagh over its dwindling membership. The RSS has not maintained a record of its members. But its leaders said the Sangh no longer attracted urban, middle-class youths. Growing scholastic pressure, competition for college admissions and lure of television, cricket and politics were cited as reasons. (Telegraph, April 23).

## Laziest "nation" on earth?

**Mumbai:** India has the dubious distinction of having more public holidays than most other nations of the world. Irked at the inconvenience caused to all and sundry by 'excessive' public holidays, citizens and trading groups in Mumbai have mounted a crusade for their curtailment.

Central government employees were off for nearly 200 out of the 365 days. The break up: 52 week ends (104 days), 18 gazetted holidays, two restricted holidays, 30 days earned leave, 12 days casual leave and 30 days sick leave at half pay. (Times of India April 13). ■

# Health of global Islamic movement not good?

*Though Indonesia has the highest number of Muslims in the world, they cannot be compared with Muslims of India which ranks No.2. Indian Muslims have neither the Muslim identity nor the feeling of being a Muslim. But that is not so in India.*

*That is one of the reasons why we give the highest importance to Indian Muslims. The second and the more important reason is that over 90% of them are converts from India's Untouchable community. So the Muslims are our blood relations.*

*In all urban slums, Dalits and Muslims live together and suffer together - face the common enemy together.*

*All these have been very effectively argued in Dr. Ram Nath book, **Dalit-Muslim Uni-***

*ty - Why & How? (1995 DSA Rs.20)*

**Why DV is interested in Muslims?** Muslims are a vital part of the Bahujan movement, which is gaining momentum and expected to get a big boost in the 1996 parliamentary elections. Hence Dalit wellbeing and future are very much inter-linked with that of Muslims. That is why we take lot of interest in Muslims and particularly the oppressed Muslims.

*In our recent Editorial, "Demolition of Islam" (DV April 16, 96), we had highlighted the White Western bid to exterminate Islam. Oppressed Muslims, who alone are the genuine and dedicated fighters on behalf of Islam, are fighting and dying all over the world. But not so in India. Only Kashmiric*

*if it can be called a part of India, is an exception. Indian Muslims, particularly its 5% elites, have been corrupted and co-opted. Its religious leadership is facing extinction.*

*As Islam is an international religion it is necessary that Indian Muslims should know what is happening to their co-religionists outside. **Crescent International** (April 1996), which is an advocate of revolutionary Islam as portrayed in Koran has come out with a survey which says that the health of the global Islamic movement is not so good and squarely blame the Muslim political and religious leadership.*

*The following is excerpted from Iqbal Siddique's article: "The state of the global Islamic movement" - EDITOR ■*

## Iranian revolution blunted?

Recently, the mood of the global Islamic movement seems to have changed. A few years ago it was euphoric. No one doubted that Muslims were on the rise. After the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the victories of the Mujahideen in Afghanistan, of the Hizbullah against the zionists in Lebanon and of the *intifadah* in Palestine, the independence of the Central Asian heartlands from the Soviet Union, the mobilization against Rushdie's *fitna* in Britain and the transformation of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) into a revolutionary movement in Algeria, the victory of Islam seemed imminent.

**Failure of Iran:** Today, the situation looks different. Iran, enmeshed in its internal problems, looks less convincing as the leading edge of a revolutionary Islamic movement. Years after defeating the Russians, the Afghans are still fighting each other. In Palestine, the gains of the *intifadah* have largely been buried under the US-sponsored 'peace process'. The Central Asian republics have 'elected' former communists to government. The FIS is bogged down in a civil war they seem unlikely to

win soon. The Islamic movement in Egypt is similarly contained. With the Dayton Accord (US-sponsored again) the Serbs seem to have won in Bosnia. Only in Chechnya, where the Russians are being embarrassed by Muslims, is there some good news.

**Turkish story:** Suddenly, the state of the Islamic movement does not look as good as it did a few years ago. It remains at the centre of world affairs but concrete success stories are hard to find. Such was Muslim depression after the formal signing of the Dayton Accord in Paris in December that even Necmettin Erbakan's 'victory' in Turkey's general elections later that month was greeted as a victory for the Islamic movement. This smacks of grasping at straws.

Few would argue that the few decades have seen the nadir of Muslim political history. It is tempting to say that the situation of the Muslim world during this period, totally dominated and controlled by the West, is as low as we can possibly get, that things can only get better. But Muslims have said similar things

before, only to see things get still worse. The fact that we cannot imagine being worse off than we have recently been does not mean that things cannot get worse.

**Will it be crushed?** The fact is that the contemporary Islamic movement will be solved only gradually and in stages. It may even, like other Islamic movements before it, be crushed, doing no more than providing lessons and inspirations for future

generations. The painful experiences of Palestine, Kashmir, Bosnia, Algeria, Chechenya and other places have to be gone through; they cannot be bypassed. The global Islamic movement is on a long, slow path with many obstacles. Our eventual destiny is still a long way off. All we can hope to do is to carry the load a little way, as generations before us did, and we will have made our contribution to the history of Islam. ■

#### COMMUNICATION

## A Muslim warns on DV support to Farrakhan

MUBARAK AFSAR AKHAN, ABU DHABI, UAE

This is, with reference to your signed article in DV Nov. 1, 95 p. 14: "*Farrakhan invited to visit India to witness Father of racism*" and Sirajuddin Khadr's article: "*Farrakhan can unite Dalits & Blacks with Islam as cementing force*" (DV Jan. 1, 96 p. 9).

As a (Indian) Muslim I fully share Farrakhan's concern for White racism. As the upper caste rulers of India hate Dalits, in US too the Whites hate their Afro-Americans (Blacks). He is right in saying that US is a racist society.

But Farrakhan's "Nation of Islam" is not true Islam. **Confused beliefs:** I like Farrakhan. He is the voice of the voiceless Black masses in the US. His willingness to be vocal on international issues and cross swords with the establishment speaks of his guts. But as a Muslim I have a problem with the man. He may have the gift of the gab, but has not earned the

right to be a spokesman for Islam. His continuing confused beliefs remain an enigma. In fact, his Islam is suspect.

Louis Farrakhan was, and still is, a disciple of Elijah Muhammad who claimed to be a "prophet" and this makes him a non-believer as well as all those who follow him.

Besides Farrakhan's bigoted racism which is totally contrary to the teachings of Islam.

In 1990, the Muslim World League hosted an important gathering in Chicago. Farrakhan was also invited. However, his newspaper, *Final Call*, still today talks of Allah appearing in the person of Elijah Muhammad as his messenger.

For Farrakhan Islam is a politically expedient platform on which he is a stranger. ■  
Farrakhan must stop playing chess with Islam. ■

## Stop foreign funding of NGOs

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The Karnataka Legislature Committee for Women & Children's Welfare has indicted a Bangalore-based NGO headed by a noted feminist leader, Mrs. Nandana Reddy, a socialist and associate of George Fernandes.

The Concerned for Working Children (CWC) is said to have cheated several international organisations and sexually harassed girls. Very serious charges. (*Indian Express* April 26).

Nandana, a darling of the brahminical media, is the daughter of a Lohiaite, Pattabhirama Reddy, a film director.

This is not the only NGO that is allegedly indulging

in such malpractices. Many of them are hiding their ugly faces because they have their pals in the press. Most of these NGOs get foreign funds in the name of "serving the poor" but actually they are in league with the "rich", meaning the upper castes (DV July 1, 1994 p.6, Sudhir Kumar: "*Dalits, Beware of voluntary organisations*", and DV Dec. 1, 1988 p.15: "*Who is eating foreign funds?*").

Recently CAPART of the Govt. of India itself came out with a long list of such frauds among NGOs. In Bangalore itself there are several racketeers among NGOs who receive enormous foreign funds. So far only one is caught in Bangalore but with all its influence at the top we have no doubt that it will escape the net.

The only way to stop racketeering by NGOs is to stop foreign funding of NGOs. ■

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