

DALIT VOICE

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- **Bahujans can't rule without own media to counter lies of brahminical "420 Press"**
- **Amnesty team to meet Editor**

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- **DV readers' role in launching "Dr. Ambedkar Erg"**

- **Dalit scholar acquitted in TADA case**

- **Dalit-Muslim reservations**

- **Jyoti Basu voted for partition of India**

- **A Christian tribute to Islam in India**

Amnesty Interantional team meets DV Editor on Aug.4

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Amnesty International, world's largest human rights organisation - so far barred from entering India, the graveyard of human rights- has at last secured Govt. of India's permission to send a delegation to the country.

The delegation led by Dr. Sangeeta Ahuja of the South Asia team has written a letter to our Editor seeking a meeting with him here.

Accordingly, the DV Editorial team, Dalit Human Rights Forum, Council of Indigenious People-India, Muslim Law Protection Committee and other human rights organisations with which the Editor is connected have fixed a meeting with the visiting Amnesty team here on Aug.4, Sunday.

Ms. Emma Blower, who looks after India, is the other member of the team which will tour Karnataka for five days from Aug 1 to 5. It will be in India in July and August.

Apartheid in India: The brahminical govt. led by Chanakya never allowed any foreign human rights organisation, let alone Amnesty to visit India because of the largescale police and army atrocities it committed in Kashmir, Punjab, North-east and many other parts of India. To coverup the sins of the ruling upper-castes, they launched a virulent anti-Amnesty campaign in their brahminical toilet papers. (DV Feb. 15,1995 p.8). It was *Dalit Voice* which had been repeatedly defending Amnesty and its great work.

DV has been also critical of the Govt. of India's rubber-stamp National Human Rights Commission headed by a Brahmin ex-Judge.

That Amnesty could finally enter India, shows the changed atmosphere that has come about because of the Shudra Govt. takeover in India.

Original home of racism: When Sister Sangeeta Ahuja took over as chief of the South Asia division, we had expressed the hope that as an Indian she would seriously take up the case of India's Untouchables, who constitute the world's single largest population subjected to racism. We are sure that this visit is a step in that direction and assure the fullest support to Amnesty in it's search for truth in India. We want Amnesty to come out with a document it-self Untouchables- just on the lines the Minority Rights Group, London, did it so that the world knows the truth about this closely guarded secret of racism, before which the South African Apartheid would pale into insignificance.

Even while welcoming the appointment of Sister Sangeeta to the Amnesty (DV Jan.1, 96 p.12), we had then thrown a challenge to her that "DV will judge her not by her words but her actions". India is the original home of racism and the world's largest apartheid system works here. (DV May1, 95 p.16).

We are sure she has accepted this challenge and hence this meeting. ■

Bahujans can't rule without our own media to counter brahminical "420 Press"

It was a pleasant surprise to read a columnist in the *Telegraph* using our language to describe India's brahminical toilet papers as a 420 press. Schocking but true.

P. Sainath's thesis is that this 420 press is shielding India's corrupt caucus headed by the Chanakya. But there he stops because if he says why this 420 press is shielding the Chanakya, then his column will not get published. To that extent India's media is communalised.

This is what he says:-

"In one and only one respect Narasimha Rao was indeed a Chanakya. Not in economics. He left his country's poor in despair. Not in social terms. He presided over Ayodhya. But he understood the extremely selfish and self-seeking nature of the privately owned press. He understood that nature because it accorded so well with his own.

There he was in mid-1991 without any constituency. The people of his home state wouldn't elect him to a panchayat seat. He had to come into Parliament from Ramtek in Maharashtra. He had no support base within the party and faced formidable foes like Arjun Singh. He had no mass appeal, no charisma. He decided to build his constituency in the media giving elite concessions beyond its wildest dreams.

That worked. Overnight, Rao became the greatest prime minister since Shastri, the man who could do no wrong.

Now that he is in trouble and out of power, the press pretends it knew all along that he is what he is and that there is no inconsistency in its stand. The charge against him right now is just that: a charge, an as yet unproven allegation. And a minor one compared to the damage he has actually inflicted as prime minister. But now sanctimonious humbug has taken over and much shock expressed over the new developments. Maybe we need to prosecute the press under section 420 too, for cheating and deceiving the reading public." (*Telegraph* July 16, 96)

Exceptions prove rule: The very same 420 press has been shielding the *Bangalore Papatti*, R.K. Hegde, and many others. Why? Because all of them are *jatwalas*. Sainath can't say it but DV can.

That does not mean the country's journalists are wholesale 420. No. Exceptions are there for every rule. May. Exceptions prove the rule.

But where are these exceptions? Why these exceptions are not speaking out?

The reason is that these "exceptional" journalists have no paper to write. The press in India whether dailies or periodicals are owned by big business who themselves belong to upper caste and hence cant afford to publish truth because of their business interests.

So, when we or Sainath criticise this 420 press, we aren't referring to the exceptions among journalists.

Double game: This 420 press has been playing a double game (1) of shielding their *jatwalas* (2) publishing falsehoods against those who are antagonistic to their *jati* interests.

We have written enough on these crimes of the Indian media. The Editorial in our latest issue (DV July 16, 96): "*Frustrated Aryans mount all-round attack on Shudra Govt.*" refers to this.

Not only that. It is our considered opinion that if the Aryan upper castes have managed to stay as the country's ruling class ever since India's "independence", it is solely because of this monopoly media it owns. Alas, Our people that is the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims, Sikhs, Christians or even the Shudras have not so far bothered to apply their mind on having their own media.

Attacks on Sikhs: Why? Have they not suffered at the hands of this media menace? Yes. They have. Sikhs have been called terrorists, anti-national and what not. Muslims are abu-

sed day in and day out. Christians maligned. But not one fellow gets angry. All of them have swallowed the insults though every day this media mad dog is biting them.

Not a single person or institution belonging to the Bahujans has been spared. Even V.P. Singh, an Aryan, was a victim of this mad dog.

SC/STs atleast cannot afford a media that can compete with this 420 press. But the BCs can. But they have become so much culturally deprived that they can never think of setting up one. They have become unthinking people.

Even the *Deccan Herald*, a daily paper set up by the Backward Caste Idigas of Bangalore to promote the BC movement, has been swallowed by the *vaidiks*.

Muslim tragedy: That even Muslims, a religiously and culturally virile community, has been made unthinking is perhaps the greatest tragedy of this country. (DV Guest Editorial Nov. 1, 1992: "Destructive role played by India's anti-national national press", by M.A. Siraj and "A warning to Muslims on media," p.3)

What we have today is a Shudra Govt. in Delhi. Political power has not percolated even to BCs, not to speak of Dalits or Muslims. They have to wait. But even the Shudras, very much a part of the Brahminical Social Order, are not tolerated by this Brahmin-Bania press.

So, the time has come for the victims of this media mad dog to seriously think of countering this menace by setting up our own "Media Centre" about which we have written enough.

What Bible says: The leadership of Bahujans, the real owners of India and the producers of all its wealth, have a duty to see that their members come to know the Truth. It is only by knowing the Truth, they can make the members free. But this brahminical 420 press is suppressing Truth and publishing damn lies.

In the past 50 years our Bahujan leaders never applied their mind to this all-important question. Now that the Shudra Govt. has given us some breathing space, we have to think of this seriously. Since that is our mission, we are here to do everything and make the "Media Centre" a success.

"And you shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free." Bible- John 8:32. ■

Dalit scholar acquitted in TADA case

DALIT EZHILMALAI, GEN. SECRETARY,
PMK, MADRAS

Guna (Sebastian Gunaseelan), a noted Dalit scholar who was arrested in Bangalore, handcuffed brought to Madras, charged under TADA, lodged in the Madras Central Jail by the Jayalalita regime, has been discharged by a designated court in Tiruchi, TN.

Guna is a brilliant scholar and writer. Many of his recent writings had raised so much of heartburn among the upper caste Tamils and with their active connivance the Jayalalita Govt. booked Guna under TADA.

Role of PMK: PMK was the only political party that protested against the arrogant *Bangalore Papatti* Govt. and PMK leader, Dr.S.Ramadoss, joined the protest demonstration held in Madras demanding the unconditional release of the Dalit scholar. Then Guna was released on bail.

Now, once and for all he is discharged along with Prof. Nedunchezhi and Veerasingham of Tiruchi. (DV May 16, 1995 p. 11: "Tamil scholar arrested under TADA").

Telugu hold in TN: Guna, a former Reserve Bank of India Employee at Bangalore, recently wrote a Tamil book exposing the darker side of Dravidian movement (DV April 1, 1995 p.24) which he had earlier elaborated in a sensational article in DV Jan. 1, 1994 p.19: "*Rich Telugu interests blocking birth of Tamil nation*". It is said this article and his latest Tamil book has angered a section of the Telugu-speaking Dravida Khazaghah (DK) leadership which instigated his arrest.

Bangalore: Since Guna is a Dalit and also a critic of the Dravidian movement, there appears to be a conspiracy of silence on his arrest.

Not a single newspaper published the news of his arrest or release. Nor did the human rightswalas bother about it though they continued to make a lot of noise against TADA. By this arrest, however, the brahminical forces have made Guna more famous, and his stand on Dravidian movement now stands fully justified. Dr. Ramadoss and Elumalai should take up the case of Guna and also fight for his demand: Tamil nationality question. ■

Role of DV readers in establishing

"Dr. Ambedkar Era"

NARESH S. PATIL, C/O D.M. MURARKAR, MANOSHREE APT.,
1st. F., NEAR MAVIS GYM, WAGLE ESTATE, SHREENAGAR
THANE(MS).

KumarKrishnar's Letter "DV Editor walking too fast?" (DV Aug.1, 1993 p.12), had been haunting me too much. Another Letter (DV April 16, 1996) by R.K. Biswas of Calcutta saying "DV is superb, but why the oppressed are not heading the voice?" provoked me to write this Letter.

What was the state of Dalit-Bahujan movement in India before DV was started? The corrupt, fragmented, immature and illiterate Dalit-Bahujan political leadership had virtually reduced the Ambedkarite movement to that of beggars. The BSO with SMS (money, media, muscle) at its command, controlled the political psyche of the oppressed masses by corrupting it's leadership.

Lone Ambedkarite journal: It is DV that succeeded in injecting a sense of self respect and courage into the hearts of the oppressed masses. If any positive change is there in the socio-political aspirations of the oppressed masses today, it is because of the DV mission of social awakening. If the latest (1996) general elections are any indication, the BSO seems to be almost half-roasted in the burning thoughts of Babasahab and is on its death-bed taking its last breath. Thus, DV itself has become a powerful Ambedkarite movement. It has proved to be the most vibrant, committed and the lone Ambedkarite journal fearlessly launching a war to uproot the BSO. Frankly speaking, it has rejuvenated the Ambedkarite Movement despite all the constraints on its resources. Will the BSO allow the Bahujan masses to assert their socio-political aspirations? No, it will never, ever allow this. They are experts in fake fights. If their "secular"/ "sacred" fake fight drama fails, they may resort to violence to suppress our aspirations.

Dr. Ambedkar Era: Against this background, can we say that DV Editor is walking too fast? Can we say that brahminism has made us helpless? We need serious introspection to answer these questions. In fact, the answers can be found in DV April 16, 1996 itself just on the reverse side of the page

on which R.K. Biswas' Letter appears: "Babasahab diagnosed disease of Dalits- but are they ready to cure it?" with our Editor's appeal: Are we ready to launch the Dr. Ambedkar Era and liberate India? Will our educated Dalits become missionaries at least now to create the "plus condition of mind and body", asks the Editor.

Social revolution is a must to launch "Dr. Ambedkar Era." DV, since its inception, has produced an army of Ambedkarite scholars, thinkers, intellectuals among the Dalit/Bahujan masses. It has equipped them with the minimum input that is needed to lead a movement. Then what ails the Ambedkarite movement? Will "Dr. Ambedkar Era" start on its own? Will a political revolution bring salvation to our people? No.

Master-key: A social revolution compatible with the philosophy of Babasahab alone can bring about the total religious, social, political and psychological transformation of the Dalit-Bahujan masses.

The political leadership of the Dalit-Bahujan masses cannot bring about a social revolution which, in essence, is a missionary work. Politics is the master-key to power. But if it is misused it operates to the detriment of society and such a society, instead of becoming powerful, becomes powerless. The Dalit-Bahujan political leadership has failed to organise the oppressed masses and thereby retarded the growth of Ambedkarism.

The BSO is at work round the clock to suppress the Babasahab philosophy. The master-key to power cannot be and should not be operated by the corrupt, immature and fragmented Dalit/Bahujan political leadership. How can political revolution survive in the absence of social revolution?

UP experiment: We have a bitter experience of the short-lived "political revolution" in UP. The BSO succeeded in breaking the Dalit-Bahujan unity.

The UP episode has proved that social revolu-

tion must precede political revolution.

It is not the DV Editor that is walking too fast. It is the DV lieutenants (we, the DV readers) who are either too slow or almost apathetic and inert.

No political leadership takes up the task of "educating" the oppressed masses. DV readers have a special role to play in this process of social revolution. The foundation of "Ambedkarite Social Order" rests on the shoulders of our Ambedkarite scholars, Dalit-Bahujan intellectuals. It is a collective responsibility of all of us and the enlightened section of the oppressed Dalit-Bahujan masses has to take up the task of Social Revolution and put into practice the Three Commandments of Babasaheb in letter and spirit: "Educate, Agitate, Organise."

Duty of DV readers: Today, there are hundreds of Dalit-Bahujan non-political associations and institutions. I appeal to the Dalit-Bahujan Ambedkarite Intellectuals and DV readers to come forward and form a powerful committed united front. This front has to be non-political and must take up the training of a cadre-based workforce.

Every DV reader must create a force of at least 100 dedicated, trained and educated (educated in the thoughts of Babasaheb) Front workers. This Front will function as the watchdog of Ambedkarite movement with three broad objectives:-

1. The Front shall evolve an effective control mechanism to exercise control on the political leadership of the Dalit-Bahujan masses.
 2. The Front shall strengthen and unite the oppressed sections of society - SC, ST, BC plus Sikhs, Muslims, Budhists, and Christians by educating them in the thoughts of Babasaheb .
 3. The Front cadres must work at the grassroots level with the Three Commandments of Babasaheb in mind.
- The Front shall have the following wings: The first wing shall comprise. 1. Ambedkarite scholars/ Intellectuals/economists/historians/ and constitutional experts to guide the movement. 2. Agriculturalists/labourers and workers wing. 3. Students wing. 4. Lawyers/ Human Rights wing- to protect Front workers.

5. Media Centre: "Media Centre" is the heart of any movement. Nothing can be achieved without our own "Media Centre". The DV Editor is perfectly right in repeatedly hammering this point. DV must reach every house of the oppressed. DV should be published in all Indian languages to achieve this

goal. Every unit of the Front shall be equipped with library facilities.

Dr. Ambedkar on "Media Centre": "There is a tremendous lack of resources at our command . We have no press. The cruelest of tyrannies and oppressions to which our people are subjected to, day in and day out, are never reported by the Indian press. Even our views on social and political matters are systematically suppressed by an organised conspiracy on the part of the Indian press." This is what Babasaheb himself said. To launch the long awaited "Dr. Ambedkar Era", we must realise our duty to go down to the oppressed Dalit-Bahujan masses living in huts, slums and on streets and pavements, take up the task of educating them in the burning thoughts of Babasaheb, stir up their minds with these thoughts and prepare them for agitation. In this process of social revolution, the BSO will witness its own death paving the way for Ambedkarite Social order.

The role DV has played in promoting such a Revolution is historic. ■

Reservation to Dalit Muslims

Bangalore: Syed Shahabuddin, former Janata Dal leader, while criticising the DV Edit of Jan. 16, 1996: "*Cowbelt moulanas oppose Backward Muslim demand for reservation*", had asked us not to support "motivated individuals and organisations trying to destroy Muslim unity." However, in his reply he proposed a Muslim quota which should be based on the population and index of backwardness of various Muslim sub-communities (DV Feb. 16, 1996: "*Cowbelt moulanas and Backward Muslim reservation*"). Now, he wants the Govt. of India to bring a "comprehensive legislation" to extend reservation benefit to all SCs irrespective of their subsequent religious conversion:

New Delhi: Syed Shahabuddin, convenor of 'Insaaf Morcha' on July 17 said the quantum of reservation should also be "refixed" for the total of Scheduled Caste population taking into account the additional population brought under its purview in the Central Services as well as for each State. The original constitutional order of 1950 limited the concession only to those who are Hindus and Sikhs, he said adding that this "injustice" was partially mitigated when the Dalit Budhists were brought under its purview. "Now the Dalit Christians are being brought in", he said hoping that "next will be the turn of Muslims, if they can also mobilise sufficient political support". (Indian Express, July 18).

Jyoti Basu voted for partition of india

B.K.GHATAK, G-1320, CR. PARK, NEW DELHI-19

In the undivided Bengal State Assembly, representatives of Bengal voted in favour and against the partition of Bengal. The Untouchable MLAs - Haran Burman, D.N. Baruri, Volanath Biswas, Gay-anath Biswas - and Muslim MLAs voted against the partition of Bengal. But all upper caste MLAs voted in favour of partition including the present Chief Minister of Bengal, Jyoti Basu, Karan San-kar Roy, Satish Bose (brother of Subash Bose). Now the same fellows are called the greatest nationalist leaders of Bengal.

In all, 160 Muslim and Dalit MLAs voted against the partition but 58 upper caste MLAs supported the partition.

Upper caste hatred against Dalits was the main reason for their conversion to Islam in Bengal. Chowdhuri Afjal Haq has written a book, Pakistan and untouchability, (1941) in Lahore Jail. He wrote "Polluting power of a dog and a lizard is not as great as that of a Mussalman and a Shudra Popularity of

Pakistan scheme rests mainly on the treatment of Hindu, once the Hindus are reformed no one will hear of Pakistan in this country."

Many people do not know that till 1947 no Muslim student was admitted to Bidhyasagar College of Calcutta University. In Mymansingh of East Bengal, nobody except Barendra Brahmin was appointed as station master. It was a secret pact with English people.

Now-a-days we see lot of Hindu "love" for the Muslim intellectuals from Bangladesh like singer Luna Liala, Sanjita Khatun, Taslima Nasrin, Samsur Rahman, Badruddin Omar, actress Babita, Sabana, Olivia, Sucharita and actor Rajjakk, Sohel Rana, Kabir etc.

But where was this "love" before 1947? At that time A.K. Fazlul Haq, Jogendra Nath Mondal were all unwanted by the upper castes. If at that time so much "love" had been displayed, we could have prevented the division of Bengal. ■

How to use "Letters to Editor" column ?

H. MOHAN KUMAR, 821-31ST G., EAST END RD. TLAKNAGAR BANGALORE-41

The "Letters to Editor" column is getting bigger and bigger, and the contents more and more interesting. Wonderful. No journal of the oppressed Bahujans in India has such an informative column from which we can know the whole of India. One writer has said the Letters column reflects the country's Dalit movement itself. From these columns we get the addresses of important writers in India and abroad.

Conscious readers can make use of this column to build an effective country-wide network and forge a powerful pressure lobby.

But are we doing it? We read a Letter, appreciate it and that is the end of it.

My suggestion is that after we read a Letter, we must immediately respond to its author and join in his campaign. We can also use the addresses to

start "DV Readers Forum" in our respective areas. Remember, DV readers belong to an intimate family worldwide.

Since the 21st century is only four years away and the Editor has forecast that the 21st century shall be "Babasaheb Ambedkar Era", we have no time to lose.

Bound volumes of old DV copies are now available. We can use even those addresses in it and develop a tremendous network.

Remember, every writer of a Letter in DV must be flooded with at least 100 letters from DV readers. Such an overwhelming response will encourage him, embolden him and force him to act. Please make use of the Letters column to "Educate, Agitate, Organise" ■

Letters to Editor

S.P. Singh, Takiapur, Danapur, PO Digha, Patna-800 012: Please refer to your Editorial of June 16, 1996. You have used words like Shudras, Dalits, BC, SC, ST, Bahujan, Minorities. Dalit and BC are new words. Dalit is used by SC (classes) to remove the stigma attached to the word 'Harijan' (bastard) coined by M.K. Gandhi. Dalits are untouchables no doubt, but they are untouchables of various grades, belonging to many different-vocations, having no social relations with each other. A washerman is also untouchable, so also a weaver, a *tefi* (oil-pressor), Kurmi (cultivator). A Mushar is also untouchable because he rears pigs. So, all these great variety of untouchables do not belong to one single class and they maintain touchability among themselves. Pariahs of South India were, it appears, a whole tribe who were captured by the brahmins and made to work in their fields. They equally hated the Brahmins and felt no hesitation in snatching girls from the brahmins. The Namu-Shudras of Bengal hated Brahmins so much that they were called Chandals. You have rightly declared Dave Gowda a Shudra. I am very happy that you have called the Marathas, Patels, Reddys and Kamas also as Shudras. The story of coronation of Shivaji is a great link in our forgotten history. Marathas, Patels, and Reddys and Kammas are not in the reservation category. They were also once ruling castes. V.P.Singh and Arjun Singh are Rajputs no doubt. Some Chamars of UP, Rajasthan and Gujarat were also once ruling chiefs in Rajasthan. So, Rajput is only a status caste. Patels of Gujarat have gone up. Rajputs have come down and are in the reservation category. The Brahmins themselves are not a single caste. People of many other castes have already become Brahmins. The Dusads (Paswan) belong to the ruling family of Kaurvas and so are many variety of Kurmis. The Brahminical Social Order (BSO) has to go. The word Aryan and Hindu must go away from India's dictionary. My "Mul-Niwase Kurmi Sabha" passed a resolution on 13-9-1992 that we are not Hindus, we are not Aryans. I invite all Mulniwasis to throw away these two words. We are all Bahujans - 99% of Musalmans are of Indian origin. They are all blood relations. Hinduism is a myth. Force Kanshi Ram to join hands with United Front and then bury the Congress and BJP

in a single grave. When Islam could not unite the people of India into a monolithic whole, no other religion can do it.

D.B.R.V Prasad, No 23/V, Income Tax Colony, GB block, Sector III, Salt Lake City, Calcutta-700 091: With ref. to your Editorial, "*India graduates from Brahmin Raj to Shudra Raj*", (DV June 16, 1996) is a true picture of our current federal polity. It is our duty to sustain this transitional phase. The "communication" by Ranjan Prasad Yadav, "*Bahujans must be grateful to DV: Send Editor to Rajya Sabha*", is probably the best item in the June 16 issue. There is no second opinion about the fact that our Editor should be sent to Rajya Sabha. In this liberalised atmosphere can't another attempt be made to shift DV from Bangalore to Delhi? This may pave the way for realising the dream of "Media Centre" also. Yadav is one of our Bahujans, but all Bahujans share the feeling that our Editor should be in the Rajya Sabha. But how to realise it? If all our Dalit MPs can be persuaded to take up our demand our Editor will be there in Rajya Sabha tomorrow. But how to persuade our own MPs? This is a question for which an answer has to be found.

R.N. Arya, 117/256, Gita Nagar, Kanpur-208025: It is clear now that there would be three main contestants in the coming UP Assembly elections - BJP which won 52 of the 85 Lok Sabha seats claims that it was winner in 242 of the 425 Assembly constituencies. It had polled 33.43% votes. SP-JD-Left alliance came next with 18 seats and 26 % votes. BSP which had contested all the 85 seats and sought to garner the upper caste and Muslim votes by putting up 20 upper caste and 20 Muslim candidates, of which only one Muslim candidate won, namely Azmi, who had been a long time leader of Janata Dal. BSP polled 20.4% votes and yet won only 6 seats of which only 2 were reserved seats. Out of 18 reserved seats in UP, 14 were won by BJP. Since BSP vowed that it considered Mulayam Singh as its main enemy, it was clear from the beginning that a straight contest between BJP and the United Front was not possible. There still remained about 20% votes polled by others which could help one or the other non-BJP contestants. Indira Congress has already cast its lot with the UF with 3.03% votes polled by it. This has brought the total possible support to UF in UP to about 29.11 %. The breakaway group of Janata Dal, led by Asrey Varma, also contested the Lok Sabha elections, but won no seats. It is, however, likely that it polled as many votes as the JD. This group has now re-formed

itself as Progressive Janata Dal. We can hope that having failed to win any seats in the Lok Sabha elections, some of this group will return to the UF. This group has sought alliance with BSP in the last elections but had been "betrayed". We may, thus, tentatively assume that UF would have the support of 30% or so. Having failed to garner upper caste votes by putting up upper cast candidates in the Lok Sabha elections, the BSP has now settled to accept the B team of *Manuwadis*, namely the Congress, as its partner, with its 8.14% support. This alliance has not been fully accepted by the upper castes in the Congress. So, the Congress may lose some of its upper caste votes to BJP and some to the UF, say one percent to each. Adding the remaining 6.14% to 20.6% of BSP, we come to the figure of 26.75%. The figure of BJP and UF will go up to 34.5% and 31%. Consequently we will have a three-cornered contest: BJP 34.5%, UF 31% and BSP-Congress 26.5%. These figures may slightly change with the intervention of independents who, however, may not be as many now as before. It is clear from the analysis that the three contestants in the coming elections would not be as unequal as in the Lok Sabha elections with 33.4, 26, and 20.6% support. BJP claims to have won in 242 Assembly seats. A loss of 35 to 40 expected wins would reduce BJP to the single largest party but keep it out of power. It may even go down to 170 that it had won in 1993 elections. We may put the UF seats to 150 and the Congress-BSP alliance to 125 seats. If BJP wins more seats, the Congress-BSP alliance may win less. In this situation the role of the BSP-Congress alliance will be crucial. Most likely, this alliance will not support the UF to form the govt. So the UF may be obliged to support the BSP-Congress alliance to form the govt. In the alternative, the BJP may support the BSP-Congress to keep the UF out of power. This analysis is based on the fact that support to all the three groups is very much committed and there is little likelihood of any change. That this is so is clear from the caste composition of their bases. The caste composition is as follows (in percentage):

	Upper castes Brahmins	Backward Castes	SC/ST	Muslims
BJP	62	33	13	03
Cong.	14	10	13	13
UF	10	45	47	75
Others	07	06	20	04

We may credit 7% uppercaste support to Cong. (T) and rebel JD. The Congress may lose some upper caste support. BSP may gain from this alliance but it cannot now fume against *Manuwad* and *Manuwadi* parties. It cannot now condemn Brahmins, Baniyas and Thakuris as enemies of the Dalits. BSP has betrayed the cause of the Dalits.

A.L. Ukey, Asst. Engr., ATPS, Chachal Dist. Shad-
adol- 484220: This has ref. to the Letter of Dr. Yadaiah (DV June 1, 1996) who has shown his preference to Islam. Islam may be good for the 'plus condition of mind and body' to Dr. Yadaiah but never to us because we are the followers of Dr. Ambedkar. We Dalits cannot compromise on the basic thinking of our emancipator. He gave us Budhism and hence it is our duty to follow him without questioning. But everybody has the right to differ. But one cannot call himself an Ambedkarite and at the same time differ from the central core of Ambedkarism. Can Ambedkarism be defined without Budhism? Budhism is the essence of Ambedkarism. Without Budhism, Ambedkarism is nothing.

R.H. Das, Talbagicha, Dist. Midnapur, WB-721306: It appears that Kanshi Ram is again proceeding to brahminism perhaps to fight the United Front Govt. and especially the fake communist leaders guided by the Bengali *Bhadralok*. Why did Janata-Dal leaders ignore Ram and keep him out before the Parliament election? Therefore, the UF must join BSP-Cong alliance in UP to fight against fascism, nazism and brahminism.

T.R. Azad, Jammu, J&K: Despite Islam coming to Kashmir, Hindu caste system continues to remain supreme. In an article in the *Daily Excelsior*, a local English daily, of June 30, 1996, Amit Kushari, IAS, Commissioner-cum-Secretary in the J&K State Govt., says that casteism is prevalent even among the Muslims in Kashmir. There are some Muslims who get angry when we point out caste among Muslims. But such of them should know that "lower castes", who got converted to egalitarian Muslim society are still subjected to caste discrimination. This is a clear proof of brahminism in Muslim society.

M.K. Antony, A-74, MRA, SGP GIMS, Raebareli Road, Lucknow, UP-226014: I am a regular reader of DV for the past 12 years. Now having come to Lucknow, I would like to form a "DV Readers Forum" here. I do not know if such a thing is existing here. Please send me the addresses of the subscribers of DV from Lucknow so that I can contact them personally.

We do not maintain separate lists of Lucknow readers. But the publication of Brother Antony's Letter will help our readers to directly contact him. UP readership of English and Hindi DIV is growing but not to the extent we desire. Hindi belt is the heart of brahminism and only an effective Dalit leadership can break this heart. DIV Readers Forum is a step towards that-EDITOR.

M.G. Mathew, Post Box 55, Perumbavoor, Kerala-683542: I am writing a book, "Secular India and Hinduva", regarding the suppression of backward communities by Hindu nazis. It calls for *Manushyatva* instead of *Hindutva*. The Malayalam version of this book is serially appearing in *Indian News* from Ernakulam. The right to conversion is a fundamental right of the citizen. It is the duty of the state to guarantee the freedom of conversion to every citizen. If Dalits want govt. aid, they must produce a certificate that they are Hindus. Why religion should be taken as a criterion to distribute govt. aid? In some states as soon as a Dalit embraces Christianity, all his rights as a Dalit citizen are taken away. He loses all the special considerations such as constitutional reservations. Conversion to Christianity or any other religion does not change his economic status. If a "poor" Christian embraces Hinduism, he is given all sorts of financial and other aids. That means the govt. itself is inducing conversion of "poor" Christians to Hinduism. This must be stopped.

N.G. Kamble, 529 A, Hanuman Nagar, Nagpur-440009: It is high time to tell our Bahujans that they are not Hindus and to repeat the slogan "Tell the slave he is a slave and he will revolt." Hinduism has been imposed on us by the Brahmins to enslave us. Bahujans have started taking shelter under the shadow of democracy and secularism to disown Hinduism in social life whereas in domestic life they observe Hinduism scrupulously. Due to this dual and dubious attitude no real social revolution can be brought out. So, the time has come to clearly determine, demarcate, declare and accept the religious way of life which is based on equality, liberty and fraternity. For this, we have to discover our own glorious cultures which were destroyed by the Brahmins at the time of invading Jambu-Dwipa between 1550 BC to 1450 BC and 185 BC through regicide by the Brahmin Pushyamitra Sunga with a sole motive of enslaving the indigenous people of

this land. We have to declare that our ancestors were not Hindus and Hinduism was forcibly imposed upon us by the Brahmins for their personal gain. Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar stated in a speech delivered in Bombay on May 31, 1936:-

"It cannot be denied that our ancestors followed the ancient religion but I cannot say that they remained bound to Hinduism voluntarily. The 'Chaturvarna' system prevailed in this country for a fairly long time. In this system, the Brahmins were enjoined to learn, Kshatriyas to fight, Vaishyas to earn prosperity and the Shudras to serve all of them. This way of life was the rule of the day. In those days, the Shudras could not acquire learning, prosperity, food and decent clothing. Your ancestors were thus forced to live in abject poverty and with no right to bear arms. In those circumstances no man with any sense can say that they accepted that religion voluntarily. Here it is also necessary to consider whether it was possible for your ancestors to revolt against this religion. Had it been possible for them to revolt and still they had not done so, then alone it could justifiably be said that they had accepted the religion willingly. But if we try to look into the then prevalent conditions, it will be clear that our ancestors were compelled to live in that religion. Thus Hindu religion is the religion of our ancestors, but it was the worst type of slavery that was thrust upon them. Our ancestors had no means to fight this slavery and, therefore, they could not revolt. They were compelled to live in that religion. No body can force this type of slavery upon the present generation. We have all sorts of freedom. If the present generation does not avail of such freedom and free itself from the clutches of Hinduism they are sure to be dubbed as cowardly, mean and slavish people devoid of self respect." (*Thus Spake Ambedkar*-Bhagwan Das, vol.4 p. 42-43).

And the only answer to their challenge is to clearly disown Hinduism and accept our original religion. There is need to arrange seminars on the movement to discard Hinduism in toto. I have written a book, "*Magaswarg, Dalit, Adiwasi Hindu nahit*," in Marathi giving the historical background and the wayout. Those wanting to translate this into their regional language, will get the permission if the book is priced cheap.

B.K. Ghatak, New Delhi: Bahujan Samaj Party has become a national party. The Election Commission will declare this soon. BSP secured 4.5% vote in J&K and fulfilled the main criteria to become a national party. Other States are UP (20.60%), MP (6.5%), and Punjab (21%) which has already given the party more than 4% vote long back. The

latest bonus has come from J&K. In Jammu constituency, BSP secured 54, 000 votes. Therefore, it is a very exciting news for BSP supporters. All Kanishram and Mayawati-baiters may give up the their bad habits and come under the blue flag to become the rulers of this country. This is the only party which has come to this position from grassroot level.

Sher Singh, IAS, 32-247/1 Minto Park, Allipore, Calcutta-27. Babasaheb Ambedkar must be turning in his grave at the latest developments in UP, where the BSP is trying to revive the Congress on its death-bed. Genuine Ambedkarites must be hanging their heads in shame. Having read the book, *What Gandhi and Congress have done to Untouchables*, by Dr. Ambedkar, this alliance with Congress is only an attempt to halt the Caravan of Babasaheb.

S.R.Guptrishi, Secretary, Federation of All-India SC/ST Empl., P&T Dept., UP circle: This concerns the fraud on Dalits in P&T, where the constitutional reservation is not at all implemented. SC/ST are the protected children of the Indian Constitution. Article 46 provides for special care to these people. But the policy of reservation in promotion has been blatantly flouted by the Telecom Dept. despite several clear instructions to this effect. I want to highlight a glaring example of mine through DV to make the people know how reservation in promotion is denied in our dept. I was appointed on 5-10-62 as time scale clerk. In Nov 1983, a time-bound promotion was introduced without giving any additional benefits in reservation and promotion by the Telecom Dept. Our Federation filed a case in the Supreme court (vide, W.P No. 1003/1005) in 1984, which decided the case on 29-8-88. The Dept. then ordered reservation in promotion to SC/ST taking the excuse of cutoff date as 29-8-88. My promotion was upheld with effect from 1-11-83 after completion of 21 years of unblemished service. While a non-SC/ST candidate could get this time-bound promotion in 16 years, I had to wait for 21 years. In Oct 1990, a second time promotion was introduced and I was given that promotion after 28 years of service, but non-Dalits got this promotion after 26 years. This is how the Telecom Dept. treats SC/ST. I approached the CAT, Allahabad, (O.A.No. 1002 of 1993) seeking 18 annual increments and promotions for the post of personal officer. The case was dismissed in 1995 on the ground that it was time-barred. Against this judgment, I went to the Supreme Court (No.14800 of 95) which dismissed the case without giving any reason. Now the post of Chief Section Supervisor is being denied to me,

but Ram Singh much junior to me receives Rs.2,450 but I get Rs. 2,050 a month. He got the promotion wef from 24-10-90 but I was denied the promotion despite Supreme Court verdict. Is it not intellectual dishonesty?

M.Gopinath, Bangalore: At a Babasaheb Ambedkar Jayanti celebration on June 16, 1996, here in which our Editor was the chief guest, a Dalit IAS Officer, I. Devendran, came out with the following quotations of Babasaheb which I have never read anywhere before. Babasaheb addressing Dalits is reported to have said:

"Why did you not perish in the pre-natal stage itself?"

"I have not been able to fulfill my mission. I wanted to do more and make them a governing class."

"I would have succeeded but my own people deceived me."

Devendran said that these statements were made by Babasaheb at exclusive Dalit meetings and with great pain in his heart. He also assured our Editor to provide the source. Elderly leaders closely associated with Babasaheb have told me that Babasaheb used to be very "harsh" with opportunist Dalit employees. But I never came across such harsh words in his published writings. I request our readers to provide us the details of the above quotations and enlighten me. Why Babasaheb was so furious? Is it because our "educated" and employed brothers getting fat salaries had let down the community?

In the whole of Karnataka, we have only one Dalit IAS officer who is a subscriber of Dalit Voice. All the Dalit IAS officers know about DV and some read it stealthily but none has the courage to subscribe to DV. How can such cowards and slaves carry forward the Caravan of Babascheb? Like Babascheb, we too are deeply worried- EDITOR.

Mrs.Surinder Kaur, Calcutta: My husband, Sher Sing, IAS, has filed an FIR against N.Krishnamurthi, IAS(retd.) Chief Secretary, on 25.6.96. He had suspended my husband on false charges on 25.4.94. He has been charged with committing a criminal offence of atrocity against a member of SC community.

Sunram Hembram, III/232 New AG Colony, Nayapalli, Bhubaneswar-751012: Indian culture and Vedic civilisation are two different things. The last got an effective stepping stone from existing non-Aryan (tribal) civilisation. So, the entire Indian civilisation

is just an offshoot of the Harappan civilization. So, the Harappan civilisation has totally been erased is a baseless commentary. Who were those Harappans? What were their religious faith and practices. From the excavation, it did prove that this Harappan culture was one of world's most advanced civilisations. In fact, the world culture had been influenced so much by the Harappan civilisation. The Harappan custom is being observed in today's tribal society. It is found that the Harappan buried the dead with bones of birds. Today, we see the disposal of dead body in the same manner in the tribal society. Particularly Santhal society. They bury the dead like the Harappans by placing the head towards south. Santhals sleep at night with their head towards south. No other community in India follows this custom other than the Santhals. Today, they also burn the chicken along with the dead body. That means tribals are Harappans. But in Assam, these original inhabitants are being driven out.

Abhijit Roy, 931, Jowpur Rd, Calcutta-74: This concerns the answer given by you in DV June 16 (p. 16) to Mrs. Prabha, a BSP leader. You strongly advocated an alliance between BSP and SP to defeat BJP. But BSP leader Mayawati said in *India Today* (June 1996 p.53): "I am not bothered even if the devil himself runs the state but there is no question of the BSP joining hands with the SP". The upper castes have succeeded in dividing the "lower castes" as the British did in the past. Despite all your efforts, SC/BC/Muslim unity is not taking shape. That means BJP will come to power in UP and Mayawati, Kanshi Ram and Mulayam Singh Yadav have to own the responsibility.

A.Xavier, Dept. of English, St. Mary's Hr. Sec. School, Dindigul-6240 01: I have been renting a house for over three decades belonging to an upper caste and suffered great humiliation. The culmination of all these insults and humiliation resulted in violence. I could not help teaching the upper caste landlord a violent lesson. I made up my mind not to rent any more but to own a house of my own, though it would be a humble one. So, I am building a house. The Indian church always remains and tries to maintain the tyranny of the upper caste converts. It sheds its crocodile tears for the Dalits out of it's self-love and not out of love for the Dalits. It is the question of its survival. Again, Dalits have become its target people. So, *Jesus the Dalit*. This is my immediate reaction seeing the title of the book advertised in DV July 1, 1996 p.24.

Dwarika Prasad, 26, ONGC Flats, Mithanagar Rd,

Mulund(E), Bombay-81: Since last eight months I am passing through a cold war in my department. I have been transferred to Assam. I was relieved on 31.5.96 and I went on leave. I asked the ONGC management to defer my transfer by a year. It is needless to add that DV has transformed my thoughts to a great extent.

Dr. VK. Muthu, Lecturer, Public Health, Gandhigram Rural Institute, Gandhigram-624 302: Is Panchayat Raj system a boon or a bane? Since the dawn of civilisation, different societies have been experimenting with different types of governance. The success or failure of different systems of governance is determined by the overall socio-cultural aspects of the constituent members of the societies concerned. The talk of the day in India is the Panchayat Raj system of governance which is described as a grassroot level administration. The socio-cultural scenario seen in our country is squarely responsible for the debacle of our political system. In fact, any system is likely to fail in this condition. Our society is sharply divided on caste, religion and language lines. Sociologists are of the opinion that co-operation for common good is not possible under such a society. Programmes implemented will miserably fail due to lack of community support. The harmful effects of caste are compounded by the materialistic pursuit. Such a social scenario is not conducive to orderly existence, peace and progress. In such a situation, it is highly doubtful whether a mere change of system of governance, without any concrete proposals to change the social system can make any tangible impact on the situation. The education system is defective. It is grabbed mostly by the greedy and that the so-called educated people misuse their educational qualifications for their selfish ends. The educated people even get alienated from fellow citizens instead of becoming the engine of social change. So literacy without concomitant attitudinal change (real educational process) is not going to make any difference in the performance of the Panchayat Raj system. When people become civilised governance becomes smooth because social obligation is the hallmark of a civilised society. So, the need of the hour is to give top priority to social change through mass movements.

T.N. Arivarasu, 64, Housing Unit, Chikkana College Rd., Tirupur, TN: I am a teacher belonging to a Backward Caste. I get inspiration only from DV. So, it has become my sacred book. Your sentences are stimulating the lazy fellows. Those who fell asleep

on hearing the Brahmin *Mantras* are whipped up and forced to wake up. This is DV. I read your Editorials again and again. " Small minds discuss people, average minds discuss events but great minds discuss ideas." You also said " India is not a nation but a group of nations".

S.S. Gautam, "Chandan Sadan", C-236A Hardeyपुरi, Delhi-110093: I am sending a Supreme Court document given to me by S. Subbanna, one of your esteemed subscribers here, for the benefit of your SC/ST govt. employee-readers. The court has upheld the inter se seniority of SC/ST employes as against non-reserved candidates. It is from the AIR 1996 report No. 351, arising from the civil appeal No. 7608 of 1995- dated 3-8-1995. P.S. Ghalaria, appellant- vs Haryana Govt. The appellant is a non-reserved candidate and the third respondent, Dr. Nitya Anand, a reserved candidate, was selected by the PSC as lecturer in Haryana Medical Service. The appellant's contention is he is senior to Dr. Anand who was made senior. The Court rejected his plea saying that Dr. Anand as a reserved candidate gets the seniority. The above judgment copy is printed in AIR. The judgement was delivered by Justice K. Ramaswamy and Justice K.S. Paripur-nan.

B.V. Mahadevappa, Dept. of Economics, Gulbarga University, Gulbarga: Brahminical toilet papers of Karnataka have reported "thunderous response" to R.K. Hegde's tour of north Karnataka. I was present at his two most important "mass meetings". The Hubli meeting was attended by *chaddi* boys (RSS) of the Hindu nazi party. And at Gulbarga it was mainly a Lingayat upper caste show. Lingayats are angry with Prime minister Deve Gowda because he gave the Gulbarga Lok Sabha seat to a Muslim and got him elected breaking the decades-old Lingayat monopoly. There were hardly any Dalit, Muslim or Backward Castes in Hegde's "tremendous response" meeting. To put it in your words, the brahminical toilet papers which keep alive this notorious *valdik*, converts a donkey into a Derby horse and a race horse into a donkey, unless we have our own "Media Centre", we cant break this *valdik* manipulation. (DV July 1, 1996 p.8: "A stinking dead body at last cremated").

N.G. Das, 17, Dattabhad Rd., Salt Lake, Calcutta-700064: I strongly oppose the proposal to send you to Rajya Sabha as made by Ranjan Prasad Yadav (DV June 16, 1996 p.5). If you go to the Rajya Sabha, DV will fall down 20 fathoms below the sea level and the progress so far we have made will face a deadlock. If you leave the Editorship of DV not to

speak of a membership of Rajya Sabha, the Delhi authorities will give you a more lucrative post just to get rid of you from DV and see the dead body of DV. So, I ask my friends not to insist on you to accept any such post in Delhi. You will be remembered by the whole Bahujan Samaj (over 85% of the population) and abroad if you die on the chair of DV.

This is not the first time that efforts are being made to pull us into politics. Chief Minister Devaraj Urs nominated us to the Karnataka Legislative Council in the 1980s but we outrightly rejected the offer. Devaraj Urs was Karnataka's greatest CM and a champion of Backward Castes and he had a personal liking for us. When he stepped down and formed his own party, he wanted us to go to Rajya Sabha. We escaped again. This is the third time the old proposal is revived. The argument this time is that the changed political situation with political power passing away from the Brahmana Raj to Shudra Raj, needs our presence in Delhi. But we have been telling our friends that at no cost DV will be stopped. They say that our going to Rajya Sabha will strengthen DV and help launch major 'Media Centre' from Delhi. - EDITOR.

Subash Kumar, 240-C, Pocket-A, Mayur Vihar Phase-II, Delhi-91: This has ref. to S.R. Biswas' letter (DV June 1, 1996) wherein he stressed on "capturing political power." It is true that Babasahb said that "political power is the masterkey of all locks" but Babasahb also said that "any political revolution must precede social revolution." In Tamil Nadu, we captured political power but we could not retain it longer because our social movement was not there. So, if we want to capture political power for ever, we will have to make the social movement strong first and only after that political movement comes.

S.R.Talukdar, BHEL, New Delhi: This is with ref. to Ram Charan Ram's article on BSP-Congress alliance (DV July 1, 1996). Ram has advocated a BSP-SP alliance. But no wellwisher of BSP will accept this. Those who suggest it are seeking the survival of Mulayam Singh. Defeating BJP is only an excuse used by them. Even without SP's support BSP will defeat BJP in the coming UP Assembly elections. Mulayam's left brain is controlled by M.K.Gandhi and the right by Dr. Lohia. There is not a single grain of Ambedkarism in him. His only positive factor is that he belongs to the Yadava community which is part of the Bahujan Samaj. Except this he has no other quality.

Dr. N.Suresh, PG student, Dept. of ortho. surgery, MCH, Calicut, Kerala: This is in response to Miss Samata Deshmane's article and our Editor's response to it (DV May 16). I agree about the male domination in Dalit movement. In the book, *God is Black*, the Nigerian Black, thinker, Naiwa Osahan, he says: "We believe in the absolute equality of the African woman with the African man, and that any attempt to undermine her full participation in all aspects of Pan-Africanism is a direct threat to the freedom of all African people. Any attempt on the part of anyone, African or non-African, to take that freedom should be dealt with swiftly and decisively, or until there is not one single African left on the face of the earth. (p.9). I thank Sister Samatha and our Editor for highlighting this. We have formed a 'Dalit Students Movement' in our campus and it is headed by a lady student. A community will get liberated only when the women of that community get liberated. Dalit or Black culture should set the example to the world.

Dr.(Mrs.)Manjula B.Chincholi, Lecturer, History Dept., Gulbarga University, Gulbarga-585 106: I am sending my Ph.D. thesis, "Depressed classes in Hyderabad Karnataka under the Nizam's." Dr.(Mrs.) Praveen Rukshana was my research guide for the thesis covering 206 typed pages. It was submitted in 1989 and reveals the tremendous efforts made by the Nizam of Hyderabad to uplift the Untouchable of his princely Muslim state. (DV May 1, 1996 p.5: "AP Dalit leader's tribute to Nizam for liberating Dalits", M.R Krishna, ex-Union Deputy Minister). Untouchability was rampant and they faced all sorts of Hindu persecution. To rescue the hapless untouchables, the Muslim rulers took several steps to liberate them through reservations, proportional representation. Venkat Rao, Shyam Sunder were the leaders of Untouchables who held high positions under the Nizam who treated our people as his own children. Please consider the publication of my thesis.

Ramakanth Athavale, Dept. of English, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar University, Aurangabad (MS): I have been a reader of *Dalit Voice* since five years and have come to regard our Editor, V.T.Rajshekar, as a Prophet. But my worry is that I have not so far seen my hero. I have read a dozen of his books and religiously study *Dalit Voice* from page to page but my dream to see him and talk remains unfulfilled. Why not DV readers in and around Aurangabad and Marathwada in general invite him? That will give an opportunity for all to see him and interact.

The Editor is neither a film actor, a sports star, or a charismatic figure to see and admire. What is important is not seeing him but studying his literature through DV and his books. Ideas go first and the person who produces such ideas will follow. So, what is important is that readers in your area must first study Babasaheb's thoughts of which the Editor is a creature. Hero worship is dangerous. Brahminical forces encourage hero worshiping because it blocks flow of thought. Once Babasaheb thoughts start sinking the society, the Editor will come even uninvited. Stop this craze to invite the Editor and see him. There is nothing big about his person. He is a product of Babasaheb's burning thoughts-EDITOR.

Shakeel Suleman, Auto links, 351/3 Sheikh Memon St., Bombay-400 002: I shudder to think what would have happened to me if Islam did not come to my rescue. I feel much, much superior to these idol worshippers in clarity of thought, in my way of living, free from superstition and confusion of mind. Like me thousands of other Muslims were once upon a time Dalits till they got converted to Islam. How fortunate we were to get out of this brahminical gas chamber. Don't you consider us as your elder brothers? We freed ourselves from the Banla-Brahmin bondage by just following the true God. However, hard these brahminical forces try, they cannot impose their Hindu cult on us. We have formed a totally new identity. Hence their strongest hatred against us. The upper castes are very cunning, they can deceive the Dalits and attract them in the name of religion but they can do nothing with a Muslim. They used Dalits to fight Muslims in many communal riots and Babri Masjid destruction. So many Dalit votes have gone to the Hindu Nazi parties under various misleading alignments. Dalits changed their religion to Budhism but it was they who destroyed your *Viharas*, leaving no strong foundation of your religion for you to have a strong base. No doubt Dalits feel totally lost and your nearest ally and brother is the Muslim. So, you turn towards us and we towards you for unity. Remember one thing. We were like you till we embraced Islam. We were like you before we took this step in the right direction. Quite a few Islamic scholars are of the opinion that even Budha was a Prophet of God. Prophet Mohammed, Moses, Jesus, Abraham, David etc. Even Budha prayed to the Almighty. So where is the difference between you and us? The Brahminical Social Order (BSO) destroyed most of your religious houses leaving you in a helpless situation. They are trying the same on our mosques. Let history

not repeat itself. If you join hands with us together we can change history. And BSO will runaway from India itself. This reminds me of a beautiful *Surah* which means like this:

He picks the people from the dust (the oppressed) and makes them sit on your head. (This is told to the people who are the oppressors).

Remember, we love the worship of one Almighty. We love you because you too pray to one Almighty. I believe that Budha was a Prophet of God. But Budhism's base was destroyed in India. But our's is a stronger base which they dare not destroy. I am a deeply religious person.

Dr. M.Ejaz Aii, Ghulam Sarwar Clinic, Bhikna Pathari, Patna-800006: Secularism is the basic feature of the Indian Constitution, says a recent decision of the Supreme Court. We accept it but it is also a fact that secularism is essential for the integrity of the Indian Union. But inspite of the basic feature, is the Indian Constitution secular? Article 15(1) says that "The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth" But the para third of article 341 says that "No member professing any religion other than Hindu shall be deemed to be a member of Scheduled Caste." Don't you think that this is against the letter and spirit of secularism? Since 1950, nobody has raised this issue. Our great Dr. B.R. Ambedkar forcefully spoke against the para III in the Presidential Order of Article 341 and had passed a resolution through a subcommittee on Feb. 13, 1947 to delete this para but when the final order came in 1950, this hated para was there, the reason for which is not known. I believe our *Dalit Voice* is the one and the only spokesman of all Dalits irrespective of religion. Our All-India Backward Muslim Morcha wants to keep the demand of Dalit-Muslims before you. In the list of Scheduled Castes in various states like Delhi, castes like Dhobi, Dome, Bhangli, Mehtar, Chamar, Pasi, Nat, Julana, Chita, Mukri, Khatik etc. are mentioned. These castes are also found among Muslims but they are not getting the same facilities as their "Hindu" counterpart, simply because of the religious restriction in Article 341; though their social, educational, economical and political status continues to be same even to this day- exactly like our "Hindu" Dalits before 1950. I expect the *Dalit Voice* to raise this issue in such a way that Dalit-Muslims of India could get rid of the feeling that they are punished for becoming Muslims or Christians at various stages of their life.

Mrs. Kishwar Joonas, IDRAAK, Firdaus, 37th Road Khar West, Bombay-52: We have a communication from the US Consulate here asking us to seek grassroots comments from NGOs and social activists about the human rights issues, including matters concerning Muslims. Your reply may be sent to: Andrew R. Young, Consul (Political/Economical), American Consulate General, 78 Bhulabhai Desai Rd., Bombay- 26, who has sent us a US Govt. report on human rights in India (1995). The report is titled "India Section, Country reports on Human rights practices (1995)" compiled by US missions and submitted to the US Congress. The report says income distribution remained very unequal and 40% of the urban population and half of the rural population live below the poverty level. There continue to be significant human rights abuses, despite extensive constitutional and statutory safeguards. Many of these abuses are generated by intense social tensions, violent secessionist movements and the authorities' attempts to repress them, and deficient police methods and training. These problems are acute in Kashmir, where the judicial system has been disrupted both by terrorist threats, including the assassination of judges and witnesses, and by judicial tolerance of the govt.'s heavy handed anti-militant tactics. Serious human rights abuses include: extrajudicial executions and other political killings, torture, and excessive use of force by security forces and separatist militants, as well as kidnapping and extortion by militants, in Kashmir and Northeast India; torture, rape, and deaths of suspects in police custody throughout India; arbitrary arrest and incommunicado detention in Kashmir and the Northeast; continued detention throughout the country of thousands arrested under special security legislation; long trial delays; widespread inter-caste and communal violence; legal and societal discrimination as well as extensive violence, both societal and by police and other agents of government, against women; discrimination and violence against indigenous people; and widespread exploitation of indentured, bonded, and child labourers. ■

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ISLAM IN NORTH INDIA

THE REV. E.M. WHERRY, D.D.

Scarcely more than five decades had passed by since the death of Mohammed when the conquering hosts of Islam reached the borders of India. It was in the year 711 A.D. that Mohammed Kasim overran Sindh in the name of Walid I of Damascus.

Forty years later the Rajputs succeeded in overthrowing the Moslem power in Sindh and maintained control for 150 years. But the religion was not disturbed and continued to make material advances even beyond the regions under Moslem sway. Elliot in his *History of India* tells us of certain Sindhan princes, who became Mohammedans at this time, assuming Arab names. But all of the earlier invasions of India were characterized as predatory incursions, in which the invaders were more anxious to secure plunder than to convert the infidels. Even as late as the time of the great champion of Islam, Mahmud of Ghazni (1019 A.D.) the "proselyting sword" seems "to have served no other purpose than that of sending infidels to hell."

GHAZNI'S 17 INVASIONS

Seventeen times did this zealot overrun North India, extending his empire from Persia to the Ganges. During all these centuries, multitudes of the people, some to save their lives and property, some to share the honours and booty of the new regime, others to escape the tyranny and contempt of their Hindu rulers, embraced the religion of their conquerors. By intermarriage with these, the foreign Moslems became domiciled in India and the religion became rooted in the soil. Towards the close of the 12th century (1176-1206) Mohammed Ghori invaded

India and set up an Afghan vice-royalty at Delhi under his favourite slave Kutb-ud-din. At the death of his master, Kutb-ud-din established himself as the Sultan of North India with Delhi as his capital.

LOW CASTES WELCOME ISLAM

It was at about this time (1206-1288) that another of the great generals of Mohammed Ghori, Bakhtiyar Khan, having conquered Bengal, set himself up as an independent Sultan with his capital at Gaur.

The multitudes of low caste aborigines inhabiting this province seem to have welcomed their new rulers, and readily to have accepted at new faith.

It was from Delhi and Agra that the various Moslem rulers extended their dominion. Dynasties were overthrown amid scenes of war and bloodshed. India was carved up into a number of independent sovereignties, but during all this turmoil, the religion of the Mohammedans was being established with greater or lesser success from Afghanistan to the Bay of Bengal, and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It was during the period 1525-1707, when the power of the Moguls became established throughout India, that the religion of Islam made its most brilliant and extended conquests. Then it was that those grand monuments of art and literature were erected, of which Moslems may well be proud, and which still lend so much lustre to the Moslem rule in India.

CHRISTIAN DOMINATION

At the close of the reign of Aurangzeb, the political power of

the Moslems rapidly began to wane and eventually gave place to the Christian dominion of Great Britain. Christian conquest brought to all classes religious liberty; and so the Christians became deliverers to the Moslems who were being oppressed by their Hindu and Sikh conquerors. Under the peaceful rule of the Christians, Islam is enabled to reorganize its forces and to propagate its tenets among the people without let or hindrance.

The advance which Islam has made in India during its 12 centuries of conquest and missionary effort, may be seen by reference to the census reports for 1901. These show a total Mohammedan population aggregating 62,458,077, being almost *one-fourth* of the entire population, excluding Burma. Of this immense total, 25,265,342 Moslems belong to Bengal, 10,825,698 to the Punjab, 6,731,034 belong to the United Provinces, 1,957,777 to the Northwest Frontier Province, and 339,446 to the Central Provinces. The remaining 17,339,780 belong to the Deccan, Central, West and South India. When it is noted that Bombay and Madras together, sum up only 6,227,526 Mohammedans, it is clear that a considerable portion of the 11 millions remaining should be reckoned as belonging to Behar, Rajputana and other States lying within the precincts of North India. May we say in round numbers that the Moslem population of North India aggregates 50,000,000.

MOSLEM SECTS

The Mohammedans of North India are for the most part Sunnis or Orthodox. The Shias do not number more than 5,000,000 for all India.

Most of them belong to North India, having their stronghold in Oudh,

with headquarters in Lucknow.

There are still a few who boast of their faith in Mohammed Ibn Abd ul Wahhab, but their influence has lost its power and the sect is likely to be reabsorbed into that of the Sunni. All the ordinary divisions of Islam, based upon the various schools of philosophy and theology, have their place in India, but of these we need not make any special mention.

SIR SYED'S NEW ISLAM

In quite recent years, two movements among Moslems in North India have attracted a great deal of attention and have given rise to two bodies of Moslems which are regarded as sects. One of these bodies was founded by the late Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, K.C.S.I., of Aligarh, known as the New Islam. It is, however, rather a restoration of the rationalism of the Mutazillas of the olden time. Its followers are progressive and number among them many of the most learned and intelligent Moslems of North India. The interesting feature of the movement is the readiness to give reason a place in the discussion of religious questions.

AHMADIYA MOVEMENT

The other sect to which we have referred is that founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian in the Punjab. This sect styles itself as Ahmadiyyah. The founder styles himself as the Mahdi-Messiah of the 20th century. He claims to be a prophet and the Messiah of the last times. This sect seems to be rather allied to that of the Babis in Persia. Like that of the "New Islam" this movement is regarded by all Moslems, whether Sunni or Shiah, as heretical. The movement has influenced a multitude of educated men, but perhaps this may be accounted for by its offering a refuge for men who can no longer continue with the orthodox schools.

Methods of Propagating Islam

As always elsewhere, so in India the main instrument in the extension of the faith has been "the Proselyting Sword." For more than ten centuries the power of the sword and the legislation of Mohammedan governments were used without restraint to bring unbelievers under the yoke of Islam. This claim is confirmed by a study of the map of India, in the light of the census.

The great mass of Mohammedans is found among the inhabitants of North India, especially in the Western sections and in the regions adjacent to the centuries of Moslem government in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The apparent exception is that of eastern and northern Bengal, where the sword had little to do with proselytism.

HINDU TYRANNY IN BENGAL

The exception, however, is only apparent, because the simple aboriginal and Hindu population, like the low caste people of the whole Indian peninsula, had nothing to gain by warring against their Moslem conquerors. Nor had they any strong religious principles to defend.

On the contrary the Moslems came as deliverers from Hindu tyranny and caste contempt, offering them social recognition, and constituting them the recognized cultivators of the lands of which they had been mere serfs under Hindu rule.

The purpose of "the proselyting sword" was the same whether wielded by a Mahmud of Ghazni or a Bakhtiyar Khan. It meant submission to the rule of Islam and a formal recognition of Allah as God and Mohammed as the prophet of God. A study of the early wars of Islam will convince any one that they were carried on in accord with the command of Mohammed himself. Christians and Jews were required to

recognize the supreme control of Islam and pay tribute as the price of peace and liberty to worship God in their own way. All others were required to acknowledge Islam as the true religion and embrace it by repeating the *Kalima*. Along with this the new converts were immediately placed under the instruction of some one who as Mullah undertook to impart a knowledge of the essential doctrine and practice of Islam.

Accordingly, the official establishment of the church was always a sequel to the conquest of the state. These Mullahs were zealous propagandists, and used every form of influence to make converts of the people. Traders and travellers also zealously spread the faith. Officers of government, whether civil or military, were in a position to advance the interests of Islam. The emoluments of office, landed rights, political and social equality were freely offered as inducements to enter upon the Moslem way of life and immortality.

Thus it was that in Bengal and Behar, as well as many other parts of India, the work of proselyting continued even after the sword had been sheathed, and also amid the mistunes of war. This state of things continues in India at the present time, whereby many converts to Islam are made from among the low castes.

MOSLEM DERVISH

Another instrumentality for the propagation of Mohammedanism was the Moslem dervish, who consecrates himself to the one purpose of teaching and preaching Islam. The Moslem historians speak of the work and influence of these men from the days of the first incursion of Moslems into India. By their tact and intelligence they have not only been the shepherds of their scattered coreligionists, or the theological teachers of those who were to become

Mullas but by their austerities they drew many idolaters to them and persuaded them to accept Islam as their religion. The influence of such men accounts for the fact that in many places in India the Moslem faith has maintained itself amid persecution and much suffering when in the fortune of war the Moslem power gave way to Hindu rule. This same influence to some extent accounts for the propagation of the faith in India to-day.

CHRISTIANIZATION OF MUSLIMS

A more powerful agency is the *Anjuman-i-Islam* or Moslem Association for the defense and propagation of Islam. This society establishes schools and colleges, publishes a considerable literature and supports a band of preachers - in short a mission, equipped to some extent after the pattern of Christian missions. Their great work is to prevent the Christianization of Moslems, and at the same time to secure the apostasy of Christian converts from Islam. This is the preaching of Islam, of which Prof. T.W. Arnold has written so full and so flattering an account. The zeal of the Moslem propaganda is well described in the words of the Apostle Paul:

"They have a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge; for being ignorant of God's righteousness and seeking to establish their own righteousness, they have not subjected themselves to the righteousness of God" (Rom. 10:2-3).

CONDITION OF MOSLEMS IN N.INDIA

When we consider the fact that for many centuries the Moslems held the supreme power in India, especially in the great political and literary centres of North India, we should naturally have expected them to have held a leading position under the new regime inaugurated by the

British conquest. That such is not the case requires some explanation. The first influence operating against Moslem advancement was the unprogressive character of their religion. Everything is cast in a mould. The mould is believed to have been made upon a Divine pattern in consequence of which the idea of possible development or improvement is, in the nature of the case, impious.

Everything necessary to Moslem perfection is found in the Koran, the Traditions and the Deliverances of the *Majahiddin*. History proves that the progressive movements of the Caliphs of Begdad and Cordova, or of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi, were made in spite of the teachings of Orthodox Islam. Accordingly, what was accomplished in the artistic and literary age, that is to say, in the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, was in great measure undone by the fierce repressive measures of Aurangzeb. The empire dissolved with the close of his reign, and the disunited fragments were unable to contend against the onslaught of the Mahrattas in the south and the Sikhs in the north. A long period of internecine warfare and anarchy resulted in breaking up the social and intellectual fabric of the Moslems. Education was limited to the schools of a very few centres and the teaching of the Mullas in the local Musjids. The range of instruction given was that of reading and writing the Arabic character, with a knowledge of Persian necessary for the duties of public office. In the higher schools at Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, education was along the lines of the seven sciences - Language, Logic, Mathematics, Rhetoric, Jurisprudence, Theology and Exegesis.

MISSION SCHOOLS OPPOSE

Most of these had relation to the propagation of the religion of Islam.

Secular knowledge, especially of science, has always been regarded by orthodox Mohammedans as dangerous to the faith, and for this reason has been discouraged. In the disturbed state of the country in the two centuries preceding the establishment of British rule, the amount of education given, even along these narrow lines, was naturally very small. At the same time the ignorance of the mass of the Mullas led to extreme narrowness of thought and intense bigotry among the people.

This leads up to another influence operating against the social and intellectual progress of Moslems in North India. When the way was being opened up by missionaries to give the people of India the advantages of Western science and knowledge, the Mohammedan Mullas everywhere discouraged the people from sending their children to mission schools. Only a few of the poorer people were willing to allow their boys to attend the schools, and that when a monthly stipend was given to the pupil. When, later on, the government undertook to establish a system of public instruction, and pledged the people that there would be no religious instruction given, many, who had refused to send their boys to the mission schools, were ready to patronize the secular schools of government for the sake of the knowledge which would fit for government office. But those who patronized the secular schools formed a small minority, even in the cities, while in the country the mass preferred to bring up their sons to the agricultural calling of their fathers, or to induce them to take service in the army or police corps.

ENGLISH KNOWLEDGE DISCOURAGED

Thus it came about that schools were for the most part patronized by

the Hindu and Christian population rather than by Mohammedans. Consequently, the numerous offices, open to those who had acquired the necessary English education, were closed to Moslems, who had refused to qualify for them. Hindus and Christians took the lead. To amend this state of things, and to avoid the secularizing influences of government schools, the Moslems organized numerous schools under the direction of the *Arjunan-i-Islam*, the society for the defense of Islam. These schools undertook to impart a knowledge of the English language and of Western science as taught in the Indian government schools, and at the same time to instill into the minds of the pupils a knowledge of the Arabic language and the tenets of Islam. These schools have rarely exhibited the efficiency of the rival schools, but on the whole, they have done much to advance the social condition of Moslems. They have done much to arouse a more progressive spirit, and while their value to orthodox Mohammedanism may be questioned, they have raised up a class of men who have secured some of the emoluments of office, and the influence which office and wealth usually bring with them.

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Perhaps the institution which had done most to further the social and material interests of Mohammedans in North India, is the college at Aligarh, founded by the late Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, who was most liberally aided by Sir William Muir, then lieutenant governor of the Northwest Provinces. For a long time this college was discredited by the orthodox leaders because of the liberal views of Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, but the liberal spirit bred through English education in mission and government schools has rapidly grown, so that to-day all educated Mohammedans are proud

of their great college, which is likely to become the Moslem University of India. It should be here noted that mission schools should have some of the credit for bringing about this important change in the material and social life of Moslems. The sons of the weavers, cooks and tailors, who were among the first students of the mission schools in North India, were thereby enabled to secure lucrative positions in the public service, or to become masters in the mission and government schools. Their success naturally inspired others to seek for education in the mission schools. Many Mohammedan parents preferred, and still prefer, to patronize mission, rather than government schools, because they were sure their boys would receive a sound moral and religious training, which they rightly believed to be better than the godless training of the government schools. They also observed that the superior training of students in mission schools enabled them more readily to secure appointments in the public offices, than the training in the less efficient Moslem schools. Hence it has been found that the alumni of our Christian schools prefer to patronize the mission institutions, and often do so in spite of the pressure brought upon them by their co-religionists. Under these new conditions of Moslem community is making progress in material and social life; while in religious life many are prepared to study the claims of Christianity, and some have openly identified themselves with the Christian church.

URDU, PERSIAN AND ARABIC

The education received by Moslem youth in North India is for the most part imparted through the Urdu language. Persian is also taught as a second language necessary to a proper knowledge of Urdu. Arabic is taught as a classic. All higher education in the mission and public

schools is imparted through the English language. And yet it remains true that the Moslems speak every language in India, and many of them can only be reached through a provincial tongue. This is especially true of the Mohammedans of Bengal, the Punjab, and the Northwest Frontier province.

For the reasons already mentioned, illiteracy among Mohammedans is very great, the percentage of illiterates given by the last census being about 3.27 per cent. In the average village, the adult population is almost entirely ignorant of even the alphabet.

The boys who learn to read in the public schools rarely continue in the callings of their fathers, but find their way into the army, the police or the public office. The various educational institutions are, however, rapidly educating the boys. At the same time there is a growing desire among Mohammedans to educate their wives and daughters. The Mohammedan custom of secluding the women in the harem, while not so rigid in India as in Turkey, nevertheless operates against female education. The social and family system is also affected most unfavorably by polygamy, divorce, and concubinage, and there is little to induce women to desire education. These customs also affect the moral life of Moslems in India very unfavorably and so stand in the way of racial, material, social, and religious development.

SECLUSION OF WOMEN

It is not surprising therefore to find some of the most prominent men ready to reform these customs to the extent of abolishing the seclusion of women. Such men also advocate the abolition of polygamy and concubinage, claiming that the ideal of the Koran is monogamy. It goes without saying that these re-

form movements are in no sense a movement of orthodox Islam, but grow out of the liberalizing influence of Western education and the impact of Protestant Christianity. But we believe the new Islam has come to stay and that it will continue to draw to itself educated Mohammedans, especially those who have lost faith in the doctrines taught by the orthodox Mullas and Moulvies, and who cannot accept the Christian religion. The eccentric movement led by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian in the Punjab has been made a side track for some who had practically abandoned the faith of their fathers, but it gives no promise of permanence. The most that can be said for such movements is that they indicate a growing desire for something better than the religion of Islam can give.

CHRISTIAN BID TO CONVERT MUSLIMS

We are now prepared to note what has been done towards the evangelization of Moslems in North India. It is just 307 years since the Jesuit missionary Hieronymo Xavier came to Lahore from Goa in South India and received permission "to teach the Christians", and to live the life of "one of those who have left the world and all its lusts, wealth, and pleasures, with the view of teaching man the way to everlasting salvation." The work was mainly accomplished by private conversation and discussion and by the publication of books. Three books were published, a life of Christ, a life of St. Peter, and a disquisition on the religion of Islam. Something was done to enlighten the Moslems respecting the doctrines of Christianity as taught by the Catholic church.

IDOL WORSHIP BY CATHOLICS

The chief difference lies in the fact that the Protestant missionary does not have to apologize for the idola-

trous teaching of the Roman Catholic church. The signal failure of Roman Catholic missions among Moslems may be accounted for mainly by this teaching. Unfortunately the laboured efforts on the part of Roman Catholic missionaries to justify Marfolatry, the worship of images and relics of the saints, and the recognition of sacred places, served to misrepresent the pure Christianity of the gospels.

HENRY MARTYN'S AGGRESSIVE WORK

The next stage in the efforts of Christians to evangelize Moslems in North India began with the work of Henry Martyn, whose translation of the New Testament into Urdu and Persian laid the foundation for aggressive work among the followers of Islam. He was followed by the Rev. C.G. Plander who in 1829 was obliged to leave Persia where he had already laboured for some four or five years, writing in the Persian language that noble work, *The Balance of Truth (Mizan ul-Haqq)*. Coming to India he began his work by translating his book into the Urdu language adding to it *The Way of Life (Tariq ul-Hayat)* and the *Key to the Mysteries (Miftah-ul-Asrar)*. These books led to a long continued controversy with the moulvies of Delhi, Agra and Lucknow.

Several public discussions were held, with the result that many Mohammedans were disturbed in their faith, while a few were led into the Christian church.

GALAXY OF CONVERTS

This controversy was taken up by Christian converts from Islam among whom the most notable are Sayad Mulvie Safdar Ali, Mulvie Imad-uddin, Sayad Abdulla Athim, E.A.C., the Rev. G.L. Thakur Dass, Babu Ram Chandra, Munshi Mohammed Hanif, Mr. Akbar Masih, Dr. Almad Shah Shaïq, Mulvie Hisam-ud-din, the Rev. Imam Masih, Dr.

Barkurdar Khan and Mulvie Rajjib Ali. Among European writers upon this controversy the following should be mentioned: The Right Rev. Bishop French, the Right Rev. Bishop Lefroy the Rev. James Wilson, the Rev. J. Smith, Rev. S. Leupolt, the Rev. T.P. Hughes, D.D., Dr. H. Martyn Clark, Rev. C. W. Forman, D.D., Rev. Samuel Knowles, Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, the Rev. G.H. Rouse, D.D., the Rev. J. Bates, the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, D.D., the Rev. W. Brodhead, D.D., and the Rev. E.M. Wherry, D.D. Among laymen who have added to the literature of the Moslem controversy are Capt. W.R. Aikman and Sir Wm. Muir.

Perhaps no writer in modern times has done so much for the controversy with Moslems as the last mentioned writer. Much more might be said as to the literature published in the interest of Moslem evangelization, but time forbids any further statement excepting this, that those who have laboured for the translation and revision of the Holy Scriptures into languages read by Mohammedans have placed all workers under obligation. Without the Scriptures little could be done to make Moslems acquitted with the "former Scriptures" mentioned in the Koran.

In recent years many missionaries have felt that some men should be set apart for a special study of Islam in order to be able the better to meet Moslem antagonists. The late Dr. Murdoch, by his facile pen, promoted such specialization, and in consequence several societies have set men apart for this work. This measure will greatly increase the efficiency of this branch of missionary effort. Much will be gained by a change of attitude, while it is true that the great mass of Indian Moslems is as idolatrous as many of the Hindu tribals still it will not do to approach them as if they were the

volaries of an idolatrous religion.

SUPERSTITIION AMONG CHRISTIANS

Christianity suffers from the stigma of idolatry and superstition, which the Roman Catholic and Greek churches have fastened upon it. It is not the idolatry and superstition of Islam, that must be met, but its claim to be the only true religion, following the Christian dispensation, as the last dispensation of all. To do this efficiently, the Moslem must be met by men thoroughly trained not only in the languages of the Christian Scriptures, but also in the language of the Koran; not only in Christian theology and philosophy, but in the philosophy and theology of the Moslem Mullias and Mulvies. Men with this kind of training can get

the respect of the scholarly men among Mohammedans, and thus touch the centres of influence in the Moslem community. This is what has been planned, and we believe that another generation will see the result and record a great advance in the evangelization of Moslems.

The foregoing sketch of missions to Moslems doubtless impresses upon one the thought that Indian presents a field of missionary labour for Moslem evangelization of very unique interest. Unless it be the Dutch East Indies, no other sphere affords to the Christian in this age so many opportunities of approaching the Moslem.

In 1893 the late Mulvie Imad-ud-din, D.D., in a paper read before the

ISLAM IN SOUTH INDIA

REV. M.G. GOLDSMITH, M.A.

The Mohammedans of South India form six percent of the whole population, and, according to the census report, may be classified as:

- (a) Immigrants or pure blooded descendants of immigrants.
- (b) Offspring of immigrant men by Hindu women.
- (c) Full blooded natives, converted to Islam.

1. The first class are found in all the larger cities, such as Madras, Bangalore, Mysore, Vellore, Masulipatam and Ellore, and throughout the Haidarabad state.

CORRUPTION OF URDU AS HINDUSTANI

They are descendants of those from the north, who first of all at the close of the 13th century, invaded the south and gradually pushed forward their conquests over the greater part of the country. They have not much intermarried with the people they found there, at least not in

recent times, and proudly keep up Persian and Arabic as their classical languages and colloquially use a corruption of the Urdu (camp language) which their ancestors invented in Delhi, but adopted in South India as the twin of syntax found in the Dravidian languages, and which is called "Hindustani" to distinguish it from the purer Urdu.

Their comparative ignorance of the Hindu vernaculars has been a hindrance to their getting employment under government, and has been a problem in the way of their advancement.

PREJUDICE AGAINST ENGLISH

Their prejudice against the English language has been a still more serious obstacle, which is but slowly being overcome during the last forty years. It was considered by the grandfathers of the present generation as likely to imperil their faith, if English (and Christian) literature

Parliament of Religions, held at Chicago, gave a list of over 50 Moslem converts, prominent in the missionary work in India. The long list of Indian Christian authors given in this paper, most of whom bear Moslem names, attests the statement of Dr. Imad-ud-din. If we examine the rolls of membership of the churches at Peshwar, Srinagar, and other frontier stations, Lahore, Amritsar, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Delhi, Allahabad, Lucknow, Krishnagar, etc., we shall be surprised to find how many are of Moslem origin. Perhaps the most striking indication of the inroads being made upon the Moslem ranks is the increasingly large number of Christian preachers and teachers who were once the followers of Islam.

should be understood and studied. In order to encourage them to join government and aided schools, the educational department generously treated them as a "backward class," with the privilege of paying only half the school fees levied from others. Various governors of Madras and other kindly-hearted officials, have from time to time made special efforts on their behalf, offering them special appointments in the army and civil service.

In 1856 the Church Missionary Society was led to take a direct part in Hindustani work by receiving a liberal legacy for the establishment of a special school for Mohammedans. Seringapatam was first thought of, but, owing to its unhealthiness, the Mohammedan quarter (Triplicane) of Madras was chosen, and the "Harris High School" for close on fifty years has been doing what it can. It has educated representatives from the dynasties of

Chanda Sahib, Tippoo Sahib, and the Carnatic and Karnul families, and some of its students have successfully won good appointments under the Madras and Haidarabad governments.

HYDERABAD ARABS

The sunni Moslems of this class are three times as numerous as the Shi'ahs. In Masulipatam the old ruling family, now pensioned, is Shi'ah. The Sunnis belong to the Hanif sect. In Haidarabad there are some thousands of Arabs, chiefly employed as household troops to the nobles, drawn from Sheher in Hadramaut, Arabia.

2. Alongside with this class, are races called (a) *Labbe*; and *Cholya*, found more especially on the south-east Tamil coast. They are said to have come from Iraq, having been driven out in the early part of the eighth century by the tyrant Hajjaj Bin Yusuf, governor of Iraq. They belong to the house of Hashim. Crossing over to India they settled to the east of Cape Comorin.

ORIGIN OF LABBES

Other accounts describe the *Labbe* as having originally been Arab traders who were wrecked on the Indian coast and obliged to settle there. Not understanding the language of the country, they replied "*Labbaik*" by way of assent to the queries of the natives, who therefore gave them the name of *Labbe*.

They now talk Tamil, indicating that they intermarried with the natives and that the children learned Tamil from their mothers; but they have a peculiar written character of their own which is called Arab-Tamil, being Tamil words written with an adaptation of Arabic characters. A convert from them enabled us to put the Gospel of St. Mark into Arab-Tamil character. As a rule they are rough and uneducated, though industrious as merchants in hides, tailors, etc. The *Labbes* number

406,793, and other branches of the same race 87,835 more. The *Chollyas* seem of the same descent, but taken up weaving as a trade, and are said not to intermarry with the *Labbe*.

NAVAYATIS

(b) *The Navayatis* may have come to India about the same time as the *Labbe*, but are fair in complexion, aristocratic and well educated. The story about them is that they are natives of Medina, who were caught in the act of tunnelling to get into the shrine of the prophet with the object of carrying off his remains to their own place and there to raise a new shrine for their own benefit. They were in consequence expelled from Arabia. The census report states they are subdivided into five families: Kureshi, Mehkeri, Chida, Gheas, Mohagir, but they are comparatively small in number (2,042).

MAPILLAS

(c) *The Mapilla* (ordinarily pronounced and written Mopals) are on the west coast, with headquarters at Cannanore, and are a similar race to the *Labbe*. "They do not speak Hindustani, but have a *patois* of their own. They rarely avail themselves of the advantages of education offered by government. They are proud, fierce, and bigoted, but physically a finer race than their countrymen on the eastern side; troublesome withal, to the authorities, and too free in the use of the *Mapilla* knife, till government some years ago forbade its being worn as a constant appendage." The government has tried to utilize their fighting qualities by raising some regiments of them, but their turbulent nature has prevented the experiment from being an unequalled success. They write in the Malayalam language, but have little literature of any kind. Their history dates back to one of their number

who visited Mecca and was well treated there, coming back with abundant religious zeal. They are now energetic in propagating Islam, and their numbers have increased from 612,789 in 1871, to 912,920 in 1901. Some allowance of course must be made for the terrorism inspired amongst their wealthier Hindu neighbours, who must constantly find adhesion to Islam the safest course to avoid molestation.

LOW CASTE RUSH TO ISLAM

Another means of proselytizing, which Hindust state has often been employed all over India, when armed force was not used, was to break the caste of Hindus either by compelling them to eat or drink from the Moslems, or by the rougher way of spitting down their throats! In either of such cases the victims found themselves outcast from their compatriots; and as life under such conditions was intolerable, they would cast in their lot with the Moslems as being the less of two evils.

It is thought by some who know the west coast that in a few years the whole of the lower races will become Mohammedan unless they are soon Christianized.

The *Labbe*, *Navayati* and *Mapillie* and similar (but smaller) branches of *Cholyas*, *Kailan*, *Marakkyars*, etc. (who probably only reproduce the Indian idea of caste grafted into Islam), are all Sunnis and followers of Sunnis and followers of *Imam-es-Shafi*, while the Sunnis of *Class I* are followers of *Imam-ibn-Hanifa*. The only apparent differences are in minor details: for instance, at a certain point in the daily prayers the *Sahfi* crosses his hands on his chest, while the *Hanifite* crosses them on his stomach. Again, if the *Shafi* be interrogated about his faith, he replies, "I am a Moslem, if God wills it" (*Insh' Allahu Ta'ala*), which doubtful way of putting it appears blasphemous (*Kufri*) to a *Hanifite*, who would rather

reply, "Praise God" (Alhamda Lillah). If preying together in the same mosque, the sect (*mazhab*) of the majority has to be followed for the time being.

NIZAM'S TUTOR STABBED

In the Mysore province, at Channapatam, an offshoot of the Shi'ahs called *Daire-wate* or *Mahadvi* is found. In the year 1444 (A.H. 847) a man called Sayed Ahmad was born in Gujrat. He claimed to be the expected Mahdi, and preached in the dominions of the Nizam of Haidarabad and other places. He died in 1504 and his followers were driven by persecution into Haidarabad and to the Mysore province. Their watchword was "Imam Mahdi came and went away; he who does not believe this is an infidel." This offended the Sunnis and at the time of Tippoo Sahib, when the Mahdavis during a certain Ramadan were shouting their watchword through the streets of Seringapatam, they were attacked and put to flight. A few years ago one of them in Haidarabad mortally stabbed the tutor of the Nizam for writing a book against them: so they had to migrate. Lord Harris granted them a settlement in Channapatam. They have many peculiar customs and no regular mosque but only a *jamaat-khana*

(assembly room) since they consider India a *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of war) and not a Moslem territory.

Wahabis exist, known as *'Ammil bil Hadith*, and are not numerous. They are protestants in a quiet way against all modern accretions of superstition.

A possible important factor in the future is the sect that follows Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, who called himself the Messiah. Though denounced as a heretic by orthodox Moslems, he has thousands of disciples in different parts of India, some of them in Haidarabad city and in some of the districts.

The distribution of the Mohammedan population in South India is as follows:

Madras Presidency proper	2,467,351
Coorg	13,654
Haidarabad (Deccan)	1,155,750
Cochin and Travancore	265,580
Mysore	289,697
Total	4,192,032

The Madras census report (1901) says that the Moslems are nine and one-tenth per cent. More numerous than at the census of 1891, while India Christians have increased nineteen per cent. (and in thirty years ninety-nine per cent and four or five times as fast as the popula-

tion generally).

Results of Christian missions have been very small. One here and another there has come out of Islam and joined the Christian Church. There have been converts in two or more distinct places, besides many more who have been scattered enquirers. Hitherto this seems to have been the peculiar feature of the work. The Church Missionary Society has more definitely paid attention to work among Moslems than any other mission, and has had Hindustani missionaries in Madras and Haidarabad; but one or two of other societies in South India have studied Hindustani with a view of influencing Moslems. Those Moslems who speak Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, or Malayalam, have been to some extent reached by missionaries in those languages; but it is generally felt that the Moslem requires very different and special dealing.

In Haidarabad rich money inducements have always been at hand to encourage apostasy. An anti-Christian society, the *Anjuman-i-Islam*, was formed thirteen years ago and recorded considerable numbers of converts from Hinduism and Christianity, but lately it has been said to be defunct. ■

Editor's books in US Library of Congress

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore : American Library of Congress has only 16 books of our Editor, V. T. Rajshakar.

A research scholar from Harvard University has written saying that he obtained details of these books from the Library in Washington and wanted rest of the books written by the Editor to be supplied to the Library so that research scholars world over may make use of the books.

But we dont know if the Editor's books, published by Dalit Sahitya Academy can be directly supplied from here to the Library. We remember some agency in

Delhi was regularly procuring our books to be supplied to American Library. But it stopped taking the books since 10 years or so.

We call upon our readers in America to help us in this. The Editor has many more books to his credit and some are out of print.

Those books listed in the Library of Congress relate to the years 1978 to 1988. Then there is a gap. *India's Muslim Problem* is the only one book of 1993. That means quite a lot of books have not reached the American Library of Congress. ■

Conference on
Separate Electorate

at Neyveli, TN, Sept. 24, 1996.

A newly-formed Dalit organisation of marxists-turned Ambedkarites is organising the above conference for the first time in Tamil Nadu on Sept. 24, 1996- the day the "Poona Pact" was signed, thus converting Dalits into bonded slaves of Hindus.

The Editor of *Dalit Voice*, V.T.Rajshekar, has agreed to attend the conference. Others invited are Vasant Moorti, Editor of Babasaheb Writings and Speeches, L.R.Bailly of Punjab.

As the demand for separate electorate is catching up among Dalits and others, we suggest Dalit leaders and thinkers to organise similar conferences and seminars to initiate a debate so that we build up a strong public opinion in favour of it. All oppressed communities should also think of separate

electorate. Dalit Sahitya Akademy is bringing out a book on the subject. Those interested may contact the Convener of the conference: A-2, North Cement St., Block 9,
Neyveli Township, TN-607801.

BACKWARD COMMUNITIES
Marathi book
CASTES, DALITS, ADVASIS NOT
HINDUS

A retired IPS officer, Ambedkarite and frequent contributor to *Dalit Voice*.

The book has three chapters. The first one deals with the sins of Brahminism which is nothing but persecution of the non-Aryan

original inhabitants of India. The second deals with Bandhuk Slavery. No ruling class in the world has

resorted to intellectual slavery

except the vaidiks of India, says the author. The original inhabitants of India, namely Untouchables, Tribals and Backward Castes, are not Hindus and will have to go back to their original religion and culture. Until they do it, over 85% of the population of India will have no salvation.

1995 pp 85 Rs. 30

Prajna Prakashan,
529/A-Hanuman Nagar,
Nagpur- 440 009

BOOKS ON ISLAM

1. *Islam on Slavery*

By Lord Headley & Khwaja Kamaluddin, Imam of Mosque Woking, England.

Says Aryan invasion of India converted the natives of the country into slaves PP 32 Rs. 15

2. *The Great Religions of the World*

Mrs. Ufat Aziz-U-Samad, born at Peshawar and worked in England. The book deals with different religions including the religion of the Dravidians which had touched the peak of civilization which the Invading Aryans came and destroyed.

1991 pp 250 Rs.100

5. *Introduction to the study of Holy Quran*

Khwaja Kamaluddin
1991 pp 95 Rs. 50

6. *Divine law of creation and birth of Jesus*

Moulana Hafiz Sher Muhammad
pp 82 price not mentioned

3. *Islam & Christianity*
Mrs. Ufat Aziz-U-Samad
pp 160 Rs. 50
4. *Islam & Muslim Prayer*
Khwaja Kamal-Uddin
pp 125 Rs. 40

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