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# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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**Congress crocodile tears over Dalits :  
Thus Spake Ambedkar**

## Thos Spoke Ambedkar

### Original brahminical party's crocodile tears for Dalits

**A STRANGE EVENT:** Congress Takes Cognizance of the Untouchables (Chapter 1).

In the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in the year 1917 a strange event took place. In that session the Congress passed the following resolution.

"This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, Justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the Depressed Classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience."

The President of the session was Mrs. Annie Besant. The resolution was moved by Mr. G.A.Natesan of Madras and was supported by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai from Bombay, by Mr. Rama Iyer from Malabar and by Mr. Asaf Ali from Delhi. In moving the resolution, Mr. Natesan said:-

"Ladies and Gentlemen, -This question has been receiving great attention for years in other platforms; but in view of the unique character of this Congress, the Subject committee thought it necessary, after having framed a scheme of self-government for India, that we should complete that by asking us to prepare ourselves for the task of self-government. The first great duty is to see that all inequalities and injustices are removed. You will see that this resolution specially asks you to remove disabilities of a most vexatious and oppressive character. Without injuring your religious feelings, without giving up all that is best in your religious tradition, I think the Congress has a right to ask of you and of me and of others elsewhere that such absurd restrictions as the non-admission of these people to schools should be removed. **The Congress has also a claim upon all human beings to see that in some portions of the country where these people are refused even the use of common well, these restrictions should disappear....** In attempting to elevate ourselves and in trying to remove these galling restrictions we are but elevating Indian manhood, and when Responsible Self-Government is to be given to us we shall be in a position to say that Indians of all classes, of all creeds, have the fullest rights, the commonest social rights, have free access to all schools, to all institutions so that

Indian manhood may develop in all its truest, best and noblest traditions."

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in supporting the resolution pointed out that:-

"The disabilities under which some of our brethren suffer are a great blow to the equality and brotherhood of man that we preach. From the great height of the resolution that you have passed this morning, **with what face will we approach the British Democracy or any other power if we are unable to uplift our own brethren?** They will say 'What lies in your own power, the obliteration of the social degradation of a section of your own people, you have been unable to do!' We can do it by self-help and by self-help alone and in this matter we need not approach any other power but ourselves, that proves the necessity of the great forward step that this Congress has taken in allowing this resolution to be moved before you... **The existence of this great bane is an insult to the name of Hinduism.** Therefore, both on the ground of necessity and on the ground of justice, as well as on the ground of righteousness, for the truth that you cherish, how can you deny them what this resolution demands when the justice lies in your own hands? **And if you fail to do that, with what justice, with what face, will you demand Self-Government?"**

Mr. Rama Iyer said:-

"This... resolution calls for social freedom by which we shall shatter the shackles that bind the lower classes. They are the foot of the nation and if you and I would climb the hill of Home Rule, **we must first shatter the shackles on our feet and then, and then only, will Home Rule come to us...** You cannot be political democrats and at the same time social autocrats. Remember that a man, a social slave, cannot be politically a free man. We all have come here to see the vision of United India, not only politically united; but united all along the line... Therefore, let those of us, who are Brahmins, who belong to the higher castes, go to our villages and shatter the shackles of the low castes, people who are struggling against our own man-the social bureaucrats of our own land." (pages 1 to 2).

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

## DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

# "Creamy layer theory" aims at destroying Yadava leadership challenging BSO in Aryavarta

The Supreme Court's Sept. 5, 1995 judgment quashing the Bihar and UP legislations, which helped to build up Backward Caste leadership, and its unanimous welcome by the entire "national" toilet papers indicating the upper caste happiness over it once again pinpoints the serious dilemma facing the weakling Backward Caste (BC) movement in the country.

BCs are neither *shudras* nor Hindus. They too are the original inhabitants of India and hence Untouchables. But the Aryan upper castes/Hindus have been playing BCs against Dalits (Untouchables) and vice versa and through this divide and rule game they have been keeping both of them enslaved. But the Dalits, because of the fact that they have a leader (Dr. Babasaheb

Ambedkar) and a philosophy, built a powerful movement challenging the Hindus. And conscious sections of Dalits at least have the courage to say they are not Hindus.

**Promotion of Krishna as god:** But that is not the case with the BCs whose revolt against brahminism was sabotaged by the latter by promoting a Hindi belt BC (Yadava) leader, Krishna (meaning Black), as a god.

**This Black Yadava's promotion to godhood was the beginning of the fall of the powerful Yadava tribe in the Aryavarta (Hindi heartland or cow belt). And it took many centuries for the Yadavas to finally assert their strength and throw up two powerful Yadava leaders - Chief Minister Laloo Prasad Yadav in Bihar**

## DV PROVES RIGHT ON RAJIV MURDER

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** DV has proved right on the Rajiv Gandhi assassination. The hands of notorious international racketeer, Chandraswami, (original name Nemni Chand Jain) being protected by Chanakya, and that of the darling of the zionists, Dr. Subramanian Swamy, are now clearly visible. We were the first in the country to say that Rajiv Gandhi was not killed by the Tamil Tigers but by zionists at the instance of some Hindu naziforces. That is why the Rajiv Gandhi murder probe is being deliberately delayed by Chanakya (DV Edit June 16, 1991: "Thoughts on Rajiv Gandhi murder" and DV Edit March 1, 1995: "Rajiv murder mystery deepens: Who is the domestic party to conspiracy?")

**New Delhi:** Former Union Minister

Arif Mohammad Khan on Sept. 15 demanded action against Chandraswami alleging that the controversial godman had offered a million dollars to an Israeli mercenary to kill Rajiv Gandhi. Khan said the Israeli mercenary had admitted this in a statement to England's Scotland Yard who had passed on this information on an official level to Indian intelligence agencies. (**Times of India**, Sept. 16.)

The Gujjar tribal leader, Rajesh Piloni, was sacked by the Chanakya for ordering the arrest of Chandraswami on the charge that he sheltered the Muslim bomber who blasted the Bombay stock exchange. When such serious allegations are made against this fraudman and all justice-loving people want his arrest, why the Chanakya is shielding him?

This only indicates the extent of corruption and utter chaos prevailing at the "top". India is becoming increasingly ungovernable. Punjab Chief Minister Beant Singh murder, Khamma revolt against their own jati leader, N.T. Rama Rao, in Andhra Pradesh, the **Bangalore Papatti** lavishing about Rs. 100 crores on her "foster" son's wedding in Madras, the jailing of an Iyer IAS officer in Bangalore etc., all these prove the utter chaos and confusion at the "top". This "top", meaning the upper caste leadership of every section of the society, is out to destroy the country - because it is not only anti-national but bent up destroying the Indian unity and integrity. This "top" must go if India has to survive. ■

## and Mulayam Singh Yadav, the ex-CM of UP.

The latest Supreme Court order which re-introduces the hated "economic criterion" in the guise of "creamy layer theory" is nothing but part of the desperate brahminical bid to destroy this Yadava leadership which is challenging the brahminic rulers in this very heartland (DV Edit Dec. 16, 1992: "Economic criterion re-introduced in the guise of creamy layer").

In the above-referred Editorial we had condemned the 1992 full bench judgment as "a blow to the BC movement which is part of the Dalit movement". The judgment tried to "exclude the economically advanced members of a particular caste by introducing economic criterion through the backdoor".

**Definition of BC:** Article 15(4) of the Constitution clearly defines the BCs as those who are "socially and educationally backward". Nowhere the Constitution refers to the "economic criterion" or directs exclusion of the "creamy layer". From where did the Supreme Court get this brainwave to introduce a new philosophy? The Constitution defines the BCs and directs reservation to the whole "Backward Classes of citizens" and not a part of it - even if it is poor. The Supreme Court by directing the State Govts. to exclude the "affluent sections" among BCs has only helped the Aryan upper castes who have been trying to destroy the BC leadership - by dividing the BCs into "rich" and "poor".

**Poor among vaidiks:** Is there no "creamy layer" among the *vaidiks*? The Chanakya, Hindu nazi leader A.B. Vajpayee and marxist leader EMS Namboodiripad are such examples of the "cream". Though they are the cream, they are always worried about the fate of "poor Brahmins" in their community. Just because they form the cream, they don't get isolated from their *jati*. How can the Supreme Court say that the "cream" among the BCs cease to be BCs? Social and cultural trait of a person in "Hindu India" is derived from his or her *jati*. That is why the founding-fathers of the Constitution recommended reservation to all members of a particular *jati* which is identified as "socially and educationally backward". But the Supreme Court by trying to divide a *jati* into "rich" and "poor" is introducing an altogether new philosophy which cannot be accepted by the people of India.

**Corrupt & co-opt:** The Supreme Court if it has made a proper study of the Hindu social struc-

ture and how the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) operates would have noticed that the BSO does not act upon a single individual. BSO enslaves a whole *jati* through its famous technique of corruption and co-option. It has no objection to any particular member of a *jati* becoming rich by corrupt means. In fact it loves such a corrupt person and co-opts him.

The non-Aryan Krishna, who was promoted as a Hindu god, offers the best example to prove this point. The *vaidik* Brahmins resorted to this desperate step to corrupt and co-opt Krishna as a sex god with 16, 108 wives and concubines "to regain their position in society after Buddhism had deflated their ancient prestige", says D.D. Kosambi (*Culture & Civilisation of Ancient India*, 1981 p.93 Vikas).

While the entire tribe of Yadavas was enslaved and crushed, the BSO promoted one single notorious Yadava to godhood and thereby enslaved the Yadava tribe.

**Yadava leadership:** Today, Laloo Prasad Yadav and Mulayam Singh Yadav have become formidable foes of the BSO in their very *Aryavarta*. The Supreme Court judgment amounts to breaking the backbone of the Yadava leadership which is effectively challenging the BSO.

The Supreme Court judgment wants to exclude the "creamy layer". If this section is removed who is going to fight for the human rights of its *jati*? The V.P. Singh Govt. order on Mandal Commission Report pertains to reservations only in employment but not in education. The court judgment, therefore, is restricted to job reservation only.

**Mischief of "cream theory":** Only those who are educated and having the requisite qualifications can apply to a reserved post. The uneducated among BCs cannot apply. If the "creamy layer" of a particular *jati* is excluded, the "affluent", "advanced" BCs, who alone have produced the educated BCs and have the qualification to apply to these reserved posts, cannot apply. If the "advanced BCs" can't apply and if the "backward BCs" are not educated and hence have not produced the qualified candidates for the reserved posts, it means the posts will remain vacant and the upper castes can simply swallow it under the "merit pool". The Supreme Court "creamy layer" theory has only helped the Aryan upper castes.

This is exactly what the upper castes want and

this is exactly what the Supreme Court has given. And that is why the entire "national" toilet papers are dancing with joy.

This leads us to another point. The court order repeatedly refers to the "law laid down by the court". The Constitution under Article 124 has created the Supreme Court as the "final interpreter and guardian of the Constitution". But the Constitution did not say that Supreme Court can make the law also. Law-making is the prerogative of Parliament and state legislatures. How can the judiciary usurp the functions of the legislature?

**Court is not law-maker:** A SC verdict may have the power of law but can the SC make the law? It is true that Article 141 says that while interpreting the Constitution, the Supreme Court is making the law. But this is nothing but a judicial interpretation of the law. It will not have the

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## "Hindu logic" in Vasudevan case

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OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar has said:

"Caste has made public opinion impossible. A Hindu's public is his caste. Virtue has become caste-ridden and morality has become caste-bound. There is no sympathy to the deserving. There is no appreciation to the meritorious. There is no charity to the needy... There is sympathy but not for the men of other caste... The capacity to appreciate merit in a man apart from his caste does not exist in a Hindu". (*Annihilation of Caste* p.65, Bhim Patrika 1975).

We are reminded of the great truth in the above golden words of Babasaheb as we read the furious controversy raging (as this written) on the one-month jail sentence awarded to a Karnataka Brahmin IAS officer, Vasudevan.

**Sushil Sharma case:** To the Hindus, a *vaidik* is a *Bhooodevata* and hence they worship him - even if he is a criminal convicted by the court. But the same Hindus have no sympathy to the person whom this *vaidik* criminal has killed because that person is not his *jatwala*.

The Punjabi Brahmin, Sushil Sharma, who made a tandoori chicken out of a *Sardarri* has proved this point. Even womens' organisations did not launch any agitation against him because he was a *vaidik*.

**Toilet papers:** T.R.Dhananjaya, a Dalit engineer, in

sanction of people whose elected representatives constitute the legislature which alone is the competent law-making authority. Supreme Court judges are not elected representatives and hence cannot speak for the people of India.

Be that as it may, the SC judgment on "creamy layer" must be resisted by the people who are the ultimate sovereign.

**Role for Dalits:** Dalits cannot sit silent thinking that the "creamy layer" verdict will not apply to them. The upper castes want to first break the BC movement, which is already weak, and then come to SC/STs who are a tough nut to crack. Dalits and Muslims must fully support the Backward Castes and mount a united opposition and force the govt. to undo the damage done by the court. As the elections are fast approaching, this is the right time for the people to assert their sovereignty.

the Bangalore Municipal Corporation (BMC), was victimised by the Volkaliga-dominated BMC. And his persecution increased after the Volkaliga Chief Minister (Deve Gowda) took over. Vasudevan as the Secretary to the Govt. in-charge of BMC, contributed his quota to the caste prejudice. The aggrieved Dalit engineer went to Supreme Court which upheld his plea and directed the govt. to promote the Dalit officer as Chief Engineer and sentenced the Iyer IAS officer for disobeying the court order.

These very upper castes have great "reverence and respect" for the courts because they are always favourable to them. But the moment a court goes against them they abuse it and even prepared to attack it.

Instead of sympathising with the persecuted Dalit officer and congratulating the Supreme Court for rendering justice to the Dalit engineer surrounded by an unkind, unjust social order - the upper caste-controlled "national" toilet papers are crying and shedding gallons and gallons of tears over a convicted criminal.

This is "Hindu India".

Please read the above golden words of Babasaheb again to understand the topsy-turvy logic of this "Hindu" mind and its misplaced sympathy.

# TN Dalits threaten to embrace Islam

**Tuticorin:** In the aftermath of the police excesses in Kodiyankulam village, about 45 km from here, on Aug. 31, and caste violence in the villages of this district, some 80,000 Dalits have threatened to convert to Islam. Some of the villagers told this correspondent

## DALIT - BC CLASH

RELUMALAI, GENERALA SECRETARY, PMK, MADRAS-600 018

Dr. S.Ramados, founder-leader, PMK, visited those villages in southern TN affected by the Kallar (Thevar)-Pallar' (Dalit) clashes and submitted a memorandum to the Governor. The TN Govt. is not protecting the interests of Dalits particularly in Madurai, Chidambaranar and Nellai Kattabomman districts which are in the midst of serious caste clashes since a month.

The attack on these poor, illiterate Dalits (Pallars) is led by the State police itself in connivance with the powerful Backward Caste Thevars. What would have been a routine affair between a State Transport Dalit driver and a few Thevar jaywalkers of Veera Sigamani village developed into serious caste clashes spreading to many villages in the above three districts.

The govt. made a false promise to repair the alleged scratches on a Thevar statue at Veera Sigamani but nothing was done. This was followed by murders, looting, molestation of women, mass exodus of cattle and people. He visited Kodiyankulam village in Chidambaranar district on Sept. 4 where weeping

who visited Kodiyankulam village that absence of any action against the police and district officials considered responsible for the alleged repression would result in their taking to Islam en masse (*Times of India* Sept. 18)

women did not even dare to wear their *thali* (mangalasutra) but buried it fearing the recurrence of the police brutalities. Kodiyankulam village was attacked by the police themselves.

Thevars were jealous of the growing prosperity of Pallars several of whom had gone to Gulf countries. Pallars were a little more prosperous and have tiled houses, electricity, TV, VCRs and some gold ornaments.

**Collector leads attack:** The Thevar police raided these Pallar houses and made them paupers. The raid took place on Sept. 31. The villagers in one voice said the police raid was directed by the District Superintendent of Police and Collector, Paneerselvam, IAS.

Dalits (Pallars), who met him at Tirunelveli, said that they were so disgusted that they had decided to quit Hinduism, a chamber of horrors and fountain head of miseries, and embrace a more liberating and egalitarian religion that ensured them equality, fraternity and liberty.

## Hyderabad Dalit meet on Oct. 14

DR. D. YADALAH, B2/23, MIG (HUDA), CHANDANAGAR, R.R.DIST, AP-500 138.

Editor V. T. Rajshekar will release the first issue of the Telugu *Dalit Voice* at the first one-day conference of Andhra Pradesh Dalit-Bahujan Intellectuals on Oct. 14, 1995. The conference will discuss the DV Editorial of May 16, 1995: "*Defects of Dalit movement: Lack of strategies and tactics*". The conference will be held at the Madina Educational Centre, Nampally, Hyderabad. Dr. D. Yadaiah, a noted Dalit doctor and president of the Dalit Sahitya and Cultural Academy (DSCA), publishers of the Telugu DV, will preside. Those interested may contact DSCA - 11-6-767 Red

Hills, Nampally, Hyderabad-4, or Dr. Yadaiah on phone - 28 35 50 or 28 38 15. Other speakers include B. Narsimloo, Dy. Gen. Manager, Allwyn, Hyderabad, Prem Kumar, Gen. Secretary, Varun Kumar, Organising Secretary and Dr. Kameshwar Rao, Secretary, DSCA (AP), M.A. Saleem, Economics Lecturer, Tara Degree College, Sangareddy, Mrs. Sushee Tara, Mrs. Sabiha Bannu, Prof. G. Nanchariah, Dr. K. Ilaiyah, Bojja Tarakam, President AP Dalit Mahasabha, Bh. Tirupathi, Principal Rayappa of St. Mary's Jr. College and Dr. Fazlur Rehman Faridi.

## Upper caste Christians using Dalits to get foreign funds

RAJU THOMAS, POST BOX-2296, MADRAS-600 023

At a two-day "National Consultation of Dalit Christian Leaders", the Black Bishop of India, Rev. M. Azariah, said here on Aug. 14 that as per the dream of Babasaheb Ambedkar the Dalit problem had to be settled before the international forums.

The Consultation helped Dalit Christians to come together and know each other. Dalits might belong to different religions and ideologies but the ethnic and distinct national identity of Dalits was common to all. Religions should not divide Dalits, he said.

Dalit Christians are deprived of their human rights. They are punished just because they dared to follow their Saviour, Babasaheb Ambedkar. The salvation brought by Jesus Christ was as a result of political action and the Dalit Christians and Dalits in other religions also should have a political action to get salvation from our oppressors. Dalit theology is basically a political theology based on Dalit identity and Dalit ideology. Dalit theology is also a militant theology for liberation.

**Upper caste hold:** *Dalit Voice* and Dalit literature, he said, had played a very important role in strengthening Dalit movement in and outside India.

The main consultation that followed the next day was attended by 90 Dalit Christian leaders. There were also Catholics, Protestants and Pentecostal delegates. **Dalits are scattered in all the churches in India and yet the leadership, power, wealth and control are in the hands of the non-Dalit upper caste Christians.**

There were four resource persons including Bishop Azariah, Dr. K. Rajaratnam, Director of Gurukul and an outstanding Dalit thinker. Dr. James Massey, Director of Dalit Solidarity Programme, New Delhi, and Dr. K. Wilson from Osmania University, Hyderabad.

**"Brahmin theology":** James Massey, a Punjabi Dalit Christian, said: "Present church history is not our history. We have no history. Our history is not recorded in church history. The Christian church in India is unwilling to lead a liberation movement because the church is in the custody of upper caste Christians who refuse to accept the Dalit reality. They are dividing the Dalit Christians by purchasing stooges. Dalit Chris-

tians must accept Babasaheb and his philosophy. This will unite Dalits in all religions. He asked Dalit Christians to reject the "Brahmin theology". Indian Christian theology is nothing but brahminism.

**Business in Dalit name:** The Black Bishop remembered the year 1983 when he placed the Dalit issue before the World Council of Churches (WCC) and how the world was shocked on hearing the persecution of indigenous Dalits by the alien Aryan upper castes/Hindus who practiced a gory apartheid against Dalits in the name of their *dharma* and racism.

*He criticised the upper caste Christians for making a business in the name of Dalit liberation. Dalits alone could be their liberators and not other people. Dalits have been the victims of cheating by everybody in this country. If the church had the will it could easily win in its struggle for Dalit Christians but it had no will.*

The govt. of this country has imposed a brahminical Hinduism upon the indigenous Dalits and forcing them to profess and practice a diabolical anti-human fascist ideology (Hinduism).

The Presidential Order on Scheduled Castes was a blatant violation of human rights, he thundered.

**Dalit theology:** Dr. K. Rajaratnam said Gurukul was India's first theological institution which started a department of Dalit Theology. The Indian church, he said, totally ignored Babasaheb Ambedkar.

**"Gandhi is a forgotten man of history. He has no place in history and Babasaheb Ambedkar will live for ever".**

The Indian upper caste society is corrupt and a corrupt society preaches only corruption in the other name of brahminism. It was the Congress Party that opposed the demands of Dalit Christians. And hence we must reject all false prophets. Dalits in general and Dalit Christians in particular must get out of all political parties and form their own genuine movements to educate Dalits. He was very critical of the so-called theologians and pastors. The upper castes are representatives of a devilish system. Even fourth generation theologians are stupid. Sermons must motivate us towards the cause of liberation and justice.

**He was very hopeful that if the churches in India with the best infrastructures, educational and**

theological institutions and communication network took a bold decision then the whole country would be on fire.

**Bogus "Indianisation"**: He totally rejected the so-called "Indianisation" of the Indian church. In the name of "Indianisation" the church was getting aryanised and brahminised. We are the indigenous people of India and Dalit Christians do not require Aryan cultural values. Dalits have their own socio-religio-cultural values and these values were better than those of the Aryans, he said.

Jayakaran Joseph of the Dalit Sena said Ambedkarism is emerging all over India as the most powerful philosophy shaking the very foundations of the upper caste pyramid.

Dr. K. Wilson said he was impatient like the Editor of *Dalit Voice*. He was angry that nothing dynamic came out of Dalit Christian community. Intellectuals should diagnose the sickness of Dalits. He said the more privileged Dalits discriminated against the less privileged Dalits.

**Dalits as a nation**: Initiating the floor discussion, the Black Bishop said that after Jesus Christ, Babasahab Ambedkar was resurrected on the horizon of Indian sub-continent with a universal message of "equality, fraternity and liberty". Only Dalits will bring a real and genuine democratic revolution in India.

**Dalit problem was essentially a "nationality question"**. Dalits are a separate, distinct ethnic nationality within the country that is India. The national identity of Dalits has to be constitutionally established. Once this constitutional recognition is accepted Dalits have every right to seek direct international intervention against the human rights violations of Dalits in India.

**Foreign funds**: Upper caste Christians were using Dalit Christians to procure foreign funds in the name of development and education. We will not allow anybody to decide our destiny and we are the makers of our history, he warned.

The 1950 Presidential Order was an imposition of Hinduism upon Dalits who are not Hindus and were never Hindus, he said.

Delegates from different parts of India unanimously agreed to internationalise the Dalit Christian issue as a violation of human rights and gave an ultimatum to the Congress Party. It demanded separate Dalit Christian women centres and asked Dalits to get out of YWCAs.

It also called upon the churches to accept Babasahab as the leader of Dalit Christians. ■

## AP Dalit Christians punish racist Bishop

PRASAD RAO, PRESIDENT, DALIT CATHOLIC COUNCIL, ST. JOSEPH'S CATHEDRAL, SANTHAPET, NELLORE, AP-524 001

*The upper caste Bishop, P.C. Balaswamy, of Nellore and Chairman of the Andhra Bishop's Conference is facing arrest following a complaint lodged by Miss Sarada, an advocate of Nellore, on Aug.3. She said the Bishop along with Vicar-General Cyriac Mutholy and Fr. D.S. Paul tried to purchase irregularly and unlawfully govt. lands allotted to Dalits of Nellore dt. She said the three went to her house and threatened her if she did not hand over all documents related to the Nellore diocese. Sarada was the legal adviser for the Diocesan Society of Nellore which owned all the properties of Nellore Diocese of Catholics.*

*Hated by Telugus: She filed a criminal case on Jan. 17 and the court issued a non-bailable warrant against the Bishop. The District Sessions Judge granted the bail. When the case was taken up on Aug.22, the Bishop was kept under custody for the whole day in the court. Bishop Balaswamy, a Kamma Naidu, hails from Vadagaram of Chennigleput dt., Tamil Nadu, and is notorious as a casiest Bishop among all the 12 Bishops of AP, His hatred against Dalit Catholics (who form 90%) and local Telugu priests is an established fact. Dalit Catholics of Nellore Diocese are the most underdeveloped lot as compared to any diocese in AP.*

### CHINA AS NO. 1 POWER?

#### OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** As India is fast going down and becoming ungovernable, China which became independent after India, is well poised to become No. 1 country in the world in 21st century.

The *Times of India* (Sept 9) in an editorial comment says:

The announcement of a possible Clinton-Jiang Zemin "Summit" in October point to the emergence of a new global reality: the implicit American recognition of China as a world power.

Already, China is a super power and a world leader. Oppressed people of the world have high hopes in China. ■

# Frustrations of a Dalit scientist crushed by hostile Hindus

PRAVEEN, BOMBAY

The word 'Dalit' is associated with rebellion - rebellion against social injustice. The so-called torchbearers and conscience-keepers of society feel that talent is confined to a particular blessed caste and the rest condemned to mediocrity. This unfortunate social scenario enjoys religious scriptural sanction. But not a single conscience is stirred in India.

**Jaundiced minds** : Here all minds are biased - be it a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian or which ever religion it cares to profess, the preferred attitude towards the "lower castes" is sickeningly the same. The feeling is endemic to India. Hence all minds are hopelessly jaundiced.

The Dalits are a thoroughly deprived lot. All of them come from disadvantaged background and live in horrible conditions.

**I was singularly lucky. My father was a govt. employee. Both my parents had a vision and commitment towards our well-being. Being the eldest of five brothers and a sister, my father had a responsibility towards them too. He sent all his four children to good convents.**

I was the darling of teachers and loved by classmates, fair skin always coming in handy. Till I came to the college, I was totally unaware of the plight of my community brothers and sisters.

**Anti-Dalit scientists** : The scientific world is mercifully anti-Dalit. The viva and practical exam marks rests with the examiner. He is the final arbiter. In Indian universities, one can never find talent and grade going hand-in-hand. Caste, creed, sex and religion counts. Nothing is overlooked.

**Higher the caste, higher is the grade. Lower the caste, lower the grade.**

In view of all these unfavourable circumstances, choosing 'science' itself is very difficult for Dalit students. Dalits owe their jobs to reservation system. However, in the scientific arena, there is no reservation. Scientists and administrators conspire in blocking the entry of Dalits.

Once in, the Dalits have to cope up with unique barriers. The feeling of isolation is overwhelming. The stereotypical image of a Dalit in the minds of the higher echelon is that of meek, dumb and ineffective type unworthy of shouldering any responsibility. Thus, no

opportunity is spared by them to degrade and vilify the Dalits. This woefully prevents the free flow of knowledge and ideas. Independent thinking is often discouraged. Contacts and friendships are not easily established effectively keeping them away from high level gatherings. These contacts many a times lead to scientific collaborations. Science, certainly cannot be performed in a vacuum. Doctoral opportunities too are denied. Problems with overt casteism at work seem rare, but they do exist.

**Missing role model** : But the real problem with the Dalits lie in searching a mentor or a role model behind whose pursuit they can fashion their research. The idol is missing. That invisible father-figure, the guide, the teacher, the leader is nowhere in sight. The spontaneous reverence that comes for one-of-my-kind figure at the helm lies dormant. This inevitably dampens the spirit of those who need a lot of 'shoring up'. Conversely, it is a leverage in the hands of higher ups to brand them mediocre.

**It is only two years now that I am in this world. I am not crying wolf. I have seen many a giant fall and others driven to frustration. Opportunities are denied and achievements toned down. Wings are clipped of those soaring high. For example, during the first few months of my job, I was not assigned any serious work. Various reasons were cited in response to my persistent queries. Finally, I was put 'on job' only to find myself eased out at the crucial juncture of writing the paper.**

**Opportunities denied** : It was only after the Director of our Institute stepped in that I was assured of a steady and responsible assignment.

Powerful forces must get involved to bring into the scientific mainstream and nurture and sustain qualified Dalit scholars. The participation of these qualified scientists is also not encouraged in professional organisations which means fewer contacts in various circles like journals, academic committees, and so on. These play a vital role in shaping up one's career. Lack of such opportunities is always a disadvantage.

**In such an environment it is near impossible for the "lower castes" to climb up the ladder and reach the pinnacle of science. The buoyancy is simply not there. They enjoy very little peer support and have to contend with contempt, hatred,**

**cruelty and ridicule.**

All efforts at self-promotion are ruthlessly stalled. Career advancement depends not just on the scientific expertise but on social skills too.

**Shit fed into mind :** Frustration seeps in and many give up even before the battle heats up - a faint-hearted reaction to the inevitability looming large over them. This jittery approach being the direct result of the shit fed, to be subservient and pliant, into the minds over centuries. We scientists face an uphill task. We have to perform and perform well against all odds. We are at the cross-roads. A historical opportunity stares us in our face. Let us not miss out on once-in-a-lifetime chance to be that guiding star.

## Further confusion over "Mayawati mesmerism"

(OUR CORRESPONDENT)

**Bangalore:** The upper castes/Anyans are trying their best to bring about a split between Kanshi Ram and Mayawati.

This conclusion is inevitable on reading an interview of the Bahujan Samaj Party chief published in the *Indian Express* (Sept. 9). We don't know if the "split" is real or stage-managed to hoodwink the Hindu nazis who are trying to unseat the UP Chief Minister Mayawati. But the interview has only added to the confusion over "Mayawati's mesmerism" (DV Edit July 16, 95) over which a debate is going on in DV.

The *Indian Express* says:

New Delhi : In a toughening of stance towards the BJP and also Ms Mayawati, BSP Chief Kanshi Ram made it clear here on Sept 8 that it was he who would decide where the controversial Periyar mela, which has strained relations between the BJP and the BSP, would take place. Kanshi Ram's unhappiness with Mayawati came through in his replies to questions. The BJP people are trying to coopt Ms Mayawati, not Kanshi Ram he said. When questioned about the possibility of Mayawati joining the BJP, Kanshi Ram quipped, "If she leaves me, she will become Prime Minister, I'm not in a position to make her the prime minister. What I could do was to make her a chief minister. May be the BJP can make her the prime minister, since they are also interested in a Dalit PM and have become Gandhi-wadi. Otherwise, why should she join the BJP".

The *Indian Express* has not yet published any contradiction by Kanshi Ram.

## Racist judges convert Delhi into Dalit slaughter house

**New Delhi:** A city magistrate has resigned alleging discrimination against Scheduled Caste judicial officers and corruption in the judicial service. Her resignation was accepted last week.

Magistrate K K Shambharwal had put in her papers on April 27. In her resignation letter to the chief justice of the Delhi High Court, she had said, "The high court, which has a sacred duty to impart justice, is discriminating against its subordinate officers belonging to the scheduled caste community. The discrimination which started with the inception of the Delhi Judicial Service continues till date."

She said judicial officers were being denied promotion and their confidential reports were being spoiled in order to spoil their career prospects.

Scheduled Caste candidates, who had qualified for Delhi Judicial Service, "were denied appointment by the high court, following which they had filed a petition to claim their right. Though they succeeded in securing their appointments, the harassment, mental torture and financial loss suffered by them could not be mitigated" she said. (*Times of India* Aug. 13)

**High Court blamed:** Ms. K.K. Shambharwal was not the only one to find the judicial service hostile to SCs. Similar allegations have been levelled by another magistrate. Former magistrate Z S Lohat recently sought, and was given, voluntary retirement on the ground that the members of his community in the judicial service were allegedly being "victimised" by the Delhi High Court.

Lohat is also the general secretary of the city unit of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Judicial Officers' Association. He sought retirement in April and was relieved recently.

Lohat said: "My confidential report was spoiled by the High Court at a time when I was expecting my promotion. There has been no complaint against me in my 20-odd-year-old judicial service. (*Times of India* Aug. 14)

**Castelism in court:** "For a Scheduled Caste judicial officer, the high court has been converted into a slaughter house", says the resignation letter of former city magistrate ZS Lohat. He said SC judicial officers in Delhi are being stripped like Draupadi in the Mahabharat.

Ms. Shambharwal said she was once transferred because she had refused to "oblige" a high court judge. "The judge had allegedly approached her through his officer to decide a case against its merits." (*Times of India* Aug. 18)

**Editorial :** "Will the OBCs strike now or miss the Bus?"

The Other Backward Classes (OBCs) comprising 52% of the Indian population are losing their race. For four years India's tiny ruling Class has been fooling the OBCs (DV Editorial: "Why OBC movement is falling?" Dec. 1, 1983) giving one after other false promise on the Mandal Commission report recommending a patry 27% reservations to such a huge mass of humanity. Nobody can fool a people who are not willing to be fooled. The OBCs though called Hindus (hence touchable) belong to different low castes. As "caste" is coterminous with "class" in India, the lowly OBCs are poverty-stricken. A majority come below the poverty line. So we have all the sympathy and support for their just struggle for human rights. The latest case of fooling the OBCs occurred in Parliament on May 4 when Home Minister Sethi bluffed away saying that the Mandal Report "is under the very active consideration of the govt" This nonsense angered the MPs in the Lok Sabha and the entire Opposition staged a protest walkout. As usual the entire Hindu press chose to ignore this important event. The Mandal report had received the unanimous support of Parliament. Even the ruling class, the Lok Sabha Speaker, many Cabinet Ministers, Supreme Court judges, and social scientists had publicly praised it. If there is such an all-round support, who is scuttling it? This is where the ruling class comes into picture. This is the very ruling class that is opposing the Mandal Commission report. When the OBCs are confronted with such a powerful ruling class, the steps taken by the National Union of Backward Classes (NUBC), which led the May 4 protest before Parliament, are not adequate. The ruling class knows the weakness of OBCs. The problem with the OBCs is they may hate Brahmins but love brahminism. They suffer from several such serious contradictions. Some OBCs hate Dalits and Muslims much more than their enemy. But they have not identified their real enemy. We have repeatedly said that the problem of OBCs and for that matter of every other struggling groups in India is social and not economic or political. But we are sorry this does not enter the brains of OBCs. And it failed to realise that might is right with India's ruling class. When the ruling class is under such heavy attack from Sikhs, OBCs will be justified in throwing a stone to see that the enemy is drowned as early as possible. For OBCs now is the time to strike.

**Will Madras IIT Director answer?** The exposure of the "Brahmin tyranny" in the Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, and 14 questions to its Director, Indireson. **Sikhs asked to fight Brahmin-Bania mafia:** A.R. Shervani, New Delhi: Call to Sikhs to join the united front of persecuted nationalities to fight brahminism.

**Sikhs : The other side of the story:** Joginder Singh, Khargpur, Story of discrimination and insulting of Sikhs and Sikhism.

**Thankless job of Christian missionaries in India :** by our correspondent. The Hindu fury over Christian missionaries work for liberation of Untouchables and tribals in India.

**Internationalising Dalit issue:** Dr. Laxmi Bewra work in US: **Christians want separate electorate** by our Madras correspondent: Tamil Nadu Christians have been demanding a separate electorate.

## "Gujarati Bania was enemy of Dalits"

**Lucknow:** BSP Chief Kanshi Ram on Sept. 17 made a scathing attack on M.K. Gandhi and described him as a "Gujarati Bania", who had deprived Dalits of their rights. Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy on the other hand, was expelled from the Congress because of his revolt against the system in the interest of the oppressed classes. Kanshi Ram said.

BSP, however, abandoned the idea of erecting a statue of Periyar Ramaswamy here as part of its "Periyar Mela." Kanshi Ram said it would take several months to get the statue prepared. (Hindu Sept. 18). He said that without highlighting the contradictions prevailing in the social, political and economic structure of the country, there cannot be sustainable social change. "Social change precedes political change," he said.

He said Parivartan Chowk will be developed as a national monument site where statues of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Jyotiba Phule, Narayan Guru and Periyar will be erected. "Parivartan Chowk will be remembered as a milestone in social change in the State," he added. (Times of India, Sept. 18).

## INDIAN MAIDS FOR SINGAPORE

**New Delhi:** Over 70,000 Indian women will be exported to Singapore as domestic help under completely unfair terms and conditions. There is widespread apprehension that they may be used in flesh trade in the states of Thailand and Malaysia. The women, mostly from Kerala and the Northeast, are being recruited by the Bombay-based Indian Personnel Export Promotion Council, a private organisation. The senior CPI(M) MP, Ashok Mitra, who raised the issue in Parliament, has condemned the contractual terms as completely unwarranted. (Telegraph Sept. 11).

## Letters to Editor

**Stedman Aaron**, African Echoes, 147 - West End Avenue, Newark, NJ 07106: On behalf of the International Dalit Support Group and its local representative, Dr. Velu Annamalai, we wish to thank Congressman Donald Payne, 50-Walnut Street, RM 1016 Newark, New Jersey 07102 for the time he shared in listening to the plight of V.T. Rajshekar whose passport was impounded by the Indian Govt. (DV Sept. 1 1995 p.7 to 9: "53 US Congressmen protest denial of passport to DV Editor"). We trust that some of the historical information left with the Congressional leaders will provide the insight into the seriousness of the oppressed indigenous peoples, and Rajshekar's commitment to work for their liberation. The Congressional Foreign Policy Staff should review Rajshekar's request and do the necessary follow-up work.

**Gopal Gurung**, Post Box 2828, Kathmandu, Nepal: Our book on Nepal got good publicity because of your announcement in DV July 16, 95 p.24. Since my release from prison I am not able to publish my papers. I found *Dalit Voice* very important for all non-Hindu peoples. I have also found a very interesting book, *Dalit Movement in India*, written by you and also your book, *Brahminism - Father of Racism*. I have completed a book, *Bahunism politics in Nepal and surrounding*. We have started a campaign to boycott those boys and girls who marry with the A & B class (upper caste) Hindus. I have been fighting Bahuns and Chateris.

**Motilal Nepali**, Chairman, The Dalit Welfare Organization, Milan Marg, Teku, Kathmandu, Nepal: Your literature has immensely helped us. At last we got an opportunity to know the plight of our brothers and sisters in India through *Dalit Voice*. DV gave us great inspiration to move towards our goal. We will keep on sending information about our programme and we expect the same from you. We are with you. We are also trying to internationalise the Dalit problem and for this we are searching a supportive hand. Please send all your books.

*We posted a full set of our literature on Sept. 8. Please make a deep study of the same. Upper castes/Aryans to which ever country they go continue to be racists and it is no wonder that Nepali Dalits are victims of Aryan racism. These very Aryans who now describe themselves as "Hindus" have proudly called Nepal as the "only Hindu country in the world" but in such a*

*country the voters have rejected the Hindu party. Lot more had to be done to recover your human rights. Please join with us and we will fight these racists together. We are badly in need of an article on the supply of Nepali Dalit girls to Bombay's Red Light area - EDITOR.*

**Arun Kumar**, 19 - Henderson Way, Kempston, Bedford MK42 8NN, UK: *Dalit Voice* is doing a great service to the oppressed people of India. I have read quite a few books published by Dalit Sahitya Akademy, Bangalore, which exposes the hypocrisy of the brahminical forces and advocates a goodbye to Hindu religion which is responsible for our miseries. But the Bharatiya Dalit Sahitya Akademy, New Delhi, appears to be playing in the hands of Congress leaders by opposing Dr. Ambedkar's Buddhist movement. They are digging every Dalit saints from history books and encouraging our caste to worship its caste "saint". This is a brahminical ploy to keep the Dalits divided on caste lines. The ruling brahminical forces are spending lavishly to publicise these "saints" so that each and every caste keeps on sticking to them and forget Babasaheb Ambedkar. Until and unless Dalits forget their caste rivalry and wage a united war against brahminical racism, they will never be able to get equal status in the society.

**Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rehman**, PO Box 6969, Sharjah UAE: I was subscriber of *Dalit Voice* in India. Now I am working here but getting DV from a local news agent. I want to support your "Media Centre" project. Also advice me how I can support your great mission? Please highlight news related to Muslims because DV is the only voice which is having the courage to publish Truth unlike the Muslim media which has proved to be a coward.

*As you have been our old subscriber and also met us and attended our lectures. You will be a great asset for us in the Gulf area. You have to impress upon the affluent Muslim brothers that the Hindu nazi rulers of India have already launched the Hindu Rashtra the immediate effect of which will be on Muslims. Once they enslave the Muslims by hindusing them, their next target will be Dalits. Muslims may get high salaries in Gulf and financially support their family in India. Hindu nazis will not come in the way of such things. What is the use of all the Muslim wealth without the Muslim identity? This identity will be destroyed first. You have to warn all your brothers there against the anti-national work of these nazis and tell them to save India from the jaws of nazis who are bent upon breaking its unity and integrity - EDITOR.*

**V.T. Hirekar**, London: On the occasion of writing the book, *Eminent Churchillians*, its author, Andrew Rob-

erts, quoted "Indians were the beastliest people in the world next to the Germans". The above phrase in *The Times* and in *The Asian Age* (April 9, 94) was used by the late Prime Minister of Britain, Sir Winston Churchill. It seems that he was very right. Because, he had studied the Indian social system noted for its sanctified racism based on *varna* and caste which made 20% indigenous population as Untouchables. Aryan Brahmins have manufactured a literature of hate/violence/crimes against them with practice of untouchability. Is this not "beastliest" ideas to call human beings as Untouchables? Can a religion practice untouchability against humanity? Churchill compared the Indian upper caste beastliness with that of the Germans because, its nazi dictator, Adolf Hitler, assumed the role of a superman based on the philosophy of Nietzsche and developed an unreasonable bias and hatred against the innocent Jews and put 6 million Jews into gas chambers. World shivers on hearing such a holocaust and condemns the Hitlerite Germany. Anyone suspected to be a nazi member with its emblem of swastika, supplied by Indian Aryans, is hounded out. But alas, the Hindu holocaust against the Dalits goes unnoticed and is sugarcoated by the religion of Hinduism. The upper castes (Hindu) use their religion as a shield to hide their "beastliest" activities of holocaust of the Dalits in India and surprisingly, the Indian Govt. is silent and the Indian "intellectuals" are watching and enjoying the fun. Nevertheless, the PUCL (People's Union for Civil Liberties) has published the state of human rights in India on p. 14 of its Aug. 95 issue and the status of Dalits and minorities on pp. 15 to 16 reporting that 62,000 cases of atrocities against them were registered during 1992-93 and they are continuous. No such atrocities against Brahmins or upper castes were registered. These are due to caste hatred against Dalits. PUCL has described various kinds of inhuman atrocities and crimes against the Dalits in Indian villages such as murdering and burning them alive, stabbing Dalit students, denying them entrance to higher education in medical institutions, burning their huts, compelling Dalits to eat human excreta, garlanding the statues of "Father of India", Dr. Ambedkar, with chappal, opposing Dr. Ambedkar university at Aurangabad, burning his library in Ambedkar college at Nagpur. These instances are due to caste hatred against Dalits, according to the *Manusmriti*. PUCL rightly assessed such atrocities against Dalits by the *Manuvadis* and blames the *hindutva* forces. Churchill was, therefore, fully right in condemning upper castes as the "beastliest people" Churchill was not an ordinary man but a versatile figure in British society as a

historian, writer, painter, political leader and an able statesman who saved Britain from two World Wars. He studied the Indian caste system and upper caste attitude towards Dalits of India during his long service in India as a British army officer. Before granting "independence", he forecast that Hindus would ride roughshod over the Dalits (Untouchables) after "independence" and demanded full protection for Dalits and their human rights. But, M.K. Gandhi, the Enemy No. 1 of the Untouchables, gave a false promise to the British that Dalits would be protected. As Ambedkarites were busy exposing their plight in the Western world, nazi leader L.K. Advani, who created so much of violence in India with his hatred against Muslims and Dalits was on a visit to London to open a Hindu temple. He was worried that the Ambedkarite movement in Britain has creating awareness about Hindu racism, practice of untouchability against Dalits etc. He told *The Times* (Aug. 22, 95) that his party was "committed firmly" to India's secular constitution. Advani appeared on TV in London and uttered slogans of "Hindu Rashtra" and Hindu state. What a contradiction. PUCL's president, K.G. Kannabhiran, a Brahmin, frankly said to us in Vienna in June 1993 that the Brahmin remotely controls the caste society. The writer of *Manusmriti* was a Brahmin by name Sumati Bhargav who created the poison of caste.

**Paguman Singh**, Malaysian Gurdwaras Council, c/o Joginder Singh & Co., 1st Floor, Block A, Wisma KOSAS, Jalan Melayu, 50100 Kuala Lumpur: On June 18, 1995 we had a large gathering of Sikhs at the Gurdwara Sahib Selayang Baru, Selangor, to celebrate the 400th birth anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh. We passed a resolution regretting "the continued impervious and dishonest attitude of the Indian Govt. in not apologising to the Sikhs for its deliberate and planned attack on the Golden Temple, Amritsar, and many other gurdwaras with great deal of damage and loss of innocent lives in 1984. We also asked the gov't. "to stop the continued genocide of Sikhs in fake encounters and disappearances and compensate adequately all affected families," and demanded punishment to all those responsible for the "Operation Blue Star". The Malaysian Gurdwaras Council was formed by all gurdwaras to co-ordinate all Sikh activities in Malaysia. The Council has been recognized by the Malaysian Govt. as representing the views of the Sikhs. The Japanese Govt. had made an apology for the destruction in the Second World War. Sikh institutions all over the world should pass similar resolutions.

**Jamal Hassan**, 171 McCowan Road, Unit 41543, Toronto, Canada M1S 5G8: We find your journal

superb, the contents - news of the plight of minorities in India - are often disheartening. We hope voices like the *Dalit Voice* will rise in concert to a crescendo that hastens the move towards equality for all the people of India. We request a regular feature - a page or two in each issue - with published news-briefs on the excesses of Hindu Nazis and their allies like "socialist brahmmins" (p.23, June 1, 1995), "Nazis oppose Buddhist demand"(p.23, May 16), "Nazis want to wipe out..."; (page 21, *ibid*), "One more nun ... (p.23, *ibid*.) etc. Such briefs from various dailies and weeklies, grouped together on a page will send out an immensely powerful message. We want to excerpt such pieces and put them on the Internet, with due acknowledgement to *Dalit Voice*. We will do this as a service, at no cost to you. Internet news fora will help *Dalit Voice* reach an "electronic" audience of about 20,000 worldwide. We meet Dr. Velu Annamalai occasionally. He spoke very effectively at last year's annual conference of the American Federation of Muslims from India (AFMI). It opened a few eyes.. penetrated a few wax laden ears, perhaps... and was considered a significant step in trying to bring Dalits and Muslims together.

**Dr. Anil Yadav, Gen. Secretary, Janta Dal, Delhi, C-3, Punjabi Basti, Nangloi, Delhi-41:** I was shocked when I read reports that the Govt. of India has instituted a "national award" in the name of Manuwardi Dronacharya, the devil who cut off the right thumb of Ekalavya. I have launched a campaign against this award with a rally in Delhi against it. I am determined to bend the govt. and force it to apologise for humiliating us. I need your support in this holy war. President S.D.Sharma presented the "national award" on Aug.29. The award is given to the "best coach" in Indian sports. But was Dronacharya an ideal guru or coach? For me and other millions of Bahujans, he was our enemy. He was an insult to India if not humanity itself. He was a rabid casteist (racist). He refused to accept Ekalavya as his disciple just because Ekalavya was a Dalit. Ekalavya, in spite of denial of proper education, became the best archer of his time on the basis of his strong will, determination, hardwork and merit. Somebody informed Dronacharya about it. He was infuriated. A Dalit as better archer than a Kshatriya Arjun was intolerable to him. His wicked mind cooked up a sinister scheme. The devil went to Ekalavya and asked for his right hand thumb as *guru dakshina*, the teacher's fee. What a wicked man. Ekalavya being a Dalit was a simpleton. Dr. Ambedkar was not there, nor the Editor of *Dalit Voice* to expose this Manuwardi conspiracy of BSO. Ekalavya was deceived by his sweet words. Without a protest he gave away his right hand thumb. For the past 3,000 years the "Bahujans" of this

country have lived a life worse than that of a slave or an animal. Slaves and animals were at least touchables but it was forbidden to touch or even look at a Dalit. For 3,000 years Budha, Kabir, Ravidas, Nanak, Phule, Periyar, Dr. Ambedkar and many unnamed missionaries struggled continuously against the Brahminical Social Order. Finally on Jan.26, 1950 a Constitution of Dr. Ambedkar based on equality, freedom and justice came into effect. Today, when we narrate the historical sufferings and discriminations of shudras and Untouchables to our new younger generation we illustrate it by narrating Ekalavya's story. To us Dronacharya has become the symbol of diabolical and evil brahminical forces. Today, we are striving to convert the modern Indian society into a just society. We have taken a vow to end discrimination or exploitation on the basis of caste. In such times institution of a "national award" after the wicked Dronacharya is unpardonable. Not only it is against the spirit of our Constitution but also an insult to 750 million Bahujans of India. We all despise Dronacharya. The devil was against the brahminical conspiracy. I am confident that the awakened readers of *Dalit Voice* will spearhead this campaign.

**Balbir Singh, c/o Uigar Mal, 6/0/9, Top Khana Bazar, Ambala Cantt. Haryana-133 001:** The *Nav Bharat Times*, Hindi daily (31-8-95 p.6), has published an article by Devender Swarup: "Illusion on Dalit word". In this article the writer tries to prove that DV is misquoting the Hindi-knowing Indians. I have written a letter of protest to the Editor of *Nav Bharat Times*. But there is no use. The upper caste media is our enemy. So, our own Media Centre is the need of the hour. I request all activists of Bahujan-Dalit Intellectual Confederation, Mool Bharati Confederation and other organisations having the same target to chalkout a programme of action on "Media Centre".

**Anand Ranadive, Gen. Secretary, Nabard Progressive Employee's Welfare Assn., 1-1-61, Yeduguri Chabers, RTC X Road, Musheerabad, Hyderabad-500 020:** I am very happy to learn that you are coming to Hyderabad to attend the Dalit intellectuals conference between Oct.13-15. As a subscriber of DV, I welcome you to AP which has the highest number of subscribers in India. Please manage your programme in Hyderabad in such a way that our association members can get an opportunity to hear you on Oct. 13 after 4.30pm. We want to arrange your talk in our bank itself.

**S.P.Singh, Patna: BAMCEF (Khnaparde group) is holding its annual meeting at Jalandhar from Oct. 29 to Nov. 1, 95. Mul Niwasi concept has been accepted by BAMCEF. They are now publishing the Mul Niwasi**

*Times* from Aurangabad, 263 Nandan Van Colony, MS-431 002. The editor is D.K.Khaparde. All individuals and associations connected with *Mul Miwas* are requested to attend. They may write to Ram Gopal, No. 358, Govt. Qrts., Guru Ravidas Marg, Dev Nagar, Karolbag, New Delhi-110 005 for details.

**Anil Rangari**, Canara Bank, Shahdol, MP: The article of Dr. Velu Annamalai (DV Aug. 16, 95) is of great importance. This must come out in Hindi DV. If your suggestion to the "Tamil Nation" is properly understood, LTTTE will become good Ambedkarites. Nay, they will be good sainiks for Dalits.

**Bikash Kusum Roy**, 140 - Aswani Dutta Rd., New Barrackpore, WB-743 276: I have been going through DV for the last five years and able to know many unknown truths about national and international matters like oppression of SC/ST, religious minorities in India, mass killing of Muslims in Bosnia. But I am surprised that I read nothing about violence on Mahajirs in Pakistan, particularly in Karachi. Hindu nazis are not a dominating force in Pakistan. Will you please throw some light on the causes behind the above violence?

*We know this much that like India, Pakistan too is not a nation but a multi-national feudal colony dominated by Punjabi Muslims who resent a Sindhi woman's rule. Like India, Pakistan is also showing signs of breakup. Honestly, we have not made a study of Mahajirs but this much could be said that Mahajirs too were an oppressed lot in Pakistan. Will somebody throw more light? - EDITOR.*

**Vasant Moon**, Editor, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay: Granthal publication will release *Vasiti* by me on Oct. 1, 1995 at Nagpur. This is my Marathi autobiography up to the year 1956 depicting the changes I had seen in "Ambedkar movement". Those interested may write to (price not yet fixed) Granthal, Babrekar Marg, Dadar West, Bombay. Volume 14 is also under print.

**Hari Ram Berry**, Retd. Head Master, Muhila Bhawani Ganj, Ram Nagar, Nainital dt., UP-244 715: The universal truth is that history repeats itself. We saw history repeating on Aug. 26, 1995 at Nainital. The truth will shock the people of the world. Mayawati, the first Dalit woman Chief Minister UP, visited Nainital on Aug. 26. Nainital is in Uttarakhand, the so-called land of the gods and goddesses of the Aryan/Hindus. The Veda mantra "*Om, jumbū dweep uttara khand nam*", is famous in Uttarakhand. The moment Mayawati stepped into "holy" Uttarakhand at Nainital, the heaven-born Aryans of Uttarakhand became furious. Because Mayawati being an Untouchable belongs to

their slave race so she has no right to enter the *punya bhoomi*. Upper caste women put on the black *churni* to cover their heads and displayed black banners to show their protest against Mayawati. The Aryan women shouted, "Mayawati, go back from Uttarakhand". As they were trying to stop her car, the police resorted to lathicharge. This was the second scene that I witnessed in my life. The first scene was in June 1932 at Nainital to oppose the Round Table Conference and to support the "Poona Pact". Some Dalit sweepers were led into the temple of Nainadev at Nainital. They were allowed to worship by high castes. They cooked food which was eaten by the "holy" Hindus. The first scene shocked the entire Dalits because by staging such a stunt they deceived the Dalits and thereby prevented them from breaking the chain of slavery. The second scene proved that a Dalit even if he becomes the ruler will not be accepted by the upper caste/Hindus. Then, 63 years ago, the Dalits were ignorant, illiterate. They could not see through the heinous crime. So, the slaves enjoyed the slavery in the first scene. But today the Dalits have become conscious and are in better conditions. They can no longer tolerate the second scene. When Mayawati saw BSP flags in the hands of some waiting men along the road, she jumped out from her car and greeted them. An 80-year-old Dalit woman fell on her feet. To see Mayawati more people had come than to see M.K. Gandhi at Nainital in 1927. That is why I am saying that the history of the Dalits is repeating in India.

**Raju Thomas**, PB. No. 2296, Madras-23: *Dalit Visions* by Dr. Gail Omvedt is a wonderful book. She is an intellectually honest writer but I wonder how the brahminical editorial board allowed the publication of this tract? In the whole book she has mentioned your name and *Dalit Voice* only once on pages 74 and 86. It looks that she is well-versed with every issue of DV and DSA books. I think this is the only honest book from a non-Dalit, that too a foreigner, of this year. However, I do not know how she has forgotten the lone revolutionary Dalit of Kerala, Ayyankali, when she wrote on many other Dalit heroes. Ayyankali was totally illiterate and yet he led the "first proletariate struggle" even before the Russian Revolution. He led India's first Dalit liberation movement. She is not correct about Singaravelu. It was Ayyankali who was the first Indian non-communist, a Dalit, who had never heard of communism who led the Dalit proletariat against the Aryan upper caste Hindus in Kerala and he continued the struggle for two years and finally won the battle. This took place in 1910. But Singaravelu led the workers only in 1930, that too after Periyar

went to Soviet Union and studied communist movement. There is one more thing that makes Ayyankali greater than any other Dalit leader in early India. Ayyankali, who did not know even to write his name, was the first Dalit who had established a primary school at Venganoor in 1904 when the Aryan Nairs did not allow Dalit children to enter govt. schools. This has to be recorded in letters of gold. When the Blacks were insulted in city buses in America, Martin Luther King asked the Blacks to boycott the White-owned buses but did not try to run own buses for the Blacks. Here, when the Aryan White racists refused to admit the Dalits to govt. schools, Ayyankali not only did not go to the govt. school but he also established his own school for his people. This is real revolution. When the upper castes staged temple-entry stunts at Vaikom, Ayyankali refused to participate in it. He knew that

his people had nothing to do with the Hindu temples because Dalits are not Hindus and were never Hindus. I wish Dr. Omvedt had done some research on Ayyankali of Kerala about whom a Russian scholar (woman) has written so much. Being a DV subscriber how did she miss Ayyankali? Almost simultaneously with Sri Narayana Guru, another important reformer belonging to the large Untouchable caste of Pulayas was carrying on his work. This was Ayyankali (1863-1941). Ayyankali put forth almost the same demands as Sri Narayana in his struggle against caste discrimination. However, the forms of his struggle bore a more militant character. He organised a group of youth of his caste to defy brahminical traditions and led them to walk on a road on which they were barred in his native village of Venganoor (not far from Trivandrum city). Upper caste Nairs at first tried to stop the defiant Pulayas, who for the first time in known history had dared to confront Nairs. Later, as a result of many similar mass actions, which were often followed by clashes, the Pulayas under Ayyankali won in 1900 the right to use most of the public roads in Travancore, although many private roads still remained closed to them for a long time. He even launched a movement to defy the custom by which Pulaya women were prohibited to wear blouses. He asked them to cover the upper part of their body. "Among Ayyankali's important achievements note should be taken of the Malayalam journal, *Sadhu Jana Paripalana* (welfare of the poor), founded by him. Although he was himself uneducated, Ayyankali was able to bring together a group of youths to run the journal. They raised the question of struggle against caste discrimination in an emphatic manner in the journal. Although it was not fated to live for long, the journal made a considerable contribution to the

struggle of the Untouchables for social equality". (E.S. Yurllova: *Scheduled Castes in India*, originally translated from Russian, 1990, pages 66, 67). The Editor of DV had visited Venganoor and met local Pulaya residents and wrote a long story in DV. Why Sister Omvedt did not mention the very name of Ayyankali in her *Dalit Visions*? Will she explain?

**Rajinder Singh**, 2/8 Customs Colony, New Kandla, Gujarat-370 210: We sing the song of unity of SC/ST/BC/minorities. The people, however, have not accepted this unity concept. Either it may be due to the hostile media or due to misunderstanding. There was a hand of our SC brothers behind the Babri Masjid demolition and Sikh riots in Nov. 1984. Some of our SC/ST brothers are not ready to study the problems of Sikhs and Muslims. How then we can achieve this unity? First, we have to recognise the differences between friends and foes. Iqbal Anandpuri often talks against the Sikhs, their shrines, Akal Takhat in DV. He may have some personal feelings against Sikhs, but he should not criticise the Sikh shrines. Such letters will not promote unity.

**Black Bishop M. Azariah**, CSI Bishop's House, PB No. 4914, Madras-86: On Aug. 11, I visited the Dalit girl, Dhanam, here at the Govt. Eye Hospital, Egmore, and talked to her father, Mari, who shared his fears of returning to his native place. He expressed his desire to educate her in a good school here while govt. doctors are doing their best to restore her sight. I appreciate the desire of the father to provide the child with the "eye of wisdom". I readily offered Mari to provide for her education in one of our best Christian schools in Madras without any condition. This offer of education in an English-medium school will enable Dhanam to inspire all of us to fight untouchability (racism) in our motherland. Besides, we also offered her father a job in Madras so that he was saved from caste persecution in his native village. On the eve of our 48th "independence", it is a painful realisation that the Dalits are not able to enjoy this "independence". They are kicked, killed, burnt, and their little property destroyed. The gruesome episode of Dhanam highlights the need to remove untouchability in India. It is more painful that this incident had happened in Tamil Nadu, the land of Periyar, who was a great revolutionary. Such shameful persecutions of Dalits are re-enacted everyday. Tamil Nadu is still in the clutches of racism. The govt. machinery, controlled by upper castes, is not able to remove untouchability and bring in social liberation in India.

**Anil Singh**, C.B, Kerala Dalit Panthers, Chempil House, Thakazhy: I am a college student. When I

discuss about religion with my classmates, I tell them that Dalits are not Hindus. But my classmates, especially those belonging to the Backward Caste, say that I am mad. Poor chaps, they have not read history. In our college, a large number of Dalits have understood the fact that "Dalits are not Hindus and were never Hindus". But the BC students (especially the Elavas) continue to be slaves enjoying their slavery. How to save these slaves from their slavery?

**Akalo Ram Mhato**, Gen. Secretary, Indian Minorities Front, Puthimari, Dhubri, Assam-783 371: We have decided to set up a Special Rapid Force of 10 lakh youth including Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes and Muslims to fight any Hindu nazi attempt to demolish/capture our places of worship.

**Jogesh Sarkar**, 152/5, D.H.Road, Calcutta-63L This is with ref. to the "Letter" of Sherpa Thupten (DV July 16, 95 p.12). Gopal Gurung's book *Hidden Facts in Nepalese Politics*, is a revolutionary work that deserves wide circulation. What is happening in Nepal is the exact replica of Indian social system of endless persecution, exploitation and denial of human rights of over 85% indiginous peoples by the alien ruling minority Aryans. The ugly history of Nepal has been for the first time exposed by Gopal Gurung.

**Ponnu Mani**, Bangalore: In your book, *Brahminism - Father of Fascism, Racism, Nazism* (p.4), you have said "Brahminism is not confined to Brahmins alone. So the Brahmins need not think that they alone are being singled out. Our quarrel is only with brahminism and not Brahmins". No. Our quarrel is with both brahminism and Brahmins. Because the Brahmin is the root of the "sacred law". Without the Brahmin there will be no brahminism and without brahminism there will be no Brahmin. So both are aliens. I request you to not to mention the word "upper caste".

**V.I. Ittycheria**, B-101, Markaz Maryada Apts., Opp. Hanuman Temple, Adikmet, Hyderabad-500 044: Kanchi Ram's BSP has been swallowed by the BJP. During the past 15 years the DV Editor has built an edifice but even that is gradually falling. It is a very sad development. All the three brahminical forces in India, the Congress, BJP and NF-LF combine, are trying to strengthen the BSO. The Neogi Brahmin, the Chanakya, wants the Hindu nazi party. For this, his original brahminical party, the Congress, is adopting the following strategies and tactics. He is projecting the BJP as the No.1 enemy of Muslims by periodically pleasing the Muslims by saying his party is against uniform civil code (UCC) and at the same time making the BJP declare that if they come to power they will enforce the UCC. BJP also announced that it will

enforce UCC in BJP-ruled states. Chanakya is doing all these things after persuading the Supreme Court to direct the Central Govt. to enforce UCC. The Chanakya has succeeded in confusing the oppressed Muslims. Chanakya's agent, Sitaram Kesari, Union Welfare Minister, is asked to loudly propagate that if the Congress wins it will introduce 15% reservation to Muslims. This statement has further confused the innocent oppressed Muslims. The NF-LF is no better than the Congress as far as Muslims are concerned. Janata Dal talks on reservation for Muslims but they are not united. They are eager to bring the *Bangalore Papatti* into NF. All the parties are silent about repuliding the demolished Babri Masjid. Recently, a petty leader of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) of Kerala told me that they would join UDF led by Chanakya's Congress if it says in public that the demolished Babri Masjid would be built at its original site. PDP of Abdul Nassar Madani was inaugurated by our Editor on May 22, 1993 after the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Muslims are facing a serious crisis. They don't know what to do under the present confused situation. The Muslim leadership is dead. "Spanish Experiment" is in full swing. Indian Muslims are not fully conversant with the "Three Commandments" of the "Father of India", Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: "Educate, Agitate, Organise". They can enbloc vote for the lesser devil, NF-LF combine in the coming Lok Sabha elections.

**P.C. Mohanan**, Payyapilly House, Madayikkanam P.O. Trichur, Kerala - 680 712. The *Anti-Drama* was not staged on Aug. 26 as announced in DV because the wife of late Thoppil Bhasi had obtained a stay from the court. KPAC is dragging the family members of Thoppil Bhasi to secure sympathy to their heinous crime. Necessary papers will be moved in the court by Ranga Bhasha to vacate the stay. Copies of the script may be obtained from Patabhedam, Poonkunnam, Trissur, Kerala. Further developments will be informed in due course. (DV, Sept. 1, 95 p.6: "*Dalit drama exposes Kerala savarna communists*")

**S.S. Kazi**, Indian Peace Keepers, Mangalore: Hope you are more than satisfied with the our Bhatkal seminar of Aug. 13, 95 which you inaugurated on "Akhand India Diwas". The total gathering was over 750. About 250 went back for want of seats in the packed hall. It was the first time in the past 90 years of Bhatkal history that about 200 Dalits and 500 Muslims sat together for four hours. You might have noticed the Muslims of Bhatkal sat unmoved even after the afternoon call for *namaz* till 2pm. This has never-ever happened in Bhatkal. Some upper caste officials and politicians did their best to stop our

function but the overwhelming support given by the local Dalit leaders like K.M.Karki, Damoodar.N. Hardikar frustrated their sabotage plan.

**Dr. M.Ejaz Ali**, convener, Backward Muslim Morcha, Ghulam Sarwar Clinic, Bikhna Pahari, Patna-800 006: We need your support for those exploited and extremely downtrodden Muslim "castes" which are very near and similar to enlisted Dalits. These "Muslim Dalits" are known as Dhobi, Nat, Halalkhor, Bhangi, Bhat, Bhut, Bhayyara, Bhatia, Pamarua, Pasi, Chamar and Banjara etc. Elite Muslims are discriminating against us.

**Isa Haque**, Vill-Madhupur, PO-Hoerah, Dist -Hooghly, WB-712 147: This is with ref. to Malik Shabaz "Letter" on "Spanish Experiment"(DV Aug. 16, 1995 p. 19). He says "Spanish Experiment" is not possible in India and to talk about it will only frighten others who are willing to embrace Islam. He says (1) unlike Spain, India is a vast country where Muslims are spread throughout in great numbers in contrast to the numbers of the Arabs inhabiting Andalusia. (2) The industrial development of the presentday world will not allow and, therefore, nip any attempt to de-Islamisation anywhere in the world. (3) Islam has already become a formidable world power and it will act as a deterrent against any attempt in that direction. And (4) lastly, the Hindu nazis of our country have shifted their focus to other issues. All these factors seem at first sight plausible but in the long run they are only wishful thinking. What Shabaz has overlooked is the basic point: the size of Spain and the number of Arab population in Andalusia had nothing to do with the process of de-Islamisation that went on there for over several decades; these factors had very little impact on this process. To wipe out Islam, the Christian rulers of Spain struck at its very root, the cultural foundation on which Arabs built their edifice. The very first to be attacked is the Muslim (cultural) identity; mode of life, Islamic customs and rites, Islamic judicial system were selected as target much the same way as the Hindu nazis are doing here. After the seizure of power, the Christian monarchy prohibited everything connected with Islam. Arabic names for children, Islamic mode of marriage, use of Arabic in court, institutions, and even in Arab homes and Islamic religious education in mosques and *madrasas* were banned. Many Muslims were forcibly converted to Christianity. Not being able to withstand this onslaught, handful of Arab clergy who held on to Andalusia against severe odds finally gave in and left Spain for good. The process of de-Islamisation that set in there thus turned a full circle with no indigenous Muslim to inhabit Spain even today. The repetition of

this historic development is not at all impossible in India. The process has, in fact, already begun with the Hindu nazis succeeding in forcing out Urdu, the mother tongue of a sizeable Muslims. They have already succeeded in changing the name of Aligarh Muslim University. Change of "Ahmedabad" name has been announced. Aurangabad is next in list. They have also scored a victory in banning cow-slaughter thus attacking the food-habit of the Muslims. What is more appalling, they have demolished Babri Masjid in full view of the "powerful Muslim world" and the fully-developed nations of the world which, as Shabaz had expected, should have come forward to halt this heinous crime. But alas this expectation had been belied, Babri Masjid could not be saved. Because the process has already been set in motion, it cannot be taken back. *Shariat* and *sunnah*, the two pillars of Muslim identity, are on fire. The common civil code, the euphemism for Hindu domination in terms of civil and personal rights is in for changes to reduce them to "Mohammadi Hindus". Are not all these parts of the de-Islamisation programme and a grand repetition of the "Spanish Experiment". To think otherwise is to commit a blunder that will further damage the Muslim community.

**Khalid Sabir**, 199/5, Zakir Nagar, New Delhi-25: Two things are happening in Gujarat that are of direct relevance to the Muslims of India. (1) The Muslims detained under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act. (TADA) have not been freed so far despite the repeal of this Act. (2) The Gujarat Govt. has suspended D.K.Rao, a Dalit IAS, found implicated in the Naina Sahni murder case in Delhi for sheltering Sushil Sharma, on the night of the murder. We find the first reprehensible while the second commendable.

**Nafisul Hasan**, C-44, ONGC Colony, Sibsagar-785 697: I read a copy of *Dalit Voice* given by a colleague, A.K.Diwakar, EE (Electronics). I have inherited a legacy of fighting for the oppressed from my father who always stood by the Dalits in our native district Etawah (UP). I myself in childhood suffered the agony of being treated as Untouchable along with my Dalit friends. My Dalit friend and myself were abused, threatened and pulled up by a Brahmin for "polluting" his clay utensil (*ghara*). He shouted "*Turne mere ghara chhut kar dia*", for touching the plate. Dalits were and still are not allowed to fetch water from the said well in my village. In UP villages, Dalits and Muslims are equally hated even now. Hence, it is necessary for all Dalits and Muslims to follow one path and unitedly fight these Hindu nazis who are bent upon destroying social harmony and India's unity and integrity. However, during the Dec. 1992 riots, our

Dalit brothers were seen in the forefront to kill Muslims in cities like Kanpur. Still, I do not consider them at fault. It is the ignorance, lack of education and poverty prevailing among Dalits that is being exploited by the upper castes. The nazis do not want to see the two worst oppressed communities unite. So they instigate Dalits to fight Muslims. For this, Dalit leaders are to be blamed. The latest BSP-BJP honeymoon is meant to wean away Dalits from Muslims. If Dalit-Muslim unity is to be achieved we must have a strong cadre-based organisation like the nazi RSS to work among Dalits and Muslims masses towards educating, removing ignorance and bringing a sense of dignity. DV is doing this noble work of propagating the ideas of our great leader, Babasaheb Ambedkar, whom I hold in high esteem. I want to join your mission.

**Mr. Akhtar Hossain**, Saluka Sdr Madrasa, PO Saluka, Via Kolaghat, Midnapore dt., W/B-721 130. I am an unemployed young man. I am unable to subscribe to *Dalit Voice* of which I have been a reader since long.

**S.A. Ansari**, Kasmar, Bokaro dt., Bihar-829 115. The Aryan brahminical forces have created all sorts of problems in India - social (caste system), political (partition of India), and economic (rich becoming richer and poor becoming poorer) etc. They control the legislature, judiciary, executive and the media. They have concentrated for themselves all political and administrative power and accumulated wealth for themselves. "India that is Bharat", therefore, is ruled by about 5% of its population. To divert the attention of the quillbhe they repeat in their monopoly brahminical media that India is in danger from outside powers. But the fact is India's danger emanates from within from these very Aryan brahminical forces. A majority of India's population, over 85% belongs to SC/ST/BCs and Muslims. They are the peasants and labourers the hewers of wood and drawers of water. They are kept in abject poverty. The *vaids* denied them education as directed by their vedas and shastras. It was only during the British rule that this restriction was relaxed. Their progress in the field of education is abysmally poor even after five decades of independence. The Brahmins and other upper caste graduates are far in excess of their share of population compared to SC/ST/BC groups. Even if there is provision of reservation in govt. services the backward people cannot supply the required number of eligible candidates. Remember, the "Three commandments" of Dr. Ambedkar Educate, Agitate, Organise.

*Three Commandment are not for Dalits alone  
this has to be followed by all those interested in  
seeking liberation from brahminism - EDITOR.*

**S.A. Saif**, Jasmin Nivas, Poruvazhy PO, Kollam dt., Kerala-690 520: India's human rights movement has been expanding gradually. The replacement of TADA could be counted as a result of this new awareness about human rights. To build a network of all human rights groups spread across the country, I am planning to produce a "Human rights directory of India". I need addresses of all human rights groups, activists, specialist lawyers etc. so that I could send them copies of the Directory data entry forms. Please note Dec. 10 is the "UN Human Rights Day". Hope DV readers will plan some activities to mark the day.

**Ripon Choudhury**, c/o N.I. Choudhury, D.K. Road, Dhubri, Assam-783 301: I request all DV readers to support Sister Khadeeja Begum Farooqui, editor of the Urdu fortnightly, *Afkar-e-Bahujan*, in her fight for justice and truth: Ms. Khadeeja Begum, 244/31, Labour Colony, Nanded-431 602.

**Mr. Younusuddin Farooqui**, 244/31, Labour Colony, Nanded-431 602: Twenty months have passed since the police filed a case against my wife. Some friends expressed sympathy after you did so. The chargesheet is not filed. The Shiv Sena-BJP Govt. of Maharashtra is taking a great interest in my wife's case. We are living under great tension. When I met you in Bangalore you encouraged me a lot. You had also written in *Dalit Voice* (Feb. 16, 94): "All our sympathies are with you, and we will support you at every step". Regarding the article under dispute, you had written in DV: "We as Dalits, the closest allies of Muslim masses, will never, ever allow any dent on the Muslim identity. Because, we both are pledged to fight a common oppressor which has converted the whole country into a blood-stained battlefield". The whole world should be made known the pitiable plight of the woman editor of *Afkar-e-Bahujan*. They must know how the Dalits and *Malechs* are persecuted in India. When we get through the case, I will devote my time and energies for the cause of your mission among the Urdu-knowing Muslims. Please form an action committee to save us from this case. We are not only your followers but dedicated workers of your mission also. We are ready to sacrifice everything for Dalit-Muslim united front. Khadeeja Begum, mother of six children, needs the support of all DV readers.

*Withdrawing the case is a political decision and  
the local MLA can manage it - Editor.*

**Abu Baker Bin Mahammed**, Gen. Secretary, Muslim Student's Organisation of India, Anwar Manzil, Qila Road, Purani Chungi, Aligarh - 202 002: We are so happy to study your different literatures. We also express our full solidarity with your movement. MSO has not grown in a proper way and acquired the

necessary strength. We hope that in near future we will do something noteworthy for India's Muslims. Hindu nazi forces are growing day by day. Dalits and Muslims must unite to fight these anti-national elements.

*Muslim leadership has failed and it is for the youth to take over the leadership. For this, we must meet and finalise - EDITOR*

**Midhat Karim, Sheikhwara, PO Mohammadabad, Gahna, Maudt., UP-276 403:** Manu prohibited shudras to breed cows and horses. They were, however, allowed to breed pigs and donkeys. This practice is being followed even today. It is the Dalits who breed pigs these days but those who eat it are mostly the savarnas. Even govt. agencies distribute and encourage Dalits to breed pigs (not cows). And that too without any consideration to hygiene and scientific maintenance. I want Chief Minister Mayawati, our Dalit sister, to reverse the cycle of agony. She must direct the Dalits not to breed pigs. Cows and buffaloes should be distributed free of cost to those Dalits to replace pigs. A centre for collection and marketing of dairy products at district headquarters would further improve the condition of Dalits.

**Dr. Arshad Kalliath, PB. 2812, Vattiyurkav, Trivandrum- 695 013:** The expose of the "Bhadralok revolutionaries/reformers" by S.K.Biswas was a well researched and well annotated article. (DV March 1, 95). Although a diversion from topic, it may be unjust if we overlook the ugly face of the infamous "witch-hunt" launched in Europe/America by interpreting the same merely as an attack on "the condemnable witchcrafts, a social evil in the name of occult". In fact, over 500 years between the 12th and 17th centuries (CE) millions of women were burnt in Europe to prop up Euro-capitalism. Of course, they were first branded as "witches". (Mainstream, July, 1, 95 p.25). It is beyond comprehension how could such a large corpus of people, that too women, be involved in occult practices (rather than anything else) in a predominantly Christian environment, however weak its grip on the society would have become by then. To quote the same article (Mainstream): "This was the sure-fire way to capital accumulation - women denied wages and deprived of their properties. Seized by the state, these spoils were distributed among the church and the affluent. Women with independent means of subsistence were special targets .... The lion's share of the loot from this methodical slaughter of women went to state coffers. The court system grabbed a part of the bounty as fees for the male lawyers, bailiffs and soldiers. It was this money that paid for the salaries of warring armies producing nothing, for the construc-

tion of highways to facilitate trade, for the expeditions to 'discover' and despoil the Third World - in sum, the prerequisites for capitalism to develop. Europe sedulously practised genocide at home, later to inflict it on "others" globally. Women were its first domestic colony. In the interests of "development" the lesser breed had to be destroyed - women at home, natives abroad. Hear out Bailiff Geiss of Lindheim, Germany, writing to his lord, proposing a new massacre of women: "If only your lordship would be willing to start the burning, we would gladly provide the firewood and bear all other costs, and your lordship would earn so much that the bridge and also the church could be well repaired. Moreover, you would get so much that you could pay your servants a better salary in the future". It may have been such inhuman atrocities inflicted on the female gender in the name of the state/church, which culminated in the development of skewed anti-male and irreligious feminist tendencies in the White Christendom.

**Mrs. Ruby Nishat, Madras:** In poll campaigns, the Hindu nazis are promising to bring "Ram Raiya" in India. They say that "Ram Raiya" means a raj of prosperity and happiness. In other words *Hindu Rashtira*. Let us take a close look at the only *Hindu Rashtira* in the world, i.e. Nepal. Does it look like a *Ram Raiya* or is it a land of poverty and misery for Hindu "lower" caste masses, while being a heaven for Hindu upper castes? "Hindu" Nepalis are among the second poorest people in the world. "Hindu Nepal" is notorious for its system of Devadasis called "Brahmakumaris" - a system of prostitution sanctioned by Hinduism. As a result every year thousands of Nepali girls are smuggled into India and sold to flesh trade as per a study by the India Health Organisation in 1988 (*The Hindustan Times* Feb.2, 1989) Today, over half the prostitutes in Bombay i.e. more than 30,000 are "Hindu" Nepali girls. This has not attracted the reforming zeal of Hindu nazis.

*Sister Nishat may contact our new found Dalit friends in Nepal, whose letters are published above and make a story on the sale of Nepali "Hindu" girls to Bombay Red Light area - EDITOR*

**Amzed Ali, Bagnan, Howrah, WB:** In ancient India, Buddhism was the only religion which saved millions of Indians from the clutches of brahminism. Brahmins took revenge for it. Buddhism gained supremacy in Bengal under the Pals. That is how the Buddhist kingdom was destroyed by the Brahmins. It was uprooted from Bengal. Notorious Ballal Sen imposed caste system in Bengal. Sudras and Buddhists were torchered. They became Nama-Sudras under the Sens. Then came the liberated Muslim slave,

Ikhtiaruddin Muhammed-bin Bakhtiar. People of the land welcomed him. Budhist and Nama-Sudras en masse embraced Islam. Chatanya, a Brahmin agent of the time, tried to contain the tide of Islam by his so-called *Bhakti Dharma*, a new device of the Brahmins. Bhupendranath Dutta wrote: "During this period a band of reformers arose whose object was to prevent the masses from breaking away from the fold of brahminism" - (*Studies in Indian Social Polity*, p.236, 1994, Navabhart Publishers, 72 - M.G.Rd., Calcutta-9). "It was the masses of India that have always changed their religion to escape from the galling rule of the upper classes. If once they had become Budhists, now they began to be converts to Islam..... In many places, the Budhists, and the degraded sudras made common cause with the Muhammedan invaders". (p.235). What is this *Bhakti Dharma*? Datta says: "It seems that in order to take the wind out of the sails of Jainism, Budhism and Islam, the doctrines of non-killing and surrender to a personal god for salvation and abolition of caste distinction were emphasised.... But the interesting point in these reform movements is that while breaking down the caste system it evolved castes of their own. Thus we have the *Jati Vaisnavas* in Bengal, the Bhagabatas of Bihar, the Sikhs and other socio-religious groups which by becoming endogamous and having rules of their own, have formed themselves into castes .... The reform movements began with the idea of abolition of caste system and the brahmanical priesthood, but in course of time the octopus of brahmanism enmeshed these movements and today in some of these sectarian castes the ministrations of Brahmins has become indispensable", Dutta says. It is clear from Datta's statement that the so-called reform movements were actually neo-Brahmin movements in disguise. The so-called fake reforms prevented conversion by cheating the people concerned to safeguard the interest of brahminism. The cult of *Avatar* was invented for this purpose. Man can never be god or his partner and the god can never be a man. They are two separate species. One cannot be the other. Budha was not god and god was not Budha. He was not the incarnation of god. In Islam, there is no room for such a flight of fancy. Harchand Thakur prevented the Nama-Sudra conversion to Islam in the 18th century, "Lower castes" were becoming Muslims, Christians and specially Budhists. Educated "lower" castes were in favour of Budhism. As the masses are asses due to their ignorance and superstition, brahminism is thriving. Debenralal Thakur's book, *Buddha Dharma Matua Dharma Samiskha*, says that Harchand was the incarnation of god. This is the same *sānatan* trick. The writer of this book has received awards from Hindus. Gandhi and Congress

were against conversion but Dr. Ambedkar was always in favour of conversion. Conversion is the easiest way for liberation. Dr. Ambedkar has shown the way. Reactionaries want to prevent it by deceptive logic. *Bhakti Dharma* is being popularised by brahminical agents to prevent Dalits from Ambedkarite revolution. Theory of incarnation is a brahmanic theory. Budhism is anti-Brahman but *Matua Dharma* is not anti-Brahman but pro-Brahman.

## Lingayats say they are not Hindus

**Bangalore** : The Akhila Bharat Lingayat Mahasabha, which was registered at Dharwad in July this year, will be formally launched at a conference being held at Davangere in January. Mahasabha president Neelagangiah Pujar told media on Sept. 8 that the Mahasabha would strive for recognition of Lingayats as an independent religion from the Hindu religion and fight for securing the rights available for religious minorities under the Constitution for Lingayats.

He said those now calling themselves as 'Lingayats' were not real Lingayats. Dalits and down-trodden sections for whom Basaveswara had established Lingayat religion in the 12th century, have been kept away from that religion. The Mahasabha would work for organising the 'real Lingayats' under its banner. Lingayat religion was never a sub-sect of Hindu religion and "we don't believe in idol worship but boy-cottles", Mr. Pujar added. (*Indian Express*, Sept 9)

*It is a fact that Lingayats are not Hindus like Sikhs. Like Budhism, Veerashivism and Sikhism were protest religions against brahminism. Yet the Vaidiks corrupted and coopted the upper castes among Lingayats and made them say they are "Hindus". The Backward Caste and Dalit converts continue to remain where they are and discriminated against even by Lingayats. Mandal Commission has included six Lingayat sects among the BCs, Pujar's efforts deserve full support - EDITOR.*

## JOSHI LOSING CM POST?

**New Delhi** : The likely disqualification of Maharashtra Chief Minister Manohar Joshi and four other Shiv Sena MLAs by the Supreme Court by the month-end has brought state politics to a boil. The appeal of Joshi and his colleagues against a Bombay High Court judgment setting aside their elections for communal propaganda, will be disposed of by the apex court soon, and if past rulings are any indicator, the plea will be turned down. This will immediately force the Shiv Sena-BJP combine to elect a new leader. (*Hindustan Times*, Sept 7).

## Untold story about closure of Patna Hindi daily

A CORRESPONDENT, NEW DELHI

Here is a sensational story suppressed by the "national" toilet papers. The premier Hindi daily, *Nav Bharat Times* (NBT), wound up its publication from Patna recently. Perhaps the popular daily's closure will remain a mystery if not told in elaborate detail. It also exposes the vice grip of the *Manuwadi* forces on the "national" press. Ostensibly, it was closed down for continuing losses. A Dalit, Upendra Prasad, an Assistant Editor in the daily, who was appointed Resident Editor of NBT at Patna in Oct. 1994 summed up the story of the daily's closure:

"The brahminical forces who failed in their bid to oust me from the editor's chair finally chose to shut down the paper itself which had increasingly become a fearless spokesman of truth and justice".

The Patna NBT closed on March 21 last, a day after the Assembly polling concluded in Bihar. During the short tenure of Prasad the daily had begun to fairly project the ground realities in Bihar and had been able to accurately predict the outcome of the Assembly polls in the State.

**Role of Seshan:** Prasad, a young journalist with NBT in New Delhi, was from the outset determined to correct the distortion in coverage of Bihar due to upper caste monopoly over press. Patna had editions of the *Hindustan Times*, its Hindi counterpart, *Dainik Hindustan*, the *Times of India*, the NBT, the heavily saffronised *Aaj* (Hindi), and the Darbhanga Maharaj-owned *Indian Nation* and its Hindi counterpart '*Aryavarta*' (recently revived).

The entire press had jointly raised the bogey of the law and order situation being too bad for peaceful conduct of elections. However once Seshan took upon himself "the challenge of holding elections in anarchic Bihar", the press changed the tone and the tact.

**False reports:** In unique unison the press was now engaged in showing the upper caste representative, the Congress - and the BJP in lead. This happened almost overnight. News began pouring about the "manufacture of country-made weapons" and "preparation for rigging the polls" by goons of sundry affiliations.

**Rumours were paraded as facts and facts were concealed from the public knowledge with total agreement by "competing" media.** If press was to be believed, Laloo Prasad Yadav was doomed and his alliance of parties was heading for a crushing defeat.

Mercifully the dubious pollsters were not confident enough to concede for the Congress and the BJP an

absolute majority. The hostile upper caste press had for five years run a campaign against Laloo Govt. on the basis of concocted stories, half-truths and even downright falsehood.

But the announcement of poll schedule had made the entire upper caste press fraternity jittery as Laloo Yadav had clearly emerged as the politician with the largest vote bank with BCs, Muslims and the Dalits standing behind him solidly. It was quite foreseeable that the Laloo-headed Janata Dal was a clear winner in absence of a splintered upper caste alternative.

**Kayasth havoc:** Prasad's appointment as the Resident Editor seemingly came in the wake of Laloo Prasad Yadav's request to Ashok Jain, Chairman and Managing Director of the Bennett Coleman & Co. publishers of the NBT. Yadav had spoken about the distortive coverage and unfair criticism from the media. The circulation of the NBT had then stood at 40,000, way behind the *Dainik Hindustan*.

**Soon after Upendra Prasad took over at Patna on Nov. 1, 1994 things began to look up at the NBT.** The daily had 31 journalists. Except three, all of them were upper caste with a preponderance of Kayasths, a community which makes up only 2% of the State population.

Of the newspapers 80 stringers, 72 were upper castes. Prasad inducted nearly half a dozen BC stringers. A couple of BC reporters were also appointed to provide a modicum of reflection of social composition of the newspaper readership to the staff.

**Hindu nazi rule:** But it took no time for Prasad to invite trouble. He was soon accused of promoting BCs and all his detractors got a sympathetic ear from Achutanandan Mishra, the Brahmin incharge of the Patna edition of the NBT, a man with loyalty to Hindu nazis but a friend of Mulayam Singh Yadav. But NBT coverage began making waves. The daily started curtailing the statements from paper parties such as Samata Party, a splinter of Janata Dal, and the Bihar People's Party of mafia don Anand Mohan Singh. Such parties were devoid of grassroots support but were propped up by the Patna's upper caste dominated media to divide the numerical majority's votebank.

**Reservation to Muslims:** Statements from the leaders of other parties that mattered were not receiving their due. On the issue of ID cards, the paper editorially pleaded the polls were more important than the cards. It also condemned Seshan's objection to

**Sikaram Kesari's advocacy for 10 percent reservation for Muslims.**

In a classic instance of concoction, four Patna dailies published same photographs showing some anti-social elements manufacturing country bombs in proof of bad law and order situation in the State. The photographs were a Hindu nazi party plant, supplied to the friendly press reporters. Curiously the four dailies that published them had captioned them differently and attributed different locations in the state. The NBT exposed the origin of the planted photograph by reproducing the various captions given by the upper caste press for the same photograph. This greatly embarrassed the entire press corps in Patna who were smug with satisfaction that the media management was perfectly on its course.

**The demand for the daily went up from 40,000 to 85,000. But the print order was never hiked by the Deputy General Manager Manoj Kumar Dash to show that the editorial line was unpopular.**

The daily would have been the leading one in Patna had the printing and supply been commensurate to demand. So aroused was the readership with daily's objective reporting that copies of the daily were sold in black market for Rs. 10 each. Even as the other dailies were engaged in publishing concocted stories and demoralising the JD votebank, the NBT was scaling new heights of popularity with objective reporting. The upper caste administration of the paper began a harassment campaign against Prasad. In the last week of February, they were able to obtain a circular from the seniors in Delhi to the effect that Bihar election news will be monitored from Delhi. Prasad rejected the circular with contempt it deserved.

**Editor persecuted:** There was also a proposal to retain Prasad as Resident Editor but to shift actual powers. The seniors from Delhi even sent two journalists, Madhurendra Sinha and Kishore Kumar Malviya, for election reporting from Delhi. To slight Prasad, some journalists who were resentful of the NBT's objective reporting and were denied leave by Prasad, were granted leave from Delhi. Continuing failure to succumb to uppercaste dictates began to bring dire reprisals. Threatening calls were received by him. Two reporters misbehaved and were evicted from the office. His salary was held up for 2-1/2 months. His tea bill was kept pending in order to undermine his position in the eyes of staff members under him.

**Gangup of journalists:** The NBT went further to expose Kerala Brahmin CEC, T.N.Seshan's antics. Prasad questioned his reaction to Bihar situation and said if polls were held in insurgency-prone Kashmir and Manipur why not Bihar. Seshan's allergy to deny the State Home Guard personnel and primary teachers was criticised by the NBT. The preponderance of the BCs in these category of govt. employees had obviously alarmed Seshan who had deep distrust

of non-upper castes. The daily also took note of replacement of key Dalit-BC officials such as Home Secretary Jija Lal Arya by Maheshwari, Vijay Pal Jain, Director-General of Police by Dohre of Bhagalpur riot-fame and Shankar Prasad, Chief Electoral Officer by one Pillai. Seshan's prolongation of election schedule were clearly aimed at humiliating Chief Minister Laloo Yadav. The extended schedule led to seizure of lorries of essential commodities. The NBT attributed the crisis in detail lampooning Seshan. The upper caste press had been conveniently parading the Marxist Coordination Committee (MCC), a democratic party under another MCC, (Maoist Communist Centre), an underground outfit prone to use violence. It had thus a tool to confuse the readers. The NBT even smashed the nexus being sought to be built up between a JD ally and the violence.

But, alas, such professionalism ran counter to the larger interests of the upper caste mediamen who ganged up to seek the closure of the daily. So much for the upper caste refrain for the merit.

## False Nazi campaign on Muslim population boom

**Bhopal:** Madhya Pradesh Chief Minister Digvijay Singh on Sept. 19 released here a report on *Status of Muslims in India - Some Facts based on data available after the 1991 Census on the Muslim population in the country.*

The report records the national average growth of Hindus during 1981-91 as 22.78 per cent whereas that of Muslims during the corresponding period was 32.76 per cent. Hindus formed 82.41 per cent of the total population in 1991 as against 83.09 per cent in 1981. On the other hand Muslims were 11.67 per cent of the total population in 1991 as against 10.88 per cent in 1981.

**Decadal growth:** The report also gives a comparative picture of the decadal growth of Hindus and Muslims. In the four decades since 1951, the growth rate of the Hindu population was 20.29 per cent, 23.61 per cent, 24.15 per cent and 22.78 per cent in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively. During the coinciding years, the decadal growth of Muslim population was 25.61 per cent, 30.85 per cent, 30.59 per cent and 32.76 per cent respectively.

**Hindu fear:** The growth of the Muslim population in Madhya Pradesh was 31.21 per cent - which was 1.55 per cent less than the national average growth - and the same was the case with Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Maharashtra, Sikkim and Tamil Nadu.

It was utterly wrong to say that the Muslim population would increase to such a level that the Hindus would be converted to a minority. (*Hindu* Sept. 20).

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