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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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Congress opposed any social reform;
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Congress had no programme for social reform

"In England, it has never been regarded as desirable to educate boys or girls of all classes side by side, and such grotesque equalising of the unequal would be scoted. Eton and Harrow are admittedly the schools for the higher classes; Rugby and Winchester are also schools for gentlemen's sons, though somewhat less aristocratic. Then come a number of schools, frequented chiefly by sons of the provincial middle class. Then the Board

Schools, where the sons of artisans and the general manual labour classes are taught; and below all these, for waifs and strays, are the 'ragged schools,' the name of which indicates the type of their scholars, and the numerous charitable institutions. A man in England who proposed that ragged school-children should be admitted to Eton and Harrow would not be argued with but laughed at. Here, when a similar proposition is made in the name of brotherhood, people seem ashamed to point out frankly its absurdity, and they do not realise that the proposal is merely a violent reaction against the cruel wrongs which have been inflicted on the Depressed Classes, the outcry of an awakened conscience, which has not yet had time to call right reason to guide its emotions. It is sometimes said that Government schools pay no attention to social differences; therein they show that they are essentially 'foreign' in their spirit. They would not deal so with the sons of their own people, though they may be careless of the sons of Indians, and lump them all together, clean and dirty alike. It is very easy to see the differences of 'tone' in the youths when only the sons of the cultured classes are admitted to a school, and it is to the interest of the Indians that they should send their sons where they are guarded from coarse influences as Englishmen guard their own sons in England."

The second reason why one is justified in describing the passing of this resolution as a strange event lies in the fact that it was entirely opposed to the declared policy of the Congress. In these days when the "Constructive Programme" of the Congress is hawked from every street and at all times when the Congress is resting after an

active campaign of non-co-operation and civil disobedience, this statement may well cause surprise to present day Congressmen and their friends. The following extracts from the addresses of the Presidents who presided at the Annual Sessions of the Congress will suffice to bring home the fact that the Congress policy was to give no place to questions of Social Reform in the aims and object of the Congress.

To being with, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji who presided at the Second Session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in the year 1886. In this presidential address he referred to the Congress attitude towards Social Reform and said:

"It has been asserted that this Congress ought to take up questions of social reform (Cheers and cries of 'Yes, Yes') and our failure to do this has been urged as a reproach against us. Certainly no member of this National Congress is more alive to the necessity of social reform than I am, but, Gentlemen, for everything there are proper times, proper circumstances, proper parties and proper places (Cheers); we are met together as a political body to represent to our rules our political aspirations, not to discuss social reforms, and if you blame us for ignoring these, you should equally blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of mathematics or metaphysics. But, besides this, there are here Hindus of every caste, amongst whom, even in the same province, customs and social arrangements differ widely—there are Mahomedans and Christians of various denominations, Parsis, Sikhs, Brahmans and what not—men indeed of each and of all those numerous classes which constitute in the aggregate the people of India. (Loud Cheers). How can this gathering of all classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class?... Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to Class Congresses..." (pages 6 to 8).

(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.

Hate-filled hearts cannot solve Kashmir problem: Fake election will add to bloodshed

Guns can do a great deal but are powerless against an idea. Whose guns and what idea? The guns are those of India's Aryan brahminical rulers who have imposed a virtual military rule over Kashmir for the past five and half years to resist which over 50,000 Kashmiris died and brought a bad name for India. And that is how Amnesty International described India as the "world's most violent country". Finally who won - gun or idea?

Can't catch Veerappan: The mighty Indian army claimed to be the fourth largest in the world, which earlier got defeated in Lanka (DV

Nov. 1, 1995 p.17: Prof. Sumantra Bose: "Brahminical rulers routed and ate dust in Lanka"), directly ruling Kashmir could not so far rescue even the four Western hostages held by the "Kashmiri terrorists" not to speak of silencing "Kashmiri terrorism" or suppressing their idea of Azadi. What type of an Army is this which can't catch even that poor Backward Caste Veerappan who has just one gun meant to shoot birds? Can armed might crush a revolution?

Punjab & Northeast: What does history say? But who reads history? Who cares for history? Head-strong fellows don't read history. Don't

JUST A REQUEST AS DV ENTERS 15TH YEAR

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

As we enter the 15th year of publication - a record in the history of India's Dalit Journalism - we were thinking of slashing the number of pages from the usual 24 pages indicating the deteriorating health of the country. As a vital part of the country, any sickness afflicting the country will affect DV also. A week-long holiday for the **Dipawali** (in a country of endless holidays) was followed by continuous and prolonged powercuts in Bangalore completely dislocating and disrupting our work. Consequently the posting of the Nov. 1 issue of DV was very much delayed. And this disruption and delay affected the Nov. 16 issue. What is the position of DV as it enters the 15th year? Our position is exactly that of India which is neither living nor dead because of the 50-year rule of the alien Aryans. Readers from different parts of India and the world write to us and some even come to meet us to say

how wonderful is DV. With this praise, their job is over. The brahminical ruling class is so alert, aggressive, monopolising the entire media. But India's largest circulated journal of the Bahujan Samaj is languishing for want of support. Our repeated plea for our own "Media Centre" had no buyers. We have stopped talking about it because we are tired of repeating the same thing. If the slaves of India want to enjoy their slavery what can we do? We are losing patience. We are also getting tired. Sometimes, getting irritated by the appalling ignorance, inefficiency, indiscipline and even intellectual corruption among our people. The brahminical forces may be ruling but they too are in a bigger crisis. The Brahmana Jati Party (BJP), the child of the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, is facing a serious caste war inside it. This child may die even before its father. Yet we are not

exploiting the contradictions wrecking the ruling class. Misquoting Babasheb our Dalit "vote politicians" are misguiding the Dalits. The Muslims, duped by their political and religious leadership, are in a dazed condition. Backward Castes have become awkward castes. It is total confusion all-round. Brahminical forces are also confused. In fact, they are going mad, biting every body. As we enter the 15th year a crucial year, for us we have to convert all these problems into a god-sent opportunity. Only honest intellectuals among the Bahujan Samaj can do this. With this confidence, we enter the 15th year making only one request to every subscriber of DV to enlist just one more subscriber. DV circulation then simply gets doubled. If this one simple, single request our reader can fulfill then we get the confidence to dash ahead and meet the challenge.

care for history. Because they love blood. And today Kashmir is a bloody battlefield. This is the result of 50 years of Aryan rule. Punjab has gone through a more bloody experience. Entire North-East India is under a similar military rule. Almost every nationality protesting Aryan brahminical imperialism has been similarly bludgeoned and made to bleed.

Those who do not know how to die can never learn how to live. By sacrificing and dying in thousands, the Kashmiris demonstrated to world that a struggle for self-respect and self-determination is bound to win ultimately - though it has to wade through rivers of blood.

Shame on Muslims: Kashmiris have put Indian Muslims to shame - and all other struggling, persecuted nationalities denied human rights in India.

Before the combined might of the Kashmiri will-power, the Hindu nazis collapsed and the Chanakya was finally forced to announce (Nov. 4, 1995) that they would not meddle with the special status guaranteed in the Indian Constitution (Article 370) for Kashmir. But the point is no body believes in Aryan promises because Aryans do not believe in keeping up promises.

Farcical election: As for the farcical Assembly election announced by the Chanakya, we have our own doubts if it can be conducted in the strife-torn Valley where the broken-hearted Kashmiris are burning with anger. (DV Oct. 16, '94 p.9: "BSO warned against holding fake poll in Kashmir").

Chanakya's announcement on the election did not please even his own brahminical stooge, Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Living in London with a British wife, he is the most hated Muslim in Kashmir. Flying from London to Delhi, he holds a press conference there and then flies to Srinagar where under full police protection he holds another press conference and then returns. The brahminical "national" toilet papers give him wide publicity because he is their loyal dog. Such worms are sought to be imposed on unwilling Kashmiris.

What type of election is to be held in Kashmir? Are the Kashmiris in a mood to vote? Will it be a rigged election like the one held in Punjab? What mischief nazi Seshan will play? The Aryan rulers have broken every solemn promise that no body believes them in the whole world. Even the pro-Hindu nazi, Dr. Karan Singh, ex-Maharaja

of Kashmir, says elections cannot be held. The Hindu nazi party on the other hand wants more bloodshed in Kashmir.

"Indian dogs"?: Kashmiris were the most peace-loving people of India. When we last toured Kashmir, they never evinced any interest in India or its "Muslim problem". Such "cowards" were literally made the most militant and uncompromising enemies of the "Indian dogs". Who did it? Who caused their total alienation? We have said enough on Kashmir: DV Nov. 16, 1993: "Only Dalits can solve Kashmir problem and avert secession", DV Edit Dec. '93: "BSO conspiracy to drive Kashmir out of India: Failure of Muslim leadership to follow brave Kashmiris". DV April 16, 1994 p. 6: "Kashmir under going revolution?". DV June 1, 1995 p.3: "Charar Masjid burnt down by army?"

Pakistan's propped up rulers are not interested in solving the "Kashmir problem". The US has been fishing in this troubled waters by seeing that China does not get closer to Pakistan via Kashmir. India's weak, crooked, minority Aryan rulers want an enemy (Pakistan and Muslim) to emotionally drug the rebellious non-Aryan indigenous massive majority.

Poor Kashmiris are caught in this international conspiracy. We see no hope for Kashmir in this hate-filled atmosphere.

Marwadis and Media

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Rs. 1,000-crore Marwadi business empire of Sanghis has set up a Rs. 45-crore media project to launch a new Telugu daily from Hyderabad to suppress truth and promote falsehood with the ultimate object of establishing *Hindu Rashtra*. Andhra's most modern newspaper empire is to be inaugurated by the Chanakya on Dec.20 at Hyderabad. The new Telugu daily, named *Varta* (news), is expected to outbeat the state's highest circulated Khamma Telugu daily *Eenadu*, of Ramoji Rao. The multi-edition, multi-coloured daily to entertain and fool the slaves enjoying their slavery is bound to be a success. And once it becomes a success, the Sanghi newspaper empire will spread to other States. Marwadi money and *vaidik* brain is fully concentrating on the all-important mind-manipulating game through the media. Nobody else knows the importance of media except these fellows. You control the brain and you control everything else. ■

Who killed Rabin?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Who killed the Zionist Rabin?

The Israeli Prime Minister might have been felled by a Zionist bullet on Nov.4,1995 night at Tel Aviv but it was actually the anti-Muslim hate storm produced by the Zionist hatemongers that ate its own creator. Hate devours its own creators.

Rabin was the victim of the hate that hate produced.

Rabin's assassination is also a warning to India's pro-Zionist Aryan brahminical hate-mongers.

Rabin was a good Zionist and hence he could be said to be his own assassin.

He was a most reluctant, grudging peace-maker because he did not want to "yield Jewish lands" to Muslims.

Loyal dog: Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat is himself a Western stooge and even with such a loyal dog of the West, Rabin was soft-pedaling the peace move because his heart was in Zionism and only the body in the peace move being forced down the throat by the US.

Millions of Jews mourned the death of Rabin in silence. But note, there was no trace of anger, let alone hatred against his youthful assassin. Rather, the assassin, Yigal Amir, drew a silent ad-

miration for his devotion to Zionism.

Gandhi's assassination: This is exactly what happened with M.K. Gandhi's assassin, Nathuram Godse, a Hindu Nazi Brahmin from Pune, who shot dead M.K Gandhi (Why **Godse Killed Gandhi?** DSA).

Entire brahminical forces mourned the dead Mahatma, their own "Father of the Nation", but none found fault with the killer Godse. The Hindu nazi party dis-tributes sweets even today on the death anniversary of Gandhi.

Hate devours its own creator.

PWG expels Dalit singer

The Peoples War Group (PWG) has expelled the famous folk singer, Gaddar, alias Vittal Rao. PWG secretary M.Lakshman Rao (Ganapati), who announced the expulsion of Gaddar, charged him of extorting funds from the Telugu film industry in the name of the PWG. He has also been indicted for joining with Dalit activists against the PWG in the state. His expulsion was decided at an extraordinary meeting of the central organising committee of the PWG held here in the first week of October. The meeting in which all top ranking PWG leaders participated in a posh area of Hyderabad has stunned the State police. (Telegraph Nov.6).

Gaddar, a Telugu Dalit, is AP's most famous singer. If PWG, an upper caste outfit, is what it is today it is because of this great artist. K.G.Satyamurthy, a Dalit leader who was next only to Kondapalli, was earlier expelled from the party. Will Gaddar devote his time now to spread Babasabeh Ambedkar message and free Dalits from the clutches of Naxxists? - EDITOR.

Another non-Tamil CM for TN?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Something is seriously going wrong with the Tamils, the country's most ancient Dravidas and Adi-Dravidas whose history dates back to the Indus Valley days.

Barring K. Kamaraj, it is said, Tamil Nadu did not have a single Tamilian Chief Minister. Is this true?

Now, the cinema-crazy Tamilians are getting ready to crown yet another non-Tamilian film actor, Rajani Kant, a Maharastrian settled in Bangalore, belonging to the Backward Caste tailor *jati*. Once a bus conductor in a state-owned Bangalore bus service, this "super star" has an Iyengar wife. That means he is already half-swallowed by the *vaidiks*. His pact with Chanakya to support the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, will kill his other half.

How long the darkest looking Tamilians will continue to be fooled by the fair-skinned Aryan cinema world? (DV Edit Aug.16, '95: "What has gone wrong with Tamils?")



Pouring milk to serpent even after it bites

OUR CORRESPONDENT

C.K.Jaffer Sharif, the Karnataka Muslim leader, who was finally stripped as Union Railway Minister by the Chanakya, is now crying in Bangalore. It was this very same "Muslim leader" who recently went to Tirupati Hindu temple and "prayed" to please the upper caste rulers but hurt Muslims.

Earlier, when he, was a Union Minister under Indira Gandhi he went to Saudi Arabia and said "Muslims in India are living happily". After some years when Mrs. Gandhi dismissed him, he went crying to Saudi Arabia and com-

plained that "Muslims are miserable in India". That means Muslims are happy when he is happy and miserable when he is miserable.

Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy, father of the Dravidian movement in South, said: "Don't pour milk to serpent but kill it". When asked why, he said: "However much you worship the serpent, it will not stop biting you".

But Sharif Sahab believed in pouring milk to the serpent but the serpent did bite him. And he is crying today. The serpents have any number of people to pour milk and worship them. Even after it bites, they continue to pour milk. And such

fellows are promoted "leaders" and paraded. Jaffer Shariff is one such slave of the snakes with hardly any followers.

The Chanakya is never bothered about such leaders' corruption. The advice given to such "leaders" is: "Eat any amount you want but be an obedient slave, swallowing all insults". Corrupt and co-opt.

We have any number of such "leaders" among Muslims, Dalits, BCs, Sikhs etc. Corrupted and co-opted. Poor Sharif Sahab poured lots of milk to the serpent but no use. The serpent did bite him.

SIVAGIRI BLOOD BATH"

COMMUNICATION

Nazi conspiracy to destroy Elavas & destroy identity

DR. P.K.SUKUMARAN, XX/5/15/1, PRAASANTHI MANZIL, SANKARAYA RD, THRISSUR-680 004

The "Sivagiri blood bath" (DV Nov. 1 p 12-13) was the most heinous act of savarna fascists on a unique avarna movement. It was also most judiciously planned. All sections of savarna forces like the police, judiciary, govt. officials actively participated in the conspiracy. Your representative, V.Prabhakaran, visited the place and had its in-depth study. The savarna fascist police (90% savarna) effectively demonstrated its hatred and venom by shouting obscene words against Sri Narayana Guru. The avarna protesters did not raise even their fist against the frenzied savarna police. The newly-installed A.K.Antony Govt.-inspired body constituting 80% of the savarna Nair criminal sanyasis are ardent followers of the Hindu nazi party. Another "Blue Star" Operation: Immediately after taking charge of the temple trust, the nazis declared that the organisation was a "Hindu" one which hitherto no S.N.Movement had the courage to say so. The nazis are having treacherous plans to install Adi Sankara idol there, hinduise all Elavas, and punish those who resist. It seems Elavas have lost their most sacred place, identity, everything. This is like another "Blue Star Operation".

Some Elava policemen disobeyed the illegal or-

ders of their Hindu officers and fought their own savarna colleagues introducing castewar within the police ranks.

Please come and see for yourself the amount of destruction, vandalism let lose by the savarnas on non-Hindu Elavas and their identity. Please don't forget to meet Swami Saswathikananda, Suvarnakumar, Madani Sahab and Prathap Singh. Then you will get the clear picture.

Elavas not Hindus: Swami Saswatikananda must be told to work on Ambedkarite line and take courage to:

1. Declare Elavas are not Hindus.
2. Declare Sri Narayana Guru as the incarnation of Budha and promote Budhist identity for Elavas.
3. Declare yellow colour as the identity of Elavas just as green is the identity of Muslims, and blue of Ambedkarites. Yellow, green and blue will frighten away the marxist red.
4. Declare Madani Sahab as the greatest protector of Sri Narayana Guru and his ideals so that he becomes guru's greatest disciple.
5. Pronounce a fatwa directing all Elavas not to visit any Hindu temple.
6. Prepare a well-planned strategy, indoctrination and struggle to liberate the holy place of Elavas from Hindu nazis.

Communism used to promote brahminism and defeat Ambedkarism

S.K.BISWAS, PRESIDENT, DALIT-BAHUJAN INTELLECTUAL FORUM OF INDIA,

387-A, J & K POCKET, DILSHAD GARDEN, DELHI-95

Marxism was propagated in India by the Brahmins who are, as a class, most unsuitable for the purpose. The Brahmins form the governing class of India. And marxism was the doctrine that provided the philosophical vertebrate for the scientific method to effect a social-political transformation. This transformation aimed at the establishment of dictatorship of proletariat (free labourers or peasants who were expropriated from the land) or the sudras. The object of marxism was to bring Brahmins (the ruling class) down from the helm and put the sudras and Untouchables on the seat of the governing class in a classless society. The dictatorship of proletariat can be "attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions," through a proletarian movement. "The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." (1)

RULERS OF INDIA

The Brahmins were neither the proletariat (free-labour, i.e. peasants expropriated from land) nor formed the lowest stratum of Indian society. They are not either "immense majority" (Dalit-Bahujan) or the suffering exploited masses. **The Brahmins are the minority and the privileged governing class. It is they who form the official society.**

The doctrine of Marx encouraged

the self-conscious, independent proletariat movement to protect the interest of that class and forcibly overthrow or blow up the official (mainstream) minority society in the air. Therefore, Brahmins stand at the opposite end of the target and policy. "The distinguishing feature of communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property." (2)

Therefore, Brahmins had nothing to gain out of marxist movement, they were only to lose their caste privilege. Whereas, according to marxism the proletariats have nothing to lose but their chains but they had the whole world to win.

M.N.ROY BIAS

Such a revolutionary, anti-establishment and anti-brahminical doctrine was propagated by the highly self-conscious, caste-biased and orthodox class, Brahmins. M.N.Roy (Narendranath Bhattacharya) of Bengal established the Communist Party of India on Oct 17, 1920 in Taskand (3) with the following as the Executive members:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. M.N. Roy | -Gen. Secretary |
| 2. Mrs. Eivina Roy | -Member |
| 3. Abarni Mukherjee | -Member |
| 4. Mrs. Rosa F. Mukherjee | -Member |
| 5. Boyankar N. Prativadi Acharya | -President |
| 6. Mod. Ali Ahmed Hussain | -Member |
| 7. Mod. Shatic Siddiqi | -Member |

Here, the Roy and the Mukherjee couples and Acharya were all Brahmins. S.A. Dange, another Brahmin of Maharashtra, wrote a biography of Lenin in 1920 and published it with the help of a millionaire Latwal

and joined M.N.Roy. E.M.S. Nambudripad hailed the red-flag of Communist Party high, in the deep south of Kerala. Presence of two Muslim members is very interesting, it shows the progressive aspect of Islam.

WHY VAIDIKS BECAME COMMUNISTS?

Marxian doctrine was not a doctrine for suicide or self destruction. It did not launch a struggle to liquidate self-privileges. It was a theory of constant revolutionary process for gaining back the lost rights, a battle by the have-nots for having or capturing the temple of power. The motive behind the struggle for existence, according to biology, is to gain more privileged position not to lose it. Why the Brahmins then adopted a doctrine that aimed at their liquidation? Why they became champions for the cause of the proletariat, their class enemy?

In India, the Dalits (Untouchables and Sudras) form the proletariat or servile class. They are the immense majority (Bahujan), the lowest stratum of the society. They are the free labourer or "divine-slaves" (slaves created by god) in the Brahminical Social Order. They are the free producers who were expropriated from their land holdings during the conquest of India by the Aryan Brahmins sometimes in the 1500 B.C. and were reduced as the natural-slaves, the sudras. (4) The sudras and Untouchables, the two-footed animals, (5) were reduced to the property of the foreign Aryan victors, the *Bhudevatas*. Therefore, the Sudras and Untouchables being

themselves property had no property right. (V.T.Rajshakar: *How Marx Failed in Hindu India*, Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1988)

The Manuwaadi/Brahmins became marxists only to hijack marxism and hinduise the doctrine, through sanskritisation.

Since October 1920 the Brahmin leaders have been using marxism to meet two ends so that their interests were well guarded. Firstly, they threatened the British authority with the prospect of a proletarian revolution to bargain for early "Transfer of Power." Secondly, they endeavoured to divert and damage the rapidly growing revolutionary movement of the servile classes of India under the able leadership of Dr. Ambedkar and Pervar E.V.R. etc. The ruling classes of India became successful in this matter. Marx had written:

"Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Moguls who had successively overrun India, soon became Hinduised, the barbarian conquerors being by an eternal law of history, conquered themselves by the superior civilization of their subject."

(6) Soon the manuwaadi leaders hijacked and completely hinduised marxism also.

KRISHNA ARYANISED

Hinduism, a religion of hatred and exploitation, survived throughout the ages by hijacking and aryanising its powerful opponents. This process is fondly called assimilation process. It aryanised Krishna, the indigenous Dravidian hero who was killed by Indra when he was engaged in the battle against the Aryan invasion. It assimilated Budha as the 9th Avatar of Vishnu.

Brahminism even tried to hijack Prophet Muhammad and Islam (Allo-Upanisad, Bhavishya Puran). The Sudra Sivaji was hinduised. Efforts are on to Hinduisde Dr. Ambedkar and make

him "A true Aryan" (7) and the 10th Avatar of Vishnu.

DR. AMBEDKAR'S SURRENDER TO GANDHI

Dr. Ambedkar became the champion fighter for the Indian proletariat, the divine-slaves of this country. He fought to liberate the bonded, free-labourers of his country from the scriptural and political tyranny of brahmanism. Dr. Ambedkar is called the "Moses of India". Moses had freed his people from slavery under the Pharaohs of Egypt and led them to their "promised land" across the Arabian sea. The cavalry of Pharaoh failed to hold them back. Unlike Moses, Dr. Ambedkar, however, failed to cross the dangerous seas of threatening massacre out of Mahatma's epic-fast unto death. He surrendered to sign the "Poona Pact". "Dr. Ambedkar was a votary of marxism. He opined:

"Marx propounded the doctrine of the Economic interpretation of History. A great controversy has raged over its validity. If the doctrine of economic interpretation of history is not wholly true it is because the labouring class as a whole has failed to give economic facts the imperative force they have in determining the terms of associated life. The labouring classes have failed to acquaint itself with literature dealing with government of mankind. Everyone from the Labouring classes should be acquainted with Rousseau's *Social Contract*, Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical on the conditions of Labour and John Stuart Mill on *Liberty*, to mention only four of the basic programmatic documents of social and governmental organisation of modern times." (8) [W&S of Dr. Ambedkar, Vol-10, p. 110].

He further amplified:

"It has been claimed that the Communist Dictatorship in Rus-

sia has wonderful achievements to its credit. There can be no denial of it. That is why I say that a Russian Dictatorship would be good for all backward countries. But this is no argument for permanent Dictatorship. Humanity does not only want economic values, it also wants spiritual values." (9)

BABASAHEB HATED COMMUNISM

Despite his full confidence on the validity of the doctrine and his opinion: "Dictatorship for a short period may be good and as welcome thing even for making Democracy safe. Did not Asoka set an example?" (10), Dr. Ambedkar remained million miles away from the "Hindu communists" and their movement. He was so much scared and aware of them that the ceaseless efforts of some low caste socialist leaders could not convince him to join the socialist camp, even to strengthen his movement for the liberty of the helpless Untouchables. Indian servile classes were denied of their human personality even.

Dr. Ambedkar reclaimed "human personality" for the Untouchables and the sudras in his "Mahad-Talab" movement in 1927. (11) Human being only can struggle to capture "Temple of power", the Parliament.

WHY DR. AMBEDKAR REJECTED MARXISM

In this struggle why an uncommon promising revolutionary leader like Dr. Ambedkar, well versed in the marxian literature, did not adopt marxism as a theoretical means for this struggle? This question has no single answer. There were various reasons. One reason was the doctrinal incompatibility of marxism in a caste society. The other was the absurdity in its applicability in a caste society.

Principles of marxism proved to be a square peg in a round hole,

In so far as Indian caste society was concerned.

From its objectivity angle, the brahminical marxists were absolutely unreliable and a puzzle to him.

Marx has defined his ism:

"The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes." (12).

In this process of social change and development we find, "The economic structure of capitalist society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter, set free the elements of the former." (13). And further, the capitalists have been digging their own grave by creating crisis of over production which occurs repeatedly to bring forth a socialist structure of economy. The role of capital formation worked as the catalyst in this process of dissolution of each set of social structure.

FIVE CONDITIONS FOR REVOLUTION

Five elementary social factors such as (i) capital, (ii) free labour, (iii) ever increasing market, (iv) an uninterrupted change in the mode of production and finally (v) boundless social mobility are necessary for creating such a situation. These five factors, as described by Marx, are as follows:

"... that two very different kinds of commodity-possessors must come face to face and into contact; on the one hand, the owners of money, means of production, who are eager to increase the sum of values they possess by buying other people's labour-power, on the other hand, free-

labourers, the sellers of their own labour-power The expropriation of the agricultural producer, of the peasant, from the soil, is the basis of the whole process" for supplying free-labour, the proletariat. (14). (*Capital* Vol- I, p- 668-69).

"The feudal system of industry under which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets... The markets kept growing, the demand ever increasing ... "The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the Globe" (15).

"The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones." (16).

"The transition from the feudal mode of production is two fold. The producer becomes merchant and Capitalist, in contrast to the natural agricultural economy and the guild-bound handicrafts of the medieval urban industries." (17).

Are these elementary factors for social change or process of social development active in India? In the caste-economic-structure there was no scope of social mobility. Neither vertical nor horizontal mobility in the social strata was possible. As a consequence, application of changeable mode of production was not allowed.

In this stagnant economic structure, the servile classes (the sudras and Untouchables) never got any chance to expand the buyers' market.

"Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form was on the contrary the first condition of

existence for" (18) the Indian Caste society. Sudras and Untouchables were denied of economic rights. They had only the obligations to observe as the producers of wealth. Consequently 85% of the population (Dalit-Bahujan) had no purchasing capacity.

NO REVOLUTION POSSIBLE IN INDIA

Indian caste-economic structure, therefore, stands in total contradiction to a capitalist economic structure. Such being the condition, though there are free labourers (expropriated from land ownership, since the vedic age) and though the Indian ruling classes roll in the vulgar wealth, wine and women, they never had any urge to transform their money into capital to earn more value.

PERIYAR ON MARXISM

After his visit to the USSR, E.V.R. Periyar realised it and declared.

"What the philosophy of communism teaches is that there can be no scope of communism in a country where there is absence of common ownership and rights. If attempts are made to bring in communism in a country which does not have common ownership, it will only give room for those who already enjoy more rights to reap the benefits of communism. That is the lesson we have to learn from the doctrine of communism." (19).

There are many more vital issues in the doctrine of Marx such as: Who can be the vanguard of the proletarian or servile class movement? What are the basic requisite for creation of such a leadership? Can a member of the governing class be trusted to be the leader or the vanguard of the movement of the producer class? On this question Karl Marx has carefully recorded:

"That the emancipation of the working classes must be con-

quered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes mean not a struggle for a class privileges and monopolies but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class-rule.... That all efforts aiming that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold division of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries." (20).

"The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority." (21).

WHY M.N.ROY WAS EXPELLED

It is interesting to note that M.N.Roy was expelled from the Communist Party in 1926 because he gave a theory that the changed hearts of the haves will liberate the have-nots from exploitations.

Dr. Ambedkar had also realised the truth and after a protracted discussion from various angles he too observed that the fight of the oppressed cannot be fought under the leadership of the oppressors. Liberty is no gift from the master, it is earned, the hard earned wealth.

In his own words:

"Starting with the Brahmins who form a strong and powerful element in the governing class in India, it is no exaggeration to say that they have been the most inveterate enemies of the servile class, the Sudras and the Untouchables who together constitute about 80 or 90 per cent of the total Hindu population of India." (22).

"It would be too much to expect them (Brahmins) to resign all their privileges as the Samurais of Japan did ... we are the most down-trodden class in the country ... This means that we our-

selves must fight our battles relying on ourselves." (23).

He, therefore, finally concluded:

"Only those who belong to the servile class can be trusted to protect the interest of that class.

This consideration is so important that the principle of efficiency cannot be allowed to altogether override it." (24).

MARXISM HELPED BRAHMINS

By taking up marxism and in the name of Marx the elite-class marxists have protected their own class or caste interest. The governing class, indeed, has snatched away the weapon, which the servile classes could use to earn their liberty. The communist parties of India have assumed political power in the States like West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura etc. The condition of the proletariat in those States, the tale of woes of servile classes, Have the Brahminical marxist leaders made room for the proletariats in the instrumentalities of the States where they have captured power? Have the Dalit-Bahujan the "immense majority" and the lowest stratum or the un-official society (people not belonging to the mainstream society) got their share in the economic activities of their country? Are not the Dalit-Bahujan of other States, in a better position in so far as the issue of capturing power is concerned? Did not the elite-class communists fought to protect their own interests? Did not they deceive the Dalit-Bahujan?

TRIPURA EXAMPLE

The sufferings and the miseries of the tribal people, low caste sudras and Muslims in the State of Tripura knows no bound. As per the census report of 1961, Tripura was a Muslim-Tribal-majority State. In the communist regime they have lost their footholds and gone into oblivion.

In W.Bengal the demography

shows around 26% Muslims; 24% Scheduled Castes; 4% Tribal. However, during the last about two decades of marxist rule the economic, social, educational and political status of Dalit people have become deplorable. Same is the position in Kerala.

The monopoly of the brahminical people is sound and stronger in these. These States have not allowed any member of the servile class to grow into a national-level leadership like Bangarappa (Karnataka), Chand Ram (Haryana), Karpuri Thakur, Ramvilas Paswan, Babu Jaijivan Ram (Bihar), Miss Mayawati, (UP) Sardar Buta Singh, Kanshi Ram (Punjab), Dr. Ambedkar (Maharashtra), E.V.R. Periyar (Tamil Nadu), Mrs. K.R. Gowri (Kerala) etc.

CASE OF KERALA & WEST BENGAL

Not even a State-level leader has come up from the lowest strata of the society and from amongst Dalit-Bahujan community in the States under marxian influence. Side by side we see that in U.P, Bihar, the Punjab and Andhra Pradesh the Dalit-Bahujan have attained much important role to play in the instrumentalities of the States.

They have at least initiated the process of capturing the temple of power in U.P. and Bihar. Whereas, in the States under the rule of *Manuwadi* communists the Dalit-Bahujans lag behind millions of miles, they remain terrorised, loyal and subservient and perish, unseen and unwept. For the Dalit-Bahujans the *Manuwadi* communists have proved more injurious than the Manuwadis.

Since out of the five essential factors, there is only one, namely "free-labour" freely available in Indian society, and the other four vital factors i.e. unbound scope of mobility; ever expanding market; ceaseless

change in the production mode; and desire to invest money are extremely feeble, the marxist doctrine was not adaptable in India. Besides, the leadership of the marxist movement was hijacked by that very class who were most class-bias, extremely caste conscious, orthodox, super arrogant and contemptuous to other people; it was hijacked by the people against whom, the struggle was supposed to work.

INDIAN COMMUNISTS ARE MANUWADIS

Working or the producer classes are not the leaders in the communist parties, so failure was obvious.

The Indian communists are Manuwadis. They are not ready to say or do anything against the Indian social-economic structure, the caste system.

Following the idea of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (*Discovery of India*), Indian Marxists describe caste-system as a mere superstructure and hold the view that this superstructure will automatically wither away with the breakdown of the structure (basic) or the class-stratification.

Karl Marx, however, taught them a contrary theory: "... the hereditary division of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power." (25) That caste was not a superstructure; it is the basic frame of entire socio-economic and religious structure.

The brahminical marxists are completely apathetic to social transformation or change; nay! They oppose any move for social change. But Marx, in no uncertain terms, concluded that without the social change, rather transformation, nothing can be achieved. **Revolution in Indian social-structure was a precondition for class struggle:**

"England, it is true, in causing a

social revolution in Hindustan, was actuated only by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfill its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia? If not whatever may have been crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of history in bringing about that revolution." (26).

Indian governing class-marxists did not agree with Marx's theory of the mandatory social transformation or even social reform. They did not follow him even in the question of the role of religion.

The Manuwadi communists are staunch defenders of their faith, Hinduism. Hinduism is their culture, and therefore, is basis of both temporal and celestial life, and they are not ready to drift an inch from their religious dogma and rituals.

Whereas Marx condemned Hinduism with utmost intellectual fury:

"Yet, in social point of view Hindustan is a world of voluptuousness and of a world of woes, is anticipated in the ancient traditions of the religion of Hindustan. That religion is at once a religion of sensualist exuberance, a religion of self-torturing asceticism; a religion of Lingam and of the Juggernaut, the religion of the Monk, and of the Bayadere (Devadas). ... go still more back to antiquity, take the mythological chronology of the Brahmin himself, who places the commencement of Indian misery in an epoch even more remote than the Christian creation of the world."

"We must not forget that this undignified, stagnant and vegetative life that this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction and rendered murder itself a religious rites in

Hindustan. We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstance instead of elevating man to be the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about brutallising worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Hanuman, the monkey, a Sabala, the cow." (27).

Dr. Ambedkar reached nearest to marxism when he annihilated his caste status by embracing Buddhism. Annihilation of Caste was to annihilate Hinduism and conversion to any other religion was to annihilate caste. Thereby Gandhi opined:

"I can find no reason for their (castes) abolition. To abolish caste is to demolish Hinduism." (28).

Marx also was a proselyte Christian. He renounced his ancestral orthodox religion Judaism as it was bereft of social mobility.

To be in consonance with marxism or to make Indian society mature to have the applicability of marxism, one is, therefore, required to be closer to the path of Dr. Ambedkar and adopt Ambedkarism. The caste society is to be transformed into class society and then to accelerate class-struggle, class-war.

CONVERSION PROMOTES CLASS STRUGGLE

Caste is an economic structure (hierarchy) or a Class which is bereft of mobility. Class is an economic structure which is having mobility. That castes become class when mobility is applied to it. And this can be achieved through proselytisation only. (29). Dr. Ambedkar not only propounded this theory but made

the mission of conversion practical in his life.

Dr. Ambedkar fought an uncompromising battle to annihilate caste, to bring forth social transformation. Because "The object of varna (caste) is to prevent competition and class struggle and class-war" (30). The doctrine of Marx-Ambedkar was to accelerate the process of class struggle and class-war in which the proletariat was bound to win. Annihilation of caste was, thus, a primary point to start with class-struggle. Co-existence of caste and class struggle is an utopian phenomenon.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION IS MUST

As result of doctrinal proxies of marxism the theory of proselytisation as preached by Dr. Ambedkar comes to be an inevitability for Indian society. This is the only way to come out of the steel frame of caste-economic structure. The brahminical crooked brain used the law of contradiction (Mao-Tse Tung's ?) to thwart the social transformation move through conversion.

Marxism has been used by the anti-marxist brahmanism to arrest the process of conversion move of Dr. Ambedkar.

That is why we see that during the span of 75 years, marxism is confined only to those States where conversion was fairly large already. Any further organised move, any spread of ideology of conversion of Dr. Ambedkar could have created havoc and total annihilation of castes or demotion of Hinduism in these States. Marxism was thus used by the *manuwadis* as an antidote to kill Dr. Ambedkar's historic conversion movement.

The factors of literacy; poverty; industrialisation or the "domino politics" could not in any way help grow influence of marxism. Highly indus-

trialized States like Gujarat, Maharashtra, Punjab, UP, AP, Karnataka etc. were not influenced by marxism.

West Bengal, Tripura and Kerala became marxist States. Despite similar culture, language, industrial situation and economic condition of the adjacent States like Bihar, Orissa, Assam, they never came under the influence of marxism or communist party. Punjab and Andhra Pradesh though disconnected and dissimilar from cultural and linguistic angles, had activities of the marxists more than many other States.

What was, then, the unique and common phenomenon for the spread of marxism and expansion of activities of the communist parties in the States of W. Bengal, Tripura, Kerala, Punjab and Andhra Pradesh?

MUSLIM FACTOR IN BENGAL, KERALA

In all these States we find that the process of conversion was very active. If we analyse the demographic features of these States we find that non-Hindus form a very large segment of population. Muslims and Christians comprise above 45% of Kerala population. Even after partition, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist and Sikh comprise around 30% of the population of West Bengal. In the Punjab, around 60% are Sikhs. In Tripura, Tribal and Muslim formed the majority a few decades back. It is observed on the basis of this factor that the influence of marxism and the activities of CPI are proportionately more in those States where non-Hindus are more. The reverse is also equally true.

The influence of marxism and activities of communist parties are proportionately less in those States where Hindus more; that is conversion is least or nil.

In Orissa, Hindu population is 98%. Almost nil is conversion. Despite being the adjacent State of West Bengal with similar linguistic, cultural and economic base there is almost no influence of marxism in Orissa. Hindu population in Gujarat and Himachal Pradesh is more than 90%. In Bihar, UP and Maharashtra the converts i.e. the Muslim, Buddhist, Christians, Sikhs form around 20% of the population.

COMMUNISM SAVED HINDUISM

It is interesting to note that influence of marxism and the activities of their political parties fluctuate proportionately with the changing ratio of conversions that have taken place in Andhra, Maharashtra, UP, Bihar etc. **Brahminical system and the Manuwadi elites of India in the circumstances seem to have used the force of hinduised-marxism to divert the attention of Dalit-Bahujan from Ambedkarite conversion movement to an utopian line.**

Marxism, indeed, played the same role which was played by Chaitanya in the 16th century and Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the 19th century to save Hinduism, that is casteism.

M.N.ROY ON ISLAM

When we find that with the increasing proportion of the Hindu population the influence of marxism declines in the same ratio, it emerges that Hinduism is the most uncongenial situation for the birth and spread of marxism.

Marxism flourishes in the states where Muslim population is more. The truth seems to have struck the minds of Marx and Engles. Having criticised Hinduism, they however, praised the progressive role of the other major religions of the world:

"Great historical turning-points have been accompanied by religious changes only so far as the three

Letters to Editor

Barbara Gombach, Asst. Director, Columbia University, Southern Asian Institute, 420 West 188th Street, New York: On Oct. 24 1995, we hosted a special event to mark the donation of a bust of Dr.B.R.Ambedkar to Columbia University. The bust was donated by the Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist Organisations UK. Dr.Ambedkar was one of our University's most distinguished graduates. He came to study at the University after receiving a scholarship to do so, and subsequently earned a Master of Arts degree in Economics in 1915, and a Doctorate of Philosophy in political science in 1916. Years later he remembered his professors and classmates here with great fondness. In 1952, Dr.Ambedkar was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University.

Dr.Velu Annamalai, IDSG, PO Box 842066, Houston, Texas 77284-2066, US: There was a front-page article about the Dallas convention of Dr.A.Rehman Nakadar's Federation of Indian Muslims in America in one of the Indian-run Houston newspapers, *India Herald*. Therein was a statement which caught my eyes and knocked my brain. The paper quoted Dr.Nakadar saying that "The Federation recognised that Hinduism had its pride of place in India just as other religions too had their place to coexist peacefully". I am not quite sure what Dr.Nakadar really meant by this statement. For the 250 million Dalits, Hinduism (read brahminism or brahminical Hinduism) did not, is not and will not have its pride of place. It is the poison that has numbed us to the point of gladly accepting our enslavement, and enjoying the slavery for the past 3,500 years. If he had made this statement to please the Hindu nazis, of course, he has every right to do so., But a cobra is a cobra no matter how much he tries to please it or glorify it. Just because the Muslims try to please the Hindu nazis by glorifying brahminism, it does not and will not change the nazis' agenda in exterminating the Muslims in India. I am just reading a booklet, *Danger! 20,00,000 Swayamsevaks in India*, by Indian Peace Keepers from Mangalore. I am hoping that all the Indian Muslims will read this book which clearly warns us to "Know your enemy". I am still hoping that the *India Herald* misquoted Dr. Nakadar regarding the "pride of Hinduism".

Gopal Gurung, PO Box-2828, Kathmandu, Nepal:

DV is helping me to understand India. DV is also helping to awaken the 80% non-Hindu Mongol people of Nepal as well as the downtrodden Dalit people here. I am with you and with the Dalits of India. We have launched an anti-Hindu agitation in Nepal.

Mayan Anbalagan, PB. No. 25075, Dubai, UAE: I am a Dalit (Pariah) and follower of Periyar.EV's Dravidian movement for three generations. My childhood days started as a Periyarist. When the Dravidian movement was taking shape most of our relatives, near about 100 villages, followed Periyar from the British colonial times when living at Colombo. They invited Babasahab and Periyar to Colombo. They named their children after either anti-Aryan and anti-Brahmin heros (like Narahasuran, Ravanan, Surpangai, Theebasuran, Asokan, Goutham and Siddarthan) or pure Tamil names. For their interest in Tamil and "Tamil nation", my native Dalit area was named as Tamilar Street 50 years ago. I think this must be the first place or land named after Tamil interest. Their children, we, never forget to fight the *papan* ideology. In our district, Dalits lead the most forceful anti-Hindu/ Aryan/*papan* movement. But alas they are kept away from enjoying the fruits of Periyar movement. Now, I am in my early 30s but the Dalits above 40 are enjoying the bonded-slavery of the corrupted Dravidian movement like Dalits all over India enjoying their slavery under Hinduism. Young Dalits are thinking about the liberation of "Tamil nation" through the Dalit liberation. But old are worshipping paper tigers like Cut Throat Karunanidhi and K. Veeramani. This is my social and political background. After the Periyar's death, the movement he started against the *papans* surrendered to its enemy. Now, the Dravidar Kazhagan General Secretary, K. Veeramani, has hailed the *Bangalore Papatti* as the "Savior of social justice". A real Periyarist, a youngman from Coimbatore, Kovai Ramakrishnan, Youth Wing State secretary of DK, was ousted by Veeramani for supporting the Elam movement. Later, he and his comrades were arrested under TADA and jailed for over 2 1/2 years. Now on bail, he is running a faction of DK. That list will grow like Periyavar V. Anaimuthu, Thiruvatur Thanga Raj. Veeramani may claim to be the "legal" heir of Periyar institutions and other trusts but he cannot claim that he is leading the movement founded by Periyar. Whether it is true or false, my father used to say that Periyar demanded the winding up of DK after his death. When Dalits were persecuted by the BCs, Veeramani is very silent. Scolding the *papans* alone will not drown brahminism. That is why the Dalits are deserting him and forming their own fronts. How can we expect a pro-*papan* (anti-Periyar)

to establish "Tamil nation", and one who hails from a Telugu clan and not having Tamil national spirit? Nothing wrong in Guna. This is the inside story of DK. (DV Edit Aug. 16, 95: "What has gone wrong with Tamils?). Go to the Dravidian political parties. C.N. Annadurai revolted against Periyar and founded the DMK (Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, not Dravidar Munnetra Kazhagam), came to power in 1967. The pro-paper turning point started from his era. An young group led by E.V.K. Sampath (Periyar's nephew) protested against the alliance with the Swantra Party of the southern fox, Rajagopalachari, because that party was led by the *papans*. After a debate in their executive committee his group was beaten up by goondas. Later, Sampath with his comrades founded the Tamil National Party (Tamizh Desai Katchi). I think Periyar's nephew only started the thinking about "Tamil nation". Losing the electoral battle against DMK, they went over to the Congress of Kamaraj Nadar, so far the only Tamil Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. Kamaraj was the only CM who gave a senior position to a Dalit Minister (Home) Kakkani, the only clean minister in Tamil Nadu politics. Corrupt Cut Throat era then started. Among the Dravidian political parties he is the long lasting politician. In 1957, there was a big clash between Dalits and Thevars in Southern TN. Chief Minister Kamaraj and Police Minister Kakkani punished the culprits with the support of Periyar. In the State Assembly, a DMK group led by the Cut Throat scolded Kamaraj and boycotted the Assembly. Another group led by Sathyavani Muthu, a Dalit, the Mayawati of TN, supported Kamaraj. Later she joined the DMK ministry. The Cut-Throat kept away Sathyavani from the mainstream politics. A Malayali Menon, MGR, was better than the Cut Throat. He brought all Syrian Christians and a new menace started. There is no difference between the Cut Throat and the *Bangalore papatti*. How can we expect them to lead the "Tamil nation"? Guna's predictions are right. Now, the only hope among the political parties in TN is the PMK and its leader, Dr. S. Ramadoss. At the time of Vanniar agitations there were clashes between the two majority communities (Vanniars and Paraiyahs). He is the only BC leader who sought forgiveness from Dalits. He is the right person to be respected and followed in TN. For his simplicity he is Kamaraj, for his boldness and thoughts he is Periyar. The Dalits trust this BC leader. But the Dalit liberation will be possible only by Dalits. They only can lead the "Tamil nation". For example, in the anti-Hindi agitation 16 of the 18 who died were Dalits. Dr. Ramadoss has promised to make a Dalit as the first C.M of TN. Dr. Ramadoss is not a politician like the Cut Throat he is a statesman like Periyar. Periyar

was recognised only after 30 years. One day, the Dalits will definitely hear Dr. Ramadoss. Now, the PMK and he are the only hope among the TN political parties. Vanniars woke up after Dr. S. Ramadoss. Goondas are still sleeping, Thevars still spending their time fighting Dalits. Even now the Thevars' popular organisation, "Thevar Peravai", is defending the *Bangalore Papatti's* aide Sasikala, a Thevar. In defending her, they are actually defending the *Bangalore Papatti*. If the Thevars (Kallars) get involved in "Tamil nation" question it will be a great success. But is there any thinking Thevar? Dalit sister Nirmala Aruprakasam is the grand daughter of Thatha Rettamalai Srinivasan, No.2 Saviour after Babasaheb. Recently, some Buddhist DV readers have written criticising the Lankan Tamils. Are they justifying the brutal killings of Tamils by the Buddhist Sinhallas and their Tamil persecution? I am also a Tamil Buddhist born as Tamil and bred as Buddhist. Normally, Tamils are secularists and they don't give importance to religions. Tamil Nadu is the land of Periyar. While advising the "Tamil Tigers", why not advice the Sinhala Buddhist also? Sinhallas are not Dravidians. They have Hindu/Aryan mind. The Buddhist "philosopher" Dharmapala was an Aryan and said that the "Aryans are born to rule". Why don't the Buddhist Sinhallas stop oppressing the minority "Dalit" Tamils? The Lanka problem is neither religious nor ethnic one. It is a nationality question.

Suresh T. Bhamre, 135 Calvert Avenue, Ronkonkoma, New York 11779, US: I attended the four-day (Oct. 6-9) Conference-Campaign for a More Democratic United Nations (CAMDUN) at the UN. This conference was attended by delegates from around the world, but I did not see anyone from India. Strange. I pleaded the case of the indigenous people of India and their current plight. Their human rights are violated every day throughout India, but the Govt. of India does very little to alleviate the problem or punish the violators. The oppressors are from the upper castes. I met Ms. Elissavet Stamatopoueu-Robbins, Chief, UN Centre for Human Rights, Geneva. She told me that those persecuted in India can fax their complaints to her if they do not get justice. The Human Rights Hot Line is: Fax 41-22-917-0092 Geneva, Switzerland. I am very serious about setting up a "Human Rights Centre" on an All-India basis as an NGO where all human rights abuses and atrocities committed by upper castes across India will be investigated and rectified. If we do not get satisfactory answers from the govt. We can approach the UN, Geneva, for assistance and force Delhi to wake up.

We are ready to assist and even run such a

"Human Rights Centre" which is the urgent need of the hour. Right now, all human rights organisations, both govt. and non-govt., are headed by brahminical forces, our oppressors. And we get no justice from them. Rather, these agencies are indulging in some stunts to deceive the persecuted nationalities with the help of the country's brahminical media which is again in the hands of our oppressors. The oppressed, persecuted nationalities of India, particularly the Dalits, must have their own "Human Rights Centre." As the largest circulated journal of Dalits and other oppressed nationalities we will be grateful to Brother Bhatnagar if he helps us in setting up such a Centre

EDITOR.

Shamsul Arifin, PO Box 86370, Riyadh-11622, Saudi Arabia: Through DVI am making an appeal to the elite Muslims, Dalits, BCS to please give a prod to your conscience. Merely being "educated" is not enough. Consciousness is more important. So be conscious, identify those responsible for all your disturbances, sorrows, failures and persecution. And say good-bye to the present crooked politicians and their corrupt and criminal system if you want a peaceful, happy, successful and lovely atmosphere. Don't think only politicians are responsible for demolishing mosques, destroying gurdwaras, crushing churches, setting one against the other and corruption. You too are responsible for all that. Your silence helps these anti-nationalists. Saying nothing, doing nothing against the tyrants and watching and bearing everything unjust silently is also a crime, a sin. May be not in the law made in India. But the law of nature will punish you for this crime and sin of yours if you keep your mouth shut. Muslims must keep a check on their religious leaders who are running their shops in the name of mosques and "Islamic centres." They are misguiding and exploiting you. They are misinterpreting Islam to please their bosses, the Hindu rulers. So please beware of them, apply your senses. Believe me, both your political and religious leaders are rendering you deformed and defunct, impotent Islam. Please wake up, open your eyes. When will you rise up? How long will you sleep (50 years are not enough?). You should have woken up at very the dawn but it is dusk now. But still there is light left in which you can see something. It is never too late to rectify the wrongs if only decision comes from deep within. So please get up, forget the past, control the present and prepare for the future with confidence and courage. You have been kept divided in the name of caste, tribes and race under the policy of "divide and rule" of the crafty Indian upper castes. As long as their policy is successful they will be your rulers. But this policy is bound ultimately to

go, and the time has come now. The conscience of humanity cannot be cheated indefinitely. The future of the world is inseparably linked with the social justice.

Phillip M. Crane of Illinois, Member, House of Representatives of the United States, Washington: In my speech on Sept. 19, 1995 in the House of Rep. I spoke on the situation in India which is very troubling. This situation involves the treatment of the Sikh people living in India. Since 1984, over 120,000 Sikhs have been killed and other ethnic groups have had thousands of their members killed as well. The recent abduction of human rights leader, Jaswant Singh Khaira, is but the least incident of repression focused on the Sikh people. Sikhs were supposed to receive their own state in 1947 but were deceived by Indian promises of freedom. They ruled Punjab during the 18th and 19th centuries. They have their own language, religion, and culture. Clearly, the Sikh claim to independence is a legitimate one.

Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, 2025 Eye Street, N.W., Apt. 922, Washington, D.C. 20006, US: The 1984 military assault on Golden Temple set into motion the movement of Sikh freedom. Three years later, on Oct. 7, 1987 the "Sikh nation" formally declared its independence. But the vacillation of the Akali Dal has proved to be a persistent obstacle to the achievement of freedom. The self-serving political stunts of the Akali politicians has worked only to sidetrack the issue of self-determination. Therefore, the time has come to oust the Akali Dal and establish a Khalsa Raj Party with the expressed purpose of achieving self-determination. The Badal-Tohra axis has betrayed the 'Sikh nation'. They have proven themselves genuine *Bemukhs*.

Manuela Berends & Emma Blower, Asia Regional Program, Amnesty International, 1 Easton Street, London WC1X 8DU: This concerns the "disappearance" of Jaswinder Kaur and her father, Darshan Singh, in Punjab in February. We continue to be concerned about "disappearances" in Punjab in February. We continue to be concerned about the abuse of arrest and detention procedures. On Aug. 21, we issued a further urgent action concerning the "disappearance" of Gurdeep Singh. We express our concern for the safety of human rights activists, lawyers and journalists following the shooting of two human rights activists in Srinagar in April by unidentified men, also the detention of Sheikh Mohammad Ashraf, president of the Baramulla branch of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court Bar Association, and arrest and detention of Shabir Shah, former prisoner of conscience, in May.

Fr. L. Yesumarjan, Advocate, 47-R.V. Street, Alagesan Nagar, Chengalpatu- 603 001: Thank you for your writeup on me (DV Oct. 16, 95 p.9 : "Oppressed Dalit Catholics of TN throw up a leader in Fr. Yesumarjan") and its author, Dr. Nandi Joseph. I hope the article will help inspire those who are committed to the cause of Dalits. I am happy the way you have presented the article.

P.Ashokan, President, Dr.Ambedkar Centenary Movement, Nandanar Nagar, TN-603 103:I am happy to read an article about Fr. Yesumarjan in DV Oct.16. He is the first priest to start land struggles among Dalits in our district. I am the president of the movement he is leading. The purpose of the movement is to help Dalits reclaim their lands. Fr. Yesumarjan's work and supportive role are historical and inspiring. **E.P.Arockiadoss**, R. No.537, Block-15, Loyola College Hostel Madras-34: I read with interest the article on Fr. Yesumarjan. It is very touching and appealing to young hearts like me. As a Dalit student, I know Fr. Yesumarjan for the past ten years. He is very honest and committed to the cause of the people, not only Dalits but also of Backward and Muslims communities. He makes the people aware of their legal rights and fights for the same. He has inspired many Dalit students. He is the first one to start summer coaching camp for the Dalit boys in TN to motivate them to study well from a Dalit perspective.

S.Ram, 117/94 L, Navin Nagar, Kanpur: Caste system is negation of social justice. Division of society on the basis of caste has no justification today. Learning or ignorance, vice or virtue, reading or physical labour cannot be the monopoly of one caste alone. Nor is a profession any more related to caste. What this system at present does is to keep our society divided into high and low, touchables and Untouchables etc. Most of our social crimes originate from it. It hinders spreading of knowledge to all. The society and, in fact, the country are thus deprived of the benefit of united strength and combined efforts of entire people. It hinders national progress by creating obstacles in its all-round development. It has given birth to casteism, the biggest weakness of the "nation" today. As long as caste is there real unity of India will remain a dream. **Ramdeo Vishwabandho**, Khandaridin, Behind Anti-mal Hospital, po/dt. Giridih, Bihar-815 301: For the first time in January 1994, I chanced to read *Dalit Voice*. It simply electrified me. In Aug. '94 I read two more issues, both in Hindi and English. Now, I have decided to join the DV family worldwide. I shared DV with many students, teachers and social workers who too were stunned by its forthrightness. I belong to a Backward Caste (carpenter). I have done post-gradu-

ation in the Gandhian Thought Dept. of T.M.Bhagalpur University, Bhagalpur. I am fighting against illiteracy, superstition, exploitation and injustice and a forefeul supporter of Babasaheb. I am the dt. convener of the Chhatra Yuva Sangharsha Vehini, Giridih, of Jayaprakash Narayan. I am eager to do Ph.D on Dr.Ambedkar if any fellowship could be provided. I need your support.

JP movement is an upper caste postime to mislead the oppressed Bahujan Samaj of SC/ ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs. Upper castes used gandhism, marxism and even Lohiaism. Please read all the 13 Volumes of Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches. EDITOR.

T.R.Azad, R/O Ranjipur, Gole Gujral, Jammu-180 002: Happy to note you have agreed to attend our 23-4-1996 function here which will be held definitely on the lines you have suggested.

U.N.Khobragad, Advocate, 253 - Khese Park, PO I.A.F Station, Pune-411 032: We have formed the Republican Advocates Presidium in (RAP) in Maharashtra covering all sections of lawyers. We have protested against the Maharashtra Govt. move to withdraw 1,000 cases filed under the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, in Marathwada, without having any power under the said Act. Bahujan Samaj advocates must file complaints against the police and special courts responsible for such a withdrawal.

Dr. V.P.Kale, MD, Medical College, Solapur, MS: This is with ref. to your article, "Untold story of closure of Hindi daily of Patna" (DV Oct.1, 95 p.22). It highlights the mental abnormality of *vaidiks*. Upendra Prasad, a Dalit and Ambedkarite as the resident editor of the *Navabharat Times*, had worked honestly and bravely but punished by the brahminical press. Suppression of truth, praising of devilish brahminical forces, criticising the Bahujan people and propagating casteist massages is the "national" work of today's toilet papers. *Vaidiks* have monopolised the media, politics and economy. Anyone who tries to encroach these areas are pounced upon by these mentally sick *vaidiks*. They cross all borders of decency. So, our role in such things is two-fold: (1) we should reveal such crimes to the society through *Dalit Voice* which is our only media (2) and we should have our own media. We are not devoid of money but what we lack is social awareness. Our people must be saved from this poisonous media.

M.I.Krishnankutty, Manalur, Trichur-680 617: This is with ref. to G.Saddarma's Letter (DV Oct.16) and your remarks on it. In Kerala, we have formed a "SC/

ST Reservation Protection Council" at Cochin. K.V.Kumaran, advocate, is its chairman. We have opposed SC reservation to Dalit Christians. The reasons for confining the SC reservation to "Hindus", excluding other religions including Christians, are found in the historical developments that culminated in the "Poona Pact" (1932) with the blessings of M.K.Gandhi who resisted the separation of Dalits from other "Hindus" through his "Epic Fast". The population of the Dalit Christians in Kerala is more than that of Dalits. If they are given reservation the total population of Dalits will get doubled. In Kerala, the Dalit population is 10% of the total population. Dalit Christians are over 10%. But the reservation provided in the State services is only 8% for the Dalits, 2% for SCs, 7% for Tribes and 27% for BCs. In view of the Supreme Court verdict not to exceed the overall reservation quota of 50%, any further increase of the existing quota for SCs is an impossibility while with the induction of Christian religion in para 3 of the Presidential Order of 1950, the increase in the SC total population is a certainty. If Dalit Christians are included they will oust Dalits from all reserved positions. This will help Christian to make false claims and grab the jobs, seats in colleges and local and legislative bodies now reserved for SCs.

Anand Ranaadive, 304 - Nabard officers Qnts, 10-1-128/4, Masab Tank, Hyderabad-500 028: It was I who escorted you to your hotel here on Oct.4 night when I got a five-minute chance to meet and talk to you during the auto journey. I was shocked that the organisers of the day's meeting left you alone, that too during the night. I thought you might be escorted by police or somebody else for your protection against Hindu nazi forces who are bent upon "finishing" you. You are definitely in their "hit-list". In spite of all this danger to your life, the Ambedkarites who organised the meeting left you alone and I rushed out to escort you. Even the day's meeting disappointed me.

Siddharth Radheshyam, Near College Square, Hotel Secular, Bolangir-767 002: I am a subscriber of DV for the past two years. I love DV. Its research-oriented contents are very helpful. I was also well aware of the differences between M.K.Gandhi and Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar. But after reading DV and other DSA publications on this subject I do not understand why DV and your books do not cite the positive aspects of Gandhi. That doesn't mean I support Gandhi wholesale. I very much stand by the intellectual honesty of Dr. Ambedkar rather than Gandhi. However, I do not hesitate to accept some positive qualities of Gandhi. I am a Brahmin by birth but not by conviction. Downgrading a man to upgrade the other may be a political

strategy but a social movement cannot succeed in this way. So, I endorse the views of Dr. Ramendra of Bihar Rationalist Society whose correspondence with you was published in DV. Over 99% people in Orissa are not aware of the DV line of social movement. The Dalit movement is hijacked by the Congress and BJP in Orissa. The BJP chief of the State is a Dalit. Please visit Orissa to dispel many of our confusions.

We are happy that three years of reading DV has made even a Brahmin like you to think. Brahminical/forces are doing everything to make us unthinking people. But in DV and through Dalit Sahitya Akademy (DSA) books, we make our readers think and question. Brahminical scriptures do not allow questioning. They want you to simply obey and follow without questioning. Doubts lead to questions and questions lead to challenge of established values. We in DV are trying to do exactly that and we are happy that you have become one such person. We have one (DSA) publication, **Mahatma Gandhi and Babasaheb Ambedkar, Clash of Two Values** (1989, pp.64 Rs.10). But it is out of print. This publication would answer all your doubts. You wanted to know why we are not publishing the "positive" side of Gandhi. We don't write because we don't know anything "positive" about Gandhi. If you know any thing "positive" about Gandhi, please supply us the facts. Certainly we will publish it. Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar is the greatest genius that India produced in the 20th century, and such a great man has called Gandhi as the "Enemy No 1 of Untouchables". To this day we have not come across a person who could improve upon the Babasaheb verdict. But you seem to be knowing some "positive" side of Gandhi which Babasaheb had never mentioned in any of his works. You may be knowing more than Babasaheb. Please enlighten us on this point. We suffer from no prejudice. We hate no individual. We fight against a system - the Brahminical Social Order which Gandhi defended, perpetuated, and strengthened. Finally, he even died for it. He was the founding father of **Hindu Rashtra**. In the past 15 years of DV this is the first time a reader of our paper is getting confused on Gandhi and this is because of your birth for which you are not responsible. Yet one more point: Gandhi was not killed by a Dalit. He was killed by a **vaidiki**, with the blessing of a powerful **vaidiki** organisation of Hindu nazis. Even today they distribute sweets on the day Gandhi was killed. And these **vaidiks** constitute the governing class of India and claim monopoly of all wisdom. Why these **vaidiks** did not think of the "positive" aspect of Gandhi when they killed him? - **EDITOR.**

B.K.Roy, Zonal Secretary, SBI SC/ST Emp. Council (Siliguri Zone), c/o SBI Falakata Branch, Jalpaiguri-735 211: Happy to know that you are coming to Patna

on Nov. 1 on your way to Bodh Gaya. We welcome you to Siliguri, the gateway to North-East India. Our association members want to hear you on Dalit movement. We want to pick you up at Patna. We want to arrange a meeting at Siliguri especially in our Siliguri State Bank of India zonal office. We want to start a Dr. Ambedkar trade union in banks.

We thank you for your invitation to Siliguri. Because of the week-long holidays during Dipawali in October and prolonged power cuts in Bangalore, our DV publication schedule got disrupted and the Nov. 1 DV issue was posted only on Nov. 2. This had not happened in recent years. Hence, any further absence (Bodh Gaya visit will need at least another five days) from Bangalore would add to the dislocation. So, we were forced to cancel our scheduled visit to Bodh Gaya. As days pass we are facing more and more troubles in publishing DV and our books. Increased powercut has hit computer typesetting. But to whom can we tell our difficulties? EDITOR.

Balbir Singh, c/o Ujagar Mal, 6/0/9 Top Khana Bazar, Ambala cantt., Haryana-133 001: Brahminical forces succeeded in separating the two powerful forces of equality, taking the side of one group in UP. It harmed the Bahujan movement. So, it is time for both the leaders, Kanshi Ram and Mulayam Singh, to avoid such situations in future, forget the past for the sake of 90% Mool Bharatis, apologise to the downtrodden masses and start a programme of solidarity of exploited people of India. Gandhism should not be mixed up with Ambedkarism. Take seriously the work of establishing a "Media Centre" as already suggested by our Editor.

M. Suresh Kumar, 55 - SMESC Colony, Meter Factory Road, Tiruchirappalli-620 021: I am sending Rs.3,000 towards the proposed "Media Centre" which is the topmost priority of the day.

We are ashamed to say that the contributions to our proposed "Media Centre" has virtually dried up. And that is the one reason why we have stopped announcing the contributions. (DV Sept. 16, 1994 p. 21: "Will each reader donate Rs. 1,000 for Media Centre?" And in the DV Oct. 16, 1994 p. 18: "Media Centre of Bahujan Samaj"), we had announced the first list and after that we stopped as the flow simply stopped - the last one being that of Suresh Kumar of Tamil Nadu. The biggest amount so far received, Rs. 40,000, was from A. Karunakaran and three other Dalit brothers from South-East Asia region. They have promised to send more. Our Dalit, Muslim, Christian and Sikhs, BC brothers and sisters have enough money. They will give any amount to political parties and flashy

programmes which bring instant results. But "Media Centre" they simply can't understand - not to speak of appreciating the urgent need for a media. Except Brahmins, no other section in India understands the importance of media. And that is how they rule us. And without our own media, we can never, ever get rid of our slavery. We are tired of repeating the same - EDITOR.

A.L. Ukey, Asst. Engr. ATPS, MPPEB, Chachai, Shahdol-484 220: A meeting was called by the Maharashtra Ralya Magasavargiya Vidyut Karmchari Sanghatan on Oct. 2, 95 at its head office, Nagpur, to celebrate the historical event of Oct. 14, 1956 when 5 lakhs of Dalits had embraced Buddhism under the leadership of Babasaheb Ambedkar. About 35 representatives of various State SC/ST associations were present. A proposal to form a federation of SC/ST employees associations in India was discussed. The Sanghatana general secretary said in every govt. department there was a SC/ST union. That means, there are thousands of such unions all over India. These unions are governed under the Firms and societies Act. Their work is confined to welfare only. They have no right to force their employers to come for negotiation. This right is given to trade unions only. But all existing trade unions in India, whether communist, BJP or Congress are totally against us. Because they are headed by Hindus. All these trade unions are thriving because of the support of SC/ST/BCs, our money and manpower is used by Hindus. They keep us busy with "economic benefits" only (DV April 16, 95) which work to the advantage of our enemies. It is not the "economic benefits" by which we are discriminated against but caste prejudice by which we are persecuted. Every employer and their upper caste officers deceive us in implementing our reservation with the connivance of these trade unions. If this is the fact, why we should not form our own trade unions, the Sanghatana leaders asked. R. U. Rangari, Executive Engineer of MSEB, revealed that at a meeting of Rly. Karmcharis in 1938 at Manmad (MS), Dr. Ambedkar raised the issue of exclusive SC/ST trade unions. Upper caste trade unions have deceived SC/STs at international trade union meetings as our SC/ST/BC representation is nil, he said. D. K. Dabhade, president of the Sanghatana, briefed about forming an all-India SC/STs trade union. We have to form at least two State-level trade unions. In MS, there is already their own trade union. Another similar trade union was needed. Therefore, State representatives are required to take initiative immediately. Though I attended the meeting still I have some doubts. DV must guide us. Why SC/STs are still far away from forming

our own trade unions. Is it necessary?

Gopal Ch. Biswas, West Kodalia, PO New Barrackpur, Dist-24 Parganas (N) W.B-743 276: The *Statesman* of Calcutta (Oct.26,95) said that a magistrate of Kanpur has summoned BSP chief Kanshi Ram to appear before him on Nov.30 in a case for his "derogatory remarks" against Hindu god Ram and Gandhi. Kanshi Ram is a free citizen of India, belonging to its indigenous stock who also have their own human rights. He has the right as a citizen and also as an aboriginal Indian who do not to share the views of the ruling upper castes. We the Dalits of India may not have reverence for and belief in Rama because we are not Hindus. Similar is my view on M.K.Gandhi. A large section of Dalits do not subscribe to the views of the ruling upper castes. We the original inhabitants of India make our own "nation" within the territory of India which (nation) is still different from the "nation" the Hindus signify. So, the remark made by Kanshi Ram about Ram and Gandhi while addressing the "Periyar Mela" at Lucknow was in no way derogatory. He has only called the spade a spade. The Indian judiciary, therefore, should take note of our stand on nationhood and the domain of knowledge and wisdom interpreting the Indian polity etc.

Anil Rangari, Press Colony, Shahdol, MP: Hindu theist philosophy exploited and destroyed the mental and physical life of lakhs of villagers by their divine weapon, god. Christian and Muslim ideology of god gives courage to fight against the sufferings and sorrows of people while the Hindu gods make the people cowards and blind so that they are easily exploited. In village Dabbagon (Jagdalpur dt.), 34 persons died of cholera but the poor villagers attributed it to divine curse. Even Hindu doctors could not cure them. They fled from their village itself. Every year, thousands die of cholera, malaria, smallpox but the Hindu philosophy of god make them worship god and die instead of taking doctor's help. After about 50 years of "independence", millions of our villagers continue to be illiterate. India has become the world's largest illiterate "nation". Destitutes and illiterates have doubled since 50 years of "independence".

Only Brother Anil Rangari gets angry. None else. Within 50 years, our brahminical rulers have sapped all our energies and reduced us into unthinking morons. Dalits, the worst persecuted lot, are made to run after their own Dalit petty political leaders after having been misguided that "political power is the master-key to all our problems". Every Dalit is made to run after "political power". And in doing so they become like that proverbial dog trying to catch its own tail. It is an endless exercise. We see darkness all

round with not even a single lighted candle around. We talk of Babasabheb, deity Babasabheb but forget all that Babasabheb has said -EDITOR.

Unnikrishnan, Rajeev and Anil Singh, Chempil House, Thakazhy PO, Alappuzha dt., Kerala: We attended a seminar, "Life-affirming cry of the oppressed", organised by the Church of South India youth conference, Changanachery. Resource persons were all upper caste Christians. Prof. Vargeese-George, a Janata Dal leader, said that the communist-led Left Democratic Front of "Modern Shankara" was the only saviour of Dalits. Prof. Thomas John, a theology professor of U.C.College, Aluva, said only Christianity can save Dalits and the Bible their only relief. He did not speak anything about Dr. Ambedkar. Both Vargheese-George and Thomas John had no answer to our questions. But those Dalits - men and women present - did not utter a word against them. Upper caste Christians are trying to destroy the revolutionary thoughts of Dalits. How to save our brothers from the clutches of these Nazi Christians?

Upper castes have enormous resources and institutions to falsify history and the ever-ready brahminical govt. to cover-up their heinous activities. Foreign funds are flowing into their coffers. As we lack all these facilities what best we can do is to bring out small booklets in local languages by translating Dalit Voice items on the havoc played by upper caste nazi Christians - racism within the church. If Dalit Christians are properly educated on the thoughts of Babasabheb and DV, these Nazi Christians can be ousted from the church in five years. Please meet our Kerala Dalit Panther brothers and sisters and chalk out a plan to smash these nazis - EDITOR.

S.P. Singh, Takiapar, Patna-12: Your Editorial on the "Creamy layer theory" was inspiring (DV Oct. 1 95). It is time for the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims to unite. As for the promotion of Krishna, the Black Yadava to god, his ancestors Yadu, Yayati and Nahush, had already been promoted to godhood. There are *mantras* in *Rigveda* to prove this point. All Yadavas were not Black. Yadu's father Yayati married the Brahmin girl, Devayani. Krishna's elder brother, Balram, was fair-skinned. There is a story behind it. When Yayati refused to marry Devyani on racist grounds, she said that so many marriages have already taken place. The two communities, Brahmin and Kshatriya, have already merged. Kshatriyas (Asuras) of the past are presentday BCs. Raputs are late comers to India. Jotiba Phule's statement, "Kunbi (Kurmi) and Mahars (Chamars) are blood relations", and the statement of G.W.Briggs in his book, *The Chamra*, that Chamars belong to the race of Yadu will unite us. The youngest

of the four brothers of a Golla family was persuaded by others to dispose of a dead cow. He was later excommunicated. This story has been repeated in the caste history of South India as well. Neither modern Sanskrit nor its "spiritualism" is the work of Brahmin. All that is good in the Indian *shastras* is the work of our (SC/BC) *rishies*. The Brahmins as a class are mere cheats. They can worship even Allah. They have already written *Allah Upanishad*. SC/ST/BC and Muslims have to unite as blood relations under a single term "Mul Nivasi". Religious differences have to be kept away.

Dr.M.K.Mohan Das and eight other doctors, Dalit Medical Assn., Thiruvananthapuram - 11: We fully endorse your criticism of "Modern Sankara", EMS Nambudiripad, whom you have dubbed as the Enemy No. 1 of Kerala Dalits. He is interpreting marxism to suit upper caste interests. He will not write a single word about Babasaheb Ambedkar or Mahatma Ayyankali, but he praises enemies of Dalits like Gandhi and others. He is totally against our reservations but advocates "economic" reservation. Communists are out to destroy Dr. Ambedkar thoughts. To achieve Dalit unity in Kerala, we must first demolish the *Harjian* "vote bank" of communists. This is the most important duty of Dalits in Kerala.

K.C.Kattakada, Indevaram, TC 2/965-1, Paloor Lane, Medical College-PO, Thiruvananthapuram-695 011: I am a retired Kerala Govt. servant. Babasaheb Ambedkar is the "Black Sun of the East", un-erasable by this century, the century to come or any century. A glowing red star in the dark corner of the east. A glittering black dream. Hindu, Parsi, Sikh, Christian, Muslim became human beings here but the *Panchama*, became *Harjian* and alienated from the soil. The public road and common well were forbidden to us. Places where cats and dogs could walk in were denied to us. Our fathers were kept at untouchable distance by the golden class. And they called out 'Poohooy Poohoy..' to warn them their approach. Christ, Buddha and Marx came here. The 'super' class devoured them. Will they ever know the terror of untouchability? Dr. Ambedkar, your people are in deep slumber even today. The dark traces are being butchered all over.

Jogesh Sarkar, 152/5, D.H.Road, Calcutta-63: DV was far ahead of other papers in disclosing the crores of rupees bribes taken by the Chanakya and others through *hawla* transactions (DV Jan.1,95 p.16: "*Top Pakistani agents are Hindus*"). The news was first published in DV Nov.16, 1994 p.16. But "toilet papers" totally suppressed this shocking news. However, on court order the names of a few top racketeers were

published on 28.9.95 in the Bengali *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Toilet papers are united in suppressing truth. DV is ahead of everybody and brave in publishing intellectual corruption, bribe, Bofors brokerage, share fraud, Charar-e-Sharif burning fraud, Medha Patkar's fasting stunts.

That is why DV is hated by the valdiks. Truth never comes out in India because the brahminical people hate truth. The entire brahminical toilet papers are united in their conspircy to suppress truth. We have to read eight English dailies published from different part of India to find out some truth. Still it is becoming difficult - EDITOR.

Raju Thomas, Post Box-2296, Madras - 23: Kerala Dalit Panther leader Ambujakshan's Letter (DV July 16, 1995 p.17) came as a shock. He speaks of a ten-day workshop on human rights at the prestigious Ecumenical Christian Centre (June 19 to 29, 1995) in Bangalore. He says the resources persons at the workshop had used the ECC hospitality to propagatate their Hindu Nazi ideology. The specific complaint was against one Prof. Devidas of the National Law University, Bangalore, who defended *Varnashtrama* (racism). When the Dalit and Tribal participants raised questions they were shouted down and ultimately they had to walkout in protest. This "professor" predicted that within three years *Kali Yug* was ending and 95% of the world would be wiped out and the re-incarnation of Vishnu would take place. There was another professor from Madras University, Dr.Gopal Malviya, who advocated that since the Indian army was trained to kill there was nothing wrong if some innocent citizens were butchered by them in Kashmir, Nagaland etc. The whole workshop became a waste because the ECC had chosen Hindu nazis as its resource persons. The question is: Why should our Christian institutions be used to propagatate Hindu fascist ideas? Why should we encourage such anti-human elements even to step into our institutions? We are not against the propogation of *Kali Yug* or golden *yug* of the Aryan Hindu nazis any where in India but should we allow our money, time, energy and our institutions be used as instruments to spread diabolical and anti-national ideas, that too among our people? The ECC's prestigious scholar-director, Dr.Augustine Mitra, who is totally opposed to such Nazi ideas must clarify the position in DV. Aryan Hindu nazis have infiltrated into every field of Indian life, be it human rights, ecology, environment, feminism, development, education, mass media, research and the so-called non-governmental organizations and they want to sabotage every liberation movement in India especially of the Dalits, Tribals, Backward

Castes and non-Hindu religious "minorities". They want to create an impression among the indigenous Indians that their vedas and vedic culture are unique and that the Indians have nothing to be proud of. The Aryan upper caste Hindu, be he a scientist, judge, teacher, researcher, professor, doctor priest, is basically a Hindu and the Hindu believes what he wants to believe. Look at the YMCA's all over India. They also do the same. They invite Aryan/Hindus and arrange meetings with eatings, preach "nationalism", "patriotism" and go on sermonising on the "glorious heritage" bulshit of the Aryan/Hindus to our people. They also preach "uniform civil code" to us and we floods fools simply swallow all the Aryan rubbish and start hating our Muslim brothers. Many Christian institutions in India are being used by these Hindu nazis. There seems to be a calculated conspiracy among upper caste Christians to be faithful and loyal to the upper castes/Hindus and not to "hurt the Hindu sentiments". This shows that these upper caste Christians are not truly Christians. They might have infiltrated into Christianity deliberately to sabotage Christians from within the church. ECC must not disappoint us.

Sudip Chaudhary, Lucknow University, Lucknow: You invented a magical word to describe the brahminical/Aryan forces oppressing us: "Hindu nazis". How aptly it sums up these alien anti-national forces who are behind every problem facing this country. The credit for inventing this word goes exclusively to you.

Brahminical forces have different faces to deceive us. And each face bears a different name to confuse us: Congress, marxists, Bharatiya Janata Party, Telugu Desam, Shiv Sena. But the persons heading these parties are all Aryans, our oppressors. These different names confuse us and that is why we call all these fellows as nazis. These nazis are found in political parties, newspapers, judiciary, election commission, universities and all over. By assuming different names, they confuse us and then divide us. So, all those fellows subscribing to the Aryan/brahminical thought process are nazis. This one word sums up their words, deeds and mission Beware of Hindus nazis - EDITOR.

Shiv Charan Singh, Babasaheb Dr. B.R.Ambedkar Research Institute, 3-Institutional Area, Sector-IV, R.K.Puram, New Delhi-22: We have decided to felicitate our founder, Shankaranand Shastri, for his services towards the life land mission of Babasaheb Dr.B.R.Ambedkar and Buddhism. The felicitation function will be held here. The date and venue are to be finalised soon.

Indian Peace Keepers, K.M.Bldg., 11nd Floor,

Azizdain Road, Mangalore-575 001: We propose to hold an All-India meet of human rights organisations on Dec.10 in Madras. The main objective of the seminar is to help Dalits and Muslims to realize that they have a common enemy, (the Aryan Brahmins) they have a common problem, (their imposed backwardness and poverty), and they have a common goal (liberation from brahminical domination). Those interested may contact S.M.Pasha, 22-Barracks Rd., Periamet, Madras-3.

Mrs.Surlinder Kaur, Calcutta: The short-lived BSP Govt. in UP will go down in history as the first and the last govt. of power - hungry Dalit politicians devoid of all principles. The Editor of DV hailed this fraud on Dalits as a master-stroke of superior strategy and tactics (DV Edit July 1,95). This shows the Editor does not have even the faintest idea of harsh realities of politics. Kanshi Ram has destroyed the growing unity among SC/BGs and Muslims. The 21st century is about to begin and the "Dr.Ambedkar Era" is nowhere to be seen, as predicted in DV

S.M.Pasha, 22-Barracks Rd., Periamet, Madras-3: Mayawati, who proudly proclaims to be the first Dalit Chief Minister of UP and who, till yesterday, branded the Hindu nazis as *Manuwadis* and ridiculed "Hindu" gods, especially Ram, has, overnight become a "Ram Sevak". Her political morality has plummeted to such an abysmal depth. It is, therefore, an imperative duty of every Dalit now to disown her. "Jai Bhim" and "Jai Ram" cannot go together.

Dr.Nandji Joseph, 22/10, Ponnai Amman Koil Street, Kottur, Madras-85: This is with ref. to my article on Fr.L.Yesumarian, the hero of Dalit land struggle (DV Oct.16, 95 p.9). However, I am bit perplexed to see the statement, "The bishops and the church hierarchy, who proclaim publicly their support to Dalits, secretly conspired the arrest of Fr.Yesumarian...". In my writup to DV it reads as "The bishops and the church hierarchy, who proclaim themselves as supporters of Dalits in public, did not come out with any statement condemning the arrest of Fr.Yesumarian, and lend their support to the Dalit land struggle...". Please clarify this point.

M.Jesu Das, Podili, Prakasam dt, AP: We thank DV for exposing the "racist" Bishop P.C.Balaswamy who has been ruling for over 22 years over this Nellore Diocese., (DV Oct.,1,95 p.8). Here are some more facts: (1) He has purchased lands allotted to Dalits not in one place but in three more places. All these are purchased in his name or on Fr.Mutholy's name but not on the diocese society's name. (2) The normal practice is that all properties should be registered in the name of the diocese society and not in the name

of bishop or any individual as they (the properties and assets) belong to the diocese and not to the bishop as an individual. But here is a glaring exception of defying the canon law. (3) He did not bring any money unlike foreign missionaries. On the contrary lot of money has been siphoned off to his people in Tamil Nadu stealthily.

Ghulam Nabi Malik Shahbaz, Hyderabad: Your second preface to your booklet, *Riddle of Ram and Krishna* (DSA-1995) more relevant in the present political atmosphere. Your anguish and assertiveness to see that 20% Dalits and 15% Muslims are turned into an alliance of 35% for political power is very much commendable. Of course, this is a very tall order, a difficult proposition, and unless we find out ways and means we cannot be sure of our destination. The message of Babasaheb (Dr. Ram Nath, *Dalit-Muslim Unity* - DSA, 1995 p.56) as quoted by S.K. Biswas should be the guiding principle even for the Dalits of today. Babasaheb has rightly said that when Dalits

cannot go to Hindu temple, cannot marry an upper caste girl, and cannot drink water from Hindu well, then why should they remain a Hindu. But even Babasaheb was trapped with the reservations and permitted to embrace only Buddhism. No doubt, your declaration that Dalits are not Hindu could be a signal of your struggle against the present order. But if you are not Hindu then what are you? You have to clarify this. Babasaheb embraced Buddhism with great expectation, but this has not solved the problem. Because, through reservation and Buddhism, the Hindus have permanently imprisoned Dalits within Hinduism. Muslims are horrified about the "Spanish Experiment" but Dr. Ram Nath has gone further and included Dalits also to meet with a similar end. I think this is an extreme end of miscalculation and should be discouraged by leading intellectuals like you. Muslims were eliminated not only in Spain but also in Iraq and entire Central Asia by Mongols, but what happened later on. Powerful Muslim conquerors reemerged from this place only,

“Sacred Brahmins” hate Mother Teresa

Puri: The Puri Sankarachari, Nischalananda Saraswati, in a scathing attack on Mother Teresa, on Oct.20 said, "She is engaged in conversion". At his aashram here he said, "If Mother Teresa really wants to serve humanity, she should stop converting Hindus to "Christianity." He said he became aware of the Mother's "activities" while traveling in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. He alleged, "She spends lakhs of rupees to convert people and build churches. But people have now gauged her motive." (*Telegraph* Oct.21 1995)

Poor Mother Teresa has been the darling of the ruling upper castes whom she has been serving loyally by cleaning only their garbage. Had she indulged in one single conversion to Christianity, the rulers would have kicked her out the very moment. Had she committed any such "crime", the rulers would not have showered with any

award or rewards much less their Bharatma Raina. To this day, this Albanian nun has not taken up any of the Christian duties to liberate the oppressed, not to speak of conversion. Had she taken to conversions, we would have heartily hailed her. But even this elementary duty as a Christian religious leader she is not doing for fear of brahminical rulers. And yet this honest "sacred Brahmin" Shankarachari, tried to bite this harmless creature. What is the use of all her "services" when the rulers are so ungrateful? Did not the same brahminical forces call Max Muller, whose services to them was the maximum, as a Christian agent and he died a miserable man? Mother Teresa was earlier dubbed a "Holy Terror" (DV Dec.1 1994 p.20: "Why rulers suddenly dropped Teresa offer carrying her on the head?")

- EDITOR.

Both Gaya agitation takes grave turn

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The historic Buddhist agitation launched by the Japanese monk, Ven. Surai Sasai, with the support of thousands of Ambedkarite to free the Both Gaya Mahabodhi Temple from Hindu aggression, took a grave turn on Nov.7 forcing Bihar Chief Minister Laloo Prasad Yadav to intervene and avert a major disaster. Several monks including Ven.Sasai were not only on continuous fast-unto-death but were getting ready for self-immolation which frightened

the State Govt. and how before the rightful demand of the Buddhists. The Chief Minister sent for the agitating monks and urged them to call off the agitation and promised to convince the Govt. of India to amend the Central Act that was responsible for handing over the Mahabodhi temple administration to Hindus.

(DV Sept. 16 1995 p.16, Abdul Qadir : "Buddhists gain upper hand under Surai Sasai").

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