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**Annie Besant on education of Dalits:
Thus Spake Ambedkar**

Thus Spoke Ambedkar

Annie Besant on education of Untouchables

What can be done for them by those who feel the barbarity of the treatment meted out to them, by those who feel that the Indians who demand freedom should show respect to others, and give to others a share of the consideration they claim for themselves?

"Here, as everywhere education is the level by which we may hope to raise them, but a difficulty arises at the outset for one class of the community, moved by a noble feeling of compassion and benevolence, but not adding thereto a careful and detailed consideration of the conditions, demands, for the children of the pariah community admission to the schools frequented by the sons of the higher classes, and charges with lack of brotherhood those who are not in favour of this policy. It becomes, therefore, necessary to ask whether brotherhood is to mean levelling down, and whether it is usual in family to treat the elder children and the babies in exactly the same way. It is a zeal not according to knowledge - and not according to nature - which would substitute equality for brotherhood, and demand from thee cultured and refined that they should forfeit the hardly won fruits of the education of generations, in order to create an artificial equality, as disastrous to the progress of the future as it would be useless for the improvement of the present. The children of the depressed classes need, first of all, to be taught cleanliness, outside decency of behaviour, and the earliest rudiments of education, religion and morality. Their bodies, at present, are ill-odorous and foul with liquor and strong-smelling food out of which for generations they have been built up; it will need some generations of purer food and living to make their bodies fit to sit in the close neighbourhood of a school-room with children who have receive bodies from an ancestry trained in habits of exquisite personal cleanliness, and fed on pure food-stuffs. We have to raise the Depressed Classes to a similar level of physical purity, not to drag down the clean to the level of the dirty, and until this is done, close association is undesirable. We are not

blaming these children, nor their parents, for being what they are; we are stating a mere palpable fact. The first daily lesson in a school for these children should be a bath, and the putting on of a clean cloth; and the second should be a meal of clean wholesome food, those primary needs cannot be supplied in a school intended for children who take their daily bath in the early morning and who come to school well-fed.

"Another difficulty that faces teachers of these children are the contagious diseases that are bred from first; to take one example, eye-disease, wholly due to neglect, is one of the most common and 'catching' complaints among them. In our Panchama schools in Madras, the teachers are ever on the alert to detect and check this, and the children's eyes are daily washed and disease is thus prevented. But is it to be expected that fathers and mothers, whose daily care protects their children from such dirty diseases should deliberately expose them at school to this infection?

"Nor are the manner and habits of these forlorn little ones desirable things to be imitated by gently-nurtured children. Good manners, for instance, are the result of continual and rigid self-control, and of consideration for the comfort and convenience of others; children learn manners chiefly by imitation from well-bread parents and teachers and, secondarily, by suitable precept and reproof. If, at the school, they are to be made to associate with children not thus trained, they will quickly fall into the ways which they see around them. For, until good habits are rendered fixed by long practice, it is far easier to be slipshod than accurate, to be careless than careful. Ought the children of families in which good manners and courtesy are hereditary, to be robbed of their heritage, a robbery that enriches on one, but drags the whole nation down? Gentle speech, well-modulated voice, pleasant ways, these are the valuable results of long culture, and to let them be swamped out on true brotherhood... (pages 4 to 6).

(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.

BSP must learn lessons from UP debacle: Cultural revolution alone can usher in "Dr.Ambedkar Era"

"Mayawati mesmerism" is over. Her four-month rule over UP, India's largest and politically the most important State, ended when the Hindu nazi *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) withdrew its support on Oct.17, 1995.

In our Editorial of July 1, 1995 "*Jf Mayawati yields to Mannuadhis and betrays Bahujans* BSP will be wiped out", we had clearly warned that the Bahujan lamb can never, ever sleep with the *valdik* wolf. And we had compared the "Mayawati mesmerism" to a circus where a lamb and wolf are forcibly made to sit together under the whip of the ringmaster, and predicted that this circus may not last long. We had also warned against "opportunistic arithmetic wearing a cloak of ideology".

All that we have said proved correct. DV has once again proved right.

What is the caste composition of the BJP? As its name indicates it is a party of pure Aryan racists - Brahmins, Thakurs, Baniyas, Kayasths, Rajputs and Jats who are the oppressors of Untouchables, Tribals, Backward Castes and Muslims who together form the mighty Bahujan Samaj. That is why we call the BJP as wolf and the Bahujan Samaj as lamb.

Caste war: The fall of UP's first Dalit Govt. also proves that the *valdiks* are the principal enemies of Dalits and the two can never go together. The Brahmin-Dalit combination of the 50s and 60s is a thing of the past. Caste contradictions have now reached unmanageable proportions. Caste war has begun in full fury. India's road to socialism lies through caste wars.

The two, lamb and wolf, can never co-exist. It is the law of nature. But Kanshi Ram, knowing fully well this law of nature, tried to defy nature and burnt his fingers and fractured the hard-won unity of the Bahujan Samaj itself.

Even the innocent lamb knows that it can never trust the wolf. Kanshi Ram too had called the BJP as a *Mannuwadl* party. Having known it, why did he go to embrace the wolf? This was a serious blunder and the "Mayawati mesmerism" led to

widespread confusion and anger (DV Edit July 16, 95) and we held a series of debate in DV (Aug. 1 p.14 and Sept. 1 p.17).

Sleeping with serpents: Except for a select coterie of sycophants surrounding Kanshi Ram, the entire Bahujan Samaj expressed displeasure over BSP bid to sleep with the serpents. The UP experiment was a stab on the back of Babasahab. **We want to assure Kanshi Ram and the BSP followers that we have been his greatest and most sincere supporters expecting nothing in return. That doesn't mean we can be his blind followers. Kanshi Ram knows it.**

We also owe a duty to our readers because DV is the largest circulated journal of SC/ST/BCs and oppressed Muslims/Sikhs and Christians - that is Bahujan Samaj comprising over 85% of the population. We are Ambedkarites first and supporters of BSP second. Our duty is first to DV and our readers. We have been consistent in speaking out truth even at the cost of cheap popularity.

Just to please a political party, we can't betray Babasahab because our readers look up to DV for guidance and expect us to dispel their confusions which the Aryan rulers create in plenty. So, our first duty is towards our readers and that is how the Editorial line that we took and the predictions we made have finally proved correct.

Periyar's advice: Kanshi Ram realised his blunder and quickly he wriggled out of the den of most poisonous serpents. What was claimed to be "a major experiment in social engineering" proved to be a great disaster to the party. In the past 4,000 years of Aryan history, the *savarna* racists have not changed a wee bit. The Hindu nazi party wanted to exploit its support to BSP and take credit for installing the first Dalit woman Chief Minister of India for its jati benefit. Neither the BJP succeeded in this objective nor the BSP succeeded in furthering its Ambedkarite objective. Just as water and oil could never mix the BJP and BSP could never get on even for a day. It was an unpardonable blunder. We have to thank ourselves that the honeymoon ended

so quickly before it could harm the lamb.

Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy of Tamil Nadu has said when you are confronted with a *vaidik* and a serpent, first kill the *vaidik* and not the serpent. When asked why, he said if a serpent bites one may die or may not if the serpent has no poison. But if a *vaidik* bites scores will die. Kanshi Ram held the "Periyar Mela" at Lucknow but did not give a careful thought to the warnings of Periyar.

Muslims lost for ever: This four-month of honeymoon has proved too costly or the Bahujan Samaj in general and the BSP in particular:-

1. UP has a fairly big chunk of Muslims, larger than the "national" average of 15%. This population not only in UP but all over India had' permanently' turned against BJP and the Congress. They will never again trust these two Hindu parties. It is clear from the last Assembly elections that it is not possible for any political party to win election without the Muslim support. The Congress Party, lost in Maharashtra, Gujarat, AP and Karnataka, mainly because the Muslims voted against it. (DV Edit Jan. 1, '95: "Muslims kill Congress in AP and Karnataka").

Having gone for a temporary gain, BSP has permanently lost a trusted part and parcel of the Bahujan Samaj. Irreparable damage has been inflicted.

Muslims are a community whereas Dalits are not yet a community as they have not become Buddhists as directed by Babasaheb. As the Muslims are a community and subscribe to one religion and one code of conduct, they act in unison, including during elections. Whereas Dalits do not act and vote in unison like Muslims as they are not yet a community like the Muslims. But, alas, BSP has once for all lost the support of Muslims and they have started even

doubting DV because of the blunder committed by BSP in UP. **Muslims are a vibrant and vital part of the Bahujan Samaj. Flesh of our flesh, bone of our bone, blood of our blood. BSP has lost this trusted ally because of its blunder in UP.**

2. Backward Castes form a major portion (35%) of the Bahujan Samaj but the most conscious BCs of UP, Yadavas, who also form the single largest chunk of BCs are not happy with BSP because it caused the downfall of Mulayam Singh Yadav Govt. We don't know if other segments of BCs are with BSP though we are aware of the fact that Jung Bahadur Patel, a Kurmi, is heading the UP State BSP.

Bahujans get defeated for want of media

KAMBUJAKSHAN, KERALA DALIT PANTHERS,
PO SOUTH KURANBALA, PANDALAM, KERALA

This is with ref to the article of Sudhir Kumar, "Force Congress-BJP pact to defeat BSO in the next elections" (DV Sept. 16, 1995 p.9). Sudhir Kumar says that "just as the BSO will try its best to hide the real nexus between BJP and Congress, the Dalit/Bahujan political forces must do everything to expose this nexus before the masses". How are we going to expose this without a more powerful media? Arrange a very powerful media center then our Editor needs only five years to break the back and smash the brain of the BSO. To expose the nexus of the BSO with the Congress, BJP and *poonool* marxists, we need a counter media. The elections are fought in India on the power of the media. The BSO dailies play havoc and our people are confused and converted into unthinking asses.

3. The Aryan / upper caste / *savarna* serpents have been the traditional oppressors of Dalits. These serpents have turned more hostile after the break-up of the four-month honeymoon.

4. It is also likely that BSP company may be shunned by the Janata Dal and National Front in view of its costly mistake of flirting with Hindu nazis.

5. And after committing one costly mistake if BSP goes to sleep with another more dangerous serpent, the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, nobody will ever trust BSP.

So from all the five angles the lamb's move to sleep with the wolf has resulted in a terrible disaster to the lamb. What we are not able to understand is that

Kanshi Ram forced the lamb to sleep with the wolf even while knowing that such a forced marriage is against the law of nature.

Misquoting Babasaheb: Some BSP admirers defend the lamb-wolf forced marriage by quoting Babasaheb's words that "political power is the master-key to all our problems".

Those who are indulging in such a bravado are misquoting Babasaheb and thus misleading the innocent lambs.

Babasaheb discussed this very subject thoroughly in his book, *Annihilation of Caste*: whether

social revolution should precede political revolution and gives the example of the Congress Party itself in which Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy and many other insisted upon social reform should come first before capturing political power. Upper castes in the Congress opposed this view.

"History bears out the proposition that political revolutions have always been preceded by social and religious revolutions", Babasaheb says (p.42 *Annihilation of Caste*, Bheem Patilka Publication, 1975) giving the example of Chandra Gupta whose political revolutions followed because of the religious revolutions of Buddha and concludes, "Emancipation of the mind and the soul is a necessary preliminary for political expansion of a people".

In spite of pointing out this statement of Babasaheb which he has repeated in many other books, our people go on misquoting Babasaheb saying that "political power is the master-key". But while saying this Babasaheb had also said that political power is no use unless it is preceded by a thorough-going social, cultural and religious revolution.

Periyar E.V.Ramaswamy never wanted his followers to enter vote politics. He warned them that if they entered electoral politics Brahmans would divide them and destroy them. They did not listen. His lieutenant, C.N.Annadurai, an upper caste (Mudaliar), defied Periyar and started the dog-eating-dog competition. The shurda and BC politicians of TN excelled the Brahmans in exploiting the Bahujan Samaj and finally handed over the State to the *Bangalore Papatti*, a *vaidik* despot.

Menace of media: The greatest handicap facing the Bahujan Samaj in their path towards salvation is the most cantankerous brahminical toilet

papers. This nazi press is not only churning out falsehoods after falsehoods but suppressing truth, thereby confusing our people. **Without a media of our own if we go to contest elections, we will not only ruin ourselves but lose even the little money we have and end up in quarrelling between ourselves.** But Kanshi Ram despite our repeated appeals never bothered about our plea for a "Media Centre".

Vaidik serpent bites Mayawati

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: We have been repeatedly warning our Dalit-Muslim Bahujan brothers that the single biggest enemy against our liberation from Aryan imperialism is the country's brahminical toilet papers. Most cantankerous, corrupt and communal *vaidiks* have taken to the business of journalism. We are glad that this *vaidik* serpent has bit Mayawati and she is now crying:

JHANSI: In a virtual tirade against the press and other organs of media, Chief Minister Mayawati described the fourth estate as *manuwadi* and alleged that 80 percent of news appearing in the press was fake because the media does not like Uttar Pradesh being headed by a Dalit Chief Minister (*Times of India*, Oct. 18).

Mayawati has at last realised that political power is no power. The real power today is wielded by the press. That is why we proposed a "Media Centre" at Lucknow: (DV Edit Jan. 1 1994: *Wanted a Media Centre at Lucknow to consolidate UP gains and educate Bahujan Samaj*). But Kanshi Ram never bothered about it. Will he wake up at least now? Once bitten twice shy.

verted the Constitution and democracy.

The Aryans have shown no signs of remorse. The very fact they want to clamp their nazi dictatorship, which is the other name for

Hindu Rashtra, means they are going ahead with full fury. Every political party is headed by Hindus. Every Hindu is united on Hindu Rashtra. In the light of such an all-round gloom, how is it possible for the Bahujans to capture political power? Forget about political power, the Bahujans can't even contest elections and win because elections have become a costly game and the nazis have appointed their agents like Seshan to defeat the Bahujan bid to win elections.

So, those who misquote Babasaheb by saying "political power is the master-key" are doing a great disservice to the Bahujan Samaj.

What Ram should do: Now that Kanshi Ram has himself witnessed the disastrous honeymoon of lamb and wolf and burnt his fingers, he must build his party again from grassroots by launching a social and cultural revolution on the pattern of the "Periyar Mela". **He has to bring out literatures in Indian languages to "educate" the Bahujans and whip up the slumbering slaves by launching a social, cultural and religious revolution. The next five years may be fully devoted to such a country-wide campaign and we are here to support him.**

"Dr-Ambedkar Era": Once he sows the seeds of revolution, the Bahujans will simply explode and then he can reap the harvest when the

GERMAN SCHOLAR PRAISES ISLAM

Berlin: A pre-eminent Islam scholar accepted Germany's top literary prize in a swirl of controversy on Oct. 15, saying critics who accuse her of condoning Muslim extremism have only hurt her lifelong efforts to bridge a dangerous cultural divide. Ms. Annemarie Schimmel said the Western media "presents a simplistic picture of Islam that evokes fear and makes it nearly impossible to become familiar with the positive aspects of Muslim life." Hundreds of German writers and publishers opposed awarding the peace prize (Germany's Nobel), to the 73-year-old Ms. Schimmel, a Harvard University Professor Emeritus and author of 40 books. "Criticism has been so fierce," Ms. Schimmel said in her acceptance speech at Frankfurt's book fair, "that it seems to me my life's work, which was devoted to an understanding between the east and west, has been destroyed."

More than 500 German intellectuals signed a petition against the award for Ms. Schimmel, objecting especially to her apparent sympathy for Iran's 1989 death threat against Salman Rushdie for his allegedly blasphemous novel, *The Satanic Verses*. In a radio interview in May, Ms. Schimmel said: "I believe that an author who consciously insults the Prophet - and Rushdie understands how highly Mohammed is revered in the Islamic world - is committing sacrilege. (AP - Hindu Oct. 17).

ghastly "gandhian era" comes to an end by the 20th century. If he accomplishes this task, naturally he can himself inaugurate the "Dr. Ambedkar Era" in the year 2000 AD and automatically become the first Prime Minister of "independent India". But without fertilising the field, sowing the right seed, he can't reap the harvest. Mere gimmicks, strategies and tactics devoid of Babasaheb's burning thoughts may fetch publicity in the brahminical press and invite some sycophants but not Ambedkarties. **Political power, we repeat, is not given but taken. Seized. To seize power, we need strength, particularly intellectual strength, which we woefully lack. Sycophants and flatters cannot provide intellectual strength. Kanshi Ram lacks such a band of dedicated think tank around him.**

Valdikhs have never faced defeat. They win only because of their strategies and tactics. To defeat them it needs much stronger and superior strategies and tactics backed by Babasaheb's burning thoughts. Now that Kanshi Ram has burnt his fingers, we hope he will concentrate on long-range plan of capturing political power when "Dr. Ambedkar Era" begins - only five years away. We are here to render every support to welcome the "Dr. Ambedkar Era". The ball is in Kanshi Ram court. ■

Lakhs of Dalit visit Deekshabhoomi

Nagpur: Over five lakh Buddhists from all over the country converged at the 'Deekshabhoomi' here on Oct. 13 on the occasion of "Dharmma Chakra Pravartan" Day. It was at the sprawling 'Deekshabhoomi' in 1956 that Babasaheb Ambedkar, along with thousands of his followers, embraced Buddhism on Dasara. (*Times of India* Oct. 5).

Chanakya, a sex maniac?

New Delhi: Former Union Minister and president of All-India Krantikari Congress Forum, Prof K.K. Tewary, launched a blistering attack on Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao for his morbid hatred of women, expressed in his autobiographical novel.

Addressing a press conference here on Oct-17, Tewary said the novel which reveals Rao as a "sex maniac", stands out for its unmitigated blasphemy of Mahatma Gandhi and condemnation of Nehru and Indira Gandhi. (*Indian Express* Oct-18).

Naresh Bhagat, C/o. Centaur Hotel, P.B. No.221, Srinagar-190 001: I thank you for enlightening and warning Kanshi Ram regarding BSP distortions and misdirection by Mayawati.

After returning from Japan, particularly after heeding the *Dalit Voice* warning and generally because of the strong Bahujan Samaj resentment, Kanshi Ram took his first major step to save BSP from the clutches of Mayawati. After taking stock of prevailing political situations, he condemned the utterances of Mayawati by organising a self-respect rally at Lucknow (DV Oct. 1, 95 p.10: "*Further confusion over Mayawati*"). He repudiated all that Mayawati had said and done in the past. This is the first time in the history of BSP that Kanshi Ram has corrected Mayawati regarding basic ethics, values and ideology. Despite his bad health he is straining to revitalise the BP and regaining the confidence of Bahujan Samaj; Kanshi Ram has realised the distortion of BSP. Mayawati is a byproduct of Kanshi Ram's long struggles. But this byproduct has gone against the aspiration of BSP cadres.

Even her Cabinet ministers are expressing their resentment. BSP cadres have started revolting against her. She even tried to shift "Perryar Mela" to Delhi in connivance with the Brahmin bosses of BJP. But Kanshi Ram intervened and put his foot down.

S.R. Talukdar, 92-C, Mayur Vihar Phase-I, New Delhi-91: DV Editorial on "*Mayawati mesmerism*" (July 1, 1995) and the debate that followed on it give the clear message that you are heart and soul, flesh and blood anti-BSP. We know that you were never supporter of BSP. But you were never so much anti-BSP as you are now. Pointing out weakness is the act of a friend but spreading false rumours against a political party is definitely not the act of a friend. You are spreading false and baseless rumours against BSP. Like the brahminical newspapers you also give colourful headlines but the inside news is not that bad. "*Mayawati turns Gandhi admirer*" reveals your mind. You know that only one word of Mayawati against Gandhi generated so much of heat throughout the country. Now she is presiding over a govt. That is why she is avoiding all 'controversies'. Babasaheb said that political power is the master-key to all social progress but you tell Dalits not to take to vote politics. Babasaheb wanted to see us as the ruling class but you say that the Dalits should not form their own political party; they should remain only as voters and should never try to become law-makers. Your ideals are Laloo and Mulayam. The former swears by Gandhi

and Jai Prakash and the latter swears by Gandhi and Lohia. None of them claim to be Ambedkarites. Is that the reason that makes you praise Laloo and Mulayam? Your Bahujan Samaj is your few hundred DV subscribers. You don't have any contact with the most ordinary man in the village. You do not know what a dramatic change has occurred in their mind after Mayawati became the Chief Minister of UP. Your 100 years' preaching cannot bring that change. Dr. Velu Annamalai is also a half Ambedkarite. He can become full Ambedkarite only if he follows Ambedkarism in all the three spheres social, economic and political. Dalit literature is our air force and BSP is our army. Air force can only hit the bastion of the enemy but the army is required to conquer it. Coordination between army and air force is absolutely essential.

Vinod Kumar, Brahmaputra Hostel, JNU, New Delhi: Dalits in Hindi belt are in total confusion following the Bahujan Samaj Party embracing the rabid Hindu nazi party, BJP. DV alone has the courage to point out these distortions and dispel our confusion. Or else the Hindu nazi party would have made serious inroads into Dalit ranks and further enslaved us. BSP has gained nothing by coming to power in UP with the help of the *Brahmana Jat Party*. In fact, it has lost its soul. Today in JNU, upper caste boys laugh at us and say that BSP is surviving in UP because of BJP. I am from UP and my relatives are sincere supporters of BSP. But today they are all demoralised. Muslims have turned against us overnight. By this one single act Kanshi Ram has isolated us from Muslims and Backward Castes. Muslims don't trust us. Upper caste have been our traditional oppressors and continue to be so even after the BSP-BJP "unity". In other words, the Bahujan Samaj unity has collapsed. *Vaidiks* have succeeded in finishing our only party BSP. But you too are not warning Kanshi Ram.

Sudip Chaudhary, Lucknow University, Lucknow: There is a rift in BSP leadership. Kanshi Ram is clearly displeased with his protege, Mayawati, and his adviser Malhotra. While a break-up of Kanshi Ram and Mayawati is unlikely now, the former has already distanced himself from Malhotra, an upper caste industrialist-turned-politician. Both Ram and Mayawati had recently directed the BSP activists not to have any contact with Malhotra. Kanshi Ram is also unhappy with Mayawati for her strong ties with the BJP. Mayawati is now visibly hobnobbing with the BJP. She had attended a meeting of the BJP Chief Ministers in Delhi where Kanshi Ram was virtually humiliated by

not giving him a seat on the dias. She tied rakris on the former BJP President, Dr. Muri Manohar Joshi, But the BSP rank and file is still solidly behind Kanshi Ram, who had been systematically organising the party for the past decade or so.

B.K. Ghatak, G-1320, C.R. Park, New Delhi-19: DV Aug. 1 has published a series of Letters in support of and against BSP. BJP support to BSP can't be compared to any other political support. This support is unconditional and in no way it will hurt the Dalit movement.

Akhtar Hussain Aftab, M.A.A. High School, Patna-800 008: With ref. to DV Aug. 16, "*Mayawati turns Gandhi admirer?*", you have given the reasons for supporting Mayawati. You have also quoted others' opinion on Mayawati. I would like to know in what esteem the DV holds Mayawati after joining hands with BJP in UP. This has nowhere been mentioned in the said article which leaves me to presume that DV still has a soft corner for her. The tone of DV in respect of Mayawati is very mild which is causing concern to the readers in respect of the policy being pursued by DV.

Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Calcutta: I am surprised to find from B.K. Ghatak's Letter (DV Sept. 1, 95) that it was we who sought the help from Kanshi Ram. All I wrote was: "We looked after 10,000 stranded BSP workers here from Feb.22-25, 94 and arranged their food. But Kanshi Ram did not have even the courtesy to enquire after the suspension of my husband, Sher Singh, IAS, on April 25, 1994." Kanshi Ram was ungrateful.

T.R. Azad, r/o Village Ranjitpur, PO Gole Gujarat, Teh/Dist-Jammu (Tawi), J&K-180 001: Our people are shocked by the UP developments. However, BSP's crowd-pulling capacity is not on the decline. I think you are more in favour of social and cultural revolution like Babasaheb and less interested in present-day vote politics.

S.P. Singh, Takrapur, Danapur, PO Digha, Patna-12: I was in Delhi in the last week of August. Prem Pati, gave me the shocking news that Kanshi Ram had entered into a secret deal with the Congress during the last Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh to defeat N.T. Rama Rao. BSP tried to divide the Dalit, Backward Caste and Muslim votes and thus help the Congress. The Dalit masses came to know of it and voted in favour of TDP. That is the reason for TDP victory.

P.N. Imblichkoya, Lecturer in Commerce, Govt. College, Koyilandy, Calicut, Kerala: Kanshi Ram and Mayawati have cheated the Dalit movement of India. They betrayed the oppressed masses of India, especially Muslims. During his public speeches, Kanshi

Ram usually orders the upper castes to go out. Now he is sitting among them. "*Mayawati mesmerism*" is the dirtiest political drama that the Indian political arena has ever witnessed.

V.B. Rawat, New Delhi-48: While the Dalits have every reason to feel elated over the elevation of Mayawati as the Chief Minister of India's largest population province, yet the strategy under which the Hindu Nazis have done this is alarming. The fact is that the *hindutva* forces have been working overtime to reduce the Dalit anger against Hindus so that by 1996 when India prepares for the general elections, the indebted Dalits vote for them. That the Muslims are not going to support BJP or the Congress is a well known fact but a large chunk of Dalits support Kanshi Ram. The nazi's have an eye on this. The alliance of Dalits and Muslims has broken. Already by allowing 8.5% quota from the Backward Castes for Muslims, the BSP gov't has broken the strong BC-Dalit-Muslim alliance. Mahant Advaitnath of Gorakhpur admitted in interview to the *Hindustan Times* that by supporting the first Dalit gov't. in UP, they reduced Dalit separation from Hindus. "When Buddhism was becoming a threat to Hinduism we made him the avatar of Vishnu and thus assimilating it into Hinduism", he said. But the nazi plan is not to gain the political powers but to finish radical Dalit movement and the conversion to Buddhism. Fake Buddhists like B.K.Modi and other businessmen are trying to assimilate this great religion into *hindutva* fold. The sorry state of affair is that the Dalai Lama has also been used by the nazi forces when he shared their platform and defined Buddhism as part of Hinduism.

Isa Haque, Hooghly, WB-712 147: This is with reference to the article, "*Mayawati turns Gandhi Admirer*" (DV Aug. 16, 95). This is quite natural with the hypocrite and the power-hungry who always compromise with principles. How Mayawati can be an exception? Her credibility and integrity have been in serious doubt since her utterings against the Muslims. Her tirade against Gandhi is only a political stunt and political gimmick to attract the crowd. It is as hollow as her mock-fight against the *Manuwadi* BJP, the party she had hated till she was installed as Chief Minister of UP. In this context, fighters for the Dalit cause cannot expect much from her the moment she and Kanshi Ram have surrendered to the BJP - the party which is trying hard to back Manu in the country and to stifle the Dalit struggle for supremacy. Dalit movement has suffered a serious blow from which it will be very difficult to recover. However difficult it may be, we have to march forward towards our goal even if we have to begin afresh. ■

Are we ready to take over as "Dr. Ambedkar Era" begins?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The one-day meeting

conducted by the Dalit Sahitya and Cultural Academy at Hyderabad on Oct. 14 was a disappointing show.

(1) The meeting itself began 1 1/2 hours late.

(2) The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the "Defects of the Dalit movement and its strategies and tactics" as elaborated in the DV Editorial of May 16, 1995. The organisers had promised to translate the said DV Editorial into Telugu and circulate copies among the people so that they could come prepared for the meeting. Nothing of it happened.

(3) But the organisers converted it into public meeting - introduced Muslim, Christian and brahminical Buddhist speakers - thus diverting the attention from the subject proper.

(4) Andhra Pradesh has the highest circulation among all the States for DV. But despite two announcements in DV, our subscribers and readers outside Hyderabad were not very

much in evidence.

(5) Even the scheduled release of the Telugu edition of DV could not take place though even a week before that the organisers were assuring us about it.

(7) It was a torrent of irrelevant speeches which had no bearing on the subject before the meeting.

(8) Though the Editor was the key speaker and expected to place the subject before the meeting, he was asked to speak last when the audience was getting tired and hungry. Hence the second half of his speech had to be postponed and when he was asked to resume the speech, it was past 8 pm when the audience was again fagged out.

(9) Ambujakshan, Dalit Panther chief of Kerala who came all the way from Trivandrum, went away disgusted.

(10) Bojja Tarakam, chief of the Andhra Dalit Mahasabha, too felt disappointed that the meeting could not achieve its objective.

(11) When our oppressors are so

powerful and kept us enslaved for the past 50 years and also made tremendous advance in all spheres,

how could we say that the "Dark age of Gandhi" would come to an end with the end of the 20th century and that the 21st century, only five years away, would be the "Dr. Ambedkar Era"?

(12) With such confusions still clouding our brains even after 13 Volumes of Babasaheb books have been published, reading *Dalit Voice* for scores of years, how can we defeat such a powerful enemy if we continue to be so undisciplined, disorganised, confused, directionless?

(13) It is not enough if we are merely good, sincere, dedicated Ambedkarites. The Hyderabad Dalit meeting organisers had all these qualifications. But mere goodness and honesty are not enough. We have to be effective, capable - men of drive, capacity and initiative, extraordinarily efficient. We lack in discipline.

We are deeply worried.

Never believe savarnas

DR. RAM NATH, PLANT PATHOLOGY DEPT., C.S.A UNIVERSITY OF AGR. & TECH, KANPUR-208 002

I am a Dalit born in 1940 in Etawah (UP), presently a professor in plant pathology. I have published over 100 articles in *Bahujan Sangatak* and others, written 13 books on the Bahujan mission. From 1982, I am in contact with Kanshi Ram who stayed at my residence over 10 times in connection with BAMCEF, DS-4 and BSP work. I contested the 1991 Parliament election from Kanpur from BSP in a general seat and secured 18,000 votes. I am also a DV reader from 1982 and preserve back issues in bound volumes in my personal library.

If I am what I am today it is entirely due to our Editor, V.T. Rajishekar, who inflicted one remark on me in his letter that "Our people should be courageous enough to write and talk the truth". From that very date I progressed towards fearless, frank and forceful writings.

Many thanks to our Editor for publishing and releasing my book

at Hyderabad Dalit meet on Oct. 14. When a copy of my book, *Dalit Muslim Unity? Why? And How?* (DSA-1995) was received at my residence by post. I was bed-ridden. My daughter,

Sangeeta, showed me the book and well-wishers immediately gathered and distributed sweets. When the Editor directed me that I must come to Hyderabad on the occasion of the book release, I agreed but illness prevented me from going over there. I know our people will read my book released by Janab Rahim Qureshi of the Tameera-Millat, Hyderabad, but I have to say something more through this message: (1) We should not believe the savarnas, the Aryan invaders. (2) We should go on producing literature denouncing the Aryans/savarnas as foreign invaders and we the Bahujans are indigenous people or *Mool Bharati*. (3) We should hate what the savarnas love and we should love what they hate, as advised by our Editor.

WCC not doing enough to support Dalit liberation

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The outside world is slowly but steadily

learning the shocking truth that racism originated in India. The General Secretary of the World Council of Churches (WCC), Rev. Konrad Raiser, the head of the entire Protestant (Christian) world was here on Oct. 10, 95 in the course of his tour of India along with his Black colleague, Rev. (Dr.) Sam Kobia, a Kenyan Executive Director at the Geneva-based WCC. They held a press conference at which the questions of the Editor of *Dalit Voice* made Raiser admit that the "WCC is opening its eyes to racism in India". Kobia said he was reading *Dalit Voice* and other books published by the *Dalit Sahitya Akademy* and hence well aware of the problem of racism in India.

Raiser also revealed that the world came to know of the Dalit problem because of WCC which had given a fairly good priority to the Dalit problem. On behalf of *Dalit Voice* we thank WCC for this work.

But at the same time we are sorry to say that the WCC-sponsored Dalit Solidarity Programme (DSP) in India has not been to our satisfaction. As the largest circulated Dalit journal of India, its Editor should have been taken to the DSP. Rev. Bob Scott of the WCC had met the Editor before launching the DSP but the Editor was kept out of the DSP. Even the Black Bishop Azaraiah who was the brain behind the DSP was also kept out.

Whom the DSP is serving? Upper caste Christians controlling the church obviously must have kept out our Editor and the Black Bishop from the DSP

to please their brahminical bosses outside.

(M. Gopinath: "Warning to WCC: Beware of careerists & carpet baggers", DV Feb. 1, 1993, p. 17).

The Editor urged the WCC chief to divert its attention from South Africa - where the Apartheid regime has collapsed following the WCC's massive campaigns - to India which is the original home of racism. Raiser said the WCC support would depend on the extent of Dalit awakening in India. WCC supported the anti-Apartheid agitation because the Blacks in that country mounted a massive agitation. The Editor told Raiser that the South Africa-type of agitation could not be expected in India. The S. African Blacks were a conscious people and the oppressive White regime there sharpened the contradictions.

Slaves enjoying slavery: This was not the case in India. The 20% of the India's Untouchables were not only slaves but slaves enjoying their slavery. When they had not even one meal a day how could they be revolutionaries on empty stomach? Hence the WCC had a greater responsibility in India to awaken the sleeping slaves of India. If the Indian Apartheid crumbles and its 20% Untouchables - the world's single largest segregated group - is liberated racism itself will be a thing of the past in the whole world.

This needed lot of literature and media work which the *Dalit Voice* and *Dalit Sahitya Akademy* have been doing for the past 15 years. WCC is well aware of this work. But alas WCC is not doing enough to support our work.

DV proved right on Saddam Hussain

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: DV readers may remember that we were the first in India, if not the world itself, to welcome the Gulf War (1991) and hail Saddam Hussain. (DV Edit Feb. 16, 1991: "Gulf war is war of the rich against poor. Will imperialism, racism, zionism get a drubbing? Every body predicted that before the world's mightiest power, US, Saddam would sink in three days at the most but the Gulf War - the "mother of all wars" - dragged on and finally ended in a big military victory for Saddam (DV March 16, 95 p. 3: "Salute to Saddam" American army, airforce and navy ate dust in the "Desert storm".

The entire White Western world, and its obedient servant, India's Aryan brahminical forces, were against

Saddam. But he fought single-handed. How did he then win against the whole set of satanic forces? Because he had the blessings of the world's oppressed, the Muslims, Blacks and India's Black Untouchables etc. The US later applied economic sanctions. Having failed in that it bribed Saddam's son-in-law and engineered his defection and spread the rumour of a palace coup in Iraq. All proved false. In the last month's referendum, Saddam got a 99.96% endorsement from his people.

Saddam proved to the world that defence might, economic power, media manipulation is no power before the will of the people.

DV proved right again.

Nazis say DV Editor is most dangerous man

ANIL YADAVA, GEN. SECRETARY, DELHI, JANITA DAL, JANTAR MANTAR ROAD, NEW DELHI-1

I fully endorse your Editorial on "creamy layer" (DV Oct. 1, 1995). The problem is our (BC) people are enjoying their habitual slumber and a very strong movement is needed to awaken them. They are not ideologically enlightened and the BSO is dividing them into Kurmi, Koeri etc.

The article on *NBT* editor of Patna was also a good one. I told Upendra Prasad about it. He was unaware of the article. He has conveyed his heartiest thanks to you for publishing the truth. All "national" dailies (especially the *Statesman*) are writing against him. He is also looking forward to meet you.

Hindi newspapers in Delhi are writing articles after articles blaming you for the "revolt" of the Bahujans against the Brahminical Social Order. A Hindu nazi daily, *Dainik Jagran* (Oct. 9, 1995), says under the headline, "Support to BSP is a curse for BJP".

"Kanshi Ram is always silent about his political thinking. The thoughts stolen by him are actually that of V.T. Rajshekar, *Dalit Voice*, English magazine Editor from Bangalore. Rajshekar says the Indian society is

divided into two categories *savarnas*' who are 15% and Bahujans who are 85%. What is noteworthy that the word, Bahujan Samaj, is the invention of Rajshekar and not Kanshi Ram".

Sikhs fought *savarnas*: He says Bahujan Samaj consists of Dalits, BCs, Tribals, Christians, Muslims, Sikhs who despite being a majority are kept out of power and hence weak, whereas the *savarnas* (Hindus) despite in a minority are strong and enjoy power. Kanshi Ram's fight is against this *savarnas*. To break the social inequality is its first aim. In this contest it is noteworthy that Kanshi Ram is silent about BSO.

How dangerous are Kanshi Ram and Rajshekar. Rajshekar's thoughts can be understood by noting that in 1985 Rajshekar said that the Khalistani separatist fight was against the *savarnas* for which he had to go to jail under TADA.

So it is not only in the interest of BJP but also the nation that BJP should withdraw its unconditional support to Mayawati. ("National Thinking by Bhanu Pratap Shukla").

Why upper castes love Medha Patkar?

COMMUNICATION

K. MUKKUNDAN, PERUVATTUR, KOYILANDY, KOZHIKODE, KERALA-673 305

On Oct. 3, 1995, Mrs. Medha Patkar of the Narmada Bachao fame had a programme in Calicut. She was invited by a notorious Nair (upper caste) organisation called Sastra Sahitya Parishat (SSP). At the "Parishat Bhavan", she had a meeting with "social activists". I was also present with V. Prabhakaran, DV representative of Kerala, along with Anil Kumar, a Dalit brother. The Parishat people invited questions but they finally changed their mind on seeing us. They selected only some persons to meet her to avoid us. Some People's Union for Civil Liberty (PUCL) people did not like our presence. Gandhians were also critical of us. Those PUCL fellows had participated in the annual meeting of the PUCL at Trissur where Justice Tarkunde was taken to task by our people. Medha Patkar, the Maharashtra Brahmin woman, during her talk rightly identified Dalits and Tribals as India's oppressed. But she did not name the oppressors of the Dalits and Tribals because they belonged to her *jati*.

After her talk we could get just one minute to talk to her as she was getting into her car. Prabhakaran thanked

her for identifying the oppressed. Then he asked her why she did not identify the oppressors of the Dalits and Tribals. "Is it because our oppressors are Brahmins and other *savarnas*?" But Medha said there was no "caste but only class". By then the SSP and Gandhivalas rushed near us and she was whisked away. If there was only "class", why she said that the "Dalits and tribals are the oppressed?" She is shielding her *jatwalas*.

Medha got very good coverage in the brahminical newspapers. Even K.R. Narayanan, Vice-President of India, who is from Kerala, did not get that much of coverage. Brahminical toilet papers love her.

Medha Patkar's "Socialist Brahmin" natak company is not new to us. Aryan upper castes love her because she very beautifully fooled the Narmada tribals and at the same time allowed the Narmada Valley Project to be completed. She got fame, name and tons money, awards and rewards. Tribals ousted and pauperised. That is why Aryans love her - EDITOR.

Sivagiri bloodbath gives last warning to Elava leadership

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Something wonderful happened on Oct. 11, 95 at Sivagiri, near Trivandrum, the holy hilltop seat of Kerala's most famous saint, Sri Narayana Guru, who revolted against brahminism and constituted his outcaste Untouchable Elava/*jatiri* into a separate community outside the brahminical Hinduism. Ever since then the nazis have been taking revenge one of after other but the latest Oct. 11 action was the bloodiest one which must force the whole oppressed community to sit up and think.

On this day, Hindu nazi forces aided and abetted by the Hindu police and Hindu judiciary stormed into the temple and in the bloodbath that followed hundreds were seriously injured. The pro-Hindu nazi daily, *Hindu* (Oct. 12) itself admitted that Sri Narayana "multipremises resembled a battlefield". Top Elava leaders were injured in the nazi attack on the holiest shrine of the Elavas.

The Hindu nazis have been telling that Elavas are "Hindus". If they are Hindus why the Hindu nazis launched this bloodbath on "Hindu" Elavas?

Gowri's leadership: Elavas (30%) form the single largest population of Kerala and yet but for R. Shankar for a brief period, Elavas never had a Chief Minister of their own, Mrs. K.R. Gowri has been the undisputed leader of the community and should have been the CM when the cross-thread communists captured power twice. But both the times, the *poonool*/communists bagged Elava votes in her name but kept Gowriamma out and deceived the community. The angry Amma walked out of the suffocating dungeon of "Modern Shankara" and today she is a liberated woman. Elavas were the backbone of the communist movement but upper-caste Nairs and Namboodiris were riding the Elavas.

The Editor of *Dalit Voice* visited the Sivagiri temple (it is not a Hindu temple) two years back or so and found to his shock that the Elava religious leadership in charge of the temple is completely hinduised and corrupted. Not only they were wearing the Hindu nazi saffron dress but inscribed plenty of Hindu nazi symbols like *om* and *swastika* all over the hill. Some even had cross-thread.

Sri Narayana Guru had never said he was a Hindu

(P.P. Lakshmanan: "Elava leader says outcastes are not Hindus" DV Sept. 1, 95 p.10).

One of self-styled Elava religious leader, Nitya Chaitanya Yati has been giving discourse on the Hindu nazi bible, *Bhagawad Gita*, and corrupting the Elava youths. Such was the degeneration of the Elava leadership.

Nair editor for Elava paper: In other words, the cream of the Elava community has been corrupted and co-opted and swallowed by the Hindu nazis. The community's only Malayalam daily, *Kerala Kaumudi*, had a Nair editor. What a fall. What a tragedy.

Still the Hindu nazis were not satisfied even after swallowing half the Elava community. The Nairs used the Syrian (Brahmin-convert) Christian Chief Minister A.K. Antony to break the backbone of the last remaining resistance.

Chaddi boys wearing police uniform entered the Sivagiri temple on Oct. 11 and did a neat job. In the name of Hindu non-violence they indulged in bloodbath. Hindus believe what they want to believe.

We welcome the nazi action because today this entire enfeebled, enslaved community is forced to sit up and think. That is why the enemy some times is more helpful than the best friends. In DV, we have warned the community leadership many times but it did not listen. Today, the entire community is dazed following the nazi bloodbath. It was a well-deserved shock treatment.

Madani's great role: Thanks to nazis, Kerala's revolutionary leader of the oppressed Muslims, Abdul Nasser Madani, came to the rescue of the community in distress. His men gave a stiff fight to the nazi *chaddis*.

If Nasser Sahab had not fought back the nazis they would have had a walkover and the Sivagiri would have been swallowed.

Kerala's Muslims (25%) are mostly converts from Scheduled Castes and Backward Castes and hence Elavas are the blood relations of Muslims. Madani was fully justified in defending Elava from nazi invasion.

The Hindu nazi Karunakaran now a Union Minister,

Editorial: "Hindu War Against Sikhs in Punjab"

We write this with great pain as the Punjab is brought (June 2) under an undeclared Martial Law disregarding the historic contribution of the brave Sikhs, hailed as India's most patriotic people who fought and died for India not only for its "independence" struggle but also later in all the wars against Pakistan, China and Bangladesh. But within 40 years, the very Sikhs who sacrificed for India are declared traitors and enemies of India. The high caste Hindus all over India and their press are today rejoicing as Punjab bleeds and a silence of the graveyard descends over India's grainary. What is the use of forcing "peace" on Punjab without caring to heal the wounds? The Army has stormed into Amritsar Golden Temple but can't bridge the Hindu-Sikh great divide? Never. Once a civilian govt. gets the taste of using military to crush a struggle for national and cultural identity, there is no end to it. So, we can safely conclude that the Punjab action is a clear indication of the creeping fascism. The ruling class has not only created enemies all around India but hundreds of antagonistic forces right inside as the country is sliding downwards, economically and in all other ways. But the blood-thirsty ruling class has no shame. We have made our position clear on the current Sikh struggle for their national and cultural identity. As long as the upper caste Sikhs segregate the converted Sikh Untouchables and observe caste, which violates the Sikh religious principle of equality, we cannot support their struggle against Hindus. When the caste and untouchability have no sanction under Sikhism, unlike that in Hinduism, we cannot pardon them. But that is a separate story. In this case those who torment the Sikh Untouchables and the other persecuted minorities happen to be the same Enemy and hence we have to learn a lot from the Sikh struggle.

Plight of Dalit students in JNU: J. Adiseshu, Ph.D Student of Computer Sciences, JNU, New Delhi: The story about the ill-treatment of Dalit pupils in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

Anti-Dalit Film burnt in Andhra: our correspondent, Vijayawada: A film which engineered an anti-reservation war against Dalits was burnt by 400 youths from Guntur and the Republican Party.

Basavalingappa career takes a new turn?: our correspondent, Bangalore: B. Basavalingappa, a noted Dalit leader of India, who is the chairman of Nagasena Nursery School, wants to expand this into a major technical institute for Dalits.

Hush Hush bid to take Mrs. Gandhi into Puri Temple: our correspondent, Bangalore: Prime Minister Indira Gandhi wants to enter Puri Temple, but Brahmin priests will not let her in.

also intervened and one report (*Deccan Herald* Oct. 20) gives the credit to this discredited corrupt nazi for stirring up the Sivagiri soup. There is some truth in it. But Karunakaran is himself a nazi and it is the nazis who attacked Sivagiri. How then he could be held responsible for the bloodbath?

The answer lies in the Hindu jealous society. Karunakaran was ousted as Chief Minister and that is why he is boiling with anger against Antony. He used Sivagiri as a stick to beat Antony. That is all. It is not out of love for Elavas. Upper caste fellows are driven by the engine of hate.

Be that as it may the corrupt leadership of the Elava has received badly needed shock treatment. Good.

Deccan Herald report says Swami Swastikananda, the Elava religious leader, to oust whom the nazi action took place, is corrupt and the Sri Narayana Mutt properties are worth Rs. 100 crores which are now usurped by the nazi-planted Nair, Kalvalyananda, who has captured the temple trust.

The community's political leadership is with the venerable Mrs. K.R. Gowri who suffered at the hands of her Hindu nazi communist boss, "Modern Shankara" (DV Edit May 1 95: "*Plan to kick out Kerala's two Aryan ruling fronts*" and Babu Bhasker: "*Upper castes fool Kerala masses by dividing themselves into 2 fronts*" p. 5). The social front, the SNDP Yogam, is headed by Dr. Rahulan, a highly respected leader.

Wanted third front: The two should now sit together and plan out their great but beleaguered community's future to free it completely from nazi corruption and co-option which has virtually made the community ineffective. Elavas must refuse to be the slaves of savarnnas. They must take over the leadership of the State. And this is possible only if they revive the philosophy of Sri Narayana Guru and rid themselves of brahminical contamination.

The Sivagiri bloodbath is the last warning to Elava leadership to save the community from Hindu vultures and restore it back on the path shown by that great revolutionary, Sri Narayana Guru.

The Elava leadership must get out of both Hindu fronts, the cross-thread communist-led LDF and the original brahminical party (Congress)-led UDF and join with oppressed Muslims and Dalits. This was also the suggestion of *Dalit Voice* and we are here to support formation of a third front to save Kerala from nazis.

If such an awakening takes place we have to thank the Hindu nazis for launching the Oct. 11 bloodbath. ■

Farrakhan invited to India to witness Father of Racism

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

We know that India is a fractured, deeply divided society but it is a shock to learn that America too is racially divided and following India.

We were thinking there must be at least some good-hearted White Americans but the latest racist developments there indicate that even the few drops of good-hearted Whites are drying up. We hope we will be proved wrong.

This fear of America going racist is expressed even by the all-White London *Economist* (Oct. 14, 95) which is not pro-Black or Muslim. It cites a *Washington Post* latest poll which revealed the White American jealousy over the Blacks' "progress" and predicts: "All this is false. If such ignorance persists, the gulf between Blacks and Whites will grow only more extensive".

World's most violent country: It is not ignorance but prejudice. Prejudice breeds hatred and hatred leads to violence. It is this Aryan brahminical hatred that has converted India into world's most violent country. Is United States rushing to join Hindu India? Otherwise, how could A.M. Rosenthal, former editor of the Zionist-controlled *New York Times*, last fortnight call Louise Farrakhan as Hitler? Is it not because Farrakhan is America's most hated Black leader and founder of "Nation of Islam" who was the brain behind the Oct. 16, 1995.

Farrakhan is the victim of White hatred. He did not create this hatred. It is the White American rulers who created this hatred. Blacks have been the slaves of Whites, the underclass. No person with a brain in his head can say that Blacks hate the Whites. Farrakhan symbolises the Black anger against the White hatred. And that is how America witnessed its biggest march on Oct. 16 - several millions.

Racist press: India's Aryan racist press gave a fairly good coverage to this historic march but as expected painted a tainted picture of Farrakhan.

But we the Black Untouchables, comprising the world's single largest racially oppressed group - the victims of Aryan-brahminical racism, forming 20% of the India's 1,000 million population - want to assure Farrakhan, whom this writer had met in Tripoli (Libya) in 1986, that we don't share this opinion of the Indian press. If Farrakhan is an angry man and uses "violent lan-

guage" this is because the White racists have made him angry. If he is crying, screaming it is because of the pain. Who caused the pain? And after causing this pain, what right have they to question his screaming?

Splitting venom: Instead of giving him credit for the "Million-Man-March" which broke the 1963 record of Dr. Martin Luther King's march on Washington, the American White press and India's Aryan press is spitting venom on Farrakhan.

The Oct. 16 "Million-Man-March" must once for all convince us that racism will not vanish with more education or more material progress. Racism is a state of mind. It is a mental disease. Racists are mental patients. Schizophrenic.

The point to be noted is that the White American is a jaundiced, prejudiced, schizophrenic animal driven by the engine of hatred. Farrakhan is not only Black but a Muslim. And Islam is endangering not only the White Western racist Christians but India's fair-skinned Aryan brahminical forces father of racism. That is why Farrakhan is doubly hated.

Islam hated: This hatred of the Blacks and Islam has united the two, White Western racists and India's Aryan racists, and we are sure hate will destroy the those who hate. This is the law of nature.

We were hoping that unlike India better sense will prevail upon the White Western people because they are Christians unlike India's Aryans whose religion of brahminism is born and nurtured in hate philosophy. (*Brahminism - Father of Fascism, Racism, Nazism, V.T. Rajshekar, Dalit Sahitya Akadamy, 1994*). India is the original home of racism.

But America's top journalist, Rosenthal, calling Farrakhan a Hitler and the Whitemen not protesting this insinuation make us doubt that America too stands divided like India and this "integration" is an impossibility. We only hope we are proved wrong.

That is how Farrakhan shrugged off a call for racial harmony given by President Clinton.

Christian ethos: Though Farrakhan has been saying it and repeated it on Oct. 16 that there are "two Americas, one Black, one White, separate and unequal", we have been hesitating to endorse this opinion. Because we still had some faith in the Christian

Havoc played by upper caste NGOs

DR. R.B. PAVI, SOCIAL SCIENTIST, LOHIYA
 AMBEDKAR LIBRARY, PO PACHAMBA,
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I am a social activist from 1982 and have made a deep study of the system of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or voluntary organisations of Bihar, UP, MP, Delhi, West Bengal and Rajasthan. I have already visited many of them and studied their working and found that the upper castes alone have the monopoly in receiving foreign funds for such NGOs. These NGOs are propagating Aryan ideology, emptying the non-Aryan SC/ST/BC people as mere workers. Most of the representatives (99%) of the funding agencies are also upper castes and they too keep away and discourage BCs, SCs and STs. Dedicated social workers, planners, activists are kept away. The upper castes/Aryans have made perfect arrangements with these brahminical NGOs. Foreign funding agencies are kept in to the dark about the anti-Dalit attitude of these NGOs.

Racketeers: Your cooperation is needed to expose these racketeers so that these foreign funding agencies may know the truth and approach the SC and ST/BC-managed NGOs that are working at grass-roots level for the betterment of the oppressed.

Brahmin-managed NGOs get handsome funds in name of the "poor", but the fact is that the board members/directors/become the "Mahanth" and exploit the "poor". The "poor" are not even aware of the fact of the Aryanism/brahminism. The "poor" are taught about Jay Prakash Narayan (JP), Gandhi, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, but never about Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Birsu Munda, Sidhu-Kanhu and Tilaka Manjhi etc. Dr. Ram Dayal Munda, ex-vice chancellor and head of the dept. of Tribal and Regional Languages, Ranchi University, Ranchi, Bihar, knows about all these rackets. Most of the foreign funding agencies are based in Delhi, Madras, Calcutta, Bangalore, Pune and Bombay and some agencies have no office in India.

(DV Dec. 16, 1988 p.13: "Foreign funding strategies must be changed" (p.15). "Who is eating foreign funds - Christians or Nazis?". DV Edit Sept. 1 1989: "Nazis in the garb of gandhians indulge in anti-national work using foreign funds").

liberal ethos. But after India's Goan Brahmin convert to (Catholic) Christianity, Dinesh Desouzaz's racist book, *The End of Racism*, got a good reception in US, we too are forced to change our opinion.

The White Western world is today the scientifically and industrially the most advanced part of the globe. It is also the richest, highly educated, most modern and "civilized" part of the world. They also claim to be the path-finders, monopoly-holders of the entire wisdom of the world. And they are the people who teach the rest of the world justice, equality, fraternity, women's liberation, humanhood, democracy, socialism and what not.

Bosnia bloodbath: But, alas, this very same White Western world is also the most prejudiced, jaundiced, diseased spitting hatred against everybody other than the White. In Bosnia, these "very highly civilised" White people butchered thousands and thousands of their own White people, raped their own women just because they are Muslims. How can such people be called human beings?

What is the use of this White Western civilization if such a civilisation is a hate-filled horror society?

Hatred destroys the one who hates.

With this warning, we congratulate Brother Louis Farrakhan for his "Million-Man-March" - which must convince US and the world that he is the real voice of the Blacks - and invite him to India to witness how the father of racism, fascism, zionism is roasting us alive every day.

Nazi Govt. to withdraw

anti-Dalit cases

Aurangabad: The State has begun withdrawing cases registered under the Prevention of Atrocities (Against Scheduled Castes) Act, Chief minister Manohar Joshi announced here on Sept. 19.

The cases were filed during the late seventies in the wake of largescale clashes between Dalits and Hindus following a move to rename Marathwada University in Aurangabad after the late Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. (*Times of India*, Sept.20).

DV proves right on privatisation

Washington: The World Bank has severely criticised India as "the least successful" in reforming its state-owned enterprises and suggests that privatisation of state-owned companies could be made a condition of aid. (*Indian Express* Oct. 9).

(DV Edit Sept. 16, '95: "Privatisation hits upper castes and that is why they are opposing it").

Dr. Rajaratnam gives another push to Dalit studies

RAJU THOMAS, MADRAS

It was 'Gurukul' the first theological college both among the Catholic and Protestant churches in India, which had established a Dept. of Dalit Theology on Nov. 3, 1987. The dept. was set up as part of its diamond jubilee celebration and a concrete realisation of the dreams of Dr. K. Rajaratnam who feels that church in India, especially the Lutherans, should be god's instrument to liberate the most oppressed Untouchables.

The Dalit Theology Dept. was befittingly inaugurated by the Black Bishop of India, M. Azariah. Over 15 Dalit organisations from all over India were present at this inaugural function.

Builder of institutions: Within nine years the Gurukul has made good progress. On Sept. 3, the Gurukul started a 'Dalit Study Circle'. In his inaugural address, Dr. K. Rajaratnam, popularly known as the "Builder of Dalit institutions" and an internationally recognised social thinker, economist, director of 'Centre for Research on New International Economic Order' (CRNIEO) and a source of inspiration to the cause of Dalit awakening, said that Education was a must for liberation and literature was the best weapon for education. He also remembered the great services

rendered by Dalit Voice and Dalit Sahitya Academy, Bangalore.

Brahminical theology: Dr. V. Devasahayam, Head of the Dalit Theology Dept., said the Study Circle was a forum where Dalit intellectuals, writers, ideologues and activists who would meet once in three months to discuss important issues related to Dalit struggles, their history, culture and religion. Dalit theology, he said was juxtaposed to "brahmin theology". Brahminical ways of learning is hierarchical whereas Dalit way of learning is corporate and participatory.

Dr. Rajaratnam says the Aryan upper castes were the most cunning and crafty people in the whole world. Babasaheb Ambedkar had become more dangerous to the Aryan oppressors now than when he was alive. "As Babasaheb is being resurrected, M.K. Gandhi is dead, buried and forgotten. Babasaheb is great not because he wrote the Constitution but because of the emergence of Dalit awakening and revolt. The Dravidian movement did not take interest in Dalit issues." The war against the oppressors of Dalits was to be fought on an intellectual level, he said.

Caste and Alternative Culture by Katti Padma Rao was reviewed. The author was also present. ■

Dalit revolution not possible without media weapon

We know Dr. Rajaratnam too well and met him couple of times in Madras. We also know his sincere concern and burning zeal. We also have great appreciation for his work. He has established some institutions in Madras to promote the Dalit cause. He is burning with anger against upper caste violence against Dalits.

But that is not enough. If the ruling upper castes are ruling today it is only because they have absolute monopoly over the media. Nothing else. This is not our opinion alone. This is now the universally accepted view of all oppressed communities.

Bangalore Papaji Case: Take just

one simple case of **Bangalore Papaji's** Rs. 120-crore "mother of all marriages" which D. Anjaneyulu, a Telugu **papan** journalist of Madras, fully defended in a "Letter to editor" in **Pioneer** (Sept. 29, 95), her sky-high corruption and her arrogant nazi behaviour. All these have been supported by the "national" toilet papers because she belongs to the very **Jati** of these journalists.

How then to present the truth to our people? We have no media.

It is the need for such a "Media Centre" that we discussed with Dr. Rajaratnam twice. He fully appreciated our point and that is the end of it. Nothing came out of it.

Name in history: If the Aryan upper castes have to be put in their place

and our people rescued from their jaws, we must have our own "Media Centre" for which we had prepared a project report and given a copy it to Dr. Rajaratnam.

Without this, we will continue to be enslaved. Dr. Rajaratnam's name will go down in history and remembered for ever if he lays the foundation for such a "Media Centre".

He is in a position to do it. He knows the need for such a "Media Centre". We are here to support him. "Dr. Ambedkar Era" is not even five years away. Dr. Rajaratnam is past 70. Time is running out. Why then he is delaying the action? - **EDITOR.** ■

Brahminical rulers routed & ate dust in Lanka

PROF. SUMANTRA BOSE

The author, despite being an upper caste/Hindu, has come out with a very objective and unbiased analysis of the ethnic bloodbath currently going on in Lanka, uninfluenced by India's ruling upper caste/Aryan hatred against the non-Aryan Lankan Tamils and the Tamil Tigers in particular. We are publishing some excerpts from his just published book - **States, Nations and Sovereignty** (1994, Sage M/32, Greater Kallash Market-1, N. Delhi-48, Rs. 148, pp. 240) - to pinpoint the utter falsehood put out by India's "national" toilet papers which suppressed the fact that the mighty Indian Army got defeated

at the hands of a tiny force of mere 2,000-strong young Tamil boys and girls India's upper caste press and its "intellectuals" have also been misguiding the Indian public on the Lankan struggle for Eiam. Hence the following excerpts from Prof. Sumantra Bose, Fellow of the Faculty, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University, USA, are published to enlighten our readers and also warn India's hegemonic rulers that India's vast persecuted nationalities denied human rights in general and the Tamils in particular will no longer tolerate their Insular Imperialism - **EDITOR.**

STATE POWER AND NATIONALIST RESISTANCE: INDIA AND THE CEYLON TAMILS, 1987-90

The historical dialectic of state repression and nationalist consolidation among the Sri Lankan Tamils reached a climactic stage between 1987 and 1990. During those years, the Indian state, the regional superpower, intervened directly and aggressively in its small neighbour's internal conflict. The ostensible purpose of the intervention was to put an end to the 'ethnic strife' plaguing the island country. But, in a momentous turn of events, the Indian military force sent to 'keep the peace' between Sinhalese and Tamil, and enforce the conditions of the Indian-brokered peace settlement, ended up fighting a bitter war, over a period of two and one-half years, with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eiam. It was, in many ways, a classic showdown between the overwhelming coercive resources and capabilities of a front-ranking military power, on the one hand and the forces of indigenous mass nationalism, on the other. At stake was the prestige of a regional superpower, and the future of the Tamil national movement in Sri Lanka. The war was ruthlessly fought, but, in the

end, nationalist resistance appeared to have triumphant over state power. This outcome was particularly surprising, in that the contest between the Indian state and the Tamils was, with respect to most formal criteria, a very unequal one, with the odds stacked heavily in favour of the former. And the Indo-Tamil war had far-reaching implications for the struggle of the Sri Lankan Tamils to assert their national identity.

INDO-LANKA PACT

On 29 July 1987, in Colombo, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and President Junius Jayewardene of Sri Lanka signed the 'Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to Establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka'. The following day, air-borne units of the Indian Army's 54th Infantry Division, designated as the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), began to arrive from their base in southern India in the island's north east to help enforce the provisions of the accord. In particular, the IPKF was charged with the responsibilities of supervising a ceasefire between Sri Lankan troops and LTTE guerrillas, accepting a complete surrender of weapons by the latter (in exchange for which they were to be granted a

general amnesty by Colombo), and policing the north-east while a Tamil interim administration was set up in the region pending elections to a permanent North-Eastern Provincial Council (NEPC), the mechanism through which power was to be devolved by the Sinhalese state to its insurgent Tamil minority.

1,200 INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

With the benefit of hindsight, however, it seems painfully apparent that the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and its attendant military intervention utterly failed to achieve its dual objective of asserting India's hegemonic position in the South Asian region and of defusing the violence within Sri Lanka itself.

The Indo-Tamil war dragged on for nearly two and one-half years after its first eruption in October 1987, and claimed, in total, the lives of 1,155 Indian soldiers, 711 LTTE fighters (official fatality figures for both sides), and an estimated several thousand Tamil civilians, mostly victims of massacres and torture perpetrated by the Indian forces and allied Tamil death-squads.

When the IPKF was finally 'deducted' (New Delhi, it appeared,

could not bring itself to utter the word 'withdrawal') in March 1990, a leading Indian English-language daily, the *Indian Express*, ruefully observed that the prestige of the 'peace-keepers' had sunk so low among the population they had originally come to protect that 'no loyal citizen from among the Sri Lankan Tamils has willingly come forward to bid a fond farewell to the departing Indian soldiers'. *Time* magazine, in a piece titled 'Goodbye, and Good Riddance', reported from Trincomalee that 'if the locals had anything at all to say to the "peace-keepers", whose presence brought not peace but one of the bloodiest chapters in Sri Lanka's already violent history, it was more like good riddance'. A. Sivalingam, a retired government official in Trincomalee, probably spoke for most Sri Lankan Tamils: 'We don't know what the future will bring, but we are glad the Indians have gone.'

INDIA'S VIETNAM

Indeed, by 1990, the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement lay in tatters, the Sinhalese and the Tamils were (for once) united in their hatred of the alien 'army of occupation', and mounting criticism of the involvement within Indian and abroad, had openly begun to characterise the IPKF experience as the Indian state's equivalent of Vietnam. This realisation was slowly dawning even on the Indian military establishment, the fourth most powerful of its kind in the world. In March 1990, an Indian general was quoted, anonymously, as admitting that 'it was none of our business to send in our army, and when we did, we were so ignorant of the realities on the ground'. Pointing to a copy of the historian Barbara Tuchman's book, *The March of Folly: From Troy to Vietnam*, he added, morosely: "We can add Sri Lanka to that. To add insult to injury, the Tigers emerged from their under-

ground hideouts as soon as the IPKF had been 'de-inducted', declared rival militias created by the Indians in a matter of days, and effectively took over the administration of the whole of the north and east.

INDIA HATED BY BOTH TAMILS & SINHALA

The central purpose of this chapter is to study how the actions and policies of the Indian state, the regional superpower, impacted upon the course of the Sri Lankan civil war. I believe that the impact was essentially negative, destructive and destabilising. In particular, as we shall see, Indian state policy vis-a-vis Sri Lanka in the period 1983-87 had the net effect of exacerbating the violent conflict on that island, while the clumsy and self-serving bid to impose peace by force in the post-1987 phase (as exemplified in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and the military intervention), was a non-starter from the very beginning, and ended up earning India the hostility and hatred of both Sinhalese and Tamils.

LTTE COMES OUT HERO

But most significantly, the experience with Indian power between 1987 and 1990 had the effect of greatly aggravating the defensive, siege mentality of the broad mass of Sri Lankan Tamils, and of convincing them that the safe and dignified existence was possible only within the secure confines of a sovereign Tamil state. The attempt by the Indian state to quell the Tamil uprising thus had the paradoxical result of actually reinforcing the Tamils' commitment to a nationalism that held that the ultimate self-expression of national identity was possible only when the nation had a state it could call its own. The Indian intervention also confirmed the position of the

LTTE as the undisputed champion of the mantle of Tamil nationalism. This, too was more than a little ironic - for the Indian strategy had been explicitly intended to achieve precisely the opposite.

TRIBUTE TO TIGERS

As the civil war intensified on the ground in north-eastern Sri Lanka, the initiative in Tamil politics inextricably passed to the young people who had had the courage to stay behind and fight, and more specifically, to the largest, best-organised and most disciplined of the youth organisations, the Liberation Tigers. As an Indian observer, writing on the causes of LTTE's seemingly boundless popularity among the Tamil population, commented in November 1987 "...the Tigers are still seen in northern Sri Lanka as the only people who gave their lives to protect the Tamils from the Sri Lankan security forces, whengroups like the TULF were safely ensconced in Colombo and Tamil Nadu'. (Bobb 1987).

THIMPHU TALKS

But there was something else that made the Thimphu talks a true landmark event in the political history of Sri Lanka and particularly of the Tamils. At this meeting, for the very first time, the various Tamil fighting groups (the Tigers foremost among them) were invited, at the behest of the Indian organisers, to send their representatives to participate in the deliberations, thus according to them de facto recognition as political parties with a right to speak for the Tamils that was at least on par with the traditional leadership of the TULF.

Indeed, some of the most clear-cut, important and valuable ideological declarations and policy statements of radical Tamil nationalism are to be found in the ENLF documents issued at the Thimphu conference,

and the young firebrands completely stole the limelight from the tired and insipid politicians of the TULF as the talks limped on over several weeks (for a useful anthology, see Satyendra 1989: 133-63). In particular, the 'boys' stressed that

Our presence here today... and our participation at these talks... is a legitimisation of the armed struggle of the Tamil people. We are concerned here to talk about the way in which the ethnic conflict can be resolved, in a lasting way... we do not seek political horse-deals... over the years, we as a people, have had a rich experience of horse-deals that have not worked. We have found that every such pact or agreement has not been honoured (Satyendra 1989: 140, 146).

The Indians were furious at the collapse of their pet scheme. Apparently, officialdom in New Delhi regarded the ENLF participants as the principal wreckers, if only through their having been a bit too vocal, articulate and assertive! Indian officials publicly lambasted the Tamil negotiators, and, in a rather childish display of pique, New Delhi ordered the expulsion of LTTE's official representative in India.

This fiasco more or less typified the fate of India's attempts to broker a solution to Sri Lanka's 'ethnic conflict', which generated nothing but anger and frustration in New Delhi.

GENOCIDE OF TAMILS

The history of India's covert involvement in the Sri Lankan civil war, leading up to July 1987, constitutes a most intriguing tale. Most importantly, it appears to have been a form of involvement whose effects were entirely at cross-purposes, indeed, directly at odds, with the diplomatic mediation prong of Indian strategy. The July 1983 riots, and the sharp intensification of the civil war that followed in its wake, sent a

massive influx of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees into Tamil Nadu. With them came the 'freedom fighters'. By 1984, Tamil Nadu's capital, Madras, one on India's four largest cities, was abuzz with energetic propaganda activity being carried out by information offices either affiliated to, or supportive of, the various Tamil guerrilla groups. Leading Tamil Nadu politicians, belonging to all political persuasions, vied with each other to publicly declare and canvass support for the rebel cause in Sri Lanka, and deplore the 'genocide' of Tamils being attempted by the government of that island. Tamil Nadu's most popular politician and head of the provincial government, a former film star named M.G. Ramachandran, was known to a personal friend and admirer of Tiger leader Velupillai Prabhakaran.

RAW PLAYS DIRTY GAME

It appears that while New Delhi very much wanted to have a finger in the pie of the Sri Lankan 'ethnic conflict', it also desired that the bulk of Indian covert assistance should go not to the fiercely self-willed and independent-minded Tigers, but to some more pliable entity, which could then be used to undermine Tiger dominance of the Tamil area struggle, and prevent the LTTE from getting too big for its boots. And, according to the anonymous testimony of an Indian diplomat deeply involved in formulating the government's Sri Lanka policy between 1983 and 1987, 'it was no accident that RAW chose TELO which was politically unsophisticated and had a large criminal element. TELO, with no goals and no ideology, was the perfect private army for RAW' (quoted in *Time*, 3 April 1989).

As Wilson relates, 'RAW'... agents set Tamil groups against one another so as to create a balance and

prevent any one group from obtaining dominance... RAW succeeded at first, but finally failed to prevent the LTTE from gaining the upper hand' (1988: 204).

It was precisely in the domain of motivation, dedication and leadership, that the LTTE scored over its rivals. The organisation made a determined effort to safeguard its independence and prevent its future course of action from being mortgaged to the Indians, even while it eagerly accepted Indian assistance to the extent that it was useful in building up its own military machine.

India had much to lose, at least as seen through the paranoid lenses of those at the helm of an increasingly beleaguered and crisis-ridden unitary state apparatus in New Delhi, from a successful Tamil secession.

PRAHAKARAN FLOWN TO DELHI

A few days before the accord was signed by Rajiv and Jayewardene in Colombo, Velupillai Prabhakaran and a few of his top aids were flown from Jaffna to Delhi by the Indian Air Force, and kept in virtual detention in a five star hotel in that city. As he told the press at that time:

If we had been shown this agreement in Jaffna, we wouldn't have come to India at all. It is only when we came here that we found that India and Sri Lanka had already come to an agreement, which I am now supposed to endorse. It was a calculated plan to persuade me to come so as to give the impression that I am a party of it (emphasis added).

The Indians' failure to involve Tamil activists, especially the Tigers, in the run-up to the accord was certainly a fatal shortcoming, and one which undermined the viability of the agreement from the very beginning. As 'A.M.' queried in *Economic and Political Weekly*.

JAYWARDENE ACCEPTS DEFEAT

It appears that Jayewardene, presiding over the Sri Lankan catastrophe since 1977, had become convinced by mid-1987 that it was beyond the capacity of the Sri Lankan state to defeat the Tamil armed resistance by military means, and that any negotiated settlement would necessarily have to involve India, not only because it was the dominant regional power, but also because it was the only country with some sort of leverage with the Tamil radicals.

Unfortunately, it appeared that Jayewardene's pragmatic rebirth was not shared by Sinhalese public opinion in general. The masses of the Sinhalese people, fed for decades by successive Sinhalese regimes in Colombo on a healthy diet of scare-stories concerning Indian expansionism's designs on their island, reacted, by and large, hysterically to the accord, which they perceived as a sell-out to the expansionists and their diabolic agents, the Tamil terrorists. It turned out that even the Cabinet was divided on this question. Jayewardene's Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa, who was soon to succeed him as President, publicly condemned the agreement. When Rajiv Gandhi arrived in Colombo on 29 July, the entire city had been placed under blanket curfew to forestall mass Sinhalese demonstrations against the accord.

RAJIV GANDHI HIT

The depths of Sinhalese resentment were to become even more apparent in the next few days. On 30 July, a Sinhalese naval rating attempted to assault Prime Minister Gandhi with his rifle but while the latter was inspecting a combined guard of honour of the Sri Lankan armed forces prior to his departure

for Delhi. Paradoxically, then, an agreement intended to establish peace and normalcy in Sri Lanka had the unfortunate side-effect of catapulting the hitherto relatively tranquil Sinhalese-dominated areas of the island into an orgy of violence, as, over the next couple of years, the state and the JVP fought out an intra-Sinhalese civil war that, for sheer savagery, surpassed even the conflict in the north-east.

It is, therefore, a moot question as to why things went so drastically wrong between the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Indian state. Why did the Tamil Tigers choose to chart the perilous course of becoming involved in a protracted armed confrontation with the forces of the world's fourth-strongest military power; rather than meekly accept the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and abandon their struggle for Tamil sovereignty? It is important to answer this question, for the unremitting hostility of the Tigers effectively doomed any realistic prospects of the agreement's implementation at the very outset, and set the stage for the unfolding morass in which the proponents of Pax Indica were soon to find themselves hopelessly bogged down.

Prabhakaran's objections to the accord can, for purposes of analytical clarity, be classified into two broad categories. First, the LTTE supremo was greatly incensed at the hush-hush manner in which the accord was drawn up, and then sought to be foisted on the Tamils as a virtual fait accompli.

Prabhakaran, for his part, pointed out that the accord did not fulfill a single one of the four 'cardinal principles' laid down at Thimphu. It did not explicitly recognise the Tamils as a nationality (but only as an 'ethnic group', neither here nor there), failed to concede that the north and east constituted the traditional homeland of the

Tamils alone, among all the peoples of Sri Lanka, and did not grant the Tamils the theoretical right to 'self-determination'.

The Tigers eventually handed over only a fraction of their weapons to the IPKF. The Tigers claimed that they had surrendered 85 per cent of their arsenal. Kadian believes that 'in reality, perhaps 15 per cent of the weapons were handed in'.

THILEEPAN'S DEATH

In the second half of September, tension mounted dangerously, and Tamil public opinion began to turn decisively against the Indian presence, when Amrithalingam Thileepan, 22 year-old LTTE political commissar for Jaffna, went on indefinite hunger strike and fasted to death demanding the immediate implementation of a five-point charter.

Three days after Thileepan's death, on 28th September, the LTTE terms on the constitution of the interim administration were finally conceded, but events were already out of control.

In response, on 10 October, thousands of Indian soldiers, backed by tanks, artillery and helicopter gunships, launched a massive offensive, codenamed 'Operation Pawan' (Wind) against the LTTE in the Jaffna peninsula. The peace-keepers had been transformed into combatants.

BRILLIANT FIGHTERS

But, miraculous as it seemed, the Indian fire power did not succeed in killing off the 'few thousand Tamil activists'. This was certainly not for want of trying. The Indians far outnumbered and outgunned the Tigers, whose core armed force on the peninsula was estimated at between 2,500 and 3,000 (by the end of October, there were 35,000 Indian troops in Jaffna district alone). But the Tigers, under the command of Prabhakaran and his deputy Mahataya, proved brilliant in com-

bat, employing with great dexterity and effectiveness a mixture of conventional and guerrilla tactics against their vastly superior foe.

Not a single high-ranking Tiger leader had been killed or captured in course of the offensive. Indeed, the sophistication and tenacity of the LTTE resistance surprised the world, and, as one Indian writer put it, 'though militarily it was a success for the Indian army, the entire exercise will be remembered more for the resistance the guerrillas put up' (Ram 1989: 69).

INDIANS HATED IN LANKA

The Tigers were, after all, local youth who were defending their own homes and communities.

Second, and perhaps even more importantly, the Indian offensive brought a trail of death and destruction to the civilian Tamil population. Shelling and strafing by artillery and helicopter gunships, as well as indiscriminate shootings by frustrated Indian soldiers unattuned to combat, with an elusive insurgent enemy, took a toll of hundreds of Tamil civilian lives. Thus, in course of Operation Pawan, the Indians squandered what had, till then, been the only real asset of their entire intervention in Sri Lanka - they forfeited the goodwill of their populace. Among the Tamils, the sense of betrayal was particularly bitter, since India had, until then, been looked up to and respected much like a benevolent elder brother. For the next two years, and more, the IPKF and the LTTE 'were to carry on a ghostly little war - a war of midnight. The Indian state, however, seemed incapable of, or unwilling to, recognise reality and come to terms with the military strength and mass support of the Tiger Movement. Its sole policy response to the stalemate was singularly unimaginative, as well as completely ineffective - pumping in more and more military

power in a facile effort to 'saturate' the north-east with armed men. A leading Indian defence analyst, Ravi Rikhye, writing in the *Economic and Political Weekly* in March 1989, estimated the peak IPKF combat strength in the Tamil region at some 102,000 to 105,000 men, a military commitment comparable in scale to that of the United States in Vietnam, the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, and Vietnam in Cambodia (Rikhye 1989: 606). This figure represented 10 per cent of India's total standing army of 1.1 million personnel.

The obdurate and unrealistic Indian stance outlines above stemmed, it seems, from a serious and persistent underestimation of the political will and determination of the LTTE leadership and rank-and-file, and their ability to go on waging a 'protracted people's war' against a foreign army that was daily making itself more unpopular by its actions.

INDIAN ARMY ATROCITIES

As the Indian presence wore on, it started to resemble a copybook military occupation much more than the 'peace keeping' enterprise it ostensibly was. Tamil Sri Lanka under IPKF/EPRLF/ENDLFRule was not an easy place to live in. 'Disappearances', kidnappings, mass arrests, incommunicado detention without recourse to any procedure of law whatsoever, widespread torture, countless rapes and sexual assaults on women, hooded informers, wanton destruction of crops and forests in rural areas, a total ban on fishing, and, frequently, random murder of persons suspected of LTTE links all became routine under the 'peace keepers'.

New Delhi dismissed persistent documented reports of grave violations of human rights as LTTE-inspired propaganda. But perhaps the

most eloquent response came from the IPKF commander for Jaffna city, a Brigadier Kahlon, who informed concerned members of the press: 'The Indian army are not angels. We are not devils either. We are just human. Rape happens even in the West. Massacres, too, became increasingly common: on 2 August, 1989, in an especially ghastly incident, dubbed 'India's My Lai' by the international media, an IPKF unit murdered 71 unarmed civilians in Velvetthurai, Prabhakaran's hometown and a known LTTE stronghold, in reprisal for a Tiger ambush that had killed seven Indian soldiers and wounded 11.

Even the Indian 'free' press, which, on the whole, had uncritically supported the intervention, seemed to belatedly realise the ground realities prevailing in the Tamil region.

PREMADASA ADMITS INDIA'S FAILURE

On 1 June 1989, Premadasa publicly declared that he desired the last Indian soldier to be out of Sri Lanka by 29 July, the second anniversary of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord. The Tamils had already consigned the agreement to the dustbin of history, and now the Sinhalese were about to do the same. Premadasa's somewhat intemperate proclamation caused much resentment in Indian official circles, and touched off a diplomatic crisis of sorts between the governments of the two countries. But the fact was that under the terms of the accord, the IPKF was in Sri Lanka at the express invitation of the head of that country's 'democratic government', and once Premadasa had issued them with marching orders, they had absolutely no alternative, under international law, but to comply. However, the precipitate ejection of the IPKF by the 29 July deadline would have been an unacceptable and disastrous humiliation for the

government of Prime Minister Gandhi in and election year - parliamentary elections were due in India by December 1989. So the Indian regime browbeat its Sri Lankan counterpart into accepting a token withdrawal of some 600 JPKF personnel by the 29 July deadline. Despite such futile attempts to cushion the shock, it was increasingly evident that the Indian state's misadventure in Sri Lanka was all but over. In September 1989, a ceasefire between the LTTE and the Indian army finally came into force, and by 31 March, 1990, the last of the Indian units left Sri Lanka. As early as May of 1988, an Indian political commentator had urged: "Let us pull out in honour before we are forced to do in disgrace" (Krishna 1990: 113).

The folly of the regime in New Delhi had ensured that when the Indian army finally did pull out of Sri Lanka, its exit was celebrated by Sinhalese and Tamils alike. The Indian disaster had been multi-dimensional - military, political, diplomatic.

The Indian state's fiasco in Sri Lanka, therefore, seems to indicate yet

again that there are serious limits to the efficacy of big power intervention in the internal conflicts of smaller and weaker countries, especially when the intervening power does not sufficiently take into account the dynamics and configurations of domestic politics in the country in question. **New Delhi's imperial project in its backyard had ended in ignoble failure and defeat.**

As a triumphant Velupillai Prabhakaran declared on 1 April 1990:

The termination of the Indian intervention is a grand victory for our struggle.... For more than two years we fought a ruthless war, shedding our blood, against a formidable military force, a mighty power in Asia.... It is a tragedy that the Government of India completely disregarded the political aspirations, interests and security concerns of our people.... who have long suffered oppression.... this was the Himalayan blunder made by India, and she has learnt a bitter historical lesson for such a misguided policy.... (LTTE 1990b).

It appears evident, then, that the

Indian state failed to take the political force and mass appeal of Tamil nationalism seriously. But where does this 'determination', this 'political reality' of Tamil nationalism, spring from? How did it arise? And did the Indian state, through its intervention against the Tamils, make any contribution to its consolidation among the masses of the Tamil people? The Tiger army grew from 4,000 to 10,000 fighters between 1987 and 1990, despite high casualty-rates.

ELAM BECOMES REALITY

Thus, it was totally uncompromising armed struggle, according to this line of analysis, that paid dividends. Along with the conviction that armed resistance was a viable prospect, indeed the only prospect, came an intensified commitment to the ideal of a sovereign Eelam as the only decisive solution to the Tamil predicament.

By 1990, thanks, in no small measure, to the combined exertions of New Delhi and Colombo, the Tamil nation had indeed become a 'political reality'. (Pages 130 to 174). ■

Brahmin-Bania press is our Enemy No.1

D.K. KHAPARDE, EDITOR, "MULNIVASI TIMES", 263-NANDANVAN COLONY, AURANGABAD, MS-431 002

There is no doubt now, that the level of awakening has increased among the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Caste and converted Minorities, during the last decade or so. With this growing awakening, there is realisation among them about the dubious role of Indian press media in suppressing the emerging social forces in the country. But still these section, who are termed as *Mulnivasi Bahujan Samaj*, do not consider the Indian press media as their No.1 Enemy. This is the question on which, all those who are genuinely interested in the movement of the Bahujan Samaj must ponder over.

Why the Bahujan Samaj do not consider the press as their No.1 Enemy? Many people (politicians, social workers and thinkers) of Bahujan Samaj say many things about the press, some say it is a toilet paper,

some name it in other words. We have named it as a Brahmin-Bania press, because this terminology enables us to link it with the No.1 Enemy of Bahujan Samaj i.e. Brahmins.

As Brahmins and brahminism is No.1 Enemy of the Bahujan Samaj, naturally, the weapons and tactics they use to suppress us, should also be our enemy.

As the press media is a very powerful weapon, being used by Brahmins and their associates (Kshatriyas and Banias) against us. Hence this weapon has also become No.1 Enemy of the Bahujan Samaj.

Gandhi created media: But this is not the only reason to declare the Indian press media as the No.1 Enemy. The present Indian press media is actually a creation of the Brahmins-Banias. **The brain and pen**

of the Brahmins and the money of the Banias that control today the Indian press.

M.K. Gandhi, created this media, during pre Independence days, when he found that the British press media is not giving publicity to his movement of political independence (of the ruling castes).

Since then, the Brahmins, Banias and as a whole, the ruling castes have nurtured, developed and grown the Indian press to use it, to retain their harmony and domination over the power structure of the country. And that is the main reason, why this press is playing a role to suppress emergence of social forces.

It will be impossible for the 15% ruling castes to retain their control over power in a democratic setup but for the role of the Indian press.

In the two write-ups published in this issue, the role of the press media, its strategy and tactics are exposed

very clearly.

Identify the enemy: If you want to run the movement, especially the movement of social revolt, you must identify your enemy very clearly. We have identified Brahmins, brahminism and their weapons as our enemy.

Hence we have said and affirm that Brahmins and Brahmin-Bania press is the Enemy No.1 of the Bahujan Samaj. But this is not sufficient. When we say them as our No.1 Enemy, we must develop our own strategy to counter the enemy.

From this angle we are conducting a national campaign from 1994, to expose the Indian press media and its role. This campaign will be continued. But the ultimate solution lies in building our own press media, the press media of the Bahujan Samaj. Let us march in this direction. (Editorial June 95).

Aryans ruling us only because of the power of press

We congratulate Brother Khoparde for the above Editorial and fully endorse every word of what he has said.

As one who has served this very same Brahmin-Bania press (*Indian Express*) for 25 years in Bombay, Delhi and Bangalore, we know the dangerous anti-national and anti-social role played by what we contemptuously call this as the "national" left papers. Most cantankerous Hindu nazi elements have taken to this trade of journalism with the sole aim of suppressing and distorting truth and selling picturesque falsehood.

It is rotten top to bottom.

Power of the press: If this muscle minority of Aryan/upper castes are so confidently ruling us today, it is solely because of this power of press. They have covered up all their crimes only because this monopoly press.

If the over 85% of the deprived Bahujans remain enslaved it is because they blindly believe every word of

this jaundiced gutter journalism.

This writer has to read 10 English dailies a day to find out the truth, reading between the lines.

We don't think any journal in India has written so much on the havoc played by this Brahmin-Bania press as we have done.

For the past 15 years we have been running a crusade against these manipulative mind-manipulators. Our last Editorial was of Jan.1, 1994: **"Wanted a media centre to educate Bahujan Samaj".**

Blind politicians: We personally went round the country 2-3 times. Met all the leaders of the Bahujans. But we are sorry to say that our leaders, our intellectuals simply do not understand, much less appreciate, the importance of media. Bahujan Samaj political leaders have the money but, brainwashed by the parliamentary vote politics, they have become blind.

They think media is not their priority. Their priority is power.

"Once we capture power, setting up our own media is a peacut", they say.

We are fed up with such foolish replies. We have stopped talking to such vote politicians.

Political power is not given but taken. Will the Aryans give us power on a silver plate?

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said: "History bears out the proposition that political revolutions have always been preceded by social and religious revolutions". (*Writings and Speeches, Annihilation of Caste*, Vol.1, p.43).

Our Bahujan Samaj political leaders and even intellectuals must give a serious thought to Brother Khoparde's warning. Identify this Enemy No.1 and help start our own media to counter this menace.

We congratulate him for identifying the enemy and warning the Bahujans.

With our 40 years of experience in this line, we are here to support any such venture -

EDITOR.

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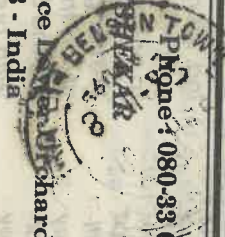
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