

DALIT VOICE

LIBRARY
INDIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE
24, BENSON ROAD,
BENSON TOWN
BANGALORE - 560 048

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

Vol.17

November 16 - 30, 1997

No.1

- As DV enters 17th year, we are deeply worried: Threat of Hindu nazi dictatorship
- SC/ST seniority in promotions
- Without media *avarnas* can defeat brahminism

- "Sacred Brahmins" turning Gandhi admirers

Debate on jati identity

- Benefits of caste consolidation
- Malas, Mahars, Holeyas are same
- Bid to destory Devendra identity

Editor & Publisher: V.T.RAJSHEKAR
Representatives:
Madras: DALIT EZHILMALAI
Calicut: V. PRABHAKARAN
Vijayawada: K.VIJAYA RAJU
Bangalore: Dr. N. SIRAJUDDIN
United States: RUMOKO RASHIDI
A. PATRICK
Circulation:
Production Editor: M.GOPINATH
Sales & Distribution: HEMLATA

- Debate on "Curse of Alloh"
- Tribals protest burning of Ravana
- Elavvas must fight back "creamy layer theory"
- Dr. Ambedkar on greatness of English

Hindu injustice can be resisted only by empowering the Dalits: Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

The Harijan Sevak Sangh would have been of great use if it had helped the Untouchables to organize independent political parties to fight the elections and make their political power effective. Nor can I accept the statement of Mr. Gandhi and his Secretary that the Sangh has no politics. On the contrary I insist that not only the Sangh has a definite line of politics and that that line of politics is wrong because it is prejudicial to the cause of the Untouchables.

Since Mr. Gandhi does not admit that the Sangh has politics, one must go to circumstances for proof. Circumstantial proof is always better than oral testimony because as is well said man may lie but circumstances cannot. In this connection I want to rely upon a clause in their constitution of the Sangh as a piece of evidence in support of my contention. The clause relates to the means to be adopted by the Sangh for removing untouchability and for securing equal rights to the Untouchables along with the Caste Hindus. The clause reads as follows:

"That no compulsion is to be used for securing rights, but that peaceful persuasion is to be adopted as the only means."

This is a basic principle of the Sangh. It has struck me as strange and I am sure it will strike all others as strange. I want to ask the question - Why has the Sangh limited itself to peaceful persuasion of the caste Hindus as the one and the only means of removing untouchability?

Most social reforms, whether religious or rational, seem to imagine that men of power will immediately check their pretensions and their exactions as soon as they have been told that their actions and attitudes are anti-social. But as Prof. Neibhur points out what these reformers overlook is an understanding of the brutal character of the behaviour of all human groups and the power of self interest and collective egoism which dominate all group relations (*Moral Man and Immoral Society/Passim*). They also forget the fact that races, nations and classes are less moral than individuals which compose them and that justice between groups can therefore not be achieved purely by educational means. If conscience and reason can be insinuated into the resulting struggle they can only qualify, never abolish, the injustice. If injustice is to be abolished it must be resisted and when injustice proceeds from collective power, whether in the form of imperialism or class domination, it must be challenged by power. A class entrenched behind its established power can never be dis-

Hindu injustice can be resisted only by empowering the Dalits

lodged unless power is raised against it. That is the only way of stopping the exploitation of the weak by strong.

Why has Mr. Gandhi and the Harijan Sevak Sangh limited their means of resistance to the Caste Hindu domination to peaceful persuasion? Why do they not resist the injustice of the Caste Hindus by direct action? I can understand that in organizing resistance which will not injure, the problem is to find forms of resistance which will not destroy the meagre resources for rational and moral action which groups do possess. But there can be no difficulty on that account. Satyagraha or passive resistance has been found by Mr. Gandhi as a form of resistance is morally beyond cavil. Why does not Mr. Gandhi ask the Sangh to launch Satyagraha by the Untouchables against the Caste Hindus for the abolition of the injustices against the Untouchables. He asked the people of India to offer Satyagraha against British Imperialism. Why does he not want to use the same means against the caste Hindus in the interests of the Untouchables?

What is the answer of Mr. Gandhi to this question? The only answer I can see is that it comes in the way of his politics. Mr. Gandhi must remain at the head of the nation. I wonder if life would be worthwhile to him if for some reason he ceased to be at the head of the nation. He is, I think, the most ambitious politician. I know, he regards as his rivals those whom he calls as friends. To be at the head of the nation means that he must preserve the integrity of the Congress. **The Congress is ninety nine per cent composed of Hindus. How can Gandhi succeed in maintaining the integrity of the Congress if he were to direct the Sangh to carry on Satyagraha against the Hindus for the sake of the Untouchables?** The Hindus would leave the Congress and the Congress would disrupt. This is detrimental to the interests of Mr. Gandhi. This is the explanation why Mr. Gandhi and the Sangh have adopted peaceful persuasion as the only means of removing untouchability. It is a means which is least likely to hurt the Hindus and the Congress. Not only in big matters but even in small matters the Sangh is careful to see that the Hindus are not hurt or annoyed. I am told that in distributing scholarships for instance the Sangh makes inquiries into the political affiliations of the applicant and if it is found that the applicant belongs to a community which is against the Congress or the Hindus, he gets no aid from the funds of the Sangh. (*To be continued*)

Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 5, (pages 374-376) 1989. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

As DV enters 17th year of publication, we are deeply worried: Threat of Hindu nazi dictatorship

India's ruling class is overjoyed over the developments in UP that brought its blue-eyed boy, *Brahmana Jati Party*, to power and the Dalit-President Narayanan's intervention to save it.

The developments are a clear victory to the rulers and a big setback to the Bahujans. The ruling upper castes, like the devil quoting the scriptures, are citing all sorts of court verdicts and quoting "legal experts" in their support. We know the caste background of these judges and the "legal experts" and why they are rushing to prop up their favourite BJP because a Hindu believes what he wants to believe.

Short-lived joy: The upper caste Aryan rulers are happy and their "national" toilet papers are going gaga over this victory. But we can assure them that their joy will be short-lived because the BJP is bound to collapse due to its own caste contradictions within the party. This is one side of the story. Now, the more dismal side:

The developments in Lucknow and Delhi on the UP front are yet another proof that the country is racing towards chaos, anarchy.

India has not yet reached the stage of democracy because the very religion the upper caste Aryans profess does not believe in democracy. The Constitution of India may describe India as a democracy but India's rulers do not believe in democracy which can take shape only on the foundations of equality and fraternity. Brahminism does not believe in both equality and fraternity and as long as the oppressed Bahujans (85%)

are denied equality and fraternity, India can never be a democracy.

Mara-Mari inside UP Assembly: As the entire resources of the society are cornered by a handful of 15% looters and free-booters, and the rest of the society is starved, gagged and fried naked, a conflict and clash is bound to flare up between these upper caste thugs and pindaris. And this is what is happening in UP today.

The Oct. 21 *mara-mari* inside the UP State Assembly proves this. The violence was engineered by the BJP by bringing non-MLAs into the Assembly Hall. And it is they who caused all the violence.

We had written an Editorial itself (DV Aug. 1, 1994) to point out where the country is heading: "Quarrelling as India's most favourite sport: Churchill's prediction comes true".

DV RATES REVISED

It is now three years since we revised DV prices. The last one came into force from Nov. 16, 1994 as DV entered the 14th year.

From Nov. 16, 1997, DV will be entering the 17th year of publication and it is time we go in for another revision.

Our readers know the reasons. Prices of every commodity in India from pin to plane are revised every third month. Yet we resisted all compulsions and even suggestions from some readers to revise the rates.

So from Nov. 16, 1997, DV rates will be revised as follows:

1. *Individual copy: from Rs. 6 to Rs. 7*
 2. *Annual subscription: from Rs. 125 to Rs. 150*
 3. *Overseas subscription: from US \$ 40 to 50*
- Overseas subscribers will henceforth get DV enclosed in open covers.*

We post DV copies regularly on the 9th and 24th of every month at the GPO, Bangalore - 1.

- PUBLISHERS.

Day-light murder of democracy: Even before equality and fraternity are achieved, the upper caste rulers have murdered this mere paper democracy.

If the BJP comes to power even in Delhi, its "Sacred Brahmin" leadership will be the first to stab democracy in the stomach, kill it in a day-light murder, and impose their favourite Hindu nazi dictatorship.

That is why we have repeatedly said that the BJP, the party of honest "Sacred Brahmins", is any day better than the Congress, the party of dishonest, cut-throat "Socialist Brahmins" headed by M.K. Gandhi.

Muslims & the cobra: BJP is a deadly, poisonous cobra. And what will happen if the cobra bites,

everybody knows. The Muslims know it too well. And after the Babri Masjid demolition, others too have come to know of the cobra.

That means BJP is our honest enemy. And an honest enemy is any day better than a dishonest friend.

Future is gloomy. Political crisis has further worsened the economic crisis. The 50-year-long Aryan rule has been a curse on India.

Most violent election coming: And if this govt. of Punjabi Khatri, the darling of upper castes, collapses in Delhi in the midst of this terrible confusion, we may have to see a mid-term poll which may be the country's most violent election.

Till now the upper caste armed forces leadership has been outwardly neutral though in Kashmir, North East, Punjab and Lanka, it did display its upper caste fang and fury.

Hindu nazi atrocities on Tribals

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: How systematically the Hindu nazis are going ahead with "hinduising" (enslaving) the Untouchables and Tribals of India is outlined in the following report:

DOCUMENTARY ON ADIVASI CONVERSION

Mumbai: Ms. Padmavathi Rao and Ranjan Kamath, the wife-husband team, has come out with a 117-minute feature documentary film, "Fishers of Men", to tell the tale of conversion of the Adivasis of Sarguja and Raigarh districts of Madhya Pradesh and their re-conversion.

The film revolves round the "Operation Ghar Vapasi", a campaign launched by the Rajya Sabha member of the BJP, Dilip Singh Judev, scion of the royal family of Jashpur in the region.

This is widespread "re-conversion" of Christian Tribals to Hinduism with the active support of the Varvasi Kalyan Ashram, a front organisation of the Sangh Parivar.

The film juxtaposes the RSS-VHP view that the Christian missionaries are converting the Tribals to the Christianity with allurements and force not only with a view to spreading Christianity but also to promote secessionism, with the Christian and progressive opinion that generations of Tribals had made tremendous social progress and the combination of education and Christianity has helped the Tribals establish their alternate identity, unnering the Hindu fundamentalists. (*Hindu*, Oct. 23, 1997).

In Dumka, Bihar, the Hindu nazis, recently stripped a Roman Catholic priest, Fr. Christudas, made him naked and paraded him on the highway because as the

If a mid-term poll is forced even the army leadership may intervene to tilt the balance in favour of the BJP and impose the Hindu nazi dictatorship.

The rulers are doing things in a planned way but the leadership of the oppressed 85% Bahujans is getting caught unawares. No conscious effort is being made by us to fight back and retain the hard-won freedom and India's democratic structure.

We are not worried about what the rulers are doing. Because they are doing what they have planned and promised. We are only worried about our own indifference, this lethargy, this utter callousness, this stupidity, this lack of vision.

As we step into the 17th year of DV publication, we are deeply worried. (Oct. 23, '97). ■

principal of a Christian school he was maintaining discipline, not allowing room for nazi infiltration. False charges were made on the priest and he was arrested. The Hindu upper caste rulers of India are simply silent about such nazi atrocities on innocent Tribals. The upper caste Church leadership is also silent. ■

SC/ST seniority in promotions upheld

Mumbai: A three-judge bench of the Supreme Court has recently held that promotion of candidates in reserved category is a fundamental right. If a candidate from the reserved category (SC/ST) is promoted earlier than a general category candidate, he steals a march over the latter and gets seniority over him, they ruled in a case. The case was filed when a general category govt. servant from Haryana, Jagdish Lal, was denied promotion although SC/ST candidates were promoted. He appealed to the Haryana High Court against this "discrimination", contending that there was no provision in Article 16 (4) of the Constitution for a backward class candidate to claim seniority over him. The Haryana High Court rejected this argument and he appealed to the Supreme Court which upheld the lower court verdict.

With the pronouncing of this judgement, conflicting opinions on the vexed issue given by different high courts have now been resolved.

Hence, a SC/ST candidate who supersedes a general category one is clearly senior to the latter in the promoted cadre. (*Times of India*, Sept. 10). ■

DV family honours Vasant Moon: Editor of Dr. Ambedkar works

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Vasant Moon, the eminent Editor of the monumental works, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches*, being published by the Govt. of Maharashtra was felicitated on Oct. 19 at a simple function here by the *Dalit Voice* editorial team and readers.

Swatantra Rao, IAS, Principal Secretary to the Govt. of Karnataka, Dept. of Forests, and an Ambedkarite, presided over the function arranged by the Dalit Human Rights Forum, Bangalore. Mrs. Meenakshi Moon was also felicitated.

Vasant Moon, also an eminent Marathi writer, has so far edited 15 volumes of *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches* and the 16th volume is about to be released. The 17th is in the press. Besides, he has also edited and published the *Source Materials* and Dr. Ambedkar's two Marathi journals, *Mook Nayak* and *Bahishkrut Bharat*.

V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, who delivered the felicitation speech said: "It was a great day for the *Dalit Voice* family and the people of Bangalore because we have been long feeling guilty that we have not done anything to repay the debt to a person who brought to light the historic writings and speeches of Dr. Ambedkar".

Simple man but solid scholar: All the 15 thick volumes of Babasaheb and other works were kept on display at the function.

The Editor in his speech pointed at these volumes and asked: "Has anybody written so many books in India - that too on subjects so varied like religion, philosophy, sociology, history, constitutional law, political science and economics etc? Can anybody have mastery over so many subjects?"

The person behind such a great project, historic works, is Vasant Moon, a very simple man, unassuming man but a solid scholar on Babasaheb's thoughts.

It is these burning thoughts of Babasaheb that revolutionised India's Untouchables and made them angry. Not one of this book would have seen the light of the day if this person was not selected for this project (*cheers*).

Meenakshi inspiration: That means the entire credit for unearthing the writings of Babasaheb, particularly the unpublished materials, goes only to the Vasant Moon. And not only the entire country but the world

outside must be grateful to Vasant Moon and his wife Meenakshi for standing by him. Meenakshi is not only the inspiration but also the instigator behind her husband's achievements. (*cheers*).

"Therefore, as the Editor of *Dalit Voice* and speaking on behalf of our family world-wide, I want to tell you that Vasant Moon's contributions, his services have been recognised and recorded by history. Like Babasaheb, you too have joined history and have become part of history." (*cheers*).

But the Editor expressed his regret that the people of India and its upper caste govt. have not been grateful to this great person.

"Forget about the country and its govt., even Ambedkarites have not sufficiently paid back the debt they owe to Vasant Moon. Had he been an upper caste writer, the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) would have carried him on the head and paraded him. They would have made him a celebrity."

The upper castes and their media will never, ever recognise the greatness and the merit of anybody outside their charmed circle.

So, we are not surprised over this conspiracy of silence on Vasant Moon, he said.

"What is deeply paining me is the indifference, if not total ignorance, displayed by our own people, particularly the Ambedkarites. This is something unpardonable", he said. Even some Dalits telephoned us asking: Who is this Vasant Moon? What a tragedy!

Unless and until we recognise and honour our own people, who have done great service to the community, the community as such will not command respect. When we honour Moon we are actually honouring ourselves.

Ambedkar foundation lapse: We thought the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation, New Delhi set up by the Govt. of India, would confer upon him a "National Award" but this Foundation has on its board all anti-Ambedkarite upper castes, and that is why the Awards mostly go to anti-Ambedkarites.

We can never expect this govt. to recognise and honour genuine Ambedkarites like Moon. Because this is not our govt.

So, deeply worried over the total neglect of a great living Ambedkarite by the country, its govt. and even

by the Dalits and more so by the Ambedkarite, we ourselves decided to arrange a function to felicitate Vasant Moon in Delhi. And we had written a letter to Moon on this subject.

As we were planning it, Moon himself suddenly arrived in Bangalore and we decided to hold this small, simple function at a very short notice.

The Editor said: "It is very easy to become a leader. Because constitutional reservations and Dalit vote bank have given Dalits vast scope. We have today hundreds of such leaders. But I can tell you even if you put all these leaders together you can't make one Vasant Moon." (*cheers*).

Three Commandments: Babasaheb's Three Commandments are "Educate, Agitate, Organise". Our leaders have forgotten the very first Commandment of Babasaheb, and they jumped to "agitation" and "organisation" and that is how they became leaders. But leaders come and go. Nobody remembers them. That is why after Babasaheb, we could not produce a second Babasaheb. This is because our leaders do not go through the exercise of "Educate", then "Agitate" and then only build the "Organisation".

Risky job: We in the *Dalit Voice* have confined ourselves to "educating" the Dalits and Bahujans. That is why we have no rivals in this field today. Nor will there be a rival tomorrow also because those who want to be leaders do not enter our field.

Because "educating" Dalits and awareness-building is a very difficult job, a risky job. So nobody comes to this field. We have no competitor in the whole country. None in the past 20 years. (*cheers*).

Same is the case with Vasant Moon. He is confining to the first Commandment: Educate. If he had strayed into "agitation" and "organise", he could have easily become a leader. But this historic achievement would not have been possible.

So, we of the *Dalit Voice* family are grateful to Vasant Moon for his great services. And hope we will have many more years of his services to complete the task assigned to him. Because of the efforts of Vasant Moon, we have plenty of literature of Babasaheb.

Dust-bin of history: No leader of India, no mahatma has written so many books. That is why in *Dalit Voice* we have said Indian history was thrown all other leaders into dust-bin.

"Babasaheb alone stands tall, erect and threatening the rulers". (*cheers*).

Dr. Ambedkar Era: In DV, we have predicted that with the end of the 20th century, this cursed *Gandhi-yug*,

will come to an end and the 21st century shall be the "Dr. Ambedkar Era". And to achieve this "Dr. Ambedkar Era", Vasant Moon's contributions are the greatest.

And, that is why the *Dalit Voice* family is grateful to Moon and we assure him a permanent place in history.

The Editor called upon the Ambedkarites of Karnataka to invite Vasant Moon and his wife again and arrange a whole-day function to felicitate him in a fitting way and then followed by a day-long seminar on the burning thoughts of Babasaheb who is already hailed as the "Father of India."

Earlier M. Gopinath, convener of the Dalit Human Rights Forum, said the Dalits who embraced Buddhism followed neither the *Hinayana* nor *Mahayana* but "Bhinyana" Buddhism.

Forum for New Literatures

**SEMINAR ON DALIT STUDIES:
CALL FOR PAPERS**

The Forum for New Literatures, Dept. of English, University of Calicut, Kerala, is conducting a **Seminar on Dalit Studies** between Tuesday Feb.17 and Thursday Feb.19, 1998.

The theme will be "Dalit Culture & Literature". Papers on any subject related to Dalit/Aboriginal studies will be considered, but we would particularly welcome proposals relating to any of the following:

- Dalit Culture & Literature*
- Dalit History*
- Dalit & Constitution*
- Dalit & Education*
- Dalit & Media*
- Dalit & Politics*
- Dalit & Women*
- Minorities & Human Rights*

We also welcome papers of an interdisciplinary nature. Abstracts (approximately 200 words) of proposed papers of 15-20 minutes duration should be sent to the Director by Oct.30, 1997 and the text of the papers by Dec.15, 1997.

Director:

Dr. M. Dasan,
Dept. of English, University of Calicut - 673 635,
Kerala, India

Tel: Office: 0493-800 284
Resi: 0495-357 268
Fax: 0495-700 361.

Without own media, avarnas can't win war against brahminism

Speech delivered while inaugurating India's first "Avarna Writers and Journalists Conference", at Patna, Bihar, on Sept. 28, 1997.

Mr. Bhoja Prasad Singh, chairman of the reception committee, Mr. Tekriwal, Finance Minister of Bihar, Dr. Ramachandra Purvey, Education Minister, A.K. Biswas, delegates from UP, Bihar, Orissa, W. Bengal, AP, Delhi etc., ladies and gentlemen, Jai Bhim.

I am highly honoured by this invitation to inaugurate India's first "Avarna Writers and Journalists Conference" being held here today and tomorrow.

As a writer and journalist from the avarna varg, I am in touch with the whole country and as far as my knowledge goes I have not heard of any such conference held anywhere in India on such a big scale. That too at a time when the varna and avarna contradictions have very much sharpened and a virtual war has begun in the country.

The most significant thing about this "Avarna Sahitya Conference" is that such an event is taking place in Bihar, the country's most revolutionary state, which has witnessed many a "varna yudh" (racial war) leading to tremendous social change in the country.

MEANING OF VARNA

Before I go into the details of this varna yudh, I will have to explain the meaning of the term varna.

This is necessary because India's ruling class and its media are maintaining a strict secrecy on this word varna.

There is a sort conspiracy of silence on the varna. No discussion takes place in our press on varna because

it is a very inconvenient subject. Varna simply means colour in Sanskrit. The opposite of varna is avarna.

ARYAN INVENTION

The Aryan invaders introduced this varna concept to India. As the Aryans were fair-skinned they called themselves varna people and dubbed the dark-skinned Dravidas and Adi-Dravidas as avarna and dirty.

In other words, Aryans are varna people and the Dravidas or the pre-Aryan original inhabitants are avarna.

This concept of differentiating or discriminating against a particular set of people on the basis of skin colour is popularly known in Western countries as racism.

Blacks in America, now called Afro-Americans, think that the White Americans are racists because they are victimised, enslaved on the basis of skin colour. They have been always criticising the White Western people as the founders of racism in the world.

When I told them that the White Western people are not its founders but India's Aryan varna people are the founding-fathers of racism in the world, they were shocked.

I have written a book, titled *Brahminism - Father of Racism, Fascism, Nazism* (Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1994). The book along with many of our publications are kept outside for sale.

This book shocked the West and particularly the Blacks and today we

in the *Dalit Voice* have a fairly good circulation among the Blacks in US and elsewhere.

To repeat, Indian Aryan brahminical upper castes are the founding-fathers of racism - varna - in the world. And racism, which is the most serious problem confronting the US, was exported from India.

As I have no time I can't elaborate on this subject and those interested may read our books for details.

AVARNA POPULATION

The significance of this conference is that it is a conference of avarnas, meaning those who do not believe in the varna dwesha (race hatred). Dark-skinned Dravidas, who today are called the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Castes, are all avarnas.

I will tell you their population figures which again is kept a top secret.

SC	20%
ST	10%
BC	35%
Total	65%

To this must be added.

Muslims	15%
Sikhs	2.5%
Christians	2.5%
Total	20%

Out of the 20%, there may be some savarna (or alien) converts to Islam, Christianity and Sikhism.

These Savarna Muslims, Savarna Sikhs and Savarna Christians are also oppressing the avarna Mus-

lms, *avarana* Christians and *avarana* Sikhs.

On the whole the *avaranas* become 65%+20% = Total 85%.

CONFUSION IN HINDI BELT

That means the *avarana* people constitute a formidable 85% of India's population.

The remaining 15% are the *varna* people - racists. But even among the *varna* people there may be considerable number of people who are not racists but our supporters.

Before identifying our supporters among the *varna* people, we must first know who are these *varna* people. Because there is good lot of confusion about the *varna* people particularly in the Hindi belt. The *varna* people are as follows:

- (1) Brahmins
- (2) Kshatriyas
- (3) Vaishyas
- (4) Shudras

Total 15%

These above four *varnas* constitute the *chaturvarna* - which means caste system which is the other word for racism.

As far as Brahmins are concerned, there is no difference of opinion. They constitute an identifiable group. Brahmins are the founding-fathers of brahminism which is the other word for caste system or racism. They are the greatest defenders of racism and founding-fathers of racism.

There is no confusion regarding the Kshatriyas or Vaishyas.

THE PROBLEM OF SHUDRAS

The problem comes only with the Shudras.

People in the Hindi belt mistakenly think that SC/ST/B/Cs are Shudras.

No. SC/ST/B/Cs are not shudras.

The moment you say you are a Shudra, you come under the *chaturvarna*.

SC/ST/B/Cs are outcastes - meaning outside the caste system. They are casteless people.

But there are so many Shudras who are willing to join with us. Because they are also victims of *varna*.

Why the Shudras, though part of the *varna* system, are also hated by the Brahmins and others?

This is because they are not *dwijias* - twice-born. Shudras have no right to wear the "sacred thread" because the Shudras are born out of the Brahmin or Kshatriya, Vaishya union with SC/ST/B/C women.

So they are condemned as *adwijias* and also hated. The Shudras are hated by the Brahmins and other Hindus much more than the SC/ST/B/Cs.

H.D. Deve Gowda, our former Prime Minister, is a Shudra. He belongs to the Vokkaliga farming community of Karnataka. Chandra Babu Naidu, Chief Minister of AP, is a Shudra - hated by the Brahmins.

Your own Jaya Prakash Narayan was a shudra belonging to the Kayasth caste.

AVARNA RULE SOON

And the Shudras form 75% of the *varna* order. At least 50% of the Shudras will come with us in our "*varna yudh*".

And even from among the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, we have many persons with good heart. For example, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, V.P. Singh, etc.

In other words, the *avarana* people are a big majority - above 90% of India's population.

And democracy means majority rule. And we constitute the majority. And the *avarana* rule shall come. And

we will be the rulers. (*cheers*).

I am thankful to the organisers of this conference for launching such a *varna yudh* from the soil of Bihar.

GREATNESS OF BIHAR

Bihar is the most revolutionary state in the whole of India because every *varna yudh* began from here. (*cheers*).

Mahavir Jain, Budha, Guru Govind Singh, Jagdeo Prasad, Jaya-prakash Narayan, Karpoori Thakur and finally Labo Prasad Yadav are all from Bihar and waged tremendous *varna yudh* against this upper caste racism and all them can be called as great people. (*cheers*).

And today you have taken yet another revolutionary step by organising this *Avarna* Writers Conference, which you have asked a humble person like me to inaugurate and I am doing this work with great pleasure. I feel highly honoured by your gesture. And that is why I have come all the way from Bangalore.

VARNA YUDH NOT PHYSICAL WAR

I will be failing in my duty if I don't explain the meaning and method of this "*varna yudh*".

This war against *varna* people, that is the Aryan brahminical forces, is not a physical war.

The *varna* people are so small in number and as grass-eaters, so physically weak, we need not use physical force to fight them. (laughter).

Not only that. Brahminism or *brahmanvad* is not a thing, a physical object, which can be identified, caught and fought.

If it is an individual or a group of people we can tackle them. Brahminism does not mean the Brahmin - though he is the founding-father of the philosophy of

brahminism, if it can be called a philosophy.

CLASH OF IDEAS

Brahminism is an idea. An idea can't be caught and caged. And an idea has to be fought with a counter-idea.

Theirs is the *varna* idea and ours is the *avarana* idea. It is a clash of ideas. Brahmins and other *varna* people need not get worried that immediately after this conference, the *varna yudh* will begin. (laughter).

HOW SIKHS FAILED

What we mean by the *varna yudh* is clash of ideas.

When the Sikhs in Punjab started their *varna yudh* against brahminism in 1981-82 under the leadership of Sant Bhindranwale, I told him not to fight the *brahmanvad* with guns. But he did not listen to me. Sikhs launched a physical war with guns against the *varna* people and that was how they failed.

I wrote an Editorial itself analysing the causes for the failure of the Sikh War against brahminism and advised them that brahminism could not be fought and finished that way. A dangerous, poisonous idea like brahminism has to be fought with a counter-idea and we have that idea and we are ready to assist the Sikhs.

TADA ARREST

The brahminical forces, who have many eyes and ears, quickly realised the danger of my offer to Sikhs and I was arrested under the TADA. The police came all the way from Punjab, hand-cuffed me, arrested and took me to the Chandigarh Jail. However, within 15 days I was released with an apology from the then Governor of Punjab, Siddharth Shankar Ray and Union Home Minister Buta Singh.

Why I was so quickly released because an Ambedkarite idea was about to join hands with the Sikhs and the rulers realised the danger of the unity of these two.

The point I am making is that *brahmanvad* cannot be fought with guns and bombs. *Brahmanvad* is an idea that is spreading poison. And this poison has to be fought and cured with a counter-idea and we have gathered here today to discuss that idea.

I have spoken too long and I must conclude after outlining what should be the objective of the conference. What should be our agenda?

AUTHORITY ON BRAHMINISM

Brahminical forces all over India and their party BJP, which we call as *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) and its controlling authority, RSS, which we call as the Hindu Nazi Party, they all have certified that I am an authority on brahminism.

Many of them and even foreign scholars come to me to consult on *brahmanavad*. I have written four books on this subject.

To fight and finish these anti-national, fascist, destructive forces is a very simple work and we have the weapon. We have the medicine.

And our medicine has worked and cured hundreds and thousands of patients and those who have been cured have themselves admitted that they have been cured.

What then is this medicine?

The problem with me is that the medicine is so simple, cheap, effective and readily available, the *avarana* leadership, the victims of brahminism, is not understanding the importance of it and the urgent need for possessing it.

What then is this magic medicine?

POWER OF MEDIA

I have spent 25 years in the *Indian Express* in different positions in Bombay, Delhi and finally in Bangalore. Later on, I have been the Editor of *Dalit Voice* for the past 17 years.

In all, I have almost a half-century of experience in journalism. I know almost all Editors and I read their dailies and journals.

If brahminism is surviving today as a dangerous, deadly poison and if the brahminical people are ruling today as the ruling class, it is solely because of the power of this press.

Today, it is the media that is ruling the country. It is not the govt., the legislature, judiciary or anything that is supreme. It is the media that is ruling India.

The secret of the survival brahminism is the press.

And if all those people who fought brahminism have been finished, if not killed, it is because of this poisonous, casteist, racist press.

There may be some minor exceptions but exceptions do prove the ruler. Laloo Prasad Yadav fell only because of this brahminical media. (loud cheers).

Karpoori Thakur. Dr. Lohia, Devaraj Urs, Dr. Ambedkar were all victims of this very same press. But Laloo Prasad did not fall. He is fighting with his back against the wall. On this historic occasion, I want to pay my tributes to the brave Laloo, who is now in the jail. (loud cheers).

No body in the whole country has fought brahminism as bravely as Laloo among political leaders. (more cheers).

So, on this occasion I have to pay high tributes to his *varna yudh*. (prolonged cheers).

Today, he may be in the jail. I too-

was in the jail. So what? Nothing happened to me. The circulation of my paper got doubled because of my arrest and the "Chandigarh Jail Yatra". I was arrested many times. I may be arrested again, any moment. My passport is impounded since 1986. All this suffering and sacrifice are part of the *varna yudh*. And Laloo's sufferings and sacrifices have made him a national hero. He has become an All-India leader. (*cheers*).

HISTORY CALLING LALOO

What is going on today in Laloo's Bihar is a war between *varna* people and the *avarna* people. And, Laloo can win this war only if he has his own "Media Centre" to support him. And he must enlarge his sphere of activity to the whole country. He must make history and history is calling him.

To assist him in his *varna yudh*, this conference must supply him the medicine, this effective weapon, which we possess. And that medicine is an "Avarna Media Centre" in Delhi.

This conference must pass a res-

olution recommending such a "Media Centre" in Delhi and I will be too glad to support such a venture.

We will work in the sphere of ideas and Laloo can work in the sphere of politics and I can assure you that when we step up our work, the *varna* people will simply run away from the country to America. (*laughter*).

We are so big in number that our side will frighten these racists. Besides the strength of our size, Justice and Truth are also on our side. Besides that, history is also on our side. So, victory is certain.

On the side of ideas, the "Avarna Media Centre" will launch the ideological war. And on the political side, Laloo will launch his *varna* war through parliamentary politics.

But the political war cannot succeed without the support of the media.

Top leaders sitting here will have to understand this point and make good the loss.

"Media Centre" is a must. Then only power will come to us. Power is not given. Power is taken.

Right now, the brahminical forces

are very strong. They have the power. They have everything with them.

CULTURAL REVOLUTION

They will not easily surrender and handover the power on a golden plate.

We will be able to capture political power only if we "educate" our people through a Cultural Revolution. Such a Cultural Revolution will lead to political revolution. Not vice-versa.

The "Media Centre" alone can launch such a Cultural Revolution. And we have all the necessary things to launch such a Revolution. I have spoken too long.

This is because I have tried to analyse every aspect of this historic *varna yudh* which Laloo Prasad Yadav has taken up.

Thank you for your time and patience.

With pride and pleasure, I inaugurate this conference. Jai Bhim.

(DV Edit Oct. 16, 1997: "Laloo's Bihar gets ready for bloody *varna yudh* against Brahminical Social Order").

DASTAVEZ III (Urdu)

Jaber Hussain,
Chairman, Bihar Legislative council.

This is the third in a series of proceedings of the Bihar Legislative Council, detailing the efforts and achievements of the Council in introducing Urdu as the Council's second official language,

the documentation and process of staff appointments from civil service cadres.

Deals with the rights and welfare of the minorities human rights, problems artisans face and solutions for them and art and culture.

The Human Rights Committee of Bihar Legislative Council is the first such committee to be set up by any Legislative body and suggests that in other states also violations of human rights could, with advantage, be similarly brought to the notice of the respective govts.

Published by Urdu Section,
Bihar Legislative Council, Patna-800 001

Jati identity seminar at Trivandrum

K. AMBUJAKSHAN, "BHIM VIHAR", P.O. KARUMPALA
SOUTH, PANDALAM, KERALA - 689 501

As already announced in the DV Edit of Nov. 1, 1997 (p.5): "*Caste identity theory endorsed: Jati as nationality, if not strengthened will destroy India's unity*", we have decided to hold the "jati identity" seminar at Trivandrum on Feb. 14 and 15, 1998. Different caste associations of Kerala including Muslim, Dalit Christian and Latin Catholics may contact us. As we support the strengthening of upper caste Brahmin, Nair and Syrian Christian *jatis* also, they may also approach us. The Editor of *Dalit Voice*, V.T. Rajshekar, who is the architect of the "caste identity theory" will inaugurate the seminar - first of its kind in Kerala. "Caste identity" theory has created tremendous interests in all the *jatis* of Kerala.

मत्स्यब आज्ञादी का



पढ़ लीजिये मेरे चेहरे पर

वाकई जरूरत नहीं आपको कोई कित्ताब पढ़ने की यदि आप जानना चाहते हैं मत्स्यब आज्ञादी का। मुझे मेरी दादी बताती है कि उनके जमाने में शायद ही कोई लड़की जा पाती थी स्कूल। दादी भी नहीं जा पायीं। एक तो लड़कियों को पढ़ाने की जरूरत नहीं समझी जाती थी और फिर स्कूल इतने दूर होते थे कि लड़कियों को स्कूल भेजना ठीक नहीं माना जाता था। लड़कियों की जिंदगी

गुजर जाती थी घर की चहार दीवारी के भीतर। लेकिन फिर आयी आज्ञादी। अपने लोगों की अपनी सरकार। आज्ञादी के साथ आयी आज्ञाद खयाली। लोगों ने तरीका बदला अपने सोचने का। जरूरी मानी जाने लगी लड़कियों की पढ़ाई लिखाई। और अब तो सभी मानने लगे हैं लड़कियों को लड़कों के बराबर। अब हमें भी मिलने लगे हैं। बराबरी के मौके। ये हमारी आज्ञादी है बराबरी की। बराबरी

के मौकों की। ये आज्ञादी है दुनिया के साथ कदम से कदम मिला के चलने की। ये आज्ञादी है अपनी पूरी ताकत से दुनिया के सामने आने की। अपनी बात कहने की। अपनी बात मनवाने की और अपनी कामयाबी पर खुश होने की। यही है आज्ञादी की हमारी कहानी जो पढ़ सकते हैं आप मेरे चेहरे पर। मुझे यकीन है कि कहानी लिखी है हर लड़की के चेहरे पर।



मध्यप्रदेश में आज्ञादी के 50 बरस

Tragedy of "Sacred Brahmins" turning Gandhi admirers

Dr. M.M. KOTHARI, HEAD, DEPT. OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF
JODHPUR (RETD.), 87-AJIT COLONY, JODHPUR, RAJASTHAN

History is a record of events. As a social science, its task becomes complex when it seeks explanations of events of a crucial nature. For example:

Diana died in a motor accident.
Zia died in a plane crash.
Gandhi killed by Godse's bullets.

All these are statement of final "effects" which merely describe the immediate "how" of those events. Scholars and experts get occupied with the "why" behind the events. Laymen may jump to hasty conclusions induced by their in-built complexes or value-systems. Logic, however, prescribes the "Law of Sufficient Reason" to test any explanation and induces us to ask: "Why it should be so rather than otherwise?" In many cases the search may not yield absolutely certain results. It may at most yield degrees of probability which may change when fresh evidence accrues.

NEHRU'S BLUFF

Gandhi was assassinated on Jan.30, 1947. That Godse fired shots at him, even school boys knew by the next morning. However, the "why" was not known for a long time. As usual there was a play of loose imagination. Within minutes of Gandhi's death, Nehru went over AIR to tell the nation that "a mad man killed him". But immediate medical examination showed that Godse was mentally quite normal and well-composed. Later on, a high court judge, Justice Achru

Ram, remarked that he (Godse) displayed a remarkable capacity for clear thinking.

Justice G.D. Khosala's observations in his book, *Murder of the Mahatma*, created a stir in intellectual circles in the country. Any way, Nehru's judgement stood falsified. Since the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) people were bitter crit-

*Dalit Sahitya Akademy's
Most Explosive Book*

WHY GODSE KILLED GANDHI?

(A Philosophical Interpretation of Indian History)

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

1997

pp 100

Rs. 50

25% commission on bulk purchase

Dalit Sahitya Akademy

109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,
Bangalore - 560 003,
INDIA.

ics of Gandhi, the police arrested RSS leaders. But within a few days the charges against them were withdrawn. Later, Godse dwelt at length on the causes which induced him to kill Gandhi. He held that Gandhi had to pay the extreme penalty for his Muslim appeasement policy. But that was only part of the truth. Godse also did not explain the whole "why".

V.T. Rajshekar has just brought out the new (Third revised) edition of his book, *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?* Normally, Godse had made his position clear and the courts gave their verdict. The courts had no need to go into the factors which made Gandhi what he was,

and Godse what he was. It is a difficult task and the author rightly holds that "the killing of Gandhi is not a simple affair between two individuals. It has a deep philosophical and historical implication." (p.59) Gandhi was the culmination of a particular psyche. Godse symbolised the very anti-thesis of that psyche. The author's thesis is that the Brahmin leadership of India damaged Hindu psyche for thousands of years. Its contradictions emerged with great vehemence only during the British rule in the 20th century.

TWO TYPES OF BRAHMINS

It is a fact beyond dispute that since pre-historic times, Brahmins constituted the "intellectual class" and remained the guardians of society in social, moral and religious matters. People tolerated many kinds of social evils and believed in many superstitions simply because they had mortgaged their intelligence to this guardian class of society.

The most interesting, original and thought-provoking part of this book is the author's classification of Brahmin leadership. In the past there was only one class of Brahmins. The Brahmins never opposed the Brahmins.

Minor opposition started in the 19th century. V.T. Rajshekar's classification is of vital importance as it explains not only the past but also the middle of the present which is sure

to have its bearing on the future by a dialectical necessity. He divides the Brahmins into two broad categories.

1. **The Sacred Brahmins:** In this he includes the orthodox, sectarian, honest communal elements led by the Sankaracharies as well as the modern protagonists of Hindu nationalism led by the revolutionaries like Tilak, Savarkar and Godse.

2. **The "Socialist Brahmins":** Like Nehru, Indira, the marxists and the self-styled progressive of different brands. M.K. Gandhi has also been included in this category though in some important respects he imbibed the character of the "Sacred Brahmins."

The author's thesis deserves careful analysis so that the reader may easily perceive the significance of his argument.

THE SACRED BRAHMINS

Long before Alexander's invasion, two different traditions grew in India the *Shramanas* and the *Brahmanas*. The *Shramanas* rejected the Vedas and the allied literature along with their rituals and casteism. All of their perfect spiritual masters, the 24 Tirthankaras were Kshatriyas. They regarded Brahmins as unworthy of the highest spiritual position of Tirthankars.

The two schools respectively stood for *nivritti* (renunciation) and *pravritti* (action). The *Gita* tried to reconcile these rival views. But their conflict reached its climax 2,500 years ago when Mahaveer and Budha led powerful movements against the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) both at philosophical and social levels. Sankara tried to destroy both these movements. Buddhism could not survive in India, and Jainism was pushed to a state of ineffective opposition. But the elements of *nivritti*, non-violence and exclusiveness, further spoiled the Hindu

psyche which had been responsible for the political backwardness of India. Foreigners were dubbed as *mlechchas*, not worthy of contact at any level. A half-naked saint Dandamis refused to accompany Alexander to Greece, and taught him a long lesson on the virtues of non-possession. "You desire riches, gold, wealth and dread death... We despise these: we neither love gold nor dread death..."

DOCTRINE OF KARMA

Another Brahmin, who accompanied Alexander, burnt himself to death as prescribed in the "holy" Hindu scriptures to expiate for the sin of being polluted by the touch, food and company of *mlechchas*. Kumaril is also said to have performed similar penance for living for some time in the company of the Buddhists.

Alexander went away, followed by many small or large groups of invaders tempted by the wealth of the "golden bird". Although the Kshatriyas were assigned the duty of maintaining law and order to fight invaders, yet their political loyalties were divided among the hundreds of small and big mutually hostile monarchs, whose patriotism, like that of Bhisma Pitamaha, was limited to their own "Hastinapur". Except the mythical *chakravartis*, they disdained to go beyond India to extend their kingdoms. Invaders came on minor excursions and got away with gold. It did not matter if some fanatics desecrated and destroyed their temples, rained hammer-blows on their gods and ran away with the loot. They were only objects of pity as they were victims of spiritual ignorance (*avidya*, *ajinana*). They would be punished in their next birth for their present sins. The "doctrine of karma" gave solace so that even "slaves enjoyed their slavery". Indians were asked to adhere to the supreme doctrine of pity even in

relation to the foreign invaders and infiltrators.

MAYA WEAKENS HINDU

Sankara added the allied doctrine of *maya*. The whole world is ultimately unreal. So, gold is also unreal. Our sufferings are also unreal. Our political slavery is unreal. All the evils of the world, natural and social (man-made), are also unreal. Then why bother about the unreal?

Sankara, the paragon of the "Sacred Brahmins", was followed by a long chain of god-intoxicated *acharyas* of Vedanta who invested god with veto-power over and above *karma-phala*. "Vengeance is mine. I shall repay" was the assurance given to the devotees. If a monarch is cruel, and inflicts suffering on his subjects, he shall be assigned to hell. In the case of exceptional tyrants who became invincible as a result of special blessings from Hindu gods like Shiva, the victims were advised only to pray god for help. The tyranny of the rulers, is therefore, not a human problem. The time and manner of His intervention are for Him to decide. It, therefore, did not matter as to who ruled them. "Whoever may be the ruler, we lose nothing". To the spiritually enlightened Hindus of India, it made no difference whether India was ruled by Kriliji or Gauri, Baber or Akbar, Clive or Churchill.

BRAHMINS HAD NO NATIONAL FEELING

The doctrine of Maya had already weakened the Hindu psyche. The devotional schools in their own way further weakened it so that political will was never allowed to take its roots. India accepted the Mughal rulers and later the British rule because it had no political will of its own.

During the early phase of the British rule in India, that is by the end of the 18th century, there was no

change in the outlook of the Brahmins. They had no national feeling as such.

India had been denoted by several names - the earliest being *Aryavta*, then Bharat, Hind, Hindustan, and lastly India. The Jews and the Zoroastrians (Parsis) came to India as refugees from the West Asia. Muslims came as invaders and Christians as traders and many of them settled here.

HINDU NOT AN INDIAN WORD

The word "Hindu" (from Sindhu) was used by the Persians and Muslims for the people of India to distinguish them from the Semitic people, viz., Jews, Christians and Muslims.

The Author rightly opines that the word "Hindu" is not an Indian word (p.55-56).

During the Mughal period, all Indians without any distinction of religion were addressed as Hindus. If it had any religious connotation, it meant anyone who practised any religion of Indian origin. In this sense, the word "Hindu" had been used "for the purpose of identification". "The same identification was followed by the British" (p.56).

It had then no political significance because the idea of nationalism was a later development.

In the course of time the word "Hindu" became popular and was accepted by the natives. Following the Greeks, the British called it India (after the river Indus) and the Congress leaders accepted it with pride. They called it India, that is Bharat.

Paradoxically, even the RSS calls it Bharat, and not Hindustan. Only Radio Pakistan till today prefers to call it Hindustan.

All the complexities and allergies built around the word "Hindu", whether for or against it, which we hear from modern politicians, had

no existence. The freedom-fighters fought for the freedom of the whole country and not for any particular part or community of it. The noise about *Akhand Bharat* only grew in proportion to the League demand for division of the country.

BRITISH UNITED INDIA

When Britain achieved the conquest of India, they gave one language, one system of education, one system of civil service, one defence organisation and means of communication. The contacts with Britain and study of their history imparted in the educated Indians the political values of liberty and democracy.

VIVEKANAND'S CURSE

In Britain, Max Muller and his team of Oriental scholars said: "I wish I had a hundredth part of that love for my own country". Vivekananda himself presented "a rosy picture" of Hinduism outside India and his speeches sent an electric current among educated Hindus throughout the country. He awakened a national pride among the Hindus which inspired almost all Hindu leaders of future generations.

Reform movements in Hinduism started with Ram Mohan Roy. Dayananda launched the first major attack against the Sacred Brahmins.

Educated non-Brahmins also joined this crusade. In the past, the Brahmins always resented the leadership of non-Brahmins. But now Rama Krishna, though a Brahmin, chose a Kayastha, Vivekananda, as his disciple, who now and then condemned the "Sacred Brahmins" for evil social practices in Hindu society, particularly those associated with the various forms of untouchability. He said:

"India's doom was sealed the very day they invented the word

mlechha and stopped from communion with others".

PURI TEMPLE ENTRY

The "Sacred Brahmins" denounced Vivekananda because being a non-Brahmin he had no authority to teach religion. Further, he committed a great sin by crossing the oceans and living in the company of foreigners and eating their food. To some foreign disciples who wanted to visit the "holy" Orissa Temple, he wrote:

"I do not know whether I shall be allowed inside myself owing to my eating *mlechha* food. Lord Curzon was not allowed inside".

V.T. Rajshakar mentions that Mrs. Indira Gandhi too was not allowed inside as she was not a Hindu. (p.94).

Vivekananda died very young, at 39. He wanted to weaken the hold of the "Sacred Brahmins". He admitted that:

"It is very hard to show men new things, to give them great ideas... it is harder still to knock off old superstitions." (VIII. 136).

The "Sacred Brahmins" resented change. But it came against their wishes, and that through politics.

WHEN HINDUS TURNED VIOLENT

There were isolated uprisings against the British ever since they began to settle in India. But they could deal with them in some time. By the end of last century, some Brahmins of Maharashtra rose under the leadership of Tilak and began to show bullets to the British. In the East, the proposed partition of Bengal inflamed the patriotic spirit in a big way. Bombs and bullets were used to terrorise the British. The freedom struggle began to spread. It threw up leadership not only from the brahminical class but also from the other three classes and also the Jains, Sikhs and Mus-

lms who had a nationalistic outlook. The violence-school was not well organised, but from Dhingra to Subhas Bose, it had shaken the foundations of the British Empire in India.

DR. AMBEDKAR EXPOSES GANDHI

With the death of Tilak in 1920, the leadership of the Congress passed into the hands of Gandhi. Gandhi was not a Brahmin by birth, but he collected under him some influential Brahmins of Nehru family and others with "socialistic" and "secular leanings". The elements of the "Sacred Brahmins" were still with them which spoke through Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence. Rajshakar calls them "Socialist Brahmins". They were different from the "Sacred Brahmins" in one important respect, viz., they showed enthusiasm for the abolition of untouchability among the Hindus. But there was only much noise, without substantial results. The "Socialist Brahmins", would issue contradictory statements on the same issues at different times. (p. 80).

Dr. Ambedkar exposed him in his writings. Similarly during the Khilafat, he incited the Muslims to catch their leadership.

Muslims began to distrust him. He tried to divide the Dalits by setting up Jagjivan Ram against Dr. Ambedkar, and Ali Brothers and Maulana Azad against Jinnah. He also annoyed the Hindus by constantly harping on the sensitive issues leading to the charge of Muslim Appeasement Policy against him.

He quoted and interpreted the Koran in a manner which offended Muslim sentiments. He deluded the people by a false assurance about his spiritual powers to achieve any thing. At the eleventh hour, he betrayed the people. In the last

phase of his life, he showed in himself the worst traits of the "Sacred Brahmins". He preached the gospel of national suicide when he said:

That nation is great which rests its head upon death as a pillow. Free India can have no enemy. No country would bother to invade India after the departure of the British. The Chinese had no designs upon other people. They have no desire for territory.

GANDHI, A FIRE-FIGHTER

Gandhi preached the doctrine of turning the other cheek. He condemned all revolutionaries from Dhingra to Subhas.

He was one with the "Sacred Brahmins" who "smuggled" the doctrine of non-violence into Hinduism from Jainism though V.T. Rajshakar insists that it was Gandhi who incorporated non-violence into Hinduism.

Rajshakar compares Gandhi with a fire-fighter (p. 76). He did not create fire. He did everything to extinguish the fire created by the revolutionaries. The mythical Brahmin Parsu Ram destroyed the whole warrior class 21 times from the face of the earth and handed over the reins to the Brahmanas who proved quite unfit to rule.

Gandhi also abused the whole warrior class (Kshatriyas) as brigands. He condemned Maharana Pratap (who is *Pratah Smaraniya* for every Hindu) as "giant bandit". Parsu Ram wiped out the Kshatriyas by his powerful "fursa" and Gandhi wished to do the same by his *charkha*.

Gandhi hoped that in Free India armies would be used to clean iatines and cultivate crops. Tanks and machine-guns would be overlaid with earth, grass will grow upon them. Our children will play upon that grass. He outdid the "Sacred Brahmins" who regarded the

Kshatriyas as essential segment of society.

CHURCHILL'S PROPHECY COMES TRUE

Both Parsu Ram and Gandhi failed in their crusade against the Kshatriya class. Like Parsu Ram, Gandhi moved about with the crown in his hands which he placed on the head of his dearest "Socialist Brahmin" who kept wearing it until his last breath. The "Sacred Brahmins" were by now "a harmless lot" like blind frogs of the well. The "Socialist Brahmin" roamed about from one end of the globe to the other, teaching all and sundry the lessons in international ethics.

The "Socialist Brahmin" was more worried about peace outside India than the safety and security of his own country.

Churchill's prophecy that they were handing over India to men of straw, came true in 1962. Nehru did not openly blame his guru, "the Socialist Parsu Ram", but lamented that "we were living in an artificial world of our own creation... we were getting out of touch with reality in the modern world". Who were those "we"? Gandhi's tribe?

REVOLUTIONARY BRAHMINS

The "Sacred Brahmins" failed as guardians of society. Max Muller, the Christian, and Vivekananda, the Kayastha, prepared the ground for political awakening. Many "Sacred Brahmins" also turned revolutionary. Tilak and Savarkar trained this class in Maharashtra. They were not happy with Gandhi's emphasis on non-violence which had already damaged the Hindu psyche, making India, in the words of Vivekananda a land inhabited by "women and eunuchs".

The events of 1946-47 infuriated them. In the face of all that Gandhi

went on teaching the Gospel of Sermon on the Mount:

"Turn the other cheek... if anyone wants to take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also... love your enemies... (Matthew, 39-44).

In the prevailing context, it meant that if the League wanted Pakistan, offer them the whole of India. Gandhi advised Lord Mountbatten to hand over the whole of India to the Muslim League and make Jinnah the Governor-General of free India.

Gandhi went on making such grand proposals. Millions of Hindus were now fed up and wished to get rid of not only Gandhi but gandhian psyche which was really the psyche of the "Sacred Brahmins" and responsible for the slavery of India.

By now, Gandhi acquired the state patronage and continued conducting himself, not figuratively but literally, as "Father of the Nation". The protests of the Hindu communalists fell on deaf years. The obedient sons who gained the crown were always at his feet with folded hands, muttering: "Father, they will be done".

A disobedient son who refused to pay Rs. 55 crore to Pakistan invited the wrath of the Father, and was publicly humiliated for forgetting the oft-repeated lessons in international ethics taught by the Father. It was the climax of Gandhi's thesis. The anti-thesis had also by this time become very powerful, but lacked the advantages which accompany a propaganda machinery. Godse and Apte were the expressions of that anti-thesis.

In V.T. Rajshekar's classification Savarkar and Godse have been included in the company of the "Sacred Brahmins". Perhaps it may have been for brevity's sake. I doubt whether the "Sacred Brahmins" (their tribe is not yet extinct) would be pleased to be in the company of these revolutionary Brahmins. A

sub-division would have been more to the liking of both for the purpose of identification.

RSS TURNS GANDHIAN

Rajshekar has raised a very pertinent question as to why the RSS people, who were bitter critics of Gandhi, have, since his murder, changed their stand and turned admirers of Gandhi? They have conferred on Gandhi the highest honour, higher than the *Bharat-Ratna*, by placing him in the category of the pantheon of those extraordinary figures of Hinduism who deserve reverential remembrance in daily morning prayers *pratah smarana*.

This shows another contradiction in Hindu thinking. They forget that this Gandhi had condemned Maharana Pratap as "giant bandit". Of late they have been propagating in favour of the cult of "gandhian socialism". The connotation of this term is not clear even to the devotees of Gandhi. Perhaps this is a deliberate attempt to create confusion in the minds of their critics. It is true that Godse and Apte and many oth-

ers trained in RSS ideology and culture left it and joined the Hindu Mahasabha because the RSS did not like to be involved in day-to-day politics.

Earlier, in January 1948, Gollwalker did not respond to Sardar Patel's invitation to RSS to join the Congress. It is the RSS which has been preventing Hinduism from becoming aggressive.

Their stand is: "We wish to carry all with us". Perhaps, like a burnt child who dreads fire, they are afraid of victimisation at the hands of the heirs of Gandhi who are intolerant of any criticism of Gandhi.

However, as people know more and more about Gandhi's theories and practices, they have been losing respect for him. Godse will be studied and remembered both by his admirers and critics for providing an anti-thesis to Gandhi in many ways within Hinduism itself. V.T. Rajshekar's book provides lessons for all categories of Brahmins to shed their ages-old complexes inherited from Manu in order to make real a genuine fraternity of all sections in the country. ■

Holy Koran sanctions war against criminals who persecute innocent and weak people.

AL-JEHAD FIL KEER

Crusade for Benevolence

DILDAR HASAN MALIK

When unprincipled races start exploiting religious sanctities of others under the shield of upholding their own religion, then the misdeeds of the oppressed become more acute. Under such circumstances, waging a war on such aggressors is not only just but becomes a duty.

The best course of action is only war (*jeihad*) so that the colour of the earth may be changed into red with the blood of these tyrants, so that the helpless oppressed are liberated. These rascals must be mercilessly exterminated.

Some idealists and moralists may say that killing of even tyrants is a sin, but such preachers can't purify the world without finishing these tyrants.

Both Sword and Pen have to be used to exterminate the tyrants and render relief to the persecuted people and establish Justice and Truth. When a group of oppressors refuse to heed our cry in pain, our persecutions, when their excesses cross all boundaries of tolerance, when our human rights are crushed, then it becomes the duty of every individual to take to the Sword. War then is inevitable, unavoidable.

The Holy Koran sanctions such a War (*Jeihad*).

Demolition of a place of worship of others is the dirtiest crime. And to check such criminals, the God has sanctioned *Jeihad*. The God approves it.

1997

pp.46

Rs.25

Helping Hand Network

Q-6, Nofees Rd, Jagabai Extn.,
Jamia Nagar, New Delhi - 110 925.

Elavas must fight back "creamy layer theory"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: We have said many times that the Marxist Party of India, ruling in Kerala and West Bengal, is a more deadly enemy of the Bahujans than the Hindu nazi party.

In Kerala, ever since the upper castes in the guise of Communist Party Marxist (CPM) came to power, they have been trying to systematically destroy the leadership of the Bahujans. The leader of this party is the notorious Malayali Brahmin, E.M.S. Namboodiripad. And he is the architect of this "creamy layer theory" which seeks to eliminate the more affluent sections of Backward Caste Elavas from the reservation benefits. Eliminating the "creamy layer" of Elavas from reservation means destroying the leadership of Elavas who constitute the single largest community (30%) of Kerala.

Elavas licking CPM feet: Justice Joseph Commission appointed by the Govt. of Kerala at the instance of Supreme Court recommended elimination of the "creamy layer" but all the political parties of Kerala except the CPM have opposed such a move because without the support of Elavas no party can come to power. In fact, the very backbone of the CPM is Elavas. But this community goes on voting for the CPM and licking its feet despite all the kicks it gets from the CPM leadership.

The Joseph Commission identified about dozen yardsticks to determine the "creamy layer" thereby eliminating 70 Backward Caste groups from the BC reservation list.

The target of this "creamy theorywals", headed by EMS, is the Elavas, and to further weaken the community the CPM Govt. recently clamped a total govt. control on the properties of Sivagiri, the hilltop sacred centre of Sri Narayana Guru, the saviour of the Elavas.

Upper caste judiciary: No doubt, the "creamy layer" theory is facing tough opposition from the Muslims also. But the CPM is firm, aided and abetted by the upper caste judiciary in India.

The theory itself is an invention of the Aryan upper castes and in DV we have denounced it as anti-people. But the Aryans want to push it down our throat with the help of the upper caste judiciary. The Sept. 5, 1995 judgment of the Supreme Court clearly aims at destroying the leadership of the Backward Castes.

But despite all these humiliations and kicks, the Elava

leadership is not realising the need to fight back. Its once most popular leader, Mrs. K.R. Gowri, is cut to size and she is silently licking her wounds.

Unless and until the Elavas stop voting the CPM and start joining hands with Dalits and Muslims, it will not be possible to finish the CPM and form a third front in Kerala.

DV Edit May 1, 1995: "Action plan to oust Kerala's two Aryan ruling fronts & empower oppressed Malayalis".

Dec. 1, 1995 p.23: "Elavas must heed DV warnings & join with poor Muslims and Dalits", V. Prabhakaran.

Nov. 1, 1995 p. 12: "Sivagiri bloodbath gives last warning to Elava leadership".

DV Edit Dec. 16, 1992: "Economic criterion re-introduced in the guise of creamy layer".

Retain English at any cost, says Dr. Ambedkar

Aurangabad, July 3 (1953): Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, former Law Minister of India, has pleaded for the retention of English as the medium of instruction in colleges and universities at any cost.

In an interview, Dr. Ambedkar remarked that English was the richest of all languages and said, "I do not believe any other language in India including Hindi can be used instead of English in schools and colleges."

Dr. Ambedkar, who is the founder-chairman of the People's Education College in Aurangabad, said that he would not allow either Hindi or the regional language to be the medium of instruction in the Aurangabad College. English, he added, would be the medium of instruction.

Talking of Indian languages, Dr. Ambedkar said that no other language could take the place of Hindi. He explained they had selected Hindi because of the fact it could expand.

However, he said, Hindi lacked "literature and depth", both of which the English language possessed.

To enrich Hindi, Dr. Ambedkar said, a Hindi Academy consisting of eminent men should be started and a vocabulary should be prepared. -UPI (Source Material on Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar & the Movement of Untouchables, Vol. I, 1982, Maharashtra Govt. Bombay, p.411, The National Standard, July 4, 1953).

Mukundan's criticism of savarna Muslims is fully correct

ISA HAQUE, VILL - MADHUPUR, PO HOERAH, WB - 712 147

This is with ref. to K. Mukundan's guest Editorial, "*Savarna Muslims of Kerala get Hinduised & become deadly enemy of Islam*" (DV Jan. 16, 1997), P.N. Imbichi Koya's Letter in protest (DV May 1, 1997) and Mukundan's rejoinder, "*Kerala Muslims have compromised with Hindu nazis*" (DV July 1, 1997).

Mukundan has raised several vital points regarding the Muslims and Muslim life which remain yet unanswered while Imbichi Koya has attempted to refute the charge of Mukundan. All are very interesting.

Mukundan has hit the nail on the head by asking why the Muslim leadership (meaning the religious leadership) that does not miss any opportunity to sermonize its followers on the predominance of life after death opt for constructing expensive bungalows with high boundary walls on all sides resembling a jail and gorgeous, expensive mosques when this worldly abode is characterised by them as a temporary station with the real, permanent one waiting in the heaven.

BEGGARS OUTSIDE MOSQUE

Mukundan also wonders how our Muslim elites believing in the Islamic egalitarianism and doing five-time prayers drive to mosques riding in air-conditioned cars while battalions of starving and diseased Muslim beggars - men, women and children - wait outside with begging bowls. What Mukundan means is that these elite Muslims have no conscience when they parade their vulgar wealth before such beggars.

That means he does not know what stuff these Muslim elite and Muslim leadership are made of. They preach what they practise not. Moreover, being a part of the aristocracy, they are vulnerable to pomp and splendour. So, if they do not parade here in this world what they have amassed by the grace of Allah, where else they can do? In the grave? Simple, humble and austere life are not meant for them. Simplicity is for the poor and destitute who somehow keep their body and soul together.

1. CURSE OF ALLAH

Articles on the Revolutionary Spirit of Islam.

Introduction by V.T. Rajshakar
1997 pp.35 Rs. 10

2. ISLAM PROHIBITS PRIESTHOOD: MOULANAS A PEST ON MUSLIMS

1997 pp.16 Rs. 2
Dalit Sahitya Akademy
109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,
Bangalore - 560 003.

It is the poor who are created to suffer, not the rich. Our mullahs, moulvis and moulanas are not expected to suffer. They should not be subjected to austerity, because if they die who will look after our spiritual betterment? Who will lead us to heaven? Who will show us the path? So, let the poor, the destitute, the orphans die.

As for *zakat* and *fitrath*, the poor - due, the less said the better. *Zakat* and *fitrath* are no longer meant for the poor and destitutes. They are siphoned off for the construction

and maintenance of *madrasas* and *masjids* as is evident from numerous instances. The Muslim leadership has been openly encouraging its diversion, starving the real beneficiaries. As the Muslim community is economically backward, a very small amount of *zakat* and *fitrath* is collected. And if a large portion of whatever is collected goes to these sections how will the poor and destitutes be maintained? Has our leadership ever reflected on this question? No. Never.

GREATNESS OF ISLAM

Unlike other religions, the religion of Islam has made adequate provision for the weak. If its injunctions are followed in toto the weak of the community need not suffer. But that is not to be. Because, there is an omnipotent, all-pervasive leadership ready with its own interpretation, ready to scuttle what is good.

One of the problems confronting the Muslim is the question of ally. This is a vexed question that hardly requires any answer.

Their oppressors and tormentors can never be their allies. Their allies are the oppressed who are none but the Dalits to which a major section of the Muslims once belonged. This is a historical truth.

The exigencies of our time and the reality of the situation demand a closer bond between the Dalits and Muslims. Though it concedes the idea, our leadership is reluctant to work towards it. Many of them even hate to work with the Dalits obviously for the reason of their noble

ancestry and birth. They regard themselves as *Ashraf* and the others as *Athraf*. Most of the converted Muslims belong to the latter category. And because of this, they like the Dalits incur the displeasure of a section of our leadership that refuses to mix with them. This is also the hard reality.

So, the issue as it now stands is this: our leadership is hesitating to forge alliance with the Dalits on the one hand, and want to stay away from the *Athrafs* on the other. So why must they continue to be our leaders?

CRIME OF MUSLIM MEDIA

Mukundan laments that despite Muslims owning a pretty good number of publishing houses and well-circulated dailies and journals, ideological campaign against the enemies of Islam is lacking in the Muslim media producing materials merely on religious meetings and not on vital issues rocking the community. Mukundan is 100% correct but he seems to forget a very simple fact that the Muslim leadership controlling the Muslim media is religious-conscious rather than reality-conscious. Hence no reflection of reality either on their thinking or on the materials they produce.

HAJIS SMUGGLING GOLD

Against this backdrop, look at the violent anti-Muslim campaign that continues to be raging with all available resources being utilised by the enemies of Islam. We have weapons to fight with but we do not know how to use it or may be that our leadership does not want us to use it. What a tragedy. If we do not suffer who else will do?

To embarrass us, Mukundan should not have referred to the species of Hajis that come back from their pilgrimage with rich contraband of gold, sometime hidden between the leaves of the Holy Koran, and other

luxury goods. Mukundan should know that nowadays Haj expenses have spiralled up to an enormous extent, that it is getting beyond the reach even of the affluent. So, if anyone seeks to cover some of the expenses with smuggling gold he should not be taken to task, after all everything is for the cause of Allah.

CROSSROADS

But the question, it needs be stressed here, involves morality. What degree or standard of morality does this act represent? Those undertaking the Haj pilgrimage are generally considered to be first-rate devout their excellence being beyond question. A majority of them belong to some Muslim organisations, be it Jamate-Islami, Jamat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind or Tablighi Jamat.

These organisations are known to be importing Islamic teachings, Islamic morality and ethics to their votaries, striving to make them every inch true Mussalmans with what result? With the result of wholesale moral erosion as we see in a number of cases for which no one other than these organisations should be squarely blamed.

To sum up, what Mukundan has alleged are not without substance, they require fuller treatment elsewhere.

In this connection, what is to be noted is that the Indian Muslims are on the crossroads. They have to choose between the courses, between obscurantism and rationalism. If we want to see the Muslim community on solid foundation, we must shun the latter course, the sooner the better.

Tribals protest burning of Mahatma Ravana effigy

L.K. MADAWAL, 6-BEEJALINAGAR SADAR, NAGPUR - 440 001

A delegation of Tribals of the Vidarbha region met the Nagpur Police Commissioner on Oct. 7 and lodged a protest against the burning of the effigy of Mahatma Ravana, who is worshipped as god by the Tribals of this region.

A Hindu organisation, Sanatan Dharma Sabha, on every Dasara day burns the effigy of Mahatma Ravana and thereby insults and injures the religious feelings of millions of Tribals.

Lord Mahatma Ravana is the chief deity of the *Adiwasi* (Tribal) people and was a great ruler of the country. Hindus, however, depict that Ravana is the symbol of evil and bad character. This is an act of deliberate and malicious intention to outrage the religious feelings of the *Adiwasi* peoples. The Police Commissioner refused to take any action on our demand and asked us to go to the court.

So we have filed a Criminal Writ Petition (242/97) before the Bombay High Court Bench here on Oct. 8. The petitioners are myself, Dr. Tulsidas Bhilawekar (Korku), Dr. Rajendra Surpam (Gond), Er. Satish Pendam (Gond), Dyaneshtwar Sayam (Paradhan), Manohar Thool, Corporator (SC), Nagesh Chaudhari (BC) Editor, *Bahujan Sangharsh*.

The petition demands action under Section 295 and 295A of the IPC. We call upon the Dalit, *Adiwasi* and Backward Caste people all over India to take note of our action and take similar preventive steps before every Dasara.

When we are worshipping the Mahatma Ravana, the Hindus are observing the funeral ceremony of our god. Our movement is on the lines of Periyar E.V. Ramaswami. In 1958, a writ petition was filed in Supreme Court on the same issue and relief was given to Periyar. After this Supreme Court case, this is second petition. We are prepared to file another writ petition in Supreme Court. We request DV readers all over India to send us telegrams and letters.

Caste consolidation promotes fight against upper castes

IGBAL AHMED SHARIF, ADVOCATE, 94/1-TANK GARDEN, JAYANAGAR, BANGALORE - 560 011

The over an year-long Debate on "Jati identity" is mostly centered on reservations in jobs. Those opposed to it fear that this will come in the way of Dalit or Dalit-Bahujan unity. The opponents are ignoring the following factors:

(1) Reservation or non-reservation in jobs concerns at the most 5% of our population (including the dependents of employees. The rest of the people survive as non-reserved professions like agriculture, daily waged artisanship, labour in private and petty workshops, milk vending, hawking etc). Caste-wise reservation already exists in all these professions like that of potters, washermen, gawalas, shepherds, weavers, fishermen landless agricultural labourers (Madigas, Holeyas, Paraiyahs etc.), goldsmiths, blacksmiths, cobblers etc. Even if these jobs are offered to other castes they will not take them.

(2) Some of these professions like those of potters, carpenters, blacksmiths, cobblers, singers, dancers, actors etc. are becoming extinct because of industrialization and monopolisations. Machines, films and media owned by upper caste rulers have converted these professional castes into destitutes.

"Caste consolidation" as advocated by our Editor, therefore, can compel the upper caste rulers either to stop this no-work-force automatic industrialisation or compensate the losers of these professions.

(3) Castes exist in every village of India. In village X, there are castes ABCD, in village Y, castes ABDE, in village Z, castes BEDF etc. And they are in existence from generations to generations with respect and regard for each other. There is no need for fear that they will quarrel with each other. Our villages are the most impregnable places for foreign influences.

Muslim rule: A thousand years of Muslim and 200 years of British rule could not affect our village life. So too the 50 years of Aryan brahminical treachery and propaganda in "independent" India.

Therefore, all these existing castes would continue and should continue with due respect to each other and representation.

(4) Push for govt. jobs is a recent phenomenon particularly in India because of the wide disparity of earnings between those in the urban organised sector and those in the unorganised sector. A police constable, peon or

bus conductor earns a minimum of Rs. 3,000 a month with paid holidays, leave, pension plus bribe i.e. a minimum of Rs. 36,000 a year. Whereas, his brother working as a daily wage-earner gets just Rs. 30 / 40 a day, without paid holidays, not for the whole year but only during some seasons going for 100/120 days in a year (sowing, harvesting seasons in agricultural work, building construction during non-rainy seasons, cooly work during trading seasons etc). Thus the brother of the police constable, peon, conductor earns at the most Rs. 40 a day for 100/120 days i.e. Rs. 4,000 a year which is nearly $\frac{1}{10}$ th of his own earning. The ratio between them is 1:10.

Marxist crimes: This disparity is the main reason for the rush for govt. jobs. This disparity is deliberately maintained by our upper caste rulers since govt. employees are mostly upper castes. Top upper caste rulers are helping the second, third, fourth-ranking *jatwalas* by squeezing the lower caste unorganised rural workers. Upper castes in the marxist parties have concentrated their entire attention organising trade unions of their kith and kin in the organised sectors. They never thought of the lower caste rural workers but at the same time making them criminals in the name of *naxalites*. (*How Marx Failed in Hindu India*, V.T. Rajshakar, DSA).

In the neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Lanka there is no such craze for govt. jobs as the disparity is not so high as in India, because both the rulers and the people belong to the same community.

Through "caste consolidation" ways and means can be found out to remove or reduce this disparity.

Political reservations: Reservations in elective bodies can also be effectively achieved through "caste consolidation". Certain castes are predominant in certain regions or districts or taluks: like the Lingayats in Northern Karnataka, Vokkaligas in Southern Karnataka, Kodavas in Kodagu dt., Bhils in Bhillwada (Rajasthan), Tribals in Chhattisgarh of MP, Jharkand tribes in Southern Bihar, very akin to the Nagas in Nagaland, Gorkhas in Darjeeling, Dogras in Himachal Pradesh.

Dalit scholars can find out such caste pockets in their respective regional, district and sub-district level. "Caste consolidation" can help such predominant castes to rule such regions, develop their caste cultures trade and economy. Those in not so dominant position in such places can find solace and satisfaction by seeing their

caste brothers in other regions, districts where they are predominant.

A very fine "caste consolidation" can be seen among some Muslims of UP.

Converts to Islam from such earlier professional castes like lock-makers (Aligarh), wood-carvers (Roorh), brass workers (Moradabad), cobblers (Kanpur, Agra), jula-has (Banaras), bangle-makers (Faizabad) etc. are a very fine example of "caste consolidation" (called *biradar*) for economic protection, trade and development.

Educated cream: While giving a call for "strengthening each *jati*", our Editor has also lamented upon the lack of concern shown by the educated "cream" of every caste towards its respective unfortunate uneducated caste brothers, stating that after govt. jobs, they have joined the upper caste ruling coterie. "Caste identity and consolidation" provides a scope for these educated to go back to their caste fold and think of serving the caste, meaning their respective caste fellows. The gulf between the educated and the uneducated caste brothers, created by upper caste rulers can be removed.

Mysore example: In the princely state of Mysore, the Maharaja had a Representative Assembly similar to our present legislatures, in which the people's representatives were taken not by direct voting, but upon nominations made by caste-based organisations. All major castes in the state had their organisations which continue even to this day, and instead of politics, they now

serve their respective communities in social, economic and educational matters. No organisation is jealous of another but there is a healthy competition to serve their people more and more.

Industrialisation and advertisements have helped the upper castes to come up following the death of many caste-basted professions. Plastic utensils have destroyed potters. The Godrej lock factory destroyed lakhs of lock-makers, Cadbury sweets destroyed small sweets-makers, Bata shoe destroyed the cobblers etc. Nobody cares for the destructions of these centuries-old artisans and tradesmen who had made India the richest country in the world upto the end of 18th century.

Editor's unique thesis: Emperor Jehangir records in his Diary that the King of England has sent a horse-drawn coach to him as a present. The emperor had a ride, and enjoyed it, and discarded but never thought of its manufacture, since it would have destroyed the profession of cart-makers, Mahars (palanquin-carriers), blacksmiths. Perhaps, he thought that advancement and progress should not be at the cost of misery and unemployment of the rest.

"Caste consolidation" will make the wisdom and voice of those about to be destroyed caste professions stronger and effective.

The Editor's thesis on "caste consolidation" is a unique contribution to social science and deserves our full support.

Strong caste Identity will convert us into animals

ANIL RANGARI, PRESS COLONY, SHAHDOL, MP-484 001

This is with ref. to "*Religion does not unify people*" (DV Aug. 16, 1997 p.10) which is part of the ongoing Debate on "Caste Identity". But the Editor did not give his views on this important subject. The book, *Why Go for Conversion?* (DSA) itself is a perfect answer to this article. We need a debate on this subject also like the one on "Caste Identity". Every caste wants development, progress and prosperity. But the *vaidiks* blocked all these to SC/ST/BCs.

To kill the BSO, strengthening every caste is one of the strategies. It is a sure weapon to fight the BSO. So, strengthening each *jati* is 100% correct.

But at the same time a separate "*jati* identity" is also 100% bad. Separate caste identity will put each caste in each cage like the animals in the zoo. Strong caste identity will not allow one caste to marry with the other caste or mix or help each other. We will become like animals. One *jati* will remain aloof from other *jati* forever. If each and every man lives, struggles and dies only for his own *jati*, it will lead to the a rule of the jungle.

Budhism not a religion: What then is the unifying force? How to bind these different identities *jatis* for their collective salvation?

Babashaeb not only gave us a strategy but also a unifying force, a way of living, and that is *Dharma*. (people wrongly call it a religion). Budhism is not only a religion but a cultural revolution which we need to kill the BSO.

If Budhism can create understanding, harmony, justice, love, equality, liberty, fraternity between different *jatis*, what better type of "unity" we want? Unity will come through co-operation with each other. The latest Dalit massacre in Bombay is the best evidence of Dalit unity. Babasahab never wanted a *jati*-based society. He wanted an ideal society based on equality, fraternity and liberty. For that he gave us Budhism. Budhism is a honeymoon between different *jatis*. It creates understanding and harmony so that every caste would keep its doors open to marry with the other caste. Only Budhism can do this.

TN Dalit-wadis trying to destroy identity of Devendras

Dr. GURUSWAMI SIDDHAR, 10/2-NALVAR NAGAR, BHARATHIAR UNIVERSITY P.O., COIMBATORE-641 046

The term "Scheduled Castes" came into existence some 50-60 years ago. Until then all the castes were known by their caste names.

After the Indian Constitution came into force, the different castes were grouped together and called SCs for giving some concessions. When translated to local languages, these names gave a derogatory meanings. In Tamil Nadu, the SCs were called *Harijans*, *Untouchables*, *Panchamars*, *Adi-Dravidas* and *Thaaitthapottor* and lately "Dalits" which the Devendra Kula Vellalars (DKV), consider derogatory and do not accept them. They prefer to be called Mallar, DKV, Scheduled Caste, Tamils, or Indians. The Tamil equivalent of SC is *Pattial Vakuppinar* or *Attavanai Chathi*. The definitions given to Mallar in the 9th century *Divyagara Nigandu* and the 10th century *Pingala Nigandu* (dictionaries) are that the Mallars are great agriculturists and great warriors.

Devendra are not Aryan: The word Devendra also means the Vendhan who is the king (god) of Mallars of the Marudham lands referred to in the 5th century BC Tamil grammatical work *Tholkappiam*. This Devendra has nothing to do with the Aryan god Devendra. The later Tamil Sangham Period (250 BC to 250 AD) Tamil literature, *Thirumurugetruppada*, describes Lord Murugan as Mallar king (god). *Paripada* of the same period describes Thirumal as a Malla King. Thiruvilaiyaadal Puranam and Perur Puranam describe Sivan and Parvathi as Mallars.

All the Tamil literatures right from the Sangham period through the 19th century depict the great cultural and historical traditions of the Mallars or DKV in great details. A copper plate written in 1528 AD shows that the famous Palani Murugan temple in Dindigal dt. of TN was owned by Mallars alias DKV (Ref: Curator, Madurai Govt. Museum).

These were brought out very clearly in the research works of scholar R. Devasasivatham in his books. *Moovendar Yaar?* - 1977 (Who were the three Tamil kings: Chera, Chola, Pandiya). 2. *Velalar Yaar* (Who are the Vellalars) - 1981, 3. *Pallar Alla Mallar Aam Mannar* (Not Pallar, it is Mallar kings) - 1991. Dr. Guruswami Siddhar's *Tamil Ilakkithalil Pallar* (Mallar) *Devendra Kula Velalar* (Basic Evidences) - 1993, Dr.

Guruswami Siddhar and Dr. Gnanasekaran's *Thamizhar Panpattu Varalaru* (History of Tamils' Culture) - 1996 and the Tamil monthlies, *Mallar Malar* and *Pattalalai Muzhakkam* (Mallar Literatures).

The word "Devendra" is used in the 16th century Arunagir Nathar's works and in the 17th century Pallu literatures. Dr. Ambedkar has used the name DKV in his works. In spite of all these our *Dalitwadis* in Tamil Nadu continue to use the derogatory word "Pallar" in spite of the protests by the Mallars alias DKV. In their books, short stories articles they denounce our past history and cultural traditions and depict us in bad taste denigrating our status in a planned way.

Political unity first: In TN, among the SCs, the Adi-Dravida strength is above 25%. Mallar (DKV) is about 60% and Arunthiyas about 15%. Adi-Dravidas were well-organised right from the beginning of this 20th century and were close to the British before the "Independence" and later the Congress. They were included in the Congress ministry and they devised a hypothesis that the SCs means Adi-Dravidas only to the detriment of other castes in SC list. Thus they occupied more than 85% of Govt. jobs in the state, both state and Central, in the reserved category. The situation is worse than in Andhra Pradesh where the Mala-Madiga tug-of-war is going on. The Adi-Dravidas in TN speak of "SC unity" only to eat all the cake that are available in the reserved category and in other facilities given to SC.

The noise that "Jati identity" will split the SC unity raised by Dalitwadis, in only to hide the real issues between the various castes in SC list.

It must be understood that the professions, traditions, history and culture and culture of the different castes in SC lists are different. Castes in SC must recognise and respect each other. Talk of cultural unity or traditional unity or unity in literature or unity in roots which are not there, is counter-productive. Only "political unity" and "unity against oppression" must be stressed.

In TN, the *Dalitwadis* must recognise and respect the great historical and cultural traditions of the Mallars and Mallarism and stop the *Cut-Throat* business that is going on for the last 100 years against Mallars. Only then "political unity" can be achieved. ■

Malas, Mahars, Pallars, Holeyas are all one and the same

G. GOPALA RAO, 1-61, RAYALAM, BHIMAVARAM, W.G. DT. AP - 534 208

In the book, *The Dravidians*, by Gustav Oppert, (AES 1888), it is recorded as follows:

"The Mallas: the names of the Mallas appear in various forms in Sanskrit literature. As the name of a people, we meet it in Malaka, Maladu, Malaja, Malla, Mallaka, Mallava, Mala, Malava, Malavartise. As the name of the country in Malaya, Malayadesa, Malayabhumi, Malabhumi, Mallarashtra, Mala, Malava, Malavadesa, Malavaka. As the name a town in Malayapura, Mallapura, Mallavastu, Mallaprashta" (p.18).

The Mallas as a nation are repeatedly mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, *Harivamsha* and in the various puranas, Malabhumi, Mallarashtra, which as well as Malayabhumi, refer to the northern parts of India, occur in the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* (p.19).

Even to this day, the name of the Mallas is preserved among the population all over India for the Malas (Mals), Mala Arayar or Malai Arasar, Malacar, Malayalis, Malavas (Malvas) Malair (Malier or Paharais), Mallar (Pallars), Mars (Maras, Mhars, Mahas, Maharas) etc. as they are named in different places are found scattered all over the country (p.21).

So Malavadu in modern Telugu is the equivalent of Pariah. (p.21).

Royal title in Malabar: Maharashtra was also called Mallarashtra, the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as the Maras, who are better known as Mars or Mhars, Mhar was eventually transformed into Mahar. In fact both forms exist in modern Marathi (p.22). It is curious indeed that the word "Pariah" has in Marathi the meaning of Mahara, for the term Parajati corresponds to Pariah and is used in Marathi as a courteous term for a Mahar (p.22).

The Paraiah is called Holeya in Kanarese, in Telugu he is known as Malavadu (p.32).

The words Tirumal and Perumal are also derived from Mala (Malla). Both were originally the titles given by the Mallas to their great chiefs and kings. Each Perumal was chosen to govern Malanadu or Malayalam. The name of Perumal, the great Mala, is still a royal title in Malabar (p.30).

Dheds are Mahars: I recognised the Mahar or Mhars as the people who had given their name to Maharashtra, but it was not to that country alone that the Mahars were confined, for they have always been

occupants of Rajputana. The provinces which now go by the name of (Ajmere) Mhairwara and (Jodhpur) Marwar are their ancient names. They remained masters of the soil until they were ousted later on by victorious invaders. (p.47).

As per W.F. Sinclair, the author of *Indian Antiquary* (Vo. III, 1874 pp.130-131), the term "Dhed" is simply Hindustani for a Mahar and is found as we go northwards. The Mahars or Dheds are the most important caste of *Purwaris*. (p.49).

In Mysore, the Holiya or Holeya takes the place of the Pariah. The world Holeya may be another form for Pulaiya. However despised a position the Pariah and the Holeya occupy in the places, where they live, still cherish the memory of former greatness and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil (p.50).

The Telugu Pariahs are called Malavandlu. Its corresponding term in Tamil, Malar, is often used in the sense of Pulaiyar and equivalent to Paraiyar (p.56).

In the book, *Life and Mission*, of Dr.Ambedkar, Dhananjay Keer says:

Of all the Untouchable communities in the fold of Hindu society the Mahars are the most robust, adaptable, intelligent, fighting brave, virile and leading community. Keenly sensitive to their inferior position, they are conscious of their slavery. It is held by some that the Mahars were the original inhabitants of Maharashtra. (p.8).

In the *Dalit Voice* of June 16, 1990, D.K. Khaparde quotes Dr. Ambedkar saying:

I am really grateful to the Mahars. It is only due to the support of Mahars that I could do all this. This is my experience of 30 years. Mahars are warriors. They can fight. They can sacrifice. No other caste can do this. I am proud of the caste (Mahar) in which I was born. (p.7).

In DV Feb. 1-15, '97 p.15, S.P. Singh says that Karnataka was once the kingdom of Holeyas, now a Dalit class. In DV June 16, '97 p.21, Guna, a Tamil Dalit historian, says "Mallars were both peasants and warriors. All the three Tamil rulers, the Cheras, the Cholas, and Pandyas, were of this Mallar (Pallar) descents".

It is proved beyond doubt that the Malas, Pariahs, Holeyas, and Mahars etc., do all belong to one caste and community and they were original owners and sons of the soil, India i.e. Bharat.

**A STUDY OF THE ORIGINS
OF COORGS**

Lt. Col. K.C. Ponnappa (Retd.)
Kodavas (or Coorgs) are a small community
confined to a small dt., Kodagu,
in south west corner of Karnataka.
Says Coorgs are not Dravidians but migrants from
Iran, connects them to Aiyans.
1997 pp.300 Rs.300
Published by the author at
Chettahalli, Kodagu- 571 248.

RELIGIONS IN CONFLICT

(Ideology, Cultural Conflict & Conversion
in late Colonial India)
Anthony Copley
(Reader in Modern History, University of Kent,
Canterbury)
Tells the story of Protestant missions,
Indian Christianity in the mid-19th century.
1997 pp300 Rs.495
Oxford University Press

**FROM HIGHER CASTE
TO LOWER CASTE**

(The Process of Asprashyeeakaran & the Myth of
Sanskritisation)
Shyam Lal,
Vice-Chancellor,
Jai Narain Vyas University, Jodhpur.
Upper caste social scientists have been studying how
low caste SCs and BCs have been "going up"
the ladder of Hindu caste system but none studied
demotion of upper castes. He cites example
"lower caste" Bhangis of Rajasthan and UP,
Karnataka, W. Bengal, MP, Gujarat and Maharashtra.
1997 pp.200 Rs.340
Kawat
3/NA/20, Jawahar Nagar,
Jaipur - 302 004.

THE BUDDHA & HIS DHAMMA

Dr B.R. Ambedkar
The historic posthumous work of Babasaheb
Originally published by Siddhart College Publications in 1957 and
reproduced in Vol.11 of the *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches*
(1992), the book is reprinted and donated by:
Buddha Educational Foundation,
11th Floor, 55-Hang Chow S.Rd., Sec-1, Taipei, Taiwan.
1997 pp.600 free copy.
The book is for free distribution. However, the distributors are collecting
a small contribution of Rs.15 to cover the import expenditure.
Those interested may send Rs. 15 plus postal charges.

EXPERIENCING ISLAM

The book is available at:
Buddha Bhumi Publications,
Buddha Bhumi, Kamphi Road, Kamphi, Nagpur PO (M.S.)
Mohammad Ishaq Khan
Prof. of History & Dean of Faculty of Social Science,
Kashmir University, Magarmal Bagh, Srinagar, - 190 001.
1997 pp.182 Rs.300
Sterling
L/10, Green Park Extension, New Delhi - 16.

THE SOLE SPOKESMAN

Comes out in paperback edition.
(Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan)
Ayesha Jalal,
Associate Prof., Dept. of History, Columbia University,
Published first in 1985.
pp.308 Rs.195
Cambridge University Press

**REPLY TO ARUN SHOURIE DIATRIBE
AGAINST DR. AMBEDKAR**

Dr. Suresh Mane,
Dept. of Law, Bombay University
1997 pp.40 Rs.20
Write to author
E/7-Vidyanagar, Kalina
Santacruz (E), Bombay -400 098.

When corresponding, please quote your label number

To

.....
.....
.....

Fax-Phone : 0091-080-33 66 771

EDITOR: V.T.RAJASHEKAR

Published from:
**109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,
Bangalore - 560 003 - India.**
Annual Subscription: Rs.150
Payable in MO or DD to: "Dalit Voice".
Foreign Airmail: US 50\$ dollars

Dalit Voice

November 16 - 30 1997